Naturalistic Learning of Spanish in Puerto Rico: Linguistic Landscape, Motivation, and Identity of Self Through Cultural Expression and Practices

By:

Carolyn Marie Carpenter

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTERS OF ARTS

in

ENGLISH EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

MAYAGUEZ CAMPUS

2018

Approved by:

Elizabeth P. Dayton, Ph.D. Chair,, Graduate Committee	Date
Betsy Morales Caro, Ph.D. Co-Chair, Graduate Committee	Date
Ellen Pratt, Ph.D. Member, Graduate Committee	Date
Carlos Quiñones Padovani, Ph.D. Graduate Representative	Date
Leonardo Flores, Ph.D. Interim Director, Department of English	Date

Abstract

The objective of this thesis is to examine the individual differences of eight L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico (PR) both as a group and as individuals. Through the use of voice-recorded interviews and written questionnaires, this thesis focused on how L1 English speakers perceive the use of Spanish in PR, the role of motivation and desire for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish in PR, role of attitude and anxiety for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish in PR, the role of communication patterns and cultural expression for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish in PR, and the profiles of self-reported "successful" L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish in PR. The results showed that a need for integration and use of the language within the linguistic landscape and soundscape play a more important role in naturalistic learners' perceived success or unsuccess in the case of L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in PR than do individual differences. The study also shows how L1 English speakers perceive they learn from the linguistic landscape and soundscape and this transfers into teaching English to L2 learners using immersion tools that represent the linguistic landscape and soundscape of the L2 communities.

Resumen

El objetivo de esta investigación es examinar diferencias individuales de ocho angloparlantes (L1) en el proceso de aprender Español como segundo idioma (L2) de modo natural en Puerto Rico (PR) en grupo e individualmente. A través del uso de entrevistas grabadas y cuestionarios, se estudió la manera que los angloparlantes de L1 perciben el uso del español en el paisaje lingüístico y grabaciones en PR. El estudio se centró en el rol que tiene la motivación y el deseo para los angloparlantes de L1 aprendiendo español L2 de modo natural en PR, el rol que tiene la actitud de lenguaje y la ansiedad de aprendizaje de lenguaje y como aportan para los angloparlantes L1 aprendiendo español L2 de modo natural en PR, el rol que tiene los patrones de comunicación del lenguaje y las expresiones culturales para los angloparlantes L1 aprendiendo español L2 de modo natural en PR, y los perfiles de auto-reportajes "exitosos" y "no-exitosos" de angloparlantes L1 aprendiendo español L2 de modo natural en PR. Perfiles individuales fueron creados para cada participante en el estudio. Los resultados demuestran una necesidad para la integración y uso del lenguaje tanto en el paisaje lingüístico como auditivo. El estudio mostró que hay una percepción "exitosa" y "no exitosa" de los angloparlantes quienes están aprendiendo español como segundo idioma en PR. Esta estudio así mismo muestró como angloparlantes L1 perciben que aprenden del paisaje lingüístico y grabaciones y como esta se transfiere al enseñar ínglés a estudiantes L2 usando el equipo de inmersión que representa el paisaje lingüístico y grabaciones de la comunidad del L2.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my entire family; had you not supported me so fully since the day we met, I would not be where I am today. When I felt frustrated and overwhelmed, each and every one of you encouraged me to continue. I especially want to thank my husband who encouraged me day-after-day to reach my dreams no matter what he had to give up for me to do so, my daughter, Hannah, who understood our extended time periods apart without any complaint, and my sons, Colton and Derik-Ivan, who were so willing to pack up, leave their family and friends, and move to Puerto Rico to experience a new language and culture all for their mother. I can never thank all of you enough for the sacrifices you made for me. You are my everything.

I would like to thank the following professors at Indiana-Purdue University, Fort Wayne: Dr. Shannon Bischoff, Dr. Jens Clegg, and Dr. Stephen Buttes. Dr. Shannon Bischoff, you not only suggested obtaining my Masters at the University of Puerto Rico, but you introduced me to my love of linguistic and second language learning and fully backed my decision to relocate, even in ways you did not anticipate. Your knowledge in linguistics sparked a never-dying interest in this area of study. Dr. Jens Clegg and Dr. Stephen Buttes, thank you for furthering my love for Spanish – I would not have had the courage to move to Puerto Rico without the knowledge of language and culture you both shared with me. I would also like to thank both of you for your input and advice regarding relocating my children to a location where languages other than English are spoken. All three of you are very inspiring professors.

Most importantly, I dedicate this thesis to Dr. Elizabeth Dayton. You have given me so much encouragement and support throughout the process of this thesis, and there is not one doubt in my mind that I would not be here without your guidance and unwavering belief in my

abilities. Your enthusiasm in teaching and your genuine care for your students has shown me what it really means to love your work. I am forever grateful for the love and dedication you have shown me despite all challenges. I am honored to call you my confidant and friend.

Acknowledgements

The following thanks are to those whom contributed significantly to this thesis by providing constructive criticism, document corrections, instrument building, guidance in data analysis, table preparation and organization, and dedicated countless hours to ensure the success of this thesis:

Dr. Elizabeth Dayton

Dr. Ellen Pratt

Dr. Betsy Morales Caro

I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Elaine Horwitz for graciously granting me permission to modify her instrument, the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Survey (FLCAS), to carry out my research L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish in the naturalist setting of Puerto Rico. A portion of this thesis would not have been possible without access to and modification of your instrument.

I would also like to acknowledge the extensive work on individual differences in motivational intensity, desire, attitudes, motivation, and motivation orientations by Dr. Robert Gardner, which has guided much of this thesis.

I would like to extend a sincere thank you to my participants and those who referred participants to me; this thesis would be non-existent without your participants and references.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Audio Recordings

List of Appendices

Chapter I: Introduction

Puerto Rico is an island in the Caribbean. It was ceded to the United States (US) after the Spanish-American War in 1898 and is currently a territory of the US. According to Quick Facts from the United States Census Bureau (2010), in July, 2016, the total population of Puerto Rico was 3,411,182 people, 5% of whom were children under five years old. From 2011-2015 estimates, 94.7 of the population age 5+ reported that they spoke a language other than English at home. If we infer that Spanish is the "language other than English" that the vast majority of them spoke at home, we can, perhaps, infer that for non-Spanish speakers who come to the island to work, study, and learn Spanish as a Second Language (L2), Puerto Rico is a "majority language setting" (Ellis, 1994, p. 291) or a dominant L2 setting (Siegel, 2003, p. 179). In Puerto Rico, despite the strong occurrence of English with Spanish and the view that Puerto Rico is a hybrid (English as a Foreign Language (EFL)/English as a Second Language (ESL)) environment (Blau and Dayton, 1992, as cited in Oxford, 2002, p.247), L2 Spanish is "the native language of the majority of the population and used in all domains in everyday life, including the home, education, government, the legal system, business, and the media" (Siegel, 2003, p. 179).

In February, 2015, I visited Puerto Rico for the first time with my husband, Anderson, and my two children, Tyler, 15 years old, and Eric, 13 years old. During this trip, I visited places in the San Juan metropolitan area, such as La Perla, places on the western side of the island, such as the University of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez (UPRM) and the *pueblos* of Rincón, Aguadilla, and Aguada, and a *pueblo* named Utuado up in the mountains. Despite the information from the US Census, during this trip, it seemed that every place I visited with my family, I found someone who knew English very well and could communicate with me, despite my limited knowledge of Spanish. In fact, I can only remember two times when my family and I found ourselves some

place where we could not find someone who spoke English, and I had to use my bits and pieces of Spanish to communicate. In addition to being able to find English speakers, my family and I saw a lot of signage in English, and we were reminded of the English-speaking US every time we passed a McDonald's, Burger King, or Home Depot.

My family and I are native speakers of English from the US. In July, 2015, we moved to Puerto Rico so that I could begin my studies in the Masters of Arts in English Education (MAEE) program at the UPRM. I chose to study at UPRM because I had recently graduated in May, 2015 with a Bachelor's degree in English Composition and two minors, one in Linguistics and the other in Spanish. I had also earned a certification in Teaching English as a New Language (TENL). One of my undergraduate professors told me that UPRM offered a program in English Education that provided practice in Teaching English as a Second or Other Language (TESOL) at the university level. In addition to taking part in this program, I longed to learn what I referred to as "real world Spanish," not the Spanish of the classroom. Finally, I wanted my children to benefit from learning Spanish, a new language, in Puerto Rico, and a new culture.

Given my experience with the linguistic landscape in Puerto Rico in the form of contact with English speakers and English signage when my family and I had visited the island, I thought that communication in English in Puerto Rico would be easy when we moved to the island. A couple of experiences convinced me that my initial impression of English language use on the island was wrong. One experience involved trying to find a place to live, a long-term rental. I went to the local classified ads website and proceeded to contact the owners of rental properties by phone. I asked each person I contacted in Spanish if they could speak English, and I was dismayed to find that all of the people I contacted told me that they could not speak English, and most of them immediately hung up on me after saying so, which left me with no

chance to attempt to communicate any further in Spanish. My main reason for asking if they spoke English in the first place was to make sure I did not get myself into a rental agreement that I did not fully understand, but their abrupt responses in the form of hanging up on me made me feel like an outsider. Another experience involved picking up the car I had shipped from the US to Puerto Rico. I found out that I needed interpreters to help me complete the pick up and that I misunderstood what people were saying to me in Spanish. Finally, I could not enroll my children in public school because of the lack of English-speaking teachers and the understanding that if my children did not speak at an age "appropriate" level of Spanish, they would be placed in any grade the school felt appropriate, perhaps two or three, or even more, grade levels lower than their current grade levels, despite their history of advanced academic achievement. These experiences made me realize that to live in Puerto Rico, my family members and I might have to make a stronger commitment to learning Spanish than we had initially expected.

My family members and I came to Puerto Rico with different levels of exposure to, and proficiency in, Spanish. As mentioned, I had an undergraduate minor in Spanish. My husband had taken two years of college Spanish, which he completed in December, 2014. Both my sons had some background with Spanish through Rosetta Stone, and my youngest son had had one semester of Spanish in middle school in Fall, 2014.

My family members and I also arrived in Puerto Rico with different motivations for, and attitudes toward, learning Spanish. I had strong motivation to learn Spanish because I loved learning; I loved languages; I was willing to try to communicate in Spanish, and I wanted to look and sound similar to a local Puerto Rican. My husband's main motivation to learn Spanish was to be able to find work. Despite his difficulty with Spanish, my husband loved trying Puerto Rican food and drinking Puerto Rican beer and learning about Puerto Rican culture and history.

He would have worn a *guayabera* every day if he could have. Similar to myself, my youngest son, Erik, wanted to learn Spanish because he enjoyed learning and because he wanted to communicate with Spanish speakers. He also liked the way that Spanish sounded. He wanted to identify with children his own age so he could make friends, and he knew that the most successful way to do that was to learn more Spanish. As shown, Anderson, Erik, and I had positive attitudes toward the Spanish language and its speakers, Tyler did not. Tyler had the least desire to assimilate in Puerto Rico, and his motivation to learn Spanish was nearly non-existent. He consistently refused to order and eat Puerto Rican food, and he felt that he did not have to learn Spanish because he could get by using English. He felt that the Spanish language was "difficult to learn" and he didn't "like the way it sounded." This put him in a bad position because he refused to talk to people in the neighborhood and to connect with children his own age because of his limited Spanish.

My family members and I also differed in terms of the degree of anxiety we felt toward speaking and listening to Spanish. I felt anxiety before, during, and after using Spanish with native speakers, but I was still able to push myself to communicate by practicing speech events with myself. I constantly talked to myself, both out loud and mentally, before I placed myself in an actual speech event. I planned every word I was going to say and I looked up new words ahead of time. I also ran through possible questions the native speaker might ask me or answers they might give me to my questions. After the speech event, I assessed my performance and mentally noted what I needed to change in order to have more success in similar future speech events. In contrast, my husband's anxiety increased over time as he came to realize that he was repeatedly turned down for jobs because he did not speak Spanish fluently. Eventually, his anxiety became so crippling that he stopped trying to use Spanish for basic transactions; he

would not ask for a Tylenol at a gas station, and he would not go to the doctor alone. Ultimately, he had to return to the US to find a job. My two sons also felt different degrees of anxiety. Erik did not show or verbalize any signs of language anxiety at all, but Tyler verbally displayed his overwhelming feelings with the complexity of the Spanish language.

Due to my own motivation, positive attitudes, and my management of language anxiety, I began to examine, and started to want to improve, my own command of Spanish, but all of my friends were in the MAEE program and, therefore, spoke English the majority of the time. This meant that I did not really have any opportunity to practice Spanish with them. The first time I met the other MAEE students was at a meeting before the semester had commenced. I was shocked that so many of them sounded like native speakers of English, particularly in terms of sentence structure and their use of slang and regional idioms used throughout the US. This intimidated me, not to mention that it only added to my previously mentioned anxiety about speaking Spanish with native speakers. To lessen my anxiety and help me identify with my peers while aiding in improving my Spanish and making it sound more Puerto Rican at the same time, I decided to take a Spanish course at the university. The person that I talked to in the Spanish Department about enrolling in a Spanish class categorized me as a Spanish learner at the beginning level and informed me that there were no Spanish classes for learners with a minimal level of Spanish.

Since there did not seem to be any Spanish classes available for speakers similar to me who wanted to learn Spanish, and since I wanted to integrate with the island's language and culture and identify with local, Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans, I began to listen to people very closely when they were speaking Spanish, and I started to imitate the way they pronounced words and phrases. I tried to adapt my Spanish to Puerto Rican Spanish and to speak similar to

Puerto Rican Spanish speakers. When I noticed that many speakers on the western side of the island said "gracia" instead of "gracias," I started to say "gracia." I bought a book of how to speak *Borinquen*, the original name for Puerto Ricans before the Spanish invasion, so I could use local words and expressions and sound more native. I changed my style of dressing and tried to adopt the style of Puerto Rican women. I started eating Puerto Rican food and asking people how to say words I did not know. I also started adding some activities to the classes I was teaching in which I integrated language and culture. I asked students to design a lesson in Puerto Rican cultural history and explain it to the class in English, and I started talking to the students in Spanish for the first five or ten minutes of class. These changes in my daily life opened new doors for me to learn Spanish outside a Spanish language classroom in a more successful, naturalistic way, and I started to wonder how other non-Puerto Rican, adult native English speakers, such as myself, who were not born on the island, learned Spanish once they came to Puerto Rico.

Within the field of second language acquisition (SLA), several researchers (Saville-Troike (2006), Ellis (2008), Ortega (2013); Lightbown and Spada (2013)) have pointed out that the learning of a second language can take place under two main circumstances. For Saville-Troike (2006), these circumstances are formal/instructed and informal/naturalistic. Formal/instructed L2 learning takes place in schools. Informal/naturalistic L2 learning takes place in settings where people come in contact with and interact with speakers of the L2. Krashen (1982) argues that formal/instructed L2 learning is L2 learning while informal/naturalistic L2 learning is L2 acquisition. In these settings, interaction occurs for several reasons: the speakers live in a multilingual society; the speakers have friends and family who are multilingual; the speakers have a lifestyle which involves international travel and

residence for business or pleasure (Saville-Troike, 2010, p. 128). This thesis will focus on L2 Spanish language learning which takes place under informal/naturalistic circumstances. Although the main point of their article is to explore bicultural identity issues that have an impact on Puerto Rican, Spanish-speaking university students learning English at the UPRM, Morales and Blau (2009), through their personal accounts, point to two broad groups of Spanish learners on the island.

The first group, exemplified by Morales (Morales & Blau, 2009), is comprised of Puerto Ricans who are born and raised on the mainland United States and return to Puerto Rico. Morales reported that she was raised in her early years in the US and returned to Puerto Rico when she was ten. Even though Spanish had been the language her family used at home, when she returned to Puerto Rico, she had a difficult time learning Spanish when she went to school, particularly the formal Spanish of the Puerto Rican classroom.

The second group, exemplified by Blau (Morales & Blau, 2009), is comprised of non-Puerto Ricans, many of whom are born and raised on the US mainland, who come to Puerto Rico to work, study, and/or accompany family members who are working or studying on the island. Blau was a native speaker of English from New York. She had lived in Puerto Rico for twenty years, and, prior to coming to Puerto Rico as an adult, she had studied Spanish and had lived in Spanish-speaking countries. Despite the fact that she "had quite a solid knowledge and reasonable fluency" in Spanish, she asserted that "I was by no means a near-native speaker" (p. 47). As Blau pointed out, she did not grow up in a Hispanic culture, and she did not have "the later-in-life advantage of marrying a native speaker of Spanish to serve as a live-in informant and teacher" (p. 47). This meant that the domains in which she used Spanish were much more limited than those of a native speaker (p. 48). This thesis will focus on the L2 Spanish language learning of speakers similar to Blau and me, adult native speakers of English who come to Puerto Rico to

work, study, and/or to accompany someone who is working and/or studying. These speakers come to the island with varying degrees of exposure to, and years of study of, Spanish.

As I have touched on here in my brief discussion of the degree to which my family members and I have been successful in learning Spanish, and as researchers such as Saville-Troike (2010), Ellis (2008), Ortega (2013); Lightbown and Spada (2013) within the field of second language acquisition point out, individual learner differences in terms of motivation, attitude, anxiety, and willingness to communicate play a strong role in the successful learning of a second language. In addition, as Morales and Blau (2009) show, with respect to the teaching and learning of English in Puerto Rico, identity issues play a strong role in the learning of a second language. This thesis will focus on individual learner differences, including identity issues, that lead to the successful, or unsuccessful, learning of Spanish in Puerto Rico. To focus on these individual learner differences, the thesis will use case study methodology for the individual learners.

The general research objectives that guide this thesis are the following:

1. To find out what perceptions L1 English native speakers have of the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico,
2. To find out what role motivation and desire play for L1 English native speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico,
3. To find out what role attitude and anxiety play for L1 English native speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico,
4. To find out what role communication patterns and cultural expression play for L1 English native speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico,

5. To find out what the profiles of self-reported “successful” and “unsuccessful” L1 English native speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico are.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the literature in second language learning and acquisition related to the research questions and data collection of this thesis. This chapter has six sections. Section 1 examines three types of settings for second language acquisition: the social settings for second language acquisition, the settings for naturalistic and instructed second language acquisition, and the linguistic landscape. Section 2 focuses on adult second language learners/acquirers by examining adult second language acquisition and age as well as naturalistic second language acquisition for adult learners. The second sub-section of naturalistic second language acquisition for adult learners is divided into two parts. Part 1 discusses case studies of single second language learners: Alberto, Ge, Wes, Julie, and Patty. Part 2 discusses two case studies of multiple language learners. The first of these case studies is The Project of Adult Second Language Acquisition carried out by Klein and Perdue. The second of these case studies is the Natural Second Language Acquisition Experiences carried out by Norton-Pierce. Section 3 examines social theories of second language acquisition. The Socio-Educational Model developed by Gardner is emphasized in the sense that I discuss the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery which was used to construct the instruments used in data collection for this thesis. Section 4 examines the individual differences of personality, anxiety, and motivation. Ellis (2008) states that the key constructs of motivation are 1) integrative motivation, 2) instrumental Motivation, 3) linguistic self-confidence, 4) attributions, 5) intrinsic motivation, 6) self-regulation, 7) motivational phases, and 8) the ideal language self. This thesis examines three out of these eight motivational constructs (personality, anxiety, and motivation) as they were inside

the scope of this thesis. Section 5 examines the research of Norton, which includes her construct of investment and her perceptions of identity, and language learning.

Social Settings For Second Language Acquisition

Language learning takes place in different types of social settings. Researchers, like Ellis and Siegel, have made distinctions between these settings in regard to second language acquisition. The type of social setting in which learning is taking place may have a large impact on their learning outcomes. Because of this, it is pertinent to understand what type of social setting Puerto Rico provides for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish.

For Ellis (2008), the term "social setting" refers to the "milieu in which learning takes place" (p. 286). Similarly, Siegel (2003) distinguishes sociolinguistic settings for Second Language Acquisition (SLA) "on the basis of the functional roles and domains of use of the L1 and L2" (p. 178). Siegel proposes five sociolinguistic settings for SLA: Dominant L2, External L2, Coexisting L2, Institutional L2, and Minority L2. Ellis builds on Siegel and proposes four broad categories of natural L2 learning settings: majority language settings, official language settings, international language settings, and minority language settings.

For Ellis, in the majority language setting, there are two sub-settings: bilingual and monolingual. In bilingual settings, learners are members of an indigenous group that speaks a different language from that of the majority, which is the learner's L2. For example, in Canada, indigenous speakers of L1 French learn L2 English. Unlike a bilingual setting such as Canada, it is not clear in Puerto Rico how many speakers speak English as an L1 and it is not clear whether or not these speakers form "an indigenous group" (Ellis, 2008, p. 291) similar to French speakers in English-speaking Canada. In monolingual settings, learners reside in a country where the learners' L2 is the native language of the country for both informal and institutional

communication and the learners' L1 has "no or very limited functional value" (Ellis, 2008, p. 291). For example, immigrant learners of L2 English in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia are learning English in a monolingual setting. With respect to Puerto Rico as a monolingual setting, it is a matter of discussion about how much functional value the learners' L1 English has in Puerto Rico, but there is no dispute that the learners' L2 Spanish is the language for both informal and institutional communication in Puerto Rico, and that, in this sense, Puerto Rico fits the description of a monolingual setting.

In official language settings, the L2 learners are indigenous members of a multilingual country, such as India or Nigeria, where the L2, in these cases, English, functions as an official language and as the medium of instruction in education. In Puerto Rico, the learners' L2 Spanish functions as an official language and as the medium of instruction in K-12 public instruction. However, unlike India or Nigeria, Puerto Rico is not a multilingual territory and the L2 Spanish learners are not indigenous members of the territory.

In international settings, for example, the use of English in "Airspeak" (Ellis, 2008, p. 291), the L2 is used as a means of international communication with other L2 speakers instead of with native speakers. Within Puerto Rico, I believe that L2 Spanish learners learn Spanish primarily to communicate with native speakers of Spanish, not with other L1 English users who are learning Spanish.

In minority L2 settings, such as L1 English speakers who are learning L2 Welsh in the UK, "learners whose L1 is the majority language learn an L2 that is a minority language" (Ellis, 2008, p. 291). From the political standpoint of Puerto Rico as a territory of the US, within Puerto Rico, speakers of the majority language, L1 English, are learning the language of speakers of the minority language, L2 Spanish. However, from the geographic standpoint of Puerto Rico as an

island in the Caribbean separated from the US mainland by three to four hours of air-time, speakers of the minority language, L1 English, are learning the language of speakers of the majority language, L2 Spanish.

To conclude, within the Ellis framework, the natural L2 learning setting that is relevant for Puerto Rico is the majority language setting. In Puerto Rico, L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish are learning Spanish in a monolingual, majority language setting. The majority language setting is similar to the Dominant L2 sociolinguistic setting for SLA in Siegel's framework. Within this framework, in Puerto Rico, Spanish, the dominant L2, is "the native language of the majority of the population and used in all domains in everyday life, including the home, education, government, the legal system, business, and the media" (Siegel, 2003, p. 179).

Naturalistic And Instructed Second Language Acquisition

Different types of learning take place within different acquisition settings. Similar to social settings, learning settings may have a large impact on learning outcomes. The acquisition setting for L1English learners learning L2 Spanish in Puerto Rico must be determined in order to gain an understanding of why learners have specific outcomes, demands, or struggles that influence their learning.

Researchers in the field of Second Language Acquisition make a difference between two types of second language acquisition: instructed and naturalistic[i]. Instructed second language acquisition takes place in educational settings "in institutions such as schools and universities but increasingly, in computer-mediated environments" (Ellis, 2008, p. 288) "through study with the help of 'guidance' from reference books or classroom instruction" (Ellis, 2008, p. 6). Instructed second language acquisition places the learner's focus on the language system and is "language acquisition that takes place as a result of attempts to teach the L2 – either directly through formal

instruction or indirectly by setting up the conditions that promote natural acquisition in the classroom" (Ellis, 2008, p. 966).

Naturalistic second language acquisition takes place in natural settings when "language is learnt through communication that takes place in naturally occurring social situations" (Ellis, 2008, p. 6). Learners find themselves in natural settings when they come in contact with other speakers of the L2 "in a variety of situations – in the workplace, at home through the media, at international conferences, in business meetings, etc." (Ellis, 2008, p. 288). Naturalistic second language acquisition places the learner focus on communication and incidental, unintentional, learning.

According to Saville-Troike (2006), naturalistic language learning is informal and occurs in settings where the learner is in contact with, and needs to interact with, speakers of the second language (p. 128). Instructed language learning is formal and generally takes place in school.

Similar to Ellis and Saville-Troike, Lightbown and Spada (2013) identify two types of settings for L2 acquisition: natural language acquisition settings and instructional settings. For Lightbown and Spada (2013), natural language acquisition occurs in two types of settings depending on whether the learner is an adult or a child. Adult learners are exposed to the language at work or in social interaction. Child learners are exposed to the language in a school situation where most other children are native speakers of the target language and the instruction is directed toward native speakers. In these situations, child learners learn the language through both interaction with peers on the playground and instruction from the teacher. According to Lightbown and Spada (2013, pp. 124, 126), there are eight characteristics of natural language acquisition settings:

1. Teachers do not present language step by step. Instead, learners are exposed to a wide variety of vocabulary and structures.
2. Interlocutors do not correct learners' speech if they are able to understand what learners are trying to communicate. They rarely correct learners' speech because they do not want to be rude.
3. Learners are exposed to the language throughout the day; sometimes interlocutors address the learner with the language; sometimes learners overhear the language.
4. Learners are exposed to a number of proficient speakers of the target language.
5. Learners take part, as either observers or participants, in a many kinds of language events: Greetings and leave-takings, business transactions and interactions at work, situations of information exchange, arguments, school instruction, etc.
6. Older children and adult learners can be exposed to the written language via online media such as videos or web-based materials.
7. Learners are forced to use their limited abilities in the L2 to reply to questions or to seek information. The emphasis in situations like these is on making sure the message meaning is clearly expressed, and speakers who are more proficient in the language seem to be more tolerant of errors when they do not interfere with meaning.
8. Learners are exposed to modified input in one-to-one conversations. However, when they are in interactions with many native speakers, language learners may find it difficult to access language they can understand.

For Lightbown and Spada (2013), there are two types of instructional settings: the structure-based instructional setting and the communicative instructional setting. Both differ from the natural language acquisition setting in terms of the events and activities in which

learners participate. For example, in grammar translation and in the structure-based instructional setting, learners focus on reading and writing and the translation of texts from one language to another, so there is an emphasis on the explicit teaching of grammar rules. In the audio-lingual approach, learners learn through repetition and habit formation with less emphasis on grammar rules. In the communicative and content-based instruction of the communicative instructional setting, the emphasis is on the communication of meaning, between teacher and students and the students themselves. Learners focus on meaning in order to acquire language in a way that is similar to natural interaction; there is much less focus on grammar, and teachers and learners focus on grammatical forms in order to clarify meaning.

Similar to other researchers, Ortega (2013) makes a distinction between naturalistic and instructed language acquisition, but she highlights two additional points. To describe the two types of language acquisition, Ortega focuses on the learner and defines naturalistic learners as those who "learn the L2 through informal opportunities in multicultural neighborhoods, schools and workplaces, without ever receiving any organized instruction on the workings of the language they are learning" (p. 6). Instructed learners "learn additional languages through formal study in school or university, through private lessons and so on" (Ortega, 2013, p. 6). The first point that Ortega (2013) highlights is that naturalistic learners are learning the L2 in multicultural neighborhoods, so she views naturalistic language learning as taking place in a multicultural environment, which may include a bilingual environment, where two languages are used, but may also include environments in which more than two languages are used. The second point that Ortega highlights is that acquisition can take place in a mixture of naturalistic and instructed settings. As Ortega (2013) asserts:

> In our globalized world, multifarious opportunities for L2 acquisition arise from travel, employment, migration, war, marriage, and other such happy as well as unhappy (and elective as well as circumstantial) life events. Most people, therefore, learn additional languages from a **mixture** of both naturalistic and instructed experiences. (p. 6)

Linguistic Landscape: A Naturalistic Setting For Second Language Acquisition

In Section 1, I described Puerto Rico as a monolingual majority language setting. I also discussed the differences between the settings for naturalistic and instructed second language learning. Even though I have described Puerto Rico as a monolingual majority language setting, any resident or visitor in Puerto Rico can observe that the linguistic landscape and the soundscape include both printed and audio examples of both Spanish and English and that there is widespread variation of both languages in both the landscape and the soundscape. In this section, I discuss the relatively new concept of linguistic landscape/soundscape, which I view as a setting for naturalistic second language learning.

Definition of linguistic landscape.

Linguistic Landscape has been defined as:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. (Landry and Bourhis as cited in Cenoz and Gorter, 2008, p. 168 / Gorter, 2013, p. 2)

Even though this definition gives us a good idea of what linguistic landscape is, Gorter (2013) points out that it only includes six types of signs when the variety of signs is much wider, especially given the developments in technology; for example: electronic message centers,

interactive touch screens, etc. (pp. 2-3). Cenoz and Gorter, (2008) use the term "linguistic landscape" in the sense of "all the written language in the public space" (p. 268). It is multi-modal because it combines visual and printed texts. Gorter (2013) point to the extension of the term by Shohamy and Waksman as an "ecological arena that goes beyond written texts of signs and includes oral language, images, objects, placements in time and space, and also people" (p. 11). They also point to the work of Mitchell and the introduction of a new term "soundscape," "languages overheard being spoken on the street" (p. 15). According to Gorter (2013), the use of language in its written form in the public space has been the main focus of linguistic landscape studies (p. 3).

As Gorter (2013) points out, one assumption that underlies the work on linguistic landscape is that the linguistic landscape contributes to the construction of the sociolinguistic context "because people process the visual information that comes to them" (p. 16). A second assumption is that the "language in which signs are written can influence the perception of the status of the different languages and affect linguistic behavior" (p. 16). In the next section, I discuss how these two assumptions underlie the view that the linguistic landscape is part of the social context for second language acquisition.

Linguistic landscape and second language acquisition.

Cenoz and Gorter (2008) considered the linguistic landscape, in terms of the written language in public space, to be part of the social context for second language acquisition and explored the link between linguistic landscape and second language acquisition in terms of input, pragmatic competence, literacy skills, multi-competence, and affective and symbolic function.

According to Cenoz and Gorter (2008), the linguistic landscape is a source of "authentic, contextualized input which is part of the social context" (p. 274). It is authentic in the sense that

it is not designed for teaching language but for other purposes. It serves as a source of input in second language acquisition because it provides opportunities for incidental learning. Incidental learning refers both to learning without the intent of doing so and to learning one stimulus while paying attention to another (p. 272). For example, a learner could read a book for enjoyment but learn new vocabulary at the same time even though that was not the main reason the learner had for reading the book (p. 273). When learners see written texts on the streets in public space, they are not usually walking the streets with the intention of learning from these texts; therefore, even though learners are not unaware of the linguistic landscape, learning that takes place is likely to be incidental (p. 273). In addition, individual differences probably play a role in the amount of attention that learners pay to the written texts in the linguistic landscape.

As Cenoz and Gorter (2008) point out, the linguistic landscape also serves as a source of input for second language learners at the pragmatic level. Cenoz and Gorter view pragmatic competence as a component of communicative competence and assert that pragmatic competence is necessary for second language acquisition; pragmatic competence refers to: "the competence in conveying and understanding communicative intent, that is matching actional intent with linguistic form based on the knowledge of an inventory of verbal schemata that carry illocutionary force (speech acts and speech act sets)" (Cenoz and Gorter, 2008, p. 275).
The linguistic landscape serves as input at the pragmatic level because texts which are written in public space have different functions and include different speech acts and use indirect language and metaphors. These texts may also be single words or groups of words that have meaning that is related to the context in which they are written (p. 274).

The linguistic landscape is multimodal because it combines visual and printed texts. Thus, as written text, the linguistic landscape can also be instrumental in the development of

multimodal second language literacy skills" (Cenoz and Gorter, 2008, p. 277). According to Cenoz and Gorter (2008), in a multimodal approach to literacy, "full communication is not possible through the means of language only" (p. 278). The work that readers do to simultaneously read verbal texts and the accompanying images can be understood within semiotics, the study of signs. For Cenoz and Gorter, the linguistic landscape "can provide opportunities to acquire literacy skills in a second or a foreign language by considering language as part of a semiotic system" (p. 278).

As Cenoz and Gorter (2008) point out, multi-linguals, which includes bilinguals, have multi-competence, in other words, different degrees of competence, in different languages "because they use them for different purposes and they also use phenomena such as code-switching as a resource to communicate in a more efficient way" (p. 279). The linguistic landscape is also multilingual, which includes bilingual, because it uses several languages and because in the linguistic landscape, languages are not separated into isolated compartments. Since language mixing in the linguistic landscape blurs the lines that separate languages, the linguistic landscape "can provide the right type of input for multilingual speakers who can use different languages as a resource" (p. 280). In the multilingual linguistic landscape languages are combined and can be processed together in the same way that in the multimodal linguistic landscape texts and images are combined and processed together (p. 280). According to Cenoz and Gorter in a small study that they conducted, students reported that they read multilingual signs in the different languages and not only in one language; in other words, the students processed the two languages together (p. 280).

Cenoz and Gorter (2008) discuss the fact that the languages in the linguistic landscape can have both informational and symbolic, affective functions. The basic function of languages

in the linguistic landscape may be to provide information, but they can have other functions. Cenoz and Gorter point to an affective function involving attitudes toward languages and language learning, which influence second language acquisition, when they state that "the linguistic landscape can affect the perception and attitudes people have about languages and influence the use of languages in society (p. 269). In a discussion on the spread of English around the world, they point to the symbolic function of English in the linguistic landscape when they state that "the use of English in commercial signs could be interpreted as informational mainly aimed at foreign visitors but it is obvious that its increasing presence also has a symbolic function for a non-English speaking local population….English is often used in commercial signs for its connotational values such as international orientation, future orientation, success, and sophistication or fun orientation" (p. 269). In summary, "individuals have different affective relationships with different languages. Languages are also tied to national and ethnic identities and can become symbolically linked to specific ethno-linguistic groups" (Cenoz and Gorter, 2008, p.281). According to Cenoz and Gorter, the multi-functionality of the languages in the linguistic landscape can also be used as input and as a resource for second language acquisition.

Finally, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) refer to a study they conducted together in which they attempted to find out how important the linguistic landscape was to second language learners by asking the learners about their perceptions of its role in second language acquisition. They asked second language learners in the Netherlands and in Spain if they thought they learned anything from the linguistic landscape. The learners reported that it was useful to read signs on streets but not as useful as language classes, reading, listening to music, or watching television (p. 274).

Adult Second Language Acquisition and Age

In the discussion of age and L2 acquisition, researchers have been interested in two issues: 1) whether or not there is a critical period for language development "during which language can be acquired or learnt more easily than at any other stages of life" (Griffiths, 2008, p. 38) and after which language acquisition or learning becomes impossible and 2) the role that age plays in L2 acquisition. These issues are reviewed herein because this thesis researches older learners and past research may help shed light on why participants are successful or unsuccessful in acquiring the language.

With respect to the critical period, Lenneberg (1967) proposed that the critical period lasts until around puberty. At this time, the development of lateralization occurs, and the brain begins to lose plasticity. The Critical Period Hypothesis states that "there is a fixed span of years during which language learning can take place naturally and effortlessly, and after which it is not possible to be completely successful" (Ellis, 2008, p. 24). Due to controversy surrounding the conceptualization and existence of a critical period, the term "critical period" has been replaced by the term "sensitive period," which indicates that there is no "abrupt or absolute criterion after which L2 acquisition is impossible but rather a gradual process within which the ultimate level of L2 attainment becomes variable" (Ioup et al, 1994, p. 74 as cited in Griffiths, 2008, p. 39). As Ellis (2208) puts it, "there is no clear end point beyond which L2 learners will fail to achieve native-speaker proficiency. Rather there is a gradual decline in the ability to learn an L2 with age starting from early childhood." (p. 26).

With respect to the role that age plays in SLA, the main question that researchers have raised is whether or not younger learners are more successful language learners than adult learners. Although consensus on the answer to this question has not been reached, researchers

such as Griffiths (2008), conclude that "most of the evidence regarding age related differences in language learning seem to indicate that, overall, younger is better" (p. 47). As she points out, the belief that younger learners are more successful language learners than older learners is supported by case studies of naturalistic adult learners of L2. She singles out the case studies of Alberto and Wes, which are discussed in the next section. She also points out that despite this belief, it is possible for adults to be good language learners. Julie, the focus of another case study of a naturalistic adult learner of an L2, is also discussed in the next section. Julie is the exception to the belief that older, mature, adult learners cannot successfully learn a second language.

To explain age-related differences in language development, Griffiths (2008) points to five groups of factors which could interact with age to influence language learning. These factors include: 1) maturational factors (critical period, sensitive period, etc.), 2) cognitive factors (existing knowledge, understanding of rule systems, etc.), 3) situational factors (naturalistic, instructed, etc.), 4) Individual factors (personality, motivation, gender, etc.), and socio-affective factors (anxiety, social distance, culture/language shock, etc.)

Naturalistic Second Language Acquisition For Adult Learners

The next section examines the study of five naturalistic adult learners: Alberto, Ge, Wes, Julie, and Patty, learners from the Project of Adult Acquisition by Klein and Perdue, and five case studies of adult immigrant women by Norton. The investigation into what types of factors have been researched in terms of naturalistic adult learners reveals what types of factors, concepts, and outcomes have already been studied and what the outcomes were. They also provide learners with which to compare the participants in this study.

Alberto (Schumann, 1978).

Alberto was the subject of Schumann (1978). Alberto was a 33 year old, single Costa Rican male who had been living in Cambridge, Massachusetts for four months at the time of the study. Before coming to the United States, Alberto had graduated from high school in Costa Rica where he had studied English two or three hours a week for six years (Schumann, 1978, p. 3). Despite his previous study of English in Costa Rica, at the beginning of the study in the US, he could speak only a few words and phrases in English (Schumann, 1978, p. 6). In the US, Alberto lived in an apartment with another Costa Rican couple and worked as a polisher in a local frame manufacturing factory. He lived in a Portuguese section of Cambridge and socialized with a small group of Costa Rican friends. In the factory, he worked with other non-English speakers. Schumann (1978) described his study of Alberto as a case study of one subject out of a total of six subjects who had originally participated in a larger ten-month longitudinal study of the untutored acquisition of English by native Spanish speakers (p. vii).

To conduct the larger longitudinal study, the researchers collected data from spontaneous conversations, elicitations, and pre-planned sociolinguistic interactions, in other words, both naturalistic and elicited speech. The data analysis of the larger longitudinal study was based on how the subjects acquired the English auxiliary and related structures, the negative, and the interrogative. The study was concerned with the description of the developmental sequences of the subjects' L2 learning. Alberto showed very little linguistic development over the period of the study (Ellis, 2008, p. 10), and "appeared to be unable to move beyond basic pidginized English after almost a year and a half in Boston, and even after he was provided with some individualized instruction" (Ortega, 2013, p. 58). Even though Alberto showed less development in English than the other five participants in the larger study, the fact that his inter-language

showed characteristics of pidgin languages made it possible for Schumann to infer social and psychological factors that "might have caused the particular patterns observed in his English speech" (p. 11). To make a social psychological statement about SLA which would account for Alberto's acquisition pattern and lack of linguistic development in English, in particular, and differential success in second language learning in general, Schumann analyzed Alberto's acquisition of English in his case study from five viewpoints: 1) the negative, interrogative, and auxiliary, 2) the possessive, past tense, noun plural, and progressive morphemes, 3) intensive auxiliary analysis, 4) pidginization, and 5) social and psychological factors. Schumann concluded that the most likely factor that explained Alberto's lack of development in English was his social and psychological distance from native speakers. Since Alberto, who belonged to a social group designated as lower class Latin American worker immigrants (Schumann, 1978, p. 85), remained locked in an immigrant worker community, he did not acculturate to US society. Instead, he "experienced a 'bad learning situation' that restricted him to the 'communicative function' served by language at the expense of the 'integrative' and 'expressive' functions" (Ellis, 2008:10). This 'bad learning situation'[ii] "causes learners to stagnate into a pidgin-like state in their grammar, without inflections or mature syntax" (Ortega, 2013, p. 59).

Ge (Huebner, 1979).

Ge was the subject of Huebner (1979). At the time of the study, Ge was a 23 year-old male Hmong refugee from Laos who was living in Honolulu and learning English in a natural setting without formal instruction (p. 22). In Laos, Ge had never studied English and had lived in a remote hill tribe village where he did slash-and-burn farming. Ge spoke Hmong as an L1 with Lao as an additional language (Ortega, 2013, p.118). When he arrived in the US, he got a job working at a landscaping firm and did not enroll in any of the English programs set up for

refugees. Huebner (1979) describes the study as a longitudinal study (p. 28) and says, "the first tape was made about three weeks after his arrival and subsequent tapes were made every three weeks for 54 weeks" (p. 22). Thus, Ge had been in Honolulu for three weeks when the study began and the study lasted a little more than a year.

According to Huebner (1979), the purpose of his study of Ge is to report on the development of the article system in an adult's interlanguage over a one-year period (p. 21) and to compare "the results of a conventional order-of-acquisition analysis with a paradigm model based on Bickerton (1975)" (p. 21). To conduct this study, Huebner collected tape-recorded data consisting of dialogues and extended narratives. The data analysis of the article system is based on four tapes recorded at three-month intervals. Huebner concludes on the basis of his analysis of the development of Ge's article system that "while an order of acquisition approach to interlanguage analysis might lead us to conclude that language learning with respect to a given morpheme has stopped, a learner's hypothesis about the target language may be under continual revision" (Huebner, 1979, p. 28). Huebner asserts that a linguistic description of the interlanguage using a dynamic paradigm model can reveal these hypotheses and the direction of their change" (p. 28).

Wes (Schmidt, 1983).

Wes was the subject of Schmidt (1983). Wes was a 33 year-old Japanese male who emigrated from Tokyo to Honolulu because of the climate, personal ties, and opportunities for professional development as an artist. His L1 was Japanese; his L2 was English. When Wes first arrived in the US in late 1977, his ability to communicate in English was minimal, and he had had no significant formal instruction in English because he had left school in Japan at age 15 to be apprenticed to a well-known artist. According to Schmidt (1983), Wes showed little or no

interest in studying English formally and was "committed to learning English through natural interaction, while avoiding as much as possible any analytic study of the language code itself" (p. 143). Over the three years of Schmidt's study, Wes faced steadily increasing demands to communicate in English, and, at the end of the study, he lived in an English-speaking world where roughly 75 to 90 percent of all his meaningful oral interactions were in English, although he remained unable to read or write in English. Schmidt (1983) describes Wes as "an extremely friendly and outgoing person" (p. 140) who had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances, including an American roommate, who were monolingual English speakers. Schmidt described the study as a case study, which involved a three-year period of observation during the years 1978-1981. These three years coincide with the time Wes had been living in Hawaii at the time of the study.

According to Schmidt (1983), his study:

> attempts to provide relevant evidence for the acculturation model by looking at the development of English ability of an adult with generally low social and psychological distance from target language speakers, acquiring English without formal instruction over a 3-year period characterized by steadily increasing interaction and communicative need. (p. 139)

Wes is the adult whom Schmidt analyzed, and he analyzed Wes's accomplishments in terms of four components of communicative competence: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence. He concluded that in terms of sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic competence, Wes was a good language learner. "If language is seen as a means of initiating, maintaining, and regulating relationships and carrying on the business of living, then perhaps Wes is a good learner" (Schmidt, 1983, p. 168). However,

in terms of grammatical competence, Wes was a poor language learner. “If one views language as a system of elements and rules, with syntax playing a major role, then Wes is clearly a very poor learner” (Schmidt, 1983, p. 168). According to Schmidt (1983), “Wes’s grammatical control of English has hardly improved at all during the 3-year observation period…”(p. 144), and Schmidt continues with, “Wes’s development in terms of what is generally considered to be the heart of SLA, the acquisition of productive grammatical rules, has been minimal and almost insignificant” (pp. 150-151). Schmidt (1983) concluded that Wes’s failure to master the grammatical component of his L2 English was not due “to social distance factors, to lack of need for or interest in meaningful communication and interaction, to personality factors such as self-consciousness, or to poor attitudes toward target language speakers” (p. 169). For Wes, low social distance, positive attitudes toward the L2 English-speaking community, and high integrative motivation to use the L2 for communication led to an increase in overall communicative competence but not to improved grammatical competence. Thus, Schmidt (1983) concluded that the Acculturation Hypothesis, the view that the degree of acculturation toward the ‘model’ language group is the primary consideration when accounting for the varied levels of linguistic achievement reached by L2 learners, was false (p. 169) and that Wes was an unsuccessful second language learner (p. 171).

Since lack of acculturation, or social distance, did not explain Wes’s lack of grammatical development, Schmidt suggested that psychological factors, such as Wes’s cognitive style, personality characteristics, and attitudes relevant to learning the grammatical code could explain his failure to acquire much grammar. For example, “Wes’s failure to correctly induce the grammatical rules of English may be due less to innate analytical ability than to his basic lack of interest in this aspect of language and/or his failure to test and revise preliminary hypotheses”

(Schmidt 1983, p. 171). In terms of his personality characteristics, attitudes, and interests, which may explain Wes's failure to acquire English grammar, Schmidt (1983) describes Wes as a:

> dominant personality, sensitivity to criticism and dislike of the subordinate learner role; dislike of formal study and defeatist attitudes toward classroom abilities; great curiosity about people but no interest in linguistic analysis; unwillingness to expend time and energy studying English outside the actual context of use. (p. 171).

In addition, Wes's failure to attend to linguistic form could explain his lack of grammatical development. During the three years of the study, Schmidt never found Wes consulting a dictionary or asking questions about idiomatic appropriateness; in other words, Wes did not use strategies that would foster long-term learning. This led Schmidt (1983) to propose that "sensitivity to form," or the drive to pay attention to the language code, is what is missing from Wes's efforts to learn the L2 (p. 172). As Schmidt (1983) asserts, "I do not wish to argue that instruction is a necessary condition for adult SLA, but only conscious attention to form, which could be accomplished through self-study, using conscious learning strategies…which Wes does not make use of: asking questions of native speakers, consulting available sources and actively using deductive reasoning to look for general rules and exceptions" (p. 172). Even if a learner, such as Wes, shows positive affective factors toward the second language, grammatical acquisition will not take place unless the learner applies interest, attention, and hard work to the job of putting together conclusions about grammar (Schmidt, 1983, p. 173).

Julie (Ioup et al., 1994).

Julie was the subject of Ioup, Baustagui, El Tigi, and Moselle. (1994). Julie was a 21-year-old female when she emigrated from Britain to Cairo and married an Egyptian. Julie's L1

was English; her L2 was Arabic. Nine days after she arrived in Cairo, her husband was called away for military service, and she was left with her non-English-speaking relatives for 45 days. During this time, no one could assist her in English, so she had to rely on context and gestures to interpret utterances and express meaning. She learned Arabic naturalistically and her friends and family remembered that she was able to pass herself off as a native speaker after two and a half years in Egypt. After she had been in Cairo for three years, she had mastered enough Arabic for Arabic to become her family's home language. At the time of the study, Julie had been living in Egypt for 26 years and was working as an ESL teacher/trainer at the university level. She had two children who grew up as competent bilinguals. She must have been around 47 years old.

The goal of the study of Ioup et al. was to determine to what extent the linguistic competence of Julie in Arabic matched the linguistic competence of native speakers of Arabic. To determine this, Ioup et al. (1994) assessed the ultimate attainment of Julie's L2 in three areas: "the quality of her speech productions, her ability to recognize accents, and her knowledge of syntactic rules for which she may not have received explicit feedback" (p. 79). To make this assessment, the researchers studied Julie at the previously mentioned point in time when she had been living in Egypt for 26 years and concluded that in terms of her native-like competence, Julie represented the case of a successful, untutored L2 learner without formal instruction in the L2. As Ortega (2013) put it, Julie was an exceptionally successful L2 user. This is a synchronic study of the linguistic competence of a non-native speaker of Arabic. According to Ortega (2013) the researchers used a rich case study methodology that gives an in-depth knowledge of Julie's L2 learning history and data about different areas of her L2 competence in Arabic (p. 14).

Patty (Lardiere, 2005, 2007).

Patty was the subject of Lardiere (2005, 2007). In my view, Patty is not a clear-cut case

of either an instructed or a naturalistic learner. According to Ortega (2013), the study of Patty by Lardiere (2007)is:

> a well-known case of an instructed learner who achieved a very high level of competence in the L2 but nevertheless seems to have ceased developing in one specific area of the L2: bound verbal morphology, particularly –*ed* and third person singular –*s*. (p. 134)

According to Ellis (2008) Patty was of Chinese origin but was born in Indonesia in 1953. Ellis states that:

> She left Indonesia for China in 1969 and lived there for two years before moving to Hong Kong, where English became the primary language of instruction. When she finished high school she worked in an import-export company in Hong Kong rarely speaking English. (Ellis, 2008 p. 15).

According to Lardiere (2005), Patty was a native speaker of Mandarin and Hokkien Chinese who had immigrated to the United States in 1976 at the age of 22 and "who acquired most of her English as an adult immigrant to the United States" (p.180). Given the descriptions of Lardiere (2007) by the secondary sources of Ortega (2013) and Ellis (2008), we might conclude that Patty was an instructed learner; however, I have followed the description of Lardiere (2005), the primary source, and on the basis of her description of Patty, I have included Patty in this section as a naturalistic learner.

Regardless, at the beginning of Lardiere's study in 1986, Patty had been living in the US for about ten years and must have been around 32 years old. In 1989 Patty married a native speaker of English. According to Ellis (2008), Lardiere (2007) collected naturalistic production data from Patty on three occasions. Recording 1 was made in 1986. Recordings 2 and 3 were

made in 1995, two months apart. The data also included approximately 25 written (email) samples collected over a period of sixteen years. As Ellis points out, the data for this case study spanned a much longer period than other case studies, such as those of Alberto and Wes. The data for Lardiere (2007) included data concerning definiteness and number, wh-movement, and raising and case-marking. A primary goal of the study was to use these data to illustrate the remapping problem of a native Chinese speaker acquiring English. According to Ellis (2008), the data for Lardiere (2007) included a number of grammatical features, such as the above, in Patty's English speech and writing and "constitutes perhaps the most exhaustive account of an L2 learner's acquisition of grammar currently available" (Ellis, 2008, p. 16). According to Ellis, by the end of the (2007) study, Patty's written English was more accurate than her spoken English and Patty had not achieved a native-like grammar despite the fact that she had experienced favorable acquisition circumstances, including immersion, acculturation, a high level of educational attainment and professional and personal success in her target language community.

The project of adult second language acquisition.

The previous section focused on case studies of one single, naturalistic adult second language learner. According to Ortega (2013), "we know much about the acquisition of an L2 when learners begin from zero L2 knowledge and without the aid of instruction, that is, when interlanguage development must proceed solely under naturalistic circumstances" (pp. 121-122) from the Project of Adult Acquisition, a project sponsored by the European Science Foundation (ESF) in the 1980s and led by Wolfgang Klein and Clive Perdue (as cited in Ortega, 2013). For this project, the researchers conducted a number of case studies to investigate the acquisition five different European languages by adult migrant workers in Europe (Ellis, 2008, p. 8, 961). The project was both longitudinal and cross-linguistic. Over thirty months, two and a half years, the

project studied 40 adult immigrants to five European countries as they acquired one of five L2s: English, German, Dutch, French, and Swedish. The L1s of the immigrants included: Punjabi, Italian, Turkish, Arabic, Spanish, and Finnish.

According to Perdue (1993), the ideal informant for an immigrant participating in the Project for Adult Acquisition was 1) a monolingual with little or no initial knowledge of the target language, 2) someone who had little formal education in the source language and was not currently taking courses in the target language, 3) someone between 18-30 years old and who was not married to a target language speaker, 4) someone who did not have children in school in the target country, and 5) someone who could expect to have day-to-day contact with target language speakers. (p. 42). As Perdue points out, ideal informants "tend to exist in the heads of researchers" (p. 42). Thus, not all the immigrants in the Project for Adult Acquisition met all the criteria of an ideal informant. Appendix B from Perdue (1993) provides the socio-biographical information for the informants in the study. From a review of the socio-biographical profiles, we can conclude that the immigrants came to the target language countries for a variety of reasons. Some came to join family in the target language country; some came because marriages were arranged for them; some came for work and personal reasons; and, finally, some came as refugees and/or political refugees. In the target language countries, the immigrants worked in factories or did other work commensurate with little formal education in the source country/language.

The researchers for the Project of Adult Acquisition collected samples of learner language by means of conversational interviews and oral film retell tasks (Ellis, 2008, p. 88). According to Ortega (2013), the resulting data amounted to a corpus of 15,000 pages of L2 oral transcriptions (p.122). Although the ESF study was cross-linguistic, it uncovered strong

universal patterns rather than large cross-linguistic particularities (Ortega, 2013, p. 122). During the time of the project, all learners showed evidence of developing a rudimentary but systematic and fully communicative interlanguage system, which was identified by the researchers in the ESF project, that Klein and Perdue called the Basic Variety (Ortega 2013, p. 122). According to Ellis, the Basic Variety is "an early stage of L2 acquisition…characterized by the absence of grammatical functors. Learners rely instead on pragmatic means to convey semantic concepts such as pastness" (Ellis, 2008, p. 955). Similarly, Ortega (2013) points out that the Basic Variety shows no evidence of grammaticalization; in other words, it makes little use of morphology or subordination (p.122). To address the question of what could make naturalistic learners move beyond the Basic Variety toward the grammaticalization of language resources, Ortega (2013) asserted that "Klein and Perdue (1997) posited that it may be the increasingly more pressing need to express complex thoughts and the challenge of putting ideas into words when the concepts involve conflicting semantic and pragmatic conditions" (pp. 122, 124) that exerts meaning-making pressure on naturalistic learners. According to Ortega (2013), this meaning-making pressure worked for two-thirds of the 40 naturalistic learners in the project, but it was not enough for the remaining third, who reached a plateau after a year and a half, sometimes earlier, and had not progressed beyond the Basic Variety by the end of the study (p. 124).

Natural second language acquisition experiences.

In the five case studies and the one study of multiple cases discussed above the researchers examined the adult acquisition of second language in a naturalistic context and focused on the developing linguistic systems of the learners. The study discussed in this section, Norton-Peirce (1995), is similar to the previous studies in that it is one study of multiple cases, and it examines the adult acquisition of English in a naturalistic context. It is different from the

previous studies in that it does not focus on the developing linguistic systems of learners. Instead, it focuses on the natural language learning experiences of immigrant women in their homes, workplaces, and communities (Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 18). In describing the focus on "natural language learning experience," Norton Peirce is building on the work of Spolsky (1989) who argues that there are two qualitatively different settings in which a language learner can gain exposure to and practice in the target language. These settings are the formal environment of the classroom and the natural or informal environment of the target language community. The natural setting seems similar to, if not the same as, the naturalistic setting discussed in the previous section.

Norton-Pierce (1995), whose focus is on identity, investment, and language learning, divided her research questions into two parts. The questions in Part I included the following.

> How are the opportunities for immigrant women in Canada to practice ESL socially structured outside the classroom? How do immigrant women respond to and act upon these social structures to create, use, or resist opportunities to practice English? To what extent should their actions be understood with reference to their investment on English and their changing social identities across time and space? (pp. 13-14)

The question in Part II included the following: "How can an enhanced understanding of natural language learning and social identity inform SLA theory, in general, as well as ESL pedagogy for immigrant women in Canada" (Norton-Pierce, 1995, p. 14)

To involve participants in her study, Norton Peirce helped to teach an ESL course to immigrants in Canada from January to June 1990. After the course was completed, she invited the learners to participate in a longitudinal case study of their language learning experiences in

Canada. The study lasted 12 months, from January to December 1991. The main source of data collection was a diary study. In other words, the participants made written reflections of their language experiences with Anglophone speakers in Canada. During the study, she met with the women on a regular basis to discuss entries in their diaries and discuss their concerns. She also collected data from two questionnaires that she administered before and after the studies from personal and group interviews and home visits (Norton-Pierce, 1995, p. 14).

There were five adult immigrant participants in the Norton Peirce study, all women: Mai from Vietnam, Eva and Katarina from Poland, Martina from Czechoslovakia, and Felicia from Peru. As Norton Peirce points out, all the participants were highly motivated to learn English. They all participated in the diary study; they all wanted to have more contact with Anglophone Canadians; and, with exception of Martina, they all felt comfortable speaking English with those they knew well. (Norton-Peirce, 1995, p. 19).

Three of the immigrant women, Eva, Mai, and Felicia, had a high school education in their native countries. Eva had finished high school and worked as a bartender before leaving Poland. Mai was trained as a dressmaker in Vietnam. Felicia had trained as an elementary school teacher in Peru. The other two immigrant women, Katarina and Martina, probably had more than a high school education. Katarina was a professional in Poland who held a Master's degree in biology and seventeen years of teaching experience. It is not surprising that, as an immigrant, she "bitterly resisted being positioned as unskilled and uneducated" (Norton-Peirce as cited in Ortega, 1993, p. 142). Martina had a professional degree as a surveyor.

The five immigrant women had various reasons for coming to Canada. Eva came to Canada for "economical advantage" (Norton-Peirce, 1995, p. 23). She came to Canada because "it is one of the few industrialized countries that encourages immigration" (Norton-Peirce, 1995,

p. 23). Mai came to Canada for her life in the future (Norton-Peirce, 1995, p. 19). Katarina came to Canada to escape a communist and atheist system (Norton-Peirce, 1995, p. 19). Martina came to Canada "for the children," and Felicia came to Canada to escape terrorism (Norton-Peirce, 1995, p. 19). Thus, they all came to Canada for a better life and/or for an economic advancement.

In conclusion, in this section I have reviewed the case studies of five naturalistic adult second language learners: Alberto, Ge, Wes, Julie, and Patty, and two multiple case studies that involve forty immigrants, on the one hand, and five immigrants on the other, for a total of 50 naturalistic learners. Most immigrated to their host countries because 1) the had family already living in the country 2) they were refugees from their own counties 3) they were looking for opportunities and advancement. In general, out of the 50 participants, most had little formal education or had finished high school. Only three were educated professionals: Julie worked as an ESL teacher/trainer at the University level; Katarina held a Master's degree in biology and taught for seventeen years; and, Martina held a professional degree as a surveyor. In the cases of Alberto, Wes, Ge, Julie, and Patty, success in learning the language is based on their mastery of the linguistic system and grammatical competence. According to Ortega, Alberto, Wes, and Ge did not go beyond basic competencies (Ortega, 2013, p. 144) and were unsuccessful language learners. Patty and a very high level of competence and "retained some non-target-like solutions" in her interlanguage (Ortega, 2013, p. 144). In addition, Patty's written English was more accurate than her spoken English, but she had not achieved a native-like grammar. She was a mixed success/unsuccessful learner. Julie was a case of "amazing success." In terms of linguistic competence, she was so successful that she was able to pass herself off as a native speaker after two and a half years in Egypt. (Ortega, 2013, p. 144). With respect to the adult immigrants in the Klein and Perdue study, over a period of two and a half years, "all learners in

the project showed evidence of developing a rudimentary but systematic and fully communicative inter-language system that was called the Basic Variety" (Ortega, 2013, p. 122). Norton (2013) did not report on the success or lack of success of her participants.

Social Theories Of Second Language Acquisition

Many models and tests have been created to see determine what influences different factors have on language learning. For of these models are discussed below: the Social-Psychological Model, the Acculturation Model, the Socio-Educational Model, and the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery. Each of these theories examines different factors that are shown to influence language learning. Some of these theories have been applied to instructed setting while others have been applied to naturalistic setting, however the information in each theory will help to understand factors influencing the learners of L2 Spanish in the naturalistic setting of Puerto Rico.

The social-psychological model.

According to Gardner (1985a), Lambert's social psychological model of second language acquisition (SLA), which Lambert proposed from the early 1960s through the early 1970s, is a "theory of bilingual development and self-identity modification" (p. 132). The main idea of the model is that "linguistic distinctiveness is a basic component of personal identity" (Lambert, 1974, p. 96 as quoted in Gardner, 1985a, p. 132). Thus, "the development of second language proficiency has implications of the individual's self-identity and, in turn, the individual's self identity has implications for second language acquisition" (Gardner, 1985a, p. 132). According to Ellis (2008), Lambert's social psychological model of SLA studies the relationship between ethnic identity and L2 proficiency (p. 319)

The importance of linguistic distinctiveness starts early in the process of socialization.

Parents make distinctions between their own cultural communities and the cultural communities of others in order to help their children understand who they are. These perceptions are reinforced in schools through curricula that aim to prepare students for society, and, as a result, "language comes to be an important part…of the individual's self identity" (Gardner, 1985a, p. 133). To learn a second language, students "must be both able and willing to adopt various aspects of behavior, including verbal behavior, which characterize members of the other linguistic-cultural group" (Lambert, 1974, p. 102 as cited in Gardner, 1985a, p. 133).

Within the Social Psychological Model of SLA, how successful an individual is in acquiring a second language rests on the individual's: ethnocentric tendencies, attitudes toward the other community, orientation toward language learning, and motivation (Gardner, 1985a, p. 133). An integrative orientation toward language learning reflects "a since and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other group" (Lambert, 1974, p. 98 as cited in Gardner, 1985a, p. 133). It points toward an emotional involvement with the other community. An instrumental orientation emphasizes "the practical value and advantages of learning a new language (Lambert, 1974, p. 98 as cited in Gardner, 1985a, p. 133).

Within the Social Psychological Model, attitudes, orientations, and aptitude "influence the student's level of motivation to learn the second language, while attitudes and orientation, aptitude, and motivation are also shown to have a direct effect on language proficiency (Gardner, 1985, p. 133).

Within the Social Psychological Model, "the attitudes that learners hold toward the learning of a particular L2 reflect the intersection of their views about their own ethnic identity and those about the target-language culture" (Ellis, 2008, p. 319). Once an individual has developed a high level of language proficiency, this proficiency can have an effect on self-

identity; depending on the cultural context, this effect can result in additive or subtractive bilingualism. If development of language proficiency in the second language took place without pressure to replace or reduce the importance of the first language and learners have positive views of their own ethnic identity and of the target-language culture, the result is additive bilingualism. Learners add L2 to their linguistic repertoire while maintaining their L1. However, if development of language proficiency in the second language took place with pressure to replace or reduce the importance of the first language, for example, for the promotion of cultural assimilation and the learning of a national language on the part of a minority group, the result is subtractive bilingualism and learners replace their L1 with their L2. In other words, there is a threat to the first language as a result of learning the second language, and this could produce feelings of loss of ethnic, or cultural, identity and alienation.

The acculturation model.

According to Gardner (1985a), the Acculturation Model, which Schumann proposed in 1978, focuses on identifying the causal variables for second language acquisition (SLA) in contexts where the second language is learned without formal instruction and in the environment where it is spoken, in other words, in natural acquisition contexts for SLA (p. 135). For Schumann, SLA "is just one aspect of acculturation and the degree to which a learner acculturates to the TL (target language) group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language (Schumann as cited in Gardner, 1978a, p. 34). Schumann developed the model to explain L2 acquisition by immigrants in majority language settings, for example, immigrant English L2 learners in the USA (Ellis, 2008, p. 326). Schumann developed the model to account for the fossilization of Alberto, one of the naturalistic learners of English discussed in a previous section.

Schumann identified two major causal types of factors, social and affective; both can be included within acculturation, which he defined as "the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group" (Schumann, 1978a, p. 29as cited by Gardner, 1985a, p. 135). Schumann identified two types of acculturation. For the first type, an individual is socially integrated with the other community and is open to the other language psychologically. For the second type, an individual views the other community as "a reference group whose life style and values he consciously or unconsciously desires to adopt" (Schumann, 1978a, p. 29 as cited in Gardner, 1978a, p. 136). In the second type, which represents extreme identification, the individual wants to become like members of the community, and assimilate into the community's way of life, in more ways than linguistically. (Gardner, 1985a, pp. 135-136).

From the standpoint of a group dimension of individual learners learning a second language, there are a number of social distance factors which influence contact between the target language group and the group learning the second language: social dominance patterns between the two groups, integration strategies, such as assimilation, etc., enclosure (how much one group is separated from another by institutional boundaries), size and cohesiveness of the group, intended length of stay in the language community, cultural congruence, and reciprocal attitudes between the two communities. These social factors may influence the rate and extent of SLA (Gardner, 1985a, p. 136).

From the standpoint of a personal dimension of individual learners learning a second language, there are a number of affective, or psychological, factors which influence SLA: language shock (fear/apprehensiveness of operating in the L2 – the speaker's weaker language), culture shock (anxiety from disorientation experienced within the new culture), motivation (the

learner's integrative or instrumental motivation to learn the L2), and ego-permeability (the ability to empathize) (Gardner, 1985a, p. 136). According to Schumann, "if language shock and culture shock are not overcome, and if the learner does not have sufficient and appropriate motivation and ego permeability, then he will not fully acculturate and, hence, will not acquire the second language fully" (Schumann, 1987a as cited in Gardner, 1985a, p. 137). According to Ellis (2008), "the test of any model is whether it is supported by the results of empirical research" (p. 128); he points out that The Acculturation Model has gained limited support. Again, as stated on page 12 of this thesis, this is why Schmidt (1983) determined that the Acculturation Hypothesis was false (p. 169), in turn, concluding Wes was unsuccessful at learning the L2 (p. 171).

The socio-educational model.

In contrast to Schumann's model, which was developed to investigate the role that social factors play in natural settings for naturalistic L2 learning, the main focus of Gardner's Socio-Educational Model is to explore the learning of L2 in formal classroom settings, particularly in the foreign language classroom. It examines the role of context, in this case the social milieu, through the investigation of social psychological overtones (Gardner, 1985a, p 5). Though the Socio-Educational Model is not unique in acknowledging the link between school learning, ability, and motivation, it deviates from similar models by adding the concept of integrativeness and stressing its importance in language acquisition (Gardner, 2009, p.14). In addition, because learning a language is different than other subjects of study in that it requires the learner to adopt elements of other cultures, it is important to examine the attitudinal and motivational differences among each learner; a central concept of the model that has not changed despite the many variations the model has undergone (Gardner, 1985a, p. 146).

In the 1985 construct of the Socio-Educational Model, Gardner tries to show the relationship between four aspects of L2 learning: 1) the social and cultural milieu (environment), 2) individual differences, 3) language acquisition contexts, and 4) learning outcomes (Gardner, 1985a, p. 153). Additionally, the model suggests that there are four individual differences which directly influence language achievement: intelligence, language aptitude, motivation, and situational anxiety (Gardner, 1985a, p 147).

The two contexts of language acquisition are formal and informal. Formal acquisition contexts take place in any context where language training, explanations of the language or language drills take place, like a school (Gardner, 1985a, p 148). In situations where acquisition is incidental instead of instructed, the context is referred to as an informal acquisition context (Gardner, 1985a, p 148). A learner either choses to or not to engage in informal acquisition contexts and the extent in which they choose to engage is assumed to influenced on a large part by their motivational levels to do so and/or their degree of anxiety, making motivation and anxiety play primary roles in language acquisition while intelligence and aptitude play secondary roles (Gardner, 1985a, p 148).

Differences occur from the learner's experiences with the formal/informal contexts which result in two different outcomes: linguistic and non-linguistic. Linguistic outcomes involve vocabulary knowledge, grammar, pronunciation, fluency, etc. where non-linguistic outcomes involve attitudes, values, and so on that result from said experiences (Gardner, 1985a, p 149).

The attitudinal aspects of integrativeness and attitudes toward the learning situation, which are also considered to be the foundations or cause of a learner's motivation to learn another language, and motivation form Gardner's concept of integrative motive (Gardner, 1985a, p. 153).

In conclusion, Gardner (1985a) states that "the model was presented as a dynamic causal interplay of individual difference variables interacting with environmental and acquisition contexts resulting in both linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes" (p. 165). The model underwent several modifications, showing its complexity and dynamic makeup. Gardner asserted that linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes could show language achievement. In addition, Gardner asserted that such outcomes "had an influence on the subsequent attitudes and motivation" of the learner (Gardner, 2001, p. 4).

Attitude/motivation test battery.

According to Gardner (1985b), he originally formulated the concepts and items for the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) in work that he did for his dissertation in the late 1950s and in work that he carried out with Lambert in Canada in the early 1970s with English-speaking Canadians who were learning French in elementary and secondary school. As Gardner points out, second language programs have both linguistic and non-linguistic goals. There are many tests to administer to students to find out if they have developed linguistic competence across the four skill areas. Few tests have been developed to find out if students have reached non-linguistic goals such as "improved understanding of the other community, desire to continue studying the language, an interest in learning other languages, etc." (Gardner, 1985b, Paragraph 1). Gardner developed the AMTB to fill the need to find out if students have reached non-linguistic goals.

The AMTB is composed of 19 subtests, organized in terms of three sets. The first set contains eight subtests (#1-#8) which each use a Likert scale with seven responses. These subtests include the following.

1. Attitudes toward French Canadians. This subtest indicates a student's attitudes toward French-speaking Canadians.
2. Interest in Foreign Languages. This subtest indicates a student's "general interest in studying foreign languages" (Gardner, 1985b, Paragraph 8).
3. Attitudes toward European French People. This subtest indicates a student's attitude toward European French people.
4. Attitudes toward Learning French. This subtest indicates a student's attitude toward learning French.
5. Integrative Orientation. This subtest indicates a student's endorsement of "the importance of learning French in order to permit social interaction with French Canadians or others who speak French" (Gardner, 1985b, Paragraph 8).
6. Instrumental Orientation. This subtest indicates a student's endorsement of the "pragmatic or utilitarian value of learning French" (Gardner, 1985b, Paragraph 8)
7. 7. French Class Anxiety. This subtest indicates a student's "degree of discomfort while participating in French class" (Gardner, 1985b, Paragraph 8).
8. Parental Encouragement. This subtest indicates how much a student feels that his/her parents support him/her in their study of French.

The second set of subtests contains three subtests (#9-#11). The first two subtests, Motivational Intensity and Desire to Learn French, have multiple-choice items with three choices. The third subtest, the Orientation Index[iii], has one multiple-choice item with four choices.

These subtests include the following.

9. Motivational Intensity. This subtest measures the degree of effort that a student spends in acquiring French.
10. Desire to Learn French. This subtest measures the degree of desire a student has to learn French.
11. Orientation Index. This subtest identifies the student's orientation, either integrative or instrumental, for learning French.

The third set of subtests contains eight subtests (#12-#19), which are assessed using semantic differential scales. Subtests #12 - #15 involve the concept My French Teacher; subtests #16 - #19 involve the concept My French Course. Both concepts are rated on 25 different semantic differential scales. Subtest #12 (10 scales) assesses a student's evaluation of his/her French teacher. Subtest #13 (five scales) measures teacher-student rapport. Subtest #14 (five scales) measures a student's perception of the competence of his/her teacher. Subtest #15 (five scales) measures how much a student feels that the teacher inspires him/her to learn French. Subtest #16 (10 scales) assesses a student's evaluation of the French course. Scale #17 (five scales) measures a student's perception of the difficulty of the French course. Scale #18 (five scales) measures a student's perception of the utility of the French course. Scale #19 (five scales) measures the interest that a student has in the French course.

Gardner used 10 of the 19 subtests to create four composite indices: Integrativeness, Motivation, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, and Attitude/Motivation Index (AMI). Integrativeness comprises the sum of scores on subtests #1, #2, #3, and #5 and is "intended to assess attitudinal reactions applicable to the learning of a second language which involves the other language community or other groups in general" (Gardner, 1985b, Paragraph 9). Motivation comprises the sum of scores on subtests #9, #10, and #11 and indexes a student's

motivation to learn French. It "incorporates the three-part conception of motivation consisting of the effort expended in learning French, the desire to learn French, and affective reactions toward learning French" (Gardner, 1985b, Paragraph 9). Attitudes toward the Learning Situation is the sum of scores on subtests #12 and #16. It indexes a student's reaction to the language learning context. The Attitude/Motivation Index comprises the scores from the three preceding indices plus the score on subtest #7, French Class Anxiety, and the score on subtest #6, Instrumental Orientation. According to Gardner, this composite score produces one number; this number reflects the major attitudinal/motivational characteristics that are associated with proficiency in a second language.

As Gardner points out, the AMTB was validated and standardized on samples of Anglophone Canadian students in grades 7 to 11. The samples came from seven regions across Canada with approximately 1000 students at each grade level. Gardner (1985b) describes the AMTB as "a research instrument which has been developed to assess the major affective components shown to be involved in second language learning" (Paragraph 13). The major applications of the AMTB have involved second language learning in instructional settings, for example, the relation of attitudes and motivation to classroom behavior, not natural acquisition contexts, Gardner, however, asserts that "it provides a reliable and valid index…of the various attitudinal/motivational characteristics which researchers may wish to investigate in many different contexts" (Paragraph 11), which may point toward its use in natural acquisition contexts.

Individual Differences

The influences of second language acquisition outcomes have been research and debated throughout the years. Much of the research focuses on individual differences, such as

personality, anxiety, attitude, motivation, and desire. Individual differences have been found to be factors influencing learners differently and to different extents. Without understanding these individual differences and how they influence not only language learning but one another, no conclusion can be drawn from the study on which this thesis is based.

There are many differences between how fast and how well and the means by which people learn additional languages (Ortega, 2013, p. 145). These differences are referred to as individual differences. Ortega (2013) states that many of the theories and methods used to investigate these individual differences in SLA are based on neighboring fields of cognitive studies like those found in social and cross-cultural psychology (p. 145). She states that this field is guided by the following question: Is there something in learners' cognitive abilities, their motivations, and their personal predispositions that could help explain such a wide variation? According to Ortega (2013), even though other sources of variability exist, such as temperament, emotions and preferences, the best-researched sources focus on the individual differences found in the mostly cognitive construct, aptitude, and the conative construct, motivation.

Ortega (2013) explains cognition as the study of "how information is processed and learned by the human mind" (p. 146). She describes conation as "how humans use will and freedom to make choices that result in new behaviors" (2013, p. 146). Affect, she explains, "encompasses issues of temperament, emotions, and how humans feel toward information, people, objects, actions and thoughts" (Ortega, 2013, p. 146). She finds it important to point out that contemporary psychologists acknowledge that cognitive, conative, and affective explanations must be explored in a symbiotic fashion to gain a full understanding of learners' individual differences.

According to Dornyei (2006), individual differences "refer to dimensions of enduring

personal characteristics that are assumed to apply to everybody and on which people differ by degree" (p. 42). Dornyei's work on individual differences refers to the second language classroom, the instructed second language learning setting. He focuses on the five individual differences that he considers to be the most important: personality, aptitude, motivation, learning styles, and learning strategies. Finally, Ellis (2008) covers a wider variety of individual differences than either Ortega or Dornyei, including those of intelligence, working memory, language aptitude, learning styles, personality, motivation, anxiety, willingness to communicate, learners' beliefs, and learning strategies. There are three individual differences that are within the scope of this thesis: personality, anxiety, and motivation.

Personality: extraversion and introversion.

Personality factors have long been considered in SLA as possible predictors of language learning success. According to Ehrman (2008), personality can be defined as "those aspects of an individual's behaviour, attitudes, beliefs, thought, actions, and feelings which are seen as typical and distinctive of that person and recognized as such by that person and others" (Richards, Platt, and Platt, 1998, p. 340 as cited in Ehrman, 2008, p. 61). The dimension of personality that has attracted the most attention from SLA researchers is extraversion-introversion (Ellis, 2008, p. 673). Reviewing research on extraversion and introversion will allow us to see how naturalistic learning of L2 Spanish in Puerto Rico may be influenced by the personalities of individual participants.

The personality characteristics of extraversion and introversion have been defined by many researchers. According to the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, which is based on the theory of personality types developed by Carl Jung, "extraverts tend to focus on the outer world of things and people, whereas introverts focus more on their inner worlds of internal experiences, including concepts and feeling" (Ehrman, 2008, p. 62). According to Gass (2008), an extravert

is “someone happier with people than with a book” while an introvert is “someone who is much happier with a book than with other people” (p. 261). For Ellis (2008), extraversion and introversion can be placed on a continuum, since individuals can be more or less extraverted (p. 673), but there are also idealized types, which are described by Eysenck and Chan (1982) in the following way, “extraverts are sociable, like parties, have many friends and need excitement; they are sensation-seekers and risk-takers, like practical jokes and are lively and active. Conversely introverts are quiet, prefer reading to meeting people, have few but close friends and usually avoid excitement” (as cited in Ellis, p. 673).

Researchers in second language acquisition have been interested in the relationship between extraversion and introversion and L2 learning. According to Ellis (2008), one hypothesis about the relationship between personality type and L2 learning is that extraverted learners will do better in acquiring basic interpersonal communication skills because “sociability (an essential feature of extraversion) will result in more opportunities to practice, more input, and more success in communicating in the L2” (p. 674). A second hypothesis is that introverted learners will do better at developing cognitive academic language ability because “introverted learners typically enjoy more academic success, perhaps because they spend more time reading and writing” (Ellis, 2008, p. 674).

Although there is some evidence that extraversion and openness to experience are related to communicative language use, overall, the research has not supported a clear relationship between personality and language learning (Ellis, 2008, p. 676). For example, Gardner (1985a) reports on a study conducted by Naiman, Fröhlick, and Stern which reported that “teachers viewed successful students as meticulous (perfectionist), mature, responsible, self-confident,

extrovert (bubbly, outgoing), independent, passive shy and introverted" (p. 25); thus, successful students were both extroverted and introverted.

In a more recent study, Ehrman (2008) used the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator with its four dichotomous scales: Extraversion-Introversion, Sensing-Intuition, Thinking-Feeling, and Judging-Perceiving to examine data from the Foreign Service Institute on native English speakers who had begun studying a language other than English as an adult and had achieved Level Four, or distinguished proficiency, in that language. Ehrman (2008) found that, contrary to much of the literature which indicates that extraverts are better language learners and contrary to pedagogical intuition, learners with introverted personalities tended to be the best language learners (p. 70). She found that the best language learners were intuitive and logical and precise thinkers who were able to exercise judgment. Despite her findings, she concludes that "it is clear from the fact that there are high-level language learners in a variety of personality categories that motivated individuals can become good language learners whatever their personalities" (p.70).

Anxiety.

Anxiety: types, sources, relationship between anxiety and language learning.

According to Ellis (2008), the affective aspect that has received the most attention in the field of second language acquisition is anxiety which can be viewed in terms of three types. Trait anxiety is an aspect of personality and can be viewed as "more permanent predisposition to be anxious" (p.691). State anxiety, which is a combination of trait and situation-specific anxiety, refers to apprehension that is experienced at a particular moment in time as a response to a definite situation (p. 691). Situation-specific anxiety is aroused by specific types of situations or events such as public speaking, examinations, or class participation. Language anxiety is a type of situation anxiety; it is independent of the other types of anxiety and "constitutes a

physiological and automatic response to external events and manifests itself in particular in a reluctance to communicate in the L2" (Ellis, 2008, p. 691). Researchers in second language acquisition have been interested in three areas involving anxiety: 1) the sources of language anxiety, 2) the nature of the relationship between language anxiety and language learning, and 3) how anxiety affects learning.

Researchers interested in the sources of language anxiety have observed that when anxiety relating to the use of the L2 arises, "it seems to be restricted mainly to speaking and listening, reflecting learners' apprehension of having to communicate spontaneously in the L2 (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986 as cited in Ellis, 2008, p. 692). Researchers such as Oxford have also observed that learners can experience anxiety as a result of fear or experience of "losing oneself" in the target culture, which is related to culture shock. Affective states associated with this source of anxiety are: emotional regression, panic, anger, self-pity, indecision, sadness, alienation, and reduced personality. Finally, language anxiety can also be related to the personality trait of perfectionism. In one study, anxious learners reported higher standards, a greater tendency to procrastinate and to worry about the opinions of others, and more concern about making errors than less anxious learners.

Researchers have identified three positions about the relationship between anxiety and language learning: 1) anxiety facilitates language learning, 2) anxiety has a negative impact on language learning and 3) language anxiety is a result of difficulties with learning rather than their cause. It has been observed that low levels of anxiety can lead to more effort, which points to a connection between anxiety and motivation. "Facilitative anxiety leads to increased motivation with concomitant benefits for learning" (Ellis, 2008, P. 694). In general, however, language anxiety has a negative effect on language learning. Ellis points out that a key issue is whether

anxiety is the cause of poor achievement or the result (p. 695) and observes that this issue is still a matter of considerable debate.

In order to examine the relationship between language anxiety and the process of learning, MacIntyre and Gardner (1991) proposed a developmental model. As explained by Ellis, according to this model, the relationship between anxiety and learning is moderated by the learners' stage of development and by situation-specific learning experiences. The model hypothesizes that learners initially experience little anxiety so there is no effect on learning at the beginner stage. In the post-beginner stage, situation anxiety develops if learners develop negative expectations based on bad learning experiences. The learner expects to be nervous and performs poorly. In the later stage, the poor performance and continued bad learning from the previous stage results in increased anxiety and the learner shows continued poor performance. Not all studies have supported this model, and it seems possible that in some learners, anxiety reduces as they develop.

Ellis (2008) considers anxiety to be an important factor in L2 acquisition. He cautions, however, that anxiety (its presence or absence) is "best seen not as a necessary condition of successful L2 learning but rather as a factor that contributes in differing degrees in different learners, depending on part on other individual difference factors such as their motivational orientation and personality" (p. 697).

Anxiety and Krashen's monitor model.

According to Saville-Troike (2006), from a linguistic perspective, one way that the goal for the study of second language acquisition (SLA) has been viewed is in terms of an internal focus on "accounting for speakers' internalized, underlying knowledge of grammar" (p. 190). One approach to SLA with an internal focus is Krashen's 1978 Monitor Model, which focuses on

learner's creative construction of language, "the subconscious creation of a mental grammar that allows speakers to interpret and produce utterances they have not heard before" (Saville-Troike, 2006, p. 187).

The Monitor Model includes five hypotheses about the acquisition of the second language (L2). The Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis makes a distinction between language acquisition, which is subconscious and accounts for how children acquire a first and second language, and learning, which is conscious learning such as the L2 learning that takes place in classroom contexts. Thus, "language acquisition is a subconscious process that results from active use of the language, whereas language learning is a conscious process of rule learning" (Gardner, 1985, p. 127). According to Gardner (1985a), Krashen proposed that language aptitude relates to conscious language learning; attitudes, (which to Krashen included attitudes, motivation, self-confidence, and anxiety), are primarily involved in subconscious language acquisition (p. 127). Dornyei and Clement (2001) proposed three types of attitudes. The first is attitudes toward the L2, the feelings one possesses about the target language itself. The second consists of "attitudes toward the L2 community that is, the extent to which students feel positively toward the particular countries and its citizens…and the international importance they attached to these communities" (Dornyei & Clement, 2001, p. 405). The third is attitudes toward L2 learning within the school environment (Dornyei & Clement, 2001). They found that attitudes not only contributed to learners' levels of motivation but also directly correlated with their levels of success.

The second hypothesis, the Monitor Hypothesis, asserts that what is learned is available only through a monitor, "a store of conscious knowledge about L2 that is a product of learning… and is available for the purposes of editing or making changes in what has already been

produced" (Saville-Troike, 2006 p. 191). The Natural Order Hypothesis asserts that the rules of a language are acquired in a predictable order. The Input Hypothesis asserts that language learning takes place because there is input that is understood, comprehensible input.

Finally, the Affective Filter Hypothesis involves the affective filter, which is "Krashen's notion of a mechanism that allows or restricts the processing of input" Saville-Troike, 2006 p. 185). When the affective filter is up, input is not processed as well, or is restricted from being processed either because the learning is taking place on a conscious level or because individuals are inhibited (p.185). According to Horwitz et al. (1985), anxiety also causes the affective filter to be up and to restrict the processing of input. As a result, the learner does not take in the target language messages that are available and language acquisition does not progress (p.127).

Foreign language classroom anxiety scale.

Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) conceive "foreign language anxiety as a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning experience" (p. 128). They break foreign language anxiety into three components: 1) communication apprehension, 2) fear of negative social evaluation, and 3) test anxiety. Communication apprehension involves interpersonal communication and is a "shyness characteristic" whereby the speaker is fearful or has anxiety toward communicating with people. Negative social evaluation involves the social impression that learners make on other people. It is defined as "apprehension about others' evaluations, avoidance of evaluative situations, and the expectation that others would evaluate oneself negatively" (p. 128). Test anxiety involves academic evaluation and is "a type of performance anxiety stemming from a fear of failure" (p. 127). Finally, the experience of anxious foreign language learners includes apprehension, worry, and dread; they have trouble

concentrating, become forgetful, and have physical symptoms such as trembling, sweating and heart palpitations. They show avoidance behavior by skipping class and postponing homework (Horwitz et al., 1986, p. 130).

To identify students who are "particularly anxious" in foreign language class, Horwitz et al. developed the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS). The FLCAS has 33 items to which students respond using a five-point Likert Scale ranging from 1-5: 1 (SD - strongly disagree), 2 (D – disagree), 3 (NA – to applicable), 4 (A – agree), 5 (SA – strongly agree). The FLCAS has demonstrated internal reliability and test-retest reliability. To distinguish foreign language anxiety from other types of anxieties, the authors have undertaken construct validation of foreign language anxiety. The 33 items on the FLCAS are reflective of the three components mentioned above.

Students who have communication apprehension tested high on anxiety on items which asked them to report about speaking and understanding all language input in the foreign language. Items that involved speaking involved those such as #9 "I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation in language class" and #27 "I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my language class." Items about understanding involved those such as #4 "It frightens me when I don't understand what the teacher is saying in the foreign language" and # 29 "I get nervous when I don't understand every word the language teacher says." According to Horwitz et al (1986), anxious students "feel a deep self-consciousness when asked to risk revealing themselves by speaking the foreign language in the presence of other people" (p. 129). They also believe that they must understand every word that is spoken in order to comprehend the target language message. By contrast, students who do not have comprehension apprehension

tested high on items such as #18 “I feel confident when I speak in foreign language class” and #11 “I don’t understand why some people get so upset over foreign language classes.”

Students who fear that they are less competent than other students and who fear that others will evaluate them negatively tested high on items such as #7 “I keep thinking that the other students are better at languages than I am” and #31 “I am afraid that the other students will laugh at me when I speak the foreign language.” According to Horwitz et al (1986), these students “may skip class, over-study, or seek refuge in the last row in an effort to avoid the humiliation or embarrassment of being called on to speak.” (p. 130). By contrast, students who are not afraid of being negatively evaluated by other students test high on items such as #28 “When I’m on my way to language class, I feel very sure and relaxed” and #22 “I don’t feel pressure to prepare very well for language class.”

Students who are afraid to make mistakes in the foreign language, feel constantly tested, and perceive every correction as a failure tested high on items such as #19 “I am afraid that my language teacher is ready to correct every mistake I make” and #9 “I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation in language class.” By contrast, students who are not apprehensive about academic evaluation test high on items such as #8 “I am usually at ease during tests in my language class” and #22 “I don’t feel pressure to prepare very well for language class.”

To show that anxious students can feel “uniquely unable to deal with the task of language learning,” (p. 130), Horwitz et al. (1986) included the following two items on the FLCAS: #26 “I feel more tense and nervous in my language class than in my other classes” and #30 “I feel overwhelmed by the number of rules you have to learn to speak a foreign language.”

Students who score high on these two items "support the view that foreign language anxiety is a distinct set of beliefs, perceptions, and feelings in response to foreign language learning in the classroom and not merely a composite of other anxieties" (p. 130).

General classroom anxiety and skill-specific writing anxiety in second language learning.

Most research has pointed to the relationship between anxiety and speaking and listening in a second language. The FLCAS discussed above is one example of how most research has examined anxiety of speaking and listening in second language studies. However, studies involving writing apprehension in a first language and personality have justified viewing writing apprehension as a distinct form of anxiety (Cheng, Horwitz, & Schallert, 1999, p. 418). Many of the studies of writing apprehension were carried out in the United States (US) on L1 English speakers. Similarly, the majority of second language writing apprehension research, though little exists, has also been completed in the US.

Cheng et al. (1999) contribute to the research on writing apprehension, which they also refer to as writing anxiety, through conducting a study to explore anxiety in second language writing outside the US in Taiwan. The participants were 433 English majors who were taking English speaking and English writing courses concurrently. Cheng et al. chose English majors because "achievement and emotional experiences in English speaking and writing were the chief concerns of this study" (p. 422). The majority of the participants were women and included participants from the university levels of freshmen, sophomore, and senior. They were between the ages of 17 and 30.

To carry out their study, Cheng et al. used modified versions of the FLCAS and the Daly-Miller Writing and Apprehension Test (SLWAT), an instrument commonly used to measure

writing apprehension in the participant's L1. The FLCAS was used to explore speaking anxiety in the second language classroom while the SLWAT was used to explore writing anxiety, or apprehension, in the second language. Both instruments were translated into Chinese. The results showed that speaking anxiety in the second language classroom is a general anxiety while second language writing is a skill-specific anxiety and that each type of anxiety may affect people in different ways. What this means is that exploring the relationship between anxiety and second language acquisition is more complicated than we might think.

Motivation.

Integrative and instrumental orientation, integrative motive, and Integrativeness.

Ushioda (2008) defines motivation in a general way as "what moves a person to make certain choices, to engage in action, and to persist in action" (p. 19). According to Gardner (1985a), motivation involves a goal, effortful behavior, a desire to attain the goal, and favorable attitudes toward the activity at hand. The goal serves as a stimulus, and it gives rise to motivation. Individual differences in motivation are reflected in the effort used to achieve the goal (effort), the desire to achieve the goal (want), and attitudes toward the activity involved in achieving the goal (Gardner, 1985a, p. 51) (affect). With specific reference to second language learning, Gardner (1985a) defines motivation to learn a second language as the "combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favorable attitudes toward learning the language" (p.10). As Gardner points out, effort by itself does not signal motivation. A motivated individual could make an effort toward the goal, but the individual making an effort is not necessarily motivated. In a similar way, "the desire to learn the language, or favorable attitudes toward learning the language, do not reflect motivation in and of themselves" (p. 11). An individual may want to learn a language and may enjoy the activity of doing so, but if the

individual does not make an effort, this is not motivation. “When the desire to achieve the goal and favourable attitudes toward the goal are linked with the effort or the drive, then we have a motivated organism” (Gardner, 1985a, p. 11).

For second language acquisition, motivation is goal directed, and the goal is to learn the language. The answer to the question of why individuals have this goal is called orientation, which is a concept that is distinct from motivation. Gardner proposes that orientation refers to a class of reasons for learning a second language while motivation refers to a complex of three characteristics, attitudes toward learning the language, desire to learn the language, and motivational intensity, which may or may not be related to any particular orientation.

Gardner proposes two orientations, both of which have roots in work he carried out with Lambert within a social-psychological framework in 1974. The instrumental orientation emphasizes “the practical values and advantages of learning a new language (Lambert, 1974, p. 98 as cited in Gardner, 1985a, p. 133). Practical advantages could include job advancement or course credit. The integrative orientation reflects “a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other group” (Lambert, 1974, p. 98 as cited in Gardner, 1985a, p. 133). As the integrative orientation stresses an emotional involvement with the second language community while the instrumental orientation does not (Gardner, 1985a, p. 134), the integrative orientation “refers to that class of reasons that suggest that the individual is learning a second language in order to learn about, interact with, or become closer to the second language community” (p. 54). In identifying with the members of another ethno-linguistic group, the second language learner may take on its style of speech and language. Thus, the integrative orientation points to a language learner’s personal interest in forming a closer liaison with the second language community and culture.

According to Gardner, there is a clear distinction between orientation and motivation because even though individuals with integrative orientation may tend to be more highly motivated than individuals with other orientations, this is not always the case. Some individuals may have an integrative orientation but not be strongly motivated to learn the second language or vice versa (p. 54).

Different from the integrative orientation, the integrative motive includes both orientation and motivation (i.e. attitudes toward learning the language plus desire plus motivational intensity) and other attitude variables involving the other language community, out groups in general, and the language learning context (Gardner, 1985a, p. 54).

In addition to integrative orientation and integrative motive, Gardner (1985a) introduces a third concept, integrativeness. Integrativeness, similar to motivation and attitudes, can be understood with reference to the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) which accompanies Gardner's 1985 Socio-Educational Model. Integrativeness, motivation, and attitudes form three composite indices based on scores on the AMTB. Integrativeness is the sum of scores on three scales: attitudes toward French Canadians, ratings of an integrative orientation and interest in foreign languages. It reflects attitudinal reactions toward the cultural aspects of language learning. Motivation is the sum of scores on three scales: motivational intensity, desire to learn French, and attitudes toward learning French. "It summarizes the properties (effort, want and affective reactions) involved in the motivation to learn another language" (Gardner, 1985a, p. 93). Attitudes toward the learning situation is the sum of evaluations of the French teacher and the French course and refers to evaluative reactions toward the learning environment.

Extrinsic and intrinsic motivation.

Noels, Pelletier, Clement, and Vallerand (2000) proposed two types of motivation deriving from cognitive theories of motivation in education and in language learning. For example, Deci and Flaste (1996, p. 10 as cited in Ushioda, 2008, p. 21) argue that for language learning it is important for learners to have their own motivation "from within." Motivation from within is intrinsic motivation and involves "doing something as an end in itself, for its own self-sustaining pleasurable rewards of enjoyment, interest, challenge, or skill and knowledge development" (Ushioda, 2008, p. 21). Noels et al. (2000) reported that intrinsic motivation contributes strongly to L2 learning and distinguished three types of intrinsic motivation. Knowledge motivation derives from exploring new ideas and knowledge. Accomplishment motivation derives from the pleasant sensations that are aroused by trying to achieve a task or goal. Stimulation motivation derives from the fun and excitement generated by actually performing a task.

In contrast with intrinsic motivation, Noels et al. (2000) defined extrinsically motivated actions as "those actions carried out to achieve some instrumental end' (p. 61). They distinguished three types of extrinsic motivation. Behavior that is motivated by sources that are external to the learner, such as tangible benefits and costs, is external regulation. Behavior that results from some kind of pressure that individuals have incorporated into the self is introjected regulation, and behavior that stems from personally relevant reasons is identified regulation. Finally, amotivation is the absence of any motivation to learn.

As Ushioda (2008) points out, even though both integrative motivation and intrinsic motivation have to do with "deep-rooted personal interests and positive attitudes and feelings" (p. 22), the integrative/instrumental distinction cannot be conflated with the intrinsic/extrinsic

distinction. According to Gardner (1985a), both integrative and instrumental orientations are forms of extrinsic motivation since for both orientations learning a language is viewed as a means to an end. With the integrative orientation, the learner is motivated to learn the second language for a social, integrative purpose. With the instrumental orientation, the learner is motivated to learn the second language for a pragmatic, utilitarian purpose.

Expansion of existing motivational orientations, regulations, and constructs in second language acquisition.

Noels et al. (2000) expanded the range of existing motivational constructs with a consideration of orientations in the L2 in hopes of broadening the types of constructs. They used Deci and Ryan's self determination theory, including the constructs of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, as the foundation of their study which had two goals. Their first goal was to test the validity and reliability of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in the learning of a second language. Their second goal was to examine the relationships between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation and the four orientations discussed by Clement and Kruidenier in the early 1980s.

Participants were English psychology students attending a bilingual French-English university. Only those prospective participants who were native English speakers using English most often as their language and who were learning French as a second language were included in the study. The study consisted of 159 students between the ages of 18-50. Seventy percent of the participants were women. The participants had been studying French as their second language anywhere from a few months to 34 years.

Noels et al. (2000) collected data through the use of questionnaire which was given to the students during a regular class period and without a deadline for handing it in. There were three sections on the questionnaire: a section of randomly ordered items from Clement and

Kruideneir's instrument representing the orientations of instrumental, knowledge, travel, and friendship; a section to assess amotivation, the three types of extrinsic motivation (external regulation, introjected regulation, and identified regulation), and three types of intrinsic motivation (knowledge motivation, mastery motivation (a.k.a. accomplishment motivation), and stimulation motivation); and a section that was used to measure psychological constructs which "have been shown to be differently related to intrinsic and extrinsic motivation" (p. 66).

In terms of factor analysis, Noels et al. (2000) found the internal consistency of each subscale to be acceptable. This was determined by using the Cronbach alpha index. The only motivation that was shown to be skewed was the amotivation which Noels et al assert to be consistent with the pattern due to the fact that the participants were "voluntarily attending a school where bilingualism is valued and where acquiring an L2 is a degree requirement" (p. 71).

Noels et al. (2000) explored the correlations between intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation orientations and four psychological constructs perceived competence, perceptions of freedom of choice, anxiety, and intention to continue L2 studies along with Clement and Kruidenier's orientations of instrumental, knowledge, travel, and friendship (p. 72). While motivation was positively correlated to anxiety, it was negatively correlated to the other three constructs. Both external and introjected regulations were found to have little or no correlation to the constructs. Identified regulation, on the other hand was found to have strong correlations to the constructs. Noels et al. assert that this data shows evidence of self-determination, a goal driven theory in motivation, being on a continuum in reference to extrinsic motivation variables (p. 72). They also found the "identified regulation scale was more highly correlated with the criterion variables than were the IM [intrinsic motivation] subscales" leading them to the

conclusion that there is a distinction between the more/less self-determined forms of motivation, again reflecting a self-determination continuum (p. 72).

Lastly, the look for correlations between Clement and Kruidenier's orientations to freedom of choice, perceived competence, intention to continue L2 study, and anxiety. Here, they found no correlations to exist except with that of the intention to continue L2 study, which was only a low significant correlation (Noels, et al., p. 75). Noels et al. assert that "this pattern is consistent with that pertaining to the external regulation" (p. 75).

Overall, When examining the intercorrelations between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation orientations, the results suggested that intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation regulations can be used to validly assess learner motivation. In a general sense, there were clear distinction made between the tested regulations. "Reflecting a self-determination continuum, the correlations between regulations suggest that one can distinguish between amotivation, less self-determined forms of motivations (external regulation and introjected regulation), and more self-determined forms of motivation (i.e., identified regulation and IM [intrinsic motivation])" (Noels et al., 2000, p.75). In addition, they assert that the "correlations between the motivation subtypes [regulations] and the hypothesized antecedents (perceptions of confidence and freedom of choice) and consequences generally attest to the usefulness of this motivation paradigm for the prediction of educational outcomes" (p. 76).

Self-regulation.

As Ushioda (2008) points out, in second language learning, once the initial enthusiasm and novelty of learning a new language begin to wear off, learners can show a steady decline in levels of motivation (p. 26). To sustain motivation, learners need to develop skills and strategies to keep themselves motivated and on track. In the literature, these skills and strategies have been

variably referred to as self-motivating strategies, affective learning strategies, efficacy management, effective motivational thinking, self-regulatory skills and motivational self regulation (Ushioda, 2008, p. 26).

Ellis (2008) defines self regulation as "the ability to monitor one's learning and make changes to the strategies that one employs" (p. 91). According to Dornyei (2005):
"The basic assumption underlying the notion of motivational self-regulation is that students who are able to maintain their motivation and keep themselves on-task in the face of competing demands and attractions should learn better than students who are less skilled at regulating their motivation" (as cited in Ellis, 2008, p. 91).

The L2 motivational self-system.

To develop the L2 Motivational Self System, Dornyei (2006) draws on Gardner's 2001 version of the Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition and two concepts within this model: 1) integrativeness and 2) integrative motivation. Integrativeness is the "desire to learn an L2 of a valued community so that one can communicate with members of the community and sometimes even become like them (Dornyei, 2006, p. 22). According to Gardner (2001) "integrativeness reflects a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer to the other language community. At one level, this implies an openness to and respect for other cultural groups and ways of life. In the extreme, this might involve complete identification with the community (and possibly even withdrawal from one's original group), but more commonly it might well involve integration within both communities" (p. 5). Integrative motivation involves three constituents: integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation, and motivation. Motivation, which includes effort, desire, and affect, is the "driving force" of

motivated behavior, which, within Gardner's framework, needs to be sparked by some specific learning goal, such as integrative orientation.

Dornyei (2006) reconceptualized integrativeness and L2 motivation as part of a learner's self system by building on concepts within psychological theories of self and a person's self-concept, particularly the concepts of possible selves and future self-guides. Possible selves represent individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming (Dornyei, 2006, p. 11). The concept of possible selves also concerns how people conceptualize their as-yet unrealized potential and draws on hopes, wishes, and fantasies. Thus, possible selves act as future self-guides and reflect "a dynamic forward pointing conception that can explain how someone is moved from the present toward the future" (Dornyei, 2006, p. 11).

In his reconceptualization of integrativeness, Dornyei (2006) proposes that the concept of integrativeness "may not so much be related to any actual, or metaphorical, integration into an L2 community as to some more basic identification process within the individual's self-concept (Dornyei and Csizer, 2002, p. 456 as cited in Doryei, 2006, p. 25). Within the L2 Motivational Self System, the concept of integrativeness, from the self perspective, "can be conceived of as the L2-specific facet of one's ideal self: if our ideal self is associated with the mastery of an L2, that is, if the person that we would like to become is proficient in the L2, we can be described in Gardner's (1985) terminology as having an integrative disposition" (p. 27). Thus, in the L2 Motivational Self System, integrativeness/integrative motivation is equated with the Ideal L2 Self.

The L2 Motivational Self System has three components: the Ideal L2 Self, the Ought-to L2 Self, and L2 Learning Experience, which seems to refer to the learning of the L2 in instructed settings. Dornyei (2006) defines these three components as follows:

1. *Ideal L2 Self*: "the L2-specific facet of one's 'ideal self': if the person we would like to become speaks an L2, the 'ideal L2 self' is a powerful motivator to learn the L2 because of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves. Traditional integrative and internalized instrumental motives would typically belong to this component" (p. 29).

2. *Ought-to L2 Self*: "concerns the attributes that one believes one ought to possess to meet expectations and to avoid possible negative outcomes. This dimension…corresponds to the more extrinsic…types of instrumental motives" (p. 29).

3. *L2 Learning Experience*: "concerns situated, 'executive' motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience (e.g. the impact of the teacher, the curriculum, the peer group, the experience of success)" (p. 29)

Dornyei (2006) argues that the L2 Motivational Self System - Ideal L2 Self, Ought-to L2 Self, and L2 Learning Experience - has parallels with other conceptualizations of L2 motivation. In Gardner (2001), motivated behavior is determined by integrativeness, instrumentality, and attitudes toward the learning situation, which correspond to the three components of the L2 Motivational Self System. Similarly, the three interrelated orientations in Noels' work, integrative reasons, extrinsic reasons for language learning, and intrinsic reasons inherent in the language learning process, parallel the three components of the L2 Motivational Self System, as do the three clusters of motivational dimensions proposed by Ushioda, integrative disposition, external pressures/incentives, and actual learning process. As Dornyei (2006) concludes, "a

number of different L2 motivation theories appear to converge in a common tripartite construct, which is fully compatible with the L2 Motivational Self System" (p. 31).

Motivational phases.

Williams and Burden (1997) made a distinction between three motivational phases: 1) reasons for doing something, 2) deciding to do something, and 3) sustaining the effort or persisting (as cited in Ellis, 2008, p. 688). According to Ellis (2008), one of the "major developments" in L2 learner motivation is the recognition that motivation has a dynamic, temporal aspect, and that motivation can change over the course of learning an L2, for example, over the course of learning events, such as a language lesson. To account for the dynamic,, temporal aspect of motivation, Dornyei (2001) proposed a process model of learning motivation for the L2 classroom. The model can account for how motivation changes over time and has three stages: the preactional stage, the actional stage, and the postactional stage. The preactional stage incorporates the construct of integrative motivation and involves the idea of orientation. The actional stage incorporates instrumental motivation and intrinsic motivation and "concerns the effort the learner is prepared to invest to achieve the overall goal" (Ellis, 2008, p. 688). The actional stage is influenced by the quality of the learning experience. The postactional stage incorporates attribution theory, the subjective reasons a person uses to explain past success and failure, and involves motivational retrospection. This is where the learner "evaluates the learning experience and progress to date and determines preparedness to continue" (Ellis, 2008, p. 688).

Investment, Identity-Subjectivity, and Language Learning as a Social Practice

Motivation and investment.

Norton researches second language learning from a social practice based perspective. In her research she concerns herself with three major constructs of language learning which she believes need to be restructured in order to gain a more sufficient understanding of language learning. These constructs are investment, identity, and language learning as a social practice.

Motivation and Investment.

Though Norton (2013) builds on Gardner and Lambert's concept of motivation by claiming that their concept does "not capture the complex relationship between power, identity and language learning" (2013, p. 9) thus, Norton developed a construct which she termed investment, to complement the existing constructs of motivation (location 231). Norton argues that investment, rather than motivation, is a concept that "signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (p. 10). Norton (2013) claims that when a learners invests in second language learning, they understands that their range of symbolic and material resources will widen (p. 10). In other words, they invest in the language with the expectation or hope of receiving something that will provide them access to resources that are otherwise unattainable (Norton, 2013, p. 10). What sets the constructs of investment and instrumental motivation apart is that investment: 1) perceives the language learner as being complex and views the learner as having multiple desires; 2) presupposes that language learners speak the target language to exchange information while also organizing and reorganizing their understanding of "who they are and how they relate to the social world"; 3) tries to capture the learner's relationship to the

changing social world (Norton, 1995, p. 17), allowing the learners to invest in their own social identities which changes continually "across time and space" (Norton, 2013, pp. 9-10).

Identity-subjectivity.

In addition to Norton's contribution of investment, she argues that identity also needs to be restructured. Norton (2013) views identity in reference "to how a person understand his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how that person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 121). Building on Weedon's theory of subjectivity, Norton formulates a concept of identity (subjectivity) that she claims will not only help in understanding the stories of her own participants, but which also "promises to be theoretically productive" (p. 121) in the theory of second language acquisition. She then provides three defining characteristics of subjectivity: "the multiple, nonunitary nature of the subject, subjectivity as a site of struggle and subjectivity as changing over time" (Norton, 2013, p. 121).

Subjectivity as non-unitary and contradictory.

While the humanist conception of the individual is that "every person has an essential, unique, fixed and coherent core," the poststructuralist belief of the individual is that he/she is "diverse, contradictory, dynamic and changing over historical time and social space," (p. 121). This makes subjectivity multiple and decentered instead of unitary and centered (p. 121). In other words, Norton is claiming that a person's identity is non-unitary and contradictory.

Subjectivity as a site of struggle.

When viewing identity as a site of struggle, Norton (2013) states:

> subjectivity is produced in a variety of social sites, all of which are structured by relations of power in which a person takes up different subject positions as teacher, child, feminist, manager, critic. The subject, in turn, is not conceived of

> as passive; he or she is conceived of as both subject of and subject to relations of power within a particular site, community and society: the subject has human agency. (p. 124)

Norton (2013) feels that viewing identity in this way can be used to explain how participants in her study "created and responded to opportunities to speak English" (p. 124).

Subjectivity as multiple, contradictory, and a site of struggle.

Norton states that the poststructuralist view of the individual "highlights the changing quality of a person's identity" (2013, p. 124). Norton (2013) uses her study participant, Eva, as an example of identity changing over time, stating that Eva first viewed herself as an immigrant who did not have the right to speak but later she changed the view of herself to a "multicultural citizen with the power to impose reception" (p. 124).

Language learning as a social practice.

Though the practice of language learning is often conceptualized as an abstract, internalized skill, Norton (2013) takes the position that it is a complex social practice. She argues that "language is not just a neutral form of communication, but a practice that is socially constructed in the hegemonic events, activities and processes that constitute daily life – the practices that are considered normal by the dominate society" (p.127). When a learner is unaware of the normal practices of the dominant society, there can be breakdowns in communication resulting in learners feeling as though they do not have the right to speak even when the chances for them to speak are handed to them. This latter part is highly dependent on what subject position the language learner chooses to accept. For example, if a learner decides he/she is in the subject position of imposter, his/her language use may be undermined by this

position, hindering his/her right to speak the L2 (p. 127). This can also lead the target language speakers to exclude the language learner from their conversations (Norton, 2013, p. 127).

Conclusion and Research Questions

As can be concluded from the review of the literature, the main body of research in second language acquisition has involved the second language learning of English by children in the instructed classroom setting. There has been little research on naturalistic second language acquisition in the context of the linguistic landscape in which acquisition occurs. The research that does exist on adult second language acquisition mainly focuses on the examination of linguistic or cognitive achievements to determine if the acquirer is successful in acquiring the language. In addition, though there is literature that provides evidence as to what an important role individual differences play in second language acquisition, many of the adult second language acquisition studies fail to examine the acquirers' individual differences. Furthermore, studies on the second language acquisition of adults, in most cases, fail to consider the acquirers' identities or their communities of practice, neglecting to consider the role these constructs play in second language acquisition. Additionally, those studies on adult second language acquisition that determine which learners are successful and which learners are not do not take into account the learners' perspectives on their success or lack there of. In general, there has been little research on the acquisition of L2 Spanish. To my knowledge, there has been no research conducted on the naturalistic second language acquisition of L2 Spanish on the part of L1 English users in Puerto Rico, or any other place in the world. This thesis aims to fill these research gaps. The research questions that guide this thesis follow.

1. How do L1 English speakers perceive the use of Spanish in the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico?

2. What role does motivation and desire play for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico?
3. What role does attitude and anxiety play for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico?
4. What role does communication patterns and cultural expression play for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico?
5. What are the profiles of self- reported "successful" and "unsuccessful" L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico?

Chapter III: Methodology

This thesis focused on individual differences in the naturalistic acquisition of L2 Spanish by adult L1 native English speakers. I considered each single individual who participated in the study to be a case, so this was a multi-case study. Each case illustrated 1) how each participant responded to the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Puerto Rico, 2) what motivational, attitudinal, anxiety, and identity factors contributed to the participant's acquisition of Spanish, and 3) whether or not the participant considered him/herself to be a successful or unsuccessful acquirer of Spanish. This chapter has three sections . Section 3.1 raises the methodological issues that frame the document. The second part focuses exclusively on the participants. It has four parts. The first discusses the way the participants were located. Section 3.2 discusses the data collection that I used to find out socio-demographic and language data about the participants. The third part focuses discusses how the data was analyzed. The fourth part discusses the results. Section 3.3 provides participant profiles from the data collected from the interview schedule of the Spanish as a Second Language Social Demography, Language, and Community (SSLQSDLC) Part 2 and from the interview schedule of the Spanish as a Second Language Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape (SSLQLLS).

Section 3.1: Methodological Issues that Frame the Thesis

While four case studies would provide enough data collection for individual examinations, conducting numerous case studies allows for generalizations to be made (Creswell, 1998). I wanted to collect enough data to allow me to draw generalizations. Thus, I examined eight individual cases. To collect data, I used both qualitative and quantitative methods. Using both methods gave me a profile of each individual and allowed me to compare

and contrast the individuals, as the qualitative data provided in-depth individual data and the quantitative data provided data for comparison and contrast.

Institutional review board approval.

This study was conducted under the guidelines of Institutional Review Board. This study was voluntary, confidential, and anonymous. I received my approval letter from the IRB on February 1, 2017. I began the data collection for this thesis on that date, and I ended the data collection in mid-March 2017.

Setting.

The data was collected on the Western and northeastern coastal towns of Puerto Rico.

Data collection.

The data for this thesis was collected with two different types of instruments: 1) two qualitative, semi-structured voice- recorded Interviews and 2) five quantitative written questionnaires. The instruments are listed below:

1. Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #1: Social-Demography, Language, and Community (SSLQSDLC);
2. Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #2: Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape (SSLQLLS);
3. Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #3: Motivation and Desire (SSLQMD);
4. Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #4: Attitude and Anxiety (SSLQAA);
5. Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #5: Communication Patterns (SSLQCP);
6. Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #6: Cultural Expressions and Practices (SSLQCEP).

Each participant completed the interviews first and then completed the written questionnaires in the following order: Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #3:

Motivation and Desire; Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #4: Attitude and Anxiety; Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #5: Communication Patterns; Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #6: Cultural Expressions and Practices. The voice recorded interviews were semi-structured to provide me with the flexibility of asking follow-up questions to gain a clearer or deeper understanding of what the participant meant if I needed more detail than they originally provided in the written questionnaires. It also allowed me to ask questions to gain additional information if the participant brought up data that I had not foreseen as being important to the study. In the next chapter, I explain in more detail the instruments I used in my research in terms of how they were created and what they measured. I also explain how I structured the questions and what the questions were and what the purpose of the questions was.

Section 3.2: Participants

Location of Participants.

In order to locate participants, I used a combination of two methods of sampling. The first type of sampling is known as purposive sampling (Creswell, 1998), also known as judgement sampling, as opposed to convenience sampling. In purposive sampling, researchers use their judgement to choose participants whom they believe will add to and enrich their study. This type of sampling is used when primary data subjects are limited, such as the contingencies of adult L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico. The second type of sampling is known as convenience sampling, also known as availability sampling. In convenience sampling, researchers use the first primary subjects that are available without further requirements, such as adding on a requirement of specific gender. I also convenience sampled as I took the first primary subjects that became available. Both purposive and convenience sampling provide a non-random sample.

There were a total of eight participants included in this study. All participants were connected to a university in Puerto Rico. Three of the participants were students and instructors of English at the university that I contacted. Four of them were referred to me by professors of English at the University. One participant was referred to me by another participant in this study. After receiving a referral, I contacted possible participants by phone and, when necessary, via email. I asked those who agreed to participate to dedicate a one-and-a-half to two-hour time slot for the initial questionnaire and interview and to agree to remain available for any additional data collection between the beginning of the study and its closing, an estimated six months. I conducted meetings in a mutually agreed upon location, usually my house or the participant's. At this meeting, I collected data for all five objectives. In general, each meeting took about one hour and a half.

A. Data collection for the Spanish as a second language questionnaire #1: social demography, language, and community (SSLQSDLC) (See Appendix A).

The Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #1: Social Demography, Language, and Community had two parts. Part 1 was a written questionnaire (questionnaire #1). Participants were asked to answer 15 socio-demographic questions in writing (#1-15) about gender, age, education, occupation, residential history, and the residential history of their mother and father. They were also asked to answer eight questions about language and the languages of their parents (#16-23). Finally, for the last question, question #24, they were asked to use a four-point scale to self-report their proficiency in both English and Spanish across the four skill areas of speaking, listening, writing, and reading. The points in the scale were 1= very proficient; 2= proficient; 3= proficient to some extent; and, 4= not at all proficient. The lower the number, the

higher the self-report of proficiency. The higher the number, the lower the self-report of proficiency.

Part 2 was a voice-recorded interview. The Interview Schedule for the voice-recorded interview included questions about language and language learning (Questions #1-4), motivation to speak Spanish (Questions #5-6), the distribution of Spanish and English on the island (Questions #7 and 8), Puerto Rican culture (Questions #9, 10, 11), the Spanish-speaking speech community and the participant's ability to engage in interactions in Spanish (Questions #13-21), personality factors that may influence a participant's use of Spanish (Questions #22-23), strategies that a participant might use to learn Spanish (Question #24), and successful and unsuccessful learners of Spanish (Questions #25-27). The last two questions (Questions #28-29) elicited a small language sample and asked the participants to use Spanish to give their names and to explain why they had moved to Puerto Rico.

B. Data analysis for the SSLQSDLC.

To analyze the data from Part 1 of the SSLQSDLC, I created two types of profiles based on how the participants answered questions #1-24 on the written questionnaire. One type was a profile of the eight participants as a group. The other type was a set of eight separate profiles of the eight individual participants. To analyze the data from Part 2 of the SSLQSDLC, I transcribed the voice-recorded interviews and used the data to build participant profiles.

C. Results for the SSLQSDLC.

To describe the sociodemographic characteristics of the participants, I analyzed questions #1-16 on the Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire # 1: Social Demography, Language and Community (note to self: where is the information from the voice recorded interview). In the

next section, I provide a socio-demographic description of the participants as a group. I then give participant profiles of the socio-demographic characteristics of each individual participant.

Table 3.1 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the eight participants as a group. The eight participants ranged in age from 24-63. There were five female participants and three male participants. Six participants were white people of European ancestry and two participants were African-American. All participants had a bachelor's degree. Most of the participants' parents came from the Midwestern, north eastern, and south eastern regions of the United States. One participant's parents were born and raised in California. The participants, themselves, were born and raised in the Midwestern and Eastern parts of the United States with two exceptions. One participant was born and raised in California and another was born in the east and raised in Cuba among other places. Three of the participants were students and university instructors. One participant was a university proposal analyst. Two of the participants were homemakers, and two of the participants were retired. The length of time the participants had lived in Puerto Rico ranged from five months to 13.5 years. In the next section, I give participant profiles of the socio-demographic characteristics of each individual participant. The profiles are arranged from the youngest to the oldest participant.

John, was a 24-year-old African-American male. He was born in North Carolina, where he lived for most of his life. His mother and father were also born and raised in North Carolina. He held a bachelor's degree in Political Science. At the time of the study, he had lived in Puerto Rico for two years. He was a student who was an instructor of English at a university in Puerto Rico.

Michael, was a 24-year-old white male of European ancestry. He was born in Maryland, where he lived for most of his life. His mother was born and raised in Pennsylvania while his

father was born and raised in Washington D.C. He held a bachelor's degree in Literature and History. At the time of the study, he had been living in Puerto Rico for five months. He was a student who was an instructor of English at a university in Puerto Rico.

Roz, was a 25-year-old African-American female. She was born in Indiana, where she lived for most of her life. Her mother and father were both born and raised in Indiana. She held a bachelor's degree in English Education. At the time of the study, she had lived in Puerto Rico for two years. She was a student who was an instructor of English at a university in Puerto Rico.

Lola, was a 37-year-old white female of European ancestry. She was born in Wisconsin, where she lived for most of her life. Her mother was born in New York, and her father was born in Wisconsin. Both of her parents were raised in Wisconsin. She held a bachelor's degree in Theater. She had previously lived in England. At the time of study, she had lived in Puerto Rico for two and a half years with her spouse and children. She was a homemaker who assisted her spouse at home with his business.

Annette, was a 45-year-old white female of European ancestry. She was born in North Carolina, where both her mother and father were also born and raised. She reported that she had lived in other places, such as Maryland and Norway. At the time of the study, she had lived in Puerto Rico for thirteen and a half years with her Puerto Rican spouse and children. She was a university proposal analyst.

Dana, was a 50-year-old white female of European ancestry. She was born in California, where she lived for most of her life. Her mother was born in Illinois, and her father was born in California. Both of her parents were raised in California. She held a bachelor's degree in History. At the time of the study, she had lived with her spouse in Puerto Rico for two and a half years. In

the United States, she had worked in real estate and hoped to pursue this in Puerto Rico. In Puerto Rico, she was a homemaker.

Rachel, was a 60-year-old white female of European ancestry. She was both in Tennessee, and had lived in Cuba from ages one to six. She had lived in Virginia for most of her life. Her mother and father were both born and raised in Ohio. At the time of the study, she had been living with her spouse, Paul, another participant in this study, in Puerto Rico for one and a half years. She reported that she was All but Dissertation in Social Work. She was retired from working in the area of social work.

Paul, was a 63-year-old white male of European ancestry. He was born in Missouri, but he had lived in Virginia for most of his life. His mother and his father were both born and raised in Missouri. He held an associate's degree in Business. At the time of the study, he had lived with his spouse, Rachel, another participant in this study, in Puerto Rico for one and a half years. He was retired from working in sales.

Table 3.1.

Socio-Demographic Characteristic of Participants (SSLQSD).

Information	John	Michael	Roz	Lola	Annette	Dana	Rachel	Paul
Age	24	24	25	37	45	50	60	63
Gender	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female	Male
Ethnicity	African American	White Person of European Ancestry	African American	White Person of European Ancestry	White Person of European Ancestry	White Person of European Ancestry	White Person of European Ancestry	White Person of European Ancestry
Highest earned Degree	B.A	B.A.	B.A.	B.A.	B.A.	B.A.	A.B.D.	Associates
Mother								
Born	North Carolina	Pennsylvania	Indiana	New York	North Carolina	Illinois	Ohio	Missouri
Raised	North Carolina	Pennsylvania	Indiana	Wisconsin	North Carolina	California	Ohio	Missouri
Father								
Born	North Carolina	Washington D.C.	Indiana	Wisconsin	North Carolina	California	Ohio	Missouri
Raised	North Carolina	Washington D.C.	Indiana	Wisconsin and other places	North Carolina	California	Ohio	Missouri
Participant								
Born	North Carolina	Maryland	Indiana	Wisconsin	North Carolina	California	Tennessee	Missouri
Raised	North Carolina	Maryland	Indiana	Wisconsin	Maryland and other places	California	Cuba (5 yrs.) Virginia	Virginia
Occupation	Student, University Instructor	Student, University Instructor	Student, University Instructor	Homemaker	University Proposal Analyst	Homemaker	Retired	Retired
Length of Time in Puerto Rico at Time of Study	2 years	5 months	2 years	2.5 years	13.5 years	2.5 years	1.5 years	1.5 years

To describe the language characteristics of the participants, I analyzed questions #17-25 on the Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire # 1: Social Demography, Language, and Community.

Table 3.2 shows the language characteristics of the eight participants as a group. As shown on the table, all participants reported that English was their first language and the first language of both of their parents. All participants reported that English was the language spoken in their homes while they were growing up. It was also the language spoken in their homes in

Puerto Rico. Participant number 4, Lola, reported that, in Puerto Rico, she also used some Spanish in addition to English.

Four of the participants (Roz #3, Dana #6, Rachel #7, and Paul #8) reported that they were monolingual in English. They also reported that they were not bilingual in English and Spanish, and that they could not carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish. For these four participants, the report that they were monolingual seems consistent with the report that they were not bilingual and could not carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish.

Four of the participants (John #1, Michael #2, Lola #4, and Annette #5) reported that they were not monolingual in English. Two of these participants (John #1 and Annette #5) reported that they were bilingual in English and Spanish and that they could carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish. For these two participants, the report that they were not monolingual seems consistent with the report that they were bilingual and could carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish. However, the other two participants (Michael #2 and Lola #3) reported that they could carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish, but that they were not bilingual in English and Spanish. For these two participants, the report that they were not monolingual or bilingual seems inconsistent with the report that they could carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish. This may raise the question of how these two participants interpreted the word "bilingual."

In the self-report of their proficiency in English and Spanish in the four skill areas of speaking, listening, writing, and reading, all eight participants reported that they were "very proficient" in English across all four skill areas.

As mentioned, there were four participants that reported they were monolingual in English. Three of them (Roz #3, Dana #5, and Paul #8) also reported that they were not at all proficient in Spanish in any of the four skill areas. For these three participants, their self-report of monolingualism in English seems consistent with their self-report of lack of proficiency across all four skill areas in Spanish. One of them (Rachel #7) reported that she was proficient in listening to, writing, and reading Spanish and that she was proficient to some extent in speaking Spanish. For this participant, the self-report of monolingualism in English seems inconsistent with the self-report of proficiency in three of the four skill areas in Spanish. This may raise the question of how this participant interpreted the relationship of proficiency across the four skill areas to either monolingualism or bilingualism.

There were two participants (Michael #2 and Lola #4) who reported both that they were not monolingual in English and that they were not bilingual in both English and Spanish either. In other words, they were neither monolingual nor bilingual. One of them, Michael, reported that he was proficient in Spanish across all four skill areas. The other, Lola, reported that she was proficient in the skill area of reading but only proficient to some extent in speaking, listening to, and writing Spanish. For these two participants, the self-report of neither monolingualism in English nor bilingualism in both English and Spanish seems inconsistent with the self-report of proficiency across some of the skill areas in Spanish. Again, this may raise the question of how these participants interpreted the relationship of proficiency across the four skill areas to either monolingualism or bilingualism.

Finally, there were two participants (John and Annette) who reported they were not monolingual in English but that they were bilingual in English and Spanish. One of them, John, reported that he was proficient across all four skill areas in Spanish. The other, Annette, reported

that she was very proficient in the skill area of listening, proficient in the skill areas of speaking and reading, and only proficient to some extent in the skill area of writing. Four these two participants, the self-report of bilingualism seems consistent with the self-report of proficiency across some of the skill areas in Spanish. However, John self-reported that he was proficient across all four skill areas, and, for him, this indicated that he was bilingual while Michael also self-reported that he was proficient across all four skill areas, and, for him, this indicated that he was not bilingual. This again may raise the question of how these participants interpreted the relationship of proficiency across the four skill areas to either monolingualism or bilingualism.

To conclude, only one participant, Anette, reported that she was very proficient in English and she gave this report for only one skill area, listening. Thus, only one participant in one skill area self-reported that her proficiency in Spanish was similar to her proficiency in English. Overall. none of the participants in the group self-reported that their proficiency in Spanish was similar to their proficiency in English. For the eight participants together, the average score for reading was 2.62. The average score for listening was 2.75. The average score for both speaking and writing was 3.0. As a group, the eight participants reported higher proficiency in the passive skill areas of reading (2.62) and listening (2.75) and lower proficiency in the active skill areas of writing (3.0) and speaking (3.0). In other words, as a group, they reported that they were more proficient in reading and listening to Spanish than they were in writing and speaking in Spanish.

John, reported that he was not monolingual in English. He reported that he was a bilingual speaker of English and Spanish who was able to carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish. He self-reported that he was “very proficient” in the four skill areas of speaking, listening, writing, and reading English. He reported that he was “proficient” in all four

skill areas in Spanish. This seems consistent with his self-report of being bilingual and being able to carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish.

Michael, reported that he was not monolingual in English. He did not report himself as a bilingual speaker of English and Spanish even though he reported that he was able to carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish. He self-reported that he was "very proficient" in the four skill areas of speaking, listening, writing, and reading English. He self-reported that he was "proficient" in the four skill areas of speaking, listening, writing, and reading Spanish. This self-reporting seems inconsistent with his self-report of not being monolingual in English nor bilingual in English and Spanish.

Roz, reported that she was monolingual in English, thus, she was not bilingual in English and Spanish nor could she carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish. She self-reported that she was "very proficient" in the four skill areas of speaking, listening, writing, and reading English and self-reported that she was "not proficient" in all skill areas. This self-reporting seems consistent with her self-reporting of being monolingual in English, not being bilingual in English and Spanish, and not being able to carry on a conversation in both English and Spanish.

Lola, reported that she was not monolingual in English. She did not report herself as a bilingual speaker of English and Spanish even though she was able to carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish and that, as reported in the previous section, she used both English and Spanish in her home in Puerto Rico. She self-reported that she was "very proficient" in the four skill areas of speaking, listening, writing, and reading English. She self-reported that she was "proficient to an extent" in speaking, listening, and writing and "proficient" in reading. Reporting herself as not being bilingual while being able to carry on a conversation in

both English and Spanish and having at least an extent of proficiency in all four skill areas seems inconsistent with her report of not being bilingual. This raises the question of how Lola interpreted the relationship of proficiency across the four skill areas to either monolingualism or bilingualism. It is my opinion that Lola is under reporting her abilities in at least the skill area of speaking in Spanish.

Annette, reported that she was not monolingual in English. She reported that she was a bilingual speaker of English and Spanish who was able to carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish. She self-reported that she was "very proficient" in the four skill areas of speaking, listening, writing, and reading English. She self-reported that she was "proficient" in speaking, "very proficient" in listening, "proficient to an extent" in writing, and "not proficient at all" in reading in Spanish. This seems consistent with her self-report of being bilingual and being able to carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish.

Dana, reported that to be monolingual English, thus, she was not bilingual in English and Spanish nor could she carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish. She self-reported that she was "very proficient" in the four skill areas of speaking, listening, writing, and reading in English. She reported that he was "not proficient" in all four skill areas in Spanish. This self-reporting seems consistent with her self-reporting of being monolingual in English, not being bilingual in English and Spanish, and not being able to carry on a conversation in both English and Spanish.

Rachel, reported to be monolingual in English and reported that she was not bilingual nor could she carry on a casual conversation in English or Spanish. She self-reported that she was very proficient in all four skill areas of speaking, listening to, writing, and reading English. When reporting her proficiency in the four skill areas in Spanish, she self-reported that she was

proficient in the skill areas of listening, writing, and reading. When reporting her Spanish proficiency in the skill area of speaking, she self-reported that she was "proficient to some extent" in speaking and that she was "proficient" in writing, listening, and reading of Spanish. This self-reporting seems inconsistent with her self-reporting of being monolingual in English, not being bilingual in English and Spanish, and not being able to carry on a conversation in both English and Spanish.

Paul, reported to be monolingual in English, thus, he was not bilingual in English and Spanish nor could he carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish. He self-reported that he was "very proficient" in the four skill areas of speaking, listening, writing, and reading in English. He reported that he was "not proficient" in the three skill areas of speaking, listening, and writing Spanish but was "proficient to an extent" in reading Spanish. This self-reporting seems consistent with his self-reporting of being monolingual in English, not being bilingual in English and Spanish, and not being able to carry on a conversation in both English and Spanish.

Table 3.2

Language Characteristics of Participants (SSLQSD).

	John	Michael	Roz	Lola	Annette	Dana	Rachel	Paul
L1	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
L1 Mother	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
L1 Father	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
Language in Home Growing Up	English	English	English	English	English	English	English	English
Language in Home in Puerto Rico	English	English	English	English and Some Spanish	English	English	English	English
Monolingual in English	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bilingual in English/Spanish	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Casual Conversation in English and Spanish	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
English Proficiency								
Speaking	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Listening	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Writing	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Reading	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Spanish Proficiency								
Speaking	2	2	4	3	2	4	3	4
Listening	2	2	4	3	1	4	2	4
Writing	2	2	4	3	3	4	2	4
Reading	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	3
Proficiency Score	8/4=2.0	8/4=2.0	16/4=4	11/4=2.75	8/4=2.0	16/4=4	9/4=2.25	15/4=3.75

It is interesting that some participants are able to speak, comprehend, read, or write Spanish yet they do not consider themselves to be bilingual. Myers-Scotton (2006) states "bilingualism is the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation" (P. 44). Although the definition does not set specific proficiency limits, require comprehension limits of another speaker, or limit bilingualism to a specific dialect of the language being spoken, it does not include all people who speak two or more languages (p. 44). For example, Myers-Scotton (2006) states that only "being able to read a menu or place an order

at a restaurant" and "being able to read some Spanish" does not make you a bilingual when using the definition above (pp. 44-45). Using this definition, it would make sense then that participants may not report themselves as being bilingual in Spanish even when they have reported that they are "proficient to an extent," "proficient," or "very proficient" in any skill area of Spanish other than speaking. However, it is doubtful that participants are familiar with this definition of bilingualism which leads to the question of why participants would feel they are not bilingual when reporting to be "proficient to an extent." "proficient," or "very proficient" in any of the Spanish skill areas.

Section 3.3: Participant Profiles.

All of the profiles below were built using the participants' responses to the SSLQSDLC Part 2 and the SSLDLLS interview schedules. The participants perceptions of the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico are included in their profiles; linguistic landscapes and soundscapes are explained in detail in the beginning of Chapter IV.

John.

John reported to speak English and Spanish. He learned Spanish through instructed and natural language settings. The instructed settings he learned in were due to educational requirements and the naturalistic learning took place in Puerto Rico. When arriving in Puerto Rico, John felt motivated to learn Spanish stating "I going to be operating in a Spanish environment so it is important that I speak the language." After living in Puerto Rico for two years, John reported "I don't feel as motivated as I should…I guess the things I want to do is not really Spanish-centered as far as the future goes... but I do want to keep my Spanish."

John was aware of the languages spoken in Puerto Rico before moving there. He believed that he would be able to use English to communicate though he still felt it was important to speak Spanish.

John reported not knowing anything about the Puerto Rican culture before moving there but has learned a lot about the culture since his move. He described the Puerto Rican culture as vibrant and passionate. He reported that Puerto Ricans like to have a good time and they described them as being laid-back. He said their families are more important to Puerto Ricans than their work, and that being happy is more important than financial gain. John believed language and culture go hand-in-hand and that if someone is "trying to fit in with the people" they have to know something about the culture to do so.

John came to Puerto Rico because a friend of his had studied there and suggested he do the same. Once moving to Puerto Rico, he used both English and Spanish in order to find a place to live and to purchase a car. John ended up living in Mayaguez within walking distance to his college. He has moved two times and used Spanish and English to find his first place of residence and used only Spanish to find the second place. In his first residence, he had a roommate of which he and his roommate used English and Spanish to communicate. John did not have a roommate in his second residence. John reported speaking English at work.

John reported that there had been times when people would try to stop him from speaking Spanish to them because they felt his Spanish was not good enough or that he was struggling and so they encouraged him to speak to them in English. He reported that when this happened, he sometimes would continue to speak in Spanish unless he felt that his interlocutor was uncomfortable. On the occasions when this had happened, John said it made him feel bad even though he knew it was not anything personal.

John liked speaking English and Spanish. John sees his introversion and extroversion with language use as situational so he does not define himself as one. John stated that he knows people who moved to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish. When speaking about one girl in particular, he stated that she was taking Spanish classes in Puerto Rico, has a lot of Spanish speaking friends and that she loves to talk in Spanish. He believed all these things helped his friend to be successful in learning Spanish. In addition, John felt that his friend was successful because she liked the culture, traveled to different parts of the island, practiced the language, and spent a lot of her school time into learning Spanish. John said that he know someone who moved to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish who has not been successful at it. He felt this person was not successful because they were not as open, they were introverted, they did not go out as much, and they did not have many Puerto Rican friends. He described them as wanting to learn the language but not putting the effort into it. On the other hand, John saw himself as being successful at learning Spanish, but said that if he was in another Latin American, Spanish speaking country where he did not always see English, he would be much better at Spanish. He believed he was successful because he could converse in Spanish, read Spanish, write in Spanish, and get things he needed by speaking Spanish. He thought the things that made him successful were things that made him feel successful, like being able to get out of trouble by utilizing his Spanish and by being able to translate for people from English to Spanish or vice versa.

John's first impression of language use in Puerto Rico was that Spanish would be spoken more than English. When first moving to the island, John mostly shopped at companies that were Puerto Rican, especially when he did not have a car, because they were close in proximity to where he lived. He said that even though he had frequented American stores more than he did when he first got here, he still usually hangs around areas containing Spanish businesses. John

said that he probably felt more invited to stores that have more of an English linguistic landscape and soundscape like Walmart because those kind of places reminded him of home. If he overheard someone talking in English in a store, he reported to like it but would not jump in their conversation unless it was something that interested him.

For John, the linguistic landscape of diorama #1 had more English than Spanish; diorama #2 had more Spanish than English; and, diorama #3 had almost all Spanish. He said the soundscape for diorama #1 had more English than Spanish while the soundscape for diorama #3 had more Spanish than English. Had there been a soundscape provided for diorama #2, John said it would have had Spanish as well. John felt the reason for these differences in the linguistic landscape and soundscape had to do with who was in charge of running the businesses within each location. John believed that diorama #2 best represented the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Puerto Rico. John felt that the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Puerto Rico have hindered his motivation to learn Spanish because he feels like he can do what he wants to do without using Spanish and his learning of Spanish because so many of his friends and colleagues speak English.

Michael.

Michael reported to speak English and conversational French and Spanish. He was learning Spanish in the natural setting of Puerto Rico. When moving to Puerto Rico, he felt motivated to learn Spanish because of having an interest in living in Latin America and the Caribbean, for employment and communication opportunities, and because he finds it fun, enriching, and stimulating. After being in Puerto Rico for five months, he was less motivated. He felt this was due to the ending of a honeymoon phase and knowing how much further he had to go in learning the language which overwhelmed him and made him depressed. He also expressed

feeling " a little bit strange not being able to participate in this culture fully and being an alien – being an outsider."

Michael was aware of the languages spoken in Puerto Rico before moving there. He reported knowing that one could speak English in Puerto Rico and be able to get by.

Michael knew very little about the culture before moving to Puerto Rico. Since moving, he had learned that it is an oral culture in that it is expressive and loud. He had learned that bright clothing is part of the culture as well as the environment being very festive. He reported that the people have a sense of comradery and "touchy-feeliness," and that the culture is very patriotic, conservative, and Catholic, but at the same time "you see boobs everywhere and butts everywhere." He stated that there is pride in speaking English and wearing or participating in Americanized products, media, and military practices yet an Anti-American outlook at the same time. Michael believed learning the culture and language of Puerto Rico go hand-in hand.

Michael moved to Puerto Rico to experience colonization, learn Spanish, live somewhere warm, and because it did not require a visa. To accomplish this move, he used both English and Spanish.

Michael first lived over by San Juan where he taught at a private school. He later decided to return to college and moved to Mayaguez because it was close to his university. Michael lived alone. He spoke Spanish and English at work depending upon who he was communicating with.

Michael did not want to use the word discrimination to describe a negative language experience he had in Puerto Rico, but he did describe a time where he thought he was intentionally given the wrong directions by some Puerto Ricans on a bus when he asked for directions. He said he was not hurt by the situation but it made him feel "sort of a bit like a stranger and a bit of an outsider. It makes me acutely aware of my difference." When Michael

would try to complete a transaction in Spanish, the interlocuter would switch to English. However, Michael usually continued speaking Spanish. He reported that code-switching to English makes him feel like he had been caught and that a lot of emotions, positive and negative, are experienced all at the same time.

Michael would not describe himself as being introverted or extroverted, instead, he used the words shy and confident. He was a confident person in English but shy when even trying to start a conversation in Spanish. This concept seemed to bother him a lot because he was a confident person and wanted to talk to people but also knew that if he did, they will immediately recognize that he was not fluent in Spanish and that the conversation would switch to English. When Michael first arrived in Puerto Rico, he dedicated an hour a week, if not more, to learning Spanish by looking up things and taking notes. He also said he learned from repetition, spelling things out, asking the meaning of something he does not understand during a conversation, and through usage. Michael knew some Mormons who have moved to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish and have been successful. They had been in Puerto Rico for twelve months at the time of his encounter with them. He described them as not extremely fluent but fluent enough to where they did not have to ask for clarity or slow down the conversation. He had actually asked this group of Mormons how they became so successful of which they replied studying. Michael had a friend who moved to Puerto Rico thirty years ago who Michael does not consider being successful. His reason for this were unclear because he said his friend knew enough Spanish to get by but that he was not fluent, nor was he interested in being fluent. Michael considered himself to be successful in learning Spanish but felt he has a long way to go as he had not yet met his goal of being reasonably fluent. He felt he was successful because he was able to "communicate basically and crudely" and he could get what he wants and needs.

Michael was aware that English and Spanish would be spoken in Puerto Rico but was not expecting the large amount of code-switching between the two languages.

When first arriving in Puerto Rico, Michael said that he would frequent places that had both English and Spanish in the linguistic landscape and soundscape. He reported that these were still the places he chooses to be. He did not feel invited to a store based on the linguistic landscape or soundscape because he "doesn't feel welcome here at all." Michael reported that the linguistic landscape and soundscape motivated him to learn Spanish.

For Michael, the linguistic landscape of diorama #1 had more English than Spanish; diorama #2 had more Spanish than English; and, diorama #3 had almost all Spanish. Michael felt that diorama #1 represented American corporations while diorama #3 represented Puerto Rican culture. He said the soundscape for diorama #1 had a mixture of English and Spanish while the soundscape for diorama #3 had almost all Spanish. Had there been a soundscape for diorama #2, Michael said it would consist of a mixture of English and Spanish. Michael believed that diorama #3 best represented the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico. Michael reported that the linguistic landscape and soundscape motivated him to learn Spanish.

Roz.

Roz reported to speak English. She had taken one year of Spanish in an instructed language setting in tenth grade and was learning it in the natural language setting of Puerto Rico. When first moving to Puerto Rico, Roz felt motivated to learn Spanish. After living in Puerto Rico for two years, Roz still felt motivated to learn Spanish.

Roz was aware of the languages spoken in Puerto Rico before moving there. Roz planned on getting by with her use of English and reported still feeling that way after being on the island for a couple of years.

Roz did not know about the Puerto Rican culture before moving there, but some people informed her that she was "going to party central." Since moving to Puerto Rico, Roz had learned a lot about the culture. She had learned that people do not look the same, that there are more similarities between the Puerto Rican culture and the American culture that what is on the surface, Puerto Ricans trust you and genuinely want to befriend you, there are Puerto Ricans with African roots and they hold on to them. Roz believed that someone could learn the Puerto Rican culture without learning the language but believed that someone could not learn the language without learning the culture.

Roz moved to Puerto Rico because she "saw an opportunity to grow, to become more cultured, and, of course, enjoy a better opportunity for education, for my professional career." To accomplish this move, Roz looked up places in on online Puerto Rican rental listing. After reading the rental ads in Spanish, she called places that interested her and talked to the owners in English, stating that she just approaches people in English and if they do not understand, she will just go ask someone else.

Roz ended up living in Mayaguez because it was close to her university. She also stated that she lived in a gated community because her mom did not want to have to worry about her safety. Roz had housemates but communicates with them and the landlord in English. She said that the landlord actually tells people when they moved in that "'she speaks English. She teaches English, and she's going to school for English.' So, they know there's probably no Spanish involved in that situation."

Roz reported feeling discriminated against for her language. However, Roz said when she is trying to complete a transaction, she always approached with Spanish and that once she starts talking, the locator often switch to English if they have the ability to. She was not offended when

people switch to English and felt that "when you can speak to me in English, we make this whole thing easier for you and me. So, like, let's do that if possible."

Roz reported:

> the extrovert characteristic is just who I am. So, no matter what situation I'm in, I pretty much stay the same. Even though I know some people prefer this language over another language, I don't really care. I do me, and whatever happens, happens. I use what I have, and I do what I can with what I have.

She likes speaking English and loves speaking Spanish. She claims she is extroverted in Spanish in that she's "going to show you want I've got. If it isn't what you want, well… I'm gonna show you what I got." Roz believes that two of her African-American friends are successful in speaking Spanish. She believed they are successful because of prior experiences with Spanish speakers and extra-curricular situations they take part in. She recalled a foreign exchange student who came to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish but had been unsuccessful at it. She believed the student was unsuccessful because they did not have enough input nor were they in Puerto Rico long enough to build on the input. She considered herself successful at learning Spanish for the amount of time she has been in Puerto Rico. She attributed her success to not being "afraid to talk and sit around people" and to her decision to "listen to the [Spanish] input provided by the radio."

Roz's first impressions of language use on the island was that Spanish was going to be used more than English. When first moving to Puerto Rico, Roz frequented stores that had a Spanish linguistic landscape and soundscape. She reported that after being in Puerto Rico for two years, she still frequented stores with this type of landscape and soundscape. When Roz first

came to Puerto Rico, she was inclined to join in a conversation if she overheard people talking English, however, that inclination has declined as time passed by.

For Roz, the linguistic landscape of diorama #1 had more English than Spanish; diorama #2 had more Spanish than English; and, diorama #3 had almost all Spanish. She said the soundscape for diorama #1 had almost all Spanish while the soundscape for diorama #3 had Spanish only. Had there been a soundscape provided for diorama #2, Roz said it would have had more Spanish than English. Roz believed the reasons for these differences were that diorama #1 was made up of "global businesses" and stated, "These national things that you find in the United States are in diorama number one and this area is heavily populated." She also believed that their geographical locations within the town created the differences as well as creating "cultural climate" for specific groups of people. Roz felt that diorama #3 best represented the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico. Roz believed that the linguistic landscape has motivated her to learn Spanish.

Lola.

Lola reported to speak English and to be working on speaking Spanish. She started learning Spanish in middle school. She was now learning Spanish naturalistically though she does have a Puerto Rican English Literature major, who she refers to as a tutor, coming to her house to answer any questions she has about the Spanish language. When first arriving in Puerto Rico, Lola felt motivated to learn Spanish because she did not want to waste the opportunity of living in Puerto Rico by not learning Spanish, she had a goal of being bilingual, she wanted to help her children integrate, she wanted to know her neighbors, and she wanted a support network. After being in Puerto Rico for two and a half years, Lola reported that she was still motivated to learn Spanish because she did not set an end goal.

Lola did not want to presumptuous by assuming Puerto Ricans speak English so she assumed that everyone spoke Spanish. Though Lola reports to have motivation to learn Spanish, she does state that it is not needed.

Lola did not know anything about the Puerto Rican culture before moving there. Since moving, she has learned about cultural dances, she has learned about the Tainos and pre-Taino culture, and has learned about Puerto Rican's views of independence. Lola believed that one could learn the Spanish language in Puerto Rico without learning the culture but, that if someone wanted to learn the culture, they would have to know some of the language.

Lola moved to Puerto Rico for a few different reasons: her husband has an online job so they could move anywhere, they liked the weather, they did not need visas, their kids could learns Spanish, and the children were young enough to move without disrupting their lives. When searching for a place to live, Lola had her father help her because he is bilingual and she knew little Spanish at the time, however, when looking to purchase a car, Lola reported that that was done solely in English.

Lola ended up living in Mayaguez because it was close to the school she wanted her kids to go to, it was not too large of a town, and there were a lot of Puerto Ricans, not gringos. Lola reported that she uses some Spanish with her husband, Spanish and English with her children, and speaks to her neighbors and friends in Spanish.

Lola did not believe she had been discriminated against because of her language. She was constantly struggling with her friends and acquaintances to speak Spanish with her and that she had now learned who was going to respect the fact that she wanted to talk Spanish and who was not.

Lola reported to be a self-taught extrovert. She attributed this to her study abroad experience and said this about living in Puerto Rico:

> My husband is introverted so I knew here I had to be extra, extra extroverted, which is exhausting. You know, I decided we are on a dead end road and I am going to be seeing all these neighbors; I don't want to be here a year and then meet all of them… I was going to force myself.

To help herself learn Spanish, Lola puts sticky-notes up around the house, she also kept journals, had a tutor, asked questions of what things mean during a conversation and then turned around and texted herself Spanish words that she learned when she was away from the house. Lola had a friend who moved to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish and has been successful. Though she thought her friends situation was different from hers because the friend was married to a Puerto Rican and speaks "a lot of Spanish at home." Besides this one friend that had been successful, Lola said that everyone else she knows that has come to the island to learn Spanish has not been successful because 1) there was no need to learn Spanish and 2) "it's a huge time commitment." Lola considered herself successful thus far but said that she had a long way to go. In addition, she said "in order to keep my sanity, I have to remember where I came from and congratulate myself for that. Otherwise, I'm just going to give up."

Lola's first impression of language use in Puerto Rico was that she would hear Spanish. When first arriving in Puerto Rico, Lola reported that she would frequent stores that were Puerto Rico with some visits to Walmart and Home Depot. After being in Puerto Rico for two and a half years, she reported to still surround herself in that type of linguistic landscape and soundscape. Lola did not feel more invited or comforted by one store than another based on the linguistic landscape and soundscape, but rather felt invited into a store based whether or not they had what

she needed. Lola reported that the linguistic landscape and soundscape had been a hindrance to her motivation to learn Spanish and stated: "[If] you don't have to learn it, you're not going to."

For Lola, the linguistic landscape for diorama #1 had more English than Spanish; diorama #2 had more Spanish than English; and, diorama #3 had almost all Spanish. Lola said the soundscape for diorama #1 had more Spanish than English but had about 40% English while the soundscape for diorama #3 had more almost all Spanish. Had a soundscape been provided for diorama #2, Lola said it would have had more Spanish than English. Though she knew diorama #1 was a newer area than diorama #3 and she felt that diorama #1 possibly had more shopping opportunities to offer, Lola was not sure why the differences between the three dioramas in language existed. When she first arrive to Puerto Rico, she was surprised by the amount of English she heard and how many people told her that they had lived in the states and that that is where they learned their English. Lola believed that diorama #2 best represented the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Mayaguez but pointed out that she was not sure what the linguistic landscape and soundscape are like for Puerto Rico as a whole because of the variations she had seen in them from one town to another. Lola reported that the linguistic landscape and soundscape had been a hindrance to her motivation to learn Spanish and stated: "[If] you don't have to learn it, you're not going to."

Annette.

Annette, who is married to a Puerto Rican, reported to speak English, Spanish, and, at one point, German. Annette was learning Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico though she did use Rosetta Stone for a short while and took an emersion course in Puerto Rico as well. When first moving to Puerto Rico, Annette was motivated to learn Spanish because her husband was Puerto Rican and he and his family spoke Spanish so she wanted to fit in and be integrated with

her family. She also reported that she felt it was her responsibility to learn the language of the country in which she was living. Annette reported that after living in Puerto Rico for thirteen and a half years, she still felt motivated to learn Spanish.

Annette was aware of what languages were spoken in Puerto Rico and knew about the culture before moving to Puerto Rico. She said that before her move, her and her husband had been together for a few years and he had told her about the Puerto Rican culture and history. After living in Puerto Rico, she learned a lot more about the Puerto Rican culture. Annette believed that culture and language go hand-in-hand in Puerto Rico, stating: "There's a lot of idioms, and a lot of it is contextual. One of the reasons I have a hard time speaking over the phone with Puerto Ricans is because they use their hands. They even point to things with their lips. You know, like there's a lot of body language involved in Puerto Rican Spanish."

Annette moved to Puerto Rico and found a place to live because her husband inherited some family property. They purchased their first car in Puerto Rico soon after moving there and her husband handled the purchase because she was not comfortable speaking Spanish.

Annette ended up living in the location she does because that is where her husband already had property. Annette said that ironically her husband never speaks Spanish at home or work with the exception of a phone call here or there or when he is talking with his mother. She reported that her kids do not speak Spanish with her either even though she tries to get them to. However, she does speak Spanish at work.

Annette reported that she had been discriminated against for her language. She described a time when she was teaching and a student, not knowing Annette spoke Spanish, started talking behind her back.

Annette described herself as getting "a little giddy" when she was back in the states and able to use English, however, she described herself as an introverted person in general, though there are situations in which she was extroverted. In regard to language, Annette described herself as being more extroverted in English than Spanish. To help herself learn Spanish, Annette used the words in context within a conversation or at home. She described a friend that had moved to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish that has been successful. Despite the fact that this friend had Spanish classes before moving to Puerto Rico, Annette thought the reason this friend was so successful was her confidence and that she is more extroverted. Annette knew some people who moved to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish that were not successful. She believed they were unsuccessful because "while they wanted to be fluent in Spanish, they were shy and let it get them down and didn't put themselves out there as much, maybe. Lack of confidence." Annette believed herself to be successful and thinks the things that have made her successful are having an open mind and practicing.

When first moving to Puerto Rico, Annette frequented stores in the Western Plaza. After living in Puerto Rico for thirteen-and-a-half years, she would go to stores with English or Spanish linguistic landscapes and soundscapes. She felt more invited to stores that have an English linguistic landscape and soundscape. She said that if she overheard someone talking in English, she would sometimes join in the conversation.

For Annette, the linguistic landscape of diorama #1 had more English than Spanish while diorama #2 and #3 had almost all English. She said the soundscape for diorama #1 had both English and Spanish while the soundscape for diorama #3 had Spanish only. Had a soundscape for diorama #2 existed, Annette believed it would have had more Spanish than English. Annette believed these differences likely existed because diorama #1 is made of "bigger chain stores and

branches of US companies" while the downtown area is "more private businesses…owned by Puerto Ricans and targeted to Puerto Ricans…" In addition, similar to other participants, Annette felt that the use of English in the linguistic landscape and soundscape was possibly due to tourism and comfort levels. Annette believed that diorama #3 best represented the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico. She reported that the linguistic landscape and soundscape have helped motivate her to learn Spanish.

Dana.

Dana reported to speak English, though she studied French for two-three years in high school. She later took two years of Spanish in college as part of her educational requirements and then enrolled in a four week emersion course in Chile when she was in her mid-forties – all of which were instructed settings. At the time of this study, she was learning Spanish in the natural language setting of Puerto Rico. When first moving to Puerto Rico, Dana felt "sort of" motivated to learn Spanish. She "really wanted to learn." After being on the island for two-and-a-half years, Dana said she was not as motivated to learn Spanish.

Dana knew what languages were spoken in Puerto Rico before moving there. She reported that if you can get by without Spanish, you will and that is why she thinks people in general were not successful at learning it.

Dana did not know a lot about the Puerto Rican culture before moving there. She reported knowing that it had a U.S. mixture in the culture, that everyone would be on island time, and that the service would probably not be what they were used to. After moving to Puerto Rico, she learned that the culture has very strong family values, everyone is related, that people live so close together, and that there are is such a large amount of people on the island, yet everyone knows everyone else. She mentions having a bit of culture shock at how long services take on the

island, how many people lived on the island, the driving practices on the island, and being on the other side of having to "Press one for English." Dana believed learning the culture and the language in Puerto Rico are intertwined.

Dana moved to the island due to a midlife crisis and tax incentives. She accomplished this move by using a realtor with whom she spoke with in English.

Dana ended up living in Dorado because it was quiet, had more space, was close to San Juan and the airport, and their house was on a golf course surrounded by nature. She talks English with her husband and neighbors. She has a housekeeper who does not speak any English. Her and Dana had attempted to communicate a little but Dana said it was sometimes easier to text the housekeep so she was able to use the online translator.

Dana recalled people switching to English when they talk to her, but she said she does not attach emotion to that because any time she asked them to continue speaking in Spanish so she could practice, they would.

Dana would not classify herself as either an extrovert or introvert. This is because she took a test that told her she was ambivert – having a personality that has a balance of extroverted and introverted characteristics. She said in English she be both introverted and extroverted. In regard to Spanish she felt she probably listened more than she spoke because she did not speak Spanish nor did she have the vocabulary or understanding. She said she does not do a lot to help herself learn Spanish. In the past, she did Rosetta Stone but her and her husband got frustrated with the software malfunctioning, so they stopped using it. She did not personally know of anyone who had moved to Puerto Rico and had been successful in learning the language. Dana did not like the word *unsuccessful* because "not everyone who came here had learning Spanish as a goal," but she did acknowledge knowing people who did not speak Spanish other than when it

is needed. She thought the reason they had not learned Spanish is because they had not put the effort into learning it: I think that ultimately is what it is. It's not putting the effort into it. If you don't have to, and you can get by without, you get by without it. Dana felt she had been unsuccessful at learning Spanish: "Learning the language, not a success. Total, not a success on all fronts, but it's on me." She blamed her unsuccessfulness on her lack of effort.

Dana's first impression of the use of language in Puerto Rico was that there was going to be a large amount of Spanish. She reported frequenting stores that had an English linguistic landscape and soundscape when she first moved to Puerto Rico, which were still the places she tended to shop. She felt more invited to stores If she overheard someone talking English, she reported not typically join in their conversation.

For Dana, the linguistic landscape of diorama #1 had more English than Spanish; diorama #2 had more Spanish than English; and, diorama #3 had almost all Spanish. She said the soundscape for diorama #1 had English and Spanish while the soundscape for diorama #3 had Spanish only. Had a soundscape for diorama #2 been provided, Dana said it would have had more Spanish than English. Dana felt that such differences existed between the dioramas because English speaking people are drawn to what makes them feel comfortable – what they are familiar with – and the plazas draw "people to live there and they're habitually for work. It doesn't draw the English-speaking crowd there." Dana believed that diorama #1 best represented the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico. Dana reported that the linguistic landscape and soundscape have helped motivate her to learn Spanish.

Rachel.

Rachel reported to speak English and some Spanish. She learned Spanish in both instructed and natural language settings. She first learned Spanish naturalistically in Cuba where

her family was stationed while her father was in the military. Later, she took Spanish as an educational requirement. Now, Rachel is learning Spanish in Puerto Rico for what she would describe as "brain exercise." When first moving to Puerto Rico, Rachel did not feel motivated to learn Spanish because she did know Spanish in terms of reading, writing, and being able to understand it. She reported that she "figured we would come here and I would learn. I would learn to speak it more comfortably than I had before….But, it wasn't a big motivation." She also reported that knowing the political and cultural issues of Puerto Rico "almost made me anti-Spanish speaking… if you want to be a state then you are going to have to speak English." She also stated, "I want to teach them English out of respect for the United States," a statement that is on the complete opposite spectrum as her husband who would like to learn Spanish out of respect for the Puerto Rican culture. Though she is trying to get out of her rebellious phase, she felt her motivation levels are the same.

Rachel was aware of the languages spoken in Puerto Rico before moving there and stated that she "knew 60% spoke English." She did not think that English was necessary for someone to learn in order to live in Puerto Rico.

Rachel reported that what she knew about the Puerto Rican culture before moving there was that it was similar to her perspective of other Spanish cultures. She reported that the Puerto Rican culture Is a "machismo culture, " meaning male dominated and she was aware of their pollical struggles and finding there place in the world: "a country that was not sure of its own identity." She reported that Puerto Rico had laws based on Spain, not other Latin countries. Since moving to Puerto Rico, Rachel reported that she learned the culture is more rigid than she first assumed in that "They take their position and it's difficult to get them to move off of that."

Rachel moved to Rincon because she saw that a large amount of the population was from North America, and it was close to the beach. When searching online for a place to live in Puerto Rico and when dealing with a realtor, Rachel reported only using English. However, she did report that she used to give Spanish a shot when making purchases in stores but "now I am in that – hostile phase. My rebellious phase. I tend to go up – with me they tend to start speaking in Spanish and I will go, 'English.' I'm not even nice anymore." Rachel is married and she and her husband use English to communicate with each other and their neighbors and friends.
Rachel reported that there have been times when she has been discriminated against because of her language. She described a time when she was at a flea market and wanted to ask how much something cost. The seller started talking very fast and she asked him in Spanish if he spoke English. She said "you would have thought I said, 'Are you the devil's spawn.'" She explained that sometimes that phrase generated hostile responses and that she got "looks" when she was speaking English or visiting a store or even just being out in public. However, Rachel did state that on the occasions when she had attempted to communicate in Spanish, Puerto Ricans had continued to speak to her in Spanish and did not asked her to switch to English.

Rachel liked speaking English and classifies herself as being extroverted in English. She felt as though she was more introverted in Spanish. To help herself learn Spanish, she helped her husband learn, she sometimes read Spanish and watched television in Spanish, listened to songs in Spanish, and listened in on Spanish conversations. In regards to knowing people who had moved to Puerto Rico who had been successful and unsuccessful, Rachel agreed with her husband, Paul's, statements about not knowing anyone who fits in either category because she did not know anyone who had made an attempt to learn Spanish. Rachel believed she was

successful and unsuccessful at learning Spanish because she knew the language and was able to read the language but she did not speak it.

Rachel first impression of language in Puerto Rico was that you would be able to find somewhere to speak English. Rachel reported that after living in Puerto Rico two years, she still felt as though you could get by with speaking English. She used one of her friends as an example, stating: "Our friends have lived here for 25 years and never spoke a word of Spanish." When she first arrived to Puerto Rico, she frequented American shops like Home Depot. After her two year stay, she said that she still shops at these places except when it comes to groceries which she now purchases at stores in Rincon. Rachel reported that the stores she shopped in depend more on her needs than the linguistic landscape, though she did tend to shop at mostly Americanized stores because she knows she will be able to get what she needs.

For Rachel, the linguistic landscape of diorama #1 had more English than Spanish; diorama #2 had more Spanish than English; and, diorama #3 had almost all Spanish. She said the soundscape for diorama #1 had "Lots of English" while the soundscape of diorama #3 had Spanish only. Had there been a soundscape provided for diorama #2, Rachel said it would have more Spanish than English. Rachel believed these differences were due to English words drawing in English speakers since English is something with which they are familiar. In addition, she thought that the use of English was related to tourism. Rachel believed that diorama #1 best represented the Puerto Rican linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico. Though Rachel reported that the linguistic landscape and soundscape had enhanced her motivation to learn the important things, she contradicted that when reporting "what we experience every day is mostly English…The friends we have speak English, The things we do, where we go, they speak English."

Paul.

Paul reported to only speak English. He was learning Spanish in the natural language setting of Puerto Rico. Paul was learning Spanish out of self-interest, respect for the culture, for an intellectual stimulus, and a desire to communicate with Puerto Ricans. Paul felt as motivated to learn Spanish at the time of the interview as he did when first moving to Puerto Rico.

Paul was aware of the language spoken in Puerto Rico before he moved there and believed he could use English to get by, stating: "not out of a need…. Again, it's not out of necessity, particularly in this community…. It is very easy to communicate here without speaking Spanish."

Paul did not really have knowledge about the Puerto Rican culture before moving there. Since moving, he learned a lot about the Puerto Rican history. He believed that you could learn about the culture of Puerto Rico without learning the language but that "you would certainly have a slanted predisposition to the culture." He reported that if you wanted to "learn the culture and mix with the culture," learning the language is beneficial.

Paul moved to Puerto Rico to retire in a warm, inexpensive, U.S. territory that had a Latin lifestyle feel to it. Paul was not really involved in the process of finding a house but stated that his wife, Rachel, completed all the transactions in English.

Paul ended up living in Rincon do to the percentage of people from the states and knowing that he would be able to use English. Paul and Rachel use English to communicate with each other and their neighbors and friends.

Paul only recalled being discriminated against for his language one time. He described a time when he was at a plant nursery and when he asked the employee, in Spanish, if he spoke English, the employee just replied no and turned around: "It's like, screw you." Paul reported

that when he is trying to do a transaction in Spanish, the person who was assisting him will often reply in English. He noted that this did not bother him because he would not be able to understand them if they talked to him in Spanish anyway.

Paul would not say he likes speaking English but rather that it was just what he did because he did not know another language. However, he describes himself as extroverted when using English. Paul stated that he was not at the level where he can enjoy speaking Spanish but that he did have fun playing with it. When discussing if he felt extroverted when speaking Spanish, Paul stated:

> Again, I don't speak it well enough to have an anticipation of being extroverted. When I'm speaking it, it's kind of like, "Did I say that right." I don't speak it well enough to – I could not, in a confident way – which I think you would almost have to be extroverted. I cannot in a confident way speak enough Spanish to have any confidence with it at all.

Paul said that to learn Spanish, him and his wife spent one-and-a-half to two hours four to five days a week studying Spanish from one of his wife's old college-level Spanish books. He also reported reading billboard signs and listening to commercials on television as ways in which he learned Spanish. Paul said that he does not know anyone that had moved to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish that has been successful at it nor did he know anyone that had moved to Puerto Rico and not been successful at it because he did not know anyone "that's really given any attempt" to learn Spanish. Paul described himself as being successful and unsuccessful in learning Spanish. He felt that he was successful in learning a lot of nouns and verbs but that he was not successful in "actually speaking a flow of the language."

Paul's first impression of language in Puerto Rico was that one out of every three people spoke Spanish. After being in Puerto Rico for eighteen months, he believed he would be okay

living in Puerto Rico even if he never learned any Spanish. When first arriving in Puerto Rico, Paul would frequent Americanized stores and admits that these are still the places he shops. Paul reported that he felt more invited to stores with an English linguistic landscape and soundscape for comfort and communication reasons. When overhearing someone speaking English in a store, Paul said that he was not shy about jumping in the conversation.

For Paul, the linguistic landscape of diorama #1 had more English than Spanish; diorama #2 had more Spanish than English; and, diorama #3 had almost all Spanish. He said the soundscape for diorama #1 had "Spanish in the background" and "English in the forefront" while diorama #3 had Spanish only. Had there been a soundscape provided for diorama #2, Paul said it would have more Spanish than English. Paul believed these differences were due to the amount of people moving from the United States to Mayaguez and that seeing English would give them a level of comfortability. Paul believed that a mixture of dioramas #1 and #2 best represented the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico. Paul reported that the linguistic landscape and soundscape had motivated him to learn Spanish.

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the methodological framework of this study. I also discussed how participants were located and discussed the data collection, data analysis and data results reported in the SSLQSDLC Part 1. In addition, I gave a profile of each participant using the transcriptions from both the SSLQSDLC Part 2 and the SSLQLLS.

Chapter IV: Data Collection, Data Analysis, and Results for the Five Research Questions

This chapter has five sections. Each section concerns the data collection, data analysis, and results for the research questions.

Section 5.1: Research Question #1

Research question #1 read "How do L1 English speakers perceive the use of Spanish in the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico?"

A. Data collection for the Spanish as a second language questionnaire #2: linguistic landscape and soundscape (SSLQLLS) (See Appendix B).

The Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #2: Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape had two components: 1) three dioramas and 2) a voice-recorded interview. Participants examined the three dioramas, first, and then they continued to examine them, while I conducted a voice-recorded interview with them about the dioramas.

A diorama is a model, or a miniature, that represents a three-dimensional scene. In order to find out about participants' impressions of the distribution of Spanish and English on the island and to find out if this distribution had motivated them to learn Spanish, I created three three-dimensional (3-D) dioramas.

To create the three dioramas, I took pictures of the storefronts and the signage, which I also refer to as visual language, in three sections of a town in western Puerto Rico. These three sections, referred to here as Diorama #1 (Figure 4.a), Diorama #2 (Figure 4.b), and Diorama #3 (Figure 4.c), show the variation of Spanish and English in the linguistic landscape in Puerto Rico. Diorama #1 had a linguistic landscape which was predominantly English. Diorama #2 had a linguistic landscape which had both English and Spanish. Diorama #3 had a linguistic landscape which was predominantly Spanish. After taking the pictures of the storefronts and the

signage for the three dioramas, I printed the pictures of the storefronts and signage and used them to create 3-D representations of the three sections of town. The idea was to create miniature 3-D replicas of the sections and the storefronts and the signage in each of the three sections.

Figure 4.a.

Diorama #1: Linguistic Landscape of Western Plaza (SSLQLLS).

Figure 4.b.

Diorama #2: Linguistic Landscape of El Bosque (SSLQLLS).

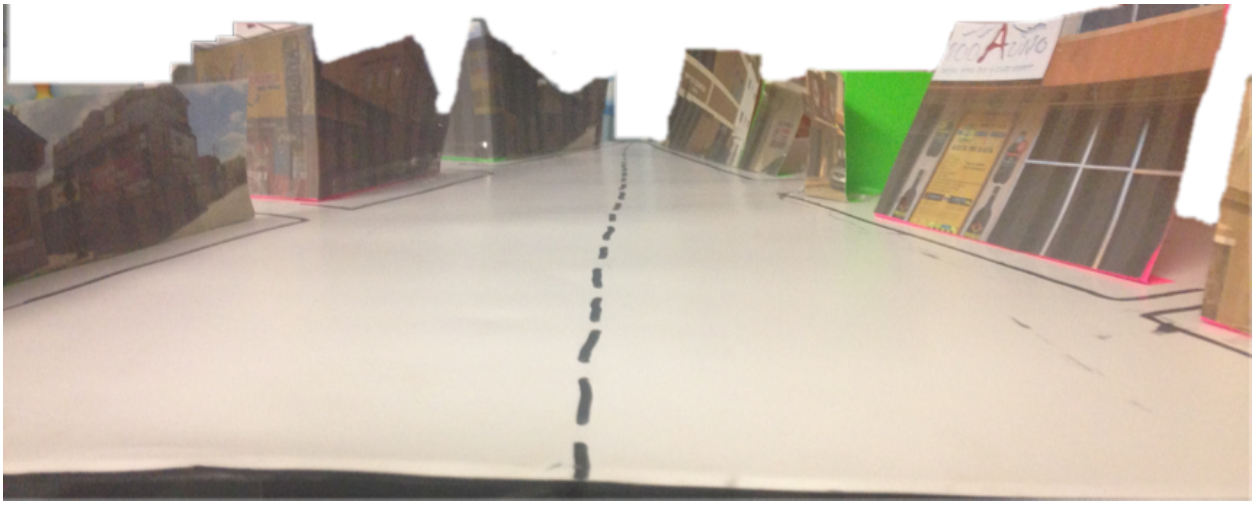


Figure 4.c.

Diorama #3: Linguistic Landscape of Mayaguez Plaza (SSLQMD).

After I created the linguistic landscapes for the three sections of town, I created soundscapes for Diorama #1 and Diorama #3. The linguistic landscape for Diorama #1 was predominantly English; to create the soundscape for this diorama, I made a recording of the environment background noise inside one of the stores represented in the diorama. The linguistic landscape for Diorama #3 was predominantly Spanish; to create the soundscape for this diorama, I made a recording of the environment background noise inside one of the stores represented in the diorama. The linguistic landscape for Diorama #2 contained both English and Spanish; since the soundscape for Diorama #2 was a cacophonous racket of both languages, I did not try to record a soundscape for this diorama.

Audio Recording 4.1.

Soundscape for Diorama #1 (SSLQLLS).

Audio Recording 4.2.

Audio Recording Soundscape for Diorama #3 (SSLQLLS).

After I created the three dioramas, I created an Interview Schedule for a voice-recorded interview in which I asked the participants questions about their impressions of the dioramas and the linguistic landscape and soundscape that they encountered in Puerto Rico. The Interview Schedule had 11 questions. The first questions (#1-3) asked the participants to describe and to compare and contrast the dioramas. Question #4 asked them to reflect on how the scenes depicted in the dioramas had helped them form their impression of the distribution of Spanish and English on the island. Questions #5–9 asked them to reflect on how long they had lived on the island and if their participation and interaction in the linguistic landscape/soundscape of one diorama or the other had changed over time. Finally, Questions #10-11 asked them if the linguistic landscapes and the soundscapes in the dioramas had motivated, or helped, them to learn Spanish.

B. Data analysis for the SSLQLLS.

To analyze the data for the SSLQLLS, I transcribed the voice-recorded interviews from the SSLQLLS questionnaires. I then extracted participant dialogue that described the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Puerto Rico to compile a combined participant-generated description of the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico. I then used this description to determine what role the linguistic landscape and soundscape play for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico as a group and as individuals regarding where they would hangout and shop when first coming to Puerto Rico as compared to at the time of the interview and in regard to how it facilitated or dampened their motivation to learn Spanish in Puerto Rico.

C. Results for the SSLQLLS.

As shown in table 4.1, for the linguistic landscape of diorama #1, one participant described it as having almost all English while seven participants described it as having more English than Spanish. For the recorded soundscape of diorama #1, three of the participants described it as having more English than Spanish, three other participants described it as having more English than Spanish, one participant described it as having more Spanish than English, and one participant described it as having almost all Spanish. For the linguistic landscape of diorama #2, all eight participants described it as having more Spanish than English. For the participants' imagined soundscape of diorama #2, one participant described it as having more English than Spanish while seven participants described it as having more Spanish than English. For the linguistic landscape and the recorded soundscape of diorama #3, all eight participants described them as having almost all Spanish.

Table 4.1.

Participants' Perceived Language in the Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape of Puerto Rico Dioramas.

Perceived Language	Diorama #1	Soundscape Diorama #1	Diorama #2	Soundscape Diorama #2	Diorama #3	Soundscape Diorama #3
Almost all English	John					
English > Spanish	Paul Rachel Michael Lola Annette Dana Roz	John Rachel Michael				
English and Spanish		Paul Annette Dana		Michael		
Spanish > English		Lola	John Paul Rachel Michael Lola Annette Dana Roz	Deron Paul Rachel Lola Annette Dana Roz		
Almost all Spanish		Roz			John Paul Rachel Michael Lola Annette Dana Roz	John Paul Rachel Michael Lola Annette Dana Roz

As shown in table 4.2, the participants thought that the differences in the linguistic landscape were due to multiple reasons. Some of the suggested reasons were that the language

utilized depended on their perceptions of who a business was owned and ran by Puerto Ricans or if it was an American corporation, who the business' target audience was and concerns for their comfortability, cultural expression, and the business' location within the town.

Table 4.2.

Participants' Reasons for Differences in the Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape of Puerto Rico Dioramas.

Participant	Reasons
John	who was in charge of running the businesses within each location
Paul	the amount of people moving from the United States to Mayaguez and that seeing English would give them a level of comfortability
Rachel	English words drawing in English speakers since English is something with which they are familiar
Michael	the American corporations are in English for continuity with the brand and they are associated with America and maybe the good life where the plaza shows cultural heritage
Lola	not sure why the differences between the three dioramas in language existed
Annette	diorama #1 is made of "bigger chain stores and branches of US companies" while the downtown area is "more private businesses…owned by Puerto Ricans and targeted to Puerto Ricans…" possibly due to tourism and comfort levels
Dana	English speaking people are drawn to what makes them feel comfortable / familiar with plazas draw "people to live there and they're habitually for work," "It doesn't draw the English-speaking crowd there"
Roz	diorama #1 was made up of "global businesses geographical locations within the town created the differences as well as the creating "cultural climate" for specific groups of people

As shown in table 4.3, two of the participants felt diorama #1 best represented the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Puerto Rico; two other participants felt that diorama #2 best represented the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Puerto Rico; and, three participants felt that diorama #3 best represented the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Puerto Rico. Paul is not shown in the table because he felt that a mixture of diorama #1 and diorama #2 would best represent the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Puerto Rico which was not an offered response.

Table 4.3.

Participants' Responses for the Diorama Best Representing the Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape in Puerto Rico.

Diorama	Participants
#1	Rachel Dana
#2	John Lola
#3	Michael Annette Roz

As shown in table 4.4, six of the participants felt the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico helped motivate them to learn Spanish while two of the participants felt it was a hinderance to their motivation.

Table 4.4.

Participants' Response to the Effect of the Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape on Their Motivation to Learn Spanish.

Effect on Motivation	Participant
Facilitated	Paul Rachel Michael Annette Dana Roz
Hindered	John Lola

Five (Rachel, Paul, Lola, Dana, and Roz) of the eight participants (62.5%) expressed at some point throughout the voice-recorded interviews that learning Spanish was either not necessary in order to live in Puerto Rico or no demand existed for the participants to learn Spanish.

Overall, the participants reported that the linguistic landscape varied throughout the dioramas from almost all English to almost all Spanish. They reported that the soundscape varied from more English than Spanish to almost all Spanish throughout the dioramas, whether going off of a recording of the soundscape as in dioramas #1 and #3 or imagining a soundscape as in diorama #2. They felt that differences in the landscape and soundscape were related to business ownership and management, target audience and comfortability, and location of the business within the town. More of the participants felt that diorama #3 was the best representation of the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Puerto Rico than any of the other dioramas. Six of the participants found the linguistic landscape and soundscape to be a motivator of learning Spanish, though five of those six participants expressed that learning Spanish was not a necessity for living in Puerto Rico.

Section 5.2: Research Question #2

Research question #2 read "What role does motivation and desire play for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico?

To address this question, I analyzed the data that I collected in the Spanish as a second Language questionnaire: motivation and desire (SSLQMD). In this section, I discuss how I analyzed the data from this questionnaire, and I present the results of the analysis.

A. Data collection for the Spanish as a second language questionnaire: motivation and desire (SSLQMD) (See Appendix C).

The Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire: Motivation and Desire (SSLQMD) was a written questionnaire with 24 items. The items were statements about speaking Spanish, listening comprehension of Spanish, and the overall learning of Spanish. Items #1-12 measure motivational intensity to master Spanish in speaking, listening and comprehension, and overall

learning. Items #15-24 measure level of intensity of desire to master Spanish in a range of contexts. All of these items are similar in format to the items in Gardner's subtest #9 Motivational Intensity and subtest #10 Desire to Learn French. They are multiple choice items, which ask participants to choose the one of three choices that best represents their most likely reactions to situations.

Item #13 is similar in format to Gardner's subtest #11 Orientation Index and consists of one item with four possible reasons for learning Spanish. Two of the reasons are integrative (b and c) while two of the reasons are instrumental (a and d). The instructions ask participants to rank the four reasons for learning Spanish in terms of four orders of importance: 1=very important, 2=important, 3=of little importance, 4=not at all important. No number can be used more than one time. Item #14 on the SSLQMD combines Gardner's subtest #5 Integrative Orientation with subtest #6 Instrumental Orientation. The item consists of four statements about the importance of learning Spanish. Two of the statements are integrative (a and c) while two are instrumental (b and d). The instructions ask participants to consider how important it is for them to study Spanish for the activities in the statements and to respond to each statement in terms of four orders of importance on a scale ranging from 1=very important, 2=important, 3=of little importance, 4=not at all important. All numbers on the scale, can be used more than one time.

Gardner's subtest #9 Motivational Intensity and subtest #10 Desire to Learn French measured the intensity of students' motivation and level of desire to learn French in an instructed context and contained items that had to do with French class, homework assignments, studying French, the language of the classroom, speaking French outside the classroom, liking French, future plans to make use of and study French, etc. A high score on subtest #9 and subtest #10

represented a student's self-report of a high degree of effort and strong desire to acquire French in an instructed context.

Gardner's subtest #5 Integrative Orientation contains items that focus on the importance of learning French in order to socially interact with French Canadians or other French speakers; subtest #6 Instrumental Orientation contains items that focus on the "utilitarian" value of learning French in terms of a future career and getting a good job, becoming a knowledgeable person, and gaining the respect of others through knowing a foreign language such as French. Gardner's subtest #11 Orientation Index contains items similar to those in the integrative and instrumental subtests.

In contrast with Gardner, on the SSLQMD developed here, the statements of the motivation items (#1-12) form three groups and measure the intensity of a participant's motivation to speak Spanish (Items #2, 5, 8, 11), to listening comprehension of Spanish (Items #1, 4, 7, 10), and to learn Spanish overall (Items #3, 6, 9, 12) in the naturalistic context of Puerto Rico. The statements of the desire items (#15-24) measure the level of a participant's desire to master Spanish in a range of contexts. Five items (#15, 16, 18, 19, and 23) involve speaking. Two items (#21 and 22) involve listening comprehension. One item (#24) involves reading. Two items (#17 and 20) involve overall learning. To create these items, I reviewed the items on Gardner's subtest #10 Desire to Learn French, and I adapted them for participants learning Spanish in the naturalistic context of Puerto Rico. The two items that involve instrumental and integrative reasons (#13 and 14) for learning Spanish are similar to the items from Gardner's three subtests (#5, 6, 11), but I adapted them for participants learning Spanish in the naturalistic context of Puerto Rico.

B. Data analysis for the SSLQMD.

The twenty-two multiple choice items in the motivational intensity (#1-12) and the desire (#15-24) parts of the SSLQMD are written so that the three choices, A, B, and C, each represent a degree of intensity. The A choice is the highest degree of intensity. The C choice is the lowest degree of intensity. The word "moderate" indicates the average amount, intensity, quality, or degree. The B choice is the "moderate" degree of intensity, in-between the highest (A) and lowest (C) degrees of intensity.

As shown in Table 4.5 in the motivational intensity part of the questionnaire, these three levels of intensity are reflected in the A, B, and C choices in the adverbs of frequency (e.g., most of the time, sometimes, rarely, never), quantifiers of amount and degree (e.g., a lot of, some, little to no), adverbs and modals of certainty and probability (e.g., definitely, might), adverbs of time (e.g., later, immediately), complementary antonyms (e.g., haste, delay), negation (not).

Table 4.5.

Levels of Motivational Intensity Reflected in A, B, and C Choices in the Adverbs of Frequency (SSLQMD).

	A = High Intensity	B = Moderate Intensity	C = Low Intensity
Item #1	Most of the time	Sometimes	Rarely
Item #7	Most of the time	Sometimes	Never
Item #8	Most of the time	Sometimes	Rarely
Item #12	Most of the time	Sometimes	Rarely
Item #3	Frequently	Sometimes	Do not
Item #2	Whenever	Only when	Do not
Item #10	All	Only	Do not
Item #9	A lot of	Some	Little to no
Item #5	Definitely	Might	Do not
Item #6	Definitely	Maybe	Will not
Item #4	Immediately (right away)	Later	Rarely
Item #11	Do not hesitate	_____	Do not do for as long as possible (delay)

As shown in Table 4.6 in the desire part of the questionnaire, these three levels of intensity are reflected in the A, B, and C, choices in adverbs of frequency (e.g., most of the time, often, sometimes, never), quantifiers of amount (e.g., much), adverbs of certainty (e.g., definitely), adverbs of high degree or intensity (e.g., very), and superlatives (e.g., most, least).

Table 4.6.

Levels of Intensity of Desire Reflected in A, B, and C Choices in the Adverbs of Frequency (SSLQMD).

	A = High Intensity	B = Moderate Intensity	C = Low Intensity
Item #16	Most of the time	Occasionally	Never
Item #21	As often as possible	Sometimes	Never
Item #24	As often as possible	Sometimes	Never
Item #23	As much as possible	Sometimes	Never
Item #19	Definitely speak	Not sure if I would speak it	Not speak
Item #22	Definitely go	Go only when I have nothing else to do	Not go
Item #18	Very interested	Once in a while	Not join
Item #20	Very interested	No more interesting than most other things	Not interesting
Item #17	Like the most	Like the same	Like least of all
Item #15	Only Spanish	Both English and Spanish	As much English as possible = Only English

To analyze the data from the motivational intensity (#1-12) and the desire (#15-25) parts of the SSLQMD, I assigned the A choices a value of 3, the B choices a value of 2, and the C choices a value of 1. On the motivational intensity part of the SSLQMD, the highest degree of motivational intensity was 36 (12 items x 3). On the desire part of the SSLQMD, the highest degree of intensity of desire was 30 (10 items x 3). For both the motivational intensity and desire parts of the questionnaire, the higher the number the participant scored, the higher the degree of

motivational intensity or intensity of desire. The lower the number the participant scored, the lower the degree of motivational intensity or intensity of desire.

The three choices A, B, and C, can be placed on a scale, where A (3) is labeled High; B (2) is labeled Moderate; and C (1) is labeled Low. There are two scales: The Motivational Intensity Scale and the Intensity of Desire Scale.

C.1. Results of the SSLQMD: motivational intensity.

In the next section, I will present the results from the 12 multiple choice items (#1-12) for the motivational intensity part of the SSLQMD.

The first set of results focuses on the statements in the items. I will show the degree of motivational intensity that the eight participants as a group felt toward each statement. Then I will show the degree of motivational intensity that the eight participants as a group felt for the three subsets of statements: speaking in Spanish (#2, 5, 8, 11), listening comprehension of Spanish (#1, 4, 7, and 10), and learning Spanish (#3, 6, 9, and 12).

Table 4.7.a shows the degree of motivational intensity that the eight participants as a group felt for each of the 12 statements in items #1-12. As shown in the table, the items are arranged from lowest (1) to highest (3) degree of intensity. The participants felt the lowest degree of intensity for the statement in item #7 (1.5). They felt the highest degree of intensity for the statement in item #5 (2.625). The average, or mean, intensity the participants felt for all 12 items was a moderate degree of intensity at 2.375.

Table 4.7.a.

Degree of Motivational Intensity for Participants as a Group Toward Each Statement Item (SSLQMD).

Item #	A (3)		B (2)		C (1)		Degree of Motivational Intensity	
7	0	0	4	8	4	4	12/8	1.5
8	2	6	5	10	1	1	17/8	2.12
6	3	9	4	8	1	1	18/8	2.25
9	3	9	4	8	1	1	18/8	2.25
5	4	12	3	6	1	1	19/8	2.375
1	4	12	4	8	0	0	20/8	2.5
3	5	15	2	4	1	1	20/8	2.5
10	4	12	4	8	0	0	20/8	2.5
2	5	15	3	6	0	0	21/8	2.625
4	5	15	3	6	0	0	21/8	2.625
11	6	18	1	2	1	1	21/8	2.625
12	5	15	3	6	0	0	21/8	2.625
	46	138	40	80	10	10	228/8	2.375

In terms of the scale of motivational intensity, the participants as a group felt the highest degree of intensity for four items 2, 4, 11, and 12. They felt a less high degree of intensity for three items #1, 3, 10. They felt a lower degree of moderate intensity for four items 8, 6, 9, 5. They felt a low degree of intensity for only one item, 7.

Table 4.7.b. shows the degree of motivational intensity the eight participants as a group felt for the statements in the three sub-groups of items: speaking in Spanish, listening comprehension of Spanish, and learning Spanish. As shown in the table, overall, the participants felt a higher than moderate degree of motivational intensity for speaking Spanish (2.437), listening comprehension of Spanish (2.28), and learning Spanish (2.406). They felt the highest degree of motivational intensity toward speaking Spanish and toward learning Spanish and the lowest degree of motivation intensity toward the listening comprehension of Spanish.

Table 4.7.b.

Degree of Motivational Intensity for Participants as a Group Toward Statement Items by Subgroup (SSLQMD).

	A (3)		B (2)		C (1)		Degree of Motivational Intensity	
Speak								
8	2	6	5	10	1	1	17/8	2.125
5	4	12	3	6	1	1	19/8	2.375
2	5	15	3	6	0	0	21/8	2.625
11	6	18	1	2	1	1	21/8	2.625
	17	51	12	24	3	3	78/32	2.4375
Listen								
7	0	0	4	8	4	4	12/8	1.5
10	4	12	4	8	0	0	20/8	2.5
1	4	12	4	8	0	0	20/8	2.5
4	5	15	3	6	0	0	21/8	2.625
	13	39	15	30	4	4	73/32	2.28
Learn								
6	3	9	4	8	1	1	18/8	2.25
9	3	9	4	8	1	1	18/8	2.25
3	5	15	2	4	1	1	20/8	2.5
12	5	15	3	6	0	0	21/8	2.625
	16	48	13	26	3	3	77/32	2.406

The second set of results focuses on the motivational intensity that the eight individual participants felt toward the statements in items #1-12. As shown in Table 4.7.c. on the Scale of Motivational Intensity, all eight participants had a degree of motivational intensity toward items #1-12 that ranged from moderate (2.0) to high (3.0). Given this distribution along the scale, the eight participants appear to fall into three groups. Roz (2.58) and Lola (2.58) had a high degree of motivational intensity toward the twelve statements in items #1-12. Annette (2.416) , Rachel (2.416) , John (2.416), and Michael (2.50) had a moderate to high degree of motivational intensity toward these items, and Paul (2.08) and Dana (2.0) had a moderate to low degree of motivational intensity toward these items.

Table 4.7.c.

Motivational Intensity for Individual Participants Toward Each Statement Item (SSLQMD).

Item #	Dana	Paul	Rachel	Annette	John	Michael	Roz	Lola	Degree of Motivational Intensity	
7	C 1	C 1	B 2	B 2	B 2	C 1	B 2	C 1	12	1.5
8	B 2	C 1	B 2	B 2	B 2	A 3	B 2	A 3	17	2.125
6	A 3	B 2	C 1	B 2	A 3	B 2	A 3	B 2	18	2.25
9	C 1	A 3	B 2	B 2	A 3	B 2	B 2	A 3	18	2.25
5	B 2	C 1	B 2	A 3	A 3	A 3	B 2	A 3	19	2.375
1	A 3	B 2	A 3	A 3	B 2	B 2	B 2	A 3	20	2.5
3	C 1	B 2	A 3	A 3	B 2	A 3	A 3	A 3	20	2.5
10	B 2	A 3	A 3	A 3	B 2	B 2	A 3	B 2	20	2.5
2	A 3	A 3	B 2	B 2	B 2	A 3	A 3	A 3	21	2.625
4	B 2	A 3	A 3	B 2	A 3	A 3	A 3	B 2	21	2.625
11	C 1	B 2	A 3	A 3	A 3	A 3	A 3	A 3	21	2.625
12	A 3	B 2	A 3	B 2	B 2	A 3	A 3	A 3	21	2.625
Totals	2.0	2.08	2.416	2.416	2.416	2.50	2.58	2.58	2.375	

Table 4.7.d. shows the degree of motivational intensity that the eight individual participants felt toward the three sub-sets of statements: speaking in Spanish, listening comprehension in Spanish, and learning Spanish. As shown in Table 4.d, the eight participants can be viewed in terms of four sub-groups. Michael (3.0) and Lola (3.0) had a high degree of motivational intensity toward speaking Spanish. Roz (2.5), John (2.5) and Annette (2.5) had a moderate to high degree of motivational intensity toward speaking Spanish. Dana (2.0) and Rachel (2.25) had a less moderate to high degree of motivational intensity toward speaking Spanish while Paul (1.75), had a moderate to low motivational intensity toward speaking Spanish.

As shown in table 4.7.d., in terms of listening comprehension, the eight participants can be viewed in terms of four sub-groups. Rachel (2.75), had a high degree of motivational intensity toward listening comprehension. Roz (2.5) and Annette (2.5) had a moderate to high degree of

motivational intensity toward listening comprehension. Dana (2.0), Michael (2.0), and Lola (2.0) had a moderate degree of motivational intensity toward listening comprehension. Paul (2.25) and John (2.25) had a slightly higher moderate to high degree of motivational intensity toward listening comprehension.

As shown in Table 4.7.d. with respect to learning Spanish, the eight participants can be viewed in terms of four sub-groups. Lola (2.75) and Roz (2.75) had a high degree of motivational intensity toward learning Spanish. John (2.5) and Michael (2.5) had a moderate to high degree of motivational intensity toward learning Spanish. Dana (2.0) had a moderate degree of motivational intensity toward learning Spanish, and Paul (2.25) and Annette (2.25) had a slightly higher moderate to high degree of intensity toward learning Spanish.

To conclude, all 8 participants had between a moderate (2) degree and a high (3) degree of intensity toward speaking Spanish, listening comprehension of Spanish, and learning Spanish. Only one participant, Paul, had a moderate to low motivational intensity toward one of the sub-area of speaking Spanish.

Table 4.7.d.

Degree of Motivational Intensity of Individual Participants Toward Statement Items by Subgroup (SSLQMD).

	Dana		Paul		Rachel		John		Annette		Michael		Lola		Roz		Degree of Motivational Intensity	
Speak	8/4	2.0	7/4	1.75	9/4	2.25	10/4	2.5	10/4	2.5	12/4	3.0	12/4	3.0	10/4	2.5	78/32	2.4375
Listen	8/4	2.0	9/4	2.25	11/4	2.75	9/4	2.25	10/4	2.5	8/4	2.0	8/4	2.0	10/4	2.5	73/32	2.281
Learn	8/4	2.0	9/4	2.25	9/4	2.25	10/4	2.5	9/4	2.25	10/4	2.5	11/4	2.75	11/4	2.75	77/32	2.406
Totals	2.0		2.08		2.41		2.41		2.41		2.5		2.58		2.58		228/96	2.375

C.2. Results of the SSLQMD: desire.

In the next section, I will present the results from the 10 multiple choice items (#15-24) for the desire part of the SSLQMD. The first set of results focuses on the statements in the items. I will show the degree of Intensity of Desire that the eight participants as a group felt for each statement. Table 4.7.e. shows the degree of Intensity of Desire that the eight participants as a group felt for each of the 10 statements in items #15-24. As shown in the table, the items are arranged from lowest to highest degree of intensity. The participants felt the lowest degree of intensity toward the statements in items # 15, 17 (2.0). They felt the highest degree of intensity toward the statements in items #18, 20, and 24 (2.75). The average, or mean, intensity the participants felt toward all 10 items was a moderate to high degree of intensity at 2.362.

As a group, the participants felt the highest degree of intensity of desire toward three items (#18, 20, 24). They felt a less high moderate degree of intensity toward five items 21, 22, 19, 23, and 16. They felt a moderate degree of intensity toward two items (#15, 17). They did not feel a low degree of intensity of desire toward any of the statements in any of the items.

Table 4.7.e.

Degree of Intensity of Desire for Participants as a Group Toward Each Statement Item (SSLQMD).

	Response A(3)		Response B(2)		Response C(1)		Intensity of Desire	
15	1	3	6	12	1	1	16/8	2.0
17	0	0	8	16	0	0	16/8	2.0
21	1	3	7	14	0	0	17/8	2.125
22	2	6	5	10	1	1	17/8	2125
19	3	9	4	8	1	1	18/8	2.25
23	3	9	5	10	0	0	19/8	2.375
16	4	12	4	8	0	0	20/8	2.5
18	6	18	2	4	0	0	22/8	2.75
20	6	18	2	4	0	0	22/8	2.75
24	6	18	2	4	0	0	22/8	2.75
	32	96	45	90	3	3	189/80	2.3625

The second set of results focuses on the intensity of desire that the eight individual participants felt toward the statements in items #15-24. As shown in Table 4.7.f. on the Intensity Scale of Desire, all eight participants had a degree of intensity of desire toward items #15-24 that ranged from Moderate (2.0) to High (3.0). One participant, Roz (2.8) had a high degree of intensity of desire. Three participants, Annette (2.5), Lola (2.5), and Michael (2.4) had a moderate to high degree of intensity of desire. The other four participants John (2.2), Rachel (2.2), Dana (2.2), and Paul (2.1) were on the lower end of the moderate space.

Table 4.7.f.

Degree of Intensity of Desire for Individual Participants Toward Each Statement Item (SSLQMD).

Item #	Paul		Dana		Rachel		John		Michael		Annette		Lola		Roz		Intensity of Desire	
15	B	2	B	2	C	1	B	2	B	2	B	2	A	3	B	2	16/8	2.0
17	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	16/8	2.0
21	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	A	3	17/8	2.125
22	C	1	A	3	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	A	3	17/8	2.125
19	C	1	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	A	3	A	3	A	3	18/8	2.25
23	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	A	3	A	3	A	3	19/8	2.375
16	B	2	B	2	B	2	B	2	A	3	A	3	A	3	A	3	20/8	2.5
18	A	3	A	3	A	3	B	2	A	3	B	2	A	3	A	3	22/8	2.75
20	A	3	B	2	A	3	A	3	A	3	A	3	B	2	A	3	22/8	2.75
24	A	3	B	2	A	3	A	3	A	3	A	3	B	2	A	3	22/8	2.75
Totals	2.1		2.2		2.2		2.2		2.4		2.5		2.5		2.8		2.3625	

C.3. Results of the SSLQMD: motivation orientation.

Item #13 asked the participant to complete the sentence "I want to learn Spanish because" and rank four possible responses in terms of their order of importance. The four possible responses were: A. I think it will help me get a job/another job someday, B. I think it will help me to better understand Puerto Ricans and their way of life, C. It allows me to meet and converse with Puerto Ricans, D. Knowing more than one language will make me more educated. Two of the responses are integrative (B and C). Two of the responses are instrumental (A and D).

To analyze the data from item #13, I obtained the distribution of responses, and I calculated the weighted average for the responses from all eight participants.

Table 4.7.g. shows the distribution of the responses for the eight participants. In other words, it shows the absolute number and percentage of participants that chose each response choice (e.g., 5/8= 62.5%; 2/8= 25%).

Table 4.7.g.

Distribution of Responses for Statement Item #13 of Written Questionnaire (SSLQMD).

Response Choice	Most Important	Important	Little importance	Not important	Total
A	12.50%	0.00%	25.00%	62.50%	
	1	0	2	5	8
B	0.00%	37.50%	37.50%	25	
	0	3	3	2	8
C	62.50%	25.00%	12.50%	0.00%	
	5	2	1	0	8
D	25.00%	37.50%	25.00%	12.5	
	2	3	2	1	8
	8	8	8	8	32

Table 4.7.h. shows the weighted average of responses for the participants. In other words, it shows the average ranking for each response choice. The A, B, C, and D response choices on the table can be rank ordered from most preferred to least preferred as follows: C (3.5), D (2.75), B (2.125), and A (1.625). One integrative response (C) and one instrumental response (D) are the two most preferred responses. One integrative response (B) and one instrumental response (A) are the two least preferred responses. The most important reason to learn Spanish is (C) "To meet and converse with Puerto Ricans." The least important reason to learn Spanish, in other words, the reason that is not at all important, is (A) "to get a job/another job someday."

Table 4.7.h.

Weighted Average of Responses for Statement Item #13 of Written Questionnaire (SSLQMD).

Response Choice	Most Important	Important	Little Importance	Not Important	Total
A	4x1=4	3x0=0	2x2=4	1x5=5	13/8 = 1.625
B	4x0=0	3x3=9	2x3=6	1x2=2	17/8 = 2.125
C	4x5=20	3x2=6	2x1=2	1x0=0	28/8 = 3.5
D	4x2=8	3x3=9	2x2=4	1x1=1	22/8 = 2.75
	32	24	16	8	80

Item #14 asked the participants to use a four-point scale, very important 1, important 2, of little importance 3, and not at all important 4, to tell how important it was for them to study Spanish for the four reasons in A, B, C, and D. Reasons A and C are integrative reasons while Reasons B and D are instrumental reasons.

Reason A. Studying Spanish can be important to me because it can allow me to be more at ease with Puerto Ricans who speak Spanish.

Reason B. Studying Spanish can be important for me because I will need/will need it for my career/getting a job new job.

Reason C. Studying Spanish can be important for me because it can help me to better understand and appreciate Puerto Rican art and literature.

Reason D. Studying Spanish can be important for me because Puerto Ricans will respect me more if I have a knowledge of Spanish.

Since the participants could use the same number on the scale more than one time, to analyze the data, I calculated the percentage of responses that the participants gave for A, B, C, and D. Table 4.7.i. shows that for the integrative Reason A, 87.5 % of the participants found Reason A to be either very important or important. For the instrumental Reason B, 87.5% of the participants found Reason B to be either of little importance or not important at all. For the

integrative Reason C, 62.5% of the participants found Reason C to be of little importance or not important at all. For the instrumental Reason D, 75% of the participants found Reason D to either be very important or important. To conclude, the participants found the integrative Reason A and the instrumental Reason D to be very important or important, and they found the instrumental Reason B and integrative Reason C to be of little importance or not at all important.

Table 4.7.i.

Number and Percentage of Participants Choosing Statement Item Response Choice (SSLQMD).

Response Choice	Very Important	Important	Little Importance	Not important	Total
A	5 = 62.50%	2 = 25.00%	0 = 0.00%	1 = 12.50%	8
B	0 = 0.00%	1 = 12.50%	3 = 37.50%	4 = 50.00%	8
C	0 = 0.00%	3 = 37.50%	3 = 37.50%	2 = 25.00%	8
D	1 = 12.50	5 = 62.50%	2 = 25.00%	0 = 0.00%	8
	6	11	8	7	

Section 5.3: Research Question #3

Research question #3 read What role does attitude and anxiety play for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico?

A. Data collection for the Spanish as a second language questionnaire: attitudes and anxiety (SSLQAA) (See Appendix D).

The Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire: Attitudes and Anxiety (SSLQAA) was a written questionnaire with two parts and 31 items. The first part with 12 items (#1-12) measures attitudes toward learning Spanish; the second part with 19 items (#13-31) measures anxiety about learning Spanish. Items #1 -12 are similar in format to the items in Gardner's subtest # 4: Attitudes toward Learning French. Items #13-30 are similar in format to the items in both the Attitude and Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) subtest #7: French Class Anxiety and the Foreign Language Class Anxiety Scale (FLCAS). For both Items #1-12 and Items #13-30, statements in the items are presented using a Likert scale with four alternative responses: Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, and Strongly Agree. The participants were asked to circle the alternative which best indicated their personal feeling of agreement or disagreement with the statement in the item. The Likert scale has an even number of four responses instead of an odd number of five responses because following Dornyei (2003), I was concerned that the participants "might use the middle category ('neither agree nor disagree,' 'not sure,' or neutral') to avoid making a real choice" (p. 37). Item #31 is not similar in format to any of the items in the AMTB or the FLCAS. For Item #31, participants read a checklist with eight symptoms of anxiety and were asked to choose as many symptoms as they wished to express how they feel when they speak Spanish in front of Puerto Ricans.

To create the attitude items (Item #1-12) on the SSLQAA, I reviewed the items in the AMBT subtest #4: Attitudes toward Learning French. This subtest contained 10 affirmative statements about learning French; five of the statements were positively worded while five of the statements were negatively worded. The five statements that were positively worded included words such as "really great," "really enjoy," "an important part," "to learn as much Spanish as possible," and "love." The five statements that were negatively worded included words such as "hate," "waste of time," "dull," not interested in," and "would rather spend my time on other subjects." Similar to the AMTB subtest items for motivation and desire, the AMTB items for attitudes toward learning French were developed to measured attitudes toward learning French in an instructed context.

For the items on the attitude part (Items #1 – 12) of the SSLQAA, I followed the AMTB in creating six positively worded and six negatively worded items, but I differed from the AMTB in viewing attitudes toward the learning of Spanish in a naturalistic context in terms of three areas: 1) speaking Spanish, 2) listening comprehension of Spanish, and 3) learning Spanish overall. Within each area, there are two positively worded and two negatively worded, either syntactically negative or with negative words, statements, for a total of six positively worded statements and six negatively worded statements. Thus, the attitude items (#1-12) on the SSLQAA measure a participant's agreement and disagreement with 10 affirmative statements and two negative statements about speaking Spanish (Items #2, 5, 8, 11), listening comprehending of Spanish (Items #1, 4, 7, 10), and learning Spanish overall (Items #3, 6, 9, 12). The six positively worded items included the words "like," "fun," "comes easily," and "want." The six negatively worded items included the words "frustrated," "don't like," "difficult," "bored," and "waste of time."

To create the anxiety items (Item #13-30) on the SSLQAA, I first reviewed the 33 items on the FLCAS. To measure students' degree of communication apprehension, fear of negative social evaluation, and test anxiety, the FLCAS contained six negative and 27 affirmative statements, which included a variety of positive (e.g. "at ease," "well-prepared," "confident") and negative (e.g. "nervous," "embarrassed," "upset") words. Twenty-four of the items on the FLCAS reflected anxiety while nine of the items reflected lack of anxiety. Second, I reviewed the items in the AMBT subtest #4 French Class Anxiety. This subtest contained five affirmative statements to measure students' degree of discomfort while participating in the French class. All five statements were negatively worded and included the words "embarrass," "never feel quite sure," "others speak better French," "nervous and confused," and "afraid."

Similar to the attitude items, to create the anxiety items on the SSLQAA, I viewed anxiety toward the learning of Spanish in a naturalistic context in terms of three areas with six items each: 1) speaking Spanish, 2) listening to and comprehending Spanish, and 3) learning Spanish overall. Within each area, there were three positively worded and three negatively worded items, for a total of nine positively worded affirmative statements and nine negatively worded affirmative statements. Thus, the anxiety items (#13-30) on the SSLQAA measure a participant's agreement and disagreement with 18 affirmative statements about speaking Spanish (Items #13, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28), listening to and comprehending Spanish (Items #14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29), and learning Spanish overall (#15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 30). The nine positively worded items included the words "comfortable" "confident," "at ease," "relaxed." The nine negatively worded items included the words "nervous," "afraid," "embarrassed," and "anxious."

B. Data analysis for the attitude part of the SSLQAA.

There were a total of 12 statement items on the attitude part of the SSLQAA. There were four answer choices on the Likert Scale for the attitude part of the SSLQAA. The answer choices and the weights assigned to the answer choices for the six odd numbered statement items (# 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11) are shown below in parentheses. A total of 24 "strongly agree" (4X 6 items) indicated positive attitudes.

Strongly disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Agree (3)

Strongly agree (4)

The answer choices and the weights assigned to the answer choices for the six even numbered, reverse scored statement items (# 2,4,6,8,10,12) are shown below in parentheses. A total of 24 "strongly disagree" for the six items (4X 6 items) also indicated positive attitudes.

Strongly disagree (4)

Disagree (3)

Agree (2)

Strongly agree (1)

To calculate the average rating for each statement item, I calculated a score for each answer choice. To do this, I multiplied the weight assigned to the answer choice by the number of responses (in this case, the same as the number of participants) who chose the answer choice. I then added up the scores for the four answer choices and divided the sum by the total number of responses (in this case, the same as the total number of participants).

To calculate the average rating for each of the eight participants, I added the scores that each participant had provided for each of the item statements, and I divided the sum by the total number of item statements. An average participant score of 1 or 2 indicates negative attitudes while an average participant score of 3 or 4 indicates positive attitudes.

C. Results for the attitude part of the SSLQAA.

In the next section, I will present the results from the 12 statement items #1-12) from the attitude part of the SSLQAA.

The first set of results focuses on the statements in the items. I will show the weighted average, average rating, of anxiety that the eight participants as a group felt toward each statement item. Then I will show the weighted average, average rating, of anxiety that the eight participants as a group felt toward the three subsets of statements: speaking in Spanish (#5, 11, 2, and 8), listening comprehension of Spanish (#1, 7, 4, and 10), and learning Spanish (#3, 9, 6, and 12).

Table 4.8.a. shows the average rating of attitudes that the eight participants as a group felt for each of the 12 statements in items #1-12. It displays the number of the statement item in the leftmost column and the number of times participants "strongly disagreed," "disagreed," "agreed," and "strongly disagreed" with the statement items. It displays the average rating for each statement item in the right-most column. As shown in the table, the items are arranged from least positive to most positive average rating. The participants as a group felt the least average rating (2.5) of positive attitudes toward statement item 3. They felt the most average rating (3.75) of positive attitudes toward statement item 10. The average rating of attitudes that the eight participants as a group felt for the entire group of twelve statement items was 3.177.

Table 4.8.a.

Average Rating of Attitude for Participants as a Group Toward Each Statement Item (SSLQAA).

Item #	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Agree		Strongly Agree		Average Rating of Attitude	
3	1	1	3	6	3	9	1	4	20/8	2.5
6	1	4	4	12	2	4	1	1	21/8	2.625
1	1	1	0	0	7	21	0	0	22/8	2.75
2	2	8	2	6	4	8	0	0	22/8	2.75
7	0	0	1	2	7	21	0	0	23/8	2.875
4	2	8	6	18	0	0	0	0	26/8	3.25
5	0	0	0	0	5	15	3	12	27/8	3.375
12	5	20	2	6	0	0	1	1	27/8	3.375
11	0	0	0	0	3	9	5	20	29/8	3.625
9	0	0	0	0	3	9	5	20	29/8	3.625
8	5	20	3	9	0	0	0	0	29/8	3.625
10	6	24	2	6	0	0	0	0	30/8	3.75
Totals	23	86	23	65	34	96	16	58	305/96	3.177

Tables 4.8.b shows the average rating of attitudes that the eight participants as a group felt for the statements in the three sub-groups of items: speaking in Spanish (#2, 5, 8, 11), listening comprehension of Spanish (#1, 4, 7, 10), and overall learning of Spanish (#3, 6, 9, 12). The tables display the number of the statement item in the leftmost column and the number of times participants "strongly disagreed," "disagreed," "agreed," and "strongly disagreed" with the statement items. They display the average rating for the statement items in each group in the right-most column. As shown in the tables, the participants felt the following average ratings of attitude toward the three sub-groups: 3.343 toward statement items in the sub-group of speaking in Spanish, 3.156 toward statement items in the sub-group of listening comprehension of Spanish, and 3.03 toward statement items in the sub-group of overall learning of Spanish. The average rating of attitudes felt by the eight participants as a group toward the twelve statement items as a group was 3.17.

The second set of results focuses on the average rating of attitudes each individual participant felt toward the statements in items #1-12. Then I will show the average rating of attitudes that each individual participant felt toward the three sub-groups of statements: speaking in Spanish (#5, 11, 2, and 8), listening comprehension of Spanish (#1, 7, 4, and 10), and learning Spanish (#3, 9, 6, and 12).

Table 4.8.b.

Average Rating of Attitudes for Participants as a Group Toward Statement Items by Subgroup (SSLQAA).

Speaking Items	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Agree		Strongly Agree		Average Rating of Attitude	
2	2	8	2	6	4	8	0	0	22/8	2.75
5	0	0	0	0	5	15	3	12	27/8	3.375
8	5	20	3	9	0	0	0	0	29/8	3.625
11	0	0	0	0	3	9	5	20	29/8	3.625
Totals	7	28	5	15	12	32	8	32	107/32	3.343
Listening Items										
1	1	1	0	0	7	21	0	0	22/8	2.75
7	0	0	1	2	7	21	0	0	23/8	2.875
4	2	8	6	18	0	0	0	0	26/8	3.25
10	6	24	2	6	0	0	0	0	30/8	3.75
Totals	9	33	9	26	14	42	0	0	101/32	3.156
Learning Items										
3	1	1	3	6	3	9	1	4	20/8	2.5
6	1	4	4	12	2	4	1	1	21/8	2.625
12	5	20	2	6	0	0	1	1	27/8	3.375
9	0	0	0	0	3	9	5	20	29/8	3.625
Totals	7	25	9	24	8	22	8	26	97/32	3.03

Table 4.8.c. shows the average rating for each of the eight individual participants for the twelve statement items. It displays the average rating for each statement item in the right-most column. It displays the average rating for the eight individual participants for the twelve statement items as a group at the end of the column below each participant's name. As shown in

the table, the average ratings for the eight participants range from Paul's rating of 2.75 to Annette's rating of 3.66. Out of a possible average rating of attitude of 4.0, all the participants had an average rating over 2.0, indicating positive attitudes.

Table 4.8.c.

Average Rating of Attitudes for Individual Participants Toward Each Statement Item (SSLQAA).

Item #	Annette	Roz	Michael	John	Rachel	Lola	Dana	Paul	Average Rating of Attitude	
3	3	3	3	2	4	2	2	1	20/8	2.5
6	4	3	2	3	3	2	3	1	21/8	2.625
1	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	22/8	2.75
2	3	4	2	3	4	2	2	2	22/8	2.75
7	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	23/8	2.875
4	4	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	26/8	3.25
5	4	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	27/8	3.375
12	4	4	4	4	3	1	3	4	27/8	3.375
11	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	29/8	3.625
9	4	4	4	3	3	4	3	4	29/8	3.625
8	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	29/8	3.625
10	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	30/8	3.75
Totals	3.66	3.5	3.33	3.25	3.25	2.916	2.75	2.75	3.177	

Table 4.8.d. shows the average rating for each of the eight participants for the three groups of statement items: speaking Spanish (#2, 5, 8, 11), listening comprehension of Spanish (#1, 4, 7, 10), and overall learning of Spanish (#3, 6, 9, 12).

Table 4.8.d.

Average Rating for Individual Participants Toward Statement Items by Subgroup (SSLQAA).

Sub-Group	Paul		Dana		Lola		Rachel		John		Michael		Roz		Annette		Average Rating of Attitude	
Speak	11/4	2.75	11/4	2.75	14/4	3.5	13/4	3.25	14/4	3.5	14/4	3.5	15/4	3.75	15/4	3.75	107/32	3.343
Listen	12/4	3.0	11/4	2.75	12/4	3.0	13/4	3.25	13/4	3.25	13/4	3.25	13/4	3.25	14/4	3.5	101/32	3.156
Learn	10/4	2.5	11/4	2.75	9/4	2.25	13/4	3.25	12/4	3.0	13/4	3.25	14/4	3.5	15/4	3.75	97/32	3.031
Totals	33/12	2.75	33/12	2.75	35/12	2.916	39/12	3.25	39/12	3.25	40/12	3.33	42/12	3.5	44/12	3.66	305/96	3.177

As seen in table 4.8.d., Paul's highest average rating (3.0) of positive attitudes was toward those statement items reflecting listening comprehension of Spanish. Paul's lowest average rating (2.5) of positive attitudes was toward those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. His total average rating of attitudes for all three sub-groups was 2.75.

Dana had the same average rating (2.75) of attitudes toward all three sub-groups of statement items. Her total average rating of attitudes for all three sub-groups was 2.75.

Lola's highest average rating (3.5) of attitudes was toward those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish. Lola's lowest average rating (2.25) of attitudes was toward those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. Her total average rating of attitudes for all three sub-groups was 2.916.

Rachel had the same average rating (3.25) of attitudes toward all three sub-groups of statement items. Her total average rating of attitudes for all three sub-groups was 3.25.

John's highest average rating (3.5) of attitudes was toward those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish. John's lowest average rating (3.0) of attitudes was toward those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. His total average rating of attitudes for all three sub-groups was 3.25.

Michael's highest average rating (3.5) of attitudes was toward those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish. Michael's lowest average rating (3.25) of attitudes was toward both those statement items reflecting listening to Spanish and those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. His total average rating of attitudes for all three sub-groups was 3.33.

Roz's highest average rating (3.75) of attitudes was toward those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish. Her lowest average rating (3.25) was toward those statement

items reflecting listening to Spanish. Her total average rating of attitudes for all three sub-groups was 3.5.

Annette's highest average rating (3.75) of attitudes was toward both those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish and those reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. Her lowest average rating (3.5) of attitudes was toward those statement items reflecting listening to Spanish. Her total average rating of attitudes for all three sub-groups was 3.66.

In conclusion, one participant (Paul) was the only participant who reported the highest average rating toward the group of statement items reflecting listening to Spanish. One participant (Annette) was the only participant that reported the highest average rating toward the group of statement items reflecting speaking Spanish and those reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. Four participants (Lola, John, Michael, and Roz) reported the highest average rating toward the group of statement items reflecting speaking Spanish. Two participants (Dana and Rachel) had the same average rating toward all three groups of items so they did not feel more positive or less positive toward any one group of statement items than another. Michael was the only participant that reported the lowest average rating toward the group of statement items reflecting listening to Spanish and the overall learning of Spanish. Two participants (Roz and Annette) reported the lowest average rating toward the group of statement items reflecting listening to Spanish. Three participants (Paul, Lola, and John) reported the lowest average rating toward the group of statement items reflecting overall learning of Spanish. In summary, the most participants reported the highest average rating of positive attitudes toward the group of statement items reflecting speaking Spanish and the most amount of participants reported the lowest average rating of positive attitudes toward the group of statement items.

D. Data analysis for the anxiety part of the SSLQAA.

There were a total of nineteen items (#13-31) on the anxiety part of the SSLQAA. Eighteen of these items (#13-30) consisted of four answer choices on the Likert Scale. The answer choices and the weights assigned to the answer choices for the nine even numbered items (#14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, and 30) are shown below in parentheses. A total of 36 "strongly agree" for the nine items (4X9 items) indicated high anxiety.

Strongly disagree (1)

Disagree (2)

Agree (3)

Strongly agree (4)

The answer choices and the weights assigned to the answer choices for the nine odd-numbered, reverse scored items (#13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, and 29) are shown below in parentheses. A total of 36 "strongly disagree" for the nine items (4x9 items) also indicated high anxiety.

Strongly disagree (4)

Disagree (3)

Agree (2)

Strongly agree (1)

To calculate the average rating for each statement item, I calculated a score for each answer choice. To do this, I multiplied the weight assigned to the answer choice by the number of responses (in this case, the same as the number of participants) who chose the answer choice. I then added up the scores for the four answer choices and divided the sum by the total number of responses (in this case, the same as the total number of participants).

To calculate the average rating for each of the eight participants, I added up the scores that each participant had provided for each of the item statements, and I divided the sum by the total number of item statements. An average participant score of 1 or 2 indicates low anxiety while an average participant score of 3 or 4 indicates high anxiety.

Finally, to analyze the checklist data from Item #31, I counted how many, and which, of the eight symptoms of anxiety on the checklist a participant checked.

E. Results for the anxiety part of the SSLQAA.

In the next section, I will present the results from the 18 statement items (#13-30) from the anxiety part of the SSLQAA.

The first set of results focuses on the statements in the items. I will show the weighted average, average rating, of anxiety that the eight participants as a group felt toward each statement item. Then I will show the weighted average, average rating, of anxiety that the eight participants as a group felt toward the three subsets of statements: speaking in Spanish (#13, 19, 25, 16, 22, and 28), listening comprehension of Spanish (#17, 23, 29, 14, 20, and 26), and learning Spanish (#15, 21, 27, 18, 24, and 30).

Table 4.8.e shows the average rating of anxiety that the eight participants as a group felt for each of the 18 statements in items #13-30. It displays the number of the statement item in the leftmost column and the number of times participants "strongly disagreed," "disagreed," "agreed," and "strongly disagreed" with the statement items. It displays the average rating for each statement item in the right-most column. As shown in the table, the items are arranged from lowest to highest average rating. The participants felt the lowest average rating (1.75) of anxiety toward statement items 13 and 18. They felt the highest average rating (3.25) of anxiety

toward statement item 20. The average rating of anxiety that the eight participants as a group felt for the entire group of eighteen statement items was 2.28.

Table 4.8.e.

Average Rating of Anxiety for Participants as a Group Toward Each Statement Item (SSLQAA).

Item #	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Agree		Strongly Agree		Average Rating of Anxiety	
13	0	0	1	3	4	8	3	3	14/8	1.75
18	2	2	6	12	0	0	0	0	14/8	1.75
15	0	0	1	3	5	10	2	2	15/8	1.875
27	0	0	2	6	3	6	3	3	15/8	1.875
21	0	0	2	6	4	8	2	2	16/8	2.0
22	3	3	2	4	3	9	0	0	16/8	2.0
23	1	4	2	6	2	4	3	3	17/8	2.125
30	1	1	5	10	2	6	0	0	17/8	2.125
14	2	2	2	4	4	12	0	0	18/8	2.25
19	0	0	3	9	4	8	1	1	18/8	2.25
28	2	2	3	6	2	6	1	4	18/8	2.25
16	1	1	4	8	2	6	1	4	19/8	2.375
24	0	0	5	10	3	9	0	0	19/8	2.375
25	0	0	3	9	5	10	0	0	19/8	2.375
29	1	4	2	6	4	8	1	1	19/8	2.375
26	0	0	3	6	2	6	3	12	24/8	3.0
17	2	8	5	15	1	2	0	8	25/8	3.125
20	0	0	0	0	6	18	2	43	26/8	3.25
Totals	15	27	51	123	56	136	22	43	329/144	2.28

Table 4.8.f. shows the average rating of anxiety that the eight participants as a group felt for the statements in the three sub-groups of items: speaking in Spanish (#13, 19, 25, 16, 22, and 28), listening comprehension of Spanish (#17, 23, 29, 14, 20, and 26), and overall learning of Spanish (#15, 21, 27, 18, 24, and 30). The tables display the number of the statement item in the leftmost column and the number of times participants "strongly disagreed," "disagreed," "agreed," and "strongly disagreed" with the statement items. They display the average rating for the statement items in each group in the right-most column. As shown in the tables, the participants felt the following average ratings of anxiety toward the three sub-groups: 2.16

toward statement items in the sub-group of speaking Spanish, 2.68 toward statement items in the sub-group of listening comprehension of Spanish, and 2.0 toward statement items in the sub-groups of overall learning of Spanish. The average rating of anxiety felt by the eight participants as a group toward the eighteen statement items as a group is 2.28.

Table 4.8.f.

Average Rating of Anxiety for Participants as a Group Toward Statement Items by Subgroup (SSLQAA).

Speak										
Item #	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Agree		Strongly Agree		Average Rating of Anxiety	
13	0	4	1	3	4	8	3	13	14/8	1.75
22	3	13	2	4	3	39	1	1	16/8	2.0
19	0	0	3	9	4	28	1	11	18/8	2.25
28	2	12	3	6	2	6	1	4	18/8	2.25
25	0	0	3	9	5	10	0	0	19/8	2.375
16	1	1	4	8	2	6	1	4	19/8	2.375
	6	6	16	39	20	47	6	12	104/48	2.16
Listen										
23	1	4	2	6	2	4	3	3	17/8	2.125
14	2	2	2	4	4	12	0	0	18/8	2.25
29	1	4	2	6	4	8	1	1	19/8	2.375
26	0	0	3	6	2	6	3	12	24/8	3.0
17	2	8	5	15	1	2	0	0	25/8	3.125
20	0	0	0	0	6	18	2	8	26/8	3.25
	6	18	14	37	19	50	9	24	129/48	2.68
Learn										
18	2	2	6	12	0	0	0	0	14/8	1.75
15	0	0	1	3	5	10	2	2	15/8	1.875
27	0	0	2	6	3	6	3	3	15/8	1.875
21	0	0	2	6	4	8	2	2	16/8	2.0
30	1	1	5	10	2	6	0	0	17/8	2.125
24	0	0	5	10	3	9	0	0	19/8	2.375
Totals	3	3	21	47	17	39	7	7	96/48	2.0

The second set of results focuses on the average rating of anxiety each individual participant felt toward the statements in items #13-30. Then I will show the average rating of anxiety that each individual participant felt toward the three sub-groups of statements: speaking

in Spanish (#13, 19, 25, 16, 22, and 28), listening comprehension of Spanish (#17, 23, 29, 14, 20, and 26), and learning Spanish (#15, 21, 27, 18, 24, and 30).

Table 4.8.g. shows the average rating for each of the eight individual participants for the eighteen statements in items 13-30. It displays the average rating for each statement item in the right-most column. It displays the average rating for the eight individual participants for the eighteen statement items as a group at the end of the column below each participant's name. As shown in the table, the average ratings for the eight participants ranges from Roz's rating of 1.83 to Paul rating of 2.72. Out of a possible average rating of anxiety of 4.0, one participant, Roz, had an average rating of anxiety that was under 2.0; one participant, Lola, had an average rating of anxiety that was at 2.0; and, six participants, Rachel, Annette, Michael, John, Dana, and Paul had an average rating of anxiety that was between 2.05 and 2.72. Since an average rating of 1 or 2 indicated low anxiety, two participants, Roz and Lola had low anxiety while the other six participants' average rating indicated high anxiety.

Table 4.8.g.

Average Rating of Anxiety for Individual Participants Toward Each Statement Item (SSLQAA).

Item #	Roz	Lola	Rachel	Annette	Michael	John	Dana	Paul	Average Rating of Anxiety	
13	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	14/8	1.75
18	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	14/8	1.75
15	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	15/8	1.875
27	2	2	1	1	2	1	3	3	15/8	1.875
21	2	1	2	3	1	3	2	2	16/8	2.0
22	1	1	2	3	1	3	2	3	16/8	2.0
23	1	1	2	1	4	3	3	2	17/8	2.125
30	2	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	17/8	2.125
14	1	3	2	1	3	2	3	3	18/8	2.25
19	3	2	2	1	2	2	3	3	18/8	2.25
28	1	3	2	1	4	2	3	2	18/8	2.25
16	1	2	2	4	2	2	3	3	19/8	2.375
24	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	3	19/8	2.375
25	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	19/8	2.375
29	1	2	2	4	3	3	2	2	19/8	2.375
26	4	2	2	4	3	4	3	2	24/8	3.0
17	3	3	3	2	4	4	3	3	25/8	3.125
20	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	4	26/8	3.25
Totals	1.83	2.0	2.05	2.166	2.388	2.5	2.61	2.72		2.28

Table 4.8.h. shows the average rating of anxiety that each of the eight participants felt for the three sub-groups of statement items: speaking in Spanish, listening comprehension of Spanish, and the overall learning of Spanish.

Table 4.8.h.

Average Rating of Anxiety for Individual Participants Toward Each Statement Item by Subgroup (SSLQAA).

Sub-Group	Roz		Lola		Rachel		Annette		Michael		John		Dana		Paul		Average Rating of Anxiety	
Speak	10/6	1.66	11/6	1.83	12/6	2.00	12/6	2.00	12/6	2.0	14/6	2.33	16/6	2.66	17/6	2.83	104/48	2.166
Listen	13/6	2.16	14/6	2.33	15/6	2.33	15/6	2.50	21/6	3.50	19/6	3.166	17/6	2.83	16/6	2.66	129/48	2.68
Learn	10/6	1.66	11/6	2.83	12/6	1.83	12/6	2.0	10/6	1.66	12/6	2.0	14/6	2.33	16/6	2.66	96/48	2.0
Totals	33/18	1.83	36/18	2.00	37/18	2.05	39/18	2.16	43/18	2.38	45/18	2.50	47/18	2.61	49/18	2.72	329/144	2.284

As shown in tables 4a, 4b, and 4c, Roz's highest average rating (2.16) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting listening comprehension of Spanish. Roz had the same average rating (1.66) of anxiety toward both those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish and those reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. Her total average rating of anxiety for all three sub-groups was 1.83.

Lola's highest average rating (2.33) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting listening comprehension of Spanish. Lola had the same average rating (1.83) of anxiety toward both those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish and those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. Her total average rating of anxiety for all three sub-groups was 2.00.

Rachel's highest average rating (2.33) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting listening comprehension of Spanish. Rachel's lowest average rating (1.83) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. Her total average rating of anxiety for all three sub-groups was 2.05.

Annette's highest average rating (2.50) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting listening comprehension of Spanish. Annette had the same average rating (2.00) of anxiety toward both those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish and those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. Her total average rating of anxiety for all three sub-groups was 2.16.

Michael's highest average rating (3.5) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting listening comprehension of Spanish. Michael's lowest average rating (1.66) of anxiety was toward those items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. His total average rating of anxiety for all three sub-groups was 2.38.

John's highest average rating (3.166) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting listening comprehension of Spanish. John's lowest average rating (2.00) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. His total average rating of anxiety for the three sub-groups was 2.50.

Dana's highest average rating (2.83) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting listening comprehension of Spanish. Dana's lowest average rating (2.33) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. Her total average rating of anxiety for the three sub-groups was 2.61.

Paul highest average rating (2.83) of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish. Paul lowest average rating (2.66) of anxiety was toward both those statement items reflecting listening comprehension in Spanish and toward those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. His total average rating of anxiety for the three sub-groups was 2.72.

In summary, one participant, Paul had their highest average rating of anxiety toward those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish. The remaining seven participants had their highest average rating of anxiety toward those statement items reflecting listening comprehension of Spanish. No participants had their highest average rating of anxiety toward those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. For four participants (Rachel, Michael, John, and Dana), their lowest average rating of anxiety was toward those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. For three participants (Roz, Lola, and Annette), their lowest average rating of anxiety was the same for both those statement items reflecting speaking in Spanish and those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish. For one participant, Paul the lowest average rating of anxiety was the same for both those statement items

reflecting listening comprehension of Spanish and those statement items reflecting the overall learning of Spanish.

Finally, the SSLQAA included a question (question #31) that provided participants with a checklist question which asked them to examine a list of eight symptoms of language anxiety and to check the symptoms that applied to the way they feel when they speak Spanish in front of Puerto Ricans. The eight symptoms included: 1. heart speeds up, 2. feel flushed, 3. stutter when speaking, 4. upset stomach, 5. turn red, 6. shortness of breath/rapid breathing, 7. start sweating, and 8. tremble/shake.

When examining the participants as a group, it was found that none of the participants checked five of the symptoms: upset stomach, turn red, shortness of breath/rapid breathing, start sweating, and tremble/shake. Five of the participants checked the remaining three symptoms; four checked "heart speeds up"; two checked "feel flushed," and two checked "stutter when speaking."

When examining each individual participant, it was found that three of the participants, John, Michael, and Roz, did not check any of the symptoms. The other five participants (Lola, Paul Rachel, Annette, and Dana) checked at least one symptom. Lola, Paul and Rachel checked one symptom; Lola and Paul checked "heart speeds up" while Rachel checked "stutter when speaking." One participant, Annette, checked two symptoms, "heart speeds up" and "feel flushed." One participant, Dana, checked three symptoms, "heart speeds up," "feel flushed," and "stutter when speaking."

Section 5.4: Research Question #4

Research question #4 read What role does communication patterns and cultural expression play for L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico?

A. Data collection for the Spanish as a second language questionnaire: communication practices (SSLQCP) (See Appendix E).

The Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire: Communication Patterns (SSLQCP) was a written questionnaire with eight different domains where the participants might have the opportunity to engage in typical interactions with typical native Spanish speakers. The eight domains were: 1. Neighbors, 2. Clubs, 3. Religious Practices, 4. Transactions, 5. Employment, 6. Puerto Rican Friends and Acquaintances, 7. Kids, and 8. Pets. For each domain, question (a) served as a contingency question to determine if the participants interacted in the domain. If the participants did not interact in a domain, they were asked to skip that domain and move on to the next domain. If the participants did interact in a domain, they were offered from four to six new questions. The first six domains of Neighbors, Clubs, Religious Practices, Transactions, Employment, and Puerto Rican Friends and Acquaintances offered four additional questions, (b), (c), (d), and (e). Puerto Rican Friends and Acquaintances offered another two additional questions, (f) and (g). The two domains of Kids and Pets, offered questions that were different from each other and from the questions in the first six domains.

For the first six domains, Neighbors, Clubs, Religious Practices, Transactions, Employment, and Puerto Rican Friends and Acquaintances, question (b) asked participants if they used Spanish to communicate in the domain; question (c) asked participants how often they used Spanish to communicate within the domain; question (d) asked participants if interlocators in the domain used Spanish to communicate with them; and question (e) asked participants how

often interlocators in the domain used Spanish to communicate with them. The questions (b), (c), (d), (e) were close-ended questions which the participants answered *yes/no* or answered with *most of the time, sometimes,* or *never.*

For the domain of Puerto Rican Friends and Acquaintances, question (f) asked participants if they had a Puerto Rican friend or acquaintance who would help them if they had an emergency. Question (g) asked participants if that friend or acquaintance would visit them if they were in the hospital. Participants answered both close-ended questions with *yes*/*no*.

For the domain of Kids, question (b) asked participants if they had any Puerto Rican friends who would watch their kids if they needed them to. Question (c) asked participants if their kids were in a Spanish-speaking school. Question (d) asked participants if having kids in a Spanish-speaking school provided the participants with opportunities to speak Spanish. Participants answered the three close-ended questions with *yes/no*.

For the domain Pets, question (b) asked participants if they had any Puerto Rican friends who would watch their pets if they needed them to. Question (c) asked participants if having pets provided the participants with opportunities to speak Spanish. Participants answered both questions with *yes/no*.

B. Data analysis for the SSLQCP.

To analyze the data for the SSLQCP, I examined the data responses for each participant across the eight domains. I then examined each domain to find out how each participant responded to the questions in the domain.

C. Results of the SSLQCP.

As shown in table 4.9., all eight participants reported having Puerto Rican neighbors, conducting transactions (ordering food, buying groceries, doctor appointments, etc.), and having

Puerto Rican friends and acquaintances. Four of the participants (John, Michael, Annette, and Roz) reported having employment where they work with Puerto Ricans. For John, Michael, and Roz, this was because they were part of the MAEE program and taught Puerto Ricans at the university. For Annette, this was because she was also employed by the university and worked closely with Puerto Ricans. Two participants (Annette and Lola) said they had kids in Puerto Rico. Three participants (Annette, Rachel, and Paul) said they had pets. Only one participant, Lola, said she belonged to a club and participated in religious practices in Puerto Rico.

Overall, if we look at the participants as case studies, as table 4 shows, Lola and Annette reported yes to six of the eight domains while John, Michael, Roz, Rachel and Paul reported yes to four of the eight domains, and Dana reported yes to three of the eight domains.

Table 4.9.

Communication Patterns for Individual Participants (SSLQCP).

Communication Domain	Lola	Annette	John	Michael	Roz	Rachel	Paul	Dana	Total
Neighbors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8
Transactions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8
Puerto Rican Friends	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8
Employment		+	+	+	+				4
Pets		+				+	+		3
Kids	+	+							2
Clubs	+								1
Religion	+								1
Totals	6	6	4	4	4	4	4	3	35

D. Data collection for the SSLQCEP.

The first step I took to create the cultural expression part of the SSLQCEP was to have my colleagues and I brainstorm for words that seemed important to the Puerto Rican culture due to our experiences in Puerto Rico. The words we came up with were *familia, chinchoreando, buen provecho, confianza, detallista,* and *compartir.* I then interviewed a group of my Puerto

Rican peers. I first asked if they considered these words to be important to the Puerto Rican culture. All of them agreed they were. Second, I asked my Puerto Rican peers to tell me what each of the words meant to them.

My friends described *familia* as a deep understanding of family, both blood-related and those friends who have created such a deep bond with you that you would say are part of your family. The idea of *la familia* being an important part of the Puerto Rican culture can also be found in Morales and Blau (2009) where Morales states "family (la familia) is a priority for me" (p. 47). This concept of *la familia* is so important to her and the culture of her Puerto Rican students that she incorporates aspects of *la familia* into her class (p. 47).

My friends described *chinchoreando* as the Puerto Rican way to hangout where a group of family members and/or close friends get together in several different cars and travel from one little store or food truck to another drinking beer, eating fried foods, having fun, and, as one peer put it, "stuffing your face and becoming happy fatties."

My friends described *buen provecho* as meaning "enjoy your food," "stay healthy," "hoping the food gets you well," "hoping you have a good eating experience," and "may your food be as good to you as you are a friend to me." *Buen provecho* has been described by some of my peers as a phrase you would say to anyone you see eating while others described it as a phrase you would only say to someone you know when you see them eating.

Soto-Santiago et al. (2015) defined *confianza* as "a feeling of mutual understanding, respect, and emotional closeness" (p. 10). To my peers*, confianza* was described as going way beyond trust or even an evolved concept of trust where you trust someone so much that you know you can tell them private things and you know they will not share them. *Confianza* signals that you know someone will not harm you or put you in harmful situations. Additionally, I have

been told by one of my sons' coaches that *confianza* is trusting someone so much that you will trust them with your most precious things. For example, when you have *confianza* in someone you would let them drive your kids around or you would leave your house unlocked and knowing that they would not do anything you would not want them to do. It is important to note that one of my peers stated that *confianza* is something you perceive in someone else.

My friends described *detallista* as a person who is very observant of others and is someone who is always very nice and gives small presents to people, mainly their close friends. This person really listens when you talk to them and they tend to remember your favorite things and then gift items to you that are either your favorite colors or things. For instance, my Puerto Rican friend Edcel knows I like *Angry Birds* and that I love pigs, so upon returning from a trip, Edcel gave me a one foot-tall piggy bank that was one of the pigs from *Angry Birds*. In addition, several of my Puerto Rican friends have given me little gifts that usually cost less than a dollar on repeated occasions for no special reason.

Lastly, my friends described *compartir* as getting together or holding get-togethers to have fun by talking and eating with family, loved ones, or close friends so you can share in their company for a short time. Another step I took to create the SSLQCEP was by brainstorming practices that I perceived as being an important part of the Puerto Rican culture because I had either taken part in them or witnessed them while residing in Puerto Rico. The cultural practices I came up with were: dressing in a Puerto Rican style, greeting people with a kiss on the cheek, celebrating Puerto Rican holidays, going to events at the town plaza, and eating Puerto Rican food. Again, I interviewed my friends and asked them if they believed these practices were important to the Puerto Rican culture. Because my friends were in agreement that greeting someone with a kiss on the cheek, celebrating Puerto Rican holidays, and going to events at the

town plaza were part of the Puerto Rican culture, I did not ask them to elaborate on those concepts. However, my friends were not in agreement with the existence of a Puerto Rican style of dress and they had a hard time agreeing on what Puerto Rican cultural foods could be considered to be commonly eaten by Puerto Ricans.

From an insider's perspective, like that of many of my Puerto Rican friends, there is not a "Puerto Rican" way of dressing because, as most of them note, their clothes are the same ones sold in the United States. However, I am an outsider to the Puerto Rican culture; and from an outsider's perspective, such as mine, even though the clothes may be the same ones sold in the United States, it is my opinion the way in which Puerto Ricans wear them and the color combinations Puerto Ricans make with them create a Puerto Rican style. For instance, Puerto Rican women wear a lot of bright colored clothes that are lightweight and flow in the wind. In many cases, these clothes are see-through with another light piece of clothing under them to keep them cool. Likewise, these same clothes are often worn in professional settings which may seem unusual or even inappropriate at times from an outsider's perspective. In addition, I have witnessed several occasions where colors I would not have worn together are worn together by Puerto Rican women. It is important to note that when I purposely wear color combinations together that I have seen Puerto Rican women wear, I have been complimented by Puerto Ricans with phrases like "Wow, you really are becoming Puerto Rican" or "You look Puerto Rican today." If a Puerto Rican style is non-existent, then it would be unusual to receive such comments. From my outsider perspective, I think that both Puerto Rican men and women have a style of dressing that is different from how men and women in the continental United States would dress from my outside perspective. As a woman, I have spent much time, two years,

focusing on the dressing styles of Puerto Rican women so I could dress more like them, so I used their dressing styles as examples.

The second step I took was to create items concerning Puerto Rican foods. I had originally tried to create a list of Puerto Rican foods that Puerto Ricans believe to be important to their culture. I did this by asking six of my Puerto Rican friends to create a list of six Puerto Rican foods they felt were important to the Puerto Rican culture for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. I then planned on examining those lists, gathering the foods that were seen the most, and creating my own list. However, I found this task to be undoable because my friends varied so much in the Puerto Rican items they had listed. I asked them why they thought this might be and they said they felt it was due to the variation in their Puerto Rican ethnic backgrounds as some of them were raised by parents who had lived in the continental United States, some of them were raised by parents with more of a Spanish background, some of them had more of an African background, and others had more of a Taino Indian background. In addition, a few of my friends noted that some of the foods listed were usually only eaten by wealthy Puerto Ricans while others were usually eaten by lower class Puerto Ricans. The only food that they had in common was *arroz con habichuelas* (rice with bean). On the questionnaire, I asked participants to list Puerto Rican food that they ate more than twice a week.

A third step I took to create the SSLQCEP was to try to find out if participants would use the Spanish language instead of the English language during a heightened emotional state. This led me to reflect on times in which I had heard my Puerto Rican friends shout words in English, which I found to be in times of pain, when they were upset or angry, and when they were telling people how they felt about them whether it was negative or positive feelings. On the questionnaire, I asked participants to if they would use Spanish words instead of English when in

the heightened emotional states of pain, anger, and to express feelings of love or hate. The last step I took to create the SSLQCEP was by questions dealing with the participant's identity in terms of being, wanting to be, or having others view them as being Puerto Rican.

I used the information from these steps to create the SSLQCEP. This questionnaire was a written questionnaire with 18 items. Items #1-8 asked open and close-ended questions about the participants' participation in Puerto Rican cultural practices. Items #9-11 asked participants' if they used English, Spanish, or both languages in heightened emotional situations. Items #12a, 12b, and 12c crosschecked the answers for items #9-11. Items #13-15 asked questions about the participants' knowledge of typical Puerto Rican Spanish words that seem relevant to the Puerto Rican culture. Items #16-18 asked questions about the participants' identities.

E. Data analysis for the SSLQCEP.

The SSLQCEP consisted of 18 questions that I felt to be culturally relevant to Puerto Ricans and their way of life. The 18 questions were split into four areas: Puerto Rican cultural practices (#1-8), emotional situations (#9-12), Puerto Rican cultural terms (#13-15), and identity (#16-18). The cultural practice items asked participants if they participated in Puerto Rican cultural practices. The emotional situations items asked participants if they used English, Spanish, or both when they were faced with emotional situations. The Puerto Rican Spanish term items asked participants about their knowledge of the terms in relation to the Puerto Rican culture. The identity items asked participants about their thoughts, wants, and feelings about being Puerto Rican.

F. Results of the SSLQCEP.

As table 4.10.a. shows, all eight participants reported that family and friends are central parts of their lives (Item #1) and that they greet Puerto Ricans with a kiss on the cheek (Item #2). Seven participants reported going to the plaza for special events (Item #4). Six participants

reported eating Puerto Rican foods two or more times per week (Item #6). Six participants reported occasionally eating at food trucks or participating in *chinchoreando* (Item #7). Four of the participants reported that they celebrate Puerto Rican holidays (Item #3). Three participants reported saying *buen provecho* to people when they say them eating (Item #8). Two participants reported trying to dress in a Puerto Rican style (Item #5).

Annette reported taking part in seven of the cultural practice items. John, Lola, and Roz reported taking part in six of the eight cultural practice items. Michael, Dana, and Rachel reported taking part in five of the eight cultural practice items. Paul reported taking part in four of the cultural practice items. Overall, the majority of the participants (seven out of eight) take part in cultural practices in Puerto Rico. The total number of cultural practices in which the learners participate is important because taking part in the practices means they are participating in the language community which is helping them to achieve their integrative orientations and increasing their chances of success in learning Spanish. However, participants, such as Paul, who have integrative reasons (respect for the Puerto Rican culture) for learning Spanish but are not taking part in Puerto Rican cultural practices are not achieving their integrative reasons for learning the language and are therefore lessening their chances of being successful in language learning.

Table 4.10.a

Participant Responses to Items #1-8 on the SSLQCEP.

Item #	John	Michael	Lola	Annette	Dana	Paul	Rachel	Roz
#1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
#2	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
#3	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
#4	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
#5	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
#6	1. Amarillos 2. Arroz con Frijoles	1. Mofongo/ Plantains 2. Rice and beans	1. Arroz blanco 2. Piña	1. Rice and beans 2. Tostones	1. Pinchos	None	None	1. Arroz con gandules
#7	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
#8	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No

As table 4.10.b. shows, when asked which language they would shout out something if they were really hurt, six of the participants reported they would use English while two participants reported they would both Spanish and English (Item #9). When asked if they were really upset and wanted to tell one of their Puerto Rican friends about it (Item #10), seven participants reported that they would use English while one participant reported they would use both languages. When asked what language they would use if they wanted to tell someone who speaks both English and Spanish how they feel about them (11), six participants reported they would use English, one participants reported that they would use Spanish, and one participant reported that they would use both languages. For Item #12, the participants were asked if the English or Spanish phase meant more to them. As shown in the table, when asked if *shit* or *mierda* meant more to the participant (Item 12a), all participants chose the English word *shit.* When asked if the English phrase "I am really pissed off" or the Spanish phrase "¡Estoy encojona'o"! or "¡Estoy bien molesto!" meant more to the participant (Item 12b), all eight

participants chose the English phrase "I am really pissed off." When asked if the English phrase "I love you" or the Spanish phrase "Te amo" or "Te quiero" meant more to the participant (Item 12c), five of the participants chose the English phrase "I love you."

As shown in table 4.10.b., John, Michael, Annette, and Paul reported using English in all six situations. Lola reported using English in four of the six situations and either Spanish or both languages in the other two situations. Dana reported using English in five of the six situations and Spanish the other situation. Rachel and Roz reported using English in five of the six situations and both languages in the other situation. Overall, the participants tend to use English and feel more emotionally attached to English than Spanish.

Table 4.10.b.

Participant Responses to Items #9-12 on the SSLQCEP.

Item #	John	Michael	Lola	Annette	Dana	Paul	Rachel	Roz
#9	English	English	English	English	Both	English	Both	English
#10	English	English	Both	English	English	English	English	English
#11	English	English	Spanish	English	English	English	English	Both
#12 a	*Shit!*	*Shit!*	*Shit!*	*Shit!*	*Shit!*	*Shit!*	*Shit!*	*Shit!*
b	*I am really pissed off!*	*I am really pissed off!*	*I am really pissed off!*	*I am really pissed off!*	*I am really pissed off!*	*I am really pissed off!*	*I am really pissed off!*	*I am really pissed off!*
c	*Te amo* or *Te quiero*	*I love you.*	*Te amo* or *Te quiero.*	*I love you.*	*I love you.*	*I love you.*	*I love you.*	*Te amo* or *Te quiero**

The Puerto Rican cultural term items (#13-15) asked participants about their cultural knowledge. There were three parts to each item. The first part had the response choices of "yes" and "no." The second and third parts of the items were open-ended questions where participants could write in their answers. Item #13 asked participants: Do you know what confianza means? Five participants responded "yes," but only three of them (Roz, John, and Annette) were able to

provide a definition that related to the cultural meaning. For items #14, participants were asked: Do you know what detallista means. Only one participant (Annette) responded "yes," but she was not able to provide a definition that was related to the cultural meaning. For item #15, participants were asked: Do you know what compartir means?

As shown in tables 4.10.c. and 4.10.d., three participants (Lola, John, and Annette) responded yes, but only two participants (John, and Annette) were able to provide a definition that was related to the cultural meaning. Out of the eight participants, only three (Roz, John, and Annette) knew some of the cultural terms.

Table 4.10.c.

Participants' Self-Reporting Ability to Define Spanish Terms.

Term	Annette	John	Lola	Roz	Michael	Rachel	Dana	Paul
Confianza	+	+	+	+	+			
Compartir	+	+	+					
Detallista	+							

Table 4.10.d.

Participants Correctly Defining Spanish Terms.

Term	Annette	John	Roz	Lola	Michael	Dana	Rachel	Paul
Confianza	+	+	+					
Compartir	+	+						
Detallista								

As table 4.10.e. shows, when asked if they thought of themselves as Puerto Rican (Item #16) or if they wanted to be Puerto Rican (Item #17), all eight participants responded no. When asked if they anyone had ever assumed the participant to be Puerto Rican, seven of the participants reported yes. When asked how they felt when someone assumed they were Puerto Rican, four participants responded with positive responses while three participants responded

with negative responses. Overall, the participants do not see themselves as Puerto Rican, nor do they want to be. In addition, the majority of participants had been assumed to be Puerto Rican by others at one time or another and had negative and positive reactions to this assumption.

Table 4.10.e.

Participant Responses to Items #16-18 on the SSLQCEP.

Item #	John	Michael	Lola	Annette	Dana	Paul	Rachel	Roz
#16	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
#17	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
#18 a	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
b	I like it.	Good. Accepted. Normal. As if I belong.	Amused.	Proud, happy.	Like a faker.	N/A	Indifferent.	Less of an outsider.

Section 5.5: Research Question #5

Research question #5 read "What are the profiles of self- reported "successful" and "unsuccessful" L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico?"

A. Data collection for research Question #5.

The data collection for research question #5 comes from the participants responses to the voice-recorded interview questions #27, 28, and 29 of the SSLQSDLC.

B. Data analysis for research Question #5.

To analyze the data for research question #5, I transcribed questions #27, 28, and 29 of the SSLQSDLC and wrote a description of the participants' responses.

C. Results for research question #5.

The results for research question #5 include a description of participant ability to answer two questions in Spanish and their perception as to whether they are successful or unsuccessful in learning the Spanish language.

As shown in table 4.11.a., six of the eight participants were able to answer the question ¿Cómo te llamas? without difficulty. One participant answered the question with difficulty. One participant was not able to answer the question. Six of the eight participants responded using only Spanish while two of the participants used Spanish and English.

John, Annette, Michael, Rachel, and Paul were able to answer the question without difficulty using only Spanish. Dana was able to answer the question without difficulty using Spanish and English. Roz was able to answer the question with difficulty using Spanish and English. Lola was not able to answer the question correctly but responded in Spanish.

Table 4.11.a.

Participants and Their Ability to Answer and Language used to Answer ¿Cómo te llamas?

Participants	Ability to Answer	Language
John	Yes	Spanish
Annette	Yes	Spanish
Michael	Yes	Spanish
Rachel	Yes	Spanish
Paul	Yes	Spanish
Dana	Yes	Spanish/English
Roz	Yes with Difficulty	Spanish/English
Lola	No	Spanish

As shown in table 4.11.b., five participants were able to answer the question ¿Por qué te mudaste a Puerto Rico? without difficulty. Two participants were able to answer the question with difficulty. One participant was not able to answer the question. Three participants used Spanish only while the other five participants used Spanish and English.

John, Annette, and Lola were able to answer the question without difficulty using only Spanish. Michael and Rachel were able to answer the question without difficulty using Spanish and English. Paul and Dana were able to answer the question with difficulty using Spanish and English. Roz was not able to answer the question but responded using both Spanish and English.

Table 4.11.b.

Participants and Their Ability to Answer and Language Used to Answer ¿Por qué te mudaste a Puerto Rico?

Participants	Ability to Answer	Language
John	Yes	Spanish
Annette	Yes	Spanish
Lola	Yes	Spanish
Michael	Yes	Spanish/English
Rachel	Yes	Spanish/English
Paul	Yes with Difficulty	Spanish/English
Dana	Yes with Difficulty	Spanish/English
Roz	No	Spanish/English

As shown in table 4.11.c., five participants (John, Michael, Lola, Annette, and Roz) self-reported to be successful at learning Spanish, two participants (Rachel and Paul) self-reported to be both successful and unsuccessful at learning Spanish, and one participant (Dana) reported to be unsuccessful at learning Spanish.

Table 4.11.c.

Participants' Perception of Success.

Participant Perception	John	Michael	Lola	Annette	Roz	Rachel	Paul	Dana
Successful	+	+	+	+	+			
Both						+	+	
Unsuccessful								+

Conclusion

This chapter provided the data collection, data analysis and data results for the questionnaires used to answer the research questions. The answer to research question one is that the participants perceive the linguistic landscape and soundscape to vary between almost all English to almost all Spanish. The participants believe the reasons for these differences in the linguistic landscape and soundscape are: business ownership, the target audience and their

comfort and familiarity, location of the business, and cultural expression. Participants perceived the linguistic landscape found a diorama #3 (the diorama that was described as almost all Spanish) to be the best representation of the linguistic landscape and soundscapes found within Puerto Rico. The majority of participants (six out of eight) found the linguistic landscape and soundscape to be a motivator to learn Spanish. One the other hand, the linguistic landscape and soundscape found in Puerto Rico leads many participants to believe that learning Spanish is not necessary and that there is no demand for learners to learn it. The answer to research question two is that all participants had a moderate degree of motivational intensity and a moderate to high degree of intensity of desire. In addition, the participants found integrative reasons (response C, in item #13, and response A, in item #14) to be the most important reasons to learn Spanish. The answer to research question three is that the participants had positive attitudes and low anxiety, with the exception of John, Dana, and Paul. The answer to research question four is that the majority of participants do not take part in more than 50% of the communication domains that are available to them. Also, the majority of the participants (seven out of eight) do take part in over 50% of the cultural practices in Puerto Rico and the participants tend to use English instead of Spanish in emotional situations and tend to have more of an emotional attachment to English words or phrases than they do for Spanish words or phrases. Lastly, five out of the eight participants do not know the meaning of important Puerto Rican Spanish cultural terms, and they do not see themselves as being Puerto Rican nor do they want to be Puerto Ricans, even if they see it as being a good thing.

Chapter V: Discussion

As seen in the review of the literature, linguistic landscape and soundscape, fairly new fields of research, have been found to affect language learning. In addition, I discussed previous research that found motivation, desire, attitudes, and anxiety to be individual differences which are significant factors in language learning. I also summarized prior research which found integration with the target language community to be important.

This chapter will discuss the results from all of the questions in relation to the literature review. It will also discuss a conclusion of the results. In addition, it will include a section on the implications for teaching and provide the limitations of this study along with directions for future research.

Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape

Ellis (2008), Saville-Troike (2006), Lightbown and Spada (2013, and Ortega (2013) all made distinctions between the naturalistic and instructed language acquisition settings. Ortega asserted that most learners learn the language through a mixture of naturalistic and instructed settings (2013, p.8). Although many of the participants in this study had previously learned Spanish in the instructed setting (refer to Participant Profiles, Chapter 3), none of the participants in this study were receiving formal instruction in the Spanish language during the time of this study. In other words, they were all learning Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico at the time of this study. In order to learn Spanish in this setting, they were experiencing input from the linguistic landscape and soundscape.

The participants' in this study described the linguistic landscape and soundscape as having varying amounts of English and Spanish. Though there has been little research in these

fields of study, researchers such as Cenoz and Gorter have pointed out the use of language in the linguistic landscape and soundscape influence language learning.

One of the findings that Cenoz and Gorter (2008) report is that the linguistic landscape combines printed and visual texts (p. 278). The linguistic landscape in Puerto Rico supports this statement. One participant, Michael, described an experience within the linguistic landscape where both the printed and visual text was present. In this account, Michael remembers seeing an outline of a key on a hardware store and then seeing llaves written by the outline of the key, supporting Cenoz and Gorter's findings. Michael continues by stating that seeing the visual beside the text helped him in recognizing that llave was the Spanish word for key, which generally supports Cenoz and Gorter (2008) assertion that learners acquire literacy in cases such as this (p. 277).

Gorter (2013) states that the linguistic landscape influences perceptions about the language status and affects speakers' linguistic behavior (p. 16). As we have learned from the participants first impressions of language use in Puerto Rico and from their reports of where they tended to hang out or do their shopping (see Participant Profiles, Chapter 3), the linguistic landscape and soundscape of Puerto Rico does, in fact, influence their perceptions about language use. In other words, if they wanted to have a more cultured experience and communicate in Spanish, they would hang out in stores similar to those in diorama #3 (almost all Spanish). However, if they wanted to feel more like they were in the States, they would shop in stores like those found in diorama #1 which had more English than Spanish to almost all English linguistic landscape and soundscape. Participants were going into specific linguistic landscape and soundscape settings in order to interact with specific languages. In addition, because of the presence of English in the linguistic landscape and soundscape, many of the participants felt that

learning Spanish was not necessary because there was no need or demand to learn the language (see Participant Profiles, Chapter 3).

As Cenoz and Gorter (2008) point out, the linguistic landscape has different functions such as affecting learners' perceptions or attitudes of a language (p. 274). As my participants pointed out, the use of specific languages in the linguistic landscape may be due to the target audience – some of which are tourists in Puerto Rico. This supports Cenoz and Gorter's (2008) research which states English in the linguistic landscape may be targeted toward foreign visitors (p. 269). Lastly, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) asked learners if they learned from the landscape. I asked my participants this as well, and as seen in the Participant Profiles, they felt they had learned from the linguistic landscape as well as they soundscape.

The ways in which my research on the linguistic landscape and soundscape differ from existing research are that: 1) the participants are asked questions about the linguistic landscape dioramas and soundscape recordings in order to build a description of the linguistic landscape and soundscape; 2) the participants were asked why they believe the differences in the linguistic landscape and soundscape exist; and, 3) the participants were asked how the linguistic landscape influenced their motivation (see Table 4.4).

Motivation

We recall that Gardner (1985a) suggested that motivation was a combination of positive attitudes, motivational intensity (effort), and desire. He proposed that if a language learner (within the instructed setting) possessed positive attitudes, a high degree of effort, and a high degree of desire, they were motivated subjects (p. 11). This suggests they are likely to be successful in language learning. Many replicated and modified studies resulted in similar findings. To determine if the participants in this study are motivated beings, we must first discuss

the results of their motivational intensity, desire, and attitudes. Before starting this discussion, it is important to note that Gardner (1985a, 1985b) conducted a large-scale study in Canada which supported his theory that social factors such as attitudes may influence the rate and extent of second language learning. You will see in my discussion of motivational intensity, desire, and attitudes, that I posit that this philosophy not only relates to the other two factors that make up a motivated being but that it is also true for the degrees and averages found in the subgroups examined in the motivational intensity and attitude statement items: speaking, listening comprehension, and learning. In other words, the subgroup receiving the highest ideal degrees or averages (whether it be a high degree / average or a low degree / average) will influence the rate and extent to which a learner develops the language skill subgroup. For example, Lola's highest degree of motivational intensity (3.0) was toward the subgroup of speaking Spanish and her lowest degree of motivational intensity (2.0) was toward the subgroup of listening comprehension. This suggests that Lola could develop the skill of speaking of Spanish at a faster rate and more in depth than she would develop the skill of listening comprehension.

Motivational Intensity

As seen in the literature review, Gardner (1985a) stated that an individual is motivated "when the desire to achieve the goal and favourable attitudes toward the goal are linked with the effort" (p. 11), so it is important to discuss the motivational intensity findings of the group and participants and not just their desires or attitudes. When using the AMTB, Gardner researched the relationship between motivational intensity and its relation to language learning and found that a participant's motivational intensity influences second language learning.

This study found the participants as a group to have an average score of moderate to high motivational intensity toward Spanish (see Table 4.7.a.). When considering the participants as a

group and their motivation toward the three subgroups of speaking Spanish, listening comprehension of Spanish, and the overall learning of Spanish, I found the participants as a group have moderate to high scores of motivational intensity with their highest motivational intensity score being toward speaking Spanish and their lowest motivational intensity score being toward listening to Spanish (see Table 4.7.b.). Seeing that Gardner (1985a) believes that social factors influence the rate and extent of second language learning, it is likely that individual factors such as motivational intensity influence the rate and extent as well. With this in mind, it is possible that the participants as a group are likely to be most successful in speaking Spanish and least successful in their listening comprehension of Spanish.

When considering the individual participants and their motivational intensity toward Spanish, I found that two of the participants (Roz and Lola) had high motivational intensity, one participant had a moderate-high/high degree of motivational intensity (Michael), four participants (Rachel, John, Annette, and Paul) had moderate-high degrees of motivational intensity – though Paul is on the low end of the moderate-high space, and one participant (Dana) had a low/low-moderate degree of motivational intensity (see Table 4.7.c.). Because Gardner suggests that attitudes may influence the extent to which a language is learned and I have suggested that motivational intensity may too influence the extent to which a language is learned, participants with high motivational intensity are more likely to be successful in learning Spanish than the other participants while those participants with moderate-high/high and moderate-high motivational intensity are more likely to be successful in learning Spanish than are those participants with low-moderate and low/low-moderate motivational intensity.

When considering motivational intensity toward speaking Spanish, listening comprehension of Spanish, and the overall learning of Spanish, I assumed some participants

would have a higher level of motivational intensity toward one subgroup than they did the other two subgroups. Though no similar studies to this had been conducted before, I came to this assumption by seeing the different levels of motivational intensity my own family placed in the different subgroups of Spanish, as discussed in Chapter 1. After examining the results, I found that the participants did have different degrees of motivational intensity toward the three subgroups except Dana who had the same degree of motivational intensity toward all three subgroups (see Table 4.7.d.). Again, keeping in mind that motivational intensity may also influence the rate and extent of second language learning, these findings suggest the participants whose degree of motivational intensity ranges from one subgroup to another are more likely to be successful in the subgroup in which they have the highest degree of motivational intensity and are less likely to be as successful in the subgroups in which they have the lowest degree of motivational intensity. These findings also suggest that the participant who has the same degree of motivational intensity in each subgroup is likely to be as successful in one subgroup as they are in the other two. In addition, these findings suggest that the participants with the highest motivational intensity for speaking in Spanish (Lola and Michael), listening comprehension of Spanish (Rachel), and the overall learning of Spanish (Roz and Lola) are likely to be more successful in that specific subgroup than are the other participants in this study.

This research adds to the existing research in that it examines the participants' motivation toward three subgroups: speaking the TL, listening comprehension of the TL, and learning the TL overall. This allows for comparing and contrasting between the three subgroups in order to determine the subgroup in which the learners have the most motivation and which subgroup the have the least motivation.

Desire

Another significant factor that is needed to have a motivated individual is desire (Gardner 1985a). After examining the results of the participants as a group in regard to their degree of intensity of desire, I found the participants as a group have moderate-high degrees of intensity of desire toward Spanish (see Table 4.7.e.). As noted in the literature review, Gardner (1985a) found that desire influenced second language learning in his participants. This finding along with the results from this study suggest that the participants as a group are likely to be successful in learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico.

When considering the individual participants and their degree of intensity of desire toward Spanish, I found one participant (Roz) has a high degree of intensity of desire, two participants (Annette and Lola) have a Moderate-High/high degree of intensity of desire, and that the other five participants (Michael, John, Rachel, Dana, and Paul) have moderate-high degrees of intensity of desire, though Michael is on the high end of the moderate-high space and John, Rachel, Dana, and Paul are on the low end of the moderate-high space (see Table 4.7.f.). As introduced in the attitudes section above, if social factors such as attitudes can influence the extent of second language learning, it is also possible that motivational intensity and desire can influence the rate and extent of second language learning. These findings suggest the participant having the highest degree of intensity of desire, Roz, is more likely to succeed at learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico than the other participants. It also suggests that the participants with moderate-high/high degrees of intensity of desire are more likely to succeed in learning Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico than are those participants with only a moderate-high degree of intensity of desire toward Spanish. In addition, it suggests that the participant on the high end of the moderate-high space of degree of intensity of desire, Michael, is more likely

to succeed in learning Spanish than are those participants on the low end of the moderate-high space of degree of intensity of desire, John, Rachel, Dana, and Paul. Finally, these findings suggest that the participant with the highest degree of intensity of desire, Roz, is more likely to learn Spanish than all other participants while the participant with the lowest degree of intensity of desire, Paul, is less likely to learn Spanish than all other participants.

Attitudes

The SSLQAA only examined the participants' attitudes toward the L2, one of three types of attitudes (Dornyei and Clement, 2001, p. 405). After examining the results in regard to their attitude, I found they have positive attitudes (see Table 4.8.a.). As stated in the review, Schmidt (1983) asserted that Wes' positive attitudes were one of the factors that led to an increase in his communicative competence. This means that my participants, because they have positive attitudes, are more likely to have an increased communicative competence.

When considering the participants as a group and their attitudes toward the three subgroups of speaking Spanish, listening comprehension of Spanish, and the overall learning of Spanish, I found the participants as a group to have positive attitudes toward Spanish with their most positive attitudes being toward speaking Spanish and their least positive attitudes toward the overall learning of Spanish (see Table 4.8.b.). Schmidt and Gardner's studies have suggested that positive attitudes influence language learning, so this group of participants are likely to be successful in learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico. However, when keeping in mind that Gardner (1985a) posited that learner's attitudes could influence the rate and extent of their L2, the group's variation in attitudes among the three subgroups should also be a reflection of the rate at which they learn each subgroup as well as identify the subgroups they are most and least likely to be successful in. For example, since the participants as a group have the most

positive attitudes toward speaking Spanish, they should, as a group, be most successful in speaking Spanish. Additionally, since the group has the least amount of positive attitudes toward learning Spanish overall, they should be least successful in this area. These outcomes would make our participants similar to Wes in that they are likely to have communicative competence versus grammatical competence.

When considering the individual participants and their attitudes toward Spanish, I found five participants (Annette, Roz, Michael, John, and Rachel) to have positive attitudes toward Spanish and three participants (Lola, Dana, and Paul) to have moderate attitudes toward Spanish (Table 4.8.c.). When referencing these findings to studies like that of Schmidt's (1983) and Gardner's (1985a), it is likely that the five participants with positive attitudes have a higher chance to succeed at learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico than the three participants with moderate attitudes. The findings also suggest the participant with the highest average score of positive attitudes (Annette) is most likely to succeed at learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico than all other participants in this study while the participant with the lowest average score of attitudes (Paul) is least likely to succeed at learning L2 Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico than all other participants in this study.

When considering the participants as a group and their attitudes toward the three subgroups of speaking Spanish, listening comprehension of Spanish, and the overall learning of Spanish, I found that there were indeed a range of attitudes from the majority of participants (Paul, Lola, John, Michael, Roz, and Annette) toward the three subgroups, however, some of the participants (Dana and Rachel) had the same average score of attitudes toward all three subgroups (Table 4.8.d.). Again, keeping in mind Schmidt's and Gardner's studies, all of these participants are likely to be successful at learning Spanish naturalistically in Puerto Rico.

However, Gardner's statement that the participant's attitude may influence the extent to which they learn the L2 leads us to believe that the variation in individual participant's attitudes among the three subgroups should also be a reflection of the subgroups they are most and least likely to be successful in. In other words, individual participants are more likely to be successful in the subgroup in which they have the highest average score of attitudes and are less likely to be as successful in the subgroup in which they have the lowest average score of attitudes. These findings also suggest that the participants who have the same average score in each subgroup are just as likely to be successful in one subgroup as they are in the other two. These findings additionally suggest that the participants with the highest average score of attitudes in speaking Spanish (Roz and Annette), listening comprehension of Spanish (Annette), and the overall learning of Spanish (Annette) are likely to be more successful in that specific subgroup than are the other participants in this study.

What was different about my research in comparison to prior research was that it looked at the participants attitudes toward speaking the TL, listening comprehension of the TL, and learning the TL overall so that the attitudes toward the three subgroups could be compared to one another.

Motivation Outcome

The problem with considering only the groups' or individual participants' attitude, desire, or motivation to suggest likeliness of language learning is that preceding research discussed in the literature review has shown all three of these individual differences must be examined together to determine if an individual is motivated (Gardner 1985a 1985b). Only by knowing if the learner is motivated or not can we determine if a group of individuals or individuals themselves are likely to learn the language. When examining the results from this study, I found

the participants as a group to have positive attitudes, a moderate-high motivational intensity, and a moderate high intensity of desire toward Spanish, suggesting that the participants as a group are motivated, therefore, they are likely to be successful in second language learning.

On the other hand, when considering this concept in regards to the participants as individuals, I assumed that some of the participants would be motivated beings and some would not be motivated (amotivated (Noels 2000)). When examining the results, I found all eight participants to be motivated beings, though some are more motivated than others. The AMTB is used to "assess the major affective components shown to be involved in second language learning" (Gardner 1985b Paragraph 13), three of which are included in the study for this thesis. Gardner goes on to say the AMTB "provides a reliable and valid index," therefore, these eight individuals should be motivated to learn Spanish, however, there are still other differences to examine.

Anxiety

The participants as a group had low anxiety. As discussed in the literature review, this suggests that the learners' affective filters should not be up, allowing for input to be taken in and processed (Krashen, 1978 & Horwitz et al., 1985). However, when looking at the individual participants, John, Paul, and Dana's anxiety ratings were closer to 3 than 2 suggesting that they have high anxiety (see Table 4.8.c.). This amount of anxiety leads to the affective filter being up, negatively affecting language learning (Krashen, 1978 & Horwitz el al., 1985) which would explain why Dana and Paul were not learning Spanish. However, it would not explain how John was able to learn Spanish unless his anxiety is facilitating anxiety (Ellis, 2008, p. 694).

MacIntyre and Gardner (1991) reported that beginning learners experience little anxiety which has no impact on language learning. Though Michael, a beginning learner, reported to

having low anxiety on his written questionnaire in the SSLQAA (see Table 4.8.c.), he expressed a lot of anxiety during his voice-recorded interviews. As a result, Michael's affective filter should have been up, hindering his language learning; yet, he managed to learn the language. This is most likely due to his will to fight through his anxiety by living in Spanish language dominated areas and forcing himself to communicate in Spanish despite hanging out in areas that had English and Spanish in the linguistic landscape and soundscape. John and Michael's language learning despite their anxiety ratings suggests that their anxiety is be facilitating (Ellis, 2008, p. 694). In addition, Though Michael's rating of anxiety matches that of MacIntyre and Gardner's research for beginning learner's experiencing low anxiety, it does not match up with Michael's voice-recorded interviews where he gave several indications that he has high levels of language learning anxiety.

Though past research (Horwitz et al., 1985) has studied the relationship between anxiety and speaking and listening, this study differs from that research in that it examines anxiety and speaking and listening but also examines the relationship between language anxiety and learning the language overall.

Motivation Orientation

Gardner (1985) stated that motivation was goal oriented. He discussed two types of orientations, both of which are external motivation (Gardner 1985a/1985b & Noels, 2000). In this study, the highest percentage of participants picked integrative orientations as the most important reasons for learning Spanish (see Tables 4.7.g. & 4.7.h.).

The participants in this study probably chose integrative orientations as being the more important reasons for learning Spanish in Puerto Rico because of their personal circumstances. In other words, they did not need to learn the language to gain something because two of them were

retired and lived in an English dominant area, two of them did not need to work due to a lack of financial demand, one had learned enough of the language that she was able to gain employment years beforehand, and three were students.

Because integrative orientations are centered around having emotional involvement with and communicating with the speakers of the target language, the participants should be interacting as much as possible with Puerto Ricans in order to integrate with their community. To see if this is true, I will now discuss the participants' interaction with domains of communication which could provide them with interactions with Puerto Ricans, and I will discuss the participants cultural expressions and practices in Puerto Rico directly afterward.

Communication Patterns and Cultural Expression and Practices

As discussed in Chapter II, Ellis (2008) states "sociability… will result in more opportunities to practice, more input, and more success in communicating in the L2" (p. 674). Since I have already shown the participants place high importance on integrative orientations, communicating with speakers of the L2 with the L2 should be something they are participating in. However, the results of the SSLQCP showed that the majority of participants are only participating in 50% or less of domains that are available to them (see Table 4.9). In addition, because of the low numbers of participation and due to the amount of learners who did not speak Spanish with any of the domains in which they participated, there was not enough data to draw any conclusions except that the participants of this study are not taking advantage of the verbal communication opportunities available to them in Puerto Rico.

This research was different from prior research in that I invented the questionnaire on my own basing it solely on my experiences with the different domains of communication in Puerto Rico.

Lambert (1974 as cited in Gardner 1985a) stated that the integrative orientation involves having a "sincere and personal interest in the people and culture" of the target language community (also discussed in Chapter II). In addition, Gardner stated that the integrative orientation involved taking on the target speakers' language (1985a). The SSLQCEP examined such types of integrative orientation by asking the participants if they were taking part in Puerto Rican cultural practices, if they attached more meaning to Spanish words and phrases than they did English words and phrases, if they knew the meaning of some important cultural terms in Puerto Rico, and if they saw themselves as Puerto Rican, if they wanted to be Puerto Rican, and what they thought about being mistaken as Puerto Rican if applicable. Had all of these taken place, the participants in this study would have been able to demonstrate their integrative orientation and would have been more likely to learn the language. Unfortunately, the results were not favorable (see Tables 4.10.a., 4.10.b., 4.10.c., 4.10.d., & 4.10.e.) as many of the participants did not use Spanish in emotional situations, did not know Spanish terms in relation to the Puerto Rican cultural context, and did not identify as Puerto Rican in any way.

This questionnaire was different from prior research due to its construction and contents and the cultural expressions and practices that it examined.

As the participants have many individual differences that suggest they are likely to learn the language and many that point to them being unlikely to learn the language, now I must discuss whether or not the individuals saw themselves as being successful in learning the language.

Participant Perception of Success

In the individual case studies, with the exception of those conducted by Norton (2013), presented in Chapter II (Schumann, 1978, Huebner, 1979, Schmidt, 1983, Ioup et al. 1994, &

Lardiere, 2005, 2007), the researchers based their assertions of successful and unsuccessful learners on what they were examining in their study. This study did not attempt to do that; instead, the participants were asked whether they felt they were successful or unsuccessful based on their own ideas of what a successful learner is. The majority of participants self-reported to be successful in the language (see Table 4.11.c.). Having the participants self-report success based on their own ideas of what success in learning a language might be, is not similar to any of the language learning studies.

As the researcher, I only found four participants to be successful. In order to make this determination, I examined all of the data on the questionnaires and asked myself three questions:

Who was consistently receiving ideal scores in the quantitative questionnaires?

Who provided data in their voice recorded interviews that coincided with their quantitative questionnaire outcomes?

Who was able to effectively and appropriately answer the questions in the Spanish language sample items?

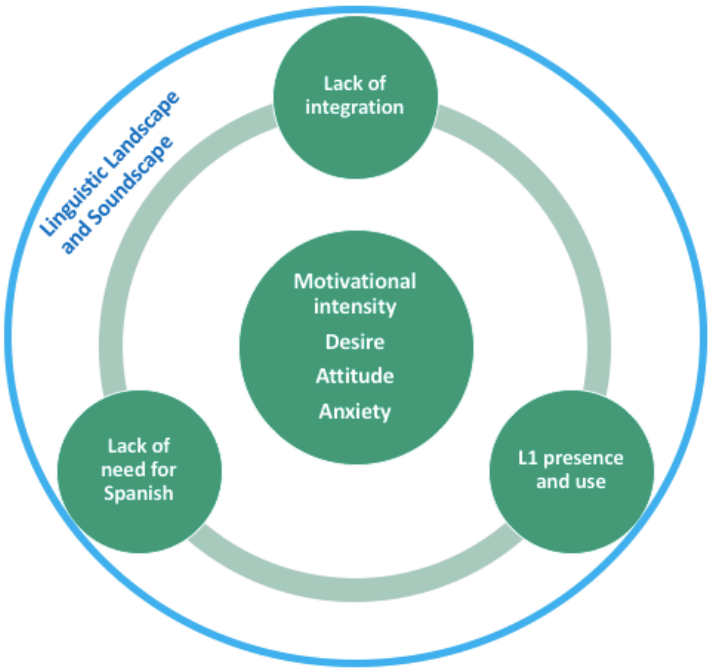
The four participants who fit these questions were John, Michael, Lola, and Annette. The learners that I determined to be successful consisted of both European decent and African Americans and because some of them had only been on the island as little as five months, race and time of residence did not result in language learning or lack thereof.

Summary of Results

The main findings of this study (Figure 4.d.) are that even though the majority of participants had the ideal scoring outcome for motivational intensity, desire, attitudes, and anxiety, they did not integrate with the target language speakers. This lack of integration was due to the presence of and ability to make use of the L1 within the linguistic landscape and

soundscape in Puerto Rico. Additionally, due to the presence of the L1 in both the linguistic landscape and soundscape, many participants were led to believe there is no need or demand for them to learn Spanish while living in Puerto Rico which overshadowed their motivations to do so resulting in hinderance of their success in integrating and learning Spanish. Because of the large affect the linguistic landscape and soundscape in Puerto Rico seem to have had on the learning outcomes of these participants, it is my belief that a demand to integrate and learn the language due to the languages present and available for use in the linguistic landscape and soundscape play a larger role in participants being successful in learning the language than do motivation, anxiety, and, to some extent, identity.

Figure 4.d. Summary of Findings.



What I learned from this study about myself is that these learners shared a lot of my experiences. I, too, was an L1 English speaker learning L2 Spanish in Puerto Rico. Similar to many of my participants, I came to Puerto Rico wanting to place a large amount of effort on learning the language. I also had a deep desire to learn Spanish and had positive attitudes toward

Spanish and Puerto Ricans. By the time I had to leave Puerto Rico, I regretted not using Spanish as much as I could have and wondered where exactly I went wrong since I had what my research describes as the ideal set of individual differences for learning an L2 when arriving.

Unfortunately, in comparison to my participants and being an active participant of the study, I found myself shopping in places where English was present because I felt more at ease assuming I could fall back on English if needed as opposed to shopping in places where the linguistic landscape and soundscape were predominantly Spanish and did not provide that sense of security. Even though I wanted to communicate with people in Spanish, I was teaching and attending school in the English department of my university which means that I surrounded myself with Puerto Ricans who spoke English and liked it enough they wanted to teach it, giving me barely any chances to practice the language with them. Because of their extensive knowledge of the English language, I was much too anxious and intimidated to use Spanish with any of them even if I would have had the opportunity. Though I did speak Spanish frequently with people I did not personally know in Puerto Rico, those interactions were only a fraction of the interactions I could have had, meaning that I missed out on my opportunities to engage in the language, to receive input, and to be as successful as I would have liked to have been in learning Spanish. I now see that, similar to many of my participants, my fault lies in not immersing myself in linguistic landscapes and soundscapes that were predominantly Spanish which would have forced me to use the language and to integrate more fully into the community of the target language speakers.

Implications for Teaching

The generalizations in this section are for L1 English speakers, specifically from the United States, learning L2 Spanish in Puerto Rico. Because I did not have L1 English speaking

participants from other countries in this study, it would not be fair to make these teaching implications for the general L2 classroom setting.

The importance of this study in terms of teaching is that it implies that students must have a need/demand for integrating with the target language speakers and culture and must have a necessity for learning the target language. These needs directly rely on the linguistic landscape and soundscape in which the learners surround themselves. In other words, no matter how much motivational intensity or intensity of desire, how positive the students' attitudes are, or how low their anxiety is, the necessity to integrate and learn the language due to a demand within the linguistic landscape and soundscape to do so is what makes the difference in learning outcomes.

For students, the linguistic landscape and soundscape is their classroom because this is where they are seeing visuals and texts of the language and where they are listening, writing, and speaking the language. If we, as educators, teach our students the L2 using the L1 or teach them the L2 through codeswitching techniques, we are not providing them with a demand to learn the language therefore hindering their integration with the target language community and their language learning success. That is not to say that an educator who teaches the L2 using the L2 the majority of the time cannot find ways of communicating in the L1 at times, but in order to do so, they would need to use the L1 strategically. For instance, they could state a few terms in the L1 when they notice a student is lost, rather than explaining an entire idea in the L1.

Even though there is new and interesting research on the value of translanguaging, code switching, and using the L1 in the classroom, this research points to the need to consistently use the L2 for learners while providing numerous language experiences from the linguistic landscape to learn the L2.

If educators make it their goal to use their classrooms as linguistic landscapes and soundscapes to immerse students in the language by the manners in which they decorate their rooms and communicate within the classrooms, they could also provide their students with virtual reality (VR) experiences. Students could wear VR headsets that would allow them to look around an entire city to see what the linguistic landscape looks like and hear what the soundscape entails. This type of experience would allow a student to understand the language uses in countries whose L1 is their L2, most likely resulting in confirming the need to learn the language, pushing the students to integrate, resulting in more successful language learning outcomes.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This study did not attempt to measure the participants' attitudes toward the speakers of the L2. Unlike the motivation, attitude, and anxiety questionnaires, the desire questionnaire was not designed to measure the three sub-groups: speaking in Spanish, listening comprehension of Spanish, and overall learning of Spanish. There was no instrument designed to check for under and/or over self-reporting on the questionnaires.

Future replicated or modified studies should examine the participants' attitudes toward the speakers of the L2 as this would help to determine a possible cause for the participants' lack of success in learning the language. It would be helpful and give a clearer picture of the participants' degree of intensity of desire to learn Spanish if the questionnaire measures their degree of intensity of desire to learn Spanish in relation to the three sub-groups: speaking in Spanish, listening comprehension of Spanish, and overall learning of Spanish. An instrument should be designed to check for under and/or over self-reporting on other instruments.

Although this study focused on learners learning an L2 in the naturalist language acquisition setting in Puerto Rico, it would be interesting to see a study on the language learning outcomes in countries with varying degrees of the L1 and L2 in the linguistic landscape and soundscape and studies on instructed language acquisition settings where the educators use varying amounts of codeswitching when teaching. The data from these studies could be used to determine how the varying amounts of languages in the natural setting and in the instructed setting relate to language learning outcomes. In addition, natural language setting that had a comparable amount of the L1 and L2 in them as did the classroom setting could be compared and contrasted with one another.

References

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2008). The linguistic landscape as an additional source of input in second language acquisition. *International review of applied linguistics in language teaching*, 46(3), 267-287. doi: 10.1515/IRAL.2008.012

Cheng, Y., Horwitz, E. K., & Schallert, D. L. (1999). Language anxiety: Differentiating writing and speaking components. *Language Learning,* 49(3), 417-446.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Dornyei, Z. (2006). Individual differences in second language acquisition. *AILA Review*, 19, 42-68. Retrieved from http://www.zoltandornyei.co.uk

Dornyei, Z. (2014). Questionnaires in second language acquisition: Construction, administration, and processing. New York, NY: Routledge.

Dornyei, Z., & Clement, R. (2001). Motivational characteristics of learning different target languages: Results of a nationwide survey. In Z. Dornyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and second language acquisition* (pp. 399-432). Honolulu, Hawai`i: University of Hawai`i.

Ellis, R. (2008). *The study of second language acquisition* (2nd ed.). Oxford: University Press.

Ehrman, M. (2008). Personality and good language learners. In C. Griffiths (Ed.), *Lessons from good language learners* (pp. 61-72). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gardner, R. C. (2001). Integrative motivation and second language acquisition. In Z. Dornyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and second language Acquisition* (pp. 1-19). Honolulu, Hawai`i: University of Hawai`i.

Gardner, R. C. (1985a). Social psychology and second language learning: The role of attitudes

and motivation. In H. Giles (Ed.), *The Social Psychology of Language 4.* Retrieved from http://publish.uwo.ca/~gardner/

Gardner, R. C. (1985b). The attitude/motivation test battery: Technical report. Retrieved from http://publish.uwo.ca/~gardner/

Gass, S.M., & Selinker, L. (2008). Second language acquisition: An introductory course. New York, NY: Routledge.

Griffiths, C. (2008). Age and good language learners. In C. Griffiths (Ed.), *Lessons from good language learners* (pp. 61-72). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gorter, D. (2013). Linguistic landscapes in a multilingual world. *Annual review of applied linguistics*, 33, 190-212. doi: 10.1017/S0267190513000020

Horwitz, E., Horwitz, M., & Cope, J. (1986). Foreign language classroom anxiety. *The Modern Language Journal*, 70(2), 125-132. Retrieved from http://hyxy.nankai.edu.cn/jingpinke/buchongyuedu/foreign%20language%20classroom%20anxiety.pdf

Huebner, T. (1979). Order-of-acquisition vs. dynamic paradigm: A comparison of method in interlanguage research. *Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc.,* 13(1), 21-28.

Ioup, G, Boustagoui, E., Tigi, M., & Moselle, M. (1994). Reexamining the Critical Period Hypothesis: A case of successful adult SLA in a naturalistic environment. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 16(1), 73-98.

Krashen, S. (1982). Principles and practice in second language acquisition. Retrieved from http://www.sdkrashen.com/content/books/principles_and_practice.pdf

Lardiere, D. (2005/2007). On morphological competence. In L. Dekydtspotter, R. Sprouse, & A. Liljestrand (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 7th generative approaches to second language*

acquisition conference (GASLA 2004) (pp. 178-192). Somerville, Massachusettes: Cascadilla Press. Retrieved from http://www.lingref.com/cpp/gasla/7/paper1165.pdf

Lightbown, P. M., & Spada, N. (2013). *How languages are learned* (4th ed.). Oxford: University Press.

MacIntyre, P. D. (2002). Motivation, anxiety and emotion in second language acquisition. In P. Robinson (Ed.), *Individual differences and instructed language learning* (pp. 45-68). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Morales, B., & Blau, E. K. (2009). Identity issues in building an ESL community: The Puerto Rican experience. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 121, 45-53. Doi: 10.1002/ace.324

Noels, K. A, Pelletier, L. G., Clement, R., &Vallerand, R. J. (2000). Why are you learning a second language? Motivational orientations and Self-determination Theory. *Language Learning,* 50(1), 57-85. Retrieved from http://selfdeterminationtheory.org/SDT/ documents/2003_ NoelsPelletierClementVallerand_LL.pdf

Norton, B. (2013). Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Norton-Pierce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29 (1), 9-31. Retrieved from http://jstore.org/stable/3587803

Ortega, L. (2013). *Understanding second language acquisition*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Oxford, R. (2002). Sources of variation in language learning. In Kaplan, R. (Ed.), *The oxford handbook of applied linguistics*. (pp. 245-252). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Saville-Troike, M. (2006). *Introducing second language acquisition*. Cambridge: University Press.

Schumann, J. (1978). *Pidginization process: A model for second language acquisition*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Schmidt, R. (1983). Interaction, acculturation, and the acquisition of communicative competence: A case study of an adult. (pp. 137-174). Retrieved from http://nflrc.hawaii.edu/PDFs/SCHMIDT%20Interaction,%20acculturation,%20and%20the%20acquisition%20of%20communicative%20competence.pdf

Siegel, R. J. (2003). Social context. In C. Doughty & M. Long (Eds.), *The handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 178-223). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Soto-Santiago, S. L., Rivera, R. L., & Mazak, C. M. (2015). Con *confianza*: The emergence of the zone of proximal development in a university ESL course. *HOW*, 22(1), 10-25**.**

U.S. Census Bureau (2010). *Quick facts: Puerto Rico.* Retrieved from https://www.census. gov/ quickfacts/table/PST045215/72

Ushioda, E. (2008). Motivation and good language learners. In C. Griffiths (Ed.), *Lessons from good language learners* (pp. 61-72). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Who are the adult learners?. (1993). In C. Perdue (Ed.), *Adult language acquisition cross-linguistic perspectives* (Vol. 2, pp. 39-50). New York, NY: Cambridge.

Appendix A

Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #1:

Social-Demography, Language, and Community (SSLQSDLC) Part 1

Read each question. Answer each question with a written answer or by placing an X in the appropriate box.

Question	Answer
1. Please check your gender.	Male □ Female □
2. What is your age?	
3. What is the highest degree you have earned?	
4. What area was it in?	
5. What is your current occupation?	
6. What state were you born in?	
7. In what state did you live most of your life?	
8. Have you ever lived in a country other than the United States? Where?	Yes □ No □
9. What year did you move to Puerto Rico?	
10. How long have you lived in Puerto Rico?	
11. Where do you live in Puerto Rico?	
12. In Puerto Rico, have you always lived in the same place, or have you moved around a lot?	Same Place □ Move a lot □
13. Where was your mother born?	
14. Where was your mother raised?	
15. Where was your father born?	
16. Where was your father raised?	
17. What is your first language?	
18. What is your mother's first language?	
19. What is your father's first language?	
20. What language was spoken in your home while you were growing up?	
21. In Puerto Rico, what language do you speak in your home?	
22. Are you monolingual in English?	Yes □ No □
23. Are you bilingual in English and Spanish?	Yes □ No □
24. Can you carry on a casual conversation in both English and Spanish?	Yes □ No □

25. Use the following scales to tell me how proficient you are in English and Spanish. Circle the number that corresponds to your proficiency for the following skills.

1 = Very Proficient; 4 = Not At All Proficient

A. English					**B. Spanish**				
Speaking	1	2	3	4	Speaking	1	2	3	4
Listening	1	2	3	4	Listening	1	2	3	4
Writing	1	2	3	4	Writing	1	2	3	4
Reading	1	2	3	4	Reading	1	2	3	4

SSLQSDLC Part 2

1. What languages do you speak?
2. How did you learn these languages?
3. Did you learn them in school or out of school?
4. Did you learn them because you wanted to or because you felt you had to?
5. Did you feel motivated to learn Spanish when you moved to Puerto Rico? Why or why not?
6. Do you feel more motivated now that you have lived here for _____ years?
7. Did you know that Puerto Ricans speak Spanish and English before you moved here?
8. Did you think that you could use both Spanish and English when you moved to Puerto Rico?
9. Did you know anything about Puerto Rican culture before you moved here? Can you tell me what you knew?
10. What have you learned about the culture since being in Puerto Rico?
11. Do you think someone could move to Puerto Rico and learn the language without learning the culture or learn the culture without learning the language? Why do you feel this way?
12. Why did you come to Puerto Rico?
13. How did you find a place to live in Puerto Rico?
14. When you were trying to find a place to live, did you use Spanish, English, or both?
15. Where did you end up living? Why?
16. Do you have a roommate?
17. Do they speak Spanish, English, or both?
18. What do you speak with your roommate?

19. Do you think you have ever been discriminated against in Puerto Rico because of language? What happened?

20. Most of the time when you come in contact with a Puerto Rican, do they speak to you in English or in Spanish?

21. How does this make you feel?

22. Do you like to talk to people in English? Are you an introvert or extrovert?

23. Do you like to talk to people in Spanish? Are you an introvert or extrovert?

24. What kinds of things do you do to help yourself remember new words, phrases, or concepts about Spanish?

25. Do you know anyone who has come to Puerto Rico and successfully learned Spanish on the island? Can you describe them? What makes you think they are successful?

26. Do you know anyone who has come to Puerto Rico and has tried to learn Spanish and has not been successful? Can you describe them? What makes you think they are not successful?

27. How do you view yourself? Are you a successful learner of Spanish or not successful? What has made you successful or not successful?

28. ¿Cómo te llamas?

29. ¿Por qué te mudaste a Puerto Rico?

Appendix B

Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #2:

Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape (SSLQLLS)

Instructions:
The three dioramas represent three different locations in the Puerto Rico. For two locations (#1 and #3), the dioramas include 1) miniature three-dimensional figures of the buildings in the location and 2) a recording of the ambient background noise in the location. For the third location (#2), the diorama does not include a recording of the ambient background noise. Please examine the three dioramas. Pay attention to both the visual language and the ambient background noise. The visual language is called the linguistic landscape. The ambient background noise is called the soundscape. I will ask you some questions about the dioramas. You will be able to examine the dioramas while I am asking you the questions.

1. A. Examine diorama #1 and describe what you see and what you hear in the diorama.
   B. Examine diorama #2 and describe what you see in the diorama.
   C. Examine diorama #3 and describe what you see and what you hear in the diorama.

2. A. What are the differences between these three dioramas, other than the fact that one doesn't have a soundscape and the other two do?

   B. What are some differences in the linguistic landscape of the three dioramas?

   C. What are some differences in the soundscape between diorama #1 and #3?

   D. What do you think the soundscape for diorama #2 would sound like?

3. Why do you think we can observe these differences in the dioramas?

4. A. What was your first impression about English and Spanish in Puerto Rico when you first arrived on the island?

   B. Did you think that one language would be spoken more than the other? Why or why not?

   C. Did you think that both languages would be spoken equally? Why or why not?

   D. Which diorama best helped you form your first impression? Why?

5. Which diorama best represents where you went to shop and to hang out either by yourself or with friends and family when you first started living in Puerto Rico?
6. A. How long have you lived in Puerto Rico?
   B. Which diorama(s) best represents where you go to shop and to hang out either by yourself or with friends and family now that you have lived in Puerto Rico for _____ amount of time?
7. Think about all of your daily interactions in Puerto Rico and where you go on a daily basis and listen to and hear language spoken. In your opinion, which diorama is the most accurate representation of language on the island?
8. Examine the dioramas. Which stores or shops make you feel most invited and why?
9. When you overhear strangers using English in their conversations in stores such as those in the dioramas, do you join the conversation? Why or why not?
10. How do the linguistic landscapes and soundscapes in the three dioramas motivate you to learn Spanish or dampen your motivation to learn Spanish?
11. Do you think the linguistic landscapes and the soundscapes in Puerto Rico in the three dioramas helped you learn Spanish? Can you explain?

Appendix C

Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #3: Motivation and Desire (SSLQMD)

Instructions: Please circle the letter (a, b, or c) that best represents your most likely reaction to the following situations.

1) **When a group of Puerto Ricans are speaking Spanish near me,**
   a) Most of the time I listen in and try to understand what they are talking about.
   b) I sometimes listen in and try to understand what they are talking about.
   c) I rarely listen in and try to understand what they are talking about.

2) **When it comes to speaking in Spanish,**
   a) I do so whenever I have the opportunity.
   b) I do so only when I have to.
   c) I do not speak in Spanish.

3) **After I have learned something in Spanish,**
   a) I frequently think about it.
   b) I sometimes think about it.
   c) I do not think about it.

4) **When I have a problem understanding something I hear in Spanish,**
   a) I immediately ask for help whether I know the speaker or not.
   b) I ask for help later from a speaker I know.
   c) I rarely ask the speaker for help whether I know the speaker or not.

5) **If a friend wants me to do something for them that requires me to speak Spanish,**
   a) I definitely do it.
   b) I might do it.
   c) I do not do it.

6) **If I have the opportunity to take a Spanish course in the future,**
   a) I will definitely enroll.
   b) I will maybe enroll.
   c) I will not enroll.

7) **Spanish language movies and television programs are available online, at the movie theater, and on television, and**
   a) Most of the time I watch them in Spanish.
   b) I sometimes watch them in Spanish.
   c) I never watch them in Spanish.

8) **When communicating with my Puerto Rican friends who speak Spanish,**
   a) Most of the time I try to speak Spanish with them.
   b) I sometimes try to speak Spanish with them.
   c) I rarely speak Spanish with them.

9) **When it comes to learning Spanish,**
   a) I put a lot of effort into it.
   b) I put some effort into it.
   c) I put little to no effort into it.

10) **If I hear a song in Spanish on the radio,**
   a) I listen to the music and try to understand all of the words.
   b) I listen to the music and pay attention only to the words I already know.
   c) I listen to the music and don't pay any attention to the words.

11) **When I <u>must</u> complete a transaction (shopping for clothes, ordering food, etc.) in Spanish,**
   a) I do not hesitate to use Spanish.
   b) I ask a friend to go with me so they can translate for me.
   c) I don't do it for as long as possible.

12) **After someone gives me advice on how to improve my Spanish,**
   a) Most of the time I take their advice and try to apply it to my speaking Spanish.
   b) I sometimes take their advice and try to apply it to my speaking Spanish.
   c) I rarely take their advice and do not apply it to my Spanish.

13) **Rank the following choices in order of importance to you with: 1 = most important, 2 = important, 3 = of little importance, 4 = not at all important. Do not use a number more than once.**

   I want to learn Spanish because:

   A. ____ I think it will help me get a job/another job someday.

   B. ____ I think it will help me to better understand Puerto Ricans and their way of life.

   C. ____ It allows me to meet and converse with Puerto Ricans.

   D. ____ Knowing more than one language will make me more educated.

14) **How important is it for you to study Spanish for the following activities? Place a number in the blank proceeding each statement. You can use the following numbers more than once.**
(1= very important; 2= important; 3= of little importance; 4= not at all important)

A. ____ Studying Spanish can be important to me because it can allow me to be more at ease with Puerto
Ricans who speak Spanish.

B. ____ Studying Spanish can be important for me because I will need/will need it for my career/getting a
new job.

C. ____ Studying Spanish can be important for me because it can help me to better understand and appreciate Puerto Rican art and literature.

D. ____ Studying Spanish can be important for me because Puerto Ricans will respect me more if I have a
knowledge of Spanish.

Instructions: Please circle the letter (a, b, or c) that best represents your most likely reaction to the following situations.

15) Since I live in Puerto Rico, I would like:
a) Puerto Ricans to speak only Spanish to me.
b) Puerto Ricans to speak both English and Spanish to me.
c) Puerto Ricans to speak as much English as possible to me.

16) If I had the opportunity to speak Spanish with Puerto Ricans, I would:
a. Speak Spanish most of the time, using English only if really necessary.
b. Speak Spanish occasionally, using English whenever possible.
c. Never speak Spanish.

17) Compared to other subjects I have studied in my life, I like Spanish:
a. The most.
b. The same as all the others.
c. Least of all.

18) If I had the opportunity to join a free club to practice Spanish, I would:
a. Be very interested in joining.
b. Attend meetings once in a while.
c. Not join.

19) If I were in a situation where most Puerto Ricans were speaking Spanish:
a. I would definitely speak it.
b. I am not sure if I would speak it or not.
c. I would not speak it.

20) I find learning Spanish:
a. Very interesting.
b. No more interesting than most other things in my life.
c. Not interesting at all.

21) If I had the opportunity, and I knew enough Spanish, I would watch Spanish language television programs:
a. As often as possible.
b. Sometimes.
c. Never.

22) If I had the opportunity to see a Spanish language movie, I would:
a. Definitely go.
b. Go only when I have nothing else to do.
c. Not go.

23) If I had Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican families in my neighborhood, I would:
a. Speak Spanish with them as much as possible.
b. Sometimes speak Spanish.
c. Never speak Spanish with them.

24) If I had the opportunity, and I knew enough Spanish, I would read physical or digital copies of Spanish language magazines and/or newspapers:
a. As often as I could.
b. Not very often.
c. Never.

Appendix D

Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #4: Attitude and Anxiety (SSLQAA)

Please circle the level of agreement that best represents your feelings about the following statements.

1. **I like listening to Puerto Ricans speak Spanish.**

   Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

2. **I get frustrated when I speak Spanish.**

   Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

3. **Learning Spanish comes easily to me.**

   Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

4. **I get bored when Puerto Ricans talk to me in Spanish because I don't understand it.**

   Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

5. **I like speaking Spanish.**

   Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

6. **Learning Spanish is difficult and frustrating.**

   Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

7. **I like to listen to Spanish because I like the way it sounds.**

   Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

8. **I don't like speaking Spanish.**

   Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

9. **I want to learn more Spanish.**

   Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

10. **I don't like listening to Spanish.**

    Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

11. I find it fun to speak Spanish.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

12. Learning Spanish is a waste of my time.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

13. I feel comfortable when I speak Spanish in Puerto Rico even if I make mistakes.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

14. I feel anxious when I am in a group of Puerto Ricans who are speaking Spanish to me.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

15. I feel comfortable using new language skills I have learned in Spanish.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

16. I feel nervous when I speak Spanish around Puerto Ricans I know well, such as peers, colleagues, and/or friends.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

17. I feel relaxed when I listen to Puerto Ricans talk to me in Spanish.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

18. I get nervous when Puerto Ricans try to teach me new aspects about the Spanish language.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

19. I feel confident when speaking Spanish while completing transactions like shopping, ordering food, managing money at the bank, or going to the doctor.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

20. I am afraid I won't understand everything when Puerto Ricans speak to me in Spanish.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

21. I feel relaxed when Puerto Ricans try to teach me about the Spanish language.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

22. I am afraid Puerto Ricans will laugh at me when I speak Spanish.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

23. I feel at ease that I will understand almost everything when Puerto Ricans speak to me in Spanish.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

24. I feel anxious when I am trying to learn how to speak Spanish better.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

25. I feel at ease and confident when I speak Spanish around Puerto Ricans that I do not know well, such as shop keepers, clerical staff, etc.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

26. I feel embarrassed if I don't understand something that a Puerto Rican says to me in Spanish.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

27. I feel confident in my ability to learn Spanish.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

28. I get embarrassed, so I put off doing activities and errands that require me to speak Spanish.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

29. I feel confident that Puerto Ricans will not see me as less intelligent when I can't understand what they say to me in Spanish.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

30. Learning and using Spanish grammar correctly makes me feel nervous.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree

31. Check all the following that apply to the way you feel when you speak Spanish in front of Puerto Ricans:

___ heart speeds up ___ shortness of breath or rapid breathing ___ start sweating
___ upset stomach ___ stutter when speaking ___ tremble/shake
___ turn red ___ feel flushed

Appendix E

Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #5: Communication Patterns (SSLQCP)

Check one box for each of the following questions.

1. **Neighbors**
   a. Do you have Puerto Rican neighbors? If no, skip to question #2.
      Yes □ No□
   b. Do you ever use Spanish to communicate with them?
      Yes □ No □
   c. How often do you communicate with them in Spanish?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □
   d. Do they ever use Spanish to communicate with you?
      Yes □ No □
   e. How often do they communicate with you in Spanish?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □

2. **Clubs (Book Clubs, Hiking Clubs, Workout Clubs, Animal/Pet Clubs etc.)**
   a. Do you belong to Puerto Rican clubs? If no, skip to question #3.
      Yes □ No□
   b. Do you ever use Spanish to communicate with them?
      Yes □ No □
   c. How often do you communicate with them in Spanish?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □
   d. Do they ever use Spanish to communicate with you?
      Yes □ No □
   e. How often do they communicate with you in Spanish?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □

3. **Religious Practices (Congregations, Bible Study Groups, Religious Retreats, etc.)**
   a. Do you participate in religious practices in Puerto Rico? If no, skip to question #4.
      Yes □ No□
   b. Do you ever use Spanish to communicate with other participants?
      Yes □ No □
   c. How often do you communicate with other participants in Spanish?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □
   d. Do other participants ever use Spanish to communicate with you?
      Yes □ No □
   e. How often do they communicate with you in Spanish?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □

4. **Transactions (ordering food, buying groceries, doctor appointments, etc.)**
   a. Do you conduct transactions in Puerto Rico? If no, skip to question #5.
      Yes □ No□
   b. During these transactions, do you ever use Spanish?
      Yes □ No □
   c. How often do you use Spanish during these transactions?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □
   d. During these transactions, does the other person ever use Spanish with you?
      Yes □ No □
   e. How often does the other person use Spanish during these transactions?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □

5. **Employment**
   a. Do you work with Puerto Ricans? If no, skip to question #6.
      Yes □ No□
   b. Do you ever use Spanish to communicate with them?
      Yes □ No □
   c. How often do you communicate with them in Spanish?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □
   d. Do they ever use Spanish to communicate with you?
      Yes □ No □
   e. How often do they communicate with you in Spanish?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □

6. **Puerto Rican Friends and Acquaintances**
   a. Have you made Puerto Rican friends or acquaintances? If no, skip to question #7.
      Yes □ No □
   b. Do you ever use Spanish to communicate with them?
      Yes □ No □
   c. How often do you communicate with them in Spanish?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □
   d. Do they ever use Spanish to communicate with you?
      Yes □ No □
   e. How often do they communicate with you in Spanish?
      Most of the time □ Sometimes □ Never □
   f. Would your Puerto Rican friend or acquaintance help you if you had an emergency?
      Yes □ No □
   g. Would they visit you if you were in the hospital?
      Yes □ No □

7. **Kids**
   a. Do you have kids? If no, skip to question #9.
      Yes □ No □
   b. Do you have any Puerto Rican friends that would watch your kids if you needed them to?
      Yes □ No □
   c. Are your kids in a Spanish-speaking school?
      Yes □ No □
   d. If yes to *c,* does having kids in a Spanish speaking school provide you with opportunities to speak Spanish?
      Yes □ No □

8. **Pets**
   a. Do you have pets? If no, Stop here.
      Yes □ No □
   b. Do you have any Puerto Rican friends that would watch your pets if you needed them to?
      Yes □ No □
   c. Does having pets provide you with opportunities to speak Spanish? (For example, when you are walking the dog or at the veterinarian or groomer).
      Yes □ No □

Appendix F

Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #6: Cultural Expressions and Practices (SSLQCEP)

Check your answer or write it in the space provided.

Question	Answer	
1. Are family and friend relationships central parts of your life?	Yes □ No □	
2. Do you greet Puerto Ricans with a kiss on the cheek?	Yes □ No □	
3. Do you celebrate Puerto Rican holidays? Ex: *fiestas patronales*, *días de los reyes,* etc.	Yes □ No □	
4. Do you go to special events at the town plaza?	Yes □ No □	
5. Do you try to dress in a "Puerto Rican" style?	Yes □ No □	
6. Please list some Puerto Rican foods that you eat 2 or more times per week in the box on the right.		
7. Do you occasionally eat at food trucks on the side of the road or participate in *chinchoreando*?	Yes □ No □	
8. Do you say *buen provecho* to people when you see them eating?	Yes □ No □	
9. If you hurt yourself really bad, do you shout out something in English, Spanish, or both?	English □ Spanish □ Both □	
10. If you are really upset and you want to tell one of your Puerto Rican friends about it, do you tell them in English, Spanish, or both?	English □ Spanish □ Both □	
11. When you want to tell someone who speaks both English and Spanish how you feel about them, do you tell them in English, Spanish, or both?	English □ Spanish □ Both □	
	a. □ *Shit!*	□*¡Mierda!*

12. In each of the three sections to the right, mark whether the English phrase or Spanish phrase means more to you.		
	b. □ *I am really pissed off!*	□ *¡Estoy encojona'o!* OR *¡Estoy bien molesto!*
	c. □ *I love you.*	□ *Te amo.* OR *Te quiero.*

13. a. Do you know what *confiaza* means? b. Can you provide a paraphrase? c. How did you find out the meaning of this word?	Yes □ No □
14. a. Do you know what *detallista* means? b. Can you provide a paraphrase? c. How did you find out the meaning of this word?	Yes □ No □
15. a. Do you know what *compartir* means? b. Can you provide a paraphrase? c. How did you find out the meaning of this word?	Yes □ No □
16. Do you think of yourself as Puerto Rican?	Yes □ No □
17. Do you want to be Puerto Rican?	Yes □ No □
18. a. Has anyone ever assumed that you are Puerto Rican? b. How did that make you feel?	Yes □ No □

Appendix G

Interview Transcriptions

The following are the participant interviews from both the Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire #1: Social-Demography, Language, and Community Part 2 and the Spanish as a Second Language Questionnaire: Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape.

The interviews are separated by participant; however, they are not divided by questionnaire. This is because, in order to make the participants feel as comfortable as possible, I followed the natural progression of the conversation so I asked the participants questions an order that followed their responses.

I was the interviewer for all of these questions. Everything I said is preceded with "I." The participants responses are preceded by the first letter of their name, except Roz whose responses are preceded by "Rz"

At one point during the individual interviews with Paul and Rachel, the decided to finish the interview together. This means you will see a section for Rachel, a section for Paul, and a section for Rachel and Paul in the interview transcripts below.

Participant: John

I: What languages do you speak?

J: English and Spanish

I: How did you learn these languages?

J: Okay. English, I was born in an English speaking country: the United States. North Carolina. I started speaking English since the day I was born. I went to school, mostly with all the English, um, kindergarten to twelfth grade. In the house, we spoke English. In Spanish… I started speaking Spanish in high school. Um, Freshman, ninth grade, and twelfth grade. And, then in

college I took Spanish sophomore to senior year, and I worked in a Latino organization in the summer. For one summer in 2013. And, I studied at the University of Puerto Rico in 2013 where I took more Spanish courses and developed my [Spanish] over time, from high school to college to my Spanish in Puerto Rico.

I: Alright, so when you started studying Spanish in high school, was that because it was required or because you chose Spanish?

J: It was required. Required.

I: Okay, was the only language you were allowed to study Spanish or were there other languages offered?

J: It was, it was the only language available.

I: Okay, and it was required all four years, or?

J: Ugh, just 3 out of, 3 out of 4 semes- 3 out of 4 years that you were at the school, you were to be enrolled in the Spanish class.

I: Okay, but you chose to take it for four?

J: Three years, 9th to 11th.

I: Do you, uh, did you feel motived to learn Spanish when you moved to Puerto Rico?

J: Uh, yea.

I: And, why did you feel that way?

J: The majority of the residence here speak Spanish. And, um, I thought that was very important to communicate with the people and get around town. And, and, um, do all my services here – government services here and do all the stuff I need to do. I am going to be operating in a Spanish environment so it is important that I speak the language. The Spanish language.

I: Alright, and do you, do you still feel motivated. After being here for two years, do you still feel motivated to learn Spanish?

J: Yeah, well, um… I don't feel as motivated as I should be because, I would say that. But, um. I guess the things I want to do is not really Spanish-centered as far as the future goes. So, um, that motivation is not as strong as it is, but I do want to keep my Spanish. Yeah.

I: So how much longer do you see yourself staying in Puerto Rico?

J: Um, probably another year. Well, until the summer of 2018.

I: And, then where do you see yourself going?

J: Ugh, I see myself going back to North Carolina or somewhere doing the, uh, PhD program in the United States.

I: Alright, um… Did you know that Puerto Ricans, ugh, spoke both Spanish and English before you moved here?

J: Yes.

I: Um, do you think that you could use, ugh. Wait, I lost my spot. Okay, so when you first moved here, did you think that you would be able to use, um, Spanish and English to communicate or did you feel like, oh, you could just get by with using your English?

J: I felt like I, it was important to communicate in Spanish in order to get by. But, I know since a, a good amount of residence do speak English that I can be able to communicate in English if I really need something and somebody's gonna be able to get the service that I need.

Alright, um. Did you know anything about Puerto Rican culture before you moved here?

J: Um, no, not really. Not really, no.

I: Well, what have you learned about the culture since you've been here?

J: Ugh, the culture here is a very vibrant, passionate culture. Ugh, people like to be with their families. People also like to party and have a good time. Festival-like feeling. Um, people. The residence here are very, um, laid-back and the environment. They just, ugh, they just want to enjoy the time that they have here. No so much as trying to work as hard, ugh, to, ugh. What I am trying to say is, the family is more important than the job that they have to do, ya know. So.

I: That is definitely something I have noticed as well.

J: Yeah. Yeah. And, also, anything that makes them happy is more important than their financial gain most times – in most cases.

I: I can definitely see that. Um, do you think that someone could move to Puerto Rico and learn the language without learning the culture or do you think that the language and culture go hand-in-hand?

J: Mm, I think that language and culture go hand-in-hand. Ugh, especially when you are trying to fit in with the people here, that you have to know some type of culture to like fit in. Ugh, whether it is the music or the dancing or, uh, the foods. It's important that, that you understand the culture and to perfect or better your language ability. Uh, I think it would be kinda hard for someone to come here and be isolated from the culture and try to improve their Spanish. I don't think that would be a good idea.

I: Yeah, I am right there with you on that one. Um, so why did you come to Puerto Rico? What brought you here?

J: Um, what brought me here was because I had a friend that studied in Puerto Rico, and she, uh, really loved it. Her experience here, and she recommended me to come here. And, I realized that since it is a, a U.S. territory that I receive a lot of the benefits that I receive in the United States. So, that would be – that was another option…uh, an element that I really like a lot. The, the, the,

the status. Uh, I want to be in the states and the same benefits, but also the Latin American environment as well.

I: And, was that friend, was she from that states as well?

J: Mhm, she's from, she's from the states.

13. I: Okay. Um, How did you find a place to live once you got here?

J: I didn't have a place to live once I first got here.

I: Where were you staying then?

J: I, I, my first night was in a hotel and the second day my advi, my, uh, advisor, she, uh, gave me a list of people I can call to get a, uh, apartment here. And, uh, that's what happened I ?? somebody, a, a, another student who had an empty room so he let me, uh, stay with him.

I: Okay. So, um. When you tried to find a place, when you were calling around, did you use Spanish or English to communicate?

J: Um.

I: Or both?

J: It was both. The guy, he knew English so it was a lot easier. I didn't have to use English but some things, yeah, he explained them in Spanish. So, it was mostly English but there was a little bit of Spanish as well.

I: Okay. So, where – like what town did you end up living in?

J: Mayaguez. Yeah.

I: And, why? Is there a reason that you ended up living there? Was it just convenient, um?

J: Yeah. It's convenient. Convenient – to, uh, my place is about 5, 10 minutes away from the campus. About, more or less, I would say 5-8 minutes away from the campus.

I: And, is that driving or?

J: I want to school, so it depends on how fast I was walking as to when I would get there. I walk. I didn't have transportation. I didn't have a car.

I: Okay. How did you go about getting your car? Because you do have one now, right?

J: Yeah, yeah. Oh, yeah. I do have one now but I was thinking about the last time I came to Puerto Rico. Uh, yeah. I do have a car. I went on classificados online to a website that sells cars and I bought one there.

I: So, when you were just describing your experience of finding a place to live, was that your first time around that you were describing?

J: Yeah, it was my first time around because I was here two times.

I: And, then, how long were you here that time?

J: Uh, one semester.

I: And, did you – you lived with a roommate?

J: Yeah, I live with a roommate.

I: And, then, this time around, do you live with the same person?

J: No, a different person.

I: Okay. How did you go about finding your new location?

J: Um, my new location was, uh, through online.

I: Mhm.

J: And, I called and they said they had a room available for me to stay, so I stayed in Miradero.

I: So, it that um. When you contacted the, the people the second time around to find a place, did you use Spanish, English, or both?

J: It was Spanish. It was Spanish.

I: And, s – Do you have roommates now, then?

J: Uh, no, I don't have roommates right now.

I: Okay. Uh, your roommate before, did they use English or Spanish when they were talking to you or both?

J: Uh, they, they used, um, both.

I: Okay. Um. Do you think you have ever been discriminated against in Puerto Rico for your language, and the reason I am asking this is because one time I was, was when, uh, when, uh, [instructor name] had, um, the – ugh, I can't remember what you call it now but. Like, she had a whole bunch of, um the freedom fighters come. And, give a talk at the school.

J: Oh, yeah. I think I remember that. Yeah.

I: And, I'm working, uh, there at the, at the talk – I can't remember what it was called, like.

J: Was it uh, was it a conversation with the –

I: Yeah. Yeah.

J: The - I forgot what they are called. Yeah, I know what you're talking about. Mhm.

I: Yeah, um, and then somebody had come up to me and they were asking me about some of the books and materials that were laying in front of me and they were speaking Spanish extremely fast, as most Puerto Ricans do, and so, in Spanish, I told them, "oh, well, I only speak a little Spanish. I'm sorry."

J: Mhm.

I: And, they very rudely, in Spanish, said, "This is Puerto Rico. We don't speak English." So, obviously, I am there. I'm supporting, I'm supporting Puerto Ricans. I mean, I am there. And if I am there, I obviously agree with, with what the freedom fighters did. But, um, so it took me back and it, it upset me a lot. Like, later when I started thinking about it, I started crying because it really hurt my feelings. Because I'm not the type of person that when somebody comes to the

States, I'm not like, "we speak English." You know. I try to accommodate them in any way I can. So, it really took me back. Did you, have you ever had an experience like that?

J: Um, yeah. A lot of times. I think one incident was, um. Do I want to say discrimination or what do I want to say… Is, I was trying – this mostly happened when I tried to practice my Spanish. But, I would start speaking in Spanish and people would say, "oh, why are you, your Spanish is not very well. So, I'm going to speak to you in English." Trying to, like, reject my opportunity to practice my Spanish and because they feel like it's not good enough for – I think I talked to a, was, um, somebody in the calle, in the street and he was telling me that, you know, "it's okay. You can speak to me in English." You know, so there's incidences where people who try stopping people from speaking Spanish and tell me to speak, uh, English to them. You know.

I: Do you speak English to them after that or do you continue speaking Spanish?

J: Uh, sometimes I speak Spanish. It depends on the person, but sometimes I do switch to English. If they, if they feel really uncomfortable with me speaking Spanish then I switch back to English cause I don't want to clean up that atmosphere for the both of us, so.

I: How does that make you feel when they, when they say, "Oh, I speak English."

J: Yeah, yeah. It makes me feel, it makes me feel kind of bad but what I think I learned is, um, some people feel that English is the superior language to the Spanish, but, the Puerto Ricans feel like they need to know how to speak English or they want to show that they're, you know, have some type of an advantage, have some type of skills, so they're wanting to practice their English so they're not speaking Spanish with someone who is from the United States. Uh, they feel like they're higher up if they speak to you in English than in Spanish. Especially if they are around other Puerto Ricans. I don't know if you've experienced that but I have kind of sensed that. That's just…

I: Yeah, I have experienced that.

[Story]

I: Um, do you feel like when you go out, let's say, um, you are at the store or at the restaurant, um, and you need, you need help or you're talking to someone that works there, do they normally respond to you in Spanish or do they normally give you that reaction of "I speak English?"

J: Wow –

I: Which reaction do you think you get the most?

J: That's a good question. Um. It all depends because – it all depends on their level of English they, if they don't know any English then they're going to respond to you in Spanish, so. But, if they kind of know some English and they see that you are American or gingo then they are going to try to mix the Spanish and English together to get you to understand. But, um, what I get frustrated with sometimes is that people automatically think I know English. You know what I'm saying? So, they walk up to me and be like, they start talking English. It could be like at a, a store and I'm about to go get my groc – get my service done and they automatically talk to me in English. I'm like "wow, why can't you start in Spanish." I mean, so there is a contradiction about that because some of them say "oh, yeah. In Puerto Rico you are supposed to speak Spanish and then people go to you and automatically speak English because you're American, you know. And they don't, they don't even know you – there's nothing. They don't even know if you are Puerto Rican or not because Puerto Ricans come in all these colors and shapes and it is very interesting that they start in English sometimes. So, I am like "wow, this is telling you something." Like, [unaudible].

I: Does that make you think or wander, like, is there something different about us because we are from the states?

[Story]

I: Have you ever been referred to as Puerto Rican?

J: Yeah, yeah.

I: And, how does that make you feel?

J; Good and bad. I think - I mean. It's just, ugh. I love - I really like, where I come from. My heritage. It's good to see that people see themselves in you. I wouldn't be mad about that. Ugh, but, um. It's not that bad. It's pretty cool, but it's like – I don't know. It's something that, I have a lot of proud in my heritage but it's cool that they see that.

I: So when they, when they refer to you as a Puerto Rican, do… do you sometimes feel like maybe you're alienating your own culture?

J: No, I just think that, um… I feel like the longer you're here, the more Puerto Rican you become. I feel like you're being here – that's one thing about this island it's just its status is so, ugh, crazy because a Puer – an American can come down here. An American from the States can come to Puerto Rico and live down here for 20, 30 years and they can say they're Puerto Rican. You know. And, that's, that's really, um, through the language, through the culture what makes Puerto Ricans so hard to define, but…

[Story]

I: If you are in the States, do you like to speak English?

J: Well, I like, that's a good question because I like to speak both. I do like to maintain that Spanish background. Ugh, I don't have problems – I love English, but, ugh, if I meet someone from Latin America I get excited because I can use the Spanish.

I: Yeah. Well. Would you say that you are introverted or extroverted when you speak English?

J: Mm. Probably, I don't see – I think that's. It all depends on where I am at, what community I am speaking to. I'm more introverted working – working in the – with the. I don't know. That's just a hard question. I think that when I'm speaking to people of my similar culture and background, it doesn't matter race or color, it's just I feel like, I feel like more extroverted. But I think with someone whose not that, we don't have much in common then I am more introverted.

I: So you would say probably that your, your definition of introverted and extroverted would have to depend on the situation that you're in.

J: Yeah. Exactly. The context, yeah. Who I'm speaking to, yeah.

I: Okay. Ugh, do you feel the same way about Spanish? When you're speaking Spanish, do you think that you're, that your introverted or extroverted depending on the situation as well?

J: Ugh, yeah, both. Both.

I: Okay. Um. I do a lot of things to remember, ugh, new things I've learned in Spanish. Um, and then I will, like, also… Let's say I am going to go to a new place. Uh, let's say I am going to go to the doctor's office and I have a specific situation that I need to talk about. I will look up on the internet words that I don't know, uh, that I know I am going to have to know to explain to the doctor. And, then I repeat it over and over in my head on the way there so that I remember it. Or, if I learn a new aspect of the language, like maybe, um, they put their direct objects in front of the verb, so I'll try to – excuse me – I'll try to memorize that, um, in order to use it in the future. And, sometimes I write things down. Do you do anything like that when you're learning new things about the language?

J: Yeah. Especially when I was first learning. I was learning a lot of vocabulary words. It's vocabulary that is important to use in daily life, so, um, if I needed something urgent then I

would write down the word and I would figure out how to explain it to them because, uh, if I could explain it to them then they would understand what I was talking about in Spanish. Uh, so I do that. Yeah.

I: Alright. Um, and then do you know anyone who has moved to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish that you would say is a successful Spanish learner?

J: Mm… Yeah, I do. I have a friend. She's from Boise, Idaho but she was – she took some Spanish back in Boise. But, uh. She really has like – really has. Her Spanish really has increased since she's been here but she's also been taken Spanish classes and she has a lot of Spanish speaking friends and she likes to converse in Spanish. So, that's one thing, when you move down here, if you love to converse in Spanish, it's a lot easier to pick up more if you just, just don't stop. You know? Just don't revert back to English. Just try as hard as you can to speak Spanish and… She, she. Yeah, she's doing a good job.

I: Do you think that is something that has made her successful, that she is always wanting to use Spanish?

J: Yeah. I think that, that's very important. That is something I've learned here; just somebody told me that no matter how it comes out, just. You know. If it comes out okay, just keep going. That's one thing that's not the, um, being to hard on yourself with the Spanish and knowing that over time you will get better at it and better at it, uh, if you keep on using it.

I: What, what other things do you think may have made her successful?

J: Well, culture because she loved the culture. I think that she, she, um, always was around the culture. She was traveling to different parts of Puerto Rico. She, um, had a lot of Puerto Rican friends that she practiced the language with and they understand that she's, she's learning the language. But, uh, she, um, put a lot of time into her school work to learn too so it's a

combination of things: the culture and school work that's been done. And, yeah, she's learning. For somebody from Idaho, that's like wow, that's impressive. There's not a lot of Latinos out there, but, yeah.

I: So, do you, um. Do you know somebody that's moved here to learn Spanish and they haven't been successful at learning it?

J: Yeah, that's definitely the case as well. I think that's, on that case, it's probably because, um, the person may is not as open to everybody. All Puerto Ricans. Uh, she's introverted. That's another thing. Uh, the fact that she doesn't like to go out as much. Um, she doesn't have a lot of Puerto Rican friends. So, that has caused her not to pick up the language as fast. And, also, she doesn't have that motivation to – She wants to learn it but she doesn't put the effort into it as much. You know. I don't know. That's just how I see it.

I: Alright, um. How about yourself? Do you see yourself as being successful or unsuccessful at learning Spanish?

J: Yeah, I think I see myself as successful, but I, I, I know that if I was living in another Latin American country where Spanish was used all the time and I didn't see a lot of things in English, then I would be a lot better in Spanish. Because it is so easy to go back to English on the island that it kind of hinders that growth. It hinders the growth, uh.

I: And, what do you think is so – What do you think makes it easy? What do you think makes it easy to go back to English? Is it the people? Is it the, the language because you specifically mentioned if you didn't see the English.

J: Yeah, because, when, when you see it, it's like, um, it's playing in your mind that you can go back to it, or that everybody else knows it, or that it's not as important as I thought it was in the

beginning to speak the language, you know. Uh, so that just makes it easy to go back, when you see it a lot, when you hear people speaking English on the streets, the university, it also playing in your mind that you can speak English whenever you want. Sometimes when I talk, I am not as motivated to speak Spanish as I was the first time I was here. I was very motivated to speak the language because I was really trying to learn and grow in it. But, now, uh, I think I reached a complacency that, you know, I don't see that I'm going to grow into it as if I was living in Mexico or the Dominican Republic or some other country that, where everybody speaks Engl-Spanish all the time. Everything is in Spanish. And, you know. Survival, survival's Spanish. You know.

I: Yay. So, when you're, when you're saying you're successful though, you're saying you are successful considering the context?

J: Yay, yay. I can converse, I can read, I can write in it. If I need something I can speak Spanish. But, um, I started getting to the point where I can like, um, run the organization in Spanish to like, to that level. I don't think I'm at that level yet.

I: Uhu, what exactly do you think makes you successful? What about yourself maybe makes you successful?

J: Well, the thing that makes me successful is if I have any trouble, I know I can use my Spanish to get out of trouble. If somebody from back home needs me to translate something or from, like, my mom a couple of weeks ago she had a person that didn't know how to speak English and she put me on the phone with her so I could translate her, translate from her Spanish to English. That's one thing on my mom. I did that and I felt really good because I had done that before in the past working a business where I translated a lot. So, um, I think that's what makes me feel

successful that somebody that doesn't know how to speak English, I can still communicate with them on different topics and different levels. You know, so yeah.

I: Alright. Okay, now I am going to ask you two questions in Spanish. Don't judge my Spanish.

J: Yay, that's cool. So, I have to speak in Spanish?

I: Yay. One is super easy and you are just going to answer both of them, um, as well as you can and if you don't understand the sentence, say that you don't understand it. And, you don't have to worry about being grammatically correct. I just want – Basically, I just want a sample of your Spanish. Okay?

J: Okay. Cool. Cool.

I: So, ¿cómo te llamas?

J: Deron.

I: I told you. Super simple.

J: Simple.

I: So this, this next one, um, explain as much as you can if you understand it.

J: Okay, in Spanish? Estoy listo.

I: ¿Por qué te mudaste a Puerto Rico?

J: Bueno este yo este queria aprender español este ponle aprender español en la universidad hable con mi profesor el este lima hablar con el yo quería aprender español el almedijo que necesito estudiar amelica latina de aprender do de diferentes países de america latina y yo escojo venir a Puerto Rico. Primero yo escoji Colombia pero es muy caro para estudiar en Colombia so no no podía estudiar en Colombia porque el costo de vida es alto so no lo hize sooo ejaja yo vine aquí doce veces [inaudible] español eh yo me quedo por cinco meses, después de cinco meses [inaudible] para la universidad para graduarse en el, entonces el quince yo solicite al

departamento de ingles en el caso de ellos una maestria. Yo pensé que es una buena oportunidad de un idioma que yo se mucho porque mi primer idioma es ingles so es importante a darle servicio a los puertorriqueños que ellos quieren saber ingles para mejorar sus futuros so yo quiero ofrecerles un servicio a ellos. Yo diciendo parte de la [inaudible] idiomas se muchas cosas para e mejorar para casi [inaudible] necesitan trabajo necesitan saber ingles para hacerlo este bueno esto aquí hace un ano y medio a dos anos desde el 2015.

I: Very good. Muy Bueno.

J: That's cool.

I: And, I understood all of it except, you said that your professor first suggested Columbia.

J: Yay, right.

[Story]

I: Do you know these locations?

D: I know all of these locations.

I: Alright. Where're – where are we at? (Diorama 1)

J: We are at, uh, Western Plaza.

I: Very good.

J: Yeah, yeah.

I: Okay. So, um. What I want you to do is look very closely at all of the, the languages you see, um, portrayed here. Okay? And, then let me know, um, what language – what languages you see and, um, if there's a language that you see more than the other, that's represented more than the other, tell me what that is.

J: Um, I see more English than Spanish.

I: Alright.

J: A little bit of Spanish but more English.

I: Okay. Very good. So, this is going to be diorama 1. And, you said there is more English than Spanish in that one.

J: Yeah.

I: Okay, this is diorama 2. I am positive that you will recognize this one.

J: Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah. I definitely know this one.

I: So, where are we?

J: Uh, we're by, uh, across from the university on Calle Bosque.

I: Alright. So, I blew up the signs on this one because it was getting cloudy that day and you can't see the signs very well. So, look through these signs real quick and then let me know, um, if you – what languages you see and if you see one represented more than the other or not.

J: Okay. This is more Spanish of course. This is more Spanish than English.

I: More Spanish than English. Alright. But, you definitely see both languages there.

J: Yeah, yeah. I do. More Spanish than English.

I: Alright. Okay, this is the last one and the humidity has gotten to my Catholic church so I will hold it up for you.

J: That's the plaza.

I: Yeah. It is the plaza. Very good.

J: This is, uh, definitely all, like almost all Spanish. Yep. All Spanish, this one.

I: Okay, so what differences do you see between the dioramas then?

J: Uh, man that's a good question. Uh, the American, well, Western Plaza is mostly American companies, so it's gonna be – They, they translate a little bit. They put a little Spanish in there, but since it's American run, they're going to have the American English. The Calle is different

because those are run by Puerto Rican companies, Puerto Rican businesses so they are going to make it [the linguist landscape] in Spanish. And, the plaza is going to be in Spanish because it's the Puerto Rico, uh, um. It signifies Puerto Rican culture and Puerto Rican heritage, like the church. So, it's going to be in Spanish. Yeah.

I: Okay. And, why do you think – Why do you think that, um, the plaza, um, represents the Puerto Rican culture and heritage but Western Plaza doesn't?

J: Uh, because it's [Western Plaza] run by US dollars mostly. Uh, more US companies so those companies are supposed to speak – focus on English, but they will translate to Spanish in order to reach their new market. Um. So, they understand what marketing is so they might show some Spanish words but it will be mostly in English. Or, like all the foods. You go into Walmart or, uh, Kmart and Sears and all the products are in are in English, you know.

I: Alright. Well, I am now going to play, um. I'm going to play what is called a soundscape and what is, is basically where I walked around, um, two of the places and recorded the background noise of people talking. Okay?

J: Okay.

I: So, I just want you to listen to them and then I'm going to have you compare the two. Alright?

J: Alright.

I: So, what differences do you see in the languages? Only listen to the people talking, okay?

J: Okay.

I: Okay. So, that was the soundscape for diorama 1. Okay?

J: Okay.

I: Um. And, what languages did you hear in that soundscape?

J: Well, I heard both, but there's mostly English in that one.

I: Alright. Okay and then I'm going to play another one. This is from diorama 3. Okay. So, we are over here at the plaza.

J: Oh, okay.

I: The town plaza.

J: Now, that's – that's Spanish.

I: Did you hear any English in that one at all?

J: The music, yay. The music was English, but, uh, it was Spanish.

I: Alright. Um, so what do you think the soundscape for, uh, diorama 2 would be? For Calle Bosque?

J: Uh. Spanish.

I: And, why do you think that?

J: Uh, because most of the businesses there are run by Puerto Ricans so they operate in Spanish. If they ask you are going to want something to drink, it's going to be in Spanish. Most people are going to be speaking Spanish there because when it's a Spanish speaking environment, people are going to be speaking Spanish.

I: Alright. Um, so what was your first impression about English and Spanish in Puerto Rico when you first moved to the island? Did you think that one language would be spoken more than the other?

J: Yeah. Um, Spanish of course was going to be spoken more than English. Uh, I think the culture of English change was very, seemed very, negative the first time I was here. But, I think that people accept that English is important now, especially with the migration crisis. Things are just very important, more important. Almost more important than Spanish because a lot of people

are trying to leave to the states to find jobs, so they understand that English is going to be very vital to their economic future. So, the, the mindset has changed because of the crisis.

I: Alright. Um, which diorama , um, best helped you formed your first impression? Like, when you are looking at the languages, which one do you thing would help you form your first impression of languages on the island?

J: Uh, I would probably say Calle Bosque. I mean, the diorama #2. Yeah. Uh, because, uh, this is where people have their cultural, um. This is where people go to celebrate their cultural aspects of their lives, whether it's talking to friends, dancing, listening to Puerto Rican music. You know, eating Puerto Rican foods. So, I would say that would be the place that represents the Spanish on the island.

I: Alright, when you first came to the island, which of the dioramas do you think represented places where you shopped?

J: Uh, I shopped at a lot of Puerto Rican companies the first time I came here.

I: You did?

J. Yeah.

I: Why do you think that was?

J: Um.

I: DO you think that was part of the experience of being here or do you think that maybe something drew you to shopping there instead at the American companies?

J: I think the Puerto Rican companies were a lot closer to where I lived because I lived right on the calle they last time, the last time I was here. So, it was close. I didn't have a car, too. That's another reason why. So, I didn't have time to go down to Western plaza and the other companies.

Yeah. I was, I was centered around all the Puerto Rican businesses so that was mostly where I went. The supermercado, all those businesses. Pueblo. Yeah.

I: Alright. Well, now that you've been here for two years and you do have a car now, would you – what place do you think best represents where you would shop of hang out?

J: Uh.

I: Do you think it's the same diorama (indicating diorama #2) or do you think it is diorama #1 or #3?

J: Uh, same. I think it's the same. I think I probably added more, uh, American elements to it but it's – Walmart for example. I went to Western plaza, too, a lot more than the last time I was here.

I: Alright. Um, and then which diorama do you think represents language on the island? Like, when you think about your daily interactions with Puerto Ricans, um, and the places that you go which place, which diorama do you think best represents that?

J: Uh, #2. Diorama 2 because I like to go out, not as mush as last time but I do like to go out to just relax or just enjoy time with my friends.

I: Uhu. And, do you think that the language represented in diorama 2 which was both English and Spanish is an accurate representation of the language on the island?

J: Uh, yeah. It is accurate.

I: Alright. Why do you say that?

J: Uh, because, um. People realize that, that it is important to converse in English and the colegio is a multi-cultural environment. So, you have people from all around the world who may speak different languages so it's easier to talk in English because it's, it's more of a unified language.

I: Alright.

J: And, the college is Spanish. The college is in Spanish, too. It can be Americanized too with the music. So.

I: Alright. Those are good. Those are good reasons. Um, when you examine the dioramas is there a store, a type of store that makes you feel more invited?

J: Invited to what? What do you mean by invited?

I: Um, invited as in going into the store and shopping.

J: Okay. Hmm. I think probably Walmart because it reminds me of back home. Yeah.

I: Okay. Okay. Um… When you overhear strangers talking, like, having a conversation in a store and they're speaking English, do you join in the conversation?

J: No, but I do like it. I am curious about it.

I: Why do you think you don't join in the conversation?

J: Um, maybe because I just don't want to suck myself in that way. You know, uh, if they're talking about something that interests me, then I, I might join in. But, with something like just random talk, I wouldn't just join in.

I: Alright. Um, how did the linguistic landscape – The linguistic landscape is like when you are looking around and the signage you see –

J: Uhu.

I: So, how does the linguistic landscape and the soundscape, which are the sounds that we heard when I was walking around the store, um, motivate you to learn Spanish or dampen your motivation to learn Spanish?

[Story]

J: Yeah, well, even in the English department everybody speaks Spanish. Uh, so everybody know Spanish, but it's just everybody know Spanish but they speak English so I feel like I don't

need to speak Spanish to my fellow colleagues in the department. Um. So that, that takes away the motivation. You can be around mostly Puerto Ricans that speak both English than Spanish, you are most likely going to speak English to them. You're just not going to speak Spanish to them. That's weird. I don't know why. I have a Haitian friend. He speaks Spanish fluently and English, and French and Creole. But, he says he sees, he sees all languages the same. And, I speak to him in English. He says, "Why don't you ever speak to me in Spanish," and I'm like, "because you know English." I don't know. That's just the way I see it, yeah. I definitely, I definitely feel comfortable in my own language. Um, and I feel like – I used to feel like, Spanish is something that I really need, like, in order to, like, do what I want to do but I feel like I can do what I want to do without Spanish. You know.

I: That's very interesting. Alright. I am done with all of the interview questions. Is there anything you want to add?

J: No. That's great. I like the questions you asked.

Participant: Rachel

I: What languages do you speak?

R: English. Um, a little bit of Spanish.

I: And, how did you learn those languages?

R: English. I was born into an English speaking family so I learned it like any child. Um, but then I studied it in, I, in high school. And, I wanted to be a grammar teacher so I was very much into English and, you know, the grammar, the sentence structure, writing, reading. Um, Spanish I learned as a child because we lived in Cuba. Um, in Guantanamo Bay and our nanny – We weren't wealthy, but we were in the military and all military families had a nanny that was Cuban. Um, and our nanny (whose name was Rachel), um, was – We were around, myself and

my sisters, around all day because my father was in the Navy and my mother worked. So, she [the nanny] spoke no English so I was only one. So, from the time I was one until the time I was six, I learned to speak Spanish then because I had to in order to know what Rachel was demanding of us. Um, so from the time I was one until the time I was six. But, then again, you don't even know that you're learning Spanish. You're just "this is how Rachel talks, so."

I: So, it was your second language but you would be learning naturally, basically, because you were instructed how to.

R: Yes. Yes. Correct. And, then when I got to high sch – And, then we got evacuated during the [inaudible] to the United States. And, from then on, Rachel, the things Rachel was saying were never heard again. SO, you know you were – you didn't do that anymore. You were speaking English and, um. And, when I was in high school and you had the requirement for language, I naturally went for Spanish because I was like, well, at least I've heard those words before. You know. Um, I certainly couldn't remember any of them but, um, so I took it in high school.

I: And, how many years in high school?

R; Three, and then… Yeah, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth. And, again I, I think that early introduction was helpful only in that it made sense to me. You know. It wasn't such a struggle as I could see it was for other people because I would hear things that I know I heard when I was younger. And I enjoyed it, but, then that was done and you weren't speaking Spanish anymore. And, I didn't go back to college until I was forty. Um, but when I went back to college there was a language requirement for, um, fine arts. Um, and I, um. Or, liberal arts. So, I once again chose Spanish because I had taken it in high school and I learned more in those four semesters in college than I ever did in high school. But, not as much as I had learned in the five years with Rachel. Um, but it made the college courses easier because I had had those others. I became very

proficient at reading it. Um, and could absolutely read a book in Spanish if I needed to and I would know what it was saying. I couldn't read it rapidly, but I could read it. Um, so, I could understand it if somebody else was speaking it, I would know what they were saying. And, I could read it. But, not, I never did get extremely proficient or comfortable in speaking it back. You know, because I was doing too much in my head. You know. Dissecting…Yes. And, so if… So people used to go, "Well, do you know Spanish," and I would go, "Yes, I do know Spanish. Can I speak it? No. But, I know it." I can read it, and I know what it's saying. And, I know what you're saying to me for the most part. Um, because of nothing else, I can listen for words, and then I'll say, "Oh, okay." You know. But, I'm not – So, I know Spanish, but I'm not proficient in speaking Spanish which is just weird. But. The lessons I give him [referring to her husband] are the most helpful things I've ever done, actually. For me because I am becoming more comfortable in, in speaking it. And, um, giving it a shot out there. You know. When I'm out and saying, "I'll try it." And that is usually what I'll say to someone, "I'll give it a shot." I think I know how to say this. So, that's the background of Spanish. You know. I took it for many years and I know the language. Um, and I like the language, but I'm trying to get more proficient and comfortable with just trying to say it.

I: Yeah, yeah. Did you feel motivated to learn Spanish then when you moved here?

R: No, interestingly. Again, I think that's because I do know Spanish. I know the words in, in writing. Um, I was raised in a, in my really early childhood, in a Spanish culture in Cuba. Um, an Americanized Spanish culture. But, again, all the people around us were Spanish. Um. So I wasn't motivated to learn it. I figured we would come here and I would learn. You know, I would learn to speak it more comfortably than I had before. And, from the time we got here, you know, we would be driving down the road and I would say, "I know what that sign says and I

know what this says and I know what this says." So, I was still good at reading it. But doing the lessons with him [indicating her husband] has made it more to where I can just speak it. But, it wasn't a big motivation. I went to doctoral school for macro social work so when I moved here I was more into the political and cultural issues that faced Puerto Rico and that tended to be my focus. It almost made me anti-Spanish speaking because I know the political struggles they are facing at the hands of the United States and I know the ways that could make it turn around for this country and that also lays in the hands of the United States which makes me think if you want to be a state then you are going to have to speak English. So, it almost made me anti-Spanish because I'm like "Really? You are a United States citizen and the language of the United States is English." We don't let Texans' speak a whole other language and then say "Well, no. we're Texans." Well, I know that but you are U.S. citizens so you are going to have to speak at least enough English to get by. So, as time has gone on, I have spoken less and less Spanish.

[Story]

I want to teach them English… I want them to learn English out of respect for the United States.

I: Since you have studied a lot about Puerto Rico, you knew the language they spoke then?

R: Yes, but I knew 60% spoke English.

I: What did you know about the culture? Did you know a lot or a little?

R: About the specific Puerto Rican culture?

I: Yes, about the Puerto Rican culture.

R: I knew it had many similarities to my perception of most Spanish cultures, certainly my perception of Cuba, my perception from the other Latin countries we had visited. They tend to be a male-dominated culture – a machismo culture. And what I knew specifically about Puerto Rico was their political struggles with where they fit in the world. They are sort of the United States

but they are sort of not. They sort of want to be part of the United States but they sort of don't. So, I saw them as a country that was not sure of its own identity. Other than that, before we moved here, all I knew was what you could read online about the culture – that it was Spanish based, not Latino based. It was Spain-based laws and things like that. I knew it had beautiful beaches and great weather.

I: What would you say you learned about the culture since you've been here?

R: That it is way more rigid than I was assuming.

I: What do you mean by that?

R: They take their position and it's difficult to get them to move off of that. Not to move off that but to consider or even discuss it. It's like "no, this is the way it is." So they are very, at least my exposure here in Rincon, they are very rigid in the positions that they take when it comes to the treatment of children, pets, dogs. They say, "nope. That's just the way it is." Well, I know but they way it used to be is slavery and we kind of got over that too. But they take a very rigid stance and they are like, "no, that's how we are." If that means dogs are dead in the middle of the road or dogs are mistreated or there are no child protective services for children or whatever happens to be, then that is just the way it is. You will hear that on a daily basis. "No, that's just the way it is here." Okay. Well, can we…

I: Do you think you are being discriminated against then because of your language?

R: Absolutely.

I: In what was have you seen that?

R: Again, not what I would described as blatant discrimination but you'll get looks when you are out speaking English or when you are in a store or anywhere. I could probably speak Spanish at as far as a transaction at a cash register or asking somebody how much something costs. But, as

soon as you walk up, and again, if I am shopping, and this happened recently when my sister was visiting and we were at flea market. That's the most hostile that anyone has ever been. But my sister was with me and she doesn't speak a word of Spanish. We were at this big flea market and we walked up to some place and they started talking really fast in Spanish and all I said was "Habla íngles." You would have thought I said, "are you the devil's spawn." Uh, they said, "no." I went, "whoa, okay. Well, because she doesn't understand a word you said and I only understand about three of them. So, okay. We will just go." So that is what I mean by discrimination. You sometimes get very hostile responses to those two words. In the United States in general, if somebody comes up to you and says, "habla español" if you don't, your not going to go, "NO." You would just say, "Oh, no." You would probably say, "No, I'm sorry" understanding there are a lot of people who speak Spanish in the United States but here I find it more discriminated against or you get a rigid or angry response to the simple request "do you speak English." I'm not even requesting that they speak English. I am asking if they do. So, yeah, I have gotten that quite a bit.

I: How did you go about buying the house when you got here?

R: Once we made the decision that we were moving here, I did it all online. We had only been in Puerto Rico once for one day and that was in San Juan. So, I researched everything as far as the different areas and the ones that offered what we were looking for which was the beach and I came upon Rincon. They have a huge North American population and it is really close to the beach so I said, "okay. I think that is where we need to move." So, we actually took a vacation here which we had never done, in May of 2015. Because we wanted to make sure it looked like what we had seen and prior to doing that, I had found different houses in this area to look at. We came down here and stayed at the Rincon Beach Resort. The minute we drove through that

“welcome to Rincon” sign, I was like, “yep, this is where we are living.” It reminded me of Cuba. I was ready to buy a house on that day, on that vacation. Actually, we were going to buy our neighbors’ house and he just couldn’t because he is not big on change. We went back home. I kept saying, “You know, it is a great house. It is where we want to be.” My job ended so I’m not working. I’m like, “good time for me to retire.” It took him until, the end of June. We were here in May and this is toward the end of June and he came home from work and said, “okay, I’m done. I’m ready.” So, I said, “okay. Let’s call and see.” We put a contract on the house. We looked at it and of course we called and that house was sold. I said, “but that’s okay. If you know with certainty that we are going to move there, then we need to put our house on the market and we need to go down there and buy a house.” So, I took a month and got our house perfectly ready to be listed. While I was looking and working with someone from Island West Properties down here on different houses – telling her what we were interested in. We came down here in July and had a list of six houses. We listed our house two days before we came down here. I though in a good world our house will sell in a few months which gives us time to go down there and find a house. When we got off the plane in San Juan our house had already sold. It was on the market for three days and we had three contracts. So, I looked at him and I said, “now we have to find a house or we are going to be homeless.” I had heard horror stories about how that transaction works down here and we were running into problems and I thought, “this is bad”. We came down here, looked at the houses, and said, “this is the one we want”. And, I told the realtor, who is now my best friend, I told her, “you have to make this happen now because our house it sold”.

I: Now, were you talking to this realtor in English or Spanish?

R: English. She is interesting. She speaks fluent Mexican Spanish because she was born in the United States and lived in Chicago but she is Mexican heritage. She has never been comfortable since she has lived in Puerto Rico though she has been here a long time. She is more comfortable speaking English in Puerto Rico than trying to speak Puerto Rican because it is a different language than Mexican Spanish. She always feels like when she is speaking Spanish it is not well received because Puerto Ricans can immediately tell she is Mexican and tend to say, "that is not how we say that". So, even though she speaks perfectly fluent Spanish, she speaks English and prefers to speak English.

I: When you were looking for houses online, did you do that in English too?

R: Yes, because Island West, the real estate company here in Rincon is English. Everyone there speaks English. Again, they can speak Spanish, but they speak English and their listing are in English and their agents speak English, so that was an easy transition.

I: When you walk up to do a transaction in the store, do you usually talk to people in English or Spanish?

R: It used to be Spanish because I would give it a shot. Because, again, your basic fundamentals of how much does this cost and understanding when they tell me how much it does cost, I can do that; but, now I am in that – hostile phase. My rebellious phase. I tend to go up – with me they tend to start in Spanish and I will go, "English". I'm not even nice anymore. That's what's really bad. I'm not even… I'm in my rebellious phase, so I'll just go, "Ingles". What's funny is that I will go, "Ingles, por favor". You know. So. It used to be more.

I: When you used to start in Spanish, did they continue speaking to you in Spanish?

R: Yes, they did. Again, small transactions like, you know, grocery store, going to a flee market. You know, buying stuff. It's like they knew it wasn't my first language so they would speak it

slower, which was good. But, yeah, they would answer back in Spanish. I am trying to get better at just doing Spanish now. I am trying to be less rebellious.

I: Would you say when you are speaking English and you are in the states, would you say you are extroverted or introverted?

R: Extraverted.

I: And, do you like speaking English?

R Yes. Correct English as well. My kids will tell you that I tend to correct them frequently on their use of the English language. So, I love English and I love the intricacies of the often nonsensical language of English. So, yes, I am much more extroverted with English than Spanish.

I: When you speak Spanish, would you still describe yourself as extroverted or introverted?

R: No, much more introverted. Hesitant and introverted.

I: Why do you think that is?

R: I don't understand it enough to feel confident and that whole rebellious thing comes in. So, I don't know. I am just not nearly as extroverted with Spanish as English.

I: What kinds of things do you do to learn Spanish?

R: I am teaching him. And, again, it's hard because I know Spanish. I can read it and I can understand it on T.V. Sometimes we do that. I will put on a show and it is in Spanish and I will say, "really all you have to do is listen and hear a word". Sometimes that's all you have to do and go, "oh, they're talking about this". I will do that and I listen to Spanish music and songs in Spanish. And, they now make much more sense to me. Now, I can actually sing them in Spanish. I listen to people when we are out and about. When we are going somewhere where there is a lot of Spanish being spoken, I like to just listen. I feel like I am eves dropping but I like to just listen

– to hear it being spoken and try to understand what they are saying rather than do a participatory thing. You know, rather than me having to do it, but just listen. You know go to a mall. Sit down. Listen to people when they are walking by so that you can get a better grasp on the flow of the language and the conversational style of the language. So, that's what I do.

Do you think you have been successful or unsuccessful at learning Spanish?

R: Successful.

I: and why would you say that?

R: Because I know the language. I can read the language. So, I consider myself successful at Spanish but not necessarily at speaking Spanish. It seems like the same thing but it's not. I know the language. I know why the sentences are structured that way as to compared as to compared to how they are structured in English. I know it is a simpler language than English. So, I respect the language. I respect it's forms, it's words, it's structure, and I know those things. I just don't know how to speak it. I am not all that successful at speaking it.

I: Well, now I am going to ask you to speak it. Como te llamas?

R: Me llamo Rachel.

I: Porque te mudaste a Puerto Rico?

R: Porque Puerto Rico es tropical, bella, y tiene – oh, now what is this word - mucho playas.

I: Muy bien.

I: What impressions did you get from the signs you saw? If you were seeing a lot of things in English, did that make you think there are probably a lot of people here that speak English?

R: It made me think you'll always be able to find somewhere where you can speak English.

I: After being here for 18 months, do you still feel that thinking you would have access to a lot of English in Puerto Rico was a fair representation?

R: Our friends have lived here for 25 years and never spoke a word of Spanish.

I: So if you feel that you don't need to learn Spanish and that you could just speak English and get by and be fine, what is your motivation for learning it then?

R: Brain exercise.

I: If you overhear someone speaking in English, like in the store, are you likely to join in the conversation?

I: And why do you think you would react that way?

R: Yeah, I mean, that has happened a couple of times. Like, when you're at K-mart or Sam's Club. If I overhear someone and they are asking a question like, "where do you think this i…", you know, then I am likely to go up and say, "I know".

I: LL vs SC. I recorded two soundscapes: one from diorama 1 and one from diorama 3, and after you hear the soundscape, I want you to guess which diorama it is from. I want you to ignore the music in the background but tell me what languages you hear spoken in the landscapes. So what languages did you hear and where do you think it is at?

R (Recording 2): Spanish. I think it is at the Rainbow store in Western Plaza. I only heard Spanish but you would at that place. Okay. I am going to say Western Plaza. I might change that if I hear the next one. I don't know.

R (Recording 1): I would say that was here (indicating diorama 3).

R: Lots of English. But, the ones that were talking in English were buying stuff and they weren't [inaudible] in Spanish. They seemed like they were in a more a local shopping area. Actually, I would have gone with diorama two but that wasn't a choice, right?

I: Right.

R: So, I would say 3. Yeah, because there's going to be venders. To me it sounded like they were here (indicating diorama 2) but at one of the venders uptown.

Participant: Paul

When you first came to the island, were you motivated to learn Spanish?

P: Yes.

I: You told me on the phone that you have lived here for a while. How long have you lived here?

P: Eighteen months.

I: okay. After living here for eighteen months, do you still feel as motivated to learn Spanish as you did when you first got here or do you feel more motivated or less motivated?

P: I feel as motivated. I'd like to learn to speak Spanish just as a challenge and as an interest to communicate - I've met a lot of people that speak Spanish that speak very little English and we actually kind of have fun with it back and forth. But, just from being able to communicate with more people more clearly, I feel motivated just out of a self-interest. Not out of a need, but out of a self-interest.

I: Alright. And, did you know what languages were spoken in Puerto Rico before moving here?

P: Yes. Yes.

I: Okay. Did you think that you could use your English to get by? Were you planning on using your English to get by or were you planning on learning Spanish or think you had to learn Spanish?

P: I did not think I had to learn Spanish. I thought I could get by with speaking English. Again, it's not out of a necessity, particularly in this community which is a little bit more accepting to English. It is one of the reasons - one of, not the only, but one of the reasons - that we chose Rincon is because that it had a respectable percentage of people from the states. But, no, I did not

think I had to speak Spanish to get by. As a matter of fact, the woman that owned this house before us was very prominent in the community. [Name removed for privacy], she actually owned the [local magazine], and people throughout this area know her extremely well. I'm not trying to associate myself with her. I only know her through a real-estate deal, but she lived here for, I think, twenty-five years and never learned to speak Spanish. She was very involved, very busy, very active from what I am told, and she just never took the time or thought she had the time and never really had the desire to speak Spanish. And, she was very successful in this community. So, I knew it was definitely possible and easily possible for where we live. And, we've only bumped into a few situations where it's offered a little bit of difficulty. Usually neighbors or they'll bring in a friend - In one case, I had somebody work on my car, and his daughter spoke English very well; so, he had me talk to her and then she would talk to him. So, it's very easy to communicate here without speaking Spanish. So, it's not a need as much as two things: a little bit of respect for the culture but also a desire to communicate a little bit more with people on the street.

I: Did you know anything about the culture before you moved here?

P: Uh. Actually, Puerto Rico not so much, other than doing a lot of reading about it. And, that was Rachel doing a lot of the research on it. We've gone on a number of cruises, always to the Caribbean, and we've always enjoyed the island culture of going on cruises between Mexico and Jamaica and Cancun and Honduras. But, it's all mostly been on cruises other than a couple of visits to the Dominican as far as Punta Cana. But, that is the extend of our exposure to the culture. And, that part of the culture I found pleasant and engaging.

I: What have you learned about the culture since you've been here?

P: I've learned a lot of the history of Puerto Rico which, unfortunately, people from the United States - unless you have a Puerto Rican relative - people from the United States really don't know. I didn't know anything about Puerto Rico. As a matter of fact, we've been on five or six cruises and we had never been to Puerto Rico. Where is it? You knew it was in the chain of island somewhere but where is it? I mean, we just didn't know anything about it. So, I've studied. [I] just read a few books about it, you know, as far as the history of Puerto Rico and it's culture and history to the United States. I am more interested in it in its relationship to the United States as far as being "quasi-colony/quasi-territory." It's relationship to the United States is something that I've done quite a bit of reading about. The historical culture, of course, you learn from those readings: the transfer from Spanish to the United States taking it over. So, I have educated myself in the culture in that way, as well as just living with the people. So, I've read quite a few books about it.

I: Do you think that someone could move to Puerto Rico and learn the language without learning the culture or learn the culture without learning the language? Or, do you think that they go hand in hand?

P: I think you can learn the culture without learning the language, quite honestly. However, you would certainly have a slanted predisposition to the culture, I think, without learning the language. So. I think if you really want to learn the culture and mix with the culture, I think it's very beneficial to learn the language because there's enough people around here that, for whatever their reasons are, they appreciate it more if you learn Spanish. Whenever I tell somebody, and they really have no idea what level of Spanish I speak other than I speak very little, "I'm really trying to learn," that engages them quite a bit. You know. For someone local to know that you actually have a desire to speak Spanish engages them. And, I think from he

perception that I've had from just making those comments, that if you're someone who doesn't really care about speaking Spanish, there's going to be a certain degree of the population that looks at you arrogantly or differently or something along those lines. And, again, I'm not passing judgement either way. I think that they may have a lot of misplacements of their judgements but at the same time, there's a pretty significant percentage of the population that just knowing that you are wanting to speak their language it settles well with them. Yes.

I: I would definitely agree. [Story]. Well, why did you guys pick Puerto Rico?

P: Retiring, warm, and U.S. territory. And, again, having done a lot of cruising in the Caribbean. The Latin lifestyle, the Latin culture, we were comfortable with it. We wanted to go to a more tropical area. We never at all considered Florida. Southern California might have been a possibility, but if you wanted to be close to the ocean in Southern California it was going to be much more expensive. So, from a cost standpoint, tropical island, and the Latin culture and everything intrigued us but mostly the weather and the beach. We are three blocks from the beach. You know. That's really one thing - We really wanted to live close to the beach and in order to do that in the states, it was either going to be in an area that we didn't want to live or an area that was going to be too expensive to live so that was a big attraction for here was to be close to the beach and the warm weather.

I: Well, how did you go about finding your house here?

P: Uh, she did it [indicating his wife]. No, actually she did it all on line. We had never been to Puerto Rico but for one day, and this really wasn't an impetus to pick Puerto Rico but one day we went on one of the cruises to Old San Juan for that one day stop where the cruise ship pulls, in and you walk around Old San Juan, and you take off. But, outside of that, we had never been to Puerto Rico. So, just researching the idea. And, this is before even committing that at that time

I was going to retire. But, with the possibility that I might retire, she was doing a lot of research online. Where did we want to go? What did we want to do? We did not want to stay in Central Virginia. The time to go back to St. Luis which, we both have a great deal of fondness for, at that time had passed because our kids were raised in Virginia and everything, and to go back to St. Luis was not really the attraction that it was of going back to your childhood home. I mean, it just really wasn't that attraction. So, we're looking for some place to move to and Puerto Rico - The big thing - and she can speak more about this because she is the one that did it - but, You looked at Bailey's. You looked at the Cayman Islands. You looked Cancun, or Mexico, or Jamaica, or the Dominican, because we've been to the Dominican a couple of times of longer vacations. But, you look at all these things and the biggest thing was that it was a U.S. territory and the ease to travel back and forth and the legal ease to relocate was hardly some slight differences when you talking to your real-estate people and your lawyers and everything down here, but much of the transaction is not much different than if we had moved to a different state so the ease of moving here was real high on the list after it met the qualifications of being tropical and next to a beach. So. And, and the cost. The cost was a big thing, because, like I said, Southern California would have been of interest to us, but to get where we wanted to go, it would have cost so much more.

I: Yes. Definitely a whole lot more.

P: You know, now there's some places in the States next to the ocean, whether it be in Mississippi, Alabama, the Pensacola peninsula of Florida - There's some areas that you could get similar weather, not the same, but tropical and warm and the ocean, that you can get fairly inexpensively. But, those weren't areas philosophically and every - That's just not where we wanted to live. So… Here we are.

I: So, you guys live together. Do you speak any Spanish to each other?

P: Uh. We only use English 99.99% of the time. She took a lot of college Spanish and has a very good fundamental understanding of the Spanish grammar and a lot of knowledge from when she took the two years of college Spanish of the words and the verbs and the grammar behind it. So, actually since September - we took a hiatus for a couple of months, but - For about seven months, with a couple of months out of the middle there where we got away from it, she [has given] me Spanish lessons. She is my Spanish teacher. For now. I am not the quickest study as far as memory and recall. It really - it struggles. And, so far our marriage has survived it, but at some point - which I think she said just yesterday, "you need to take these immersion classes." So.

I: That sounds familiar.

[Story]

P: Well, my memory skills are not all that keen and so sometimes she says, "Well, you're doing real well." Not often, but sometimes she says that. But, you do. You just - "Dammit, We've been doing this since day one. Why am I just having a brain freeze over it right now." You know, I've not quite gotten anywhere close to getting over that hump of being able to just let some of the basics flow. I have to think about it so much that it's, it's not easy. It's not easy.

I: Now I would say that's my problem. I am a perfectionist so I have to know every word that I am going to say so I have to think about it first. My husband is not. He said he used Spanish the other day. He doesn't like here, he lives in the States because he couldn't find a job here. But, he told me that he ran into somebody the other day and he overheard them speaking Spanish so he said something to them in Spanish. He was really proud of himself. He like, "I don't care if I got it right or wrong. They still thought it was cool because I was talking to them."

P: I was just up in the States two weeks ago. Up in Vermont skiing. But, traveling the Jersey turnpike or something, we pulled over and stopped at a restaurant, and there was a Hispanic woman at the cash [register], and she had a Hispanic trainee beside her. SO, she's training this other younger woman at a cashier and they're speaking Spanish, so I fired I would just drop the very simple buenos días and gracias, just the simple things like that. And, they were like, "Oh. Oh. That's kind of cool." You know, someone here instead of just someone traveling up and down the New Jersey turnpike that just doesn't really even acknowledge that they were speaking Spanish. So, yes. I find it interesting. Now, the problem is that here as soon as you great someone in Spanish, boom, they drop a big, long - "No, no, no, no, no, no, no. Don't. Don't do that. I have no idea what you're saying. I should have just said 'Hello. How are you?' instead." Because, as soon as you say something in Spanish, they shoot back at you in Spanish. No, I don't have a clue. So. But, I hope to get a clue. I don't know. I don't know how quickly that's going to come.

I: Well, when you're talking to people in Spanish, since you brought it up - Lets say you're at the hardware store. You go up and you are going to say something and you start talking in Spanish. Do they talk back to you in English or Spanish the majority of the time?

P: The majority of the time, they are going to talk back to you in English.

I: How does that make you feel when they do that?

P: That's, that's fine because if they talk back to me in Spanish, I'm not going to understand them anyway. Usually, if I'm going to talk - And, again, just for entertainment value I may say a couple of things in Spanish, but they know that you're not able to speak Spanish clearly. But, a lot of times, I will use just a noun or a verb instead of a full sentence structure with maybe some sentence structure to it so that they - And, if they know how to speak English, they usually

respond back to you in English, like, “Hey. I appreciate the struggle but you don’t have to. I know how to speak English. What do you need.”

I: So, what happens when you walk up to them and you haven’t said anything yet? Do people usually speak to you in Spanish or English?

P: They usually speak to me in English.

I: Why do you think that it?

P: I think probably more so for the physical characteristics. I would say sometimes to my surprise, you’ll be in a store and they, to my knowledge haven’t heard me say anything, and they’ll just say it in English. So, I don’t know, but I think certainly from physical characteristics, I would not be what would be considered - without being racist or anything - the typical Spanish or Puerto Rican. SO, most of the time I think if they are English speaking, I would say more often than not, they will start off the conversation in English.

I: And, do you think you’ve ever been discriminated against because of your limited Spanish? Or has anyone ever treated you differently because of your language skills?

[Story]

P: Only one case. We went to a nursery out by Arecibo and the guy was just very… “¿Habla Ingles? Anybody?” He, he was very, “Nope!” and just turned right around. Just absolutely no regard for, “Let me see if I can get someone that does,” or anything. So, I’ve only had one situation. And, so then, someone else from that business came up that I perceived to maybe have a little bit more authority of a managerial or supervisory role. Same thing, and I got the exact same result. And, and I mean, “No! No ingles.” They’d turn around. It’s like, screw you. You know. So, I’ve only had that experience that one time. I’ve had again experiences where I try to say something in Spanish and someone chuckles, but I think it was probably something that they

should be chuckling about, quite honestly. So, I didn't know what I called their mother. So, I don't know. But, no. I've actually had probably more of a sense of them being embarrassed that they weren't able to communicate with me. [That] is what I've gotten the sense of several times, not offensive that I couldn't speak Spanish. I've had people that are, "I wish I could speak English, but I don't, "so I've actually gotten that more than the other way.

I: Alright. Do you like speaking English? So, like, when you are in the States and you are speaking English, is that something you like doing? Do you enjoy speaking English?

P: I don't know that I've ever viewed it as enjoying. I mean, that's just what I do. I don't know another language.

I: Do you feel like you're extroverted when you're speaking English?

P: Oh, yes. much more. I think I can communicate fairly well with English. So, yes. I feel okay with that.

I: Okay. Well, then, let's look at Spanish. Do you enjoy speaking Spanish?

P: I'm not at the level yet, other than just laughing at what you can't do. But, I'm not at a level where I can speak it even enough to where… I don't know. I mean, I have fun playing with it once in a while, but I can't speak it to say that I enjoy speaking Spanish. I think that I would enjoy speaking Spanish. I mean, maybe that's the whole thing. Maybe it's more of an idealistic thing than a realistic thing because I'm struggling to learn. But, idealistically, I would love to be able to speak Spanish. But, again, it's not easy. It is not easy.

I: Well, when you are speaking Spanish, do you see yourself as extroverted or introverted?

P: Again, I don't speak it well enough to have an anticipation of being extroverted. When I'm speaking it, it's kind of like, "Did I say that right." I don't speak it well enough to - I could not, in a confident way - which I think you would almost have to be to be extroverted. I cannot in a

confident way speak enough Spanish to have any confidence with it at all. I feel good when I am able to say something and they understand it, but I just don't speak it well enough at all. I mean, I'm un poquito. Muy, muy, muy poquito.

I: Well, what kinds of things do you do to learn Spanish? You said that you're learning it, so what do you do to learn it?

P: My wife and I, we will sit here and we have a couple of Spanish books. College level Spanish books. Spanish 101, basically. Como se dice is the name of it, and it's a Spanish book that she actually used back in college. So, we'll sit out here probably four to five days a week for an hour-and-a-half to two hours. Now, between that and the next time when we do that for an hour-and-a-half to two hours, there's not a whole lot of study time in between. But, four or five times a week, we'll sit out here for an hour-and-a-half to two hours. Outside of that, just reading billboard signs or if you're listening to a commercial on T.V. or something that's in Spanish, trying to, "Now, what were they saying there." Just listening and reading of signs is the extent of it.

I: Aright. Do you know anybody who has moved here to learn Spanish and they have been successful?

P: Actually, I don't… No. I don't know of anybody. Our next door neighbors moved here one month after us so they've been here almost eighteen months, and other than just a few - I mean, he loves to say, "Qué pasa," but that's about it. Which I don't think the locals actually say so much. But, uh. No, they have not learned Spanish. I am trying to think of other people that didn't already know Spanish and most of them don't. Most of them don't. I mean, the couple over here, she is Puerto Rican. He doesn't speak Spanish, and she is Puerto Rican. They've been married longer than we, or at least as long as we have, and he doesn't speak Spanish. so, no. I don't see, I

don't see a lot of effort by people that are in our social situation which is more what we would be inclined to bump into, people that are retired or something from the States. I don't see a lot fo people striving to speak Spanish.

I: So, you can't think of anybody that's been unsuccessful either in learning Spanish?

P: No, no. Nobody that's really given any attempt. No.

I: Well, it seems like you've been trying really hard so would you describe yourself as successful or unsuccessful in the attempts that you've made? It's your definition of success.

P: Yes. Yes. Success can be measured in very small increments sometimes. And, in the small increments, I have been successful in that I have learned just a lot of nouns and verbs that I can at least point someone in the direction of what I'm thinking. But, as far as actually speaking a flow of language, no, I have not been successful at that. So, it depends on which measuring tool. I am pleased that there are a lot of nouns and verbs and small, simple structures that I drop at times. But, no I have yet to cross that threshold of what I would call successful. And, like I said, we've done it for the last seven, short two to three months, so probably four months. We've been doing it for four or five days a week for an hour-and-a-half, two hours each one of those days, and I - It's tough… Because then I turn around and I'm not using it throughout the rest of the day. We use if for that hour-and-a-half to two hours and about that time my brain is frozen, and if she is not telling me to go learn it form someone else, I'm kicking myself so. It's not an easy thing to do. I think if you want to learn a new language, I think it's incumbent, and I think it's a shame that in the United States, they don't force that in a young age in the education. I think the United States - And, because of the hemisphere that we live in, it would be hard to say that it has to be Spanish versus another language, so that would be a difficulty. But, because of where the hemisphere and the association that we have, I think it would certainly make sense. And, I think

it is the third largest, most spoken language in the world. Mandarin Chinese, English and then Spanish, I think is the way it goes. And, now, of course you would never get that passed in the United States because there are so many people that are anti anything that's not all pure-white driven snow one hundred percent American, although almost by definition, none of us are pure-white driven snow. It is the melting pot of the world, but yet they want to all be pure-white driven snow. So. But, I think it's a shame. People in Puerto Rico, I think - I know you can come up with the numbers on it, but the majority of them can speak some English. There's some that will not try it either out of arrogance or embarrassment or whatever their issues are, but the majority of them can speak some English. They're at least taught a separate language. A majority of the people in the United States don't know anything other than English unless they took it in college. You know. So. Anyway.

I: Well, I'm going to ask you two questions in Spanish.

P: Oh, Okay.

I: Don't think too much. You have to answer in Spanish, but if you don't know the answer, like, maybe you don't know what I'm asking, that's fine. Just say, "I don't know what you're asking me" or you could say, "I know what you are saying but I don't know how to answer it."

P: Okay. Sure.

I: Are you ready?

P: Sure, as long as this is not going to end up on YouTube.

I: No. It's not.

P: This is my lesson for today. So.

I: ¿Como te llamas?

P: Me llamo Paul. And, again. That is about as basic as it gets. Yay.

I: Now, this one is more complicated, and I always have to slow myself down. If I say it too fast, I can't say it. ¿Por que mudaste a Puerto Rico?

P: I'm thinking that you're saying… I don't know what mudaste is. Move. For why did you move to Puerto Rico. Te mudaste… Mudasto. Is that the verb?

I: You answer it they way you think.

P: In Spanish?

I: Yes.

P: Uh. Por las playas y… y… Hace color tiempo. The warm climate. The warm weather. That was close. That was close. That was close. That's it.

I: Okay. That's it. That's the end of this questionnaire.

I: What impressions did you get from the signs you saw? If you were seeing a lot of things in English, did that make you think there are probably a lot of people here that speak English?

P: When we first landed here, we were talking about this January, February. We came here at the end of May the first time. My comment was I want to put my feet on the ground and see how comfortable it is for you because I've been to the Dominican and I've been to Jamaica and to these other places and I just want to – is that something – because again, I am not adventurous enough to do something like that. So, I said I just to feel how comfortable. We spent one week here so we stayed at the Rincon Beach Resort and we went up to Isabela and visited and everything else and we were very comfortable that there may be some limitations, some obstacles that you have to overcome as far as language but you are going to be able to communicate enough that it seemed to me that if I am walking down the street and you and two of your friends are there, if you don't speak English, I would say one out of the three is going to be able to be able to communicate with you or maybe one out of two is going to be able to

communicate with you. And, what we have been told by Puerto Ricans here, they said there is a lot of them that understand what you are saying but they are so insecure. It's kinda like Rachel was saying. I understand but for me to think it in English, translate it into Spanish, and to actually say it fluently back to you – a lot of them understand but they are insecure. It is not always an arrogance of I don't have to speak your language. There's a lot of them that just don't want to make a fool out of themselves. They feel insecure so, "no, no. I don't speak English". They could fight through English better than I could fight through Spanish. That is not just my interpretation. Rachel has said that and other people have said that. They are embarrassed to try to speak English. This is just a hypothesis, is that they possibly have the sense just from meeting you that you think you are better than me because you are from the states. You know. Because I do get the sense of an inferiority complex and it is probably something that we very much deserve to be labeled that way. Maybe that is just self-reflecting when you are in that situation where you know someone is either much more educated or much more privileged than you are, that sense of insecurity or that sense of you think you're better than I am. So much of that is human nature. I don't know that so much of it is more Puerto Rican but I do think it is invasive throughout the island from what I have seen because they have been here for 120 years, and they don't get off their ass and make a decision, and the United States hasn't treated them very well either… Story

I: After being here for 18 months, do you still feel that thinking you would have access to a lot of English in Puerto Rico was a fair representation?

P: Yes. I think if I did not learn a word of Spanish, I would be just fine. I want to learn Spanish but I think to socially integrate with more of the local culture, I think it is beneficial to learn Spanish. But, I don't think I have to.

I: So if you feel that you don't need to learn Spanish and that you could just speak English and get by and be fine, what is your motivation for learning it then?

P: Self-deprecation. To make myself feel stupid. The real reason is respect of the culture and just the intellectual stimulus. A combination of those two. In that intellectual stimulus, you find out how non-intellectual you are. It just blows my mind sometimes.

I: If you overhear someone speaking in English, like in the store, are you likely to join in the conversation?

P: Yes, if they are talking about something I want to talk about, I am likely to join in the conversation.

I: And why do you think you would react that way?

P: You have a clear understanding of the conversation. I am not shy about jumping in on a conversation if I hear somebody talking about something, short of being rude about butting into somebody. I enjoy having a conversation with someone else. There are a lot of times where people, since our English is very much from the United States, that sometimes people in line will hear us speaking English to each other and they will join in the conversation with us and they are from Puerto Rico and they are interested and they will start having a conversation with you in English. But, I mean they are Puerto Rican so it is actually – I, I enjoy joining in the conversation. In English.

I: LL vs SC. I recorded two soundscapes: one from diorama 1 and one from diorama 3, and after you hear the soundscape, I want you to guess which diorama it is from. I want you to ignore the music in the background but tell me what languages you hear spoken in the landscapes.

Paul (Recording 1): I am hearing Spanish in the background. The actual conversation is English in the forefront. If that was all one, my inclination would be that it is in Western Plaza.

I: Okay. I am going to play another one.

Paul (Recording 2): That would have been at the downtown plaza. I don't recall hearing any English and some of the background noise too – bells ringing when you are coming through the doors versus the noises you hear at Western Plaza – just sounded much more communal, much more street instead of a shopping center.

I: What do you think the soundscape in diorama two would be like?

P: I would agree with that [Paul agreed with his wife that there would be some English but a lot of Spanish in the soundscape for diorama #2].

I: Okay, so why do you think there is a difference in the soundscape?

P: How many people from the states move to Mayaguez? I think there is some but I don't think there is a concentration of them as a percentage of the population. Whereas if you are dealing something more along – And, plus, just the comfort level of where you are shopping maybe. If someone is more from the states, they might be more drawn to, "I know K-mart. I know Sam's Club. I know Home Depot. They are just things I am comfortable with."

Participants: Rachel and Paul

I: What do you think the soundscape in diorama two would be like?

R: Oh, it would definitely have a lot of Spanish. Maybe some English but a lot of Spanish.

I: Okay, so why do you think there is a difference in the soundscape?

R: Touristy stuff.

R: Yeah, you are drawn to what you know.

P: When we first moved here –

R: We lived at Home Depot.

P: Oh, God.

R: They practically knew us. “Oh, they’re here. Okay.”

P: Between Rooms To Go and Home Depot and K-Mart we were sometimes driving to Western Plaza twice a day.

I: So, that just answered that question because I was going to ask you the kinds of places you would have first hung out when you first got here.

R: It was there (indicating Home Depot).

P: That is where we first hung out. Definitely.

R: Yeah, first we went all the way to the K-Mart in Aguadilla because – then we discovered Western Plaza which was a little closer and it had the Home Depot and K-mart so… One stop shopping so that is where we went. That’s where we still go. Tends to be.

I: So, would you say that still represents where you would go is the Western Plaza?

P: Yeah. Western Plaza or Mayaguez Mall.

R: For major shopping not for groceries. For that we stay here.

P: I just don’t know if that is more of a comfort level as far as language.

R: No, the familiarity of it.

P: It’s also the products. The availability. You go to Home Depot and they’re going to have it. Here, if it is something small and I can run down to the hardware store but if it is something big you’re gonna get it cheaper at Home Depot.

R: Yeah, but purely local is hard to find-

P: In Rincon.

R: Yeah, in Rincon it’s hard to find some of the things you need. We don’t go to Sam’s Club for political reasons, but um.

P: We don’t go to Walmart or Kmart as much.

I: What if I had two stores in front of you. In the front of one you see all Spanish. You see all English on the front of the other one. Which one are you more likely to go in to?

R: Depends on what kind of store it is.

I: What would you normally go buy?

R: If it is a craft store, I would go into the English because I would think I would find products of which I'm familiar. So, familiarity. Not so much the language but familiarity. Which I recently discovered isn't a really good gage because I was going all the way to fabric store way down in Mayaguez. You know, the huge commercial fabric store? And then, I would go all the way to Mayaguez Mall to go to Walmart for crafts. Then I happened to stop into the little fabric store here in Rincon. It's real little and it is right across from the medical center. And it says "Creativo Mundo". I saw it when we first moved here but I never went it in because I thought, "Oh, well. It's kind of small and it's Spanish and". And, you know. I'll just go to Walmart. I finally walked in there one day two months ago. Well, gee. They had more of what I'm looking for. They had stuff I couldn't get at Walmart and those other places. Right there. And, inexpensive. And, it was right there. And, now I just go there instead of those other places. So, yeah sometimes it's that familiarity is not the best reference. Now, I've been there 3 times. You know, once you find it you're like, " oh, I don't have to go all the way to [inaudible]".

P: I would pick the English one just for comfort level and communication.

R: We would have to live here 32 years before it (Spanish) would be equally familiar to us.

I: Think about your daily interactions in Puerto Rico in terms of the languages you see, the sounds you hear. If you had to pick one of the three dioramas that you feel best represent the languages you see and hear in Puerto Rico, which diorama would you pick?

R: Western Plaza.

I: And, why would you say that?

R: I think because we live here (Rincon). So what we experience every day is mostly English and mostly, I don't know. The friends we have speak English. The things we do, where we go, they speak English. It is not necessarily how it should be but that is how it is for me.

P: It's hard to pick one for me. Somewhere between number one and two.

I: And, why do say that?

P: Number three I am going to visit as a tourist. I am not going to go there to do my weekly business. I am going to go there as a sightseer but I wouldn't be going there to do my regular business. I would say I am more learning towards the Western Plaza even above two and three. Even as much as I'd like to say it wasn't. Because, again, the comfort level, the familiarity, I don't speak Spanish… So.

I: Have the linguist landscape and the soundscape helped to motivate you or dampened your motivation to learn Spanish?

R: It enhanced mine.

P: It helped motivate me.

I: And why do you think that is?

R: Well, for me it is that you need to know visual landscapes – you know, signs, and directions, whether something is opened or closed. Those are things you need to know in order to get around or navigate, but, yet you don't need to know the whole language but you need to know those important things as to whether something is opened or closed or whether to go right or left.

[STORY]

P: The accessibility to services and businesses.

I: Can you think of way you have learned from the linguistic landscape and soundscape?

R: I would go with street signs. We drove around forever up and down 115 every time we were going to the beach and we'd drive by this little shopping plaza and out front it said – what did it say? It said "hay"… Oh, what did it say? (referencing her spouse). I forget.

P: "Taino".

R: Yeah, until you learned to pronounce it, you would say it said "Hey i-ee-no".

P: Or, "hey tay-ee-no".

R: Yeah, or however you say gas. But, we'd drive by it all the time and he would go, "what's that" because I'm usually good at that. I would go, "I can't remember what" – I know that word it used a lot. I told him that. I know that word is used a lot and I know how it's pronounced but I don't know. I don't know what it means. And then we finally got to that part in our lesson and I went, "there you go. It means we have gas here or whatever".

P: No, they had hay. "heno" means hay or straw. It's back in that –

R: No, it isn't. It's gas, but anyways.

P: We didn't learn anything.

R: We didn't know what "hey" meant. But, anyway. I think it could be really good how to read something and go, "What the hell does that even mean? I don't know what that means".

P: It's h-e-n-o.

R: I think it's h-i-e-n-o.

I: H-i-e –

P: No, it's just h-e-n-o

R: [inaudible]

I: How do you spell it.

P: H-e-n-o.

R: I think it's h-i-e-n-o.

I: Heno. I don't know what that is.

R: I think it's gas.

P: Heno means hay.

R: I don't think it's h-e-n-o. I think it's h-i-e-n-o.

P: Okay. Next.

R: But, you know, it's really –

I: It might be h-i-e-l-o.

P: No.

R: That's gas!

I: That's ice. Ice.

R: Oh, no. It's not that then.

I: Heilo.

R: Although, this not very productive or therapeutic. But, anyway.

P: It says (referring to his phone) "there is gas".

[STORY]

R: I find reading the signs really, really useful. Especially street signs like: left, right, shoulder closed ahead, merging traffic. You know.

P: That is how we learned north, south, east, and west.

R: That's how we learned – the day we moved here, that's how we learned north, south, east, and west. And those tend to be things you learn and remember because you have to know those to navigate the world you're living in. Kind of like the enter and exit. All of those useful directional words.

Participant: Michael

I: What languages do you speak?

M: I speak English fluently. I was born and raised speaking English. I speak conversational Spanish, and I speak conversational French.

I: How did you learn those language?

M: English I learned from being raised in an English-speaking household the way that most humans learn a language that they hear, that they use in their familial social settings. French I learned throughout school, k-12, and took a year of French at a university and practiced when I met French people and when I traveled in France for a little bit. And, Spanish, I learned almost solely through living in Puerto Rico [said in Spanish] and through doing some independent, on-line research, and doing some reading of little Spanish text books and story books. Things like that.

I: Okay, so when talk about the online research, was that like using DuoLingo, or SpanishDict, or-

M: SpanishDict is great. DuoLingo I didn't really care much for. I didn't really care much for the games. I use wordreference.com quite a bit or just Google Translate. I will look up verb conjugations. I'll look up vocabulary. And, I'll just spend half an hour or an hour with my notebook kind of writing, kind of thinking, questions. I don't do flashcards. I don't do very well with memorization. I can memorize things but I don't do very well with forced memorization. I tend to learn best by having questions that I want answers. I learn well if it is something I'm interested in.

I: When you took French in school, was it mandatory?

M: You had to choose either French or Spanish, and so I chose French from an early age, kindergarten or whatever. [Starts speaking in French]. I think it is the most beautiful language in the world. It was compulsory to take a language.

I: When you moved to Puerto Rico, did you feel motivated to learn Spanish?

M: Yeah. Very.

I: And, why did you feel that way?

M: I guess a bunch of different reasons. I am interested in living in Latin America and the Caribbean. I think that if I ever go back home to the States to live there, to work there, I think it would be useful to have a command of Spanish. I think Spanish is one of those really incredible, global languages spoken by hundreds of millions of people, and all sorts of different avenues and possibilities are opened up by knowing Spanish, kind of like French, or Arabic, or Mandarin, or Russian. I think as I started living here more and more, I found that it was quite a fun and enriching and stimulating mental experience, exercise to learn. I had a couple friends that speak Spanish.

I: Now that you have been here five months, do you still feel motivated, or less motivated, more motivated?

M: Definitely less motivated.

I: Why is that?

M: I think I would almost compare it to my feeling moving here. I think there's this pretty vivid honeymoon phase that happens, especially coming to a tropical, beautiful place. Paradise. I was really enthralled with the language and spending a lot of time regularly learning, and practicing, and looking things up in my notebooks. That has dropped off significantly since I have kind of worked out present tense, past tense, future tense, worked out how to kind of crudely

communicate, and definitely I am able to get what I want and understand basic conversation at the bus stop, or at the supermarket, or wherever. Ask directions, I can do that. I've also kind of reached the point with Spanish that I did with French. My ability is quite comparable in both languages. I never really caught on to advanced verb tenses and more sophisticated ways of expressing myself in French and I've felt that sort of block with Spanish as well. And, I think it is also really exhilarating to be learning and growing and be complimented on my Spanish which happens often, which is nice. But, I also struggle on knowing how much further it is that I have to go and feeling a bit overwhelmed and a little depressed by that and a little, at times, hopeless and failistic, and feeling a little bit strange not being able to participate in this culture fully and being an alien – being an outsider – at least feeling that quite a bit at times myself. And wanting to say, "oh, the hell with it" because it's a bit painful sometimes to go back into it and engage and have an active and curious mind about Spanish or French. I would say though that I definitely have firm goals of becoming fluent in French and fluent in Spanish and Creole, I would hope as well if I do spend more time in the Caribbean. That's something that is appealing to me for all the obvious reasons.

I: So, here you say that you have reached the same point in Spanish as in French. Why do you think that has happened since you've only been here 5 months? How do you think you've learned that much Spanish that you feel that – I mean, you had studied French for years?

M: I think because of the two languages tienen structures muy similares. Le du tres similar (RETURN TO 23 7:38). You can hear the similarities. I think both are, not only the way you listen to them, but structurally in terms of conjugating verbs, in terms of gender, I wasn't starting from scratch in Spanish. When I started learning Spanish in the summer before I came, I was like, "Oh, this is very familiar territory. Both derived from Latin, obviously. And, I don't know

what is to do with the kind of block that I feel I have now. I suspect that it is partly me and partly the languages themselves, you know. After you take care of basic verbs, basic grammar, past tense, future tense, the basic kind of rudimentary elements… well, it gets more complex expressing things like "I would have been excited if you hadn't been so condescending". That is reasonably complex, you know. I can't even come close to being able to do that in French or Spanish and that is going to require a lot of work and a lot of, it seems to me, memorization. I kind of envision being here and having someone, some kind of a guide to walk me through this. That has happened to some extent. I think the other elephant in the room, the other big thing we should talk about is being an American here, being an estado unidensia, being gringo and speaking Spanish and speaking English in this colonial context of Puerto Rico and feeling very self-conscious and very strange and often feeling a bit misplaced and a bit wrong being here as, not that I am doing anything colonial necessarily, although there is that take of teaching English and teaching in English as I do, you know, there's a criticism, that's a colonial act to some extent, so I also feel a bit strange and a bit yucky emotionally, internally, psychologically learning Spanish here and kind of being from the colonizing country in the colonized country and being someone of quite evident privilege.

I: Did you know before moving here what languages were spoken here? That English and Spanish were spoken here?

M: Yeah.

I: did you think that you could use English to get by or did you feel that you had to learn Spanish?

M: I definitely knew that – One of my best friends that I knew in Scotland, his mom is Puerto Rican so that was a helpful intro to this. And, I've been here as a 10 year old on vacation with

my dad and my brother. At the time, I was learning more and more about the colonial history, which is something I generally interested in - colonial history, so I knew that English was the language you could speak here and get by just like French was a language you could speak in Algeria or in Vietnam and expect to get by – almost even demand to get by. But, I definitely felt that a big part of moving here was to learn Spanish. Spanish was one of the big reason for moving here.

I: Did you know anything about the culture before you moved here?

M: Almost nothing. Compared to what I think I know now or after the impressions after five months? Nothing.

I: Give me some examples of things you have learned about the culture.

M: Oh man. Wow. I played this game the other day with a friend called Things Puerto Ricans Like. So, things are louder here. The music louder. Talk is louder. It is a very oral culture. It is a very expressive oral culture. It's not a very literary culture as compared to Scotland which was kind of the inverse. I love that people wear bright clothing all of the time. I like the very festive atmosphere.

I: Like the parties at the gas station?

M: Yeah. Yeah, the gas station parties. The federal holiday parties, you know those are kind of ubiquitous. Every couple of weeks we've got a federal holiday. I like the general sense of comradery. I like the kind of touchy-feeliness: the kisses on the cheek. Something I am still really trying to work out is the society's attitude toward woman and sex. I think it is a very patriarchal society in a lot of different ways. I think it is a very authoritarian society and I think that those, patriarchal and authoritative, kind of reflect and create each other to a number of extents. In some ways it is a very conservative culture. It is a very Catholic culture, a religious

culture, but then you walk around campus and you just see boobs everywhere and butts everywhere. So, I am still trying to piece together that apparent paradox, that apparent contrast. I think another kind of paradox, a strange one that I am working on, is Puerto Ricans relations ship towards America. Towards the states. I think on one hand it is highly desirable and highly praise worthy to wear a shirt that says "Miami" or " New York" and to have lived there and to speak English. And, I am often approached in line. At the post office, for example, a woman would hear me speaking and would be like, "You know, I worked and lived in Charleston, South Carolina for twenty-three years. Twenty-three years". And, so there is this kind of pride about speaking English and living in the states but there is also this very anti-American perspective and flame that runs through the island and that is kind of expressed most strongly through the independantista, in the far leftist movements on the island, and I think through the general suspicion amongst the population of Americans, and of gringos, and of the states, and of Washington, yet there is kind of this die-hard raw-raw-raw United States. You see it in people wearing Poke-man shirts everywhere and while that is Japanese it is still a very American phenomenon. You see it in the American music that is ubiquitously consumed. You see it in the references to Disney and to Hollywood and to American media and clothing. So, for me there is this kind of very paradoxical, very strange – You see it. I mean, holy shit: the National Guard, the Army is very, very welcome as a presence here. I think there is a lot of interesting reasons for that. My Puerto Rican friend, the one who has a Puerto Rican family, I told him I was on campus the other day and saw ROTC training. He is a leftist like I am and quite cynical at times, and he goes, "well, why don't you go ask them how it feels to serve in an Army for a country they can't even participate in elections for. Why don't you ask them. Just tell me what they say." So, I think there is some very para – but I think that is all part of the interesting part of colonialism. There is

a great quote, “the mind of the oppressed is kind of the strongest victory for the oppressor to have” and I think in many, many, many different ways, this has been tremendously successful colonial adventure by Washington. In fact, as someone who studies colonialism, it is hard for me to think of better examples of where it has worked really successfully and bringing about a real close link to infinity towards the mother country, the colonial capital. It is really quite astounding and, in some sick way, praise worthy for all the American planner who have, over the past hundred years, done this. Well done. It has been quite a victory. It is a small island but still I think at a cultural level – which was your question. So, yeah… some thoughts on culture in Puerto Rico.

I: Well, do you think someone could move to the island and learn Spanish without learning the culture or do you think those two go hand in hand?

M: I think they are definitely hand in hand. I think they are hand in hand in ways that I am really just starting to understand, if that. I don’t know what it means that Spanish is spoken so rapidamente here. So quickly. I don’t know what it means that often my perception when Spanish spoken is that there is sort of this intonation. There’s sort of “if you go to the supermarket tomorrow [lifting pitch], I don’t know what you’re going to find [lifting pitch] and I think that you should get something good [lifting pitch]”. There is this sort of intonation [lifting pitch] that happens. I think you’re laughing [lifting pitch] because you know what I mean [lifting pitch]. You know, I don’t know what that is. That’s not something that I’ve ever understood in my English experience but I think having lived in Scotland for four years, whenever I read British literature now or read a text from someone British, the culture is implanted in my mind as well as the accent. There is a certain cadence and rhythm and flow to the language and I don’t have anything other than guesses as to how those two are reflected, but I can tell you after four

years of living in Scotland some ideas on the way that works for British culture. I do think that comes hand in hand. I do think that the way of speaking is created in many ways by the culture. You many know Ferdinand Desosio, the Swiss linguist who kind of revolutionized linguistics in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century. [inaudible]. What Desosio says is quite simple and quite elementary and quite self-evident (maybe it wasn't at the time), but languages aren't invented by individuals. They are creations of groups out of necessity to express something. To express a feeling, an idea, an emotion. Languages are sort of this composite. You know. They are grown. They form. They come to be created as processes because they need to describe a feeling or something. Languages are not just symbols. They aren't just a means of communicating something efficiently and quickly. They are about way more than that. So, I think, yeah. Absolutely, to answer your question. I don't know quite how yet for Puerto Rico, but yeah.

I: Why did you come to Puerto Rico?

M: So, we've touched on colonialism. I'm interested in – My whole life I have lived in the colonizing countries: U.S. Great Britain. What better examples? I wanted to live in the colonized world to kind of feel that. To understand that. To have it be all around me, and that has been very interesting. I wanted to learn Spanish. We've discussed that. After four years of Scotland, I really wanted to live somewhere warm. It is brutally cold, miserably wet, rainy, cloudy. I don't think there is any worse weather. It doesn't even snow. You know, there is not even that consolation. It just stays at like thirty-seven degrees Fahrenheit. I am really interested politically and kind of historically in the Caribbean. I wanted to be a little bit closer to home. No visa necessary. It's an easy move legally. Why else Puerto Rico? Yeah, change it up. I like islands. I traveled this summer to the Portuguese island of Madeira. It is two or three hundred miles Northwest of Morocco in the Atlantic Ocean. It's a Portuguese territory. Portuguese island. It's geographically

a lot like Puerto Rico. Topographically a lot like Puerto Rico and that really sold me. I was already planning on doing it. Yeah, I wanted something different. One of my friends, Dan, said to me, "you've done something completely different from any of our friends". You know, most of them are in London doing degrees or working. I have taken a big leap somewhere completely different and strange and new and scary. Most people with any money or with any qualification or with any acumen like myself are going to a good university or leaving. You know, all the middle class people are leaving. I am kind of going against the grain as you are. Yeah, so anything else? Why else? Yeah, to travel in the Caribbean. I've been to the Dominican Republic. I was there in November that was wonderful. Yeah.

I: Alright, so how did you find a place once you got here? Like, how did you find a place to live.

M: So, I stayed with my friend. His name is Bob. He will probably come up again. Or, Roberto, as he is known to his family. I stayed with his abuela (grandmother) for about a week. I was planning on living with her but she is really stricken with Alzheimer's. Like, terribly. So, that wasn't going to work out. I come here to teach at a private school and Bob's family was supposed to set me up with a place to work but that didn't happen which is okay. So, basically, I spent a couple summers selling books door to door and so I kind of did that here. I printed out a couple copies of my resume, rented a car, and started navigating the island. I drove to about 20 different private schools where I could teach in English, teaching history literature or something like that. I ended up applying and getting the job at one and I was living in a hostile in Rio Piedras for about $9 a night. That got tiresome as one would imagine and I just found a place through a teacher at the school where I was working. She recommended a landlord and a place by the school. She would pick me up and drop me off every day so that was how I found that. So, I spent two months teaching in Bayamón. I quit after that because the school was brutal for a lot

different reasons and it wasn't working out. That same landlord, when I was leaving, said, "Oh, don't worry. I have a place in Mayaguez. If you going to Colegio, it is about 10 mins away by bike and I'll lend you my bike." So, that is that.

I: So, when you were trying to negotiate with the landlord about renting, did you speak to him in English or Spanish or both?

M: Both. He speaks English, not fluently, but better English than my Spanish. Especially better at that time. The rental agreement we signed was in Spanish but we kind of worked through it and translated it so we were both on the same page with what it was saying. He has spent time, as many Puerto Ricans have, living in the states so he had decent, workable English for sure. So, yeah, that was my rental story.

I: And, you already said that you live alone?

M: Yeah.

I: Do you ever feel like you have been discriminated against in Puerto Rico because of language?

M: This is something that I have been trying to work out and understand. I'd say there's a starting part ontologically or prospectively I don't really believe in reverse racism as a kind of socio-political phenomenon in our world. In fact, historians of racism are often quite amazed in the modern era given the immense violence that the wealthy white nations have done to the poorer, darker nations that there hasn't been a major lash back or major kind of violence back at the white countries. So, that is where I kind of start. Yes, certainly, at the bus stop the other day, I am pretty sure that I – I was trying to get to Maricoa and I told people where I was trying to go and they put me on the wrong bus. A bus that went nowhere near that, and I was very explicit and very clear with them in Spanish. My Spanish is good enough that I knew what I was saying and we were communicating. My friend said, "Oh. Well, they obviously mislead you". Which I

believe it. They probably did. He's lived here probably thirty years. He is an estado unidense, American guy – a gringo guy as well. He said that happens all the time and that that is their way of getting back at us. I don't have a hard time believing that. I definitely feel that that makes sense. That is a little immediate side of resistance and a little immediate side of empowerment, sort of. Do I champion it as a means of resistance? No. Can I understand it and be sympathetic towards it? Sure. [As] someone who has read the complete autobiography of Malcom X, you know, and [I am] very interested in critical race theory, very interested in liberation theory, oppressor versus the oppressed. I am interest in Marxism. You know, all of that makes sense to me. I get it. I can see why that happens. I guess I feel little minor instances of that and if works both ways. Mostly what I hear is that, "while we are impressed with your Spanish, it's rare to meet an American who has any interest in learning Spanish, so thank you. How can I help". That's the overwhelming majority of experiences that I have. But, no; I do hear that here and there. I do experience what you've described and what I have described. That doesn't weigh on me so much as I feel hurt or I feel that there's giant prejudice against me. What it does do for me is makes me feel sort of a bit like a stranger and a bit of an outsider. It makes me acutely aware of my difference. That's one of the reasons right now that I have facial hair is to not be so – and I was thinking about cutting my hair really close to look more Puerto Rican. You know, because coming down here, I realized I was looking quite clean-cut, quite European, quite angular. You know, I kind of have that Nordic look, or I could easily be European, but I am not. I am American. You know, again… from the colonizing country. And, so… Yeah. I am acutely aware as well when I enter into conversations. It makes me very shy, and I am not a shy person at all. But it makes me very shy and very reserved and very…You know, my confidence (and I am a very confident person), really gets chipped away. The thought of introducing myself, you know,

immediately: “Oh, shit. Where the hell are you from? You’re clearly not from here. Ah, you’re from America”. And, that whole world opens up of colonialism. Not directly, but indirectly. And, because I am so familiar with the history – relatively speaking for being twenty-four years old – and feel it and study it, it’s a bit painful, a bit strange to be in those spaces. Now when I get to know folks and I get to spend time with them and they realize I’m not here to colonize the island – in fact, hopefully the opposite – you know, then things change. But, there’s always a little strangeness and weirdness speaking English here, and I almost want to say “Me llamo Michael. 3745 Estoy Americano, pero no soy un colonisto. De verdad de lo puesto. You know. Estoy interesado en liberación para la isla”. I almost want to open with that. So, yeah that is the discrimination or prejudice – Yeah. I think prejudice is kind of your irrevocable phenomenon of human life. I have prejudices despite my reading and queer theory or my reading and race theory or gender theory. You know, of course these are things very deeply embedded in our psyche, and I had a great conversation with [name removed for privacy] the other day; they will never go away. Despite how open minded a Puerto Rican can be, I’m always American. You know, that will never change. You know. There is a part of me, as much as Martin Luther King and Malcom X and Rosa Parks and Markus Garvey and Fredrick Douglas and W.E.B. Du Bois and - I could keep going – that I have read, I am always going to have a little, tiny, evil, repugnant part of me that see black people as lazy, welfare queens 3845 or seeing them as dangerous and a threat, and being a bit jolted if a muscular, tall, black man jumps out. That’s unfortunately embedded in our psyche, in our cultural foundation. It is who I am as part of being reared in this society. You know, that thought is kind of something that sort of works upon me whether I like it or not.

I: So there are two things you said that I found interesting. You said that it makes you kind of shy. Does it make you kind of shy in the language when people see you as American? Does it

make you shy to use the Spanish language? Do you feel like more of an introvert when you are speaking Spanish?

M: Um, no. It makes me shy to even initiate a conversation. You know, to even approach a group because I know from experience that as soon as I open my mouth and speak three words in Spanish, it's immediately clear that I don't speak Spanish fluently. I have an accent. I am not from here and that's - I don't know. I feel kind of shy and uncomfortable often going down that road. I think it's a mix of a bunch of different things. I think the colonial context plays a big role. I also feel like I'm intruding. I feel strange, you know, almost imposing English because frequently the conversation will switch to English; and, they'll do that for my benefit and maybe a little bit for their benefit. They want to learn, and I feel weird doing that and being part of that colonial process here. But, once we're speaking, I don't feel shy. And, once we get on common ground, I don't feel shy. Again, I am not a shy person. I am a confident person. I am a really social person. [Content removed for privacy].

I: So when you are speaking English – let's say you're in the states – you wouldn't feel shy or hesitant to go up and talk to somebody?

M: Not at all. No. Again, I sold books door to door for two summers. I think there's always a pretty girl or someone you really admire. There's always a pretty guy. You know, always a little intimidation, I think, no matter how many doors you've knocked on or how much self-confidence you have. I think when people seem larger than life – you know, talking to Chomsky I'd be like, "Oh," no matter what. But that is ramped up a bunch of different notches being down here.

I: The other thing I found very interesting is that you said you've changed things about yourself, or at least thought about changing things about yourself to look more Puerto Rican. SO, what

else have you done besides grow facial hair? Is there anything else you've done to try to look more Puerto Rican?

M: No. I wear Hawaiian shirts from time to time. I really like them. I like the aesthetics. I like the feel. It makes me happy. I'm also aware that I stick out like a sore thumb as a tourist. Kind of. Sort of. I do see some Puerto Ricans, on campus especially, wearing similar style shirts. It is a very bright, overall, kind of aesthetics in terms of clothing on campus which I really like and appreciate. Some days, I don't wear those shirts because I don't want to deal with getting a comment about it. Other than that, no. The vast majority of times, people will approach me in Spanish which is comforting, but that was before facial hair because there are a lot of Puerto Ricans who do look European as well. Anything else that I've changed? No. I like being tan. I like having a little bit of a sun-tan. Generally, for me, I feel good and healthy, but if it's for fitting in a little bit, I don't know. Yeah, I'm not going to, but I thought about cutting my hair. I'm going to grow it out long, long, long, but I thought about cutting it short like you see most guys here.

[STORY]

I: You did mention that the conversation usually turns to English when you're talking. So, most of the time when you go up to talk to someone, whether you're ordering food or at the grocery store or maybe you are in the library trying to get a book, do people start talking to you in English?

M: Most of the time.

I: And, is that even before you start talking?

M: No. I always, always, always, always - I can't think of a single time when I have approached anyone in English in Puerto Rico. And, it sort of drives me crazy when I see other Americans

doing that. I just can't stand it. I think it depends. It just depends on the person. If they know English. If they're confident, they will reply right away in English. I will say, "¿Puedo devolver los libros?" Can I return the [books] – "Yeah, sure. Just give them to me." And, I usually continue in Spanish, and they usually continue in English, and that works. Sometimes folks will just continue in Spanish. I usually notice that folks continue in Spanish at places like the grocery store. I've worked at grocery stores. You know, it's a pretty miserable existence. I just don't give a fuck where this guy is from; just let the time pass. It is miserable working at a grocery store for minimum wage. SO, usually when I'm in those spaces with kind of low-paid, service sector those folks aren't very happy. Understandably. And, there's no kind of bright exchange. But, in other spaces, other places, and cheerier settings, if people know English, they'll usually go in English. And, usually at the end of the conversation, I will say "thank you" in English, or "Have a nice day. Thank you so much." Or, if it is kind of a more intellectual environment where I start in Spanish, I can't express myself very well to a certain extent then we will switch to English. So, yeah. That's the answer to your question.

I: How does it make you feel when they switch to English?

M: How does it make me feel when they switch to English? Not great. There's a "Hu! Da! Exploited! Caught!" feeling, but now it's like, "Duh." Of course. I think there's a big and complex interplay of kind of all of the ideas, thoughts, and emotions that I just expressed in one instant. Some negative, some positive. A friend of mine just got back from India and he is Scottish. British. He just got back from India and he said it was pretty, pretty uncomfortable – the real obsequious, servile nature of the Indians. Not all of them but the people at the hotel, the people at the restaurant, the people serving and waiting on him. They were really going out of their way to be helpful and pleasant and smiling. I don't experience that here to that degree, but

to a certain extend I feel like, “is this some sort of effort to please me and accommodate me because I’m from the great and important estados unidos.” What’s the deal here? I feel weird. I feel awkward. I feel strange. I think for my girlfriend in Scotland that I had been seeing that it was different because speaking only English in France was different because Britain didn’t occupy France colonially. It’s a way different interplay. I guess that interplay is something I did not anticipate and just didn’t even think about when I was thinking about coming here. It just wasn’t on even on my radar. Not at all. So, yeah, I kind of almost as a rule feel uncomfortable when they switch to English. I much prefer to have people stick with Spanish and for us to speak Spanish, also because I like to practice Spanish and learn. It makes me feel a lot better.

I: Is there anything you do to help you remember Spanish when you are learning it? Do you write it down? Do you repeat it over and over in your head?

M: In the first couple of months I was working regularly, probably an hour a week if not more, of dedicated time of looking things up and writing notes during my honeymoon phase. I’d say that has dropped off almost completely. When I learn new words or new phrases, they just stick in my mind. I don’t do memorization. I don’t do flash cards. I don’t have a very good experience doing that for a lot of different reasons. [I learn] mainly by repetition. I’ve heard several times that the word for key was llave. L-l-a-v-e. But I never had it spelled out. It’s often helpful – in conversations I often ask, “What does it mean? What did you just say? How do I say this?” and that’s my learning process mainly. Just having that repeated over and over, you know, in different contexts. And, then, with a word like llave, I heard people use it and I kind of had a vague awareness that’s what that [means]. Then the other day, there’s a store, a hardware – a factoría, a hardware store with a cutout of a key and it said “llaves.” Awe. Right. Cool. That’s another big part of the process for me is just, you know: seeing it, feeling it, hearing it, spelling

it, seeing it, using it in conversation and having people know what I mean and having it come back, confirming that tengo frio means I am cold and having that understood. I mainly learn through usage, through conversation. Through experience.

I: Can you describe anybody that you know that's moved here that has learned Spanish successfully?

M: Yeah, I on a bus one day and ran into some Mormons from Utah, obviously, and they had been here about a year - twelve months, and they had six more months to go. An eighteen year deal – the mission that the Mormons do, and they really were getting along. They weren't fluent, fluent, fluent, but they could speak a hell of a lot more than I could, and that was a couple of months ago. But, they still could speak more than I do. I was impressed. I was envious. Of course, that never goes away. I felt that was cool to hear them pretty seamlessly talk with my friend on the bus who's Puerto Rican and not have to ask about clarity, not have to slow the conversation down. They were, you know, over my head. SO, it was cool.

I: Well, what do you think made them successful?

M: I think just time. I asked them. They said time. Some said study. To be really honest, I have not been very diligent with studying Spanish after the first month or two I was here. Yeah, I haven't been very rigorous with it. I could be a lot further along than I am now. I know I could be if I had been really dedicating serious time and energy to it, but I've been a bit lazy about it. I think because I feel weird emotionally about it. I think that's a big reason that I haven't felt super charged up about continuing with it. I feel –

I: Would you consider yourself successful or unsuccessful?

M: Successful. I feel I communicate basically and crudely. Yes, very successful. I can definitely get what I want and what I need. That has been a terrific success. And, it's nice to be

complimented fluently by Puerto Ricans. Wow, wow. Él habla bien. You know. Tu habla bien. So, that's cool, but I know that there's a really long way to go so I am not where I want to be or where I indent to be with it. No. I don't know what I thought. How long I thought it would take but for me, personally, this isn't success yet. I haven't met my goal yet. My goal is to be able to be reasonably fluent. You know, to not have to ask people to slow down or to repeat a word. And, that's hard, as you know, in the Puerto Rican context with the loose slang pronunciation and the pace of the language. That makes it difficult for sure.

I: So you are successful but you still have a long way to go.

M: Yep. Yeah.

I: Do you know anybody that you would consider unsuccessful at earning Spanish since they've moved here.

M: Well, it depends on your definition of unsuccessful. My buddy up in Maracoa, David, he is sixty-three or so and he's lived here over thirty years. His Spanish is better than mine but definitely not fluent. He has no interest in becoming fluent. He knows enough to get by, sort of like I do, but having lived here longer, he can speak quicker. He can understand what people say without asking for a slow down or without asking for an explanation. Thirty years…makes sense. But, um, I was curious when I first met him that he wasn't interested in becoming fluent. I think that people just naturally have different aptitudes for language. You know, like people have different aptitudes for music or for athletics, etc. You know, there's the Rincon crowd. The Rincon kind of folks that don't speak much Spanish at all. I think you get out of it what you put into it. I think basically what I know now is the result, as I think about it now, of a couple months. I've lived here four or five months but it's really those first couple of months where I was really learning and really accelerating. I mean the intellectual experience of that was really

terrific and I have not felt that in a while with Spanish. You know, I've felt it here and there, but I mainly get that juice from books I read in English these days. So, yeah.

I: I have two questions left on this questionnaire. They are in Spanish.

M: Di me.

I: I am going to ask you the two questions. One is super, super, super simple. The other one just depends on how much you know in Spanish.

M: ¿Quieres que voy a responder en Español?

I: Si.

M: Bueno.

I: So, ¿Cómo te llamas?

M: Me llamo Michael.

I: ¿Porque te mudaste a Puerto Rico?

M: ¿Porque te mudaste a Puerto Rico? Creo que la pregunta es porque yo vaya a Puerto Rico porque yo… I think you're asking why I moved to Puerto Rico. I think that's the question so I'll answer it. Mudaste. I think. This is another example of something I could know but have ot devoted the time and energy and haven't had the disapline to know. ¿Porque yo mudaste a Puerto Rico? Porque quiero vivir en un lugar calliente con el sol. Quiero aprender español. Quiero vivir en un otra culturo diferente. Quiero bialar la salsa. Quiero vajer en el Caribe y en los otras islas. Estoy aquí para tener un [inaudible] diferente de mi amigos, de mi familia. Y para aprendar colonialismo. Y para tener una experiencía diferente.

I: Perfecto.

M: Is that what it is? Move?

I: Yeah.

M: Cool.

Michael 25

I: Do you know where this is?

M: Puerto Rico. Yeah.

I: DO you know what location in Puerto Rico?

M: This looks like the famous Mayaguez Mall.

I: You're close. The Western Plaza.

M: The Western Plaza. Near and dear to my heart. The real sort of essence of Puerto Rican culture.

I: Exactly.

M: A really, just, terrific, terrific example of colonialism.

I: So, what I want you to do is look around at the languages that you see and I want you to determine which language you see the most or if they are both represented the same. Okay?

M: I think it is really quite lovely what you've done. And, it's great because I can tell it is Puerto Rico because of the palm trees. And then the blue skies. And, Pep Boys piazas de auto. Yeah.

I: Thank you. So, what languages do you see?

M: Mainly English. I would say 80% English, if not more. They're mainly American Corporations.

I: Very good. So, this one I am going to call diorama number 1.

M: Okay. Diarrhea number 1.

I: [laughing] okay. This is diorama number 2. Unfortunately, it was getting cloudy when I took this picture so you can't see images very well so I've blown them up here for you. Okay?

M: Ah, okay.

I: Do you know where this location is?

M: Los Freaky's. Um… DO I know where this location is? Yeah, this kind of looks like the pueblo, the bosque. Yeah. I know the gas station. Yeah. Kinda the big main party avenue of Mayaguez.

I: Exactly. El bosque.

M: El bosque. Si. Los Freaky's.

I: Okay, so just scan those pictures there and look at the language again.

M: Yep. Yep. I, uh… I'd say probably reversed in Spanish this time there's probably about 75-80% Spanish.

I: Alright. So, you have diorama number 1 which is already on the floor.

M: Yep.

I: And, you said that is mostly English?

M: Yep.

I: And then you have this diorama here. Diorama number 2, which you say is mosty Spanish. Correct?

M: Correct.

I: And, then we have one more. The humidity got to this. I made this a few months ago. Do you know where this is?

M: Yeah. This looks like Plaza de Colon. The glorious, glorious founder. The glorious explorer.

I: So go ahead and take a look at this. You can turn them around however you need to examine the signage.

M: I don't see – Oh. Well, a little English. But, I see now we're talking about 95% Spanish.

I: Alright, and then I went in and took a recording of one of the stores. I just want you to listen to the people talking, not the music. You don't have to make out what they say, just the languages.

M: I could here that in forty-five years and know exactly where it was from. Western Plaza.

I: Really? Why do you say that?

M: The English mixed in with the Spanish. You hear it at the colegio. Same thing. It's really. It's really interested, and I wonder what governs the, as they call it, the code-switching. I wonder what, if anything, but I very much suspect that in many ways the space itself governs - what's going on here? Well, consumption of American products is what's going on. You know?

I: Yeah.

M: Most, I would argue as a Marxist, that most people don't really see it in those terms and are not very conscious of that actively as they are doing. If you ask them, of course they are going to admit that that's what's going on, but that's not what's kind of prime in their minds. It's just shopping, just buying stuff, getting some stuff that I need and want.

I: I am going to play this next soundscape and just listen to the actual talking.

M: That's the plaza. Interesting, there too. It seems to be only Spanish that I'm hearing, but the song, of course, playing is an American rap song by Roy Stemman, the noted public intellectual. But, yeah. It's interesting too that you listen to the radio here and almost all the stations switch from English to Spanish songs. Back and forth. So, yeah, that's, for me, part of colonialism, imperialism. You know, it works in many indirect, kind of, all surrounding, all consuming ways. We're kind of past the days of colonialism being about invasion and about having a bunch of poor people work in the mines to dig up diamonds in South Africa for the British. You know. It's much more advanced. It's much more smoother. It's much more insidious. It's much more dominant. One of my favorite Marxist critics in the sixties is a guy named Herbert Marcuse. He

writes this really cool book called One Dimensional Man. It talks about how our society is one dimensional. The first line says that a comfortable, reasonable, smooth, democratic, unfreedom prevails in advanced, industrial society. So, it's almost like the English and the U.S. influence is completely inescapable even in the kind of bastion of Spanish Puerto Rican heritage with Columbus and the mayor and the Catholic church. Even then, you cannot escape American wrath. Ray Stemman, himself, is not a colonist in that sense but the kind of record label, the clothing, the merchandise, the kind of cultural economic machinery. That kind of combinations of factors –Hollywood, you know – all that works together. That is to varying degrees tied to colonial efforts, you know. It's a very concerted effort to saturate. A great Puerto Rican author, a social theorist, Juan Flores, talks about one of the first lines of his books is that Puerto Rico's undergone intense, cultural saturation. Almost unending. Just completely, completely saturated from day one. Both spaces are interesting but they both reflect that saturation. Intense cultural saturation.

I: Definitely. So, you heard both Spanish and English by the Western Plaza but when you're in the town plaza you hear?

M: Spanish. Yeah, Spanish. I didn't hear any English spoken.

I: What kind of languages do you think you would hear if you were walking down diorama number two?

M: I think you'd hear a mix. It's a population, at least certainly at night time, that's quite young. It's a student population. I mean, walking around colegio you hear Spanish and English interchangeably. Often. Another thought I had is that my experience being in that plaza is that the population is quite old, as a rule. In diorama number one, the population seems to be middle-age family, some old, some young, but mainly kind of forties, fifties, where the plaza is more

sixties, seventies. I honestly haven't spent much time in diorama number two. I haven't gone out. I haven't partied much. I haven't spent a lot of time there so I am not quite sure. I have seen some older folks hanging out there too, though. I do see that. SO, that's my best guess. It's a good mix, I think in diorama number two.

I: Alright. And, why do you think you see these differences? Why do you think that Western Plaza is mostly English and then you get to the plaza, the main plaza of the town, and you've got mostly Spanish?

M: Well, quite obviously, the vast majority of those companies, those corporations are American: Pep Boys, Kmart, Sam's Club. I can't see the rest. KFC. So, those are going to be in English because that makes sense to have continuity with the brand and certainly these corporations know that a lot of their Puerto Rican customers have spent time in the states and speak some English, associate them with America. Maybe even with "the good life." That sort of consumer culture – one of my most least favorite things about Puerto Rico, by the way. The city center is a place which has none of that. There's no American corporations working there. You know. That, I guess, is meant in some ways to be the heart of Spanish in Puerto Rican heritage. That's why you see Christopher Columbus there. He wasn't Spanish; he was Italian, but was sent here with ships and money and resources and got slaves from the Spanish crown. So, that is, I guess, is sort of a cultural center. It's meant to kind of enforce and celebrate the Spanishness of the town. We are invited, I think, there – The church is there. The Catholic church – very Spanish. Very Puerto Rican. And the Alcolde 7:17 , the mayor's office, is also there. I think we're invited in that space to think and to feel Puerto Rican. I think in this space we are invited to think and to feel like an American consumer [indicating diorama number 1]. And, I think that in the middle space we are invited to think and feel both. You know, it's interesting. You see

Modella Light or Gasolina Rum Punch. So, we're kind of invited to, maybe, party like an American but remember that we are doing it with Spanish or Puerto Rican brands that are local here.

I: So, when you first got to the island., thinking of what you're seeing here for the landscaping and what you heard audibly, when you first got to the island, what was your impression? Language-wise. Did you language that you heard and saw when you first arrived represent the language you would find on the island?

M: No, I didn't realize, or think, or even foresee or imagine this code switching. I didn't realize that that was a thing that happened. I guess I kind of expected that in tourist settings English would be spoken and could be spoken without raising an eyebrow – that that was kind of a defacto language. Very rarely but here and there when I am in those spaces, I just do English. Renting a car or being in a hotel because they approach me in English and I just make life simple for everyone. That is quite rare. I didn't realize that code switching was a thing. I didn't realize it would happen. I think it depends on where you are on the island. If you are up Maracoa, you won't hear English. You know, no one's gonna… Even talking to me, no one is going to speak English. There's a real antipathy towards English up there. There's no Kmart up there. There's no Applebee's up there. There's no Pep Boys. Most of the crowd up there, at least anecdotally talking to them, no interest in the United States, no interest in living there. Maybe they've been there. Maybe they have family. But, the folks up there… pst. They're not shopping at Sam's Club.

I: If I had to pick on e of these dioramas to represent what saw and what I thought Puerto Rico was going to be like when I first got here, I would say diorama number two because I thought that there was going to be about 50/50 in English and Spanish. That's because when I looked

around I saw a lot of English and Spanish put together. So, if you had to pick one that best represented your idea of Puerto Rico when you first came here, which one would it be?

M: Probably number three. The far one. Yeah. Number three. I guess just reading statistics, Wikipedia, whatever, books I knew from these charts that Everyone speaks Spanish and that it's really a small sector 15-20% who speak English really proficiently, really fluently to be able to keep up with a conversation that you and I would have. It's really quite a small minority. The university is a good example. Our program is a good example. Torrid spaces are a good example. So, I was stunned – taken aback – by diorama number one and it's prevalence. It is really dominant here. I frequently say to family and friends that Puerto Rico is more American than America. There's more McDonalds. There's more Kmart. There's more malls. There's more consumer culture. There's more cars. They've really done quite a job here. So, that took me aback. Walgreens is everywhere. Oh my God. I really didn't realize that. That took me quite by surprise. So, that's been the really startling sound and landscape.

I: So, which diorama would best represent where you hang out? Language-wise. Do you think you are hanging out with a lot of English speakers so you are hanging out in diorama one, or you have 50/50 so you are in diorama number two, or are you more all Spanish like diorama number three?

M: Well, I am definitely not all Spanish. I'd say if we totaled all the words I have ever spoken sense I have been in Puerto Rico, I'd say that probably 75% of them have been English. When I was moving here and I thought of moving here, I thought, "I'll immerse myself in Spanish and only speak Spanish." Yet, I knew by coming to Puerto Rico and a reason for doing that and the Master's program I chose too is to be able to do English and to have that to fall back on and to

have it be an introduction to Spanish and have a little leeway. You know. Because I'm doing this myself. I guess, yeah. If we calculated all of the words I have ever spoken – 75% English.

I: So, would you say that best represents where you are at now

M: Yes. I mean, still I – Yeah.

I: Think about your daily interactions in Puerto Rico and the way you hear people talk. Which diorama do you think represents the actual languages in Puerto Rico and their amount of prevalence on the island?

M: I really don't know enough to answer that question. I really don't – well. I'd say probably a combination somewhere between [diorama] one and two. Again, I don't know. I am guessing that a majority of the population lives in urban centers of Puerto Rico where one and two are going on, especially one. My sense is that number three is sort of a pretty, generally speaking, is sort of a rare thing. It's an older crowd. It has this sort of ancient feel to it. It's not modern. It's not cutting edge. It's not new, bright, shiny, and English. It's mostly younger folks that speak English, too; at least for me. Yeah. So, I would say somewhere between one and two.

I: When you are going into a store, what kind of stores make you feel more welcome? Like, when you are looking at any of the stores that are on this diorama, which store would make you feel most welcome and why?

M: I don't ever really feel welcome here in anywhere I am in Puerto Rico. That is not a word I would use to describe my experience here. Welcome – no. I loathe, as I have mentioned, being in diorama number one. Diorama number two's okay. Diorama number three is cool. It's like, "Yeah, this is why I came to Puerto Rico." This is different. This is like culture.

I: So, you wouldn't really feel invited into any of them?

M: No. Being from the colonizing country, I don't feel welcome here at all.

I: When you overhear strangers talking in English, do you ever join in their conversation? Do you feel compelled to join their conversation?

M: No.

I: Why do you think that is?

M: It's weird and tricky and hard being an American here. It's really strange and I don't like to really expose that. I prefer to just blend in. Yeah. And, because the other thing about speaking English with others and one of the challenges I've faced, I guess, in my classes at UPR is that, you know, as a native English speaker, I speak English proficiently. I've got a big vocabulary. I like speaking that way and don't mean it to ever be pretentious or better than you, but I can loose people speaking in English and that's never very fun. So, I guess that's why I would never jump into a conversation and talk about the anthropomorphic sesquipedalian intricacies of post-globalization.

I: Do you think that the linguistic landscape and soundscape have helped to motivate you to learn Spanish or do you think that they have hindered you from learning Spanish?

M: Oh, definitely helped. Without a doubt. I can't see, for me, any exposure to Spanish anywhere being unhelpful. Especially at a place by Pep Boys. So, I know it's a car repair parts shop and they have these little words in Spanish, like – I don't know. Let's see what they have going on there [examining diorama number one]. Piezas de auto. Auto pieces. Cool. Great. Now I know what a pieza is. Gomas y servicio. Okay. Service and gomas. Well, I know that's tires; so, you know. Cool. That makes sense. So, yeah, it helps a lot.

Participant: Lola

I: What languages do you speak?

L: Primarily English and now I am working on Spanish.

I: How did you learn these languages?

L: Well, I learned English from birth so it was integrated as spoken to me, so it was easy. Spanish I started as a pre-teen so it was in middle school. I took classes through high school but when it came to be university time, I tested into only like a 200 level class. So, I didn't know a whole lot. You know, for all those times, I didn't - And, um, now I have a tutor that comes to my house once a week for an hour.

I: And, now you told me over the phone that she is not like a certified tutor? This is the first time that she has done tutoring?

L: No. Yeah. She is a literature major. She said now she has a job helping kids learn English. There is apparently a a lab on campus. She works in there and helps kids practice English. But, it's not like she is studying to be a tutor or a teacher or anything like that.

I: Did you feel motivated to learn Spanish when you moved to Puerto Rico?

L: Extremely. To learn Spanish was one of the motivations that brought us here. So my kids could learn Spanish and I knew that for them to learn Spanish, I needed to up my Spanish as well. So, um. what was the question?

I: If you felt motivated to learn Spanish.

L: Yes, for many reasons. I kind of make decisions because I don't want to feel regretful later. So, that motivates me quite a bit. And, I've always wanted to be bilingual. I've admired people who are, including my dad. And, I knew that if I lived here and I didn't use this opportunity, I would regret it greatly. We had a Mexican babysitter for my kids before we moved from Wisconsin, so once we planned on moving, I was like, "Okay, so tell me some phrases about the kids." You know, like vocabulary for the kids, like "diaper," "lay down," and "go to sleep." "Pick up your toys," and things like that. I started listening to Pimzler, but I realized that was not

catered to what I needed. It was not very helpful. So, I was motivated from an "I don't want to waste this opportunity" standpoint and motivated so I could help my kids. They were going to go to a school all in Spanish. The teacher was bilingual, so that helped to integrate them, but I knew that they were kind of thrown into the deep end of the pool in that regard, so I was trying to speak and help them learn. So, that was my motivation. And, my husband doesn't speak a word. He learned German. I have a lot of motivation. Plus, we didn't know anybody here. Nobody at all. And, since my husband works at an online business, it's not like we were coming to be part of the university or anything like that. And, I didn't know how many people here were already bilingual so I just assumed everyone spoke Spanish. And, I knew we needed a support network and I wanted to know my neighbors. That is part of the reason I didn't want a house with gates and bars, and, you know, a cage. So, I like this neighborhood. I wanted to make a support network and be part of a group. I am very social. So, I was like, "well, I guess I've got to meet people and talk with them," so I wanted to make connections as fast as I could.

I: So, after living here - what did you say? Two and a half years?

L: Yes. We have been here for two and a half years.

I: Do you still feel motivated to learn Spanish?

L: Yes, I never defined what my end goal was, so I think that as I keep learning, my goal keeps getting higher or less concrete. So, it was at first to make a conversation and to get my point across and now it is like I can do that more or less but I don't want to sound stupid. So, I want to be able to speak without thinking. So, yes, I am very much motivated especially since my oldest son will move to a different classroom where it is mostly English at the school, which concerns me because I am like, "Oh, we've come this far." I feel like I am going to have to speak it more

in the house. And, we are still here, so there's still more that I want to be able to say. I think of something and I'm like, "I have no idea how to say that."

I: Yeah, I am still at that point. Sometimes I feel like I am trying to speak and I am five because I feel like my words are the basic words you would use for things. Like, basic verbs and then somebody else will use a verb that means the same thing and I'm like, "hu?"

L: Yeah. It's like, "I know how to say that but you're saying it differently, so…" Exactly. I mean, I kind of wanted to tell people to speak to me like I am a mentally handicapped toddler - then, I will understand. But, you know. Yes, I am still very much motivated.

I: Good. And, so you mentioned that you just assumed everyone here spoke Spanish before you moved here?

L: Well, I didn't want to be presumptuous and assume that they spoke English. So, I think with my father being bilingual, even though he didn't teach me any of it, I knew it was important to kind of meet people where they are instead of being the loud, raunchy American like, "Oh, everyone should just speak to me in English." You know, I didn't want to be presumptuous. And, uh, a little bit arrogant. So, in the end, I just wanted to learn and become part of the culture. So, off the bat I assumed everyone is not bilingual and I can speak to them in Spanish. Now, most often, they speak back to me in English, so - there's probably more questions later on about how I deal with that. I made a huge mistake the first time I went to my neighbor's, who is now one of our best friends here. We were here like two or three weeks and I wanted to invite them to dinner and I went and I was like, "Quieres cenar con nosotros anoche." She was like, uh, I invited her to dinner last night. She's like, "Este noche?" and I am like, "yeah." I didn't know she was bilingual, but she was very happy. So, I go ahead and try to speak Spanish immediately.

I: That's great. It is nice to hear you talk because you are the first person that's like - It seems that everything I've gone through, you've gone through and, like, you lead right into my next question. Almost every time you say something that like, "oh, that's perfect because that's my next question."

L: Well, I will say unless it's when we bought our car and our house insurance and I go to the doctor, that's when I want to make sure everything's clear, so I speak English then. Or, like the car. I don't know any vocabulary for "engine," "brakes…" I can say "gomas," you know, but "tail light?" I don't know how to say that. That is when I resort [to English] - when I want to be clear and I want to make sure I understand. Technical stuff like that.

I: Did you know anything about the culture when you moved here?

L: No. We had only been here for two nights and three days before we decided to move. I didn't know much. And, we ended up taking like the backroads, so we tried to go see Rincon and we missed the downtown all together. And, we went to see the school. The primary reason was that I had researched the school. It's a Montessori school. We went and met with the director and got some questions answered. And, even her, when I was communicating, I sent some emails in Spanish; so, when we arrived, my ear wasn't in tune to hearing it. I could type it just fine. So, she was like, "oh," you know. She was expecting a native Spanish speaker, but thankfully she was fluent in English too because I didn't know much. So, anyway, we were only here two nights and three days. No, honestly, I had to kind of look at a map to remind myself where it was. And, then, I didn't know anything about Old San, you know the cliché. I learned about the rainforest. I didn't know the culture at all. In fact, when we got here, I think either my dad had bought me a big map or I got one somehow, and I kind of started marking down things to go see. If somebody mentioned something, I was like, "oh, wait." And, I was all analog, like "let's get out the map,"

you know. Now, I put it on Google but - In fact, we didn't have any friends so we started exploring on the weekends on our own because we didn't have anything else to do, traditions or invitations. So, I asked the school lady, "where are some good waterfalls that would be appropriate for my young kids," and she kind of told me a few places. As I heard bits and pieces, I learned about the culture. Honestly, I don't know about news too much, but the kids school is teaching me about Bomba and other dances and stuff, but I didn't really know ahead of time and I kind of just learned as I came here.

I: Uhu. So, what are some of the things you have learned about the culture since you've been here?

L: Well, like I said, the Bomba, the dance. I don't know if you know about that and the drumming. The kids are learning that and, actually, I learned Salsa cause we already did a lot of swing dancing, so I decided to go out, and - by myself - someone told me about a bar in San German, and I'm like, "I'm going." There's another blog post about that. So, yeah, I learned about the dancing and led me to learning about some of the drums and the Bomba is - and I met some people who do this alot - is the style of dance and a little bit of the [inaudible] between the dancers and musicians. I got to see it at some private events that I was invited to and that was cool. I have to attribute a lot of this to my kids' school because we went to a Taino museum in Ponce. It was outdoor. That was actually pre-Taino, I think. I don't go above and beyond, I think, but I learned of course - we went to El Moro three of four times already and I remember the information there. We just went to the Arecibo Observatory, so we learned about that and the astronomy. Actually, you know, so I learn by going places, which, you know, there is a lot to offer here, but you've got to dig. You have to kind of weed it out and ask people so I learned about… And, my friends now, the other parents, talk about issues. [Name omitted for

confidentiality] is very flooring. He is like, “Do you want independence? Do you like how it is or do you want to be a state?” He just comes out and asks people.

I: Do they talk to him?

L: Oh, yeah. People are more than happy, and we have friends in all camps. And, of course, people want to talk about what their opinion is. No one is going to say, “well, I don’t want to talk about it,” you know. So, we meet people. The school director, her husband is very independent. He is a nationally known singer who sings about independence. A lot of my friends are like, “we kind of like how it is. I wish the structure were a little bit better and not so much social security, welfare, and whatever.” There are a couple people who are like, “I would love statehood.” You know, they all kind of have their own reasons so we are like, “What’s your opinion.” And, this is interesting too, I just talk to people. I don’t do a lot of book research about the history here. My friend, she’s Puerto Rican, but she’s got lighter skin. I was telling her about some prejudice my mom would experience because she has Eastern European skin and she’s like, “oh. Well, then they wouldn’t call me white.” I’m like, “Well, I wouldn’t call you white either.” I didn’t say that. I’m like, “Well, you’re Latina.” This is through text and I said, “What would you call yourself,” and she said, “Hispanic white, if that’s an option. Otherwise, Hispanic… But, then white.” I’m like, “Fascinating.” So, if I see an opportunity to ask a question and I know them well enough - I’m not just going to ask anybody - I try to explore that.

I: It sounds like you’re learning the language and the culture at the same time. Do you think that if somebody came down here they could learn the language or the culture? Do you think they could learn the language without learning the culture, or -

L: Oh, yeah. I think you can separate the two. I know a lot of people would disagree with me, but. I mean, like I said, I mostly learn about the culture from my kids. If I didn’t have kids, I

wouldn't probably, other than what I would see at places like El Moro where you read about it on a plaque. I know a lot of people who don't. So, yeah. I think you can totally separate the two. If you are going to learn the culture then you probably need to know some Spanish. You can definitely learn the language without learning the culture. Does that make sense?

I: Definitely.

L: So, yes.

I: And, why did you come to Puerto Rico then?

L: Well, there's a couple of key reasons. My husband has an online business so we can live anywhere and we decided, "let's get away from winter." We had a winter where we went to Florida for like six weeks and we thought, "Why don't we do this permanently." We like snow in moderation but from like October to March or May, that's not cool anymore. So, we could be mobile and with our income. We could take that business with us. SO, we actually considered Asia. Where's that? I forgot the name of it already. There's a city in Asia I almost lived in that I can't remember. So, we were looking for a place to learn a different culture, and, actually, that was a passing. We didn't really consider Asia, but anyway. We thought Puerto Rico was easy because we don't need a visa and the kids could learn Spanish, which is a very universal language - well, mostly universal language. And, if we had gone any farther I think my mom would have had a heart attack. So, this was far enough. So, yeah: winter, we thought we could move anywhere with the business, and learn Spanish. And, we thought it was a good time because when we moved here, my kids were three and two. They didn't have any best friends or school they loved. They weren't in school yet. SO, they were pretty mobile. They just cared about if we brought their toys.

I: Yeah. That's one of the hardest things about moving here is that my kids were in middle school and they had lived in the same town pretty much there whole lives so it was really hard for them to move. And, then, my youngest had had his first girlfriend so he's like, "I don't want to leave her."

L: There's a family in Rincon that moved from Alaska to here and they had teenager. Yeah, that's [inaudible].

I: But, now neither of them want to leave. So, if I could just get my husband a job, we would stay here. But, yeah. So, how did you find your place to live. You mentioned that you bought your house, I think.

L: No, we rent.

I: You rent? So, how did you go about finding this place?

L: So, we visited those three days. Investigatory - Is that a word? Investigatory days in March of 2014. By May or late April, we finally decided to sell our stuff and that we were moving. In early June, I sent my husband and my dad, cause he was bilingual - or still is - back here to Mayaguez because we wanted to be close to the school. First of all, we picked Mayaguez because we didn't want San Juan because it was too big. We just kind of Googled "Montessori schools Puerto Rico" and the one in Mayaguez seemed to be almost the only one on this side of the island and I wanted to be where a lot of Puerto Ricans were. I knew Rincon was a nice place but I could tell already that it was very gringo, which is not a bad thing but it's not what I wanted. Side story… when I went to London, there was a program that us with a bunch of other Americans in a dorm or this other program that put us through a different college that put us with a British family. Without thought I was like, "I'm not going with the American dorm. I'm going to go with the family." I want the culture. That's why I'm here. So, I sent my dad and my

husband, and since my Spanish was very little back then, I kinda gave my dad a task. I said, "Okay. Call these realtors. These, like, four or five realtors and set up all the viewings you can for rental homes in like two days." I didn't want to bring our kids because you don't do that with a two-year-old and three-year-old. So, anyway, he called because you can't go through one realtor. It is best to call several here which we learned right away. Anyway, they set up nine house viewings in two days, which is ridiculous. And, this one wasn't even one of them. The realtor was like, "oh, well my relative has this house for sale and maybe he's willing to rent it." And, he was. It was this place. And, Travis was taking photos of everything and like emailing them to me. We didn't even have a plan - our phone plans didn't really. So, we had to go to wifi and be like, "Here's all the pictures. Here's house number one." And, I like this place because I had seen enough houses our first time here. I didn't want a cage with all the bars on the windows and all the fences. So, this one caught my eye and we considered another house but I couldn't see the back yard from the kitchen. With little kids, I wanted to see out and what they were doing, and, besides, there was a cliff. I like to have a view but I thought this was a flat, dead end road that the kids could bike. It was perfect. They can't get out of the back yard. It's not like they would just run away, but a flat road in Mayaguez is hard to find. A dead end. And, there's a pool. And, it's a gated community, so. Get, get that one. We're probably paying too much, but. After that big move, I don't want to move for a while. Our original plan was for two years. To stay here two years. Give it a go and if we wanted… And, we're still here. We signed up at the school for one more year, so at least four years we will be here. So.

I: That's great. It really is. I know that to move here is hard and especially when you don't know anybody.

L: Right. Well, it takes you at least six months to a year to find your place, and get a rutine and make a circle of support.

I: Right. Right. So, you came and looked at the viewings or your husband -

L: I did not see this house before I moved in.

I: Alright. Were you here when the car was purchased?

L: Yes.

I: How did that go?

L: Surprisingly easy. Now, my dad and step-mom helped us move down. They actually came like two days ahead of time and got the key to our house. I have never met our landlord. I mean, we text each other whenever we need to but - I think we are friends on Facebook too. Anyway, I know. So, my dad and step-mom came down here and they rented this ginormous van because we came - I didn't ship anything. I don't know if you need this information but we put 54 boxes in the mail and we came with eight suitcases, two car seats, and two strollers. And all of our carry-ons. And, our family of four. And, it was essential that my dad and step-mom were here to help us. Then we bought the car. They had the rental car but they were leaving after a week so we needed to go get a car. So, they watched the kids and we went to a couple of different places and I had a two door Saturn, like you have a Saturn. So, yeah. It was pretty easy. I mean, we found one that fell into our category and then we were going to write a check and out of the dark I was like, "can you put this on my credit card." And, they were like, "Sure." Like, "Okay. Charge it." So, we got a lot of miles from that. We went to the triangle dealer right down the road. We went to a couple of places but we were kind of like, "We need to do this now." Thankfully, they treated us well. There were a couple of things that didn't work. Like, I drove

away and it started raining. I tried to turn on the back windshield, and I'm like, "It doesn't work. Wha." Whatever.

I: Well, did you use English or Spanish when you were looking for a car?

L: That was all in English because I didn't know much. I mean, I was still asking my neighbor if she wanted dinner last night. You know, so… that was in English. But, they wanted our business so whatever.

I: So, you already answered why you ended up living here in this location. And, you have a family so you speak what language or languages with them?

L: In this house?

I: Yes.

L: English. My husband doesn't speak much Spanish, but through osmosis I guess he can pick up a little bit of what we are saying because now I speak a little bit more Spanish with my kids. Yeah. So, I try to use common phrases with my kids. I notice what I was saying over and over to them, "Pick up your clothes," "Brush your teeth," a lot of commands I guess we give kids. So, that is when I asked my tutor what to say and I would put post-its arounds. So, I speak Spanish to them. When I am trying to say something or reprimand them, that's in English.

I: Definitely. So, do your kids speak Spanish. Like, are they bilingual yet, or?

L: They're different. My son, who has been in the school three years, he can understand what he hears. Unfortunately, I think his ear's tuned to how I say it and the pace that I speak it. So, it's just like you and I when somebody uses a different phrase, we are like, "What." They understand a lot. They watch t.v. in Spanish. They are more bilingual than I was when I came here so I guess they are. He is not speaking as much as my four year old which is amazing. Over the last school year, or the last six months, she's just started, "blah, blah, blah," and she doesn't care if she just

makes up stuff, or says it in the wrong tense. It's just adorable. It really is. It just melts my heart. So, their progress is doing well.

I: And, do they speak Spanish with you? Do you ever catch your daughter like code-switching where she is using English with you and then all of a sudden she is using Spanish?

L: Yes. And, she does that to my mom sometimes. She doesn't understand. Or to Travis. And, I will have to say, "She's asking for this." "Oh, okay." I will try to say, "This is the word she used, and this is what she's asking." Sometimes she'll speak it. My son, even if I try speaking in Spanish, he'll mostly respond to me in English. My daughter, she's four, I can have a little more of a conversation. She'll speak back to me. She likes to order me around in Spanish. I do catch her making her dolls speak to each other in Spanish. So, she's progressing nicely. You know, my son, I realized, he didn't even say his first word until he was nearly two. So, it's probably - Everyone is different. Language is a forte. Or, you know, their strengths that are more - Spatial awareness. You know. Whatever. So, I think he's probably more spatial aware. Constructively goes a little bit more…gross motor function. Maybe language isn't his thing, but I'm giving them the foundation so. It changes. When we go to Wisconsin for six or seven weeks in the summer, a lot of that goes out the window.

I: Yeah. So, do you ever feel like you've been discriminated against because of your, maybe, lack of Spanish? [Story]

L: Thankfully, not really. I think there might have been one time. Or, maybe I didn't understand enough to know it. Like, at the grocery store. Probably when I had been here three or four months. When I was checking out, something was said, and I didn't understand, and I probably just smiled and nodded. And, the lady behind me laughed a little bit, and said something to the cashier, and she kind of chuckled too. But, that was it. I was like, "Is she laughing at me? Did I

miss something," but that was it. So, if the jury is out as if she is making a joke about me or not. It did bother me a little bit but not too much because I wasn't a hundred percent sure what happened, but I do think maybe I missed a joke or something, and maybe it was at my expense. But, everybody else seems to be quite amicable. It could be who I'm hanging out with. Like I said, I hand out with a few of your professors and the Montessori-type class teachers, and other parents. But, no. My neighbors have been very nice. I did make a funny mistake once. I meant to say, "Estoy emotionada," "I'm excited", but I said, "Estoy emotionante," "I'm exciting." And then the father of one of the kids I was talking to, he just laughed. I said, "What's so funny," and he told me. I said, "Oh, that is kind of funny, and I am very exciting. Thank you very much." So, it was more of a funny so I laughed to. But, thankfully, people have been patient. Actually, what the most response is that they switch to English which doesn't help me learn. I've had to tell a lot of people - But, no, I haven't had a terrible time.

I: So, when you approach people, let's say you haven't talked yet. I will ask you this in two different ways. You haven't talked yet. You just walk up to a counter. Do people immediately talk to you in English or Spanish? Like, if they are like, "Can I help you," is it in English or Spanish?

L: I would say it's fifty-fifty. Like, If I go to a cafe, they will speak Spanish. When I took a Zumba class, the instructor was saying something to the class and he turned to me and repeated it in English. I was like, "Okay… Really. For my benefit? Just for me." SO, I would say it's half and half. Maybe even more in Spanish. That could be because I'm in Mayaguez, or now I frequent places more often. Now they know me. If I try to speak and… It's interesting. In Zumba class, if I try to talk to the people around me, they do switch to English. The other parents of the kids, they speak to me in English. Probably because they want to practice and they want to be

nice to me. So, over the first year that I was here, and sometimes I still do it again - I really have to train my neighbor. She was so excited to speak in English, and I was like, “I really want to practice.” You know. So I was like - [name omitted for privacy] is the worst offender. She always speaks English to me and I keep saying, “I want to practice my Spanish.” But, she doesn’t even think about what she is speaking and that is the level I want to be at. I do a lot of observing because we have a lot of kids’ parties now. I learned the birthday song really fast. But, um - and a lot of school functions. I see my kids are the only Americans their class so I watch the other parents and sometimes they speak English to each other even when they don’t think I’m listening. So, I love how the language is just morphing but I did have to remind people, even my neighbor. She is one of my closest friends but if she starts speaking in English, I have to stop her and say, “Okay. Habla en Español.” You know. And, we just went to the Copamarina over in Old San Juan, and, of course, it’s a tourist place so they just speak English. I try to respond in Spanish. I started noticing if I respond in Spanish, that’s about fifty percent that respond in English or they continue in Spanish. It’s about five percent that if they say something and i get the look on my face like, “hu,” they’ll say it slower or a different way. Ninety-five percent will just switch back to English. I’ll be like, “No, no, no, no, no. What was the word? You just said a word.” “Esa palabra que no entiendo. Esa palabra. What is that word.” Not many people are good teachers. So, and, then I invited some of the other parents. Some of the other moms. Let’s do coffee and speak Spanish. So, they knew ahead of time, “Let’s speak Spanish…slowly.” So, it wasn’t like, “oh, okay.” It’s, it’s interesting. But, now I know who my Spanish advocates are. Like, who I can get together and practice with. Like, my neighbors are really good and my other friend is really good too.

I: Well how does it make you feel when people switch to English when they're talking to you? Like, when you are out at a restaurant and you are trying to order something, and the server starts speaking to you in English. How does that feel?

L: Tow things. Frustrated because I see every opportunity to speak with a Puerto Rican as an opportunity to speak Spanish. And, now that I know my husband can pick up a lot more, especially in a restaurant situation, since we do go out and you're usually saying the same thing. But, I don't take it personally because I know a lot of people do like, "Oh, I know how to speak English and I can finally practice." They don't a lot in Mayaguez. So, I'm like, "Okay. Alright.." But, I just keep speaking Spanish. I just plow through. So, I don't get too, like, "uh." So, um. And, a lot of the waiters are nice because they come up and say, "Español or Ingles." Like, "What do you want." And, I don't know how to answer that because my husband doesn't speak Spanish, but I usually say, "Podemos practicar Español…lentamente." They're like, "Okay." But, I don't get too frustrated. If it is a friend that I have asked repeatedly, sometimes I just have to give up. Be like, "Okay." This other mom who is an OBGYN. I don't hear her actually speak much Spanish at all. Even though she's Puerto Rican, so I just chalk it up to she's never going to speak Spanish to me. But, if I need a good OB, I'll go there. That's why I said I've got my go-to people if I really want to practice, but I try not to get too frustrated.

I: Yeah. Yeah. Well, would you say that you are an extrovert or introvert when it comes to speaking English? I taught myself to be an extrovert. I was an introvert until I did my study abroad in London. Especially as a kid, I didn't really speak to any adults, and then through high school I became more extroverted through my friends. You know, it's weird. I did get a theater degree so I did end up acting and dancing on stage but the first fifteen or sixteen years of my life I was very introverted. But, I knew that was not how I wanted to be so I made a big shift to

change who I was and studying abroad gave me that opportunity because I didn't know anybody and they didn't have a preconceived notion of who I am. So, then when I cam here too, I knew I had to be extroverted because that experience showed me that if I needed to make friends fast, I need to figure out - You know, I met sixty kids in a week who were also studying abroad and some British students. It was like, "Who's going to be my friend." My husband is introverted so I knew here I had to be extra, extra extroverted, which is exhausting. You know, I decided we are on a dead end road and I am going to be seeing all these neighbors; I don't want to be here a year and then meet all of them. God bless my daughter who was two at the time, blond hair. I took her with me and I was like, "we are going to go knock on the neighbors door." I was going to force myself. I rehearsed my script ahead of time, what I was going to say. I knocked on the door and said, "Hi. What was my notes? Okay. Yo soy tu vecina nueva. Mucho gusto." They were more than happy to say hello and the guy across the street was like, "Come on in. We are your friends now. If you need anything." He ended up being the only one who wasn't bilingual. Everyone else started speaking English to me, but that was okay at first. But, to get up all that courage to be an extra extrovert… I don't think I made it through the whole street, and there's only seven houses out there. Six. I think I got through four with my daughter and she was getting squirmy too. I was like, "I don't have any energy left." This takes a lot of work.

I: Yes, my husband is the same way. When we first got here, my husband didn't have any friends so I was always trying to go out and find him friends.

L: If I wasn't an extrovert, my husband wouldn't have any friends, but I wouldn't either. It was exhausting but thankfully I knew from experience that I just needed like six months to make a couple [friends]. As soon as someone is nice to you, you want to be, "You want to be my BFF?

You're really nice to me… Okay, I'll back off. I'll back off." You know, and then, now we have a great group. I know a lot of people. I got chikungunya like three months after we got here. It's a good thing I introduced myself to her because the neighbor next door is an ER doctor. I texted her, because I have her number. And, you know, it was weird because you have to be like, "can I get your number." Like, "Hi. We just met. Can I have your information because you're really nice." I had to be an extrovert.

I: You mentioned some things like you put some post-it notes around the house. Is there anything else that you do in order to learn Spanish or maybe remember something that you just learned in Spanish?

L: Like, without my tutor or like if I just learned something?

I: Let's say you just learned something. You are out and about and talking and you just learned something.

L: Unfortunately, I always ask, "What was that word." Like, I bought this bracelet. I asked the lady at the Copa marina, "How do you say bracelet." She told me like four times and I just completely forgot. I have two dry erase boards that I stick up in my kitchen so I can change those out. That really helps me. And, the post-it notes, when I remember then sufficiently, I take them down. But, in the moment, I try to remember it, but I usually forget. What I started doing is that I text myself so I can ask my tutor later. Notes to self.

I: Have you met anyone that has moved here and has learned Spanish that you would describe as being a successful learner?

L: Well… How is that for answer? Well, [name removed for privacy], but she married a Puerto Rican. So, I see that as a different situation when they do speak a lot of Spanish at home. No, I don't have a lot of role models. My role models are the Puerto Ricans who are so easily

bilingual. So, I started to ask them, “How did you get so bilingual,” and most of them say, “Oh, I lived in Pennsylvania,” or [name removed for privacy] said she moved to Connecticut. Most of them spent time in the states. Probably in a place that Spanish wasn’t very prevalent like our swimming instructor. I signed my kids up for swim classes and [Angel], the instructor said, “Oh, you are from Madison? I lived there four years. We were living there at the same time.” Madison has its Mexican bubbles, but where he was, he was forced to speak English. So, my inspiration is not from other Americans who moved here. In fact, my motivation is to not be like a lot of other Americans. I don’t know. We seem to all meet each other as gingos, and it’s weird. Anyway, I ask them or I listen. This one lady was like, “I have been here forty years and I don’t speak a whole lot.” I don’t want to be like her. No. No, I don’t want to do that. I didn’t say that to her, but, like I said, my motivation is to not have regrets. And, if I didn’t use this opportunity, I would regret it. I’m probably quite the anomaly and people think I’m a freak. It is a lot of dedicated time. Even the little kids. I can’t believe how many five and six-year-olds think they are more bilingual than me. So, my inspiration doesn’t come from other Americans, sadly to say, but from the Puerto Ricans who just change like that without even thinking. “Oh. Oh, I want to be like you.”

I: Yes. So you mentioned the person you know who doesn’t speak Spanish.

L: Yeah. She was here forty-years. I don’t remember. I met her that one time.

I: So, do you know anybody that has not been successful then in learning Spanish?

L: Yes. Everybody else.

I: What do you think makes it so people are not successful?

L: Well, Two things. The main thing is, there is no need. You can live here just fine without speaking Spanish. You might run into a few old, crotchety types like you met, but my husband

gets along just fine. I know a couple of Canadians and the woman doesn't speak [Spanish]. I gave you [name removed for privacy] number and she gets along just fine. There's no demand. And, two: it's a huge time commitment. And, if you are not motivated and there is no demand so you don't have to, you won't. My husband, for instance. When our tutor started coming, she came for an hour and we would split it. So he would get a half-an-hour with her every week, probably for six or seven months. But, he started not coming downstairs from him job. You know, he was overwhelmed or whatever. So, now it's just me. It's a time commitment and not his priority, and I don't judge him for that because I realize how much effort I am putting into it. And, I know that since there is no immediate demand, if we were sitting in the middle of rural southern Spain, we would have to. Then there would be the motivation.

I: So, would you describe yourself as successful or unsuccessful?

L: I would say I am so far successful. I have these notes from when - This is my first notebook here - lucky badger on here - from when I got my tutor. The stuff that I was asking her about. I realized I didn't know how to say pen. I didn't remember the past tense and certainly not the future tense. You know, all of those other tenses. Fifteen tenses. I realize I have come a long way. I still want to go a longer way. But, in order to keep my sanity, I have to remember where I came from and congratulate myself for that. Otherwise, I'm just going to give up and be like, "This isn't working." It's like, "No. Okay." And, other people have noticed too. My neighbors are like, "Your Spanish is much better." It's really that I have to answer to myself. So, yeah. I realize I've come a long way.

I: So, this question is not in here, but has anyone ever thought you were Puerto Rican? Like, have they told you that they thought you were Puerto Rican?

L: Yes. Maybe not Puerto Rican but hispanola. Is that Dominican Republic or… One guy thought I was from Spain. I didn't know I was that lispy, but whatever. Other people think - I think they use the word hispanola. I don't think they were saying Spain Spanish, but they were confused. Enough people were confused.

I: Does that make you feel good?

L: It makes me amused. Like, "Okay." You don't exactly know where you… You know."

I: Let's say you stay here longer than four years. Do you think your ultimate goal would be to maybe completely blend in?

L: That's never going to happen. No, that's not my goal. In fact, my goal isn't even to be perfect. My goal is to speak without having to think too hard and understand without asking them to slow down. So, no. I don't need to fit in. I am always going to stick out so I might as well forget about that as a goal.

I: Okay. I am going to ask you two questions in Spanish. Just reply to me in Spanish as much as you can, and if you don't understand the question just let me know.

L: Okay. I am going to get in the - switch gears. Estoy lista.

I: Alright. ¿Como te llamas?

L: Bien. Bien. Estoy consada. Necesito cafe.

I: Alright. And then ¿Por que tu mudaste a Puerto Rico?

L: No hay nieve aquí. En vierno es perfecto.

I: Sí, sí. La verdad.

L: Perfecto.

I: I am going to show you my dioramas here. You can turn them around and move them. Whatever you need to do. Just look at the words that you see. Okay? So, this one I'm going to call diorama one. Do you recognize where it's at?

L: Oh, yeah. Yes. We are by the cinema. Travis and I take dates there. Almost every week. Caribbean Cinema popcorn. And, we go to Sam's Club too.

I: So we are in the Western Plaza.

L: Yes.

I: When you are ready, let me know what language or languages you see and if you see one language more than the other.

L: Oh, well. This place is full of chains. The bigger words definitely seem to be in English, if you consider Kmart to be an actual word. Yes. Even Caribbean Cinemas seems kind of small. I see Pep Boys, Rainbow, PayLess, Sam's, and Kmart. Oh, and KFC. Of course, there's Applebee's which is all in English. But, uh, even China Nails. That's interesting. Of course, there's a farmacia. Gomas. Servicio. Smaller fonts are definitely in Spanish.

I: So, you see a lot of English then?

L: Yes.

I: Alright.

L: Especially at a distance.

I: Okay, this is diorama number two.

L: Numero dos.

I: Tell me if you recognize that strip. Do you know where you are at there.

L: No. Um, I'm sure I've been past this. Post center. Not off the bat but I'm sure I've been past this.

I: This is a section of Mayaguez called la bosque. It's like the bar section of town. It's between the college and the town square. Okay?

L: Yes.

I: But, I blew up the pictures because it got cloudy and when I went to print the pictures, you couldn't see them very well. So, I blew up all of the words. Every single word you see in here, You'll see in here. So, you can just go ahead and look at these. Again, let me know what language or languages you see and if you see one more than the other or if they are equal.

L: This seems to be more in Spanish… Rompe la rutina. That's funny. I just translated that for my husband the other day. Yes, this is definitely more in Spanish. Boy, there's an awful lot of booze too.

I: Definitely. So, you are saying that you are seeing just Spanish, or are you saying that you are seeing more of the Spanish than English?

L: Probably 90% Spanish.

I: Alright.

L: Obviously, other than Post Center. Yes. Se vende. Boy, there sure is a lot of Spanglish in Puerto Rico.

I: Yes. Definitely.

L: Of course, these are proper nouns like "Coors" and "Lite". Medalla Lite. Okay, maybe it's 80% Spanish.

I: Okay. So, we have one that is mostly English and one that is 80% Spanish. And, here's the last one. This is the town square.

L: Oh, yes. The plaza. You need Friends Cafe in there.

I: Nope, I didn't put that one in there. Then I would have felt obligated to draw the entire waterfall and all of the landscaping.

L: There's no way you could have done that though. Boy, this is almost all in Spanish except "Open." I see mostly Spanish. In fact - Yes. Maybe except for one word. Almost completely Spanish. In fact, I would have to look hard to find [English], except "Caution" and "Open." "Fabrics." Oh, I forgot about that. That's one of the last things I saw. I'm trying to see if there's any words on the church. Oh, maybe Latin. Yep.

I: Alright. So, we have mostly English [pointing at diorama one]. And, then diorama two is 80% Spanish. Then you have this last diorama three, and you said it's what?

L: Spanish. Now, isn't that interesting?

I: Okay. I walked around one of the stores from diorama one and diorama three. So, you're going to listen to the languages you hear the people talking. You're going to hear music in the background, but just listen to the people talking. It's a little hard to hear because I wasn't walking around saying, "Talk into my microphone." Okay? So, you have to try to pay as much attention as you can. Okay? So you are just listening for the kinds of languages you hear and if you hear one more than the other. Okay? So this is the first recording.

L: Well, that started in Spanish with the exception of the word "cute." And then it sounded like some younger teens speaking English and a family speaking English. And, then some other people going back to Spanish.

I: So, do you think it was about 50/50 or do you think you heard one language more than the other?

L: Sixty-forty, probably. Spanish.

I: Spanish?

L: Yes.

I: Okay. Alright. So this is going to be the sound sample from diorama three.

L: The plaza.

I: Yes.

L: That sounded like all Spanish.

I: Alright. So, if you look at the first diorama and you're thinking that you have 60% Spanish and 40% English, and then in diorama three the soundscape is closer to 100% Spanish, what would you thing the soundscape for diorama two would be like?

L: Probably somewhere in the middle. You said it was in close proximity to the University, but I think I've been in that area, and I think there are still a lot of older adults coming and going there too. So, I think that would probably be more like 80% or 75% Spanish, I guess.

I: Okay.

L: Maybe it depends on the time of day - Who is out there.

I: Why do you think those changes are? So, you know where the locations are because this one is Western Plaza, right off the number two.

L: Yes, which is always packed.

I: Here you have a section between the college and the town center.

L: Which is medium packed.

I: And then you have the town square.

L: Which is nearly always vacant. Hm. I don't know. That's interesting. I've often wondered that too.

I: So, you don't know why those changes are?

L: Well, I think the plaza is the older part of town but I don't know why that would affect language. And, I see people of all ages going to Western Plaza. I mean, I don't care what anyone says about the economy; that place is always packed.

I: Yes. Definitely. It is very hard to find a parking spot.

L: Right. Especially if you're going to Sam's on a Sunday morning. But, that is fascinating. I don't know why. Well, a lot of the buildings are abandon downtown, right. And, there's not that much place to park. Western Plaza has an acre of parking right in front of the stores.

I: Exactly.

L: And, maybe more opportunity for shopping. I don't know. I mean, you have the bank over there [indicating diorama three], but it's kind of a dead town plaza. That's sad.

I: Okay. Well, what was your first impression about English and Spanish in Puerto Rico when you first arrived? You said you were here for three days the first time you came. Do you remember looking around and seeing a lot of English or a lot of Spanish or hearing a lot of English or a lot of Spanish? Or, did you hear a mixture?

L: I've got to think back. For the reading signs, I was surprised at how many stores there were that I recognized. You know, English titles and stuff. But, we didn't really talk to a lot of people. I do recall that the lady at the airport gave us instructions in English. And, the rental car, I am sure I spoke all English. But, by the airport, you can anticipate more bilingualism. We didn't talk with a whole lot of people I don't think. But when I moved here, I was surprised at how many people said that they had lived in the states and that's where they said they learned their English, and how many people learned English at school starting at a younger age than what we did back in Wisconsin. So, I was surprised at how many people were bilingual and how many people said,

“My English is not very good,” but then they would ramble just as fast as I speak English. So, I was surprised at how many people were bilingual. What also surprised me was that I would see a lot of teenagers choosing to speak English. Even at a Montessori school from six-years-old to older, the teachers speak English to the kids which is not good for me. It is good for all of the other kids that want to learn English, but that’s not why I’m here so that concerns me. But, when the kids are by themselves at playground time and whatever, they are speaking English with a little Spanglish tucked in there. So, that surprised me that they would choose that. I don’t know why I haven’t asked any of them. But.

I: So, when you first moved here and started shopping and stuff, what diorama do you think best represents that? A place where you’ve got a lot of English? Is that where you would go shopping or would you hang out in places that were mostly all Spanish?

L: We didn’t go in the Western Plaza for like the first year. We didn’t join Sam’s for a long time, and we didn’t go in the theater until we found a babysitter. We stayed in either of these places [indicating dioramas number two and three]. We went to the mall. The Pueblo by the mall. It was all Spanish because it was close to my house. And, Walgreens and stuff. I’m trying to think. We went to the Natucentro, and I probably tried my Spanish there.

I: So do you think diorama number two or three fits it better where you used to hang out?

L: You need me to pick one, don’t you?

I: Yes.

L: I guess number two just in a different part of town. I guess the mall area is closest to number two. Even though they [the mall area] have a lot of box stores there. I did go to Walmart because there’s not many options of other places to go. We had to buy beds for the kids. Home Depot we

tried. Well, I guess that was over there [diorama number one], but that was just that one time. Yeah. I guess somewhere between. Number two probably.

I: So, when you go out with your family now or when you go to the store, which diorama best represents the language interactions that you have now.

L: I want to say number two. Well, and I say this mostly because I don't want to leave my husband out of the conversation a lot, but you know, he doesn't complain. So, when we go to Chili's, for instance, I try to have it all in Spanish even though sometimes they switch it up. I can commute, and it inspires me to speak Spanish to my kids. So, one or two, I guess. I guess I would have to lean towards two because I speak to my husband in English and my kids in Spanish and the waiters or cashiers in Spanish. So, there's just a little English thrown in there unless we are by ourselves; then it is number one. I don't know if that helps.

I: Well, from looking at the landscape, you said you were surprised by how much English you saw when you first came?

L: How many people were will to just switch to English. Yes.

I: So, did you believe that you could you would hear more English or more Spanish after talking to them?

L: Well, when I'm listening, like when I go to the store, I hear Spanish. I came to expect that people would try speaking English to me. But, when I became more and more a regular in places, like Merendola's Cafe or the Pueblo that I go grocery shopping in or even Walgreens - I don't know if people recognize me, but since there aren't that many gringos around here, they probably do; so, now people speak more and more Spanish to me, even at Merendola's. I don't even know if the Pueblo cashiers are bilingual. I don't even know so now it's Spanish. What was the question?

I: It was about when you first got here.

L: When I first got here? Yes.

I: Like, did you expect to hear English or Spanish more after being here for just a little while.

L: I was expecting to hear Spanish and when I first came, I assumed that is what everybody spoke, primarily.

I: When you are thinking about when you go out in town and everything, the languages that you hear when people are speaking, they don't have to be speaking to you, which diorama do you think best represents the actual language use on the island?

L: Number two. It's got to be. Well, I can't say for the island. I mean, like I said, Rincon is very different than Mayaguez.

I: Yes. Well, for Mayaguez.

L: Okay. Um, I'd say number two for Mayaguez because I hear Spanish but it's enough for me and my ears that they're kind of like a dog and they perk up when I hear English. That's what I notice. Like, it's easy to tune out Spanish if you are not actively trying to listen. I do remember I did that when I moved here because if you're not actively listening you can just tune it out, but you don't tune out a language that you understand even if you're trying not to understand it. So, I was always like, "If I was a dog, my ears would go [makes noise]. Someone is speaking English way over there. I can hear it." Which didn't happen very often. Once a week. Twice a week, unless I was at school.

I: That's really interesting because I haven't ever talked to anybody about that before, but it is very easy to tune out the Spanish, especially when people are talking really fast and you're not really understanding everything, it is really easy to just sit there and tune it out.

L: Well, and that other questionnaire had a church question, and I do go up to a church in Aguadilla. Even though it's far away, I would like to go more, but it's only like fifteen congregants. So, it's really small and they're very welcoming - very nice. But, it's all in Spanish and it was just so tiring to try to force myself for an hour to translate and to keep up. And, it wasn't very spiritually fulfilling so I didn't end up going more than four or five times a year. That's a way that I could gage that I understood more and more Spanish because I'm like, "Okay, I understood sixty percent of that whole service rather than twenty percent and still have enough brain juice to talk to people in Spanish afterwards instead of being like, 'Oh my gosh, my brain is melting out of my ears." So, that was kind of a deterrent but that is kind of a good way for me to figure out, "Oh, I hear English. Somebody is over there." And, maybe when I go to Pueblo once every four times do I hear someone else speaking English.

I: Yes. Well, when you're looking for a store to shop in, are you more likely to go ina store where you see all Spanish on the outside or all English on the outside or a store that brings the two languages together? Which store do you think you would feel more comfortable walking in to?

L: Now I feel comfortable walking into either store. If the have what I want, I will go there. I don't really like Walmart; that's all in English, but sometimes they have what I want. Natucentro is all in Spanish but they have what I want there too. So, comfort level? At this point, it doesn't matter. If they have what I want, I go there.

I: This again is something you were leading into. When you hear other people speaking English - when you do hear it, do you feel compelled to join in the conversation or do you not acknowledge that you understand English? Like, if they're not talking to you -

L: Well, I wouldn't deny my English speaking capability, but it is funny because, no, I don't want to jump in whereas maybe my parents would and embarrass me. But, no. I kind of just let them do their own thing. If I have my kids with me, I always try to speak Spanish with them. It's kind of funny. Yes, I know that they are there and they are an English speaking family, but, no. I kind of just do my thing. I am not compelled to speak with them or anything or bond or whatever. In that regard, I want blend in. Like, "I'm over here doing my thing. You're over there doing your thing." Maybe if you have a pack on, I might say, "Oh. Something from Wisconsin." No. No. I don't know them from anybody else so it doesn't really… Even when I'm on vacation in Europe, if I see other Americans, where my step-mom and dad might strike up a conversation, "Oh, where are you from," I do want to distance myself. I don't want to be a loud, obnoxious American. "Hey. You're American too. Let's talk." I thought that was stupid. So what.

I: Well, do you think that the linguistic landscape or soundscape has helped you to learn at all?

L: It's been a hinderance. If I was plunked down in Peru, I would learn a lot faster.

I: And, why do you think that is?

L: It's all about demand. You don't have to learn it, you're not going to.

I: And, so you think seeing places like diorama one has hindered you because you're not learning anything from being in those places, or

L: It all boils down into the human interactions so I mean if we are in a Sam's Club, I don't care that the store is American in origin. It's all about if someone switches to speaking to me in English or if someone doesn't answer me on how to say something. Not everyone needs to be my teacher but if I ask, "How do you say this."

I: Yes. So, you are saying more of the soundscape has been a hinderance because people are so willing to speak to you in English?

L: Right. I mean, think about it. If you had to get your point across, even in Sam's Club, and you're asking where something was, you'd have to figure out how to say that. You couldn't just be like, "Well, maybe if I Spanglish-size it, they'll understand." If someone really doesn't understand English, you have to work a little bit harder and you'd learn faster. So, the landscape, I don't makes a difference in my learning. Maybe it helps be more familiar so my transition in that regard was better, but for language acquisition, it's all about speaking. That's the way I learn: orally.

I: Yes. Yea. I think we've pretty much finished all of the questions there. Do you have anything you want to add before I shut the mic off?

L: Sure. I didn't mention that to go above and beyond my tutor and the post-it notes, I made my own Pimzler-like recordings. It's like Rosetta stone where they say something or ask you a question, they pause in the recording, and then they give you the answer or whatever. It's like a quiz. But, I made my own with my computer in a similar system like this where I said it in English, gave myself time, and then said the answer. So, when I drive by myself for about a half an hour each day - when I'm feeling diligent which is quite often - I quiz myself in the car so I can learn. And, that helps me remember what I learned because when I write it down, I just forget it. So, I made myself recordings which is a big time-suck. It took a lot of time to edit that and reedit it as I learned but that helps me a lot. I've also joined websites to help for bilingual parents, parents of bilingual kids as a resource to come up with games and ideas to promote motivation and to get your kids to speak the language. They all boil down to if there's no need, if there's no demand, the kids aren't going to learn; and that is the same for adults. I don't think the demand here is very high so the motivation is low. Like I said, if we were in a rural part of Costa Rica or something, then yes, you'd learn faster, but it's more stress.

I: I definitely agree because I have a lot of motivation to learn a language, it's just that I'm in and English program, I teach English at the college, and all my co-workers are in the English program so they speak English all of the time. Literally, I usually spend ten-fourteen hours at the school so I don't get to go out. I don't even get to hang out at the beach and talk to people at the beach in Spanish so it's been really hard. I know that my husband, just the two to three months he was here, by the time he left he was done. He was like, "I don't need to learn Spanish. I can just live with English here." So.

L: Yes. And, what was it? I was going to say something else that I forgot. Well, and you really have to put yourself in a vulnerable position to be wrong, to say something stupid, or to ask help from someone you might not know, and it's hard to show your personality. There's so many times when I get frustrated at a party and I'm with all of the other Puerto Rican parents. Or, some of them are from Spain or Argentina, but you know. I just feel like the most boring person. I can't be party girl because I'm too busy either thinking if I'm speaking English, I'm wasting an opportunity. That's always in the back of my head. But, then it's like, yes but I'm really boring and I'm not expressing myself. So.

I: Well, while you are talking bout that, let's say you are actually angry. Do you speak in English or Spanish.

L: English. Except if I'm writing it down because I'm on a Whatsapp chat with the other parents. But, if I am angry at the other kids, people aren't going tot sit around and wait for you to be angry slowly. Plus, you get adrenaline and you're not thinking. And, if I don't sleep enough, if don't eat well enough, if I have to much here, my mind gets cloudy. So, it's like you have to take care of yourself, be calm, ready to transition your brain. Sometimes, it's just like, "Wha." SO, no

when I get angry with my kids and need to reprimand them or if they ask me a science question or a God question, it's not like I'm going to sit here and putz through Spanish when I am trying to answer questions about death or life. You know. Plus, I want to make sure they understand.

I: Anything else?

L: I don't think so.

I: Alright.

Participant: Annette

I: What languages do you speak?

A: I speak English and Spanish. I took four years of German in high school and I spoke it at one point but I haven't practiced it in a long time. Not sure what my level would be in German.

I: Alright. Well, you said that you learned German in high school, so did you take German because it was required or because you wanted it?

A: We were required to take two years of a foreign language, and I chose German because I was interested in Science. German seemed to be more related to science. I took four years of it because I liked it. So, two years of it was by choice and two years by requirement.

I: And, then how did you learn English and Spanish?

A: English was my first language and then Spanish I learned here in Puerto Rico.

I: Alright. And, did you take classes to learn that or have you just been talking to people or doing Rosetta Stone?

A: A combination. I bought Rosetta Stone. I think I maybe went through the first couple of modules before just getting busy and dropping it. And, then after being here for a couple of months, I signed up for an emersion course in San Juan. There's a private company that offered an emersion course and it was eight hours a day, five days a week, for four weeks. And, that

helped. It helped me get over my fear because they required you to speak in Spanish. No matter if it was the most basic. And, they would only answer in Spanish, so to that extent, it helped me get over my fear of just being with Spanish and not knowing what was being said and not knowing what to say but getting something out. But, it does actually teach you to speak Spanish, so. I learned just by practicing and by hearing. Kind of like a child learns.

I: Did you know any Spanish before you moved to Puerto Rico?

A: No. None on hand.

I: Alright. Let's see. When you moved to Puerto Rico, did you feel motivated to learn Spanish?

A: Yes.

I: Why did you feel that way?

A: My husband is Puerto Rican and all of his family are Puerto Rican and speaks Spanish. They all speak English too, but I feel like it's my responsibility in a foreign country to learn the language. So, I wanted to do it to fit in and to be more integrated with the family and the culture.

I: Were you and your husband married before you moved down here?

A: We got married right before we moved down here. So, we lived together in the U.S. for two years, and then we got married and moved here right after.

I: And, how did you meet each other?

A: We met in graduate school. So, he was going to the graduate school at the University of Maryland and so was I, although we were different campuses, we met through a mutual friend.

I: Now that you've been here, what did you say, thirteen-and-a-half years?

A: Yes.

I: How is your motivation now? Would you say that you're still motivated to learn Spanish or has it depleted a little or maybe increased.

A: I think it goes in waves. I mean, sometimes I get so busy with life that I don't think about it but I always feel motivated. Like, I always want to be more comfortable in it than I am. I started working here at the University about three-and-a-half years ago, and at that point I felt really motivated to learn Spanish because I needed to work in an environment where most people expected me to learn Spanish. My secretary doesn't speak English so I have to be able to communicate with her and understand what she's saying. So, my Spanish has gotten much better since working at the University because I have to speak in Spanish. I got over my fear of speaking Spanish on the sun. You know and having random conversations in the hallway. So, I'm still very motivated, and I'm actually thinking of going back to nursing. I was originally a nurse and I gave up on nursing when I came to Puerto Rico because I didn't know Spanish and I didn't want people's health and lives in my hand if I didn't know what they were telling me. But, now, since I feel comfortable in it, I would like to go back to it. But, again, that increases my motivation to improve my Spanish.

I: So, did you know what languages were spoken here on the island before you came?

A: Yes.

I: Alright. And, did you know anything about the culture?

A: Yes and no. my husband, being Puerto Rican and having been together with him a few years before we moved here, I did. He's not a typical Puerto Rican, but at the same time, he told me he likes to teach, he told me a lot about Puerto Rico, and Puerto Rican history, and Puerto Rican culture. We came here twice before we got married, so I knew something about Puerto Rican culture.

I: And, have you learned more since you've been here?

A: Yes. Yes, a lot more.

I: Do you think that if someone comes down here and they want to learn Spanish, do you think they could learn Spanish without learning parts of the culture or do you think they have to learn parts of the culture in order to learn the language?

A: I think Puerto Rican Spanish is different than other Spanish and I think a lot of it is cultural. There's a lot of idioms, and a lot of it is contextual. One of the reasons I have a hard time speaking over the phone with Puerto Ricans is because they use their hands. They even point to things with their lips. You know, like there's a lot of body language involved in Puerto Rican Spanish. So, yes, I think that it's easier if you learn part of the culture before - as you are learning the language.

I: So, when you came down here, how did you guys find a place to live?

A: My husband had inherited some property from his family. It's an abandoned coffee plantation so we renovated the shack that's on it. We had a place to live when we came.

I: Have you had to buy a car or anything since you've been here?

A: Yes. I have probably had to do just about everything since I've been here.

I: Well, how were you able to purchase your car? Like, did you husband go with you and he did the talking, or did you communicate in English?

A: We've bought three cars here. The first one was all him because it was right after we moved here and I wasn't comfortable with Spanish at all. The second car, I guess we had been living here about three years. I went with him and I helped with some of the negotiations so I understood some of what the salesman was saying, but the salesman also spoke some English, so. I don't remember exactly how much of it was in Spanish and how much was in English, but. it was mixed. The third car we bought, my husband did it over the 730.

I: So, your husband's Puerto Rican so I'm assuming he speaks Spanish sometimes over in the house?

A: No. My husband's an English professor [name omitted for privacy] so he doesn't actually speak Spanish ever at home. I would hear him speaking Spanish over the phone or with his mother but never at home. I thought maybe when we had kids he would speak Spanish , but he doesn't really. I guess most of his like - his married life and his academic life - are in English so I think he's just made the switch you know. At work he speaks in Spanish, but at home he speaks in English. He's very good at Spanish, but he just never does it.

I: So, what about your kids then. Do they speak Spanish with you at all, or

A: No. Well, that's actually a problem. I try to speak Spanish with them. I am a bit of a perfectionist so I feel like I shouldn't be the one teaching them my imperfect Spanish, but at the same time, I am also more of a task master than I husband is so if it's going to get done, if someone is going to speak Spanish with them, it's probably more likely to be me. So, I try but my kids don't like it. They want me to speak in English. We kind of contextualize. They learn Spanish at school and with their grandmother.

I: Do you think you've ever been discriminated against for your language while you have been on the island? [Example]. Have you ever come across anything like that?

A: Yes. A lot of times. I can't come up with all of the specifics but many times. I taught for a while at one of the private schools and the students would talk about me behind my back not knowing that I spoke Spanish because, at the school, we were always required to speak in English with the students. But, at that point I knew enough to know what the students were saying. I knew what they were saying.

I: That's got to be harder when you know what they are saying because I couldn't hear what the person said so I have no clue what he said.

A: yes. My daughter was discriminated against by one of her teachers the other day. A substitute teacher talked behind her back to another teacher in Spanish, not knowing that my daughter spoke Spanish, and joked that her little brother who is almost three years younger than her spoke Spanish better than she did…which hurt my daughter.

I: Yes. definitely. How does that make you feel when that happens to you?

A: Angry. Well, I mean at this point, I understand people and I understand people are products of culture and lack of experience with other cultures and other people. So, I don't let it offend me. If it affects my child, I get angry. But, if it's me, I don't. I don't experience it anymore. I think most people now - a lot of people start speaking to me in Spanish first and I speak back. It used to be when I started speaking to them in Spanish, they would automatically run and find someone who spoke English because my Spanish was so bad that they freaked out that they were going to have to speak in English. But, that doesn't happen anymore.

I: That's horrible that happened to your daughter. It's horrible when it happens to kids, especially in the manner that it happened to your daughter because that may force her to be like, "I'm not going to speak Spanish at all." I know that my oldest is intimidated because my youngest has learned Spanish quicker than him, and I know it very much intimidates him. That's hurtful.

A: And, an authority figure, you know. Someone who should be trusted but then joking behind their back.

I: Why did you come to Puerto Rico?

A: My husband, the University paid for him to do his PhD in the U.S. and as part of the agreement, you have to teach for the amount of time that they paid for him to go got school so he

was required to come back for four years. Plus, he was already a tenure faculty member when we came, so. He was still working on his PhD and four years turned into seven and turned into permanent.

I: Well, you said most of the time when people talk to you, they speak to you in Spanish. How does that make you feel?

A: Good. Yes. I like it. I like that they don't make so many assumptions about me and my abilities anymore. It makes me feel proud that they are comfortable with me. I like it what people are comfortable with me.

I: Me too. Do you like talking English? Like, let's say you're in the states. Do you like talking English there?

A: I get a little giddy. It happens to my kids too. We get so giddy that we can just talk openly with people. We have so many random conversations in the store. Yes. You get kind of elated. I fit in. I can talk. I can have fluid conversations.

I: Yes. And, express your actual emotions.

A: Yes. And, your humor. I feel like humor is very difficult to express in a language you're not completely comfortable with.

I: The only way I can do it is blurting out a cuss word. All of my friends are like, "Hahaha."

A: Yes. Exactly. Yes. Or, sometimes I just blurt it out in English, and they either understand it or they don't or they think I'm kind of weird. Whatever.

I: Would you say that in English you are an extrovert or an introvert? If you had to pick one of those, which one would you say?

A: I'm an introvert in general. I am sort of a mixed introvert. I care about people and I like to make people feel comfortable so in that way I am a little more extroverted but definitely I'm

more extroverted in English than I am in Spanish. In Spanish, I'm an extrovert. I mean, because I'm a perfectionist, I have to think through what I'm going to say in my head.

I: What kinds of things do you do to help yourself remember Spanish? Let's say you learned something new in Spanish. Maybe a new word. What do you do to remember that? Just repeat it in your head? Do you not try to remember it? Do you write it down?

A: I try to use it in some other context. I'll get home - I'll tell you a funny story. My secretary here before the current secretary that we have, taught me a lot of idioms. She loved teaching me the idioms. She'd say, "Annette, do you know what a tostón is? It's a big problem." She was always reminding me, "Annette, I have a tostón bien grande." So, I would go home and joke about it with my husband. I would say, "I know what a tostón is." Yes. So I guess I would just try to use it in conversation or at home.

I: Well, do you know anyone on the island that came here speaking English and you feel they have successfully, in your definition of success, learned Spanish?

A: Let me think. I know at least one person who I think is more comfortable in Spanish than I am. I think in our circle of friends, people tend to assume that we both are fluent in Spanish, but in my head, she's the one person who is more comfortable than I am. But, I know that she has had Spanish before she came, even though she is a native English speaker, when she studied language, it was Spanish. So. So, do you mean someone who didn't take any Spanish?

I: No, it doesn't matter. So, do you think that her taking those classes made her more successful? What do you think it is that's making her successful?

A: I think probably just confidence. I mean, she's probably in some ways a more confident person. More of an extrovert.

I: Alright. Well, do you know someone who has come to the island and tried to learn Spanish and hasn't been able to? You would describe them as unsuccessful, so far anyway.

A: Oh, yes. I know a couple of people. They actually moved away. They were unhappy. They were here for years but they recently moved away.

I: And, what do you think made them unsuccessful?

A: I think while they wanted to be fluent in Spanish, they were shy and let it get them down and didn't put themselves out there as much, maybe. Lack of confidence.

I: And, how would you describe yourself? Successful or unsuccessful in learning Spanish?

A: Successful. I can communicate whatever I want to communicate. Not exactly in the perfect manner but I can say what I need to say and what I want to say. I can understand everything.

I: What do you think you've done that made you successful?

A: I have an open mind and I practiced. I threw myself out there. When we would go out, I would insist on talking at the stores or trying to get over my fear of talking on the phone but have my husband in the background in case I needed someone to translate. It's happened in tiny stages, in tiny increment. I used to think that I made huge leaps when I would go to big family functions when there were a lot of Puerto Ricans talking at the same time. I would actually literally dream about the Spanish and come up with new words popping up in my head because my mind was processing a bunch of conversations at the same time. I can't say that there was any one factor. There was just time and I feel the most comfortable that I've felt since I've been here but I can't say when that happened. You know what I mean?

I: Personal questioned asked about being married to a Puerto Rican and if Annette every felt put down or put off by them or judged. I promised Annette before asking the question that it would not be included in the thesis. Her answer was very interesting but has been removed as promised.

I: So, I am going to ask you two questions in Spanish. I want to you reply in Spanish as well as you can. If you don't understand the question, just say that you don't understand it. Okay?

A: Okay.

I: ¿Como te llamas?

A: Me llamo Annette.

I: Okay. And ¿Por que te mudaste a Puerto Rico?

A: Yo mude a Puerto Rico porque me case con un puertorriqueño y él ya tenia tenure - no se "tenure" in español. Ya tenia tenure en el [University name removed for privacy] y también él le encanta Puerto Rico y su vivían era de vivier en Puerto Rico y por eso me encanta otro países y otras culturas y… Por eso.

I: Muy bien.

A: Sí.

I: Can you examine diorama one and tell me where you think that is?

A: Western Plaza.

I: Yes. Very good. Perfect. Now can you just look around at that signage on diorama one, and after you've looked at it for a minute, can you tell me what languages you see and if you see one more than the other or if they are represented equally?

A: Well, I definitely see both Spanish and English. I would say that they are represented more equally than one might think because the big chain store signs are bigger. Probably more English than Spanish.

I: alright, so you've got more English here than Spanish. Alright, so here we have diorama two and the pictures are little dark so you don't have to examine those signs. I printed them out bigger for you. It was cloudy that day so…

A: this is somewhere on Post Street. I can see where it is. Okay. Yeah. Okay, yeah. I know where it is.

I: okay, so I blew up the signs for you because it's cloudy and you can't really make out what they're saying. But, you can just look through those and examine what languages you see and if you see one represented more than the other or if they're equal.

A: I'd say so far there's more Spanish than English probably because they're the businesses. That's Spanglish. It looks freaky. There's more Spanish than English.

I: but you definitely see both?

A: yes.

I: okay. Alright. So, diorama one has more English. Diorama two has more Spanish than English. And, then this is diorama three.

A: this is the Plaza, right?

I: yes.

A: okay.

I: and so examine those signs, and then let me know about the languages you see there.

A: more Spanish than English, but I do see both languages.

I: okay. So, since you see both Spanish and English on all of them, but you see more Spanish in diorama two and diorama three, let's try to put it at a percentage. What percentage do you think you see on diorama two of Spanish?

A: I'd say 90%.

I: okay. And, then what about diorama three?

A: 95%.

I: okay. So, why do you think those differences exist?

A: I think they're bigger chain stores and branches of US companies in Western Plaza. Whereas, inside the town, in the Pueblo, there are more private businesses. So, since they're owned by Puerto Ricans and targeted to Puerto Ricans they're probably more in Spanish.

I: okay. So, what I did was walk around one of the stores from diorama one and one of the stores from diorama three, and I did a tape recording of people talking in the store. So, what I'm going to do now is play a tape recording for you and have you guess which diorama you think it's from: diorama one or diorama three.

A: okay.

I: okay. You'll have to listen closely because I didn't stick the microphone up in peoples faces; I was just walking around. And, in the second one that I'm going to play, there is a little bit of dead space in there. Okay?

A: okay. Hard to say. Probably, one. Landscape [diorama] one.

I: Yes. That's where I got it from. So, what languages did you hear?

A: Spanish and English.

I: Alright.

A: there is a lot of activity since the stores are bigger.

I: yes. Definitely. Alright. So, I'm going to go ahead and play the second one then. Again, you're just going to listen to the languages that you hear, okay?

A: okay. So, I only heard Spanish, and that would be probably the third location [diorama]?

I: yes. Definitely. You're right on. Okay, so what do you think the soundscape for diorama number two would sound like then?

A: I'm, I would think similar to diorama number three. Probably mostly Spanish.

I: alright. Do you think there would be some English in there or not?

A potentially. There's a lot of doctors' offices in there and people from all over. People who speak English and locals that go to the doctor, so.

I: alright. And why do you think that there may be differences in the soundscapes you're hearing? Why do you think that you're hearing English and Spanish in diorama one but only Spanish in diorama three?

A: I think people who speak English my be less comfortable going to businesses they don't know. They might not be able to communicate with the owners. Also, I think a lot of people do are only comfortable speaking English are probably coming from US are used to the big chain stores so they're probably going to them because they can get what they're used to. You know what I mean? Things that they have the habit of buying or finding.

I: alright. So, when you first came here which one of these locations were you more likely to hang out? And I don't mean like the specific locations

A: I went to Western Plaza.

I: okay, so you how about a lot of places at least a written in English? Represented in a lot of English?

A: yes.

I: and, what about now?

A: now I would go to either one. Which ever have the best prices or have what I needed - the service that I needed.

I: alright, anything back to the first time that you came to Puerto Rico, and maybe from the things that you heard people saying like the languages you heard been spoken, do you think that any of these dioramas maybe fit the languages that you heard at that time?

A: when I first came to Puerto Rico?

I: yes, when he first came.

A: when I first came I was overwhelmed, and a lot of people what try to speak to me in English so it might fit been diorama one better.

I: okay. And now in your daily interactions with Puerto Ricans, which diorama do you think represents the actual use of spoken language on the island?

A: Number three. Yes. I think it's probably different on this part of the Island. So, I mean, San Juan has a lot more people from different places and also people who are more comfortable speaking with English. Some of the bigger cities probably have more of a higher percentage of the English speaking population that feel comfortable speaking it in general. Most Puerto Ricans are most comfortable speaking Spanish and use Spanish in their daily life.

I: alright. When he first came to the island, did you think that Spanish for English would be spoken more?

A: Spanish.

I: you thought so?

A: yes.

I: and, why did you think that?

A: because I have met my Puerto Rican future mother-in-law so I had a taste of Puerto Rico from her.

I: alright. So, let's say there's two stores in front of you. One of them has almost all English on the outside and the other one has almost all Spanish on outside. You haven't been either store, and you don't know any of the deals. Which one are you most likely to going to?

A: now?

I: yes.

A: probably the one with English.

I: okay. And, do you know why that is?

A: I'm more comfortable. Still more comfortable in English than Spanish. It's more comforting. There's a comforting aspect to it.

I: alright. When you overhear somebody speaking English, someone that you haven't met, do you go up and start talking to them or do you not join conversation?

A: I don't usually join in conversation.

I: and, do you know why you don't join in?

A: if they're strangers, I'm kind of an introvert. It depends. Depends on the context. I mean, if we're at a restaurant, the beach, or someplace that's like a pleasure place, I might strike a conversation with them, but if it's in the middle of the store, people are usually in a hurry. Maybe if I'm in line with them. I have struck up a conversation with people in the line at the grocery store if I hear them speak English. It's complicated.

I: well, let's say you're in a line at the store and there's people speaking Spanish, do you strike up a conversation with them or no?

A: sometimes. Yes. Not all the time. I tend to be in my own little world when I'm at the store, but I have before. And, I've had people strike up conversations with me, and I talk with them in Spanish as much as I had been able to or am able to now.

I: do you think that the linguistic landscape and soundscapes have helped you learn Spanish? Do you think there's anything about it that has helped you?

A: yes. I mean, the soundscape especially. I think just passes Learning hearing in Spanish being spoken all the time. It's clear to me that my brain is processing in an unconscious or subconscious level. I mean, I wake up with somewhere that pops into my head that I don't know

where I heard from, but I have to look it up and find out what it means. Or, I just hearing it on TV. My mother-in -law's pretty strict, you know. In, my grandmother before she passed away was very strict Area and she didn't speak any English so. So, definitely the soundscape. As far as the landscape, yes. Definitely. I remember driving passed some billboards when he first got here and asking my husband quote, "what does that mean?" I was constantly bugging him to translate things for me.

I: good. Good. So, do you think that it helps motivate you to learn Spanish when you see the linguistic landscaping and the hear people talking? Does that motivate you to learn Spanish then?

A: yes. I like the feeling the fitting in in another culture and being comfortable in another culture. So, yes. Especially one where I married into it. You know? So, definitely.

I: alright. Great. So, is there anything else that you want add?

A: no. I don't think so.

I: okay. Alright, well, I'm done.

Participant: Dana

I: what languages do speak?

D: English.

I: alright, and how did you learn English?

D: I was born into it.

I: and, you didn't study any other languages in school or?

D: I studied two years of French in high school. Or, maybe three. I don't know. Two or three. I studied, like two years of Spanish – almost 2 years of Spanish in college. It was like a year and two quarters which were like trimesters. That's it. Actually, we went down to Chile and took four weeks of Spanish classes while we were there, and that is pretty much it.

I: okay. And, how old were you when you took those classes, if you don't mind my asking?

D: no, that's okay. Oh, you mean the most recent ones in Chile?

I: yes.

D: I want to say, just… 47, 48. Somewhere in there. 46. I don't do the math on the year.

I: okay. So, when you Took the language courses in school, did you take them because they were required or because you wanted to?

D: I took them because they were required. College required two years of something. I took Spanish instead a French because I thought it would be a more practical language to learn living in California.

I: alright. Did you feel motivated to learn Spanish when he moved here to Puerto Rico?

D: yes. I did feel motivated. Sort of. I mean, I didn't feel motivated that was one of the reasons we had this vision that we were to move to another country. I know it's not another country. But, overseas and learn another language. And, so we have visions of that. And, we brought our materials for my class in Chile so for the first couple of months I was here, I was actually reviewing those every morning. I would go in there [sun room] and spend maybe a half hour to an hour reviewing my Spanish because I really wanted to learn. And, it helped for vocabulary. I even bought from one of the stores here a picture book. You open it up and it has pictures of sheets and stuff. You know, household items so that I can talk to than made. You know, tell her what the sheets are and all that, which I always forgot. But, if yes, for a little bit in the beginning there I was totally motivated, and then gradually life got in the way and I just sort of dropped all that. I did watch some YouTube videos in Spanish for a little bit. For a while. It was a round permaculture, growing things which I'm interested in. But, that drop off to. You know, life just on the way.

I: and, then your house keeper, how often does she come?

D: she comes every two weeks, and she doesn't speak much English at all. We really like her. But, yes, she doesn't speak much English at all. Although, she's learned a few words in the two years that she's been coming here because I'm so bad that she almost has to.

I: does she speak Spanish with you or no?

D: we have attempted to have a little conversations. We have the "hola," "como esta," "bien." I did ask a couple of times, "Como es tu familia." You know, I've tried a little bit. And, sometimes I had to tell her something unusual like, "Por favor de baja de camas." It's cave Spanish. I know it's bad, but she gets it. Sometimes it's easier texting because I can use the online Spanish dictionary to translate and I can type things to her. Sometimes I will fall back on that if I have to, but… yeah. She really is the one person that I see on a regular basis that I really have to and should be speaking better Spanish with. But, you know, I don't see that often.

I: well, you mentioned that your Spanish is bad. Why do you think it's bad? I people told you that? The people made you feel that way?

D: no. It's internal. It's internal. People seem to appreciate when I tried to speak Spanish. You know, it's not just judging me really because I think they are more worried about their English delivered by my Spanish. But, I guess it's an internal message the keeps playing over and over because I have these high hopes. Went down to Chile, I have this fantasy – I think we both did – because these were like café classes in the morning, and then we worked in the afternoon. But, we had this fantasy that after four hours a Spanish in the morning every day for four weeks we come out speaking Spanish. Like, we know it, we'd understand it, we could have conversations. Toward the third week, I think, we got put on that remedial track. Actually, after the third week

we were dropping behind. The level of complexity kind of ratcheted up, and we just weren't there yet. So, for the last week we ask for individual tutoring, and we paid a little extra for that because what we really needed was practicing with conversation. You know. And, I think I have trouble… I don't mind speaking it and trying to speak it when I know the words because I think Spanish, the language, it's got to be much easier then for people who are learning English. There's so many rules and exceptions an English that I don't have to keep them straight. And, French has some rules and exceptions to, the Spanish is spelled like it sounds which to me makes it infinitely easier, at least on a very basic level. So, I don't really have an excuse for not learning it other than I'm just not taking the time. I'm not immersed in it. So, we work from home, and we work in English. It's kind a like what you said earlier. You know, we speak in English on the phone, we working English at home, we work from home. When we get out, it's really just restaurants; that's where we practice our Spanish. And, you know, we can order stuff. We have trouble understanding. A lot of trouble understanding. Everyone says that you should get a Puerto Rican boyfriend and watch the Tele Novelas on TV which are the best ways to learn Spanish. But, we can get boyfriends and girlfriends because we're married. Well, we could, but we choose not to roll that way. So, you know. And, we don't have TV either. We just have Internet. We don't need TV. We never watch TV. So, we don't have the Tele novelas to watch. So, you know, we're does not learning it. And we keep saying," we should hire a tutor." We will occasionally ask somebody," hey, do you have a tutor?" And, they might know of somebody are they're busy. And, then we have friends that have homeschooled kids, they have some five dollar an hour Skype tutor that they talk to. And I'm like," oh, we should do that because it's only five dollars an hour." I don't know why we just don't take that step. Now we've gotten into this, it's like we don't have to learn it because we can get by without it but then we haven't really pressed

ourselves to do it. So, we're in the sort of limbo stage a mediocrity like,"Oh, well, we don't need to." And, this Spanish here is a little harder to understand. It reminds me of Chilean Spanish because people drop their consonants a lot, and they go really, really fast. Chilean Spanish was very similar. I'm sure to lands and Puerto Ricans get along fine and would understand each other perfectly, but for learning the language of charter. I feel like I should go to Ecuador or Spain to learn the language, but that's really just another excuse.

I: it is very hard. Like I said, I have a minor in it. I studied Spanish for six years before even moving here, but Puerto Ricans talk so, so, so quickly; and, when you're talking about them changing the way that they say words, like dropping the s' and things like that, it makes it even harder. Definitely.

D: yes. I always feel like, "mas despasio, por favor." You know. "Lento." And, then someone on the the beach taught me the other day, "lenticimo," for if I want to be really dramatic about it. "Lenticimo." I just think when someone's talking at me in Spanish, I think there's a little bit of a freak out thing like, "I really need to understand what they're saying." So, there's kind of that fear conversation that you hear in your head. So, you can't fully focus on what it is they're saying. Now, when they're talking to my husband in Spanish and he is on the spot, I have a much easier time understanding some of it. But, really, I understand one or maybe two words out of ten. I mean, it's bad. So, I'm very judgy on my own lack of learning here.

I: Yes. I can definitely relate there. I'm exactly the same way. So, how long have you been here?

D: Two-and-a-half years.

I: Do you feel as motivated?

D: Well, no, I guess because I stopped making much of an effort really. Yes. I don't know. I'm still motivated a little bit by my house keeper. Really I try to - I try a little bit, but I really don't try as hard as I can because it just takes so much time and we can get by without it. So, I just feel like we've fallen into this rut of, you know, "Well, we'll just learn it if we need to." So, you know, every time we go to a restaurant, I am finally starting to remember what some of those pastillas and totones and things are. I've gotten where I don't have to look them up. So. I don't know, I guess because we don't have to speak it, we're really not doing much.

I: Did you know before you moved here what languages were spoken?

D: Yes. We knew there was Spanish. We knew that and that was the draw for us because we had this fantasy of becoming bilingual. I just think when you live in the United States your whole life, our culture is such that you forget that there's other cultures out there who spoke different languages. In Europe, they all speak three languages or more. You know? It's really impressive. And, for me to just be speaking English my whole life, it just seems kind of…I don't know…US-centric or whatever. So, we thought we'd internationalize and now that we're here, we haven't really done it. So far, I don't know. We just keep cruising along until we have to learn it. You know, I am starting to get out. The first couple of years we were here, we were kind of insular in that, because we worked at home, we met some other people who had moved here for the Act 20/22. So, that was helpful. They're like ex-pats. I call them ex-pats even though this is still the U.S. It's the mainlanders moving here and kind of just reeling in the cultural adjustment. And, so we made friends with a lot of them. But, still it has been two years. And, our neighbors next door are Puerto Rican. They are really nice people. Their English is fantastic so we don't have to speak Spanish with them either. And, the people who sold us this villa, I think

actually they're Cuban or he's Puerto Rican and she's Cuban. I don't know, but their both totally bilingual. No accent. He has an accent. She doesn't. But, beyond them, we didn't really get to know anybody for a long time. And, then recently I started helping my friend Al. He has an investment a Advisory firm that he started up, please looking to offer services to people here in Puerto Rico. So, I'm helping him with is development. He's reaching out to people on LinkedIn. You know, taking them to lunch and seeing if we can work together or be each other or whatever. And, that's been great for getting out and actually meeting Puerto Ricans which are really enjoying. But, we speak English because that's just the language of business I couldn't recruit a Puerto Rican for his firm with Spanish because I don't speak it. So, again I don't have to. I do learn any word occasionally, but I don't retain – No recuerdo nada. Except that. I don't retain vocabulary very well. I mean, part of it to be my age. I mean, maybe I have Alzheimer's. I often wonder because it takes so many repetitions to learn a word. They say it takes seventeen. Takes me thirty. It's just, I'm not learning quickly. But, I do occasionally learn a new word.

I: Well, did you know they spoke English as well?

D: yes. Yes, I did. I knew it was talking schools. I knew– I think English is the official language, like on paper. But, I also need that wasn't really the case. I have read that and San Juan they're mostly bilingual, and that was good because we… I mean when I first got here, and we have to deal with the handyman, almost none of them speak English that. So, that's the hardest thing is getting the air conditioning and stuff fixed. It's hard, you know? Our house keeper, she's been fine. I can't tell her anything complicated, and they can't really complain about anything. I don't really have any major complaints. She does a good job. I mean, you know. It's not like she gets every single corner but it gets done and so I can't complain. But, so, yes, the Handyman and getting things fixed, that's the hardest thing. But, then we got a postcard from somebody, and it

was all written English. It was from contractor just advertising and business. Felix. So, we called him for something, and he's totally bilingual which is like fantastic. So, now we going to lean on him like, “Oh, Felix. We need somebody to come out and do this or that.” And, we actually don't even care if he charges a little markup for that because he's helping us. You know? We're just so happy have someone we can communicate with. I guess it's gotten better. When we first got here, it was completely like, “Oh, what have we done.” We didn't understand anybody or anything. And, that was scary. Now, I guess we are used to not understanding whole lot. We've made peace with it. Ignorance is bliss. I don't know.

I: well, was your plan to get by with your English, or was your plan to use utilize Spanish as much as possible and only use English you need it?

D: our plan was to learn Spanish into using less when we needed. So, I suppose if we had moved to Chile we would've had a harder time but learn more Spanish because here we don't have to. And, here, we just learned what we needed to. We talked to the guy about where to get the smog check and to find out where to go to get this bigger, and anything complicated we hire somebody else us. It's bad. So, we get by.

I: did you know anything about the culture before you move here?

D: Not a lot. You know, we knew it was Spanish based. We knew it had a U.S. blend so we didn’t really know what to expect. I mean, I think we were expecting a Spanish, Latin-American culture. I mean, we knew it was an island and there’d be island time. We knew the service level would probably be a lot lower than what we are used to in the U.S.: mañana and all that. So, I think we kind of expected that. I didn’t expect the car culture to be incredibly strong here. There’s a lot of things we’ve discovered about the culture since we’ve here that we didn’t expect. So, that’s surprising. And, then, oh my God, this is where all the bad U.S. franchises go to die.

You know? They're all here. So, the lack of local organic food was something maybe we knew about, but it still surprises me how not prevalent [it is]. I guess the junk food culture is so prevalent here and that surprised me. There's McDonalds and Burger King everywhere and deep-fried everything.

I: Yes. Like, every block.

D: Yes. Yes. So, I guess that surprised me, but other than that I think we've just been open to what it's about and learning as we go.

I: So, can you name any other specific things that you've learned about the culture since being here? Like, have you learned anything about how Puerto Ricans work together as families or as a community or anything like that?

D: Yes. So, the family values are really strong in that families stick together. They spend time together. They support each other. We kind of knew that was a thing in the Spanish, Latin-American culture, but it's interesting to see it up close and personal. And, just recently making a fore in the business community here, it's funny how everybody knows everybody. Everybody is distantly related almost half the time. Everybody knows the governor or somebody in the governor's office. Even though it's a big island and it's densely populated - So, we come from the west, California and Nevada, where we don't have so many people per square mile and here you've got 3.5 million on this little island. That was kind of a… I don't want to say shock, but a surprise. You know, you can't really find much in the way of wilderness here. You can't really drive anywhere and get away from that sense of people. There's just people and stuff and cars everywhere. I've driven in the mountains, back in the interior of the island, and there are some little stretches there where you feel like, "Oh, yes. I am all alone on this great little road," and I feel like I've gotten away, but that's hard to find on this little island. So, that was a surprise. The

family culture, just learning about it is really interesting. Everybody knows everybody, you know? But, Puerto Ricans have been very welcoming, I think, in general to us. When we first got here, we sort of did it on a whim. We had been think about Chile, but then we pivoted. And, then we found this place. I think because we found this place and really liked it as a property, that's when we decided we could move here. If we hadn't found this property, I'm not sure we would have moved here, or we would have just gone back and thought about it. Maybe we would have come back. Maybe not. I don't know. So, a couple of weeks after we got here, we went through this period of shock, like, "What the hell are we doing here? We don't know anybody. We don't understand anybody. We are all by ourselves. We are crazy." We didn't even know how to get the internet working. It was hard even calling people. You know? Now we are on the other side: "Press 1 for English." Not everybody has that. I remember trying to make a doctor's appointment or some kind of appointment for my daughter, and the receptionist didn't speak English. You know? "¿Es un otro persona habla ingles?…No." You know? And, it's like, "Oh. I guess I can't make an appointment." We had to go all the way to get new glasses and we had to find someone who took our old vision plan which did cover some places here. We had to call around until we found somebody that spoke English. We drove all the way to that Santa Rosa mall in Bayamón to get it done, you know? Just because of that. So, we went through this period of shock: "What are we doing here." There was this party that some people who had moved here hosted, and it was like, "Thank God" because we went and we met all these other people who were also moving here where it's foreign and strange and the roads are crazy. That's another thing. The roads are crazy. And, the people, the way they drive here. It's crazy. It's like driving in a video game. You know? That was something to get used to. It's like everybody's high or drunk or texting. People will swerve. Then we learned though that there's a big giant hole in the road.

That's why they're swerving. Or, your lane suddenly ends and there's no warning. You know? So, that was sort of a unique bit of the culture. The rules of the road are like guidelines. You know? They're not rules for real.

I: My friends are like, "If you go to Aguadilla at night, you just go through the light if it's red. If there's nobody coming , you go through the light. Don't stop." I'm like, "Are you serious? Aren't I going to get a ticket."

D: Yes. Yes. And, I've seen people do that at our little intersection that you came through to get into our development, and that's nice. If there's nobody around and the lights not going to change for a while, I'm going. I've adapted to that. It's funny though. Now, I kind of like it. At first it was like, "Ah. This is making me nuts." Then you get used to it. I think I'm a little more go-with-the-flow than my husband. I think he gets a little more upset about it still. And, then we went back to the mainland and everybody follows the rules and the roads are paved so super nice. People move out of the left lane. It's like a miracle. Wow. This is great. But, then, when I got back here, I also kind of enjoy the whole mishmash of how we are going to get around. I don't know. It has it's advantages. So, yes, we bonded with some other people who were adapting to the culture. That helps. Our neighbors next door have been really super nice. They invite us over for a bottle of wine and cheese every once in a while. So, we've learned a lot about the culture with them. We've learned from them, and others now have corroborated this, that politics is like sports here. It's like a soap opera. Whatever political thing is going on, it's like a big soap opera of characters and all that. And, then at the car dealer, every time we go to get the car serviced, they always have on all the local channels on. You know, they're always those crazy Spanish shows in the morning where they're all in colors doing nutty things. I still don't quite get that but Chile has that too so maybe it's a whole Latin-America thing. I don't know. I

guess it wakes you up in the morning. I guess if you're local it makes sense. I've got to ask my neighbor about that one of these days. Again, it's only whenever I go to the dealer or if I have to sit in a dentist's office or something, and I'll glance up and see it. But, yes. It's been interesting. The culture here is really unique. We've been to a lot of other Caribbean islands and some places in South America. You know, we haven't seen much of Central America or Columbia or Venezuela so we don't know the entire span of Latin America. But… you know, I think it should be it's own country which I know is not a popular opinion. But, it's so, um… It's just so unique. It's, its own place. SO, you know. I really like it. I like having a place here.

I: Do you think that learning the culture has helped you to learn the language at all?

D: Uh, I don't know, actually. I don't know. I don't know. I mean, maybe. I don't really know how to answer that. I think it's important to appreciate the culture around you, and I think if you observe it, if you learn things about it, I think as you make an attempt to speak cave-Spanish, I just think that context is helpful. I mean, if you understand the culture, you understand a bit about when it's okay to say something or not say something or you understand that lunch will take two hours minimum. That's just how it is. You know. And, my husband has trouble with this because, if you go to an event here, it takes a long time. It will go on for hours, and he's an introvert so that works against him. And, he is a type A personality where he just wants to boom, boom, boom get things done and move on. So, you know, if I take him to any kind of event where my purpose is to network and meet people, I want to stay for as long as possible because that's what they do. And, especially if you're having dinner with someone. I think if you just want to be done and rush off, it's probably seen as though, you know… I don't know if they'd be super judgy because they don't seem to be super judgy people, but it could be construed as rude.

I guess whatever you can observe and understand about the culture can only help you in learning Spanish.

I: Do you someone could move here and learn the language without learning the culture or the other way around? They could learn the culture without learning the language?

D: Yes. I'm proof of that. I think you can learn the culture - Well, no. I think they're intertwined. So, because I don't understand a lot of the language, I don't have the patience to sit and read through El Nuevo Día or whatever local paper they're passing around. If I sit down to translate, it's going to take me so long. And, because I have other responsibilities in my life, I'm just not prioritizing that. So, because I don't know what's going on in my own town - Every time we've moved, I always read the local newspaper even if it's only online. I always read the local news because that's how you figure out what's going on in your town, who the players are, what are the concerns, what are they work toward, what are they working against, and it gives you a context for the people you meet. Our little town in Dorado, I mean, I feel like a quanzeye foreigner here even though I've lived here for two-and-a-half years and we're registered to vote; although we didn't because everything was in Spanish. It's terrible. So, feeling like a foreigner in your own town is separating. You know? So, if I took more time to read and understand what was going on here and to integrate…We are better than when we first got here. I mean, I know who the mayor is now. I met him finally. You know? I know he lives down the street somewhere. So, you know? But, yes, I think you need to learn both. I think they go hand-in-hand. You can learn Spanish. You can be fluent in Spanish… I guess. But, I think even to be fluent in Spanish, You've got to understand something about the culture even if you came from a different Latin American culture. There's similarities, but you're going to want to know the differences because we're human beings. We have to collaborate to fit in, and to do that, I think

we need to understand the nuances of culture. I just don't understand many of the nuances, and that's probably why I still feel like a foreigner even though I'm an official resident and I've got one of those crappy, laminated I.D. cards, which I really like, actually. It's old school. But, yes. I think they are both important.

I: I know I asked you this before the interview, but I have to ask you again. How did you end up here then? In Puerto Rico.

D: Well, it was a combination of the midlife crisis and the tax benefits. Um, my kids are going off to college. We have two. And, we were going to be empty nesters, and we had lived in the United States in California and Nevada pretty much our whole lives. We traveled a bit here and there, but it was midlife. We had never been anywhere else. We thought, "Why don't we just up and move abroad." We also think the United States is going a little crazy right now. So, there was the motivation to just be like, "Let's just up and move somewhere else, learn a language, learn a new culture, and just have that new adventure." So, we were looking at Chile because we had taken the kids to South America a few years prior and we really liked South America. Particularly Chile. We could have lived in any of the southern countries there but we liked Chile the best. So, he [her spouse] is a software developer so he can work anyway there's internet. You know? I was going to start some kind of business so I can work anywhere there's internet. SO, we went down there. We took three months. Actually, we ended up going down there for two months. We stayed in Santiago for a month to learn Spanish at a little Spanish school, and then we traveled in the south part of the country to figure out where we might want to live and if we could really do it. You've got to try before you buy. SO, we had been down there for a couple months and we kept hearing about Puerto Rico and these tax incentives. So, we bought a report that told us all about it. And, we were talking about it. One of our daughters refuses to go to

college but the other one is in college and it's really expensive. So, you know, every dollar we can save to put towards that is great. SO, these tax benefits sounded really attractive. My husband ran a business so he could take advantage of that. So, we were like, "Let's just go check this out. We have another month. Let's just go check it out." So, the report said Dorado, Condado, and Palmas del Mar are the places that ex-pats typically landed and felt comfortable. So, we Googled the images for those locations and Palmas was the most amazing: the beaches and all that. So, we found a place to rent for a month down there. We just went and tried it out. And, you know, we got there, and Palmas itself is really nice but the town of Umacoa - You know. No offense to anyone that's from there, but it's kind of an armpit. I wasn't for us. You know, it didn't have a lot of restaurants, and driving around, it made me crazy. So, and Palmas felt like a gilded cage. It was beautiful, and I could see why people would have weekend places there or vacation places there, but to live there all the time… It just to us felt too much of a little island and a bubble in and of itself, and there weren't enough good restaurants. We like lunch. We're lunch people. We like to go out for lunch. We need restaurants, so there weren't enough of those there. So, we went out with a real-estate agent, and we saw some places in Condado, and Condado was nice. I totally saw the appeal of that, but it was also kind of pricier than we expected for what it was. And, it was so busy and crowded and difficult to drive around in, which makes me nuts. It was difficult to park in. It just seemed like it was too congested. So, then we came out to Dorado and looked. We liked Dorado better because it was quieter. There's more space. It just about a half-an-hour from San Juan so you can go and do all that, but you can came back. It's not too far from the airport. Then we found this place that's on the golf course. You can look out. You're surrounded by nature. You don't feel like you're surrounded by people or closed in. It was so much cheaper than anything in California that we were used to so we were

like, “Okay. Let’s do this.” And, because we found this place I think is why we live here. So, yes. So, then we were like, “Okay. We’re going to do this.” It was just like that. And… we’re not usually spontaneous like that, but I think we had been thinking about this notion of leaving the U.S. for long enough and actually acting on taking the trip to Chile was a process. By the time we got here, we were like, “Oh, yes. We can do this. Let’s just do it now.” And, so we went back to the states and kind of wrapped up our life there and loaded up a forty-foot container full of everything and paid gobs of money to ship it over. And, here we were. We moved in. Yes. And, the climate’s been different too. We are used to the dry air in the west, and here, there’s mold everywhere. In California, they see mold and they freak out unless they live on the coast. Here, it’s just mold is everywhere all of the time. Water seeps in. There’s lizards and bugs. You know? It’s bad on paper. I brought my whole book collection and I’m like, “Oh. This isn’t going to last too long here.” But, whatever. It’s where we are. But, yes, that’s how we ended up here.

[Story]

I: So, you were talking about getting a realtor that showed you around. How did you find them and did they speak to you in English or Spanish?

D: They were bilingual. I was in Real-estate. I came from that background. I worked at the {name removed for confidentiality] over in the Lake Tahoe area, so when I got here, I contacted the one here because it’s customary. The agent was totally bilingual. So, she spoke to us in English. And, I knew I could see from her job that I would not - I could not be an agent here without being bilingual. I mean, I could just see from the way that she operated that it was absolutely necessary.

I: Right. Now, do you and your husband use Spanish with each other or do you always use English?

D: We always speak English. Although, once in a while I will tell him, “No entiendo.” I will sometimes throw out a Spanish something. Like, entiendo is usually the one I - “Entiendo,” “no entiendo,” or sometimes I’ll say “sí.” You know, it’s funny. You get into the habit of saying “sí” and “gracias.” Not with him so much, but when you’re out and about. So, when I go back to the mainland, I’ll be at the grocery store and say, “Sí. Sí.” You know. “Gracias.” Them I’m like, “Oh, I hope they don’t - I hope I’m not offending them because I think they look like a Hispanic nationality.” You know how everyone’s so politically correct. It’s like, “Oh my God. What if I offended her because she thinks that I think she doesn’t know English even though she’s Hispanic.” You know what I’m saying? But, you get in the habit of “sí” and “sí, sí” and “gracias,” but not too often with him. I’ll just occasionally throw out some little phrase.

I: Well, have you ever felt like you’ve been discriminated against because of your language? [Example]

D: Yes. I’m sure… That sounds familiar. Like, not too often. I’ve had it happen where people can’t talk to me so they pass me off to someone who’s better with the English. I remember somewhere where there was this older woman who was, “Uh, you can’t speak Spanish,” and handed me off to someone, and she seemed a little like, “Uh, whatever.” I know I’ve said dumb things and then people snickered. Not in a mean way but just kind of like, “Ha, ha.” And, then I know, “Okay. I just butchered something there.” But, I guess I’ve never felt too much in the way of, “Oh, how dare you not speak the language.” It’s not like going to France. It’s not been that judgy. I mean, yes, I’ve said dumb things and they’ve snickered but it doesn’t seem malicious to me. So, not much, I guess would be my answer.

I: When you walk up and start talking to people, and you’re trying to speak Spanish, do they start talking to you in English?

D: IF they know English, they typically will. Although, sometimes I've been introduced to people and I just say, "Mucho gusto," or whatever and they don't realize I don't speak Spanish because I'm with another Spanish speaker. They will just be prattling on in Spanish, and I just listen and try to pick up any word I can. Sometimes the Spanish speaker who's with me will start speaking in English, knowing that I don't, and they are like, "Oh. I didn't realize." But, it depends on their level. If they know English and I do my cave Spanish on them, they will come back at me in English, and a lot of them like the chance to practice their English. Some of them won't, either because they want me to learn or because they don't know.

I: How does that make you feel if they switch to English?

D: I'm pretty flexible. I'm pretty fine either way. I know I'm butchering the language, so I'm not offended. I guess if I was trying to learn the Spanish, I would be like, "Can you just speak in-" In fact, anytime I've ever asked someone to keep speaking in Spanish so I can practice, they will. You know. So, I guess I don't attach too much feeling to it either way. I understand that sometimes it's easier just to speak in English because I can and they can. Yes. I don't just it too much.

I: So, when you're speaking in English, let's say you're in the states, do you feel like you're extroverted in English or introverted?

D: Well, I've taken those tests, so I kind of actually know for a fact. I'm an ambivert. I'm borderline. I used to be just over into the extroverted realm. Actually, I think the last time I took the test, I was just barely in the introverted. So, I'm borderline. In English I tend to talk a lot. I mean, I don't always talk to everybody at the supermarket, but sometimes I strike up a conversation with people. And, my husband is like, "Oh, God. Let's go." I guess I can go either way.

I: Well, how do you feel with Spanish, then? Would you say you're extroverted or introverted?

D: I don't know. I probably listen more than I talk because I can't speak. I don't have the vocabulary and I don't have the understanding. I will try. I'm not super shy about trying. I don't mind it because I know that's how I learn. But, I don't know. If I'm at a party and everyone's speaking Spanish, I don't try to cut in with my five words that I know. You know. I'll listen and just try to get the gist of what they're saying if I can.

I: What do you do to help yourself learn Spanish?

D: Not a whole lot. You know, we tried Rosetta Stone for a while, but we had problems with the software. It had trouble understanding me. Before we went to Chile, we were doing some Rosetta Stone. Because the software was acting up and it didn't seem to comprehend. I get frustrated with software. If it doesn't work, it's just like, "forget this."

I: We did the same thing for our kids, and it was so frustrating. The software was always - like they would say it, and I would hear them say it. They would even say it with an accent. It wouldn't recognize it.

D: Yes. And, then when we came here, we had all our materials from that Spanish class, and so I would practice with that for a bit. I figured I'll just review all of this stuff because up to the point where we got the private tutoring, it was helpful. And, it's really about practice and learning and vocabulary. And, I did, I mad some verb cards, and I have apps. Like, verb apps and stuff. So, I did that for while and then it just kind of [inaudible] out, and we haven't really done much sense. I will look up words when I really need a word. I still really should know the word for "sheet" now. "Sabanos?" I just. I don't know why I can't remember it. Every two weeks I'm suppose to remember it, but I don't. I finally learned "toales" [toallas] because that's easy. So, I don't know.

I: Well, do you know anyone who has come to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish, and you consider them successful?

D: I don't have proof because I haven't heard them speak Spanish… I would say Lola because she's making an effort. We don't see them too often because they live on the other side of the island, but whenever we've gone anywhere with them, she can speak with and converse with the waiters in Spanish; and, she does it. So, I consider her a success. We have other friends. They have a farm in Calle, and they also can. You know. I wouldn't call them fluent, but I would call them quasi conversational. They can speak and understand. They did live in Costa Rico for a couple of years, and I think they picked a lot of it up there. I know they make an effort and they have farmhands that only speak Spanish, and, so because of that, they've had to learn to communicate with them. Also, because they live on a farm and the wife wants to know who's around her, just for security purposes. It's the country. You know. She's made an effort to speak to the people on the highway they live on. They have all the pinchos kiosks and stuff. She's made a point of when she meets people to say, "Oh. Hi. How are we? We have a farm." In Spanish. So, she's pretty conversational. So, yes. Those are the two that come to mind as a success. Oh, and then the third one that I got started with and then got distracted, allegedly, because I was at a party the other night and they were speaking to somebody about how they were learning Spanish, and it was going pretty well. And, they were doing Rosetta Stone, and I guess that they just keep doing it. I didn't hear their Spanish, but apparently they're able to speak Spanish pretty well or get around. So.

I: Well, ,besides yourself, if there anyone you know of that came here and you might consider unsuccessful?

D: Well, I hate to use that word because not everybody who came here had learning Spanish as a goal, but, yes, I know people who come here and they don't speak it other than what they need to. I think our situation is pretty common actually. So. Yes.

I: And, so what do you think makes them unsuccessful? Just not putting the effort into it, or?

D: I think that ultimately is what it is. It's not putting the effort into it. If you don't have to, and you can get by without it, you get by without it. You know. And, yes, we have a less rich experience living here, and my husband particularly, and I to some degree too, don't feel integrated with the community because we don't have the common bond of language. So, we feel like outsiders even though we've been here two-and-a-half years, and we're legally residents. I feel like to get into a discussion of politics with Puerto Ricans, I will make my little comment that I think it needs to be its own country which I know is not the popular opinion here, but I defer to them. I feel like my opinion doesn't really count that much because I'm like a fo-resident. I'm a sort-of resident. I mean, I'm a resident, but I feel like a poser almost. Like, even though I live here, it's not my country because I'm just not that integrated. I just feel like a stranger in a strange land. You know. But, it's not their fault. It's my fault. It's our fault we haven't just gone out there. Not like Lola. She's way more integrated than we are. She worked really hard at it. So. And, we just use excuses, "Oh, we don't have kids in school so we…" You know. Which is true. The social circle thing has been a little bit harder for us because if you live in Palmas or if you live in Dorado Beach and you're part of the country clubs there, there's this instant community. And, there's Puerto Ricans in those communities. So, you have that. Here in our community, yes, it's a gated community, but we don't have that. There's no country club so we don't have that. Our community has been a lot of ex-pats that have moved here. It's just natural to reach out to those people who are just like, "Oh, my God. What are we doing here."

Now that I'm reaching out to business people here, I'm starting to feel like I'm part of the community. At least on a certain level, and that's refreshing. I like that. And, I will keep doing that for as long as we're here. But, you know, because my husband isn't feeling that and he doesn't have the patience for long events, I don't know that he'll ever adapt which means I don't know if I'll fully adapt. Sometimes you have this vision in your head that you're going to go and your going to become part of a new culture. And, then you go to do it, and you think you can do it, but then you don't for whatever reason, and it's not their fault. Maybe it's just us. Maybe it's not in our nature. Maybe we just didn't want that option after all. You know. So.

I: So, would you classify yourself as successful or unsuccessful then?

D: I don't know. What do you mean "successful"? In terms of what?

I: Whatever you define success as.

D: I would define our adventure down here, personally, as a success. I wouldn't call it a flaming success, but I'm also not that judgy. I know that's not a word, but. To leave your native soil, or whatever you want to call it, and to put all of your crap on a container and move it to a strange place, even though it's part of the U.S., it's culturally so different. I mean, it's an adventure that most people wouldn't even dare do. SO, I recognize that. There's been a lot of bumbling around, some mistakes; you know, the whole not being totally integrated into the culture thing. I mean, there's all kinds of ways you could judge it. "Oh, you're not successful. Blah, blah, blah." And, my husband would probably be like, "Oh, this has been a complete farce," because, you know, he can kind of be that way. But, I've enjoyed my time. I think it takes a lot of guts to move down here and do this kind of thing. You know. There's a lot fo great things about living here. I mean, it's a mixed bag. People will say, "How do you like living in Puerto Rico." I would say it's a mixed bag. There are some things that are really fantastic about it. I love being away form the

mainland and all the craziness up there. You know. I like being down here. I like meeting the people. I've grown accustomed to some of the weirdnesses, but then there are other parts that are just… You know. Like, God, there's not Wholefoods. There's no Trader Joe's. Driving around is kind of a hassle. I try not to do it so much. The roads can be fun like a video game, but they can also be like, "Oh my God. Why are we not moving." So, whenever I react negatively towards something, I just try to avoid it. So. You know, work around it. There's some great things to do on the island. The backroads of the interior are really incredible. I love the trying to reserve nature on the island. I think that's totally a great cause and I want to get more involved with that so Puerto Rico does not become Haiti because that's what happens when you nude your landscape. It's a disaster. I try to get more involved with that. One hundred precent behind that. So, you know. I'm starting to find causes and starting to meet people. And, so. I don't know. I'd say it's a success. Learning the language, not a success. Total, not a success on all fronts, but it's on me. So. You know. I don't know.

I: Well, I have two questions for you that are in Spanish. So, if you don't understand the question, you just I don't understand it. Okay?

D: Okay.

I: But answer them to the best that you can in Spanish. Okay?

D: Okay. This should be easy.

I: ¿Cómo te llamas?

D: What is my name? Mi llamo es Dana.

I: ¿Por qué te mudaste a Puerto Rico? ¿Por qué te mudaste a Puerto Rico?

D: No entiendo a "mudaste." ¿Como se dice en inglés?

I: Move.

D: Repite, por favor.

I: ¿Por qué te mudaste a Puerto Rico?

D: Ah. Sí, sí, sí. I don't even think I can answer that in Spansih. Crises. Is that a word.

I: Close. I guess we'll see.

D: Mi esposo y… I want to say mua, but no se. I don't know. Mi esposo y me. How do you say me?

I: Yo.

D: Oh. Mi esposo y yo son loco.

I: Okay. Perfect. That's perfect.

Questionnaire 2

I: Do you recognize this place? It's fine if you don't.

D: Is it the town square in Mayaguez?

I: Yes. Exactly. Okay. So now I want a moving around and look at all the words you see. Okay?

D: yes.

I: okay. And, then tell me if you see more English than Spanish, more Spanish than English, or if you just see one language.

D: Well, "open" is English. Mason fabric is English. I don't know. It seems to need to be 80% Spanish. I can't read all these little ones.

I: Okay. Alright. So, you're going to say 80% Spanish in diorama three. Okay?

D: okay.

I: now we'll get this one, and see if you know where that is.

D: that oh, is this shopping center that's on the way to Caguas, on the right?

I: It's actually in Mayaguez.

D: oh, it's in Mayaguez?

I: yes.

D: I haven't been here. But, yeah. It's mostly English. I don't know. This one is like the reverse: 20% Spanish 80% English.

I: Okay. And, then this one, I'm going to give you a printout on the side because it was cloudy so the signs didn't turn out very good.

D: same question?

I: yes.

D: where is it and…

I: actually, I'm to have you look at the signs. These are the same science but you really can't see them in the diorama so.

D: I don't know where it is. It could be any street in Puerto Rico.

I: alright. This one is is strip between the college in Mayaguez and the Plaza.

D: okay. It seems 80% Spanish/20 English. Maybe at 70/30.

I: alright. So, you're looking at diorama one you have 80% English.

D: Yes.

I: And, then you have diorama too. And, what are you deciding on this one?

D: I'll do 75/25.

I: okay, so 75% Spanish and 25% English?

D: yes.

I: okay. And, then on diorama number three, you say 80% Spanish. That correct?

D: yes.

I: okay. So, these are called linguistic landscape because it's the landscape and that's the words that you see you when you're looking around. Okay. And, you have the soundscape. The soundscape are the words that you hear, the languages that you hear, when you're walking around. Okay?

D: Yes.

I: so, what I did was I took a tape recorder and walked around in one of the stores and diorama one, which you said was 80% English, and one of the stores from diorama three, which you said was 80% Spanish. Okay. And, what I want you to do is only listen to the words that your people speaking. There's going to be music in the background; don't pay attention to that. I just want your opinion on what languages you hear people speaking.

D: Okay.

I: Okay. So, what languages did you hear?

D: I heard Spanish in English.

I: okay. Which diorama do you think that's from? Diorama one that's 80% English or diorama three that's 80% Spanish?

D: oh my God. It could be either. I don't know. I'm going to say that was probably an English store. I mean, I'm going to say that it was in English shopping mall

I: Okay. Alright. You're right.

D: Because that's what I hear when I go to those places. It's like going to Marshalls, you know. It's like mostly Spanish but then there's some English.

I: alright. Now, this one has a little bit of dead space in between it because I tried not to alter the sound at all.

I: Alright. So, what languages did you hear there?

D: mostly Spanish.

I: right. And, that came from diorama three.

D: I don't know that I heard any actual English.

I: Well, if a soundscape… What do you think the soundscape for diorama #2 would be like?

D: I guess it would maybe have more Spanish than English. Yeah, I mean. If you think about it, in comparison to the dioramas, it would have to have more Spanish.

I: yes. I'm, why do you think that those differences exist? When you're looking at the linguistic landscape in the soundscape, why do you think it differences exist hearing and seeing Spanish and English in one location but then going closer to the town center and hearing only Spanish?

D: I guess it would be that the English speakers are more comfortable and the more familiar shopping Center setting you're setting up the plaza. But, the pluses don't have a lot of businesses going on. You know, economically there just depressed to nothing happening there. So, it probably draws people to live there and they're habitually for work. It doesn't draw the English-speaking crowd there. They're going to be at the mall or Kmart I guess. I mean, that's just a guest.

I: when you very first moved here, do you remember what the linguistic landscape or the soundscape sounded like? Like, what were your impressions about the language?

D: oh, I would say it was 90%, or more, Spanish. I remember just distinctly thinking this is really weird that I don't understand anything that anyone saying around me. You know. So, when you get here English, you be like oh I understand. Maybe 10% of the time. And, then part of me was like well I guess ignorance is bliss.

I: so, did you think one language would be spoken more than the other?

D: I don't think I had a lot of preconceived notion. I mean, I now the Spanish was prevalent here so I think I expected it. I think what I didn't expect was so much of the visual words to be English in the packaging and the everything. I thought more of that would be in Spanish. Like, and chilly it's all in Spanish.

I: which of the three dioramas Best represents where you hung out when you first came here? Like, if you had to go to the store, would you go to store and diorama one that has an English name where would you go to store and maybe diorama three that has a Spanish name I'm people would be speaking Spanish?

D: we went to the stores weather was plenty of parking and it was clean and well lit. There it was in diorama one. The Plaza settings were much more foreign to us hi. So, I have this thing where I wanted driving see every single one of them on the island because they're also interesting. It's awesome to find one where there's a little not skanky looking restaurant on the plaza where you can go and have a meal. You know. That's great. It's like little treasure, but most of the time they just look scary. They look like they're cobble together with string and glue and there's probably bugs. And people are unfamiliar. People are darker than we are, which is terrible to say, but if you don't know people you're just like everything looks scary and frightening. It's just unfamiliar so you just attach all this baggage to it. Whereas, the longer you're here, you're more like," oh, yes. Those kiosks are sometimes where some of the best pinchos are."

I: so, where would you say you hangout most now question mark if you have to go shopping, do you still go shopping in places that are Americanized or do you venture out and going to places that are more Puerto Rican?

D: We probably skew toward the Americanized places. Like, we go to the grocery store. the one nearest us Which has the best selection. So, we go there. It's not like we go to Walmart. I try to

avoid Walmart if I can, but Pueblo there or whatever the grocery store is will go there. And, then we go to some local places. But, I guess we just like clean and neat and well lit. If it's a restaurant, it could be moody - moodily lit. If that's a word. But. We do venture out in restaurants. We do. But, if it looks really skanky then we're not have to go so much because we like in ambience. We're willing to pay more. If it's on the ocean and skanky logo because it's on the ocean. That's just our particular bias, but I know a lot of people weren't like that at all. They'll still eat every Street food kiosk they run across just because they love that stuff. So.

I: well, think about all if your daily interactions in Puerto Rico and where you going to daily basis. Which one of the linguistic landscapes do you think the best represents the languages that you hear and see?

D: the linguistic landscape I would say would be the 80/20. That's what I hear. Mostly Spanish. Even around here, mostly Spanish with the occasional dab of English.

I: when you overhear strangers talking in English, do you join in their conversation?

D: no, not typically. Not unless there're some obvious reasons to. Like, and for standing in line at the store and they're asking some questions and I happen to not answer then I'll jump in and say," oh, hey." But, I don't necessarily do it because they speak English.

I: do you think that the linguistic landscape and soundscape have helped you to learn Spanish or have they hindered your learning of Spanish?

D: No. I think it helps. I mean, the more you hear the more you start to recognize some words. It's just - My problem is I don't understand if it's just people talking around me it Really rapidly. I just don't understand that many words, and then sometimes I'll you're like some stupid word and I know I should do with that means. I will get up. That's just an example, but you know. So, sometimes it does cause me just get my phone and looking up a word. It's awful.

Participant: Roz

I: Okay. That is all in one store. Okay?

Rz: Okay.

I: So. I am going to call this one diorama one. This is diorama two and diorama three. Okay?

Rz: Okay.

I: So, which of the three dioramas do you think that soundscape is from?

Rz: Diorama one.

I: Alright, and what languages did you hear in the soundscape?

Rz: I would say about 90% Spanish and about 10% English.

I: Okay. And, why do you think this soundscape goes with diorama one.

Rz: Okay. I think it goes with diorama one because of all of the places and, basically, the consumerism incorporated into this diorama. Whereas, this one… This one sounds a lot different. That backdrop of this situation and diorama, is going to sound a lot different than diorama two. So, the situation and sounds that you would here, I believe, in diorama two will be a lot different than what you would hear in diorama one because diorama one is more store centered where this one is more like King's Island or like chill. Hanging out type of thing. And, it could possibly be that [indicating diorama three], but I don't think it would be - that it would sound like there was so much heavy traffic. So, diorama three - I feel like if it was taking place there, it wouldn't sound like there were so many people. That's not a really croweded space whereas diorama one there's going to be a lot of consumerism happening.

I: Okay. Alright. And, then let's listen to this other soundscape.

Rz: Okay. I have a good idea where that is. I think it's diorama three.

I: Okay. And, why do you say that?

Rz: Because, like in diorama one, there's consumerism happening, and they are saying, "Buenas Tardes" which is "Good afternoon." That's not typical of being in diorama two. So, I said diorama three because consumerism is happening but you do not hear so much consumerism happening around you. It's very, like… the first person came in and you don't really hear much going on. Then another person comes in, but it's not so many people to where you hear all these different conversations. And, I think that could be contributed to diorama three.

I: Okay. And, what languages did you hear in that one?

Rz: I heard Spanish being spoken 100% but the English music in the background, which is typical in businesses because American music is mainstream and it appeals to shoppers. Even Puerto Rican shoppers.

I: What do you think the soundscape for diorama #2 would be like?

Rz: Um, that would have a lot of Spanish with some English thrown in there. Yeah.

I: Yes. Okay. Well, let's go through these dioramas. So, when you look at this one, what languages do you see and about what percentage?

Rz: Okay. So, I think this one is about - I would it is about 90% English. Diorama one is about 90% English and then, of course, about 10% Spanish. And, I think that's because these are all American businesses, like the shopping centers, a lot of the food places. Then you find more local shops and businesses with the Spanish names. But these global businesses like this McDonalds over here. Okay. KFC and things like that are here. These national things that you find in the United States are in diorama number one and this area is heavily populated. So, I think that attributes to why it's 90% English and why it's only 10% Spanish.

I: Alright. And, then what about for diorama two?

Rz: Plus, this diorama one is closer, I feel, in proximity to those who will consume these types of things. I'm not saying that Puerto Ricans won't consume these things from Kmart or buy things from Kmart, but you have Rincon that's close and you also have the University that's close that will bring in people from all over, but particularly a lot of Americans. They're very familiar with these things.

I: That's a very good observation.

Rz: Um, for diorama two, I feel that there's about 75%. Sixty to 75%. Okay, let me make a concrete observation. I'm going to say that it is 65% Spanish and so the other would be English. And, I see English more associated with liquor types. And, so we have vodka and Coors. English per se is not because it doesn't have a Spanish equivalent but more for branding purposes. So, brands and their slogans are not translated into [Spanish], whereas the Puerto Rican or Spanish products, of course, have the Spanish logo and the Spanish names that are associated with them because it would be kind of a disservice to try and translate names because people already know these famous names. So, I think that's why we see, like, 65% Spanish, but a larger increase in English in this area. But, I think without those Brand names, we don't see too much English here.

I: Alright. And, then what about diorama number three?

Rz: Diorama number three. I feel that this is about 95% Spanish and 5% English, and I think this is because it's the Pueblo. It's the center of the town. I'm not saying that Americans are not going to be here, but this is like their space and it creates a cultural climate. So, of course, I think that this is more appropriate to find more Spanish and local shops. Because that's what we see here. We see a lot of local shops and a lot of local food places. And, so, of course, they're going to tailor to the consumer habits of typical Puerto Ricans.

I: Alright. and then you had told me that these shops in diorama three were the ones that you mostly hung out in when you first moved here.

Rz: Yeah, I'm more of a diorama two and three person. That's actually where my hotel was and where I walked around. I didn't have a car the first few days I was here. And, I think that's because I will go to the American shops in diorama number one if necessary, but I didn't come to Puerto Rico to continue engaging in American practices. So, maybe that's why I am a diorama two and three type of person.

I: Okay, and was that a representation of your use of Spanish at that time?

Rz: No because I did not speak Spanish at all when I first came here. So, it was kind of difficult to be in the town center, um, especially trying to get food like right down the block, right down the street from the church, so. That was hard, um, being in the middle of town. But then when I got closer to this side of town, when I was going to Rincon, and we passed all this, I was like, "Awe. We can all go to American places." And, so, it seemed like the father away from the middle of Mayaguez I got, the more English, um, that was spoken. That's a representation and it's showing you how much I didn't know and how, how I would have to negotiate a lot with the language in Puerto Rico. So, it was good that I encountered first instead of this and then being taken by surprise by all of the Spanish in town.

I: Okay. And, these are still the types of places you hangout in today, correct?

Rz: Yes.

I: Okay, so let me see what other questions I have here that we haven't gone over before. Alright. When you first came to the island, did you know what languages were spoken when you first came here?

Rz: Yes. Spanish and English. I thought it would be more English but I knew that they had some knowledge of English.

I: Yes. And, after coming to the island for the first time, like, let's say you were here for just a few days. What was your first impression about what languages that would be spoken?

Rz: I quickly figured out that although they had learned English, that it's going to vary, but you're going to find more Spanish spoken and more people able to fluently and comprehensively talk to you in Spanish. And some people unable to comprehend or speak English. So, it's really like a hit or miss but I find that Puerto Ricans are not as fluent or they don't perceive themselves as fluent speakers of English and have a disability to engage with native speakers of English.

I: Okay. And, what diorama do you thing best helped you form that opinion of what languages were going to be spoken?

Rz: I would say diorama one because although I'm in what seems like an American shopping complex, if I go into, for instance, Rainbow or Kmart I'm going to encounter a sales associate who will not or cannot speak English to me or try to even understand what I'm saying in English so I think going into what I consider American businesses and finding Spanish speakers that are unwilling to speak - Well, Puerto Ricans who are unwilling to speak English showed me that the language they are comfortable dialoguing in is Spanish. And, I will find those who will accommodate to English needs but not always. Not even in so-called American businesses.

I: Yes. So, which one do you think best represents your daily interactions with language on the island?

Rz: Diorama three because I choose to go wherever I please, but I'm more of a person to go into the cultural places in Puerto Rico and navigate my way through it. Even if I know that there will be some communication difficulties along the way.

I: Well, let's say you have two stores in front of you. You've never been in either of them. They both have something you like, but on one of them the front is covered with Spanish signage and the other one is covered with English signage, which one are you more likely to go into?

Rz: English.

I: And why is that?

Rz: Because it will be easier for me to navigate. Like, I can understand Spanish but it's a controlled process and it's not an automatic process for me. And, of course people try to pick the path of least resistance to take. And, so if I could just read everything in English and like what I see and it's similar to the other store then I'm going to go for that path.

I: Alright. Then, let's say when you're in the store and you overhear somebody talking English, not Spanish but English, are you more likely to go up and talk to them? Like, do you feel drawn to go up and talk to them because they're speaking English.

Rz: I used to, but not anymore. Sometimes I - I had an incident. Well, actually not an incident. I had what appeared to me to be two African-American English speaking males in an American business, Walgreens. And, at first I was like, "Ah, maybe I should talk to them." Then I was like, "Forget it." SO, I think when I first came here I was inclined to do that, but as I've been here more, I don't find that to be something that I'm inclined to do anymore.

I: Do you have any idea why that's changed?

Rz: I think it's because before I felt an obligation to speak to someone who I felt was confident, but then I realized that negotiation can take place with me understanding a little bit of Spanish and the other speaker understanding a little bit of English and us negotiating. So, I'm probably just going to go with and talk with the person I feel is most knowledgeable for whatever it is I'm trying to do, not per se the person who speaks a specific language. I don't know.

I: Alright. Well, do you feel like the soundscapes and the linguistic landscape has motivated you to learn Spanish or has it hindered your motivation to learn Spanish?

Rz: Yes. It definitely motivated me to learn Spanish and I have learned a lot more because I am constantly receiving input since Spanish is the main language on the island. And, when I do encounter people who want to speak to me - I'm not going up to them. They are coming up to me because they perceive me as being a Spanish speaker or Puerto Rican. Then, as soon as they realize that I'm not as fluent or able to really engage in dialogue with them, it's like, dang. I really missed out on an opportunity to communicate with someone, and I feel it's important to communicate with all the people that God randomly brings into your life. And, so those occasions where we're not able to talk because they don't understand English and I don't understand the messages they're giving me in Spanish, it's kind of like, dang. I feel like I'm missing out on something. You know. And, the conversations that are going on around me, I also feel like I'm missing something. I could be in a dangerous situation, and I don't even know it because people could be saying things around me, just whispering to each other about something they're planning to do, and I don't know. I don't even know they're planning to do it. I mean, Ive never really been in that type of situation in Puerto Rico but I have witnessed and been very close to an altercation between two other people. And, so not understanding exactly what's going on could be dangerous, and also it can make you feel excluded.

I: So, it's definitely motivated you then?

Rz: It's motivated me. Yes.

I: Do you feel like you've learned from it? From the linguistic landscape and the soundscape?

Rz: Oh, for sure. Because once you hear something so many times and you develop your knowledge base of even little words and then you hear them put together, that helps you develop

your skills over time. So, just seeing like “desayunos,” the term for breakfast or “antes, ahora, siempre.” You know what I mean. Like, even seeing these isolated words and attaching meaning to them on the way they are presented, it helps in the development of my Spanish.

I: Yes. I know exactly what you’re saying there. Well, what languages do you speak?

Rz: English. And, I speak different dialects of English, but some people don’t consider those languages in themselves. But, yes. English.

I: Okay. And, where did you learn English?

R: Well, I learned my first dialect of English at home and in my African-American community and in my mother’s house. Also, I learned spoken standard English, some forms of it, in my home as well with my mother since she was a career woman. Career-oriented woman. But more of my standard English forms in school. So, I learned my African-American English at home but I learned standard English at school and through reading and just encountering this language and the models of it.

I: Did you ever take a language course when you were in school?

Rz: In English?

I: Uh, in a different language.

Rz: Oh, for sure. I took Spanish. Yes.

I: And, how many years did you take Spanish? How old were you? Like, what grade were you in?

Rz: I took one year of Spanish and I was in the tenth grade.

I: And you didn’t take any in college then?

Rz: No. I mean, I don't know if you'd consider middle English as like a language of its own. I took that, but I assumed that was just another dialect of English, so. I don't know if that makes me multi-dialectical.

I: I don't know. That's a good question.

Rz: Or something because I understand these different dialects so I can read in middle English and I can speak a little of it. So, I consider that a language or a dialect of a language in itself.

I: That's awesome. That's really neat. I had taken the middle English literature courses but I hadn't taken the language course. So, I wish I would have done that though. So, um. So, when you very first moved here, were you motivated to learn Spanish?

Rz: Yes. I thought it would happen within the first year.

I: So, you feel like it hasn't happened, or?

Rz: Um, I think that the process has taken a little longer because of my input. Although I'm receiving a lot of input when I'm out in the community, when I'm in a scholarly setting where we attach words to meanings and we negotiate it and really discuss it, I don't encounter Spanish. So, although I'm getting input and hearing the syntax - so, like the phonological and the words, the individual words - then I attach too much meaning. I think that's what has slowed down what I thought would be a speedy process. So, um. Yeah, I don't think I failed at it because I certainly know a lot more and can navigate with the simple stuff that I have, sufficiently. But, I just thought I would be really fluent, like speaking whole conversations and I cannot.

I: So, do you still feel motivated after being here for a while?

Rz: Yes. I still feel motivated and I feel like what I've taken from here, if I pair this with some instructed learning, then I feel like I can grow. Because, I feel like I can understand the phonological elements which are very important when it comes to fluency and stuff. So, since

I've been around that and I kind of understand the language - just like the vibe of it, what Spanish speakers sound like, which was not so clear to me before I came here - I feel like I would be confident as I learn the syntactic and semantic elements of the language in an instructed situation.

I: When you first moved here did you think that you were going to - like, did you think that you would use English to get by or did you think that you would have to learn Spanish to get by?

Rz: No. I knew that I was going to use English because I didn't have any other…You know, when I first came here, I would use Google translate to help me mediate situations but after a while I would just go up and like, "Hey," and I'd start things in English. So… I never thought I was going to have to learn it. I knew that I was maybe going to have to use tools that could translate for me, but I didn't think that I was actually going to have to acquire a new language to get by in Puerto Rico. No.

I: And, now that you've been here, you don't feel like you have to know it?

Rz: No, no.

I: Did you know anything about the culture before you moved here?

Rz: No. The only thing that people were telling me was that they party. They were like, "You're going to party central." I was like, "Oh. Wow." So, that's all I knew. And, that they were - And, now, this is a stereotype, but that they were crazy.

I: Well, I know - I'm just going to throw this question in there because I know there were Puerto Ricans that went to your school. Did you know any of them? Did you talk to them before moving here?

Rz: Well, actually, I was a peer adviser at [removed for confidentiality], and what we do in the office that I worked in because I worked in the office that catered to ESL, exchange students,

first generation students that weren't… Well, not first generation students but students that weren't fully accepted into their departments yet. And, so within those wide range of populations that we worked with, the exchange students - We had a group of Puerto Ricans that came from there. One of which I had a really in-depth conversation with and he actually knows people in our program, but at the time, I didn't know I was coming here. So, I didn't really get into too much about their culture. I think we played a game and they talked a little bit about their culture, but since I hadn't had Puerto Rico in my mind as something I was going to do and actually pursue, I wasn't super interested in or focused on what they would say about the island. But. And, they made some cultural foods, and I doubt that I ate them, but I had seen a little bit of the culture through them. Besides them, I had some Puerto Ricans I went to school with, but since I lived in a predominantly white community growing up, the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans alike were never too, like…cultural, should I say. I didn't display their culture on their sleeve because many of them wanted to assimilate just like I did being an African-American to the situation that we were in. The cultural context that we were in. So, I've encountered Puerto Ricans. Many of them. But, um. I never really paid too much attention to their culture.

I: Well, since you've been here have you learned anything about the culture?

Rz: Oh for sure.

I: Can you name some of them?

R: Um. First of all, I learned that this culture, the Puerto Rican culture, the people don't look all the same. The culture is not so… First of all, it's not like a perfect, beautiful island. It's not that. Um. More specifically, I've just learned that there's more similarities within their culture and the American culture than meets the eye. For instance, taboo topics are often taboo topics because they are issues that are talked about in the U.S. but are not easily talked about. So, those trigger

conversations that people don't always like to discuss but they don't like to discuss even more so in this context, such as racism, classism, feminism, and things like that. I also learned that their culture is very diverse. And, Puerto Ricans trust you and they really and truly and genuinely want to be your friend. I don't know if that speaks so much to the culture as individual differences because I can't say everyone here is so nice and friendly and treat you like family, but you do find those attributes in some cultures in Puerto Rico. Some sub-cultures in Puerto Rico. I don't know if I should consider that a culture thing. That is more of an individual type of factor. Um. their culture is rich. The most salient thing, I think to me, is the fact that the African-Puerto Ricans here, the Afro-Puerto Ricans, and Puerto Ricans in general have held on to the African ways and attributes them to the Africans. So, they haven't taken it and messed around with it. They consider it to be Puerto Rican, part Puerto Rican culture, but then they do attribute it to those black slaves that came here and tried to integrate themselves into the new environment they were in. SO, I think those are the cultural things. And, those cultural things that come from Africa? I would say the food here, the dance, and maybe even some of the style and things like that.

I: Aright. Well, do you think that someone could move here and learn the language without learning the culture or learn the culture without learning the language?

Rz: I don't think you can. I think that you can learn the culture without learning the language. Because I have done that. I feel that, you know, I'm not going to say I'm all knowing [inaudible]. There's still a lot to learn, always, in any aspect of life. But, I feel like a know a lot of the culture whereas I don't know so much about the language. But, I do not think one can learn the language without learning the culture because the culture will determine what linguistic elements you find in the language. Okay. Because, I could know Spanish before I came here, but Puerto Ricans

speak a different type of Spanish. That's inherently linked to their culture. You know. What's around them and how they have perceived the Spanish language themselves.

I: Well, why did you come to Puerto Rico?

Rz: I saw it as an opportunity to grow, to become more cultured, and, of course, enjoy a better opportunity for a education, for my professional career. Those are the main reasons why. To open up my mind just like the reasons I aim to travel in teaching others.

I: Well, how did you find a place to live once you got here? Like, how did you find a place to live?

Rz: Oh, goodness. Um. I just looked on line. I went to clasificados and I looked and I called. I used English during that process and it's a good thing people were receptive to it and they were able to accommodate quickly.

I: That's interesting that you were able to use clasificados and using English because -

Rz: Oh, yes. For sure. I was reading the stuff in Spanish, you know. And, at that point I didn't have a very…grown Spanish skills at all. So, I was just…You know. So, I would use a translator sometimes. It was just going over my head. But, numbers are number. Numbers don't change too much in any language.

I: Well, when you were talking to them, as soon as you called them, did you attempt speaking in Spanish at all.

Rz: Ah, No. No. No, no, no. I was just like, "hi." You know. "This is what I need." Because, I just felt like most business people are going tp consider that their consumers are not only going to be Puerto Rican, especially if they are renting to students, but they are also going to be international or people form the mainland. So, I just considered that, as a business person, you

should know English, and if you don't, that limits your possibilities when it comes to getting more consumers to shop with you.

I: Well, were you calling individuals then, or were you calling -

Rz: Yes. I was calling individuals. Well, first I was, when I was in the States, I was still communicating with a lady that was over a whole condominium complex. But, when I got here and I didn't like what she showed me so much, that's when I started calling the individuals that owned property here in Mayaguez.

I: That's really interesting. I called several people in the clasificados, and I introduced myself in Spanish and asked them if they spoke English. I'm doing all of this in Spanish. I probably called fifteen people and thirteen of them were like, "Nope," and they hung up. Like, they didn't even give me a chance to continue talking in Spanish.

Rz: See, I didn't ask them, and I still don't ask people because I feel like, "I'm going to talk and I'm going to see if it's comprehensible to you. If what I say is comprehensible to you and you comprehend what I have said, then you're going to speak to me in English. If you don't comprehend, you're going to say, 'No se,' and I'm going to be like, 'Okay. Well, hey.' And, I'm going to walk away or go find someone else to help me."

I: So, where did you end up living?

Rz: I live closer to the mall area. And, I ended up living there because it's a gated community and my mom and my parents, they were worried about security because my mom lived on an island for a short time. Not Puerto Rico, but Jamaica. So, she was just worried about security, and, so that's where I chose to live.

I: And, you have a roommate?

Rz: No, I don't have a roommate.

I: you don't?

Rz: I live in a house but it's separated into different quarters, so I have my own quarters. I guess you could say I have housemates, but I do not have a roommate. When I walk through my door, I don't encounter anyone else sitting on my living room couch or anything like that.

I: Well, do you speak with the person that owns the house in Spanish or English?

Rz: Yeah. In English. She was born in Puerto Rico but raised until she was nine in the Bronx. Then she came back to Puerto Rico with her parents, of course, and has been on and off in both the States and Puerto Rico since that age. She can speak both languages fluently. And, when I speak to the other people that live in the house, I speak to them in English. She pretty much tells them when they move in, "There's this girl here." Well, she probably calls me by my name. "And, she speaks English. She teaches English, and she's going to school for English." So, they know there's probably no Spanish involved in that situation. And, so, she kind of introduces who I am so I don't really have to accommodate anything.

I: Well, do you feel that you've ever been discriminated against because of your language?

Rz: Oh. Oh, for sure. When I first got here, very much so. Now, not so much. People actually are pretty much enduring, especially people out in the community. When I first came here, people out in the community, one man in particular, I was at a fast food place getting some breakfast and I was using Google translate and I was showing the person at the register and I said something in English, and then he started going on this rant. Everybody kind of froze up around him and they kind of looked at him as though it was inappropriate but I didn't know Spanish so I didn't know what he was saying but you can tell. You know. in any language when someone is speaking and they're like going in, you know, and everyone else is freezing up, you know, you can pretty much tell when something is directed toward you. The rolling of his eyes. The verbal

and non-verbal elements of that situation just really let me know. And, then, like the little words that I did understand. You know. Ingles. He was saying, like, “Ingles” and Spanish. Pretty much the message that I understood from what he was saying was, “How are you going to be here and not speak the language.” You know what I mean?

I: Yes. It’s the same thing that immigrants -

Rz: Yes. Encounter.

I: In the States.

Rz: yes, but now that’s not the problem. I think it’s because I do have a little bit of skill in Spanish and because I do try in places that I can try, and people notice that. Even if I don’t try, their perception of me as a Puerto Rican, they walk up and say to me, “When you learn Spanish, you will be Puerto Rican.” You know, when you learn Puerto Rican Spanish, you will be Puerto Rican. So, I think I face less discrimination now than when I came here. I think it’s because my non-verbals have changed as well. When I first came here, I was a very tense person, a little more timid than I would be in most situations because not knowing the language they, both and their part and my part, can be an intimidating thing. So. Yeah.

I: Well, when you go up to talk to somebody - Let’s say you’re going up to do a transaction at a store. Let’s say you haven’t opened your mouth and somebody starts talking to you first, do they usually start speaking to you in English or Spanish?

Rz: Always Spanish.

I: Always Spanish?

Rz: Yes.

I: Why do you think that is?

Rz: They tell me that I look Puerto Rican. I think it's because we're all mixed with the same thing. I have Spanish blood, African blood, European blood running within me. And, also Asian blood; something which they don't have, but those features aren't so salient since they are mashed in with everything else. So, I think the fact that we descend from some of the same ancestors gives me a typical Puerto Rican look, especially when my hair is curly. But, even with this. Even with my braids and a more Afro-centric looks, they still consider me to be a Puerto Rican until I open my mouth and sound like I sound.

I: And, what happens when you start talking?

Rz: When I start talking, they're shocked. Like, their eyes get a little bit big and some of them even say they're sorry. They're like, "Oh. Sorry, I didn't know. You know." So, they sometimes feel like dang. But, that's how they usually respond is kind of shocked or they get timid.

I: Do they usually start talking to you in English?

Rz: It depends on their ability level. If they feel they are able to, they do that code switch immediately and that's when they say, "I'm sorry." Now, if they don't speak English that well, they'll look at me and smile and walk away. They'll just like smirk and walk away, you know. Sometimes I will shoo them back over like, "Try. Try." You know. And, sometimes I'll try - Like the other day, a girl came up to me in the gym and she liked my hair. I knew that statement. I knew what she said. And, then she was talking more and I didn't understand it. I started speaking English to her, and she felt intimidated. So, she was like, "No." I was like, "Come here. Talk to me." And, so she talked. We used our skills and we were able to get what she was trying to get done. She was basically trying to get my phone number so I could do or help her friend get her hair done like mine. She liked my hair, and she wanted her friend to get the same thing done.

I: If you're in a transaction and somebody starts talking to you in English after they've heard you talk, does it offend you at all, or?

Rz: No, no. Like… Thank God. I don't have to try so hard. It's like I could really - If someone takes their time and talk slow to me in Spanish, and I have a context to put this linguistic input into, I'm able to comprehend. It just takes repeating and clarity and them being slow and taking their time with me. But, that's a controlled process. Understanding Spanish is a controlled process. It's not automatic for me so when they can speak to me in English, we make this whole think easier for you and me. So, like, let's do that if possible.

I: Well, when you're speaking English, would you say you're an extrovert or introvert?

Rz: Extrovert. Because, you know, the extrovert characteristic is just who I am. SO, no matter what situation I'm in, I pretty much stay the same. Even though I know some people prefer this language over another language. I don't really care. I do me, and whatever happens, happens. I use what I have, and I do what I can with what I have. You know.

I: Would you say you like speaking English?

Rz: Yeah. It's my mother tongue, so I love it. I don't feel ashamed of it. No, not at all.

I: Do you like speaking Spanish.

Rz: Yeah, I love speaking Spanish. It gives me a sense of - I don't know. It makes me happy when I can say something in Spanish. You know. I think even happier than when I can say something in English because I've been able to say stuff in English since God knows when. I've been able to say and understand things in English for so long, but to understand and be able to speak Spanish? Yes. Like, if I could wake up tomorrow and be fluent in Spanish, it would make me happy. To just be able to sit and have a conversation with someone in a different language - Like, when I was growing up, I had Spanish friends. My best friend was Asian. My next door

neighbor was Arabic. And, so I heard all of these languages and it always fascinated me that all my friends could speak English but then they could speak this other language. It's always like a code that you're trying to crack. You know. THat's how I felt.

I: Well, would you say that you're extroverted or introverted when you're speaking Spanish?

Rz: Extroverted, because I'm going to show you what I've got. If it isn't what you want, well… I'm gonna show you what I got. So.

I: Okay. And, so do you know anyone that's come to Puerto Rico and has been successful at learning Spanish?

Rz: Yes. Yes.

I: Can you describe them? Like, what do you think makes them successful?

Rz: Two of my African-American friends. I think their prior experiences with Spanish speakers back in the mainland in business situations and extra-curricular situations has expanded their knowledge base. So, when they came here, it was just a matter of integrating this knowledge-base and using it more frequently to become a better Spanish speaker. Whereas, I only had that one year of Spanish under my belt and very little input, whether it be outside or inside or school. My knowledge base was just so small when I came here that I had nothing to really practice with, whereas they had something to practice with and had been in Spanish-speaking situations where Spanish was the main language. I think that's the difference. They may not have been fluent and now are fluent in Spanish and can hold whole conversations in Spanish. Whereas, when they first got here, it was not so easy. Their processes went from controlled to more automatic.

I: Well, do you know anyone who has moved here to learn Spanish and has not been successful?

Rz: Yeah. Yes. She was an exchange student for like a semester.

I: And, why do you think she wasn't successful?

Rz: Because there wasn't enough input. You know. If you're only here for six months, it's like you're receiving the input but you never really build… But, you're hearing it. You're hearing the phonological, the syntactical elements and you're hearing all of this stuff. You're hearing all of these words and sentences being created. But, then you really don't ever build meaning to them because you don't really have the time or the context, especially if you're main objective here is the colegio and the school and stuff like that. So, you're not too focused on that and I think that's why she didn't… She learned phrases, but I would not say that she could - I actually knew more than her at the point of time that she was here, and, so when someone could not speak English, and we had to use our little bit of Spanish skills, I had more Spanish skills than she had and could navigate situations better than her. So, I think my ability to do that was because I had been here for a year already, whereas she was just coming. So, in a year's time, maybe she would be at the same level as me or maybe even further.

I: So, would you consider yourself successful or unsuccessful?

Rz: I would consider myself successful the time I've been here. I would say if I was here for another two years, I would probably be well on my way to being able to hold a serious conversation in Spanish, but right now, I feel like at the beginning levels of learning. Very beginning levels of learning. Like, right there under nothing - No, no knowledge at all.

I: Well, what do you think has made you successful so far?

Rz: I'm not afraid to talk and sit around people. I don't care if they're talking in Spanish and I can only understand English. I can only understand a little bit of what they're saying. And, also I made the decision that in my car I wasn't going to listen to English. I wasn't going to put my aux

cord in. I was going to listen to the input provided by the radio which gives me a little bit of context of what's being said. So.

I: Well, what things have you done to learn new thing in Spanish? Like, do you take notes, or if somebody says something new to you, do you try to memorize it?

Rz: Yeah. If they say something to me and I like it. Like, you know. My friends say things. Oh gosh. Like, I know the context in which they are saying things in and so… Like, yesterday [name removed for confidentiality] said something, and I'll have to think of what the word means but he said, "Bichea." So, that's in my grammar now. I may not know how or when to use it, but I know it. And, over time, if he says it again, my knowledge base is going to be strengthened by that and I'm going to now maybe associate bichea with something. You know. And, be able to use it like mas or menos. All these words and little phases that I know, I hear them, I like them, and I hear them in contexts and when I hear them in context again I'm able to take that in.

I: Alright. Now, I'm going to ask you two questions in Spanish.

Rz: Alright. Go ahead.

I: And, you have to respond in Spanish.

Rz: Oh, goodness, girl.

I: If you don't know the answer, you can just say, "I don't know."

Rz: Okay. I know how to say that in Spanish.

I: The first one is pretty easy. I don't think you'll have a problem.

Rz: Okay. Say it. Say it slowly.

I: ¿Como te llamas?

Rz: Oh, bien. Wait. No, no, no. That's what's my name. Wait. Is it? Is that "What's my name?" Olivia.

I: I don't know. You tell me.

Rz: ¿Como te llama? Yeah. That's my name. Olivia.

I: Okay. And, then ¿Por que te mudaste a Puerto Rico?

Rz: Say that one more time. Slowly.

I: ¿Por que te mudaste a Puerto Rico?

Rz: For what.

I: Te mudaste.

Rz: I don't know that. Is that one word?

I: No.

Rz: Te You. Okay, so. For what you.

I: Mudaste.

Rz: Okay. Keep going. I don't know that word.

I: a Puerto Rico.

Rz: Damn. That's an important word, mudaste. I don't know that word. For what reason did you come to Puerto Rico? No. No. That can't be. I don't know that word.

I: Do you want to see it?

Rz: Yeah.

I: It's the very last question on there.

Rz: Mudaste. Por qué te mudaste a Puerto Rico. I don't know what that mudaaste is. It got me. I know "for what," "you," and "Puerto Rico," but "mudaste" which is important to the semantics and meaning of this sentence, I don't know that word so I can't answer that question. No se.

[i] The terms `naturalistic' and `instructed' are the terms that Ellis (2008) uses. Ellis points out that these terms are not favored by all SLA researchers and that alternative terms include 'untutored/tutored' and `uninstructed/instructed' (p. 37).

[ii] According to Ortega (2013), Schumann predicted that great social distance between the L1 and L2 groups and an individual's affective negative predisposition toward the target language and its members can create a "bad learning situation" that causes learners to "stagnate" into a pidgin-like state in their grammar without inflections or mature syntax. On the other hand, the more acculturated a learner becomes in terms of getting socially and psychologically closer to the target society and its speakers, the more successful the learner's eventual learning outcomes will be (Ortega, 2013, p. 59).

[iii] According to Gardner (2001), he subsequently removed the Orientation Index from the AMTB because it implied that students had only integrative or only instrumental reasons to learn a language when they may have had both reasons (p. 15).