

Relationship between code-switching and emotional identity in Junot Díaz's short stories*

Relación entre el cambio de código y la identidad emocional en los cuentos de Junot Díaz

María Jesús Sánchez** , Elisa Pérez-García***

ABSTRACT

The purpose was to check whether Yunior, character/narrator in three short stories by Junot Díaz (2012), reduces the use of code-switching (Cs) to Spanish (his first language, L1) from the first chronological story to the third one: "Invierno", "Nilda", and "The Pura Principle", respectively. We hypothesize a reduction in the number of words used in his mother tongue and a decrease in emotional words, implying a change in his emotional identity. To this purpose, we qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed Yunior's Cs to L1. A change in Yunior's emotional identity could not be found, probably due to the small size of the vocabulary corpus and the lack of emotional ratings for many of these words. Yunior keeps using Cs to his L1 for family and intimate matters in the three stories and English when seeking detachment.

Keywords:
emotion, code-switching, acculturation, attachment, detachment.

RESUMEN

El propósito era comprobar si Yunior, personaje-narrador en tres cuentos de Junot Díaz (2012), reduce el uso en el cambio de código al español (su primer idioma, L1) desde la primera historia cronológica a la tercera: "Invierno", "Nilda", y "The Pura Principle", respectivamente. Se planteó la hipótesis de una reducción en el número de palabras utilizadas en su lengua materna y con ello una disminución de las palabras emocionales, implicando un cambio en su identidad emocional. Teniendo en cuenta este

Palabras clave:
emoción, cambio de código, aculturación, apego, distanciamiento.

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** Spanish. Doctor in Linguistics. Department of English, University of Salamanca, Spain. mjs@usal.es

*** Spanish. PhD Student. Department of English, University of Salamanca, Spain. elisapg@usal.es

propósito, se realizaron análisis cualitativos y cuantitativos del cambio de código de Yunior a su L1. No se pudo encontrar un cambio en la identidad emocional de Yunior, probablemente debido al pequeño tamaño del léxico en la L1 y a la falta de valoraciones emocionales para muchas de estas palabras. Yunior sigue utilizando el cambio de código a su L1 para asuntos familiares e íntimos en las tres historias, y el inglés cuando busca un distanciamiento.

1. Introduction

The three short stories analyzed in this study, which happen in chronological order are: “Invierno”, “Nilda” and “The Pura Principle” (Díaz 2012). In all of them Yunior is a participant in the story’s action (character) and the one who narrates the events showing the story’s point of view (first person narrator). This allows a better track of the code-switches and of the evolution of his emotional identity, since he is the one who most frequently uses inter-, intra-, and tag-switching to Spanish, his first language (L1). As it normally occurs in fiction, he normally code-switches within a dialogue or narrating the different events (Gardner-Chloros & Weston, “Code switching and...” 186). He is the narrator and a participant involved in the plot, so the readers obtain a complete and subjective view of his thoughts, feelings and about what happens around him. As everything is filtered and seen through his eyes, the events Yunior (character and narrator) has decided to eliminate, develop, or highlight are perceived at all times with his own perspective without being the reader confused by the existence of opposed different points of view that the characters could provide.

To fulfill our purpose, study of the code-switches to Spanish, a linguistic analysis of Junot’s alter-ego (Yunior) expression in his L1 will be carried out. We agree with Meisel that Spanish is the language that best expresses Yunior’s roots: “El hecho de que Junot Díaz usa siempre los términos de parentesco en español es una prueba de que este idioma es el idioma que expresa mejor sus raíces y las de sus personajes (muchos de los cuales son en realidad alter-egos del autor” (407). The research will be conducted to study Yunior’s emotional identity, because through Cs it can be discovered how characters’ language reflects context (Devereaux & Wheeler, “Code-switching and...” 96). The study of the Spanish terms within the English text produced by Yunior (character / narrator), without an English translation, italics or quotations, probably to indicate that “Spanish is not a minority language” (Meisel 401), is in all likelihood related to the character’s emotional identity in a multi-cultural and multi-lingual space (Manzanas Calvo, “Junot Díaz’s ‘Otra vida...” 109). To decide Yunior’s emotional linguistic development, a qualitative analysis of the Spanish code-switches and a quantitative one, with the emotional scores in Stadthagen-González et al. (111), will be done. The data, together with some considerations

of his development in the English language (Sánchez & Pérez, "Acculturation through..." s/p), will serve to shed light on the emotional vocabulary used in the three stories, and to answer the research questions and the hypotheses this paper poses.

2. Literature Review

Code-switching has been the subject of scientific studies in the sociolinguistic field in the past decade (Beatty-Martínez, Valdés Kroff & Dussias, "From the field to..." 1), and nowadays a lot of attention is paid to it (Fachriyah, "The functions of..." 149) due to the expansion and use of several languages in multilingual societies. In fact, much of the research conducted with bilinguals contains aspects dealing with Cs within the field of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. This is so in psycholinguistics because in bilinguals the two languages are partially activated, and this facilitates Cs production. In sociolinguistics the research mainly focuses on Cs as a strategy to shape acculturation, solidarity, detachment and bicultural identity (Cox, LaBoda & Mendes, "I'm gonna Spanglish..." 3).

Its use should not be linked to an inability to differentiate the two language systems involved in communication or to a lack of knowledge of the second language (Lipski, "Spanish-English code-switching..." 24; Yow, Tan & Flynn, "Code-switching as a marker..." 1078). Idea that has been considered at a certain time and therefore has led to a social "stigma", at least with US Latinos (Cox et al., "I'm gonna Spanglish..." 1). It is well established in bilingual literature that there is a link between proficiency and Cs, but still more research is needed to determine in which way proficiency degree affects Cs. In literature in the field, it has been claimed the relationship between proficiency and the frequency and type of Cs used (Beatty-Martínez et al., "From the field to..." 4; Graham "Direct mail advertising..." 6; Torres, "In the contact zone..." 87). It has been noticed that the most proficient individuals perceive more frequent use of L2 in their bilingual speech as proficiency decreases in the L1, but this does not affect their Cs overall production (Cox et al., "I'm gonna Spanglish..." 4; Torres & Potowski, "Hablamos los dos..." 84). It also can be stated a relationship between Cs and the type of switching used, as a result of proficiency in the L2 language. It can be distinguished three different types of Cs patterns: insertion, alterna-

tion or congruent lexicalization (Muysken 5), typology related to tag-, intra- and inter-sentential code-switching. Much of the research has been focused on fluent bilinguals, either native or heritage speakers. In Muysken's research most proficient L1 bilinguals alternate between codes producing longer and complex elements. However, the less proficient ones show the tendency of inserting one word. In general, intra- and inter-sentential code-switching has been equated to high fluency in the two languages involved. Therefore, Lipski (2014) says that "code-switching begins with small insertions produced by non-balanced bilinguals and evolves to alternation and large insertions" (41). This researcher got similar results to Muysken's and expanded his typology with the inclusion of low-fluency congruent lexicalization. Research in the field also mentions the relationship which exists with different ways of Cs, or as it has been called by Cox et al. (4) with *typology*. In their case they dealt with self-reported Cs and orally produced Cs, and they found a relationship between both types. However, they themselves think that Cs merits further studies.

Though Cs can be produced spontaneously (Cox et al., "I'm gonna Spanglish..." 4) and sometimes bilinguals are aware of their linguistic behavior (Lipski, "Spanish-English code-switching..." 25) literature agrees that Cs requires more effort than staying in one language, because the bilingual speaker has to control simultaneously both languages (Beatty-Martínez et al., "From the field to..." 11; Van Hell, Fernandez, Koostera, Litcofsky & Ting, "Electrophysiological and..." 215). Beatty-Martínez et al. (2018) called this effort a *processing cost*, which is "a slowdown in processing" when moving back and forth between two different codes (10). They incorporated in their review of code-switching, experimental contributions done with eye-tracking and event-related potential (ERPs) methodologies and found costs during reception (reading of code-switched text) and during production. They concluded that the cognitive effort depends on the type of Cs and bilinguals experience with the language, and that switching costs can be reduced if the speaker code-switches freely or have a large exposure to a given code-switched structure. Van Hell et al. (230), which also worked with ERPs, found that processing costs are given in both low and high proficiency bilinguals; however, they believed that studies dealing with ERPs and code-switching are still far from being conclusive.

Besides, the use of Cs is associated with multiple functions, and probably one of these functions is the appropriate transmission of feelings in the different speech acts. This linguistic behavior, that is, switching between languages mainly while becoming emotional with known interlocutors has been strongly supported by recent literature investigating the emotional force of multilinguals' various languages (Costa, Vives & Corey, "On language..." 147; Dewaele, "Investigating the..." 367; Dewaele 189; Ferré et al., "Memory for emotional..." 760; Pavlenko, "Stop doing that..." 180; Pavlenko 131; Pavlenko, "Emotion and..." 155). Though is not always the norm, "the L1 is preferred to express emotional involvement whereas the L2 is experienced as colder, more distant, and more detached from the L2 user and less appropriate for the expression of emotions" (Dewaele, "Investigating the psychological..." 374). According to this literature languages play different roles in multilingual societies, L2 is more objective and colder and L1 more subjective and intimate (Costa et al., "On language processing..." 147; Dewaele 144; Ferré et al., "Memory for emotional..." 760).

The intimacy that happens with L1 in different areas such as games, moral judgement, decision-making, etc. is also perceived in the advertising world. In the research by Garcia Quintana and Nichols ("Code switching and..." 222), in which these researchers examined the influence of acculturation and language and the emotional response of print advertisements, they found significant differences in consumers preferences. The results indicated that in general a code-switched advertisement was more relevant and appropriate for reaching the Hispanic market. This was so because, according to the previous researchers, the bicultural consumer prefers the advertisement that is closer and more related to his/her L1, having a persuasion and an affective effect which is the main goal in the advertisement environment.

Nonetheless, the authors link this result to the relationship which exists between language and the degree of acculturation of the individual. Therefore, as they suggest, the more acculturated Hispanics are the more inclined to face English language advertisements designed for the Anglo consumer. The finding that highly acculturated Hispanics preferred English was also obtained by Graham (6) in the same field of work. Besides the acculturation, there is also a lower emotional response, when analytical reasoning is needed (Caldwell-Harris, "Emo-

tionality differences...” 214). This happens because bilinguals can be more objective when they use their L2. The research by Jończyk, Boutonnet, Musiał, Hoemann and Thierry (“The bilingual brain...” 535), though in a different research field support the ideas obtained in the advertising world with high acculturated individuals. In their study it was observed that in traumatic situations people found it easier to talk about them in an L2 as a result not only of the objectivity that is produced when using a second language but also of the greater affective detachment.

Apart from the different roles languages (L1, L2) play (intimacy, subjectivity/ detachment, objectivity), for the analysis of the code-switches we considered ideas related to the use and acquisition of the L2 in a native environment and the possible change produced as a result of adopting new values and habits when living in a different place from the one where one is from. In the research by Zaker (“The acculturation model...” 82), dealing with the acculturation model, two types of acculturation are considered to belong or become part of a community. According to this researcher the first type happens when individuals develop social contacts with L2 speakers and get the necessary input to become a member of this community, but they retain the lifestyle and the values of their own culture (integration strategy). In the second type (assimilation strategy), the individuals give a further step toward adopting the lifestyle and values of the target group (L2). In any case the individuals, as Bluestone (“Acculturation, interpersonal...” 135) claims, would succeed in acquiring the L2 language whether they integrate or assimilate it. The study by Sánchez and Pérez (“Acculturation through...” s/p), dealing with Yuniór’s acculturation, indicates that Yuniór has become acculturated to the Anglo world showing a linguistic preference for the English language. Such is his acculturation that he incorporates in his code-switches features from the English language morphology. Therefore, it was thought that his preference for the English language would bring a reduction in his code-switches from the first chronological story to the third one. Idea which is consistent with literature related to acculturation (Deveraux & Wheeler, “Code-switching and...” 93; García Quintana & Nichols, “Code switching and the...” 222; Hozhabrossadat, “Linguistic identities...” 194; Zaker, “The acculturation...” 80). The acculturation produced in Yuniór due to the long time spent in the Unit-

ed States using English (L2) as his main language and to the acquired knowledge of the American culture, whether integration or assimilation, is taken as the basis for his hypothetical progressive reduction of Cs and of emotional vocabulary and expressions.

3. Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. Do L1 and L2 play different roles in Yuniór's life?
2. Does Cs to L1 mainly deal with emotional events?
3. Is the vocabulary used in L1 Cs highly emotional?
4. Is there a progressive reduction in the use of Cs to Spanish in the three stories which follow one another in chronological order, and therefore in the degree of emotionality expressed in L1?

Having in mind the previous research questions and the literature in the field we launched two subsidiary hypotheses and one main one.

Subsidiary hypotheses:

1. There will be a clear pattern in the use of L1 code-switches. L1 will be used to express emotional events, while the L2 will be used to show an objective perspective.
2. The vocabulary used in L1 code-switches will be highly emotional.

Main hypothesis:

1. As Yuniór has become competent in the dominant language (Sánchez & Pérez, "Acculturation through..." s/p) there will be a considerable reduction in the use of Spanish code-switches from "Invierno" to "Nilda", and probably a progressive reduction in the degree of emotionality leading to a change in his emotional identity.

We got qualitative data (types of Cs) through discourse analysis to shed light on the Spanish used in the three stories. We also obtained quantitative measures: a) type/token ratio and b) emotional scores for the Spanish code-switches: valence, arousal (Stadthagen-González et al. "Norms of valence..." 111), range and mean of the scores. These data, together with the considerations about Yuniór's evolution in the English language (Sánchez & Pérez, "Acculturation through..." s/p) were useful to check our hypotheses.

4. Methodology

4.1. Material

Three short stories from *This Is How You Lose Her* (Díaz 2012): “Invierno”, “Nilda” and “The Pura Principle”, out of the nine ones this book contains, were analyzed. They were chosen following these criteria: they were from the same book and the plot was narrated by Yunior, who is also the main character. In the story “The Sun, the Moon, the Stars” Yunior is also a character and narrator, but as a large part of the story takes place in Santo Domingo the amount of Cs increases disproportionately. The narrator and the characters code-switch to Spanish much more often than they do in the stories which take place in the States; reason why, though narrated in the first person and included in this collection of stories, this one was not analyzed. The criteria chosen allowed us to get a better track of the feelings and actions depicted through the code-switches which were carried out by Yunior, without having interferences produced by what other characters could say. As we were interested in his evolution, Cs produced by other Latino characters, was not considered, case of “Invierno” and “The Pura Principle”.

4.2. Instruments

The software *AntConc* (Anthony s/p), which provided the number of total and different words in the texts, was used. It was employed to identify the total number of words in the three stories (tokens) and the Spanish vocabulary within the stories, first step to make a corpus with the different Spanish words in the code-switches (types).

As this program did not recognize apostrophes in the Saxon genitive and contractions or accent marks in the Spanish words, we removed the extra types that this software had introduced and did a manual count of them eliminating forms that did not exist (e.g. the letter *d* from contractions like *you'd* which appeared alone. In this case *you'd* was replaced by *you would* or *you had* depending on the context; in the Spanish word *aquí* the program did not recognize the stress and gave two forms: *aqu-* and *-i*. Therefore, the final *-i* which appeared alone was eliminated and added to *aqu-*). Afterwards, a manual recount of the Spanish terms was done.

The English translations of the Spanish terms presented in Appendix 1 were done following the online *WordReference Dictionary* (<http://www.wordreference.com/>), the *Diccionario Dominicano* (<https://www.colonialtours.com/diccionario.htm>) and the *Dominican English Dictionary* (<https://casadecampoliving.com/dominican-english-dictionary-titua/>) for the Dominican words.

4.3. Measures

Qualitative and quantitative data were obtained considering the three stories under study:

Qualitative data were obtained through discourse analysis, in order to be able to analyze the three types of switches (inter /intra / tag-switching) and identify the author of the switches: Yuniors as a character or narrator.

Quantitative data:

- a) The type-token ratio measure was obtained by dividing the types (total number of different words) in a text by its tokens (total number of occurrences). It is a very frequent measure used in lexical research (Van Hout & Vermeer, "Comparing measures..." 121), in which a high type-token ratio indicates a high degree of lexical variation, and a low one the opposite.
- b) The emotional scores for the terms included in the Spanish code-switches were extracted from an affective norm list measuring emotionality: the collection of affective norms in the Spanish language by Stadthagen-González et al. ("Norms of valence..." 111) for 14,031 Spanish words. This is the largest available set of emotional norms for Spanish words, including valence and arousal scores on a 9-point Likert scale; the former describing how pleasant a stimulus is and ranging from unpleasant (1) to pleasant (9), and the latter referring to the level of intensity that a stimulus elicits and ranging from calm (1) to excited (9). We also got the range and means of the available scores in Stadthagen-González et al. ("Norms of valence..." 111).

5. Results

By reading these three short stories the reader gets the idea that Spanish "invade" (Meisel 415) with numerous words due to the continuous

repetitions of some of the words like proper names (e.g., Rafa, Nilda, etc.), and nouns used to describe family relations like: *Papi*, *Mami*, but the truth is quite the opposite and the texts show a reduce number of Spanish code-switches, as it can be seen in Table 1. The larger number of types in “The Pura Principle” is exclusively due to the length of the story (the longer the story the higher the percentage of type words and tokens). To get the proportion of words used by Yunior in relationship to length’s text we got the type/token ratio, which is the most popular measure on foreign languages (Van Hout & Vermeer, “Comparing measures...” 121). This seems to be a more accurate measure than the number of different words (types). For more information of vocabulary in the code-switches (valence, arousal and meaning of the words in Spanish) see Appendix 1.

Table 1.

Types and type-token ratio produced by Yunior as a character or narrator in Spanish

Stories	Types	Tokens
“Invierno”	20	20/6,007 (0.003%)
“The Pura Principle”	50	50/7,120 (0.007%)
“Nilda”	14	14/3,760 (0.003%)

The results in the type-token ratio indicate that Yunior is not reducing Cs to his L1, nor the proportion of Spanish words from the first to the third story.

The analyses of the three stories that will be done next will be used to decide whether the terms in the code-switches are emotional, and if so the degree of emotionality.

5.1. “Invierno”

The analyses revealed that in “Invierno” Yunior (character / narrator), the one who produces most inter/intra-sentential and tag-switches, describes what he sees and feels in L2, switching “spontaneously” (Cox et al., “I’m gonna Spanglish...” 1) to L1 when getting more emotional. The only inter-sentential Cs: *hijo de la gran puta* (p. 134), done by Yunior in a direct speech, functions as an emotional expression used for “reinforcing” (Fachriyah, “The functions of...” 150) his speech act. It is

produced in a highly-emotional situation and between family members, something which supports Dewaele's view of increased likelihood of code switching when dealing with emotional topics with known interlocutors (Dewaele 189; Dewaele, "Second and additional..." 46; Panicacci & Dewaele, "Do interlocutors or..." 240). It is a Spanish expression used to swear and uttered by Yuniór to express his disapproval of his brother's behavior. *Putá*, the most relevant content word within the phrase, is indeed rated as highly unpleasant (3.00) and highly arousal (7.13) on the 9-point Likert scale by Stadthagen-González et al. ("Norms of valence..." 111). Overall, despite not understanding its full meaning due to Díaz's *radical bilingualism* (Dumitrescu "Dude was figureando..." 401; Hall & Nilep, "Code-switching..." 597; Manzanar-Calvo, "From locus classicus..." 46; Torres, "In the contact zone..." 77), a monolingual English reader may easily infer from the text not only its emotional force but also its negative connotation. Nonetheless, it is probably a difficult expression to be understood in the story since there are no obvious contextual clues to its meaning.

Intra-sentential switching (Poplack, "Code switching..." 918) is found twice in the text produced by Yuniór narrator, in both instances with the pattern of noun plus adjective: (1) *pelo malo* used for describing Yuniór's hair at the barber's (128), and (2) *muchacho bueno*, Yuniór's emotional discourse referred to his brother Rafa (136). The first example, *pelo malo*, shows the negative thoughts probably shared by *Rubio* (the Puerto Rican barber) and the father about Yuniór's dark brown, curly hair. The father's rejection of his Dominican heritage and his desire for integration into the host culture makes him force Yuniór to have his hair cut to distance himself from his Latino identity. This event clearly produces a great emotional discomfort in Yuniór, mainly due to what it entails for a person who feels closely linked to this community.

Apart from inter- and intra-sentential Cs, the type most frequently used throughout Díaz's story (2012), and always by Yuniór as narrator, is tag-switching (Poplack, "Code switching..." 918). Besides the most frequent family terms *Papi* and *Mami*, there are 9 remaining words: **guaguas* (*indicates Dominicanism), *merengue*, *barrio*, **zángano*, **Malecón* (capital letters due to original spelling), *gringo*, *gringos*, **pernil* and **moro*. Most of these Spanish words have the function of trans-

mitting longing for what the family has left in the Dominican Republic; for example: Its food (**pernil* and **moro*), its music (*merengue*), its lifestyle (**Malecón* and **guaguas*), and some typical insults (**zángano*), among others. Particularly, the word *zángano*, often naming a lazy or even violent person, is employed by Yuniór to describe his father's behavior. The Spanish word *Invierno* (winter in English and with a capital letter like the original spelling) is found just once, as the title of the story, the reason why such a word is not counted in the results.

Most of the words with a rating in the Spanish affective norm list developed by Stadthagen-González et al. ("Norms of valence..." 111) are emotionally-charged to a greater or lesser extent: 12 out of 12 exceed the mid-point score 5 (Appendix 1). Valence scores had a wider range than arousal in that the former ranged from 3.00 to 8.40 while the latter ranged from 3.70 to 7.13. The data supported the positivity bias towards pleasant words, specifically, 10 out of 12 terms (e.g., *bueno*, **guaguas*, *merengue*, etc.) are given a positive score (above 5, the median), something well-established in other languages too (Warriner, Kuperman & Brysbaert, "Norms of valence..." 1191; Warriner & Kuperman, "Affective biases in..." 1147). The clear exception was with the word **moro* whose score is not considered, since in this context this word means something different as for a Spanish speaker from Spain. Its negative connotations in the valence dimension (4.55, below the median) given by Spanish native raters has probably to do with cultural issues, since in the Dominican world *moro* is a very appreciated food. If a Dominican speaker had rated this word it would have probably had a very high score. This would be so because food is a rich sensorial experience linked to culture (Faber & Vidal Claramonte, "Food terminology..." 155). Regarding arousal there are more negative terms (7) than positive: 5 out of 12. As the data were not illuminating the situation about Yuniór's emotional identity, we got the mean for positive and negative emotional terms as much for valence (6.94 / 3.50) as for arousal (5.74 / 4.41). The means depicted a clear pattern in the use of code-switches when compared in the three stories (see Graphic 1 at the end of this section).

5.2. "The Pura Principle"

In this story Yuniór only produces one inter-sentential Cs: *un *chin de respeto* (94) to recriminate with a direct speech his brother's behavior

when he goes home with one of his girlfriends, and 6 intra-sentential code-switches (5 times as narrator and one as character): **papi chulo* (94) to describe his brother's behavior with women; *La Doña* (111); *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* (100) expression to compare these mothers with hers when she asks Rafa for responsibility like this association did in Argentina to free their sons; *Pura Mierda* (101) in which he plays with the English sounds (*r/t*) and the Spanish meaning for the sound produced (*Putá*); *Dios Santísimo* (96) to refer to what her mother told their four religious Horsefaces friends; "*por favor, I spat*" (115) to show, in direct speech, his outrage when Pura comes to ask for money.

The rest of code-switches as narrator are isolated words (32 types) which transmit emotion to family behavior, food, etc. They mainly refer to: The place where one of his mother's friends come from (**boricua*, 92, Puerto Rican); drink or food Pura would serve herself (*sodas* or *flan*, 104); his brother's (**figureando*, 94) or mother's behavior. In the last case Yunió criticizes that she allows everything to his brother like all Latino mothers with their eldest son ("her *querido* oldest *hijo*", 107); exaggerated expressions of affection his mother would use with his brother ("with him she sounded as if she was auditioning for a role in a Mexican *novela*", 94); Rafa's girlfriends: *sucias* (94), *guapísima* and *indiecita* (101), *campesina*-ness and **prieta*-ness (103). It calls the reader's attention the hybrid use he does with morphology, going beyond phonetics. In two occasions, Yunió who is using English to describe the action, introduces a Spanish adjective and by using an English suffix he turns it into a noun violating Cs classical principles "que prohíbe la combinación de un morfema ligado con una raíz en una lengua diferente" (Meisel 412); way of talking of Dominican people around him. When Yunió talks about Pura he says that he cannot understand her: "I couldn't understand half of what she said—she used words like *deguabinao* and *estribao* on the regular" (101). His discourse transmits the idea that he feels and behaves like a Dominican, but in a certain way he has become distant and far away from their way of thinking and being. That is the reason why when he talks about Pura in his L2 he says in a very objective way: "Well, turns out she was actually Dominican. Not Dominican like my brother or me but Dominican Dominican" (100). This quotation implies that he feels quite apart from people in Santo Domingo and in general from Latino people.

The analyses in the longest story, “The Pura Principle”, revealed that almost all inter / intra-sentential and tag-switches are produced by Yuniór (approximately two thirds). The terms with a rating in the list by Stadhagen-González et al. (“Norms of valence...” 111) are emotionally-charged to a greater or lesser extent (22 out of 22 exceeding the mid-point score: 5). Valence scores had a wider range than arousal in that the former ranged from 3.20 to 8.40 while the latter ranged from 3.50 to 6.70. Once again the data supported the positivity bias towards pleasant words (Warriner et al., “Norms of valence, arousal...” 1191; Warriner & Kuperman, “Affective biases in...” 1147), specifically, 18 out of 22 terms (e.g., *pura*, *favor*, *indiecita*, etc.) are given a positive score. It can be observed that as in “Invierno” there are more negative terms for arousal: 14 out of 22. We also got the mean for positive and negative emotional terms for valence (6.77 / 4.09) and arousal (5.69 / 4.30), which depicted a clear pattern in the use of code-switches when compared in the three stories (see Graphic 1 at the end of this section).

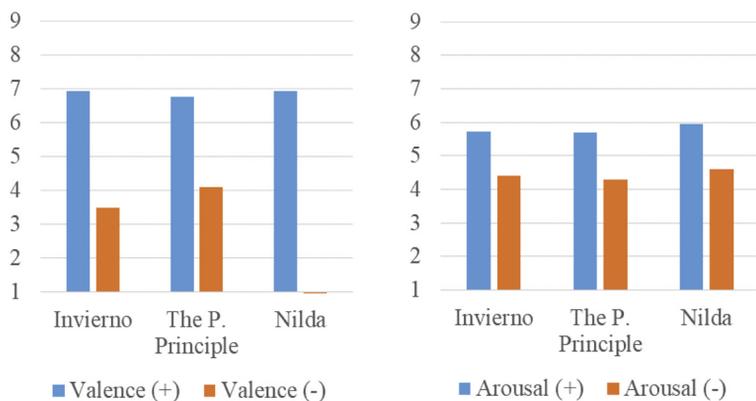
5.3. “Nilda”

The analyses revealed that in “Nilda” all Cs (inter-sentential and tag-switches) is exclusively produced by Yuniór as a narrator. The only inter-sentential Cs in the story is *Claro que sí* (31). It is used for a hypothetical situation in case his brother would ask his mother for something to eat, and this would be her answer to his beloved son. This expression serves to express Yuniór’s beliefs and criticize her mother’s attitude towards his eldest son in a veiled way. As in the previous story, tag-switching is the most frequently Cs type. Apart from words for relatives: *Mami*, *vieja* (refers to her mother too), isolated Spanish words are introduced into the English discourse to deal with emotional topics. They are used to: Describe his brother’s love stories and girlfriends (*enamorado*, *novias*, **cuero*); talk about the skin color (*moreno*, *morena*). He highlights the racial conflict some Latino characters have with their skin color (e.g., his brother’s girlfriend): “Always rubbing lotion on it and cursing the *moreno* father who’d given it to her” (30); shed light on Latino people behavior around him (**tígueres*). He describes Latino males in his neighbourhood: “since most families knew exactly what kind of *tígueres* were roaming the neighborhood these girls weren’t allowed to hang out” (32); what they smoke: **mota* (cannabis), and female attitude and behavior (*borracha*); their failed desires due to their low social status,

obvious situation when Nilda pretended she was elegant as an Italian woman when walking (*paso*).

All these instances of Cs in the three stories have to do with emotions, and they collaborate in our understanding of Yuniors' identity and his affective attachment and detachment to Latin people. Almost all of the words in the code-switches with a rating in the list by Stadhagen-González et al. ("Norms of valence..." 111) are emotionally-charged to a greater or lesser extent, 7 out of 8 exceeding the mid-point score: 5. Valence scores had a wider range than arousal in that the former ranged from 5.0 to 8.40 while the latter ranged from 4.20 to 6.90. The data supported the positivity bias towards pleasant words, specifically, 7 out of 8 terms (e.g. *enamorado*, *novias*, *moreno*) are given a positive score, something well-established in research for several other languages (Warriner et al., "Norms of valence, arousal..." 1191; Warriner & Kuperman, "Affective biases in..." 1147). It can be observed that, as in "Invierno", there are more negative terms for arousal: 5 out of 8. Again, as this data did not allow drawing a conclusion of the problem studied, we got the mean for positive and negative emotional terms for valence (6.92 / no data for negative terms) and arousal (5.95 / 4.61).

It can be noticed as a summary a positive bias for valence in the three stories and also a negative tendency for arousal. It could be thought that the larger the range ("Invierno" and "The Pura Principle") the more emotional the terms could be because the scores distributed along the scale could be closer to the extremes (positive or negative), and further from the median. But the figures showed such a tiny difference that a change in the degree of emotionality cannot be claimed. In the same line, the mean of scores for positive and negative emotional terms in valence and arousal revealed that the affective expression was very similar without emotional changes due to the acculturation (Sánchez & Pérez, "Acculturation through..." s/p) and immersion in the L2 through the years in the States. The means obtained for the available scores can be seen in the following graphic, they indicate that there is not a change in the degree of emotionality of the switches from the first chronological story to the last one, contrary to what it was hypothesized.



Graphic 1. Means for positive (>5) and - (<5) valence and arousal

The data all together allowed stating that:

1. L1 and L2 play a different role in Yuniór's life, the data confirm our first hypothesis.
2. Cs to Spanish deals with emotional events. Therefore, the vocabulary used is highly emotional in valence and arousal, either positively or negatively, result which confirms our second hypothesis.
3. The means obtained from the emotional scores, together with the qualitative analysis carried out, do not allow to confirm our main hypothesis: a change in Yuniór's emotional identity.

6. Discussion

Most of inter-, intra-, and tag-switches, despite being low in number, are highly emotionally-charged words and expressions, and are mainly uttered by Yuniór narrator. There is a larger number of tag-switches than of the other two types of Cs. Though research posits that fluent L1 bilinguals alternate producing longer and complex elements (Muysken 5) and that there is a tendency to insert single words by less proficient bilinguals, a lack of proficiency in Yuniór's L1 is unthinkable despite the immersion and the daily use of his L2.

The finding on the emotionality of the terms supports current literature investigating bilinguals' code switching to L1 when dealing with emotional topics with known interlocutors as well as research on emo-

tionality differences between a L1 and L2 (Costa et al., "On language processing..." 146; Dewaele 144; Dewaele, "Second and additional..." 46; Panicacci & Dewaele, "Do interlocutors or..." 240; Pavlenko 131).

It is evident from Yúnior's L1 (character/narrator) that Spanish is still the language he identifies with more for emotional events. It is the language chosen for Cs when he is involved in affective situations with known friends and relatives to express intimacy (e.g., feelings of anger or embarrassment). The Spanish code-switches carried out by him and the type of English he uses in the short stories (Sánchez & Pérez, "Acculturation through..." s/p) reveal that his main emotional events are produced with his L1. The different Cs contexts made clear that Yúnior (character/narrator) reverts to his L1 when speech turns emotional, as demonstrated by the evidence that most switches to Spanish are emotionally-charged (positive/negative) to a greater or lesser extent (Costa et al., "On language processing..." 147; Dewaele, "Investigating the psychological..." 367; Dewaele 144; Ferré et al., "Memory for emotional..." 760; Pavlenko, "Stop doing that..." 180; Pavlenko 131; Pavlenko, "Emotion and..." 155). There is a strong relationship between alternating codes and language emotionality, and the two languages Yúnior uses play different roles in his life. The Spanish language functions as the language of his heart to show a more intimate and personal facet of his life.

His identification with Spanish to express emotions happens despite his progressive adoption of the English language as his main language in the United States. It can be noticed, when looking at a range of linguistic patterns across the major levels of the structure and the L2 evolution from "Invierno" to "Nilda", that he can express himself with the fluency and expertise of a native speaker (Sánchez & Pérez, "Acculturation through..." s/p). Although he continues using Cs into Spanish in emotional contexts, his point of view and his descriptions are becoming closer and closer to the English language and to the American culture. He masters the L2 and uses it to narrate with a more detached perspective his observations (Costa et al., "On language processing..." 146; Dewaele, "Investigating the psychological..." 367; Dewaele 144), for example, the rude behavior of his father's friends in "Invierno": "The men were bachelors and divided their time talking to Papi and eyeing Mami's ass ... loosened their belts and aired out their toes and talked their talk" (139-140). His detachment allows him to realize the

bitter reality, contrary to his father's optimistic expectations that the future in the United States would soon improve. Despite his young age, this character shows a sense of awareness which allows him to make both intuitive and conscious descriptions about the world he lives in.

7. Conclusion

The main hypothesis about Yuniór's progressive reduction of Cs to L1 cannot be confirmed. Conclusions, related to a progressive decrease in emotionality in his Cs as he becomes more competent in the English language, cannot be obtained maybe because of the reduced number of words involved, and also because of the lack of emotional scores in Stadthagen-Gonzalez et al. ("Norms of valence..." 111) for many supposedly emotionally-charged words. Precisely, these ones could probably be highly emotional since they are mainly Dominican words, diminutives (*indiecita*, *amiguitas*, etc.) and charged emotion words (*borracha*, *vieja*, etc.) Therefore, the data do not allow concluding a change in Yuniór's emotional identity when switching to his L1.

Knowing how and when multilinguals express their emotional experiences is useful for a better understanding of the Cs process, for more comfortable interactions in a multilingual space and also for teaching a second or a foreign language in a flexible way. The knowledge obtained in this study on code-switching could be used in a protected environment (e.g. an academic setting) to encourage teachers to present emotional situations, similar to those that occur in real life (e.g., political opinion, debates), in their L2 classes.

One of the limitations of this study, as already suggested, is that the corpus size is rather small. Therefore, further research should analyze the emotionality of code-switches in other short stories from Díaz's collection (2012) being similar in length, with Yuniór as a character (even when he is not the narrator). Maybe, this would allow producing strong statements in relation to Yuniór's emotionality and code switching in Díaz's short stories.

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Appendix 1.

Affective components (valence and arousal) of Spanish code-switches following Stadthagen-González et al. (2017).

Note: The words which were not the same as in Stadthagen-González et al. (2017) appear in parentheses (e.g., *Papi* in the norms appeared as *padre*). There were also some words which did not appear in the set of words, for instance *gringo/s*. On some other occasions this happened because they were Dominican words (with an asterisk) and do not exist in the Spanish used in Spain (e.g., **pernil*, a common dish on the Dominican table). The only variation admitted, apart from *Papi* and *Mami* was with singular/plural. Inter- and Intra-sentential code-switches appear in red colour. The translation into Spanish appears in square parenthesis.

“Invierno”

WORDS/EXPRESSIONS	VALENCE	AROUSAL
Hijo de la gran puta [son of a bitch]		
hijo	7.60	5.50
de	-	-
la	-	-
gran	6.70	5.50
puta	3.00	7.13
muchacho bueno [good boy]		
muchacho	6.50	4.60
bueno	7.60	3.70
pelo malo [bad hair]		
pelo	7.15	4.85
malo	-	-
barrio [neighborhood]	5.60	4.55
*guaguas [buses]	6.26	5.22
merengue [merengue]	6.20	4.70
*moro [dish with beans]	-	-
*zángano [lazy]	4.00	5.35
*pernil [roast pork butt]	-	-
*Malecón [pier]	-	-
gringo [gringo]	-	-
gringos [gringos]	-	-
Papi (padre) [father]	(7.40)	(4.20)
Mami (madre) [mother]	(8.40)	(4.30)

“The Pura Principle”

WORDS/EXPRESSIONS	VALENCE	AROUSAL
papi chulo [attractive man]		
papi (padre)	(7.40)	(4.20)
chulo	-	-
Sucias [dirty]	-	-
un chin de respeto [respect]		
un	-	-
*chin	-	-
de	-	-
respeto	8.20	3.55
La Doña [Mrs., mother]		
la	-	-
doña	4.50	4.75
Madres Plaza de Mayo [mothers Plaza de mayo]		
mayo]	8.40	4.30
madres	5.60	4.50
plaza	6.30	5.20
mayo		
Pura Mierda [bullshit]		
pura	7.05	4.84
mierda	3.20	5.95
guapísima [very beautiful]	-	-
indiecita [little native Indian]	-	-
campesina [peasant]	-	-
*prieta [dark haired]	-	-
por favor [please]		
por	-	-
favor	6.40	5.10
sodas (soda) [sodas]	5.40	4.53
flan [crème caramel]	-	-
*boricua [Puerto Rican]	-	-
novela [novel]	6.95	4.05
Dios Santísimo [holiest God]		
Dios	4.60	4.40
santísimo	-	-
*deguabinao [tired]	-	-
*estribao [confused]	-	-
querido [dear]	-	-
hijo [son]	7.60	5.50

*aguajero [one who speaks a lot and does nothing]	-	-
amiguitas (amiga) [female friends]	-	-
caballero [gentleman]	6.20	5.10
campo [country]	7.35	3.50
consentido [spoilt]	-	-
cubano [Cuban]	5.85	5.85
*figureando [boasting]	-	-
gente [people]	7.05	6.18
tacita [little cup]	-	-
loco [crazy]	4.08	6.70
Mami (madre) [mother]	(8.40)	(4.30)
*manganzón [immature]	-	-
*rabo [tail]	-	-
señora [Mrs.]	5.20	4.80
tías [aunts] tía	6.60	4.75
*toto [vagina]	-	-
vieja [old, mother]	-	-
Viejas	-	-
yerba [herb, cannabis]	6.06	3.80

“Nilda”

WORDS/EXPRESSIONS	VALENCE	AROUSAL
*cuero [whore]	-	-
enamorado (enamorado) [lover]	(8.30)	(6.90)
Foto		
novia (novias) [girlfriends]	(7.55)	(5.75)
vieja [old, mother]	-	-
Mami (madre) [mother]	(8.40)	(4.30)
moreno [dark]	6.40	4.85
morena [dark]	6.05	5.20
*tígueres [street boy]	-	-
*mota [cannabis]	-	-
borracha [drunk]	-	-
paso [step]	5.60	4.95

Claro que sí [of course]		
Claro	6.15	4.20
que	5.00	4.75
sí	-	-
