

Code-Switching, Language Emotionality and Identity in Junot Díaz's "Invierno"

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Code-switching (CS) is a linguistic activity typical of bilingual speakers, and thus, a central feature characterising Latino/a literature. The present study reads Junot Díaz's "Invierno," a short story from *This Is How You Lose Her* (2012), with a focus on the oral code-switches that the bilingual Latino/a characters make from English—their second language (L2)—to Spanish—their first language (L1). More specifically, it explores the relationship between CS, language emotionality and identity. The Spanish code-switches are analysed in terms of the emotionality degree they elicit and, linguistically, according to frequency and type—intersentential CS, intrasentential CS and tag-switching. The results reveal a low percentage of Spanish vocabulary, which, nevertheless, fills the story with Latino-Dominican touches and transports the reader to the Caribbean lifestyle. This is probably due to the fact that most are emotionally charged words and expressions, which supports the idea that the frequency of CS to L1 increases when talking about emotional topics with known interlocutors. The findings suggest that the L1 and the L2 play different roles in the characters' lives: the former is preferred for cultural and emotional expressions and is the language the one they identify with more, while the latter is colder and more objective.

Keywords: Junot Díaz; code-switching; Spanish; English; linguistic identity; emotional language

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Cambio de código, emocionalidad del lenguaje e identidad en “Invierno” de Junot Díaz

El cambio de código es una actividad lingüística típica en hablantes bilingües y, por lo tanto, un rasgo característico de la literatura latina. El presente estudio propone una lectura de “Invierno,” una de los cuentos de *This Is How You Lose Her* (2012), de Junot Díaz, a partir de los cambios de código orales que los personajes latinos bilingües hacen del inglés—su segunda lengua (L2)—al español—su primera lengua (L1). En concreto, explora la relación entre el cambio de código, la emocionalidad del lenguaje y la identidad. Los cambios de código al español se analizan en relación al grado de emocionalidad que transmiten y, lingüísticamente, según la frecuencia y el tipo—*intersentential CS*, *intrasentential CS* y *tag-switching*. Los resultados revelan un bajo porcentaje de vocabulario en español, que, no obstante, llena la historia de toques latino-dominicanos y transporta al lector al estilo de vida caribeño. Probablemente esto se debe al hecho de que la mayoría de las palabras y expresiones españolas tienen carga cultural y emocional, lo cual apoya la idea de que la frecuencia de cambio de código a la primera lengua aumenta al hablar sobre temas emocionales con interlocutores conocidos. Los resultados sugieren que la L1 y la L2 desempeñan roles diferentes en la vida de los personajes, siendo la primera la preferida para la expresión emocional y con la que más se identifican y la segunda más fría y objetiva.

Palabras clave: Junot Díaz; cambio de código; español; inglés; identidad lingüística; lenguaje emocional

I. INTRODUCTION

Code-switching (CS) is a linguistic phenomenon describing the alternation of two languages or language varieties in oral or written discourse (Torres 2007; Montes-Alcalá 2012, 2013; Dewaele 2013, 2015). Spoken CS, in particular, has been widely investigated in fields such as applied linguistics and second language acquisition, where researchers usually examine the CS strategies, reasons and language preferences of bi-multilingual participants (Dewaele 2013).¹ However, it has only been since the increase in bilingual literature produced in the US in the last decades that written—literary—CS has been “legitimized to a certain extent” (Montes-Alcalá 2012, 84). Fortunately, written CS seems to be no longer “stigmatized” (Mahootian 2012, 205) or attributed to “illiteracy or poor linguistic competence” (Montes-Alcalá 2013, 213) as these prejudices have been challenged by the literary works of bilingual Hispanic-American writers like Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans and Dominican Americans, among others, in their attempt to preserve their dual identity (Pozo 2013; Gónzalez 2015) and give prestige to the minority languages (Müller 2015, 250).

Junot Díaz, one of the most “outstanding” Latino authors in the US (Gónzalez 2015), completely masters literary CS, as is well exemplified in his second collection of nine short stories titled *This Is How you Lose Her* (Díaz 2012), and specifically in “Invierno,” the first story in the book and the focus of this article. Here, Díaz writes in English, his second language (L2), but code-switches to Spanish, his first language (L1), through his Latino/a characters’ voices.² Yunió, Díaz’s alter ego, the main character and narrator, as well as his family—his parents and brother Rafa—were born in Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic) and immigrated to New Jersey (US). These Latino/a characters vividly portray not only the experience of migration and the challenges of living in a new world, but also the bilingual experience of CS, a complex process profoundly linked to one’s identity and emotional life (Pavlenko 2005; Dewaele 2010, 2013).

The present study aims to examine the oral code-switches from L2 English to L1 Spanish made by the bilingual characters in “Invierno” in order to understand the potential relationship between the switches to L1 Spanish and differences in language emotionality. This article thus attempts not only to review how Latino/a authors like Díaz consciously use written CS in their texts, but also to go one step further by exploring the oral CS of their Latino/a bilingual characters. To do so, current research on linguistic CS and bi-multilingual models from applied linguistics and second language acquisition are applied to depict the bilingual characters’ CS experience. First, the Spanish code-switches are analysed linguistically according to frequency and

¹ The term *bi-multilinguals* refers to “speakers who use two or more languages or dialects in everyday lives, regardless of their levels of proficiency in the respective languages” (Pavlenko 2012, 407). This article rejects the rather narrow view of bilinguals as speakers with similar proficiency levels in two languages, both typically learnt from birth (Dewaele 2015).

² In this study, following the order of language acquisition, *first language* (L1) is used to refer to the first language(s) learnt before age three. *Second language* (L2) refers to language(s) learnt after age three and after L1 (Dewaele 2015).

type—intersentential CS, intrasentential CS and tag-switching (Poplack 1980, 2015).³ Then, the emotionality degree elicited by the Spanish words is examined (Stadthagen-González et al. 2017) in order to determine whether the Latino/a characters, as real-life bilingual speakers usually do, change to their L1 when talking about emotionally charged topics with known interlocutors (Dewaele 2013).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Latino/a literature and literary CS between Spanish and English have gone hand in hand since the 1960s Civil Rights Movement in the US, when Latino/a writers actually began to implement CS in their works as a sign of identity and ethnic pride.⁴ Before that, most Latino/a authors chose to write monolingually, either in Spanish or in English (Montes-Alcalá 2012).

Latino/a writers' conscious alternation between Spanish—commonly their L1—and English—their L2—serves both “local” and “global” functions (Jonsson 2012, 212). At a more textual—local—level, authors, for instance, accurately portray bilingual characters in Spanish and English—thus bicultural—environments. At a more global—social—level, CS is used, for example, to challenge “power relations” and as a means of “identity construction” (Jonsson 2012, 212). As Lourdes Torres argues, Latino/a authors, who live in two linguistically and culturally different worlds, are continuously negotiating their relationships to and with languages—Spanish and English—and places—the Spanish-speaking community, usually the place where they were born, and the English-speaking community, the new homeland (2007; see also Martin 2005; Pozo 2013; Dumitrescu 2014; Gardner-Chloros and Weston 2015; Cresci 2017, for in-depth reviews of strategies used by Latino/a authors).⁵

Díaz habitually applies literary CS in his writing, playing intentionally with his characters' L1 Spanish and L2 English in order to reaffirm their hybrid identity (Jiménez Carra 2011; Carpio 2012; Pozo, 2013). This conscious usage of CS, for clear underlying political reasons, favours the bilingual and bicultural reader by making the texts more suitable for Spanish-English speakers while creating some “discomfort” (Manzanas-Calvo 2016, 46) for a monolingual reader. Torres clarifies this issue as follows:

Some Latino/a texts, while published by mainstream presses, quite frequently seem to favor the bilingual, bicultural reader. These Latinized texts tend to provide special pleasure to the bilingual reader; monolingual readers may not have complete access to the text and while they can often decipher the meaning from the context, sometimes they must resort to a dictionary, and occasionally no reference book will help. A variety of strategies that Latino/a

³ These terms are explained later.

⁴ We are grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers for pointing this out.

⁵ For further information on literary CS and multilingualism, see the book edited by Mark Sebba et al. (2012) and the special issue of the journal *Language and Literature* (2015).

writers use can make texts more engaging for bilingual readers. One strategy is the use of untranslated or otherwise marked standard or informal Spanish in the text. (2007, 83)

Díaz, whose stories are full of CS or, as he calls it, “linguistic simultaneity” (quoted in Cresci 2017, 149), uses precisely this strategy of inserting Spanish words and expressions into texts written mainly in English without highlighting or translating them for monolingual readers. The use of this “radical bilingualism” that can only be fully interpreted by a bilingual audience (Dumitrescu 2014, 358) is well explained by the author in an interview:

For me allowing the Spanish to exist in my text without the benefit of italics or quotations marks a very important political move. Spanish is not a minority language. Not in this hemisphere, not in the United States, not in the world inside my head. So why treat it like one? Why “other” it? Why de-normalize it? By keeping Spanish as normative in a predominantly English text, I wanted to remind readers of the mutability of languages. And to mark how steadily English is transforming Spanish and Spanish is transforming English. (Junot 2000, 904).

Apart from literary CS, used consciously in texts by Latino/a authors like Díaz, spoken CS in real life is a natural and commonplace linguistic practice between bi-multilinguals, who may switch spontaneously between their languages depending on to language emotionality differences, conversation topic and network of interlocutors (Pavlenko 2004, 2005, 2008; Dewaele 2005, 2010, 2013; Dewaele and Nakano 2012; Panicacci and Dewaele 2018). This research on CS has shown that L1s are normally felt to be more emotional than L2s; consequently, bi-multilinguals are used to switching to their L1 when expressing emotionally charged contents, thus avoiding a reduction in their emotional resonance (Pavlenko 2008, 148).

Jean-Marc Dewaele has investigated whether the network of interlocutors—family, friends, colleagues or strangers—and the conversation topic—neutral, personal or emotional—influence the extent to which a speaker code-switches (2010). His findings demonstrate that the type of interlocutor can have a significant effect on the frequency of CS, it being more common in interactions with known than with unknown people. Similarly, the results reveal that the conversation topic has a strong influence on the frequency of CS, which is higher when speaking about personal or emotional issues than neutral ones. As Dewaele puts it, “CS is thus a sign of relative linguistic and cultural intimacy” (2010, 196). Alessandra Panicacci and Dewaele, based on data from 468 Italian first-generation migrants living in English-speaking countries, focused on their feelings of difference when switching languages with specific interlocutors and when discussing particular topics (2018). Statistical analyses revealed that migrants feel themselves to have a different persona when they use English (L2) to talk about emotional topics with less familiar interlocutors. Taken together, these studies suggest

that bi-multilinguals feel different when switching languages, and that frequency of CS to the L1 increases when speaking about emotional topics with known interlocutors, which confirms that L1 is commonly felt as more emotional than L2s and is preferred for emotional expression (Dewaele 2010, 2013). Despite not always being 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 2005, 374).

From a purely linguistic point of view, three major types of CS are normally distinguished. Intersentential CS, which requires great language proficiency, occurs when a speaker changes from one code to another across sentences—for instance, “Hijo de la gran puta, I said, sitting down. You look frozen” (Díaz 2012, 136). Intrasentential CS refers to switches at the sentence level that do “not violate the grammar of either language” (Bullock and Toribio 2009, 3)—for instance, “He had turned into some kind of *muchacho bueno*” (Díaz 2012, 136). This demands a higher level of language proficiency than the third type, tag-switching (Bullock and Toribio 2009, 2-3), so it is usually performed by “true bilinguals,” that is, speakers with the greatest degree of bilingual ability (Poplack 1980, 613) or the seemingly random alternation of two languages both between and within sentences, has been shown (Gumperz, 1976; Pfaff, 1975; Wentz, 1977). These two types of CS are very similar, since they both require a deep understanding of the two languages. Tag-switching, the third kind, refers to a *tag*—a word—that is “freely inserted anywhere in the sentence with few if any syntactic repercussions” (Poplack 2015, 918)—for example, “What do you know? You are just a little *mojón*” (Díaz 2012, 131).

Finally, the distinction between CS, specifically *single-word switching* and *lexical borrowing* is worth noting, although these two language contact phenomena are frequently confused due to their fuzzy boundaries (Sebonde 2014, 68). The latter refers to words from a “donor language” that are already “established loanwords” in the “recipient language” (Poplack 2015, 921) and are easily available to its speakers, who may not know the donor language from which they come—e.g., the Italian word *espresso* in the US. Contrarily, single-word switching is commonly performed by bi-multilingual language users who are at least minimally proficient in two or more languages (Poplack 2015).

3. METHODOLOGY

The short story “Invierno” (Díaz 2012) was converted to text format (.txt) and submitted to *AntConc* (Version 3.5.8) (Anthony 2019). This freeware corpus analysis tool produced a frequency word list with the total number of different words—types—and the frequency of occurrence—tokens. The Spanish word types and tokens within that frequency word list were manually identified, as *AntConc* does not automatically differentiate between languages.

Given Díaz’s use of a radical bilingualism (see section 2), the next step was to provide English translations for all Spanish (Dominican) words in the story, some being specifically Latino words. This was done by means of the online *Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online* (2011) and the *Diccionario fraseológico del español dominicano* (Rosario Candelier et al. 2016). Appendix 1 shows the Spanish vocabulary items used in the story, their English translation, morphosyntactic category, frequency and context.⁶

The affective norm list in the Spanish language developed by Hans Stadthagen-González et al. (2017)1998; Kuppens, Tuerlinckx, Russell, & Barrett, 2012 was used as the criterion for examining the emotional spectrum of the Spanish words within the story. Affective norm lists exist in several languages (for English, see Warriner et al. 2013) and they include thousands of words rated in terms of emotionality by native speakers. 1998; Kuppens, Tuerlinckx, Russell, & Barrett, 2012The study by Stadthagen-González et al. offers 14,031 Spanish words rated by Spanish L1 users from Spain on two emotional dimensions, valence and arousal. Valence scores, ranging from “very unpleasant” (1) to “very pleasant” (9) on a 9-point Likert scale, describe how pleasant a stimulus is. Arousal scores, based on the same scale, refer to the level of intensity that a stimulus elicits, ranging from “very calm” (1) to “very exciting” (9). The midpoint of the scale (5) means a “neutral” stimulus.

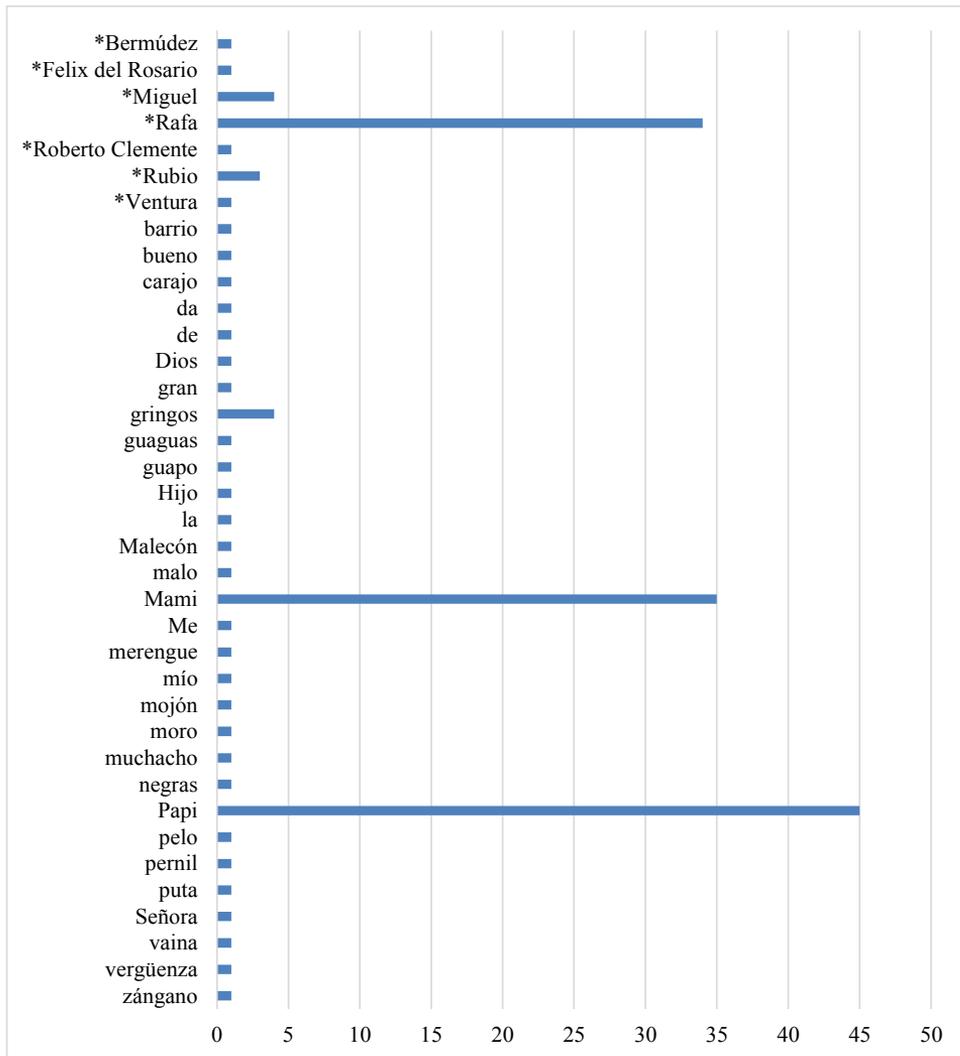
Not all Spanish L1 words appearing in the story are given a rating by Stadthagen-González et al. (2017)1998; Kuppens, Tuerlinckx, Russell, & Barrett, 2012. To bridge this gap and offer a more accurate emotional analysis of the story, some equivalent words with a rating in the list were taken into account—written in parenthesis in appendix 2. For example, the adjective *malo* is not rated in the Spanish affective norm list, but its equivalent (*mala*) was considered instead. Other specific Latino words—e.g., *pernil*—do not have a single-word equivalent in the list, and so they could not be analysed in terms of emotionality.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Code-Switches from L2 English to L1 Spanish: Type and Frequency

The short story corpus consisted of a total of 6,235 tokens and 1,420 types, out of which there were just 156 Spanish word tokens and 37 Spanish word types—2.50% and 2.60% respectively. Figure 1 shows a frequency-based representation of the Spanish word types in the text.

⁶ Proper names, marked with an asterisk in appendix 1 and in figure 1 below, were not translated into English and were not considered to be proper code-switches. Nevertheless, all of them were included in the total Spanish word count as they help to create a Spanish-Dominican environment in the story. Spanish names such as *Roberto Clemente* or *Felix del Rosario* were considered to be compound names and counted as one single linguistic unit. The Spanish word *Invierno* (“winter”) is found just once as the story title and it is not counted in the results.

FIGURE 1. Frequency-based representation of the Spanish words in “Invierno” (Díaz 2012)⁷

Intersentential CS is found three times in the story: *Dios mío*—“My God”—uttered by the mother (1); the insult *Hijo de la gran puta*—“son of a bitch”—addressed by Yuniór to his brother Rafa (2); and the father’s *Me da vergüenza*—“I feel embarrassed”—referring to his two sons (3):

(1) Dios mío, Mami said, turning me around. (Díaz 2012, 129)

⁷ *Malecón, Señora, Papi* and *Mami* are written with capital letters like the original spelling in the story.

(2) Hijo de la gran puta, I said, sitting down. (134)

(3) Look at your children. Me da vergüenza to see them slouching around like that. (139)⁸

Intrasentential switching is found twice, both instances with the pattern of noun plus adjective: *pelo malo* (“bad hair”) used by Yunior to describe his hair at the barber’s (4) and *muchacho Bueno* (“good guy”), an ironic reference to his brother Rafa (5):

(4) We were in Perth Amboy for the services of a real talent, a Puerto Rican barber named Rubio who knew just what to do with the pelo malo. (128)

(5) My brother was usually an animal but in my father’s house he had turned into some kind of muchacho bueno. (136).

Tag-switching is the most-frequently used CS type throughout the story. Without considering the recurrent terms *Papi*—“daddy”, 45 tokens—and *Mami*—“mummy”, 35 tokens—there are 14 remaining Spanish words inserted freely in the English discourse—*barrio*, *carajo*, *gringo/s*, *guaguas*, *guapo*, *Malecón*, *merengue*, *mojón*, *moro*, *negras*, *pernil*, *Señora*, *vaina*, and *zángano*—with the latter being the only word to appear more than once (see appendix 1).

4.2. Code-Switches from L2 English to L1 Spanish: Emotionality and Linguistic Identity

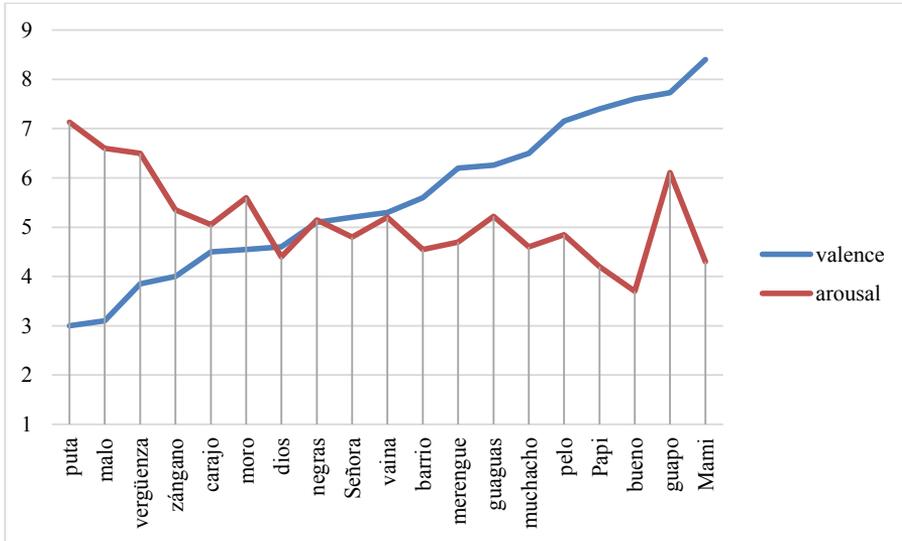
The three intersentential,⁹ two intrasentential and fourteen tag-switches to L1 Spanish found in the story were further analysed in terms of emotionality (see appendix 2) to assess whether the bilingual Latino/a characters illustrate the common practice of bi-multilingual speakers of switching to their L1 when immersed in emotional conversations with known interlocutors due to the higher emotional resonance of L1 (Dewaele 2010, 2013). Following the Spanish affective norm list provided by Stadthagen-González et al. (2017)1998; Kuppens, Tuerlinckx, Russell, & Barrett, 2012, to a greater or lesser degree, all the Spanish terms in “Invierno” exceed or are inferior to the neutral midpoint (5) on the 9-point Likert scale in the valence and arousal dimensions (see figure 2 and appendix 2 for the exact scores). Out of the 19 Spanish words with a rating in the set, 12 deviate from the midpoint by 1 point over or below in the valence dimension (*puta*, *malo*, *vergüenza*, *zángano*, *merengue*, *guaguas*,

⁸ This could be treated as an example of intrasentential CS in the second sentence. Here, however, it is counted as an intersentential CS only.

⁹ The three expressions were considered as single expressive forms in order to examine their emotionality and their full emotional impact. Only the emotional ratings of the main content word in the phrase, namely, *dios*, *puta* and *vergüenza* were analysed, these words being the ones which mainly display the emotion.

muchacho, pelo, Papi, bueno, guapo, Mami) and 5 do so in the arousal dimension (*puta, malo, vergüenza, bueno, guapo*).

FIGURE 2. Spanish L1 words across valence and arousal dimensions (9-point Likert scale)



This finding means that almost all switches to L1 Spanish assessed for emotionality involve, to some extent, emotionally-charged words. As to the pleasantness (valence) dimension, *puta*—mean = 3.00—was the most negative and *Mami*—mean = 8.40—the most positive word. The swearword *puta* was also the one with the highest arousal score—mean = 7.13—as opposed to *bueno*, with the lowest arousal—mean = 3.70. The data supports the positivity bias in languages, as 12 out of 19 Spanish words in the valence dimension are positively-charged with a score over 5 on the pleasantness scale (Warriner et al. 2013; Warriner and Kuperman 2015) leading to the Pollyanna hypothesis which alleges a predominantly optimistic outlook in humans. This paper uses the largest available collection of affective ratings as well as insights from linguistics to revisit the Pollyanna hypothesis as it relates to two dimensions of emotion: valence (pleasantness). The clearest exception is the word *moro*. Its negative connotation—mean valence = 4.55—as given by European Spanish speakers participating in the study by Sadthagen-González et al. (2017), is related to cross-cultural differences between Spanish from Spain and Dominican Spanish. If a Dominican speaker had scored this word in terms of pleasantness, it would certainly have had a higher valence, since *moro* is an appreciated dish in the Dominican world.

A closer look at several communicative contexts where the Latino characters code-switch shows not only that they revert to L1 when their speech becomes emotional, but

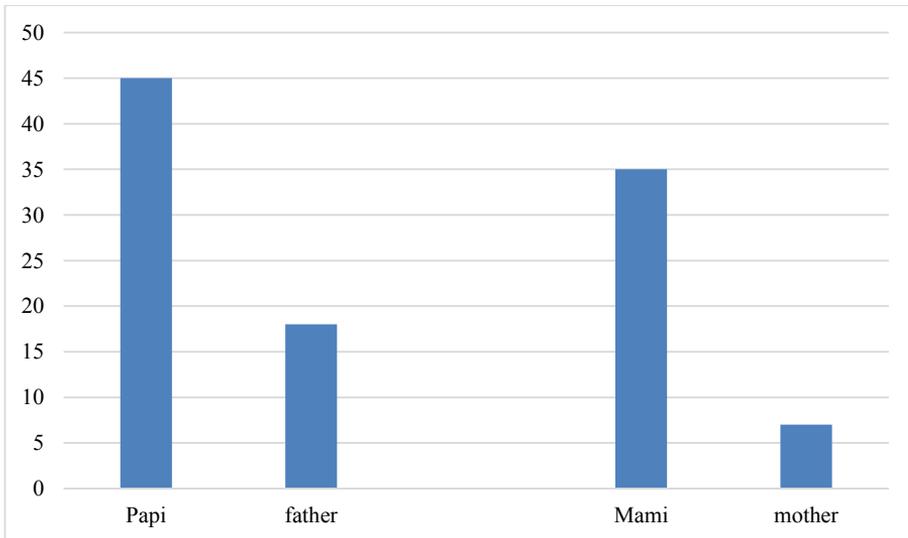
also that CS tends to happen within the family environment (Dewaele 2010, 2013). (*Hijo de la gran puta*, the most unpleasant and arousing word in the story—valence mean = 3.00, arousal mean = 7.13—is a Spanish swearword uttered by Yunior to express his strong disapproval of his brother’s behaviour. (*Me da vergüenza*—valence mean = 3.85, arousal mean = 6.50—addressed by the father to the mother, denotes his embarrassment at his sons’ Latino identity. *Dios (mío)*, despite its lower emotionality—valence mean = 4.60, arousal mean = 4.40—is an interjection uttered by the mother to signal her astonishment and surprise at Yunior’s haircut. (*Pelo malo*—valence mean = 3.10, arousal mean = 6.60—is used by Yunior as narrator to describe his hair at the barber’s and show the negative thoughts shared by Rubio, the Puerto Rican barber, and his father about Yunior’s dark brown, curly hair as a physical reminder of African heritage often rejected by the Dominican community—a view reflecting racial discrimination against their own Latino identity. (*Muchacho bueno*—valence mean = 7.60, arousal mean = 3.70)—is an evaluative adjective also uttered by Yunior as narrator in criticising his brother’s fake behaviour of at home.

Papi—valence mean = 7.40, frequency = 45 tokens—and *Mami*—valence mean = 8.40, frequency = 35 tokens—the Spanish words with the highest valence and occurrence in the story, are the affective terms that Yunior, as narrator and/or character, always uses to refer to and talk about his parents. Although he narrates the story mainly in L2 English, he never uses their English equivalents “daddy” and “mummy,” opting instead for their generic forms, “father” and “mother.”¹⁰ A comparison of the CS pairs *Papi* “father” and *Mami* “mother” in “Invierno” clearly reveals a different pattern of usage, in that the Spanish terms are more frequent in the story while “father” and “mother” have a lower occurrence—frequency = 18 and 7 tokens respectively) (figure 3).¹¹ In addition, it is interesting to note that the emotionality—valence means—of the Spanish family terms is greater than that of their English equivalents—“father” valence mean = 6.88, “mother” valence mean = 7.53 (Warriner et al. 2013). This cross-cultural difference in emotionality is a reminder of the way both cultural communities understand family ties, the Spanish-speaking world being a more collectivistic culture as opposed to more individualistic North American English-speaking societies (Wierzbicka 1999).

¹⁰ “Dads” is used once to refer to fathers in general (Díaz 2012, 125).

¹¹ The word “father” appears a total of 21 times in the story; however, it only refers to Yunior’s father on 18 occasions.

FIGURE 3. Frequency-based representation of the CS pattern Papi “father” and Mami “mother” in “Invierno” (Díaz 2012)



Apart from Yuniór, who as narrator and main character code-switches the most, the Latino character who uses code-switching most frequently when emotionally aroused is paradoxically the father, despite his determination to distance himself from his Latino heritage and his desire for social integration in the US. In addition to using the Spanish phrase *me da vergüenza*, discussed previously, and the words *guapo* and *negras*, he utters “What in *carajo* are you doing?” (Díaz 2012, 122), where the tag-switch *carajo* functions as an expressive intensifier to show anger at Yuniór’s behaviour. Despite the father’s efforts to become assimilated into the host culture by speaking L2 English, his mother tongue betrays him, causing him to code-switch to L1 Spanish when involved in emotional situations. In fact, it is not only his language, but also his actions that give him away, since the people with whom he always meets are from the Dominican Republic and share his culture and his socioeconomic status. For example, Miguel, one of the family’s Dominican friends in the US, who also code-switches from L2 English to L1 Spanish, reinforces their common Latino identity through his language—*gringo*—and his actions—the bottle of *Bermúdez* rum that he brings to the dinner.¹² The fact that the Latino/a characters—Yuniór, the father, the mother, Miguel—code-switch from L2 English to L1 Spanish when talking about emotional topics with close family and/or friendship networks is in line with the conclusions reached in recent literature on the

¹² Despite the existence of the term *gringo* in English too, in the story it is always used by Yuniór and other Latino/a characters who are Spanish L1 users and therefore it is an instance of tag-switching rather than lexical borrowing.

emotional force of bi-multilinguals’ various languages (Pavlenko 2004, 2005, 2008; Dewaele 2005, 2010, 2013; Dewaele and Nakano 2012; Panicacci and Dewaele 2018).

L2 English is used in the story in connection with a more public and detached facet of the characters’ lives. Due to its reduced emotionality and thus higher emotional detachment, it also conveys a more objective view of the world and can work as a powerful tool for social criticism (Costa et al. 2017). Yunior seems to be more rational and be able to articulate more expert and adult opinions while using English. This is exemplified when he notices his brother’s fake behaviour and when he criticises his father’s friends for their improper behaviour (Díaz 2012, 136). At the same time, English is also used to show Yunior’s growing consciousness and his personal development as a character, culminating in the final scene when he describes his difficult family situation (Díaz 2012, 144-45).

All in all, most Spanish words, whether more or less emotional, transport the reader to the Dominican Republic and Caribbean culture—its food (*pernil* and *moro*), its music (*merengue*), its lifestyle (*Malecón* and *guaguas*), its women (*negras*) and some typical insults (*mojón* and *zángano*), among others. The word *zángano* in particular, which is used to refer to a lazy or violent person, evokes the Dominican legendary figures as *galipotes*—also *lugarús* or *zánganos*—men said to possess the capacity to become dangerous animals (Tejeda Ortiz and Rosado 2003). The attribute *zángano*, used by Yunior to refer to his father, fits perfectly with the latter’s critical, aggressive attitude towards his family and the fear they feel when he is at home: “When we heard our father’s van arriving in the parking lot, Mami called us over for a quick inspection. Hair, teeth, hands, feet. If anything was wrong she’d hide us in the bathroom until it was fixed. Her dinners grew elaborate. She even changed the TV for Papi without calling him a *zángano*” (Díaz 2012, 139).

5. CONCLUSIONS

This study investigating the use of CS from L2 English to L1 Spanish by the bilingual Latino/a characters in “Invierno” (Díaz 2012) demonstrates that CS theories in bi-multilingualism research can indeed be applied to the analysis of bilingual characters/texts in fiction.

Díaz, as a Latino author, makes conscious choices about both languages: he writes in L2 English to address an English-dominant readership and switches to L1 Spanish to reaffirm his Dominican identity. Also, as a Spanish-English bilingual, he switches to represent the cultural specificity of some terms as well as his perception of increased emotionality inherent in both the characters’ and his own L1 Spanish.

At the character level, Yunior and his family, as bilingual Latino/as, switch from L2 English to L1 Spanish when becoming more emotional—e.g., feelings of anger or embarrassment—within the family environment and with close Latino/a interlocutors. This linguistic behaviour is evidenced by the linguistic/emotional

analyses of the code-switches to L1 Spanish performed by the characters. Most of the intersentential, intrasentential and tag-switches found, despite being few in number, are emotionally charged to a greater or lesser extent (Stadthagen-González et al. 2017)1998; Kuppens, Tuerlinckx, Russell, & Barrett, 2012 and are uttered among family interlocutors. This supports the findings reported in current literature regarding the higher frequency of CS to L1 in bi-multilinguals' speech when dealing with emotional topics with known interlocutors, as well as research on emotionality differences between an L1 and an L2 (Pavlenko 2005; Dewaele 2010, 2013; Costa et al. 2017; Panicacci and Dewaele 2018).

Despite the low numbers of Spanish words and code-switches from L2 English in the text, readers of "Invierno" often seem to be under the impression that the story is richer in Spanish vocabulary than it actually is—this view was expressed by two bilingual Spanish-English readers not involved in the present study. This feeling is probably due to the cultural and affective connotations associated with Spanish vocabulary in the story, which decisively contribute to the creation of an emotional, intimate, Latino atmosphere that serves to reaffirm Díaz's Dominican identity (Poza 2013; Gónzalez 2015; Cresci 2017). Code-switches also allow Díaz to represent the identities of his Latino/a characters. The frequent repetition of the Spanish family terms *Papi* and *Mami* helps to recreate such a feeling. Overall, despite not understanding their full emotional meaning due to Díaz's "radical bilingualism" (Torres 2007; Dumitrescu 2014; Manzanas-Calvo 2016), a monolingual English reader unfamiliar with the Latino world may infer from the context the emotional and/or cultural connotations of the Spanish words and be easily transported to the Dominican Republic and the Caribbean lifestyle.

All in all, in "Invierno," L1 Spanish and L2 English play different roles in the characters' lives, probably reflecting Díaz's usage of both languages in real life. L1 Spanish functions as the language of their hearts, it being the language chosen when involved in cultural and emotional situations with known interlocutors. It is used by the characters to show a more intimate and personal facet of their lives and to transmit the Latino culture, which is the one they identify with more closely. In fact, despite having crossed from the Dominican Republic to the US, their cultural, social and linguistic Latino/a identity is ever present in the story, which is filled with words illustrating Caribbean lifestyle, food, music and people.

Since the corpus size in this study is rather small, further research is needed to analyse the emotionality of code-switches in other short stories from Díaz's collection (2012), as this would enable stronger conclusions to be drawn.¹³

¹³ The research underpinning this article was funded by the research project "Identificación de metodologías apropiadas en el aprendizaje de léxico emocional durante la adquisición tardía/reglada en segunda lengua" (SA150G18), funded by the Junta de Castilla y León.

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APPENDIX I. SPANISH WORDS IN “INVIERNO” (DÍAZ 2012): ENGLISH TRANSLATION, MORPHOSYNTACTIC CATEGORY, FREQUENCY AND CONTEXT

Spanish word	English translation	Morphosyntactic category	Freq.	Contextual information
*Bermúdez	-	proper noun	1	“Miguel had brought a bottle of Bermúdez rum” (140)
*Felix del Rosario	-	proper noun	1	“Mami ripped the needle from the album and interrupted Felix del Rosario” (141)
*Miguel	-	proper noun	4	page 140
*Rafa	-	proper noun	34	on several pages
*Roberto Clemente	-	proper noun	1	“Roberto Clemente, he said, but I went on with building my fort” (137)
*Rubio	blond	proper noun	3	on several pages (127-128)
*Ventura	-	proper noun	1	“He popped a tape of Johnny Ventura into the player” (127)
barrio	neighbourhood	noun	1	“In our old barrio we were accustomed to folks ...” (139)
bueno	good	adjective	1	see muchacho
carajo	damn	noun	1	“... the first time Papi had seen me in action ... he had screamed, What in carajo are you doing?” (122)
da	see <i>vergüenza</i>	verb	1	see <i>vergüenza</i>
de	see <i>puta</i>	preposition	1	see <i>puta</i>

Spanish word	English translation	Morphosyntactic category	Freq.	Contextual information
<i>Dios</i>	God/My God	noun	1	"Dios mío, Mami said, turning me around" (129)
<i>gran</i>	see <i>puta</i>	adjective	1	see <i>puta</i>
<i>gringo/s</i>	gringo/es	noun	4	on several pages (133, 137, 140 and 142)
<i>guaguas</i>	buses	noun	1	"Back on the island, the two of us had taken guaguas ..." (123)
<i>guapo</i>	handsome	adjective	1	"Now you look guapo, he said, less than convinced" (128)
<i>Hijo</i>	see <i>puta</i>	noun	1	see <i>puta</i>
<i>la</i>	see <i>puta</i>	article	1	see <i>puta</i>
<i>Malecón</i>	seafront	noun	1	"Took us out to dinner on the Malecón ..." (125)
<i>malo</i>	bad	adjective	1	see <i>pelo</i>
<i>Mami</i>	mummy	noun	35	on several pages
<i>Me</i>	see <i>vergüenza</i>	pronoun	1	see <i>vergüenza</i>
<i>merengue</i>	merengue	noun	1	"... were accustomed to folks shocking the street with merengue twenty-four hours a day" (139)
<i>mío</i>	see <i>Dios</i>	adjective	1	see <i>Dios</i>
<i>mojón</i>	turd	noun	1	"What do you know? You're just a little mojón" (131)
<i>moro</i>	dish with beans	noun	1	"If he said he had to be at work for two days straight, she said OK and cooked enough moro to last him" (138)
<i>muchacho</i>	guy	noun	1	"My brother was usually an animal but in my father's house he had turned into some kind of muchacho bueno" (136)
<i>negras</i>	black women	noun	1	"Do you like negras? My father asked" (128)
<i>Papi</i>	daddy	noun	45	on several pages
<i>pelo</i>	hair	noun	1	"... who knew just what to do with the pelo malo" (128)
<i>pernil</i>	roast pork butt	noun	1	"He just poked at his pernil, which was not my mother's best dish" (124)
<i>puta</i>	bitch	noun	1	"Hijo de la gran puta, I said, sitting down" (134)

Spanish word	English translation	Morphosyntactic category	Freq.	Contextual information
<i>Señora</i>	lady	noun	1	“Nothing Señora, Rafa said” (134)
<i>vaina</i>	thing	noun	1	“I’m not good at walking on this vaina” (144)
<i>vergüenza</i>	embarrassment	noun	1	“Look at this house. Look at your children. Me da vergüenza to see them slouching around like that” (139)
<i>zángano</i>	lazybones	adjective	1	“She even changed the TV for Papi without calling him a zángano” (139)

APPENDIX 2. CODE-SWITCHES TO L1 SPANISH IN “INVIERNO” (DÍAZ 2012): EMOTIONALITY VALENCE AND AROUSAL SCORES

Intersentential CS	Valence score	Arousal score
<i>dios</i> (from <i>Dios mío</i>)	4.60	4.40
<i>puta</i> (from <i>Hijo de la gran puta</i>)	3.00	7.13
<i>vergüenza</i> (from <i>Me da vergüenza</i>)	3.85	6.50
Intrasentential CS	Valence score	Arousal score
<i>bueno</i>	7.60	3.70
<i>malo</i> (<i>mala</i>)	(3.10)	(6.60)
<i>muchacho</i>	6.50	4.60
<i>pelo</i>	7.15	4.85
Tag-switching	Valence score	Arousal score
<i>barrio</i>	5.60	4.55
<i>carajo</i>	4.50	5.05
<i>guaguas</i>	6.26	5.22
<i>guapo</i>	7.73	6.11
<i>Mami</i> (<i>madre</i>)	(8.40)	(4.30)
<i>merengue</i>	6.20	4.70
<i>moro</i>	4.55	5.60
<i>negras</i>	5.10	5.15
<i>Papi</i> (<i>padre</i>)	(7.40)	(4.20)
<i>Señora</i>	5.20	4.80
<i>vaina</i>	5.30	5.20
<i>zángano</i>	4.00	5.35

Received 27 December 2019

Revised version accepted 3 June 2020

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