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“Oiii, sweetie”: Types and Functions of Portuguese-English code-switching in Clara Alves’

Romance Real

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**DECLARAÇÃO DE AUTORIA DE TRABALHO DE CONCLUSÃO DE CURSO
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Abstract

Code-switching is now considered as part of multilinguals' speech, especially in multilingual communities such as those composed by immigrants. As such, its portrayal in fictional works that contain characters who are multilingual is expected. In young adult Brazilian literature, however, multilingual characters are not the norm. *Romance Real*, written by Clara Alves in 2022, is an exception to this, with all its main characters being bilingual and most of them code-switching during conversation. Therefore, this work aimed to analyze the instances of code-switching present in the novel, as well as classify this code-switching using Myers-Scotton's (1989) Markedness Model and Koziol's (2000) functions. Additionally, characters' language attitudes towards code-switching will be discussed in relation to its possible resemblance to real bilinguals' attitudes. Results showed that most of the code-switching happened in dialogues, from Brazilian Portuguese to English, and with one character utilizing it more; with both classifications, one type of switching predominated over others.

Keywords: code-switching, multilingualism, literary code-switching, Brazilian literature, language attitudes

Resumo

Code-switching, atualmente, é considerado como parte do discurso multilíngue, principalmente em comunidades multilíngues como as compostas por imigrantes. Desta forma, sua representação em obras ficcionais que contenham personagens multilíngues é esperada. Na literatura jovem adulto brasileira, no entanto, personagens multilíngues não são o padrão. *Romance Real*, escrito por Clara Alves em 2022, é uma exceção, com todos seus personagens principais sendo bilíngues e a maior parte deles alternando códigos em conversas. Portanto, este trabalho tem como objetivo analisar as instâncias de *code-switching* presentes no romance, bem como classificar o *code-switching* encontrado de acordo com o Modelo de Marcação de Myers-Scotton (1989) e as funções de Koziol (2000). Além disso, as atitudes linguísticas ligadas ao *code-switching* serão discutidas em relação à sua possível semelhança com atitudes de bilíngues reais. Resultados demonstram que a maioria do *code-switching* presente na obra ocorre em diálogos, de português brasileiro para inglês, e com uma personagem utilizando-o com mais frequência; em ambas as classificações, um tipo de *code-switching* predominou em relação aos outros.

Palavras-chave: *code-switching*, multilinguismo, *code-switching* em literatura, literatura brasileira, atitudes linguísticas

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List of Abbreviations

BP	Brazilian Portuguese
CS	Code-switching
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
SLA	Second Language Acquisition

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1. Introduction

Be it in multilingual communities or as an additional language, learning and using two or more languages daily is common (CENOZ, 2013). Globalization, immigration, even colonialism are some of the reasons why people might become multilingual, as having knowledge of two or more languages may be essential for their daily lives, as well as help them with career opportunities, for example. By knowing more than one language, multilinguals distance themselves from monolinguals in the sense of having a bigger mental lexicon and more tools for communication. One of these tools is code-switching (CS), that is, the alternation between languages during conversation.

For a long time, code-switching was not considered as a desirable behavior for multilinguals. Gumperz (1982) reports that in early periods of language learning research, CS was regarded as a type of transfer during language learning. It was also considered the result of careless language (GROSJEAN, 1989) and an influence from the L1 that should be overcome (ELLIS, 2015). Although in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) it continues to be regarded as a form of cross-linguistic influence, several researchers have challenged the negative connotations tied to CS, with the creation of models and typologies for its understanding and classification (e.g. GUMPERZ, 1982; MYERS-SCOTTON, 1993a). With these models, CS is now mostly understood as a natural mode of communication, and not necessarily a hindrance to the speaker or listener.

Written code-switching, especially literary, does not function the same way as spoken CS. As a more intentional and edited media, writing is less natural than speaking, consequently leading to a less natural form of code-switching. Considering that the models mentioned were proposed based on oral data, their application to written data may not be straightforward, although it can be done (GARDNER-CHLOROS, WESTON, 2015). Additionally, the use of code-switching in literature may be more derived from stylistic choices on the part of the author than from an interest in representing real bilinguals' speech. Whatever the case, the presence of CS in literature is not new, even though it has not been as explored as spoken CS, as reported by Gardner-Chloros and Weston (2015). In young adult Brazilian literature, however, it is not common to see bilingual characters, much less code-switching. An exception is the novel *Romance Real*, written by Clara Alves in 2022.

The novel is centered around Dayana, a Brazilian teenager who moves to London to live with her father, her stepmother and her stepmother's daughter after the death of her mother. Dayana's relationship with her father and, by extension, with the rest of the family, is strenuous. Along with the other main characters, Dayana is bilingual, with Brazilian

Portuguese (BP) being her first language. From the moment she moves to London, she is also an immigrant in the country, which is also the case for most of the other characters. During the first days after her move to London, Dayana meets Diana, a daughter of a Brazilian immigrant, who becomes her friend and later her girlfriend. All of the characters, with the exception of Dayana's father, are shown to code-switch between BP and English, although their reasons for doing it and the functions it serves in their discourse are different.

1.1 Objectives and Research Questions

The objective of this work is to discern and categorize the types (Myers-Scotton, 1989) and functions (Koziol, 2000) of code-switching that take place in the novel *Romance Real*, written by Clara Alves and published in 2022, as well as discuss language attitudes towards this code-switching, comparing it to empirical research conducted with bi/multilinguals.

Through this analysis and discussion, I aim to answer the following questions: 1) How is code-switching present in the novel? 2) How can the instances of code-switching present in the book be categorized according to Myers-Scotton (1989) and Koziol (2000)? 3) What are the characters' attitudes towards code-switching, and are they comparable to language attitudes described in empirical research?

1.2 Significance of the study

Code-switching is regarded, in general, with negative connotations (GARDNER-CHLOROS, 2009a). During the language learning process, it is seen as a form of interference from students' other languages (GUMPERZ, 1982); for the fluent speaker, it may be seen as laziness or lack of competence on their part, for "having" to mix languages instead of using only one (RITCHIE; BHATIA, 2006). However, this phenomenon is a powerful tool for communication present in bi/multilinguals' arsenal. Viewing it for its creative and discursive potentials may help learners both during their acquisition process and as speakers of a language. In this sense, representation of code-switching in media such as novels and TV shows is an important form of contact with the phenomena. It is not common to see code-switching in contemporary young adult Brazilian literature, therefore the choice of *Romance Real* as an object of study seems relevant for its originality in this sense. Even though neither language nor code-switching are the focus of the novel, the presence of CS may cause bilingual young adult readers to relate to the character(s) who code-switch and perceive it as a discourse strategy, helping to shape their identity as speakers of two or more

languages. Furthermore, even though English exerts considerable influence in Brazilian Portuguese—visible through several anglicisms—, code-switching studies in the Brazilian context usually focus on the pair Spanish–Portuguese, likely due to the borders between Brazil and Hispanic countries.

In this work, I will present a review of literature with the theoretical basis for my research, followed by a description of the methodology used, including criteria for the selection of the corpus and frameworks chosen for the analysis, as well as procedures for the data selection and processing. In the Results and Discussion section, I will answer the research questions and discuss what was found.

2. Review of Literature

This review of literature is divided in two main sections. Section 2.1 pertains to the differences between monolinguals and multilinguals; section 2.2 focuses on several aspects related to code-switching, including differences in relation to transfer and borrowing, what prompts code-switches and what are its functions in multilingual speech, language attitudes towards code-switching and code-switching in literature.

2.1 *Monolinguals vs. multilinguals*

The world is multilingual. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), there are currently an approximate of 7,000 languages still in use. Apart from countries and territories which have more than one official language, immigrants and speakers of minority languages also need to speak not only their mother tongue, but also the language of the host country, or of the majority. Furthermore, the connection provided by globalization drives people to want to learn several languages in order to communicate with different groups of people, or even to have better education or career opportunities. Cenoz (2013) considers globalization and the spread of new technologies as some factors that contribute to make multilingualism more evident, increasing its value. The author also notes that multilingualism can be both *individual*—referring to a person’s ability—and *social*—referring to language use in society. For the purpose of this work, I will focus on individual multilingualism and its differences to monolingualism.

A multilingual, according to Wei (2008, *apud* Cenoz, 2013), is “anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)” (p. 4). Scholars have made efforts to classify multilinguals according to certain factors. In relation to acquisition, a person can acquire two

or more languages simultaneously from an early age, or learn their second or additional language successively, later in life. Regarding fluency, multilinguals can be divided between *balanced*, that is, those who are equally fluent in both or more of their languages, and *unbalanced*, when their level of proficiency is different between languages. (CENOZ, 2013, p. 5-6). In contrast to these definitions and classifications, a monolingual is a person who knows and uses only one language.

In the field of SLA, there is a prevailing monolingual bias, with the communication skills of multilinguals being compared to those of native speakers (CENOZ, 2013). In his seminal article, Grosjean (1989) questioned this bias by pointing out how not only monolinguals are seen as models, but also how “methods of investigation developed to study monolingual speech and language have been used with little, if any, modification to study bilinguals” (p. 4). The use of monolinguals as the norm led, for example, to the misconception that bilinguals are necessarily fluent in their two languages. Grosjean (2013) calls attention to the fact that bilinguals are often seen as two monolinguals, even though most of them are not equally fluent in all of their languages, have accents and have acquired their L2s after puberty.

Beyond the issues of fluency, bilinguals should not be perceived as two monolinguals, according to Schmid (2009), because after acquiring two or more languages, these “will to some degree be active and accessed during language processing, and a return to a completely monolingual mode is impossible” (p. 215). According to the author, the constant activation of the two—or more—linguistic systems will lead the bi/multilingual to need more effort to manage them, causing their speech production and processing to be more cognitively costly. This effort can be seen, for example, in tasks in which participants have to choose the right words among several alternatives. Treffers-Daller (2009) comments on how even though monolinguals also have to exercise control in these types of tasks, bilinguals “have translation equivalents for at least a proportion of their vocabularies” (p. 62), which would make the choosing process more costly for them.

Grosjean (2013) also notes that “language dominance in a bilingual (...) can change over time” (p. 13). This means that the bilingual’s most dominant language may change from their first to their second or any additional language throughout their lives, due to immigration, for example. This change in language dominance could not happen to a monolingual: their first language will always be dominant, since they do not have competing systems in their mind.

The matter of acquisition varies greatly between monolinguals and multilinguals as well. Although two or more languages can be learned at the same time, many multilinguals

learn their second or third language sequentially, after having acquired the first one, as mentioned above. Considering the successive learning of an L2, then, another difference that could be posed between monolinguals and multilinguals is the advantage the latter group has when acquiring new languages, by possessing more tools to learn them quicker and more efficiently (DEWAELE, 2014). Multilinguals also tend to have more learning strategies, be more inclined to learn foreign languages, and have more metalinguistic awareness than monolinguals, as reported by Dewaele (2014).

As Cenoz (2013) points out, multilinguals also have a wider repertoire of languages they can use, which causes them to have more communicative resources available than monolinguals. The author juxtaposes two views of multilingualism: an *atomistic*, which is more widespread and focuses on specific elements and on the languages as separate; and a *holistic*, which “sees multilingual competence as linked to the social context in which language practices take place” (p. 13). From the perspective of the atomistic view, code-switching, for example, would indicate a lack of competence, since multilinguals should be equal to two or more monolinguals—a view criticized by Grosjean and others, as seen above. The holistic view, on the other hand, sees boundaries between languages as blurred, and multilinguals as competent language users, irrespective of their proficiency in the two or more languages (ELLIS, 2015)—which is a perspective that is more accepting of phenomena such as code-switching, as it is part of multilinguals’ communicative abilities.

2.2 Code-switching

Code-switching is an intrinsically bilingual activity, in which speakers “go back and forth between their two languages in the same conversation” (DEUCHAR, 2012, p. 1). It can happen orally or in written form, and may involve two or more languages present in the bi/multilingual’s repertoire. Depending on the field of research, it could be seen as interference—or *transfer*—from the L1 or as a discourse strategy used by multilinguals in everyday life. From the perspective of SLA, code switching is one among several cross-linguistic influences that can happen from the L1 to the L2 or, in reverse, from the L2 to the L1. Treffers-Daller (2009) comments on how researchers who work with theories of language change or SLA have different focuses when it comes to transfer. The first group is more interested in “the outcome of language contact” (p. 69), that is, static interference—a foreign accent, for example—, while the second, instead, focuses on dynamic interference—defined by Grosjean (1989) as “ephemeral and accidental intrusions of the other languages” (p 9).

According to Gardner-Chloros and Weston (2015), research into bilingualism itself and code-switching has grown exponentially in the past 50 years. Before this exponential growth, perspectives on code-switching were not necessarily positive, with this phenomenon being considered as marginal and transitory, an interference during language learning (GUMPERZ, 1982). Grosjean (1989) also notes that code-switching was either considered as interference or as the result of careless language. As Ellis (2015) explains, early studies in SLA—such as behaviorist learning theories, for example—regarded influence from the L1 as something to be overcome; a transfer that predisposed learners to make errors in the L2. As more research was carried out and it was noticed that L2 learners with different L1s followed similar orders of acquisition, the focus changed to understanding the roles of input and output, explicit and implicit learning, up to understanding language learning as a skill, and, finally, connecting it to sociocultural perspectives.

From the perspective of contact linguistics, Treffers-Daller (2009) reports that code-switching—then called interference—was criticized by the pioneer of the field, Weinreich, in his 1953 book *Languages in contact: Findings and problems*. The author considered that ‘ideal bilinguals’ should not switch between languages within a sentence, only doing so when there were changes in the speech situation. Weston and Gardner-Chloros (2015) also note how studies of bilingualism from the 1950s assumed that competent bilinguals would keep their languages separate, while bilinguals’ capability of communicating expressively in their languages, or their ability to code-switch, were not considered as criteria.

Negative views of code-switching were later challenged by researchers, as several models of CS were created to try to classify and understand this phenomenon, now more accepted as intrinsic to bilingual discourses. Bloom and Gumperz’s (1972) seminal study *Social meaning in linguistic structure: Code-switching in Norway*, as well as Gumperz’ (1982) work *Discourse Strategies*, influenced much of the later research that was conducted on the topic, such as Conversational Analysis (CA), which proposes to interpret code-switching at the conversational level. Another example is Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) Markedness Model, which approaches CS through a sociological perspective, stating that bilinguals’ choice to code-switch could be marked or unmarked, depending on the norms of the social situation (WESTON, GARDNER-CHLOROS, 2015).

Although there still is a general view, by language purists and even monolinguals and bilinguals, that code-switching is somewhat negative (RITCHIE; BHATIA, 2006), researchers have established that it is natural and part of bilinguals’ communication, as reported by Porto (2007). Code-switching is a widespread phenomenon, and not exclusive to language learners.

As Porto (2007) explains, it can occur “in immigrant families that become bilingual, in members of communities comprising of speakers of a linguistic minority, or by individuals from countries in which a lingua franca, different from their mother tongue, is adopted” (p. 2, my translation¹). The author also states that CS does not happen accidentally, nor does it denote a lack of proficiency in the speaker, instead it “has socio-pragmatic motivations and functions, and is subjected to grammatical restrictions” (PORTO, 2007, p. 2, my translation²).

It could be argued that code-switching is intrinsic to the bilingual experience precisely because it is a product of bi/multilinguals using their repertoire of available languages. Ritchie and Bhatia (2006) argue that ‘balanced bilinguals’ use CS to meet their creative needs, and that it is “the bilingual’s pragmatic competence [that] enables him or her to determine the choice of one language over the other in a particular interaction” (p. 339). In this sense, bi/multilinguals have more tools than monolinguals: while monolinguals can make use of different styles depending on the situation, multilinguals can change styles and also use mutually unintelligible varieties. In relation to this, Gardner-Chloros (2009b) points out that “CS is the plurilingual embodiment of techniques that have equivalents in the monolingual sphere” (p. 112).

2.2.1 Code-Switching vs. Borrowing vs. Transfer

There is no consensus among researchers about the categorization of code-switching and other contact phenomena such as *transfer* and *borrowing* as different processes or the same one. Ellis (2015) states that language transfer occurs when influences of linguistic features of one language are visible on another one, with evidence of this transfer being errors and overuse or avoidance of linguistic features, for example. Borrowings, according to Gumperz (1982), are single words or short idiomatic phrases that are inserted from one language into another, with the important distinction that these words or short phrases are ‘absorbed’ by the borrowing language, that is, they become part of its grammatical system. Code-switching, on the other hand, is considered a complete shift from one language to another, be it at the word or at the sentence level (GROSJEAN, 1989). According to Gardner-Chloros (2009b), “it has not been demonstrated that the differences between CS and other language contact phenomena are categorical differences as opposed to differences of

¹ “(...) em famílias imigrantes que se tornam bilíngües, em membros de comunidades compostas por falantes de uma minoria lingüística, ou por indivíduos de países em que se adota uma língua franca diferente da sua língua materna, entre outros.”

² “(...) o enunciado híbrido resultante do code-switching possui motivações e funções sócio-pragmáticas e está sujeito a restrições gramaticais[.]”

degree” (p. 101). As such, according to certain authors, code-switching and other contact phenomena, such as borrowing, form an interconnected continuum.

Despite the similarities and the fact that some authors still use one umbrella term for code-switching, borrowing and transfer (GARDNER-CHLOROS, 2009a), there are attempts to establish some differentiation between the phenomena. Treffers-Daller (2009) reports that some authors emphasize the difference between transfer and code-switching by posing that in CS, the languages are separate from each other and follow their own morphological and syntactic rules. There is also a distinction made in relation to the switch itself, with code-switching being considered by some authors as a ‘complete’ switch between languages. Treffers-Daller (2009) cautions, however, that “it is not clear what switching “completely” to the other language means, given the psycholinguistic evidence about continued activation of both languages in production and perception” (p. 65). Again, there is no consensus between authors; Treffers-Daller (2009) mentions Myers-Scotton’s (1993b) model, which does not consider code-switching to necessarily involve complete switches to the other language, since there is a base—matrix—language and the ‘guest’ one follows the syntactic frame of this matrix.

The issue related to the differentiation between code-switching and other contact phenomena such as borrowing, transfer and interference seems to concentrate heavily on the integration between languages. Regarding CS as opposed to borrowing in relation to phonetics and phonology, Bullock (2009) states that “it is popularly accepted that established borrowings tend to show a high degree of phonological integration to the recipient language” (p. 165). However, she also calls attention to the fact that even by using the criteria of integration or frequency of use, the identification of a word as a borrowing or as code-switching is not straightforward. Moreover, not all borrowings manifest phonological integration; several words used daily in Brazilian Portuguese, which came from English, fall into this situation—e.g. ‘wi-fi’, ‘chat’.

Silva-Corvalán (1994, *apud* Treffers-Daller, 2009), on the other hand, distinguishes between two types of transfer: direct and indirect. The first “refers to the importation of a new form from another language” (TREFFERS-DALLER, 2009, p. 71), which would be the case of words such as ‘deletar’, already part of Brazilians’ speech, and *dropar*, an adapted word extremely used by gaming communities in Brazil, although not restricted to this group. The second, still defined by Treffers-Daller (2009), “refers to a higher frequency of usage of a form that corresponds to a structure of the contact language”.

Another important difference between the types of contact phenomena, and perhaps one of the most categorical ones, is *who* uses or is subjected to each one. On the difference between, again, code-switching and borrowing, Bullock (2009) states that “CS arises from the ability of bilinguals to alternate between two linguistic systems on-line, whereas borrowing derives from lexical storage. Of the two, only CS is held to be a uniquely bilingual behavior” (p. 166). Following this interpretation, Deuchar (2012) mentions the difficulty of categorizing single-word switches, as researchers have to make a decision between considering these words as borrowings that have already been established or as language switches. But as she concludes, switches are only done by bi/multilinguals, therefore words used by monolinguals will most likely be borrowings.

Since code-switching is a bi/multilingual phenomena, it could be stated that speakers use it voluntarily, as one among several of their communication skills. Treffers-Daller (2009) considers, then, that speakers have control over their switches, but not necessarily over transfer, with this being a point of difference between the two phenomena. She also mentions Poplack’s (1987) notion of *smooth* and *flagged* code-switching, which is connected to the matter of control. According to Treffers-Daller (2009), “smooth CS is effortless and fluent, whereas flagged switching draws attention to itself, marked by repetitions, hesitations, metalinguistic comments, and the like” (p. 60). The second one would be more akin to transfer, being less controlled by bi/multilinguals.

2.2.2 *Why code-switch?*

Code-switching can be motivated by typological and sociolinguistic factors. From the sociolinguistic point of view, Du Bois (2009) calls attention to the symbolic value of code-switching, especially for multilingual speech communities, considering that the choice of one linguistic variety over others defines how valued it is. She also mentions the relation between code-switching and language ideological assumptions, since the first draws upon the latter “to index social matters such as ethnic identity, power and prestige, solidarity, distance and social relationships” (p. 2).

Gardner-Chloros (2009b) also follows a sociolinguistic perspective. For the author, there are three types of factors that can contribute to how code-switching will manifest. The first type affects the whole community, not only particular speakers—some examples given by the author would be prestige and power relations. The second type does affect speakers directly, both individually and collectively—speakers’ attitudes and competence, as well as their social relationships, for example. Finally, the third type are factors related to the

conversation in which code-switching happens, and in this case CS acts as yet another tool available in multilingual discourse.

Ritchie and Bhatia (2006), in turn, present four factors that will determine how bilinguals will use language choice and mixing—which are the terms they use for code-switching. These are “(1) the social roles and relationships of the participants; (2) situational factors: discourse topic and language allocation; (3) message-intrinsic considerations, and (4) language attitudes including social dominance and security” (p. 339). The first factor draws upon the notion of the obligations and rights of participants, which, when mutually understood, lead to language matching. If these obligations and rights are not understood, either due to the participants’ uncertainty about each other’s language identity/background or to their differing preference for identities—including formality and power relations—, then language *mismatching* may occur. When that is the case, a process of repair is needed. The situational factors are connected to languages’ discourse domains, that is, the notion that languages are used with specific groups, settings or topics. Other variables that impact the use of code-switching both quantitatively and qualitatively, within this factor, are social ones such as class, gender, and age.

Message-intrinsic factors, in turn, are related to linguistic and pragmatic considerations, of which the authors mention seven in total: quotations, reiteration, message qualification, topic-comment/relative clauses, hedging, interjections, and idioms and deep-rooted cultural wisdom (p. 345-347). Regarding the last factor, language attitudes, dominance, and security, the authors state that by basing themselves on differences in language attitudes, one can differentiate between four types of *language-mixing* communities. These would be (1) the ones which unconsciously have positive attitudes toward bilingualism and code-switching; (2) the ones in which code-switching is central to their culture and identity, therefore they view it as something positive both consciously and unconsciously; (3) the ones which view code-switching unconsciously as something negative, but will do it in consideration of linguistic accommodation; and (4) the ones which view code-switching as negative both consciously and unconsciously.

Depending on the motivations for its use, code-switching may have different functions within multilingual discourse. Porto (2007) comments on how “several researchers have turned their efforts to the analysis of this discursive behavior [code-switching] in order to enumerate its socio-pragmatic functions³” (p. 3, my translation). Perhaps the most influential

³ “Vários pesquisadores voltaram seus esforços à análise deste comportamento discursivo com o propósito de enumerar suas funções sócio-pragmáticas.”

of the typologies proposed by these researchers was Gumperz's (1982). The author proposed the notion of 'we code' and 'they code', in which languages are associated with different group relations, as well as the view of code-switching as a discourse strategy. He introduces six conversational functions for code-switching, namely *quotations*—either direct or as reported speech—; *addressee specification*, in order to direct the message to one specific person; *interjections*, in which CS marks either an interjection or a sentence filler; *reiteration*, or a repetition of the message in the other code; *message qualification*, or the “qualifying constructions such as sentence and verb complements or predicates following a copula” (p. 79); and *personalization versus objectivization*, which can refer to several distinctions.

Another influential contribution is the already mentioned Markedness Model, proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a), according to which a particular variety or language is considered the 'unmarked' choice, while deviations from this would be considered as 'marked' choices, and multilinguals must constantly choose between a continuum that goes from one to the other, depending on their conformance with the social norms and conventions (GARDNER-CHLOROS, 2009a). In bilingual communities, for example, code-switching would be the unmarked choice, while in cases where different languages are used for different domains, using a language reserved for the private in public and vice-versa would constitute a marked choice.

2.2.3 Language attitudes

An attitude, according to Cargile (2017), is individuals' prejudice to respond in a certain way, either positive or negative, to objects in their environment. Language attitudes, therefore, are responses regarding language behaviors, which include, still according to Cargile (2017), “both “macro” attitude objects (e.g., dialects, accents, code-switching) as well as “micro” attitude objects (e.g., lexical, grammatical features)” (p. 1). These attitudes, the author continues, are mostly socially constructed. Gardner-Chloros (2009a) corroborates this view: when mentioning studies on language attitude regarding code-switching, she reports that the results indicated an extremely negative attitude, which contrasted with participants' own use of CS, suggesting that these attitudes were learned, not spontaneous. Ritchie and Bhatia (2006) maintain this perspective, mentioning how most bilinguals “consider [code-switching] to be a sign of “laziness,” an “inadvertent” speech act, an “impurity,” an instance of linguistic decadence and a potential danger to their own linguistic performance” (p. 350), usually apologizing for this language behavior.

Despite these reports, Gardner-Chloros (2009a) notes that there is not much research regarding attitude towards code-switching specifically, and most of the existing studies do not focus solely on language attitudes, but elicit responses to it in addition to other aspects. Despite Gardner-Chloros' book being more than a decade old, this situation does not seem to have changed, at least in a Brazilian context. Searches in platforms such as Portal CAPES showed that studies focusing on attitudes and English were interested in either attitudes towards English as a foreign language (e.g. El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001) or the presence of borrowings from English in the speech of Brazilians (e.g. da Silva and Vieira, 2020).

2.2.4 Code-switching in Literature

Considering that most of the data that informs studies on code-switching come from its spontaneous use in speech, Gardner-Chloros and Weston (2015) note that written code-switching, specifically literary, has only recently gained attention. With this surge of interest comes a methodological issue: how to apply models which were created for oral data to written one. Even though code-switching in written language is said to be more conscious, the authors note that it is possible to apply functions of code-switching developed for speech in literature.

Weston and Gardner-Chloros (2015) caution that “any approach that attempts to sub-divide bilingual phenomena based on spontaneity of production is bound to be less applicable in literature, where production involves a process of reflection” (p. 196). However, they also argue how, for example, Gumperz' (1982) notion of ‘contextualization cues’ can be used to analyze code-switching in literary texts. Even though it is not possible to refer to intonation in writing, these cues are represented, according to the authors, in other means, such as ellipses for strategic pauses, or “discourse markers, length of utterance, or even overtly expressed reformulations or excuses” (p. 206) for repairs and reformulations, as well as the code-switching itself.

According to Gardner-Chloros and Weston (2015), multilingual writers may use different languages, or even mix them, for different purposes, including aesthetics. The authors also state that the use of code-switching in literary texts may serve different functions within the texts themselves, including the differentiation of characters' voices or parts of the text, the characterization of different communities' mixed speech, or even the introduction of different registers.

3. Method

Data in the form of instances of code-switching in the book *Romance Real* (2022) by Clara Alves were identified, collected and categorized according to Myers-Scotton's (1989) Markedness Model and Koziol's (2000) typology. This method is descriptive in nature, with the purpose of understanding how the code-switching present in the book is indexical of characters' identities—in the case of Myers-Scotton's model—and what were their functions within the character's discourse or the narrative—in accordance with Koziol's classification.

After the instances of CS were noted and analyzed, the study assumed a qualitative approach, employing the use of code-switching in *Romance Real* and characters' attitudes towards it as a case study for the discussion of bilinguals' language attitudes in relation to their own and others' code-switching.

3.1 Corpus Selection

Gardner-Chloros and Weston (2015) mention two sociocultural and historic contexts in which literary code-switching is most studied, one of them being contemporary Hispanic literature in the USA. This seems to follow the focus of research on spoken code-switching, which also has several accounts of the contact between Spanish and English in the USA. For this work, there was an interest in investigating literary code-switching in the Brazilian context—specifically, young adult literature, that is, geared towards an audience of 14-21 year-olds, an audience that is shaping its personality, which includes their beliefs and their attitudes towards certain matters, in this case, language. For this reason, the novel *Romance Real*, written by Clara Alves and published in 2022 by Seguinte, was chosen as the corpus—as Alves' books are geared towards the young adult audience and the author is Brazilian.

The plot centers around Dayana, who recently lost her mother and now has to move to London to live with her father, her stepmother and her stepmother's daughter. Dayana's relationship with her father is strained, and her relationship with her stepmother, Lauren, is no better. As the novel is narrated in first person by Dayana herself, we as readers are aware of the difficulty in these relationships from the very beginning. Even though Dayana is fluent in English, she struggles with the accent and oral communication in general, being more at ease with her passive skills—reading and listening. With the exception of Lauren's daughter, Georgia, all of the characters from the family are Brazilian; at home, the four of them speak Brazilian Portuguese, which is Dayana's, her father's and her stepmother's L1, and may be Georgia's L1 or not, as that information is not clear. Being that the novel is a romance,

another important relation of Dayana's is with a girl she meets in London, Diana. They become fast friends and love interests, and communicate both in English and in Portuguese, since Diana's mother is a Brazilian immigrant as well.

Before the death of her mother and, consequently, her move to England, Dayana and her mother used to mock Lauren's mixing of English words in her otherwise Portuguese speech. Among the mentioned characters, she is the one who code-switches the most, and she does it constantly. This is seen as a negative trait by Dayana, which is indicative of their relation as a whole, but also reflects the general attitude of monolinguals and even bilinguals towards code-switching, that is, as an undesirable trait (RITCHIE; BHATIA, 2006). Nonetheless, Dayana and other characters also code-switch in some instances, when they cannot express themselves properly in only one language.

It is not common to have characters speak or mix different languages in young adult Brazilian novels. Therefore, even though neither language nor code-switching are the focus of the book, it was seen as a relevant object of study due to its originality and the influence it may have on a wide audience, considering that this is Clara Alves' third novel and she already has a significant amount of readers. Seeing code-switching, a phenomenon that some of these readers may use themselves, in literature, may help normalize the notion that bi/multilinguals make use of all the languages they have learned, and that this is not indicative of either laziness or lack of fluency.

3.2 Typology Selection

For the categorization of the code-switching that is present in *Romance Real*, there was an interest in not only its type, but also on which functions it served for the characters and the narrative. For that, one model and one typology were chosen: Myers-Scotton's (1989) Markedness Model and Koziol's (2000) classification. Both were developed based on real instances of spoken code-switching, therefore their application to the analysis of literary CS may present challenges. However, I believe they will be useful for the categorization that I intend to make, as it could be said that the characters are the fictional representation of real speakers.

Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model focuses on the social motivations of code-switching, which could be hard to discuss in relation to fictional work, but may present interesting interpretations nonetheless, as Alves' linguistic and stylistic choices and their impact on her readership are analyzed. As for Koziol's functions, they will serve as a set of tools for the analysis of characters' discourse and its implications within a linguistic level. As

it is not common to have code-switching in Brazilian novels, I decided to work with both frameworks in order to achieve a more thorough analysis, discussing both the social and linguistic implications of the use of code-switching as it happens in the novel, and also as it relates to real life data.

3.2.1 Myers-Scotton (1989)

First proposed in 1983⁴, Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model presupposes that the choice of language—or of the mixing of languages—is not only linguistically, but also socially motivated, and that this choice serves to negotiate the relationship between speakers and addressees in a given exchange. Each community and type of exchange will have its own unmarked choice, in this case, the expected code/language to be used, and deviating from this will lead to a marked choice by the speaker, generating a readjustment in the rights and obligations of participants, and consequently on their indexed relation and identities. Therefore, markedness is subjective and dependent on context and participants.

Myers-Scotton proposes the Markedness Model for the code-switch not only between languages, but also between styles and dialects. However, in this work her model will be used exclusively for the analysis of code-switching between English and Portuguese. Even though it was published four decades ago, the model is seminal in the field, and has been used previously in the analysis of literary code-switching.

Within the Markedness Model, there are four possible code-switching types, as can be seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1 - Types of Code-Switching According to Myers-Scotton's (1989) Markedness Model

Type	Description
Sequential unmarked choices	Switching from one unmarked choice to another due to 'external forces' (new participants or new topics, for example). "Having originally made an unmarked choice, speakers wishing to maintain the status quo switch to a new unmarked choice when circumstances change" (p. 336). Although this type of switching is found in all communities, the author advises that this might not be considered as CS, as the

⁴ The most referenced version of this model is Myers-Scotton's 1993 book *Social Motivations for Code-Switching: Evidence from Africa*. Unfortunately I did not have access to it, therefore I am using the 1989 version published in the article *Codeswitching with English: types of switching, types of communities*.

	motivation for the switching comes from a change in situation, and not from the speaker
Switching as an unmarked choice	Common in conversations between bilinguals, as the unmarked choice is “simultaneous participation in two rights and obligations balances, each associated with a different social identity” (p. 336); does not demand changes in situational features for the change of code to occur
CS as a marked choice	Denotes a negotiation of the rights and obligations of participants, changing one unmarked choice for another; also attempts to negotiate the social distance between speakers, by either changing to an ingroup variety, encoding solidarity, or to varieties associated with authority, for example, which furthers the distance between participants
CS as an exploratory choice	When there is no obvious unmarked choice, CS may be used as a form of choosing a mutually acceptable unmarked choice for the given exchange

3.2.2 Koziol (2000)

Koziol’s (2000) monograph *Code-switching Between Spanish and English in Contemporary American Society* is the result of a study conducted in an informal context of which the author was a participant. Although it is focused on Spanish–English code-switching, I believe that the categories proposed by Koziol can be equally applied to the switches between Portuguese and English in *Romance Real*.

For her study, Koziol collected samples of speech in a family event that lasted 16 hours, speaking to 38 people in total. Being part of the family herself, she reports that the environment was relaxed and people spoke to her freely, therefore she was able to obtain authentic instances of code-switching. All of her participants were fluent in both English and Spanish, with some preferring to use one language over the other. Koziol also asked her participants’ opinion about code-switching. After conducting the conversations, Koziol categorized the instances of code-switching into fourteen functions present in the table below. Not all utterances were classified, and some utterances had more than one function.

Table 2 - Functions of Code-Switching According to Koziol (2000)

Function	Description
Personalization	Used more to “talk about issues of personal concern” (p. 30). Creates a feeling of camaraderie and belonging among the speakers
Reiteration	A repetition of exactly the same message in order to re-emphasize a point
Designations (endearments and name calling)	Almost the same function as in a monolingual utterance
Substitution (appositives)	Gives more information, be it a definition or connection, to a specific noun, in order to better identify it
Emphasis	“(…) the choice of one code can emphasize the underlying meaning of a discourse” (p. 32)
Clarification	Used to resolve ambiguities and misunderstandings; specifies a noun or concept
Objectivization	The contrary of personalization; creates a distance between speakers to resist a more intimate atmosphere
Untranslatability	Usually relegated to more abstract issues or concepts that are particular to certain cultures
Mitigating Message	Changing codes to “make the message sound more polite and less demanding” (p. 35)
Interjections	It serves to call the addressee’s attention, and also to highlight what follows the interjection
Parenthesis	Extra information given by the speaker; the use of CS calls attention to an information that might be overlooked if there was no switch
Aggravating Message	“(…) emphasizing the demand by hinting at the severity of the task at hand” (p. 36)

Quotation	Direct quotations, which are usually recounted in the language they were first said
Topic Shift	Abrupt change in code according to the change in topic, demonstrating a relation between certain languages and certain topics

3.3 Procedures

Instances of code-switching were first collected according to the following criteria:

- A word or phrase is explicitly written in a language other than Portuguese;
- The word or phrase switched is contained within the narrative (that is, in the narration⁵ or the dialogues⁶).

After these instances were collected, they were placed in a table on Notion—an application that allows users to create databases with different ‘views’ using filters. Each instance was given its own line, and a whole paragraph or dialogue ‘turn’ was considered as one instance. In Notion databases, there are several types of ‘properties’, such as text, number, select, multi-select, and formulas. According to the properties chosen, one can create views by sorting through a specific property, or filtering to only show certain data; additionally, a relation can be created between two databases—a functionality that was specially useful for the treatment of the data. Besides this initial table, two other databases were created, one for each model or typology chosen to categorize the instances of code-switching, in order to create a relation between the databases and use the property ‘formulas’ to generate results.

In the first database, the following properties were created, with the type of property in parenthesis: page (title), phrase (text), narration or dialogue, character, language switch (select), type, and functions (relation). Additionally, the property context (text) was also created, but did not always need to be filled. Figures 1 and 2, below, illustrate this database before and after it was filled.

⁵ As in the following example: “Diana suspirou enquanto beliscava um mirtilo. Ou era um *cranberry*? Eu sempre me confundia com aquelas frutas.”

⁶ As in the following example: “— Sabemos que você está num momento difícil, mas seu pai e eu te recebemos de braços abertos, apesar da sua atitude *rebel without a cause*.”

Figure 1 - Database ‘code-switching instances’ before the data



code-switching instances

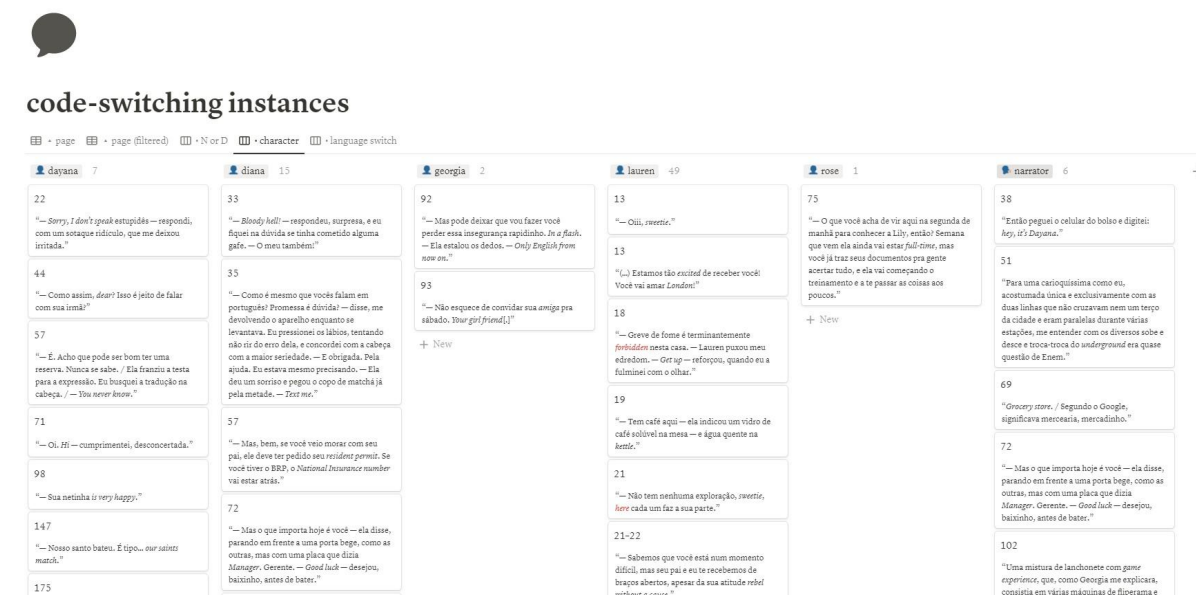
phrase	N or D	character	language switch	function(s)	type	context

+ New

unique 0 count 3 unique 0 unique 0 unique 0

Source: created by the author (2023)

Figure 2 - Database ‘code-switching instances’ after being filled, in the view ‘character’



code-switching instances

page (filtered) N or D character language switch

dayana 7	diana 15	georgia 2	lauren 49	rose 1	narrator 6
22 "— Sorry, I don't speak estupidês — respondi, com um sorriso ridículo, que me deixou irritada."	33 "— Bloody hell! — respondeu, surpresa, e eu fiquei na dúvida se tinha cometido alguma gafé. — O meu também!"	92 "— Mas pode deixar que vou fazer você perder essa insegurança rapidinho. In a flash. — Ela estalou os dedos. — Only English from now on."	13 "— Oiii, sweetie."	75 "— O que você acha de vir aqui na segunda de manhã para conhecer a Lily, então? Semana que vem ela ainda vai estar full-time, mas você já tem seu documento pra gente acertar tudo, e ela vai começando o treinamento e a te passar as coisas aos poucos."	38 "Estão peguei o celular do bolso e digitei: hey, it's Dayana."
44 "— Como assim, dear? Isso é jeito de falar com sua irmã?"	35 "— Como é mesmo que vocês falam em português? Promessa é divórcio! — disse, me devolvendo o aparelho enquanto se levantava. Eu pressionei os lábios, tentando não rir do erro dela, e concordei com a cabeça com um sorriso seriedade. — Obrigada. Pela ajuda. Eu estava mesmo precisando. — Ela deu um sorriso e pegou o copo de matcha já pela metade. — Text me."	93 "— Não esquece de convidar sua amiga pra sábado. Your girl friend!"	13 "— (...) Estamos tão excited de receber você! Você vai amar London!"	+ New	51 "Para uma carquiosíssima como eu, acostumada única e exclusivamente com as duas linhas que são cruzavam nem um tempo da cidade e eram paralelas durante várias estações, me entender com os diversos sobre e desce e troca-troca do underground era quase questão de Eniem."
57 "— É. Acho que pode ser bom ter uma reserva. Nunca se sabe. / Ela franziu a testa para a expressão. Eu busquei a tradução na cabeça. / — You never know."	57 "— Mas, bem, se você veio morar com seu pai, ele deve ter pedido seu resident permit. Se você vive o BRZ, o National Insurance number vai estar atrás."	+ New	18 "— Greve de fome é terminantemente forbidden nesta casa. — Lauren puxou meu edredom. — Get up — reforçou, quando eu a fulminei com o olhar."	69 "Grocery store. / Segundo o Google, significava mercearia, mercadinho."	72 "— Mas o que importa hoje é você — ela disse, passando em frente a uma porta bege, como as outras, mas com uma placa que dizia Manager. Gerente. — Good luck — desejou, balzinho, antes de bater."
71 "— Oi, hi — cumprimentei, desconcertada."	72 "— Mas o que importa hoje é você — ela disse, passando em frente a uma porta bege, como as outras, mas com uma placa que dizia Manager. Gerente. — Good luck — desejou, balzinho, antes de bater."	+ New	19 "— Tem café aqui — ela indicou um vidro de café solúvel na mesa — e água quente na kettle."	102 "Uma mistura de lanhonete com gener experience, que como Georgia me explicara, consistia em várias máquinas de filipeira e	
98 "— Sua netinha is very happy."			21 "— Não tem nenhuma exploração, sweetie, here cada um faz a sua parte."		
147 "— Nosso santo batem. É tipo... our saint's match."			21-22 "— Sabemos que você está num momento difícil, mas seu pai e eu te recebemos de braços abertos, apesar da sua atitude rebel without a cause."		
175					

Source: created by the author (2023)

For the databases of each framework, initially only three properties were created: one for the type, in the case of Myers-Scotton's, or the function, for Koziol's, a second for the definition of each type/function, and a relation with the database containing the instances of code-switching. As the typology databases were populated with information from the main database, another property of the type 'rollup' was created, generating the amount of instances of code-switching for each type/function, as can be seen in Figure 3. These properties and relations between databases allowed for the later processing and analysis of data in order to answer the research questions.

Figure 3 - Database ‘Koziol (2000)’ after being filled, in the view ‘instances (#)’

Koziol (2000)

# #	Aa function	≡ definition	↗ instances	Q instances (#)	+ ...
3	• Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	“The function here is almost exactly the same as the function of endearments or pet names in a monolingual utterance” (p. 31)	📄 13 📄 21 📄 40 📄 43 📄 44 📄 44 📄 44 📄 84 📄 98 📄 110-111 +16	26	
8	• Untranslatability	Usually relegated to more abstract issues or concepts. “The untranslatable concepts are particular to a certain culture” (p. 34) [mot juste]	📄 57 📄 179 📄 175 📄 174 📄 159 📄 173 📄 102 📄 51 📄 27 📄 33	10	
2	• Reiteration	“This function occurs when a speaker repeats exactly what he has said in another language to re-emphasize his point” (p. 30).	📄 57 📄 71 📄 72 📄 93 📄 147 📄 192 📄 192 📄 92	8	
10	• Interjections	It serves to call the addressee’s attention, and also to highlight what follows the interjection (p. 35)	📄 33 📄 110-111 📄 188 📄 238 📄 236 📄 168 📄 97 📄 96	8	
5	• Emphasis	“(…) the choice of one code can emphasize the underlying meaning of a discourse” (p. 32)	📄 158 📄 111 📄 97 📄 92 📄 83 📄 38 📄 22	7	
6	• Clarification	“(…) occurs when a speaker wants to specify what he or she is talking about. To clarify something also means that the speaker resolves any ambiguity and averts misunderstanding or incomplete understanding” / “(…) the switch also has an element of personalization, and is linked with topic” / “Clarification should be separated from the category Substitution/Appositives by both the function and the syntax” / “whereas ‘substitution’ offers a direct equivalent to a noun, ‘clarification’ specifies or elaborates on a certain noun or concept” (p. 33)	📄 239 📄 170 📄 21-22	3	

Source: created by the author (2023)

4. Results and Discussion

Following the criteria established for the data collection, initially, 91 instances of code-switching were extracted from the novel. After a brief analysis, 10 of those were discarded, based on two situations: (a) the English word is an established borrowing in Brazilian Portuguese (e.g. *stalker*, *date*) or (b) the phrases/utterances were considered to be full L2 speech, that is, completely in English, not a code-switch between the two languages, as illustrated by examples (1) and (2).

(1) “— *Breakfast!* — falou, quando me viu acordada.”

(2) “— *Of course!* — Lauren disse, exaltada.”

Defining what is a borrowing in a written media is complex, as borrowings are generally understood as so due to their morphological and phonological integration into the L1, which is not something that can be attested in writing. At first, being that it would be impossible to determine if these words would be pronounced following Brazilian Portuguese or English phonetic rules, I thought it would be better to consider them all as switches. But as to not impair the results of the analysis, I later decided to exclude noun borrowings.

As for the second rule for filtering, a distinction needed to be made in relation to what constitutes a switch. As the text is written in Brazilian Portuguese, all instances of English text could, at first, be considered switches⁷. However, seeing as the book is narrated in first person, I decided to treat only the insertion of words from language A in language B, or the complete switch from one language to another, as code-switches. Therefore, if a character produced a speech solely in English, it was not considered a switch, but an L2 utterance.

Of the remaining 81 instances of code-switching, some contained more than one switched word or phrase. Thus, another distinction needs to be made between instances of code-switching and individual switches. An instance was considered a full paragraph, in the case of narration, and a full dialogue turn—that is, narration between characters' lines was ignored, so that the full line was considered one individual instance. Individual switches were every word or phrase of language A inserted into language B. The number of instances of code-switching, therefore, does not equal the number of individual switches. This difference is not significant to Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, since for the author, the choice of whether or not to switch is more important than each individual switch; it did cause an impact in the classification according to Koziol's function, as some instances received more than one classification, causing the sum of the classified instances to be different than the total number of instances found in the novel.

With that being said, not all instances or individual switches were able to be classified. That is a limitation that was also present in Koziol's study, and is to be expected, since not all switches have a set function, or fit well into the social motivations of the Markedness Model, especially in the case of written—and, more importantly, fictional—switching. It is also important to take into consideration that literary code-switching may very well serve stylistic and narrative functions more so than social and pragmatic ones. It seems plausible to say that, even though Alves may have tried to mimic bilinguals' linguistic behavior, some code-switching present in the novel may have been done to develop the characters' personalities and stories, and words or phrases which were switched may have been the ones closest to Brazilian Portuguese, as to not cause confusion among monolingual readers.

4.1 Code-switching in Romance Real

In this section, I will address research questions 1 and 2, that is, how code-switching is present in the novel, and how these instances of code-switching can be categorized according

⁷ This type of situation will be discussed more in section 4.1.

to the two frameworks chosen: Myers-Scotton (1989) for the types and Koziol (2000) for the functions.

As stated above, there is a difference between the overall number of instances of code-switching and the overall number of individual switches. After discarding some instances that were not suitable for the analysis, the result was 81 instances of code-switching, with 106 individual switches in total. Most instances only contained one individual switch, and the maximum of individual switches per instance was 4.

Several switched words are nouns, most of them with great resemblance to their Portuguese translation. This could be due to stylistic and editorial choices, as Alves' intended readership is most likely not a bilingual one, therefore it would be easier for them to recognize these words in English if they are close, maybe even cognates, to their Portuguese counterparts.

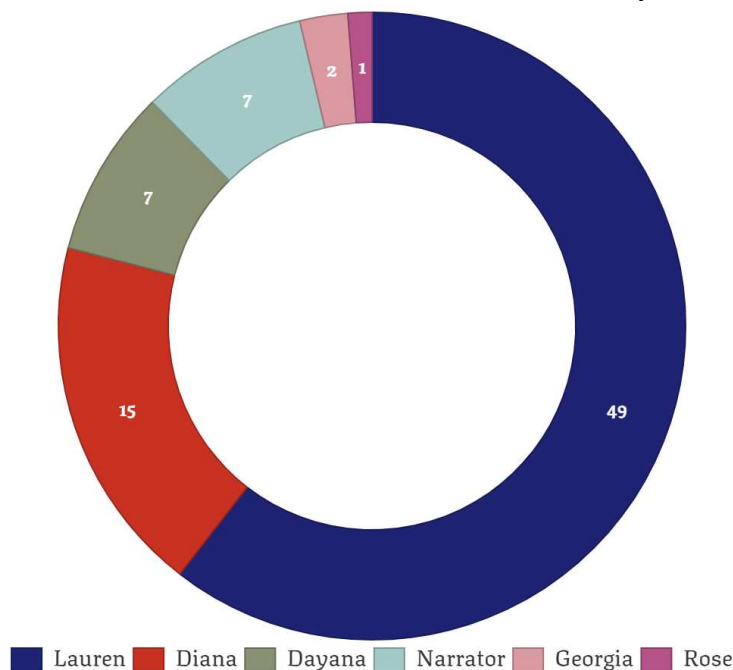
4.1.1 Narration vs. Dialogue

As was expected before the analysis, most of the code-switching happens in dialogue ($n = 74$), with a small portion present in narration ($n = 7$). The switches in narration are related to descriptions of places/objects or activities, with the exception present in example (3), in which the narrator, who is the main character, Dayana, describes a message she sent to another character.

(3) “Então peguei o celular do bolso e digitei: *hey, it's Dayana.*”

4.1.2 Characters

Figure 4 - Code-switches in *Romance Real* divided by characters



Source: created by the author (2023)

The characters who code-switch the most are Lauren ($n = 49$) and Diana ($n = 15$), although the way they code-switch is quite different. Lauren code-switches with every character, but she only interacts with members of her family, so even though she seems at ease with switching between languages, it is impossible to say if she does so in more formal contexts, even with other bilinguals. Diana, on the other hand, seems to code-switch mostly out of lack of lexical knowledge, noticeable by the ellipses sometimes placed before and/or after the switch.

Even though she is the main character, Dayana is third in the overall instances of code-switching ($n = 7$). Her switches are also mostly out of lexical knowledge, but not hers, Diana's. Several switches occur when she and Diana are speaking Portuguese and she says a phrase that Diana does not understand, therefore she tries to find a corresponding expression or word in English. Example (4) illustrates this: Dayana expresses in narration that she wants to say she had a 'rolo' with a boy, but that Diana might not understand what a 'rolo' is, so she switches to English.

(4) “— Eu tive *a thing* com um garoto, ano passado[.]”

As the novel is narrated in first person, for the purpose of the classification, the narrator was also considered as a character. Even though Dayana is the narrator, I felt the need

to classify these instances as different due to the origin of the code-switching, that is, dialogue or narration. As a narrator, Dayana also code-switches 7 times, as was shown in the subsection above.

The characters who code-switch the least are Georgia and Rose, Diana's mom. Rose barely appears in the novel, thus has fewer dialogue lines, and only one of them contains a switch. Georgia switches only 2 times, and both of these times it is intentional, with her either declaring her intention of switching to another language (5), or trying to make a pun that is only possible in the other language, as in (6).

(5) “— Mas pode deixar que vou fazer você perder essa insegurança rapidinho. *In a flash*. — Ela estalou os dedos. — *Only English from now on*.”

(6) “— Não esquece de convidar sua amiga pra sábado. *Your girl friend*[.]”

4.1.3 Languages

The majority of switches happen from Portuguese to English ($n = 71$), with only ten instances of code-switching from English to Portuguese. For this category, there was a difficulty in determining which is the direction of the switch, considering that some phrases start in language A, mostly with one or two words, then switch to B and have words from language A inserted again. Some models, such as Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Model, would determine that there is a matrix language and an embedded language, so determining which is the matrix language would also determine the direction of the switch. That does not always apply very well with this novel, so my criteria for the categorization was the language in which the phrase/utterance began.

The instances that started in English and switched to Portuguese almost always began with an exclamation or an endearment, as in examples (7) and (8). On the other hand, instances that started in Portuguese and switched to English varied greatly in type.

(7) Diana: “— *Bloody hell!* — respondeu, surpresa, e eu fiquei na dúvida se tinha cometido alguma gafe. — O meu também!”

(8) Lauren: “— *Darling*, se acalme.”

4.1.4 Types

By choosing to use the Markedness Model—an inherently sociologically motivated framework—to analyze the data, I first had to make a choice: analyze the novel within its context, that is, a contemporary young adult novel written in Portuguese and published in Brazil, in which case the unmarked choice of language would be Brazilian Portuguese, and any deviation from that would constitute a marked choice by the author; or analyze the data

within the universe of the novel, considering the first person narrator as an individual and every character that code-switches in dialogue as well, in which case code-switching could be considered the unmarked choice, since all characters are bilingual—most of them being Brazilian immigrants—and are talking amongst themselves.

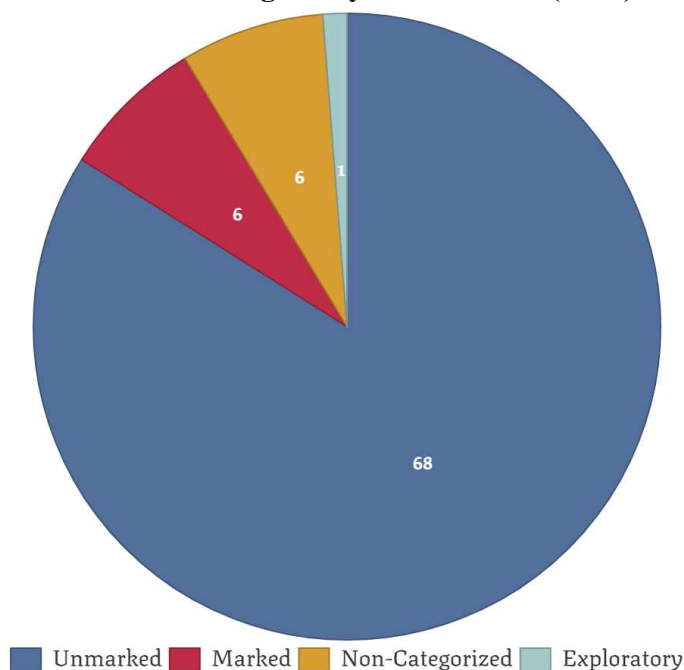
In the first case, a set of rights and obligations would be created between Alves and her readership, a perspective that yields better results with the analysis of poetry, in which the author's voice tends to be clearer (e.g. Barnes, 2011; Mendieta-Lombardo and Cintron, 1995). Following this path, the author uses code-switching as a form of engaging with their audience, therefore Alves' use of CS could be related to the portrayal of specific members of a community, in this case Brazilian immigrants and their children, in order to produce a response from her readers, be it annoyance, following Dayana's first impressions of the way Lauren speaks, or even empathy and representation, as they may recognize a behavior they do themselves with other bilingual peers.

Since *Romance Real* is not a bilingual novel, in the sense of using both Portuguese and English interchangeably and being aimed at a bilingual audience, I decided to choose the second option, that is, work with the fictional narrative created by Alves. For that, however, I had to presuppose that these characters had intentions and indexed identities, which is not exactly the case since characters do not have autonomy, but I argue that they represent real groups of people that do have the autonomy to make these marked or unmarked code choices proposed by Myers-Scotton.

Additionally, Myers-Scotton worked mostly with communities that were colonized, such as Nairobi, and where code-switching is common and usually an unmarked choice due to the presence of the English language brought by the colonizers, as well as local *linguas francas* and ethnic dialects. It could be argued that this use of code-switching as an unmarked choice is also the case for bilingual immigrant communities, in which individuals code-switch freely and most likely unconsciously due to having both their native language and their new country's official language available as tools for communication.

With that being said, the results obtained by the classification of the code-switching instances in *Romance Real* with the Markedness Model are illustrated in Figure 5, below.

Figure 5 - Instances of CS according to Myers-Scotton's (1989) Markedness Model



Source: created by the author (2023)

As was expected, most of the code-switching present in the book fell either into the Unmarked or Marked choice types, with the overwhelmingly majority being Unmarked ($n = 68$). As mentioned above, this is representative of the social relations between characters, since most of them belong to the same family, and those who do not, still share intimate connections with each other. Moreover, most of the exchanges are held within intimate spaces, such as the family home, offering more opportunities to speak freely and use code-switching. As for the rest of the data, none of the switches in the novel fell into the Sequential Unmarked Choice type, and only one was classified as an Exploratory Choice.

There was also some difficulty in determining the type of code-switching in the narration. Considering that the novel is narrated in first person by the point of view of Dayana, it could be argued that all code-switches present in the narration are Marked, as the addressees are the readers and, being a young adult Brazilian novel, the intended readership is most likely not bilingual. However, since my choice was to treat the data within the fictionalized universe created by Alves, this interpretation would not fit with the rest of the analysis, and I preferred to not categorize most of these instances.

Following the pattern of who code-switches the most and the type of code-switch most found in the novel, it is not surprising that Lauren and Diana are the characters who code-switch as an Unmarked Choice the most, as they both seem to be the most comfortable with their bilingual and bicultural identities. Diana does switch multiple times seemingly

because of a lack of knowledge or confidence in the word or expression she is using in BP (9), or because she seems to be more comfortable with certain terms in English (10), but even so she understood that irrespectively of the situation, when she is in a conversation solely with Dayana, they both assume their bilingual/bicultural identities and code-switch as necessary.

(9) “— Não, pelo contrário, ele foi bem... *thoughtful*. Atencioso, acho?”

(10) “— Ela disse que eles se conheceram *at St. Andrews University, in Scotland*.”

Lauren, on the other hand, code-switches when speaking to everyone, but contrary to Diana, she was not born in England, but rather immigrated to the country as an adult. In her case, English was an L2, but as her primary language outside her home, it seems natural that she inserts English words, especially nouns, in her Portuguese speech, since they are more readily accessible to her—such as in examples (11) and (12). Furthermore, since the other characters do not show negative attitudes to her code-switching while it is happening, it can be assumed that the mixture of English and Portuguese is the unmarked choice for communicating within the family, at least on her part.

(11) “— Tem café aqui — ela indicou um vidro de café solúvel na mesa — e água quente na *kettle*.”

(12) “— Georgia e eu estávamos agorinha mesmo comentando sobre a *summer sale*, que vai começar semana que vem.”

Among the instances when code-switching was a Marked Choice, the most obvious are when Dayana is first speaking with Georgia (13), and also when she uses ‘dear’ in an ironic way (14), because she usually does not code-switch with other family members, only with Daiana, who she knows does not have a native’s level of understanding of Portuguese.

(13) “— *Sorry, I don’t speak* estupidês — respondi, com um sotaque ridículo, que me deixou irritada.”

(14) “— Como assim, *dear*? Isso é jeito de falar com sua irmã?”

Conversely, Georgia also code-switches as a Marked Choice when speaking with Dayana, not with the intention of changing the social distance between them, I believe, but mostly because they are not shown to code-switch during conversations among themselves, and also because in both times Georgia was emphasizing her message, or the implications behind her message, to Dayana.

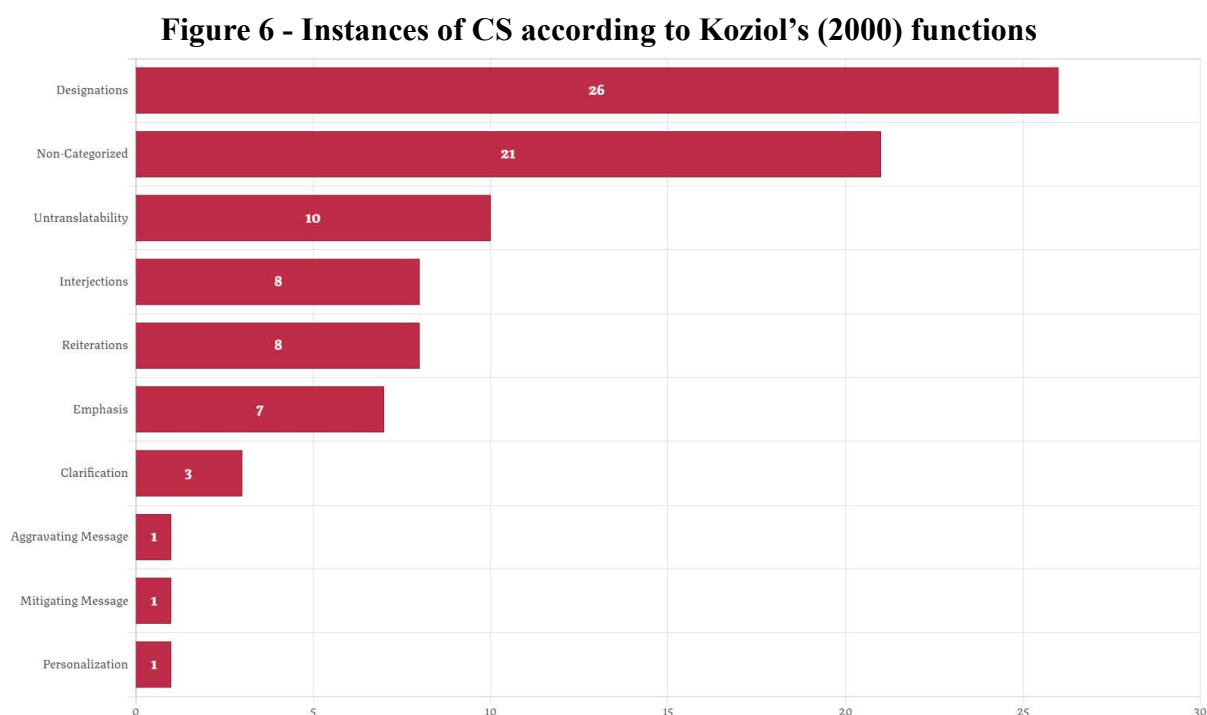
As for the category of Code-Switching as an Exploratory Choice, there was only one instance present in the novel that seemed to fit it. That is when Dayana first meets Rosa, Diana’s mother, and she says ‘hi’ both in Portuguese and in English, because she is unsure of which language will be used in the exchange, as shown in (15).

(15) “— Oi. *Hi* — cumprimentei, desconcertada.”

The results were within the expectations, considering, as mentioned, not only the close relationship between characters, but also the context in which most of the conversations that contained code-switching happened—at home. Being bilingual immigrants—or children of immigrants—and, therefore, having two indexed social identities, these characters code-switching among themselves mirrors what happens in real immigrant communities, that is, the constant use of two or more varieties in conversation. As Myers-Scotton (1989) points out, each individual switch does not possess social significance, but the act of switching itself is what carries the social message—in this case, that participants have more than one identity.

4.1.5 Functions

Of Koziol’s 14 categories, 9 were present in *Romance Real*, albeit three of them in only one individual switch each. Figure 6 below illustrates all categories in which the switches were classified along with the total number of instances of code-switching for each function. As some instances were classified according to more than one function, the sum will not amount to 81 instances.



Source: created by the author (2023)

Apart from the non-categorized switches, the function that appeared the most was Designations, specifically endearments. This function was present in 26 instances, most of them from the character Lauren. Considering that there is a correspondence between endearments in bilingual and monolingual conversations, the overuse of code-switched endearments does not seem to say much about Lauren's linguistic ability, more so her personality. Examples (16), (17), and (18) show how these endearments were present in different parts of the phrases.

(16) “— *Sweetie*, estou tão feliz que você voltou!”

(17) “— Georgia, *dear*, você está aí?”

(18) “— Prioridades, *ok, sweetie?*”

The second most present functions were Untranslatability and Interjections, with 10 and 8 instances respectively. The switches due to untranslatability did not necessarily involve culture specific words, but more so activities and documents, as in examples (19) and (20). The interjections serve to call the addressee's attention, as in example (21).

(19) Narration: “Uma mistura de lanchonete com *game experience*, que, como Georgia me explicara, consistia em várias máquinas de fliperama e um armário cheio de jogos de tabuleiro.”

(20) Diana: “— Mas, bem, se você veio morar com seu pai, ele deve ter pedido seu *resident permit*. Se você tiver o BRP, o *National Insurance number* vai estar atrás.”

(21) Diana: “— *Bloody hell!* — respondeu, surpresa, e eu fiquei na dúvida se tinha cometido alguma gafe. — O meu também!”

Reiteration and Emphasis pertained, respectively, to 8 and 7 instances of code-switching each, and both of these categories serve to also call the addressee's attention to the meaning behind the discourse, with reiterations being a form of emphasis as well. Example (22) shows Lauren reiterating how she is feeling, and example (23) shows the same character emphasizing what she has just said.

(22) (Lauren is speaking with Roberto, Dayana's father, about Georgia's diagnosis of fibromyalgia. She first states in Portuguese, and then in English, how difficult it has been to cope with the situation.)

“— Não sei o que vou fazer se confirmarem essa doença, *darling*, não aguento ficar vendo minha filha assim. *I can't bear it.*”

(23) (With this line, Lauren is instructing Dayana and Georgia on how to proceed at the store. She begins with an interjection and finishes with an emphasis, as to call attention to the fact that the girls need to be careful with their father's money.)

“— *Ok, then*, nosso ponto de encontro é no caixa. — (...) — Vocês podem pegar o quiserem, mas tenham juízo, não queremos levar seu pai à falência, *right, girls?*”

With fewer instances of CS are the functions of Clarification, Aggravating Message, Mitigating Message and Personalization. By clarifying a message through code-switching, the speaker eliminates ambiguity as to what they mean to say. In example (24), Lauren begins in Portuguese and switches to English to clarify what it is that they are going to do.

(24) “— Vamos, meninas. *Let's go get Dayana's girl!*”

Aggravating and Mitigating Message are two ends of a line, with the intention to either emphasize a demand or present it as something less unpleasant. The first can be seen in example (25), and the latter in example (26). Personalization, in turn, creates a sense of belonging among the speakers, as exemplified in (27).

(25) (Lauren is waking Dayane up on her first full day in their house. Besides the first switch to English with ‘forbidden’, she also does it as a way of showing how serious she is.)

“— Greve de fome é terminantemente *forbidden* nesta casa. — Lauren puxou meu edredom. — *Get up* — reforçou, quando eu a fulminei com o olhar.”

(26) (Conversely, in this dialogue Lauren is speaking with her daughter, Georgia, before she is diagnosed with fibromyalgia. Georgia feels pain, but does not know what causes it, and Lauren thinks she needs to try harder to get better. In order to make her demand less harsh, she not only switches to English but also uses an endearment.)

“— *I know, dear*, mas você precisa tentar.”

(27) (Lauren and Dayana had a fight because Dayana thought her stepmother was being fatphobic, but it was a misunderstanding. When discussing the situation and making amends, Lauren code-switches when saying the adjective, which could create the feeling of having a closer relationship.)

“Você é *beautiful* do seu jeitinho.”

In comparison with Koziol’s own set of data, I had approximately half the amount of instances of code-switching—in her study, Koziol collected 168 samples. She was also unable to categorize several instances, as ‘other’—which seems to correspond to my ‘non-categorized’—appeared as the second highest percentage of switches by function. From her samples, the most present functions were Personalization, Reiteration and Designations, in this order. These functions, in my data, fell into the end, ‘middle’ and top of the categorization, respectively, according to the amount of instances of code-switching.

Of Koziol’s functions, it appears that the most present ones were those that could be related to Alves’ use of code-switching as a literary device. As much as I am treating these

characters as representatives of real bilinguals, the overall amount of Designations and Untranslatability points to the fact that terms of endearment are easily identifiable and understandable for the monolingual Brazilian reader; and that terms that are particular to certain cultures, such as food and places, are harder to translate or do not have equivalents in the target language, creating a perfect opportunity to have a character code-switch.

4.2 Code-switching and language attitudes

Besides the presence of code-switching throughout the novel, another aspect that calls the attention in regards to the use of English is characters' attitudes to the switch between the two languages. This is not a central point of the narrative, and may have been used more as a narrative tool to develop the relationship between the main character, Dayana, and her stepmother, Lauren, than as an actual representation of bilinguals' attitudes. However, as these characters are being treated as individuals in this work, it is important to correlate their linguistic behavior to those of who they represent, that is, real bilingual speakers. Therefore, one of my research questions aimed at identifying characters' attitudes towards code-switching, and comparing them to language attitudes described in empirical research.

From the very beginning, it is clear that Dayana finds Lauren's Portuguese–English code-switching obnoxious, a fact that she narrates as such: "I had spoken to Lauren a few times on the phone. My mother and I laughed about the affected way she spoke, mixing English and Portuguese, and we made fun of the fake tone in her voice every time she spoke to me as if we were best friends⁸" (p. 13, my translation). Her attitude towards Lauren's CS, however, is inherently dependent on her attitude towards Lauren herself, as well as Lauren's role as her stepmother and her father's new wife.

Dayana never outwardly expresses her negative attitude towards Lauren's code-switches, however. When she goes to London to live with her father and his 'new family', she is immediately greeted in a mixture of Portuguese and English, which she does not comment on. Throughout the novel, Dayana code-switches herself a few times, most of them intentionally, either due to untranslatability or to cause a reaction by being ironic. This behavior is on par with reports given by Ritchie and Bhatia (2006) and Gardner-Chloros (2009a), for example, that even bilinguals who have negative attitudes towards code-switching do it, especially when speaking with other bilinguals.

⁸ Eu tinha falado com Lauren algumas vezes ao telefone. Minha mãe e eu ríamos do seu jeito afetado, misturando inglês e português, e zombávamos do tom falso em sua voz toda vez que ela conversava comigo como se fôssemos melhores amigas.

According to the Markedness Model, using code-switching as a Marked Choice could cause strangeness and a shift, perhaps negative, of participants' social relation. This could be applied to Lauren and Dayana, as Lauren's speech is always a mixture of Portuguese and English, a choice that would definitely be Marked if used in a conversation with a monolingual who lives in a monolingual context—as can be assumed of Dayana when she was a child, living with her mother in Brazil and briefly talking to Lauren on the phone. When Dayana moves to England, perhaps due to their relationship getting better, or the fact that she is now also an immigrant and sees the need to use both her languages at times, she seems to be more accepting of code-switching.

There is not much research in regards to code-switching between Brazilian Portuguese and English in Brazil, possibly due to the lack of necessity for this linguistic behavior, as opposed to CS between BP and Spanish, more present in the country, especially in bordering cities (e.g. Mozzillo, 2013), or CS between BP and native languages, also prominent (e.g. Mesquita, 2016). Research into code-switching between BP and English in the United States of America is more fruitful, be it with first or second generation immigrants. However, linguistic attitudes themselves are not always discussed, with the focus being on the phenomenon of code-switching itself and its social and discursive implications for the studied community. An exception to this is Bensabat-Ott's (2001) study, conducted with 8 Brazilian immigrants in Chicago. Contrary to the general literature on language attitudes towards code-switching, out of the eight informants, only one had an overtly negative attitude towards CS, while the other seven view it positively and as a tool of communication, due to untranslatability, easiness of access to the switched language's lexicon, or clarity.

As much as Bensabat-Ott's informants' attitudes do not correspond to Dayana's, or even to most of the literature on the subject, their reasons for viewing code-switching positively could be correlated to Koziol's functions discussed in this study. Some code-switching produced by both Dayana and Diana was due to untranslatability; Lauren's code-switching seems to be due to having easier access to English lexicon, especially nouns, or because she might prefer terms of endearment in English than in Portuguese; Dayana, Diana and Lauren code-switch one time each for clarification, the switch giving more information about the message.

Even though the language attitudes demonstrated by Dayana may only serve as a plot device to show the development of her relationship with Lauren, with Alves having no intention of replicating real bilinguals' language attitudes towards CS, it is important to note that Dayana's attitudes do follow what has been identified by empirical and theoretical

research, that is, that even bilinguals' who have negative language attitudes towards code-switching utilize this tool, and that for those who have positive attitudes, their reasoning for using it is on par with what was found in the novel.

5. Final Remarks

Speakers use all of their available tools to communicate as effectively as possible; for bi/multilinguals, this involves code-switching, especially when speaking among themselves in contexts where this behavior is expected. As a reflection of real-life people and scenarios, fiction can allow us a window into the portrayal of certain linguistic behaviors and how it may affect communication and the relationship between characters. Additionally, it can expose readers to linguistic practices that they might produce themselves, generating a feeling of representation and normalizing the action as inherent to bilinguals' communication.

In this work, I have attempted to demonstrate how the phenomenon of code-switching is present in the Brazilian novel *Romance Real*, written by Clara Alves in 2022. Particularly, the present study intended to analyze if it happens in narration or dialogue, which characters code-switch and how, and which languages are switched to. Furthermore, how this code-switching can be classified according to Myers-Scotton's (1989) Markedness Model and Koziol's (2000) functions, and what are the implications of this classification. Finally, I aimed at discussing characters' reaction to said code-switching and its resemblance to real-life language attitudes.

To achieve these objectives, data in the form of instances of code-switching, that is, every switch to English, were first collected from the novel, then placed in a table in Notion, filtered according to a set of criteria, and classified according to the model and typology cited above. With this process, I obtained 81 instances of code-switching, considered to be the whole paragraph, in the case of narration, and the whole dialogue turn, in the case of dialogue. Some instances contained more than one individual switch, therefore the number of instances is different from the number of individual switches, which amounted to 104.

The results showed that of the 81 instances of code-switching present in the book, most of them happen in dialogues ($n = 74$), with a minority happening in narration ($n = 7$). The characters who code-switch the most are Lauren ($n = 49$) and Diana ($n = 15$), with Dayana ($n = 7$), the narrator ($n = 7$), Georgia ($n = 2$) and Rose ($n = 1$) following. The direction of the switch, when it comes to the languages, is mostly from Portuguese to English ($n = 71$), with some instances going from English to Portuguese as well ($n = 10$).

Not all instances of code-switching were able to be classified according to their types or functions. That was expected, not only because even with natural speech not every code-switch serves a set function, but also because these tools were developed based on ‘real-life’ code-switching and have not been adapted to the analysis of literary CS. As there is no model specifically for the analysis of fictional code-switching, as far as this author is aware, these were still valid frameworks to work with. Additionally, I have worked with vastly different tools. Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model is based on speakers’ social motivations to switching, therefore it posed more difficulty during the analysis process because I had to choose between considering the novel in its context—a young adult Brazilian novel written in Portuguese and published in Brazil—or only work within the fictional universe of the novel. Koziol’s typology, on the other hand, is concerned with the discursive functions of code-switching for bilinguals.

That being said, almost all of the instances of code-switching were able to be classified according to the Markedness Model, with only 6 being unclassified. Of the three types of choices the speaker could make by code-switching, three were present in the novel: CS as an Unmarked Choice ($n = 68$), CS as a Marked Choice ($n = 6$), and CS as an Exploratory Choice ($n = 1$). Koziol’s typology was not as fruitful, as many of the instances ($n = 21$) were not able to be classified. Of the 14 functions the author proposes, 9 were present in the novel, with the most present function being Designations, specifically endearments ($n = 26$). The categories that had the least amount of instances of code-switching were Aggravating Message, Mitigating Message and Personalization, with one instance each.

These results show that code-switching was treated as a normal linguistic behavior by the characters during most of the novel, as they were interacting with other bilinguals and most of the exchanges happened in informal settings, such as the family home, and between characters who are intimate with each other. Even though code-switching is used naturally, there is a mention of negative attitudes towards it on the part of Dayana at the beginning of the novel, as she describes that she and her late mother used to laugh at the way Lauren speaks and the way she mixes English and Portuguese. Dayana’s behavior is mostly on par with research about language attitudes towards code-switching, in that even bilinguals usually view it negatively, even if they themselves do it. However, it is important to notice that since the object of this study consists of a novel and its characters, Alves may very well have used Dayana’s attitudes to Lauren’s code-switching more as a plot point to show the poor relationship between the characters than as a reflection of real bilinguals’ attitudes towards the phenomenon. The same can be said for the code-switching in general, since the choice of

which words to switch might have been more drawn towards how easy they would be for monolingual readers to understand than how well they represent real bilinguals' use of code-switching.

5.1 *Limitations and Future Research*

Since *Romance Real* is not a multilingual novel—that is, a novel that uses English and Portuguese interchangeably and is aimed at a multilingual audience—nor does it set out to be, the instances of code-switching did not amount to such a high number, resulting in a corpus that was not too comprehensive. Although most of the instances of code-switching were able to be classified according to Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, several of them were unclassified according to Koziol's typology. Despite these unclassified instances being expected, I believe Koziol's typology might have been more useful if there were more instances of code-switching to be analyzed, considering that only 9 of the 14 functions were found, and three of these nine only had one instance of CS each.

Moreover, neither of the two typologies used were my first options for the analysis, nor were they a perfect match to use with a literary work. The first choice of typology for the categorization of code-switching into functions was Richardson's (2000) masters thesis *Portu-English: análise de code-switching português-inglês no discurso coloquial de uma família bilingüe*, due to the language pair being the same as in Alves' novel, as well as the fact that the code-switching investigated happens in informal contexts. Unfortunately, the thesis is only available in PUC-Rio's library, to which I did not have access.

For future research, it might be more useful to work with multilingual novels in which the social motivations behind the code-switching can be better aligned to the context in which it is published, and there probably will be more functions of code-switching present. That being said, *Romance Real* is a realistic novel that mimics the behaviors of real life bilinguals, and is successful in this regard, therefore it provided enough data for the purpose of this work.

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Appendices









APPENDIX A - DISCARDED INSTANCES OF CODE-SWITCHING





#	Page	Instance	Motive
1	11	“E, mesmo que a One Direction estivesse num hiato interminável, eu ainda podia sonhar com um <i>comeback</i> emocionante sendo anunciado coincidentemente no período da minha visita, com um daqueles shows enormes em Wembley e, quem sabe, até um <i>meet & greet</i> .”	Borrowing
2	18	“— <i>Breakfast!</i> — falou, quando me viu acordada.”	Full L2 speech
3	19	“— <i>Good morning</i> , Dayana[.]”	Full L2 speech
4	52	“— Quer dizer que esse é o <i>point</i> dos jovens britânicos?”	Borrowing
5	69	“ <i>Grocery store</i> . / Segundo o Google, significava mercearia, mercadinho.”	Different paragraphs (brackett indicates change of paragraph)
6	71	“— Com isso não precisa se preocupar, já tenho planos para o nosso próximo <i>date</i> — completou com uma piscadela.”	Borrowing
7	77	“Até porque <i>palavrão</i> é uma coisa de <i>feeling</i> : dependendo da entonação, a gente nem precisa traduzir para entender.”	Borrowing
8	158	“— É o <i>boy</i> de ontem?”	Borrowing
9	160	“— <i>Great talk, sweetie</i> .”	Full L2 speech
10	239	“— <i>Of course!</i> — Lauren disse, exaltada.”	Full L2 speech

APPENDIX B - REMAINING INSTANCES OF CODE-SWITCHING







Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	➤ function(s)	➤ type
<u>13</u>	"— Oi <i>iii</i> , <i>sweetie</i> ."	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	= Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
<u>13</u>	"(...) Estamos tão <i>excited</i> de receber você! Você vai amar <i>London!</i> "	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english		Switching as an unmarked choice
<u>18</u>	"— Greve de fome é terminantemente <i>forbidden</i> nesta casa. — Lauren puxou meu edredom. — <i>Get up</i> — reforçou, quando eu a fulminei com o olhar."	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	= Aggravating Message	Switching as an unmarked choice
<u>19</u>	"— Tem café aqui — ela indicou um vidro de café solúvel na mesa — e água quente na <i>kettle</i> ."	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english		Switching as an unmarked choice
<u>21</u>	"— Não tem nenhuma exploração, <i>sweetie</i> , <i>here</i> cada um faz a sua parte."	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	= Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
<u>21– 22</u>	"— Sabemos que você está num momento difícil, mas seu pai e eu te recebemos de braços abertos, apesar da sua atitude <i>rebel without a cause</i> ."	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	= Clarification	Switching as an unmarked choice
<u>22</u>	"— <i>Sorry</i> , <i>I don't speak</i> estupidês — respondi, com um sotaque ridículo, que me deixou irritada."	1	dialogue	 dayana	english › portuguese	= Emphasis	Code-switching as a marked choice

Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
<u>27</u>	"Fazíamos <i>fish and chips</i> e passávamos o dia inteiro sentadas na frente da televisão assistindo à transmissão ao vivo."	1	narration	narrator	portuguese › english	= <u>Untranslatability</u>	
<u>33</u>	"Um sorriso se embrenhou em minha boca, e eu bebi um gole do meu <i>chai latte</i> para disfarçar."	1	narration	narrator	portuguese › english	= <u>Untranslatability</u>	
<u>33</u>	"— <i>Bloody hell!</i> — respondeu, surpresa, e eu fiquei na dúvida se tinha cometido alguma gafe. — O meu também!"	1	dialogue	diana	english › portuguese	= <u>Interjections</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
<u>35</u>	"— Como é mesmo que vocês falam em português? Promessa é dúvida? — disse, me devolvendo o aparelho enquanto se levantava. Eu pressionei os lábios, tentando não rir do erro dela, e concordei com a cabeça com a maior seriedade. — E obrigada. Pela ajuda. Eu estava mesmo precisando. — Ela deu um sorriso e pegou o copo de matchá já pela metade. — <i>Text me.</i> "	1	dialogue	diana	portuguese › english		<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>

Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
38	“Então peguei o celular do bolso e digitei: <i>hey, it's Dayana.</i> ”	1	narration	 narrator	portuguese › english		Switching as an unmarked choice
38	“— Dayana! — Lauren gritou. — Por onde você andou? Ficamos tão <i>worried!</i> ”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english		Switching as an unmarked choice
38	— E você não tem a <i>phone</i> pra avisar que vai demorar a voltar? Não viu <i>our calls?</i> ”	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	▫ Emphasis	Switching as an unmarked choice
40	“— Georgia, <i>dear</i> , está tudo bem?”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
43	“— Não aconteceu nada, <i>sweetie</i> . A Georgia só teve um mal-estar.”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
44	“— <i>Foi</i> só um mal-estar, <i>dear</i> [.]”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
44	“— Como assim, <i>dear?</i> Isso é jeito de falar com sua irmã?”	1	dialogue	 dayana	portuguese › english	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Code-switching as a marked choice
44	“— Viu, <i>darling?</i> Era o que eu estava falando. Até a Dayana acha isso.”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice





Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⊖ N or D	⊖ character	⊖ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
<u>51</u>	“Para uma carioquíssima como eu, acostumada única e exclusivamente com as duas linhas que não cruzavam nem um terço da cidade e eram paralelas durante várias estações, me entender com os diversos sobe e desce e troca-troca do <i>underground</i> era quase questão de Enem.”	1	narration	 narrator	portuguese > english	= <u>Untranslatability</u>	
<u>57</u>	“— É. Acho que pode ser bom ter uma reserva. Nunca se sabe. / Ela franziu a testa para a expressão. Eu busquei a tradução na cabeça. / — <i>You never know.</i> ”	1	dialogue	 dayana	portuguese > english	= <u>Reiteration</u>	<u>Code-switching as a marked choice</u>
<u>57</u>	“— Mas, bem, se você veio morar com seu pai, ele deve ter pedido seu <i>resident permit</i> . Se você tiver o BRP, o <i>National Insurance number</i> vai estar atrás.”	2	dialogue	 diana	portuguese > english	= <u>Untranslatability</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
<u>71</u>	“— Oi. <i>Hi</i> — cumprimentei, desconcertada.”	1	dialogue	 dayana	portuguese > english	= <u>Reiteration</u>	<u>CS as an exploratory choice</u>








Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
<u>72</u>	“— Mas o que importa hoje é você — ela disse, parando em frente a uma porta bege, como as outras, mas com uma placa que dizia <i>Manager</i> . Gerente. — <i>Good luck</i> — desejou, baixinho, antes de bater.”	1	narration	 narrator	portuguese > english	= Reiteration	
<u>72</u>	“— Mas o que importa hoje é você — ela disse, parando em frente a uma porta bege, como as outras, mas com uma placa que dizia <i>Manager</i> . Gerente. — <i>Good luck</i> — desejou, baixinho, antes de bater.”	1	dialogue	 diana	portuguese > english		Switching as an unmarked choice
<u>75</u>	“— O que você acha de vir aqui na segunda de manhã para conhecer a Lily, então? Semana que vem ela ainda vai estar <i>full-time</i> , mas você já traz seus documentos pra gente acertar tudo, e ela vai começando o treinamento e a te passar as coisas aos poucos.”	1	dialogue	 rose	portuguese > english		Switching as an unmarked choice









Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
79	<p>“— Talvez um dia eu te conte. <i>Who knows?</i> Seria um grande voto de confiança. Como vocês dizem? Você vai ter que fazer por merecer.”</p>	1	dialogue	 diana	portuguese > english		Switching as an unmarked choice
79	<p>“— A gente tá tendo um certo... <i>disagreement.</i> Descobri que ela mentiu sobre uma coisa importante e acho que ainda não estou pronta para perdoá-la.”</p>	1	dialogue	 diana	portuguese > english		Switching as an unmarked choice
83	<p>“— Georgia e eu estávamos agorinha mesmo comentando sobre a <i>summer sale</i>, que vai começar semana que vem.”</p>	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english		Switching as an unmarked choice
83	<p>“— Depois vamos sentar e ver direitinho do que você está precisando, para a gente planejar quais as melhores lojas pra te levar. <i>But, of course, Primark first!</i> Você vai amar a loja, é simplesmente <i>huge.</i>”</p>	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	◦ Emphasis	Switching as an unmarked choice
84	<p>“— Dayana? <i>Sweetie</i>, você tá me escutando?”</p>	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	◦ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
85	<p>“Você é <i>beautiful</i> do seu jeitinho.”</p>	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	◦ Personalization	Switching as an unmarked choice


Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⊖ N or D	⊖ character	⊖ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
<u>85</u>	“A gente entende que você está passando por <i>some hard times</i> . Minha mãe, que Deus a tenha, também já se foi e não foi fácil passar pelo luto. <i>But this attitude</i> não vai ajudar. Não adianta nada sair dando coice no mundo, estamos todos fazendo nosso melhor pra que você se sinta bem e em casa. Mas você precisa parar de ficar tanto na defensiva. <i>Help me help you.</i> ”	3	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english		<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
<u>92</u>	“— Mas pode deixar que vou fazer você perder essa insegurança rapidinho. <i>In a flash</i> . — Ela estalou os dedos. — <i>Only English from now on.</i> ”	1	dialogue	 georgia	portuguese > english	= <u>Reiteration</u> , = <u>Emphasis</u>	<u>Code-switching as a marked choice</u>
<u>93</u>	“— Não esquece de convidar sua <i>amiga</i> pra sábado. <i>Your girl friend</i> [.]”	1	dialogue	 georgia	portuguese > english	= <u>Reiteration</u>	<u>Code-switching as a marked choice</u>
<u>95</u>	“— Eu acho ótimo! Trabalhar ensina a ter <i>responsability</i> e ajuda a treinar seu <i>English</i> .”	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english		<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>









Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
<u>96</u>	“— <i>Nonsense</i> — cortou Lauren na mesma hora, e eu estava pronta para contra-argumentar quando ela continuou: — Deixe que seu pai e eu resolvemos a questão do <i>English tutor</i> . É mesmo uma boa ideia, mas guarde o dinheiro <i>to yourself</i> .”	3	dialogue	lauren	portuguese > english	▫ <u>Interjections</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
<u>97</u>	“— <i>Ok, then</i> , nosso ponto de encontro é no caixa. — (...) — Vocês podem pegar o quiserem, mas tenham juízo, não queremos levar seu pai à falência, <i>right, girls?</i> ”	2	dialogue	lauren	portuguese > english	▫ <u>Interjections</u> , ▫ <u>Emphasis</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
<u>98</u>	“— <i>Prioridades, ok, sweetie?</i> ”	1	dialogue	lauren	portuguese > english	▫ <u>Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
<u>98</u>	“— Sua netinha <i>is very happy</i> .”	1	dialogue	dayana	portuguese > english		<u>Code-switching as a marked choice</u>
<u>102</u>	“Uma mistura de lanchonete com <i>game experience</i> , que, como Georgia me explicara, consistia em várias máquinas de fliperama e um armário cheio de jogos de tabuleiro.”	1	narration	narrator	portuguese > english	▫ <u>Untranslatability</u>	






Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
<u>104</u>	“Sabe onde estamos? (...) Notting Hill. Você não disse que era <i>your mom’s favorite film</i> ?”	1	dialogue	 diana	portuguese > english		Switching as an unmarked choice
<u>110–111</u>	“— Você acompanha as histórias da família real, <i>sweetie</i> ? — perguntou de repente. — Georgia e eu somos obcecadas por eles. <i>It’s all so fascinating!</i> — Ela pegou mais uma panqueca. — A gente foi ver o <i>royal wedding</i> do príncipe Arthur com Tanya Parekh e foi simplesmente sensacional. <i>Amazing!</i> Nós temos que te levar no próximo evento real, você vai amar.”	4	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	- Designations (Endearments & Name Calling), - Interjections	Switching as an unmarked choice
<u>111</u>	“— <i>Of course</i> , não conseguimos ver nada muito de perto, mas ainda é <i>very exciting</i> .”	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	- Emphasis	Switching as an unmarked choice
<u>111</u>	“— No começo, também achei. Mas a Chloe Ward, que é meio <i>stalker</i> da família real, é sempre a primeira a dar os furos. Ela tem cantado essa pedra há um tempo já. <i>Maybe it’s nothing</i> . Me dói acreditar.”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english		Switching as an unmarked choice

Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
111	“— <i>Oh, darling.</i> (...) Eu nem falei nada com a Dayana, porque a Georgia não amanheceu muito bem.”	1	dialogue	 lauren	english › portuguese	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
112	“Já sei, <i>darling</i> , por que você e Dayana não vão sozinhos? (...) É bom que vocês podem ter um momento de <i>father and daughter.</i> ”	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
119	“— <i>Morning.</i> (...) Você está com cara de quem não queria ter levantado da cama.”	1	dialogue	 diana	english › portuguese		Switching as an unmarked choice
132	“Deixa de ser curiosa, <i>sweetie</i> , e vai sentar.”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
133	“Não foi nada, <i>sweetie</i> . Agora vá lavar as mãos e sentar.”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
147	“— Nosso santo bateu. É tipo... <i>our saints match.</i> ”	1	dialogue	 dayana	portuguese › english	▫ Reiteration	Switching as an unmarked choice
152	“— <i>Darling</i> , se acalme.”	1	dialogue	 lauren	english › portuguese	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice

Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
158	“— Você pode confiar em mim, <i>sweetie</i> . Prometo que não conto nada pro seu pai. Ele se exaltou ontem, eu sei. <i>Sure</i> , você não precisava ter mentido, e ele estava certo quando disse que podia ter acontecido alguma coisa, mas eu entendo sua desconfiança.”	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	▫ <u>Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)</u> , ▫ <u>Emphasis</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
159	“ <i>Ok. No problem.</i> Não temos preconceito nesta casa. <i>You love who you love.</i> ”	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	▫ <u>Untranslatability.</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
167	“— Georgia, <i>dear</i> , você está aí?”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	▫ <u>Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
167	“— Vai sair, <i>sweetie</i> ?”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	▫ <u>Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
168	“Só estava perguntando. Você tem um <i>date</i> com sua <i>girl</i> ?”	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english		<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
168	“ <i>You know</i> , algumas pessoas confiam em mim.”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	▫ <u>Interjections</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
168	“— <i>I know, dear</i> , mas você precisa tentar.”	1	dialogue	 lauren	english > portuguese	▫ <u>Mitigating Message</u>	<u>Switching as an unmarked choice</u>
170	“Diana suspirou enquanto beliscava um mirtilo. Ou era um <i>cranberry</i> ? Eu sempre me confundia com aquelas frutas.”	1	narration	 narrator	portuguese > english		

Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⊖ N or D	⊖ character	⊖ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
170	"— Yeah. A gente conversou."	1	dialogue	 diana	english › portuguese	= Clarification	Switching as an unmarked choice
170	"— Ela disse que eles se conheceram at St. Andrews University, in Scotland."	1	dialogue	 diana	portuguese › english		Switching as an unmarked choice
170	"(...) Não sei os detalhes, como passaram de amigos to something more, mas acho que não importa muito, né?"	1	dialogue	 diana	portuguese › english		Switching as an unmarked choice
172	"— Não, pelo contrário, ele foi bem... thoughtful. Atencioso, acho? (...) Parece que de repente minha vida virou the bloody Princess Diaries."	2	dialogue	 diana	portuguese › english		Switching as an unmarked choice
173	"(...) Disse que às vezes o rei agia tão... on the quiet... que nem ela ficava sabendo."	1	dialogue	 diana	portuguese › english	= Untranslatability	Switching as an unmarked choice
174	"— Uma vez, com uma garota. Mas durou pouco tempo. Acho que era mais... como se diz? A nine-day wonder."	1	dialogue	 diana	portuguese › english	= Untranslatability	Switching as an unmarked choice
175	"— Eu tive a thing com um garoto, ano passado[.]"	1	dialogue	 dayana	portuguese › english	= Untranslatability	Switching as an unmarked choice
179	"— É só que... todo mundo do palácio que sabia assinou um non-disclosure agreement."	1	dialogue	 diana	portuguese › english	= Untranslatability	Switching as an unmarked choice

Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	➤ function(s)	➤ type
181	"— O que aconteceu, <i>sweetie</i> ?"	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	- Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
182	"— Dayana, <i>sweetie</i> , se acalme[.]"	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	- Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
182	"— <i>Sweetie</i> , pare com isso."	1	dialogue	 lauren	english › portuguese	- Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
188	"— <i>Absolutely outrageous!</i> Uma filha de dezesseis anos nunca divulgada."	1	dialogue	 lauren	english › portuguese	- Interjections	Switching as an unmarked choice
192	"— Não sei o que vou fazer se confirmarem essa doença, <i>darling</i> , não aguento ficar vendo minha filha assim. <i>I can't bear it.</i> "	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	- Designations (Endearments & Name Calling) , - Reiteration	Switching as an unmarked choice
192	"Só foi um <i>bad timing</i> . (...) Só foi demais. <i>Overwhelming</i> . Eu estou exausta."	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	- Reiteration	Switching as an unmarked choice
229	"— <i>Sweetie</i> , estou tão feliz que você voltou! (...) Liguei para o seus <i>grandparents</i> , e eles me contaram que você ama lasanha de abobrinha!"	2	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	- Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
234	"— Bom dia, <i>sweetie</i> ! Nem percebi que você estava aí."	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese › english	- Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice

Aa page	☰ phrase	# switches	⌵ N or D	⌵ character	⌵ language switch	↗ function(s)	↗ type
236	“(…) E tudo bem, contanto que você seja fiel aos seus sentimentos. <i>Right?</i> — E com isso percebi que o papo sério havia acabado. Ela deu outro tapinha na minha perna. — Vou preparar <i>some coffee</i> pra gente. <i>Shall we go?</i> ”	3	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	▫ Interjections	Switching as an unmarked choice
237	“— Você perdeu tudo, <i>sweetie!</i> Não param de sair fofocas e mais fofocas[.]”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice
238	“— <i>Wait a minute</i> — Lauren pediu, erguendo as duas mãos. — Essa é a sua garota?”	1	dialogue	 lauren	english > portuguese	▫ Interjections	Switching as an unmarked choice
239	“— Vamos, meninas. <i>Let's go get Dayana's girl!</i> ”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	▫ Clarification	Switching as an unmarked choice
242	“— Vai, <i>sweetie!</i> — Lauren disse, acenando com a mão pela janela do carona. — <i>Good luck!</i> ”	1	dialogue	 lauren	portuguese > english	▫ Designations (Endearments & Name Calling)	Switching as an unmarked choice