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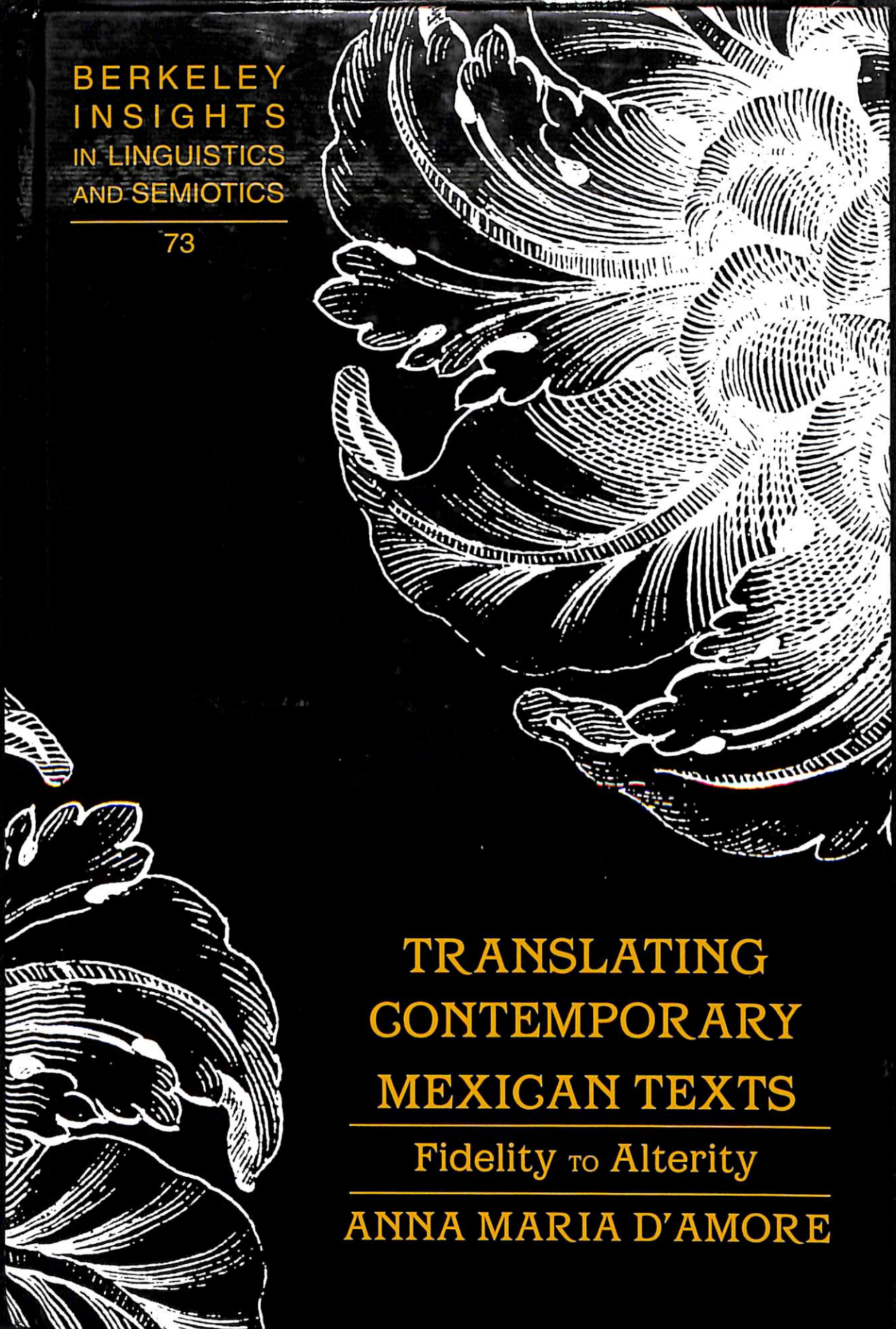

TRANSLATING CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN TEXTS

Fidelity to Alterity

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To all those who inhabit *quell'altra* side...

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Thanks, finally, to Molotov and to Pepe for the inspiration. *Chido*.

INTRODUCTION

> I have called what I try to do "humanism", a word I continue to use stubbornly despite the scornful dismissal of the term by sophisticated post-modern critics.
>
> Edward Said, *Orientalism*

THIS BOOK considers problems relating to the translation of contemporary Mexican texts, especially those that display signs of linguistic innovation and creativity, often resulting from contact with English. It aims to provide guidance for the translator whose primary allegiance is to the source text (ST) and wishes to carry out translations that reflect the originality of the author's work and the distinctive features of the language it contains.

Although it is a common phenomenon that has been discussed at length in sociolinguistics, and in spite of its frequent use in Mexican and other literatures, code-switching has received little attention in translation theory. Indeed, in a conference that took place in New York as recently as 1990, Reyes observed that:

> In literary translation no serious consideration, to my knowledge, has yet been given to the problem of translating texts written in an interlanguage, i.e., in a synthetic blend of two separate languages such as the language characteristic of the Chicanos in the United States (1991: 301).

It is worth noting that there has been some progress in this field since 1991, but the topic remains relatively untouched, and what little progress there has been is mainly with regard to the analysis of the translation of literature produced by Chicanos, that is, literature written in English by authors of Mexican descent in the United States, displaying characteristics of Spanish 'interference'. Little if any attention has been paid to the translation into English of code-switching in texts written in Mexican Spanish. The intention of this work is to address that particular dearth of research.

The proposals outlined in this book aim to assist the translator who wishes to treat such 'deviations' from the established norms in a respectful manner, instead of rendering the innovation and non-standard features of the ST language into a standardized variety of English. This is to be done through an overall foreignizing approach which, succinctly defined, consists of sending the reader abroad rather than bringing the author back home, from a position of respect and tolerance. This position is defined with reference to postcolonial theory.

While rooted in this respectful stance, nonetheless, 'translators and translation scholars must resist the temptation to over-romanticize their role in society' (Baker, 2005: 4) and we must be wary of any illusions that we may have that our work will necessarily change for the better the manner in which the ST culture is received by our target readers. Foreignizing translators may have the noble aim of producing translations that they perceive as more respectful, more appropriate renderings and representations of the Other, but while we 'participate in very decisive ways in promoting and circulating narratives and discourses of various types' (Baker, 2005: 12), the results may not always be in line with our intentions.

Baker also points out that:

> Romanticizing our role and elaborating disciplinary narratives in which we feature as morally superior, peace-giving professionals is neither convincing nor productive (ibid.).

Although she makes this point with regard to the role of the translator in more political contexts than those analysed in this work, Baker's words are nonetheless relevant and a pertinent reminder that good intentions and pious platitudes will not be enough to achieve the desired results. Concrete translation strategies are necessary, strategies which should be based on philological and linguistic analysis, as well as ensuing from a socio-political or philosophical stance. With that in mind, the overall strategy proposed here aims to be respectful, and should result in the production of translations that do not erase salient qualities nor domesticate the ST: ultimately successful renderings.

This work is a humanist endeavour, in the understanding that humanism 'is sustained by a sense of community with other interpreters and other societies' (Said, 2003: xvii), which aims to open up the possibilities for the translation and reception of Mexican texts in the English-speaking world.

Humanism is, in the words of Edward Said, 'the final, resistance we have against the inhuman practices and injustices that disfigure human history' (2003: xxii). Through the application of a method and specific strategies as part of an overall approach, I suggest ways in which the translator of Mexican texts can create a space in which other voices are heard, in the hope that future human history will be more plural and less unjust and 'disfigured'.

The balance between theory and practice is of the utmost importance as it may be possible to argue eloquently that a certain line of thought leads to certain results, but in the context of translation studies, unless we can demonstrate a theory by providing concrete proof in the guise of translated texts, then our theory is worthless. I trust that the reader will be able to follow my thought processes in this book, on a journey through history, theory and practice, and see them through to a happy and successful conclusion.

CHAPTER ONE

English and Spanish

> I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangled with borrowing of other thinges, wherin if we take not heed by tijm, ever borrowing and never payeng, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt.
>
> Sir John Cheke, a letter to Sir Thomas Hoby, 1561

SPANISH AND ENGLISH, it is claimed, are each spoken as mother tongues by over 400 million people[1] on several continents. They began their lives in what are now two modern European countries, Spain and the United Kingdom, where the original Celtic languages were displaced approximately 2000 years ago. This chapter aims to trace the history of these two world languages through the Roman Empire, Germanic conquest and later foreign invasions, to the respective Golden Age of two languages which, by the Renaissance, had become English and Spanish, both with a relatively defined national standard, recognizably close to the modern languages spoken today. Around this time (Spanish a century earlier than English), the two languages began to make their presence felt in two continents with the colonization of the New World. Initially indistinguishable from their linguistic progenitors, new American varieties began to emerge, and as neighbors in the New World, with substantial changes made in the border which initially separated them, the contact situation meant that a certain degree of mutual influence came to be exercised. This was especially noticeable in shaping varieties which we now know as American English (that is, of the United States, as opposed to Canadian or Caribbean English) and Mexican Spanish.

This history is traced with the purpose of identifying characteristics, in general, of English and Spanish which will be of importance to the translator, and in particular those of Mexican Spanish with the peculiarities which may cause problems for the translator who aims to render contemporary Mexican

Spanish texts intelligible to the English-language target reader. Two aspects which may come out of this historical overview are: the role and strategies of translators throughout the evolution of the two languages; and the linguistic behaviour in the contact zone, including code-switching, of millions of American English and Mexican Spanish speakers, with varying degrees of bilingualism, which has made an impact on the national standard speech of both Mexico and the US and has introduced innovative features in contemporary texts. An examination of these may hold a key to providing strategies for translation.

Early Days

The decline of the Roman Empire in the fifth century marked the beginning of the end of Latin as a spoken language in the periphery, including Britain, while in the Iberian Peninsula, as in the rest of Western Europe, local varieties of Latin began to develop into the Romance languages. Prior to the Germanic invasions of Britain and the Iberian Peninsula, contact between tribal groups and Latin-speakers had already led to mutual influence, resulting in Latin borrowings in the Germanic dialects and vice versa. Other than toponymns and a handful of lexical terms, the influence of the pre-Roman Celtic and Iberian languages in the speech of the native peoples is negligible, with the obvious exception of peripheral language communities where these languages survived and to the present day the people continue to speak, in Britain, varieties of Gaelic, or in Spain, Basque.

The Spanish language developed from a local variety of Latin, Hispanic Latin, and retained its Latin base in spite of the period of Visigothic rule from the fifth to early eighth century. Old English, on the other hand, evolved from the Germanic languages of the fifth-century invaders, with considerable input from later Scandinavian invaders. According to Lapesa, the importance of the Germanic invasions in the Iberian Peninsula lies only in that it cut communication with the rest of the Roman Empire, thus leaving the Vulgar Latin of the peninsula to its own devices (1988: 123) eventually leading to the evolution of several divergent dialects. The Visigothic period in Spain began around the same time as the invasion by Angles, Saxons and Jutes in Britain in the fifth century, but the Germanic presence in Britain was further reinforced by the Scandinavian settlements beginning with Viking raids in 787, whereas

the Islamic invasion of Spain in 711 was to put an end to any Germanic influence on the dialects of Hispanic Latin/Hispano-Romance.

So, from theoretically similar Celtic-Latin-Germanic roots, the eighth-century invasions were to determine very different lines of language development: on the one hand we have a local variety of Latin, with minimal Celtic and Iberian influence in vocabulary and slightly more Germanic influence, which was to be significantly more influenced by Arabic; on the other, various Low Germanic dialects with slight influence from Celtic and Latin vocabulary, which were to be more influenced by Old Norse. Also important to note at this stage are the pockets of resistance in Wessex, in terms of keeping Old English relatively untouched by the Scandinavian influence of the Danelaw in the rest of Britain (although it was the Mercian dialect of the Angles which provided the basis for the later standard), and the northern Cantabrian region of Spain, later to become the kingdom of Castile, isolated culturally and linguistically from the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. As far as the language of England was concerned, the Scandinavian influence continued until the next and final foreign invasion came, again from 'northmen', now established in France and speaking a local variety of the Romance that had developed there: the Normans; the Germanic influence in the peninsula had ended with the arrival of invaders from North Africa.

On a structural level, both Latin and German are synthetic languages, but Vulgar Hispanic Latin was already well on the way to being an analytical language prior to the Visigothic period in the peninsula, and morphologically less complex as well as phonetically distinct from Classical Latin. The Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians spoke similar dialects and perhaps pidginization led to the simplification of English grammar; a pidgin-like variety between the two cultures would have led to the loss of word endings and greater reliance on word order (Crystal, 1995: 32). This is clearly impossible to prove but Scandinavian influence on Old English grammar as well as vocabulary is undeniable. English was to become analytical as an indirect consequence of the Norman invasion. Some distance from the now geographically separated respective parent languages of Old English and early Hispano-Romance was inevitable, which explains some of the distinguishing features in these early stages, one of which would be archaism. Penny writes that

> On the hypothesis that colonized areas often retained features of speech which are abandoned in the parent-state (a hypothesis which finds some support in the history of English and Spanish in America, as elsewhere), it is predictable that Hispano-

> Romance will retain some features of third- and second-century BC Latin which were then abandoned in the Latin of Rome and other, more recently latinized, provinces (1991: 7).

Other changes would be the usual consequence of language development and innovation: lexical borrowing, loan translations, semantic shifts, etc. At this stage, Spanish and English are already different types of languages. Apart from some common vocabulary borrowed from Latin and French, the sounds and structures are very different. In syntax, Spanish is Latin in structure and English is still essentially a Germanic language. The seeds of Spanish and English are thus sown prior to final foreign invasions which lead to important changes.

Arabic and Norman French

The introduction of Arabic as an imposed foreign tongue of the elite is comparable to the situation later in England with the Norman Conquest. Both Arabic and French were to have a great influence on the languages being formed. However, at a time when communication was slow and the printing press had not yet been introduced, great dialectal diversity was to be found in both Britain and the Iberian Peninsula; and the vernacular –especially those varieties which were later to become the standard variety– in both countries developed, if not completely independently, certainly in a different manner from the language of the ruling classes. Baugh & Cable state that the situation of England was unique in that foreign conquest had temporarily imposed an outside tongue upon the dominant social class, and the native speech was in the hands of the lower social class and, 'By removing the authority that a standard variety would have, the Norman conquest made it easier for grammatical changes to go forward unchecked' (2002: 167). However, this is also true to a certain extent of the situation in the Iberian Peninsula. The Castilian (Cantabrian) dialect developed practically untouched at this stage by the Arabic influence felt in the rest of Spain. These speakers had their own prestige variety in their local figures of power, but this was different from the prestigious varieties of the ruling classes found elsewhere in the peninsula. It was in the Norman period that inflections were lost in English, and Castilian became further removed from the dialects in the areas of prestige and learning during the years of Arab Spain.

The Moorish period of rule in the Iberian Peninsula enlightened Europe by bringing learning, from Indian mathematics to Greek philosophy. There were also linguistic consequences: in morphological terms, e.g. the suffix /-i/; but most important were the additions to vocabulary, including calques (e.g. *Si Dios quiere*). The areas the Moors failed to conquer were the Christian enclaves to the North and North West, which were precisely those which had been furthest removed from the standardizing influences of the Roman period and the linguistic effects, however minor, of the Visigothic period. Lapesa writes:

> Aunque cada región tenía sus particularidades distintivas, todas, a excepción de Castilla, coincidían en una serie de rasgos que prolongaba la fundamental unidad lingüística peninsular, tal como existía antes de la invasión musulmana (1988: 177).

There are many other distinguishing features which would have been considered *incultura lingüística* by educated speakers of all other romance dialects at the time (Alatorre, 1998: 100), such as the change from [f-] > [h-] as in *herir* and not *ferir*. However, it was precisely this distinct dialect that was to gain importance as its speakers gained power and prestige due to the protagonic role played by Castile in the Reconquest. The Cantabrians formed the basis of the Kingdom of Castile, acquiring considerable prestige in 1085 with the capture of Toledo, the former Visigothic center of government. Alatorre finds that it was the culture of Toledo, 'fruto de una ejemplar convivencia de moros, judíos y mozárabes cristianos [...] al que acudían sabios y estudiosos de toda Europa para aprender de los árabes' (1998: 123), that gave prestige to the Castilian monarchy, and subsequently to their language which became the norm.

The influx of French, Provençal and Catalan words into the vocabulary of Castilian was quite considerable in the eleventh century. At the same time, French, or at least Norman (Scandinavianized) French, was having a much greater influence on the language of England. The Norman Conquest with the subsequent imposition of Norman French as the official language, the language of power, gave England a diglossic nature for over three hundred years. However, the status of French gradually diminished as a spirit of English nationalism grew. By 1362 English was the language used at the opening of Parliament and around the same time it became the medium of instruction in the schools and the language of the courts of law. The Black Death in its depletion of the population also played a significant role in the status of the vernacular. The ensuing labor shortage led to a rise in wages, which in turn led

to an increase in the importance of the laboring classes. This change in the distribution of wealth saw the birth of the commercial classes and led to greater social mobility, especially in the larger towns and cities. As significant proportions of the English-speaking masses gained prestige, so did their speech. These new middle classes sent their children to grammar schools where they were originally educated in French; however, John of Trevisa writes that by 1385, children in grammar schools were taught in English, not French (Crystal, 1995: 35).

English was not displaced by French, but was considerably influenced by it, especially in lexical terms, as it was the source of thousands of new words in the Middle English period. Latin borrowings continued to be important and the simultaneous borrowing from Latin and French has led to synonymy on three levels in Modern English vocabulary –sets of three words expressing the same fundamental idea, but with slightly different semantic shades, for example *kingly/royal/regal*–the Old English word being the most popular, the French being more literary than popular, and the Latin being the most erudite. In other cases the different words went on to acquire different, but related meanings. This triple nature is important to note as translators must be wary of cognates, in this case, those etymologically closer to Latin: polysyllabic Romance vocabulary in English is generally used in domains associated with power and prestige, and the use of cognates can lead to an inappropriately high register in the TT. A similar situation arises in Spanish as Latin words evolve into their romance form and are 'reborrowed' as 'learned' words over several centuries, leaving synonyms or near synonyms both of the same etymology, e.g., *integrus* > *entero* – *íntegro*; *collocare* > *colgar* – *colocar*. The translator must take great care with these variants of cognates: the apparent etymological similarity may mislead the translator into using inappropriate vocabulary, ignoring the differences in conceptual, connotative, stylistic, affective, reflective or collocative meanings, sometimes the result of differential processes of semantic shifting, such as amelioration or pejoration.

Several cognates can be found in the corpus of this work. While the majority will not cause problems for the translator, there are some that perhaps deserve attention. In the extracts from the writing of Poniatowska, for example, the noun *asesinatos* should not be cause for concern, but more attention should be paid to the rendering of the adjective *mortuorio*. A derivative of *muerte*, the translator would be well advised to consider derivatives of the English noun 'death', such as 'deathly', and avoid references

to the more closely etymologically related 'mortuary' or other possibilities in the same semantic field, related to funeral rites. Similarly, when Poniatowska refers to *vida nocturna* it is in the context of clubs and bars, that is, human social behaviour, not that of other nocturnal animals, and therefore it should be rendered as 'nightlife'.

The Rise of a Standard

The standard variety of a language has generally arisen from the area of greatest importance at a given time. Thus, just as Wessex had provided the literary standard at an earlier stage (Winchester being the former capital of England), the importance of the East Midlands 'triangle' (Crystal, 2002: 205) bounded by London, Oxford and Cambridge, meant that the East Midlands dialect was to become the basis for standard English in the fourteenth century. By the 1450s the East Midland dialect was the written standard in official documents, and by the end of the fifteenth century, dialectal distinction in England was no longer regional, but rather 'central' standard English vs. 'provincial' dialects. The capital of Christian Spain, Toledo, was to provide the basis for standard Spanish in the fourteenth century, largely thanks to the earlier efforts of King Alfonso the Learned (1252–1284), who played a decisive role in the evolution of the language and culture. By the time of the unification of Spain and the introduction of printing in both England and Spain in the latter half of the fifteenth century, both English and Spanish had some kind of nationally recognized standard written form (although in Spain, the norm of Seville continued to rival that of Toledo, which in turn was to be superseded by Madrid in the 1650s).

As well as borrowing, code-mixing and code-switching can be observed in eleventh- and twelfth-century poetry in Spain, symptomatic of the hispano-gothic, Moorish and Jewish multiculturality of the times. French-English code-switching can also be seen in fifteenth-century English correspondence[2]. This probably continued for some decades and may have been indirectly responsible for a number of borrowings. In spite of a growing sense of nationalist linguistic pride both in England and Spain, not only was borrowing to continue, but it was to accelerate in the Renaissance.

The Role of Translators and Printers

Translators have long played an important part in the development of languages. In the case of Castilian Spanish, don Raimundo, Archbishop of Toledo from 1125 to 1152, founded the 'School of Toledo' which was responsible for the translation of philosophical and scientific knowledge of the Greek and Arab world into Latin. These twelfth-century translators often worked 'in tandem', that is, one translator (usually Jewish) would provide an oral vernacular version of an Arabic text, and his Christian partner would translate this version into Latin (Foz, 2000: 86). Transliteration and semantic borrowings were commonly used strategies in this period (Delisle & Woodsworth, 1995: 119). Foz argues that these translators did not always have a good command of Arabic nor were they always competent in the subject matter of the works they were translating, and therefore 'adoptaron casi todos la solución más fácil y más inmediata' (2000: 100), that of transliteration, or employed semantic loans, 'atribuyendo nuevos significados a términos latinos ya existentes' (ibid.); but this was probably a necessary strategy for dealing with new areas of learning, for which no Latin vocabulary existed, rather than the result of linguistic incompetence. We should also bear in mind that in this period, it was important that an elite, 'la clase de los doctos' (ibid.), had immediate access to the knowledge contained in the Arabic manuscripts. Such haste was perhaps responsible for the extensive use of transliteration and semantic loans, whose use would have caused no difficulty among the intended erudite target readers.

Alfonso the Learned continued the translation tradition. The target readership and translation strategies changed in this period as a new twist was added: the new target language was '*Castellano drecho*' which would have been Alfonso's own Burgos Castilian with some concession to Leonese and rather more to Toledo, the seat of the court. Foz finds that:

> se manifestó una voluntad de producir textos que, solicitados por el rey y sin duda para su beneficio último, tenían que ser fáciles de comprender (ibid.).

More discussion among the translators of the second-generation School of Toledo will have undoubtedly been called for in their quest for easier translated texts that made use of more accessible language, or *castellano drecho*.

Foz argues that:

> Si el soberano promueve el uso de un «castellano drecho», lo hace con el objetivo declarado de hacer valer la legitimidad y la pertinencia de la lengua vulgar, y, en el contexto de la época, esta toma de posición manifiesta una voluntad de contrarrestar la supremacía del latín y, con ello, la supremacía de aquellos para los cuales esta lengua existe, los representantes de la Iglesia (2000: 103).

While this may have been the king's ideological motivation, the translators were those who put it into practice, and thus ultimately responsible for setting down this new norm, including neologisms. Consequently, the translators 'contribuyeron con sus trabajos a hacer de la lengua vernácula española una lengua escrita' (Foz, 2000: 101) and their role therefore in the shaping of the language was fundamental.

Under Alfonsine patronage, Christian translators translated into Castilian, and some Jewish translators assumed a more central role (Delisle & Woodsworth, 1995: 117). This multilingual translation strategy clearly must have had multilingual stylistic repercussions at the very least. The translations of *Calila e Dimna* (1251) can be read 'en traducciones castellanas cuya sintaxis trasluce fuertemente la de los textos árabes originarios' (Lapesa, 1988: 232). Unfortunately it is impossible to know if this was a deliberate foreignizing strategy, incompetence, or symptomatic of the translation difficulties at a time when the language was being 'fixed', apparently under the authority of one man. Alfonso the Learned personally checked and corrected many of the translations for words or phrases which he felt were not '*drecho*' enough, but nonetheless numerous words were borrowed as the vernacular Castilian was only just beginning to be used to express concepts originally only written about in Latin. Borrowings came from Arabic for science, Latin and Greek for technical terms, and neologisms from existing Castilian elements entered the written language, some perhaps by royal command. By the fourteenth century, according to Obediente Sosa, the 'habla rústica pasó a convertirse en soporte y medio de transmisión de una rica y polifacética cultura' (2000: 212).

In England, 'translation played its usual role of mediation and cross-fertilization' (Delisle & Woodsworth, 1995: 26). The Bible translation initiated in 1384, inspired by Wyclif, was responsible for the introduction of further Latin borrowings. However, the introduction of printing in 1476 was to have much more important consequences. According to Knowles, Caxton published according to aristocratic taste, therefore choosing Chaucer (who was also a translator) and Malory over Langland and the northern poets (1979: 60) but Crystal (2002: 208) points out that the printer complained of the difficult

issues he faced regarding the translation of works to be published, which to a lesser degree are the same as those faced by the contemporary translator: Should foreign words be introduced? Which variety should be followed? Which literary style should be used as a model? As for the printing of native writers, should the language be modified so as to make it comprehensible all over England (in order to increase sales)? If so, how should this be done? A complicated matter, as he wrote in the introduction to his translation of *Enydos*, for 'certaynly it is harde to playse every man by cause of dyversitie & chaunge of langage' (Baugh & Cable, 2002: 195–196). Caxton played his part in the establishment of a national literary standard, based on the speech of London, which was a subvariety of the East Midlands dialect, but there was still a considerable lack of uniformity for at least another hundred years.

Although there was a certain degree of flexibility in terms of spelling throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the printing press made an enormous contribution to the fixing of both languages. The availability of printing led to the rapid dissemination of ideas and materials. The distribution of texts identically produced *en masse* had a gradual levelling effect, and so it can be said that the printing press was to the written language at this stage what television became in the twentieth century in terms of reducing dialectal differences in spoken language. However, Crystal points out that the printing press also caused spelling problems in English, in part due to the fact that the first printers were foreign and imposed their own norms (as had the Norman scribes in earlier generations as well as the Jews and Arabs in Spain), but also because early techniques of line justification tended to involve abbreviation, contraction, and sometimes even the addition of an extra letter, usually a final *e* (1997: 216). While publishing houses in England were concentrated in London, greater diversity was to be found in Spain, and by the end of the fifteenth century, printers operated in most cities. Madrid's linguistic importance at this stage was minimal, as can be seen by the fact that printing was not introduced there until 1566, several years after it became the capital, thirty years later than in Mexico, and ninety years later than Barcelona.

The 'revival of learning' during the Renaissance was to put translators in the driving seat as far as lexical borrowing was concerned. As great works were translated from classical languages, new words were needed to express new concepts. Similarly, works from Italy and France would contain ideas that had not previously been expressed in Spanish or English, and although neologisms were not uncommon, borrowing was a much more frequent recourse as a

rather practical translation strategy that avoids the excessive use of circumlocutions. As 'enriching' was on many a scholar's agenda, borrowing in translation seemed to offer a straightforward solution. Humanism brought borrowings from Italian; French courtly customs brought their corresponding lexical borrowings; Latin and Greek were heavily drawn upon for the translation of classical literature and philosophy, as well as works in the fields of science, technology and medicine. These were to be added to the Arabic and Hebrew borrowings already introduced into Spanish by previous generations of translators, and in English, it is estimated that words from over 50 languages were adopted in this period (Crystal, 2002: 210). English also borrowed from Spanish (sometimes through French) in this period, especially as a result of the 'discovery' and colonization of the New World. Scholars in both countries debated the advisability of such borrowings, questioning the future 'purity' of the language, but while the intellectual elite debated, translators translated, printers published, and the public read: borrowings became part of the language.

The Language of Empire: Renaissance, Golden Age, and Overseas Expansion

The fifteenth century marked the transition from medieval to modern Spanish, a century which is often described for English as the period of Early Modern English. The Renaissance was an age of learning for both countries in which a proliferation of literary creativity saw the Golden Age of both English and Spanish. People began to be self-conscious about language and discuss linguistic matters. It was an age of adventure and exploration, whose spirit can also be seen in the linguistic innovations and extensive borrowings of the period.

The period beginning in 1492 interests us here as it marks the beginning of overseas expansion of Spanish. Also of great importance as far as the philologist is concerned, Nebrija published his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* and the first part of his *Diccionario* (Latin to Spanish) in that year. Nebrija's was the first grammar of a Romance language and thereby greatly enhanced the status of the 'vulgar' language raising it to the status until then only held by classical languages (Obediente Sosa, 2000: 232), and which was not to be reached by the English language until the publication of the King James or 'Authorized Version' of the Bible in 1611. Nebrija's *Gramática* aimed to 'fix'

the language in such a way as to provide uniformity fit for posterity, provide a tool which would help Spanish speakers to learn Latin, whilst the third justification as described in the Prologue of the work fits in nicely with the expansionist designs of Isabella:

> puede ser aquel que, cuando en Salamanca di la muestra de aquesta obra a vuestra real Majestad e me preguntó que para qué podía aprovechar, el mui reverendo padre Obispo de Ávila me arrebató la respuesta; e respondiendo por mi, dixo que después que vuestra Alteça metiesse debaxo de su iugo muchos pueblos bárbaros e naciones de peregrinas lenguas, e con el vencimiento aquéllos ternían necessidad de reçebir las leies quel vencedor pone al vencido, e con ellas nuestra lengua, entonces por esta mi Arte podrían venir en el conocimiento della, como agora nosotros deprendemos el arte de la gramática latina para deprender el latín.[3]

The problems discussed in Renaissance England were essentially the same as those discussed in Spain. English, like Castilian, was to be used in fields where Latin had dominated. Both languages were seen to be in need of a more uniform orthography and an enriched vocabulary. Throughout Europe there were arguments for the use of modern languages and not Latin, motivated by one strand of Italian Humanism which voiced the concern that the 'revival of learning' would have a limited effect if texts were written in Latin and thus only the academic elite had access. Many argued that classical languages were only considered 'great' because of great works written in them by great writers, and thus all that remained to be done was to have great minds applied to the production of work written in modern languages in order to enhance their status. This is precisely what happened at this time.

The two most important influences on the English language during the final decades of the Renaissance are generally agreed to be the works of Shakespeare (1564–1616) and the King James Bible of 1611. Shakespeare's innovative impact lies not only in the lexicon, but also in new formations, especially grammatical conversion. The King James Bible, on the other hand, was very conservative in style, making use of archaism both in lexical choice and in grammar. The 'Authorized Version' is significant in that it brings together numerous sixteenth-century translations of the Bible which proliferated after the Reformation (English had been prohibited in any area of the Church's domain in 1407).

The 'golden age' of English at the end of the sixteenth century reflected a pride in things English, from literature to the perceived greatness of Elizabethan England, starting with the queen herself. This was a far cry from

attitudes towards English at the beginning of the century when 'even many of those who wrote in English agreed that it was a rude, vile, barbarous language' (Knowles, 1979: 69). England now played an important role in European culture and political affairs and English was to become, like Spanish, the language of an empire. Like Spanish, it would undergo great debate, attempts would be made to 'fix' and 'enrich' it, and it would need grammars and dictionaries.

The Spanish Golden Age had begun a century earlier with the publication of *La Celestina* in 1499 and found its maximum expression in the works of Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra (1547–1616). In this period the first Bible to be translated into Spanish, the *Biblia de Ferrara* was produced by Sephardic Jews (1553). The sixteenth century saw many translations performed by Sephardic Jews published outside Spain, especially in the Netherlands. Very few grammars were produced for Spanish speakers in the Golden Age although Cristóbal de Villalón's *Gramática Castellana* of 1582 is noteworthy. Most of the works relating to the language printed in Spain were either histories of the language or treatises expounding its virtues. The lack of grammars at this stage allowed the language to develop unhindered, as 'Sin necesidad de Academia, los hispanohablantes hicieron espontáneamente sus normas gramaticales' (Alatorre, 1998: 202). There were numerous descriptive and historical grammars of poetic language and the sixteenth century saw the first books on spelling, such as Nebrija's *Ortografía* (1517).

Italy was the first country to have an Academy, the *Accademia della Crusca*, founded in 1582. In the same year, Mulcaster, whose *Elementarie* was the most important treatise on English spelling in the sixteenth century, called for an English dictionary, but Europe was to see the publication of various other dictionaries before England was to have its own. Nebrija had already published the second part of his dictionary–Spanish to Latin–in 1495, which was the first of its kind, but a hundred years were to pass before the publication of what could be considered the first Spanish monolingual dictionary, Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611). The Italian Academy's first dictionary appeared in 1612, prompting further calls in other European countries for more Academies. The *Académie Française*, which marks a crucial stage in the institutionalizing of linguistic correctness, was founded in 1635, and its dictionary appeared in 1694. The Bourbons often implemented French practices in Spain, and thus the Spanish Academy was founded in 1713, in the style of the French, and produced six volumes of the

first dictionary between 1726 and 1739. In spite of much debate beginning towards the end of the seventeenth century, England was never to have an Academy and was to see a series of collections of 'hard words', the first being that of Robert Cawdrey (1604), before the first attempt at a dictionary which was Nathaniel Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721). Samuel Johnson's celebrated dictionary did not appear until 1755. By this time, both the English and Spanish languages were developing new varieties as a result of overseas expansion.

Bearing in mind that at this stage Spain was at least a few, if not a hundred, years ahead of England in terms of literature, grammars and dictionaries, and overseas expansion, it is not surprising that Spanish was to provide words for other modern European languages to borrow. Golden Age Spanish had an enormous influence on the lexicons of other languages; French and Italian borrowed from Castilian, as did English, although to a lesser degree. Spanish cultural influence was perceivable all over Europe, in literature and music, as well as in other domains, thus explaining the variety of semantic fields covered by borrowings from Spanish: *guitar*; *alcove*; *sombrero*; *armada*; *embargo*. The conquest and colonization of the American territories made Spain the medium of transmission of numerous Americanisms, initially from the languages of the conquered peoples in the Caribbean for flora, fauna and objects previously unknown in Europe (e.g. 'hammock') and later from the various mainland indigenous languages of the American continent.

After centuries of Spanish leading the way, the shorter colonial period of North America and its independence decades earlier than in Spanish America effectively turns the tables and sees American English consciously converting innovation into norm at a time when new Latin American varieties of Spanish were, by comparison, conservative.

Colonial American Varieties

> Innovations are classed as vulgar or polite and archaic forms as vulgar or quaint, according to the prestige of the people who use them (Knowles, 1979: 128).

What kinds of English and Spanish were taken overseas? We know that the Toledo norm had held high prestige in Spain since the time of Alfonso the Learned, and that in England, the East Midlands dialect had become 'standard' English, but there was probably less of a national homogenous speech in both countries then than there is now. This has led to much

research and speculation regarding the regional varieties that predominated in the early years of colonization and their role in shaping the new American varieties. While the 'founding' varieties will certainly have played a part, dialect levelling has probably had a more prominent role, together with some influence from maritime contact, indigenous substrata in vocabulary, and later contact with other languages. Those parts of the New World in closest contact with the Old World continued to be influenced by linguistic change in England and Spain until the era of Independence at which point, in theory, 'independent' varieties would have emerged. However, in spite of lexical diversity and regional variation (and social stratification), the 'general' American varieties retain basically the same morphology, syntax and essential vocabulary as their European counterparts. As Rosenblat puts it, 'Por encima de ese fondo común las divergencias son sólo pequeñas ondas en la superficie de un océano inmenso' (1990 [1977a]: 52).

Following Cuervo's division into colonial and independent periods in the history of Spanish in America, Guitarte (1983: 167–184) identifies further subdivisions: three in the colonial period and two in the independent period. The first is what most authors have called the 'Antillean Period', from 1493 to 1519. Lapesa writes that the process of colonization 'inició cuando el idioma había consolidado sus caracteres esenciales y se hallaba próximo a la madurez' (1988: 535). However, Penny (1991: 16–17) points out that there were two main norms at the time of overseas expansion, that of Toledo and that of Seville. Indeed, although conquest and colonization were planned in Castile, they were carried out from Andalusia with a stopover in the Canaries; consequently, in the initial stages, the largest group in the Spanish contingent to the New World was made up of Andalusians and Canary Islanders. This, together with phonological similarities between Andalusian Spanish and Latin American Spanish, has led to numerous *andalucista* theories.

The *meridionales* and *canarios* constituted the most compact linguistic group in the sixteenth-century expeditionary contingents 'frente a la gran diversidad del resto de los expedicionarios' (López Morales, 1998: 53) and this would explain a certain degree of dialect levelling. If we bear in mind that Andalusia was the starting point for all travellers and that the Seville norm had enormous prestige at this stage, it is not unreasonable to expect that speakers of other dialects would drift towards that norm as they spent weeks or months in Andalusia prior to sailing, weeks on board a boat where the most commonly spoken variety of Spanish was Andalusian, and upon arrival in the Caribbean

it continued to predominate. As there was a high proportion of Andalusian women (Penny, 1991: 20), there were greater chances of the variety reproducing some of its distinguishing features in the 'mother tongue' of the next generation *criollos*. This situation probably explains the loss of *vosotros* to *ustedes* at such an early stage in American varieties of Spanish. In spite of the probable dialect levelling at this point, it would seem that there was nothing to distinguish Spain from America in terms of morphosyntax in the sixteenth century (Frago Gracia, 1994: 68).

Similarly, Dillard suggests we 'give up on the notion that British regional dialects hold the key to the history of American English' (1985: 51), and instead accept a levelling theory. The situation became more complex in English-speaking America as, even before the arrival of speakers of other languages, subsequent shiploads of immigrants from Britain brought an increasing variety of linguistic backgrounds. As the speakers of these different varieties found themselves living alongside each other, the 'melting pot' began to take its effect (Crystal, 1997: 93). Transplanted speech cannot reproduce itself over subsequent generations without undergoing change. Linguistic change is inevitable, and contact with other varieties is often a significant factor in the process, resulting in borrowing and levelling. American Spanish and English could not be immune to evolution and much less to the continual influx of linguistic forms from Europe. Lipski agrees:

> In all cases, the demographic structure and linguistic behaviour of the earliest settlers were overridden by the speech of the later arrivals, and few if any parts of the United States speak a variety of English which bears the overwhelming imprint of its earliest settlers. The history of Spanish America is no different (1994: 48).

Through the analysis of various sixteenth-century manuscripts by different authors, Parodi (1995) claims that there is evidence of Old Castilian, the *norma toledana*, and *andaluz* at this time, pointing to no single dominating variety. Frago Gracia states that the role of Andalusia was not decisive in imposing a language variety in America, but was important as a 'puente de la comunicación cultural y lingüística durante tres largos siglos mantenida entre América y España' (1994: 161). This role as *puente*, has led to other theories regarding the development of Latin American Spanish.

Throughout the colonial period in Spanish America, contact with Imperial Spain was on two fronts: 'authority', that is, governmental, ecclesiastical, and cultural, and trade. Contact with authority was between

Castile and the Vicerregal centers of Mexico City and Lima, but like trade, passed through Andalusia, the Antilles and the coastal areas first. Trade was a business more directly conducted between Seville and the Caribbean. In Mexico and Peru, the coastal dialects bear a closer resemblance to Caribbean and Andalusian varieties, as in other parts of Latin America, whereas the speech of the central highlands is closer to standard Castilian. The language of power and culture is capable of imposing and perpetuating itself. If the Castilian monarchy sent northern, mainly Castilian representatives to govern and administer on their behalf, a more 'courtly' usage would be reflected in the places where they were concentrated. A speech community will look to the center of prestige for the norm. For the inhabitants of important colonial centers, that would mean the court usage of the 'home' country, whereas traders and port-dwellers may find prestige in other language varieties. This leads to the coexistence of varieties within a language at a given moment, which will in turn influence each other over time. In the case of Spanish, the material wealth resulting from Seville's trade monopoly with the Imperial Spanish America would have enhanced the prestige of the city and its speech (Penny, 1991: 20) thus potentially influencing the speech of traders and port-dwellers across Latin America.

Traders and sailors dealt with other sailors and traders, not only in Spain, England and America, but also in other parts of the world. It is likely that their varieties, as well as jargons and pidgins, will also make it ashore to a certain extent, but perhaps not much beyond. However, the contemporary Latin American usage of what were originally nautical terms, such as *amarrar* and *abarrotes*, shows that some words picked up from the seafarers have become standard. Dillard (1985) has explored relexification, ship jargon and its expansion to shore jargons, in the early stage of European colonial expansion and regrets that maritime varieties of English or of the other European languages involved have received so little attention in language history investigation. He suggests that seafarers have played a role in the development of American English, especially in the transmission of jargon and West African pidgin varieties. He points out that sailors were at home with and close to the Americans ashore and as likely candidates for participation in the gold rush, they would have disseminated their varieties elsewhere (1985: 24). The matter interests us here as an additional contributing factor to the process of linguistic cross-fertilization, demonstrating the impact of contact on language use and eventual change.

Leith writes that throughout the period of colonization, English had a reference point in the standard variety of England. The early colonists were of diverse social and regional origins, yet their speech continued to be influenced by the prestige norms of their country of origin (1983: 186). Thus, when 'r'-pronouncing ceased to be prestigious in south-east England, residents of the colonies followed suit as '3,000 miles is no distance when a prestige feature is at stake' (1983: 192). American colonial society was much more mobile than English society of the time (the r-less prestige variant did not make it as far as Bristol), and this in turn led to greater uniformity in American English. While this may well be true of English American society and language, the uniformity of Spanish must have a different explanation, perhaps in its nature as an imposed colonial foreign tongue as opposed to the language of settlers. It was superimposed on a great diversity of languages, many of which were mutually unintelligible, thus making it a convenient lingua franca for the Imperial endeavour. The existence of other former languages of Empire, such as Nahuatl and Quechua, would have facilitated this.

The internationalization of a language is a complex matter. In the case of English, Dillard identifies two major currents that he says 'seem to be a necessary part of the presentation':

> the production of a common dialect to eliminate the greatest divergences within English itself and the adoption of a mechanism to cope with the multilingual problems arising from a rather new kind of contact with populations which used a great number of largely unfamiliar languages. [...] Especially where there was long-term contact with relatively settled, agrarian populations, the more well-known consequences of stable bilingualism were produced. English competed with Dutch, German, French, and Spanish in different parts of North America at different times. In some areas of the United States, the competition continues today. With the possible exception of German, each of the competing languages developed special contact varieties (1985: 25).

If we accept that levelling did in fact produce such a common dialect, we must then turn to the question of contact with some 'unfamiliar languages'.

Americanisms: Indigenous Substrata, Africanisms, and Innovation

> The first American colonists had perforce to invent Americanisms, if only to describe the unfamiliar landscape, weather, flora and fauna confronting them (Mencken, 1963: 4).

The indigenous influence in American varieties is as old as the 'discovery' of the New World. Indigenous words entered American Spanish at the moment of initial contact with Taino people in the Antillean period as soon as Spaniards came across objects they had never encountered before. Words like *canoa* and *hamaca* were immediately incorporated into 'general' Spanish, together with names for exotic flora and fauna, and Spanish became the vehicle of transmission of these 'Americanisms' into the majority of European languages, including English. This method of assimilation of indigenous vocabulary through Spanish (and English and French) into other European languages was to continue for centuries. In parts of Latin America this is an ongoing process, although indigenous borrowings often remain within the realm of regional dialects (*cf.* Pérez Aguilar, 2002).

The impact of Amerindian languages in the vocabulary of the modern languages of the world is enormous, and is further proof of the effects of contact on standard varieties. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate the impact of the Antillean period, when words were adopted from Taino: *maíz, tabaco, yuca*; and from Carib: *caimán, caníbal.* In the colonial period words were adopted mainly from Nahuatl: *coyote, chocolate, tomate*; and from Quechua: *guano, cóndor, pampa*. Most of the early loans in American English came from Algonquian dialects: *moccasin, pecan, totem*, although some entered English through French: *caribou* and *toboggan*. On a par with the borrowings into Spanish, these entered 'general' English and many have found their way into other languages through English. Mencken notes that direct loans from Spanish to English were very rare before 1800 but some came into 'American' by way of Louisiana French: *calaboose*. Other borrowed words went into English 'without any preliminary apprenticeship as Americanisms' (Mencken, 1963: 124): *mosquito, chocolate.*

Indigenous loan translations in English of the period include *pipe of peace* and *to bury the hatchet*, while examples in Spanish are difficult to find. The general consensus is that indigenous substrata, while hugely important in loan words, have made little, if any, contribution to Latin American Spanish in

other ways. The presence of indigenous loans in the corpus of this work is minimal; only the Nahuatl proper name *Malintzin* is of significance, due to its historical and cultural content, and will be dealt with in later chapters.

By 1600 England had trading contacts in three continents: Newfoundland provided the initial American link for the fur trade; Asian trade was underway in India; and the third continent was Africa. A world-changing consequence of the quest for ivory and gold was the African slave trade, and this had worldwide linguistic consequences, with some impact on both American English and American Spanish, as well as for the general varieties. English-based African pidgins were carried to New World and creoles were born. While their links to African American Vernacular English (AAVE) continue to be debated (Crystal (1995), Dillard (1985), Stewart (1989), Rickford (1997), Tottie (2002)), a few loans from African languages are not in question. They probably came into English and Spanish through African pidgin varieties, sometimes entering through other languages, such as French and Portuguese, and as a result of the African presence in both English and Spanish colonial America. The most commonly quoted loans of this type are *banana* and *voodoo*.

Various writers use the term 'linguistic cross-fertilization' to describe a linguistic sharing and 'recycling' process (e.g. Lipski, 1994: 54). Initially occurring in oral communication, it gradually extends to written, standardized varieties and is especially noticeable in vocabulary, as words are borrowed on one continent and passed to another, sometimes carrying out 'exchanges': the Nahuatl word *tiza* passed into general usage in Spain instead of the Castilian *gis*, which in turn replaced *tiza* en Mexico (Moreno de Alba, 1972: 22);[4] Mencken describes how *maize* came into colonial speech from the Caribbean through Spanish, passed into 'orthodox' English, and from English to French, German, and other European languages, 'and was then abandoned by the Americans, who substituted *corn*, which commonly means wheat in England' (1963: 116).

American English began to diverge from that of England partly as a result of foreign borrowings which came about through contact with colonists who were speakers of languages other than English. New Amsterdam Dutch was an early example as words such as *cookie* made their way into American colonial English in the seventeenth century. Of course, some Dutch borrowings, such as *boss* crossed the Atlantic, but *cookie* is a good example of an early Dutch loan which distinguished American English from British English and still does. Much more important than these borrowings, however, was 'the great stock of

new words that the early colonists coined in English metal' (Mencken, 1963: 126). Compounds came from 'loutish ingenuity' (ibid.): *bullfrog, garter snake*; and others, less 'loutish': *turkey gobbler, eggplant*. Compounds account for the majority of neologisms of the period, and were generally words needed to describe a new way of life in a new landscape and under new circumstances: *log cabin, snowshoe*.

Apart from borrowing and neologisms, American English was to transform itself through grammatical conversion:

> The early colonists freely interchanged the parts of speech, turning verbs into nouns, nouns into verbs, and adjectives into either or both with an abandon that is still one of the hallmarks of American English. The New Englanders had made a verb of *scalp* before the end of the Seventeenth Century, and early in the next century they followed with *to tomahawk* (Mencken, 1963: 133).

Grammatical conversion is not, of course, exclusive to American English, but it could be argued that the general acceptance with which it has met since the seventeenth century is. After the open-mindedness of the Renaissance and the excitement of 'discovery' and colonization, England was plunged into crisis with the English Civil War followed by the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. The years between 1530 and the Restoration had displayed the fastest lexical growth in the history of the language (Crystal, 1995: 72) through borrowings and new coinages, and there was a great deal of semantic change. But this innovative period came to an end. In line with much contemporary criticism of translation, the Royal Society advocated plain, precise English. It may have 'achieved nothing whatsoever in linguistic terms' (Knowles, 1979: 112) but its ideas were influential. The end of the seventeenth century brought great criticism from the likes of Dryden, Addison and Defoe, who were all extremely concerned about what they considered to be 'corruption' of the language. They were joined by others in their call for the establishment of an Academy, similar to those of Italy, France, and Spain. Innovation was no longer fashionable in England.

This early era of innovation in American English corresponds to Guitarte's second period of the colonial era in Spanish America in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when Spanish is firmly established as the language of colonial society. Neologisms and grammatical conversion may have been rife in American colonial English, but further south, this is a time when:

> América queda firmemente vinculada con España en todos los niveles de vida, de lo cual en el campo lingüístico tenemos clarísima prueba en el hecho de que el Nuevo Mundo cumplió simultáneamente con la península los grandes cambios del Siglo de Oro; pocas excepciones a esto no impiden reconocer la igualdad fundamental del curso seguido por la lengua a uno y otro lado del Atlántico (Guitarte, 1983: 173).

The norm that was followed was that of the Real Academia Española (RAE), founded in 1713 with the motto: *Limpia, fija y da esplendor*. Its main purpose was to produce a dictionary, and between 1726 and 1739 six volumes of the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana, en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las frases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes, y otras cosas convenientes*, or as it came to be known, the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, were published. A *Gramática Castellana*, based on Latin grammar, was published in 1771 and established for use in schools by Charles III in 1780.

France was the cultural center of Europe but despite its proximity, Spain did not seem to present fertile ground for the Enlightenment. Indeed, some feel that eighteenth-century Spain was characterized more by the Inquisition than the Enlightenment (Alatorre, 1998: 277) and that this is reflected in an authoritarian attitude towards language and the maintenance of its 'purity', and dependence on the RAE. On the other hand, while conservative circles looked on Rousseau and other such 'heretical' writers as dangerous, neither this reputation nor the Santo Oficio's anathema prevented enlightened Spaniards from becoming their partisans (Herr, 1958: 62). There were 'grandes educadores ilustradores' such as Benito Jerónimo Feijóo (Alatorre, 1998: 278), but in spite of their efforts, borrowings were seen as an attack on Castilian. Again, new ideas were bringing in new ways of expressing them and purists felt that the language was in danger in part due, as Forner put it, to the 'impura barbaridad de vuestros hambrientos traductores y centonistas' (Lapesa, 1988: 428). In spite of these protests, many learned terms were imported from France, and as they came from a similarly Greek- and Latin-based word stock, they were assimilated in such as way as to be unnoticeable in a relatively short time. This is important for translation scholars to bear in mind as various stages in language history have seen discussions of language purity, while languages continue to change, through usage, influenced by linguistic and cultural contact, and these changes are then set down in print by writers and translators.

Language purity was also the topic of great debate in eighteenth-century England. Courtly usage inspired by the 'King's (or Queen's) English'[5] had

defined the standard in previous generations, but this would not necessarily be the most appropriate model in this period bearing in mind that William III was Dutch and George I was German, and that the language most commonly spoken at court was in fact French. Some other body was needed to provide authority in an age of 'taste' and 'refinement'. Swift's 1712 *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (analogous the RAE's *Limpia, fija y da esplendor*) continued in the tradition of earlier purists, and called for the establishment of an Academy. It found great support among a number of similarly minded influential people in conservative circles, and had it not been for the death of Queen Anne in 1714, an Academy may well have been established (Baugh & Cable, 2002: 268). English was not to have its Academy, however, but the language was to find its own version of the *Diccionario de Autoridades* thanks to Samuel Johnson.

When Johnson set about the task of writing a dictionary his original aim was 'to preserve the purity and ascertain the meaning of our English idiom' (Crystal, 1995: 74). By the time he had published *A Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755 there is an observable change from prescriptivism to descriptivism, as his Preface stresses that his intention is 'not to form, but register the language' (ibid.). The publication of this work appears to have prompted a shift in the attitudes of others as advocacy of the benefits of an Academy declined. Scholars also had the benefit of the Italian and French experiences: by now it was clear that their respective Academies had failed to prevent linguistic change. Johnson's *Dictionary* did, however, fix the spelling of the vast majority of English vocabulary, and he was described by Boswell, as 'the man who had conferred stability on the language of his country'.

Guitarte's third colonial period, which coincides with newly independent post-colonial American English, is that of the transition to Independence, the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth. The relatively homogenous American Spanish of the time may have been the language of law, order, and colonial literature, but it had not always been the only language of the Church and it was certainly not the language of the majority of the inhabitants of this vast empire. The *Real Cédula de Valladolid* (1550) ordered that all missionary work be carried out in Castilian; however, Philip II accepted that priests should have some knowledge of indigenous languages, and the Jesuits cultivated and taught in indigenous languages for centuries, especially those languages of a 'general' nature. They discovered that the former languages of empire, Nahuatl and Quechua, were extraordinarily useful tools for missionary

work and the Church was responsible for spreading them much further than the Aztecs and Incas had ever done, to the detriment of lesser spoken languages, many of which disappeared. The expulsion of the Jesuits from America in 1767 was the first sign that only Spanish was to be used in the colonies. A much more drastic move was the 1770 Cédula de Aranjuez, which ordered all royal and ecclesiastical authorities in America and the Philippines:

> de una vez se llegue a conseguir el que se extingan los diferentes idiomas de que se usa en los mismos dominios, y sólo se hable castellano .... (Rosenblat 1990[1977a]: 95)

This was, of course, impossible. Rosenblat notes that by 1810 there were three million 'white' Spanish speakers, including Spaniards, *criollos* and *mestizos* throughout Spanish America and nine million 'Indians' (1990[1977a]: 98). This Spanish-speaking minority maintained the unity of the language whose eventual spread was due to subsequent *mestizaje* and its usefulness as a lingua franca in post-colonial Spanish America.

Post-colonial Varieties

Towards the end of the colonial period in English-speaking America there had been a growing sense of separate identity, which then extended to the flavor of the English used. Independence greatly reinforced the degree of linguistic difference (Strevens, 1992: 30). However, the American English of 1780 was for many still the 'underdog', a 'colonial substandard' even though the colonial regime had ended (Kahane, 1992: 212). Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* (1794), was to have enormous influence on school practice in the United States (Crystal, 1995: 78). It was the work of Noah Webster, however, that took the colonial 'substandard' a long way down the path towards prestige language.

Webster published his *Dissertations on the English Language* in 1789 in which he lamented the fact that, in spite of political independence, there was no corresponding independence in opinions as far as language and literature were concerned. He paid some attention to orthography, pointing out inconsistencies in Johnson's dictionary and suggested American reform, enthusiastic about the possibility of setting the American language apart from that of England through the American innovation characteristic of the times. He had already published his famous *American Spelling Book* in 1783 but it was *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828) that was to consolidate his

position in the history of the English language, prompting Americans generations later to describe him as the 'discoverer of the national language' (Kahane, 1992: 212). Not only was this a major work of lexicography, but like Johnson's Dictionary it was to go some way to fixing spelling, especially in the United States.

As with every other period of language history, apart from neologisms, loans were an important part of linguistic change in post-colonial America. Loans from the native Amerindian languages had not increased much beyond the initial terms for flora, fauna and culture-specific objects, and most of the additions to English in the nineteenth century were 'supposed Indian terms', words put into the mouths of native people invented by authors who imagined that this was how they should speak. Examples include *paleface* and *warpath*. Invented or not, they also became part of the lexicon. Spanish on the other hand was much more influential. This was partly due to the fact that the United States shared a border with the newly independent Mexico, but loans were adopted on an unprecedented scale as a result of border changes following the US-Mexican War (1846-48). I will return to this later.

Meanwhile, nineteenth-century Spanish America was characterized by the conflict between those who favoured the conservation of the language spoken throughout the colonial period, based on a norm which after independence was 'foreign', and the fostering of linguistic independence to accompany political independence. This type of intellectual debate is only possible because speakers in general are responsible for linguistic change, and there had already been considerable 'involuntario surgir de diferencias entre España y América, y entre los países hispanoamericanos por su cuenta' (Guitarte, 1983: 176) prior to any discussion. These two positions are most clearly illustrated by the Venezuelan Andrés Bello and the Argentinian Domingo F. Sarmiento.

Unlike their northern neighbors, the majority of whom wished to differentiate themselves from their European counterparts, one of the major concerns of many post-colonial thinkers was that the unifying character of the Castilian spoken in 'Spanish' America would be lost. They feared that the varieties spoken in different countries would diverge to the degree that varieties of Vulgar Latin had following the decline of the Roman Empire resulting in the eventual evolution of the Romance languages. To prevent this, Bello's aim was to provide a new standard, a reformed pan-Hispanic 'lengua culta', that would be accessible and comprehensible to all speakers of Spanish in America (and beyond). He advocated spelling reform and aimed to produce

an objective description of the variety he was proposing. His spelling reform, however logical it might have been, met the same fate as the *Ortografía kastellana* proposed by Gonzalo Correas ("Korreas") in 1630. He too had proposed the elimination of superfluous letters:

> para ke eskrivamos komo se pronunzia i pronunziemos komo se eskrive, kon deskanso i fazilidad, sonando kada letra un sonido no más (in Alatorre, 1998: 203).

Bello provided his *Indicaciones sobre la conveniencia de uniformar la ortografía en América* (1823) on the grounds that it was illogical to use rules that would have been applicable to the speech of peoples who existed two or three thousand years ago, and pointed out the stupidity of those who argued in favour of 'traditional' rules, as many supposedly 'traditional' rules were in fact quite new. Furthermore:

> I ¿qué importa que sea nuevo, si es útil y conveniente?...Si por nuevo se hubiera rechazado siempre lo útil, ¿en qué estado se hallaria hoi la escritura? En vez de trazar letras, estaríamos divertidos en pintar jeroglíficos, o anudar quipos (Bello, in Torrejón, 1993: 60).

This is reminiscent of many of Webster's similarly rejected arguments. Nonetheless, Bello continued his work, producing his *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* (1847) which described and codified the language in such a way as to be considered, even now, the greatest grammar of the Spanish language (Alatorre, 1998: 156). In this work he showed himself to be against structural neologisms and proposed a kind of linguistic planning to prevent structural divergence that would detract from the unifying character of American Spanish. While opposed to neologisms, grammatical conversion and foreign borrowings, he nonetheless recognized that prolonged usage tends to lead to eventual acceptance.

Sarmiento's ideology was different from Bello's but they coincided in some practical aspects. First, Sarmiento's radical aims implied separatist tendencies in language. Like many of his contemporaries in the United States, he wanted the national language to reflect independence from the former imperialist oppressors, even, or perhaps especially, at the risk of fragmentation. His *Memoria sobre ortografía americana* (1843) advocated more radical changes than Bello had proposed, such as the elimination of the letter z, which he said represented a non-existent sound in American Spanish and therefore was unnecessary, as well as the elimination of *v* and *q*. Bello became linked to a

modified version of the spelling reforms advocated by Sarmiento which was initially so successful that it was adopted by the Chilean government and put into practice. By 1851 Bello considered it a failure but the 'ortografía de Bello' or 'ortografía chilena' was the official spelling until 1927 when it was abandoned in favour of the standard spelling of the RAE.

Ideas akin to Sarmiento's are evident in the adoption of foreign terms for political vocabulary at this time. In their choice of vocabulary, the former colonies held rupture with Spain and Spanish terminology in common, but differed in the new terms adopted. For example, in naming the new governing and legislative bodies, some countries chose to follow France with *Asamblea* whereas others opted for the Anglicism *Congreso*. Whatever model was followed, the shared idea was that of change. Rubén Darío argued that new ideas that needed to be expressed in America were not being discussed in Spain, and thus justified sacrificing the traditional unity with Castilian. He felt that the introduction of Gallicisms and Anglicisms was simply a part of progress (Guitarte 1983, 180).

Rosenblat points out that America has followed a more conservative path than Spain, following the ideals of Bello, and that the learned language has maintained itself closer to the rules of the RAE than in Spain (1997d: 279). This is not to say that all nineteenth-century Latin American intellectual activity was conservative. Salvá, like Bello, had published a new work of grammar, *Gramática de la lengua castellana según ahora se habla* in 1830 but this was too innovative for the RAE of the time. The RAE eventually incorporated some of Salvá's and Bello's work into its own *Gramática* over a hundred years later. Salvá's *Nuevo Diccionario de la lengua Castellana* (1845) sought to right the wrongs of the 'notoria injusticia' of omission of American vocabulary from earlier dictionaries, (Salvá, 1894: xii(bis)). He also points to the possible gain of making American neologisms more widely known among Spanish speakers:

> Es digno de observarse, que entre las voces introducidas nuevamente en aquellas regiones hay algunas, como *dictaminar*, *editorial* y *empastar*, que convendría se generalizasen en castellano (ibid.).

Latin Americans began to join the ranks of the RAE, including Bello. In 1870 the RAE finally set out guidelines for the creation of the Associated Academies of America. American Academies were gradually established and in 1951 the *Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española* was born. The *Academia Norteamericana* was admitted to the *Asociación* in 1973 after much debate.

These *Academias* have played an important role in keeping the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* up to date with innovation in Latin America and they provide invaluable testimony to the innovation displayed in contemporary usage. The *Academia Mexicana*, for example, as well as complementing the work of the DRAE, has produced an *Indice de mexicanismos* as the first step to producing a 'nuevo diccionario de mexicanismos' on the basis of 138 lists published since 1761 (Academia Mexicana, 2000). Like American English, varieties of Latin American Spanish make extensive use of grammatical conversion and have formed new words in all the usual ways: clipping, compounding, affixation, etc.

The American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres enjoyed an astonishingly short existence (1820–1822), the Americans seemingly satisfied with Webster's efforts and the fact that innovation, as Mencken said, is the hallmark of American English. Throughout the nineteenth century new words were continually coined, with clipping being a popular method: *gas*, *photo*. While suffixation has long been a method of word formation, Mencken also points out that America has been much more prolific, citing those suffixes which seem to be particularly 'fertile' and of 'notable progeny' (Mencken, 1963: 221) in noun formation in American English, such as *-teria*, *-orium* and *-cade*. He also notes a large number of new verbs that are succinct substitutes for verb phrases: *to model* for *to act as model*, *to style* for *to cut in accord with the style* and so on (ibid.). Advertising and journalism continue to play a huge role in popularizing shortened forms of many kinds. Mencken concedes that the English are sometimes innovative, for example, in blends, and that 'some of their less painful inventions' have crossed over to the United States: *chortle*, *brunch*, *smog* (ibid.).

Back in Britain, the Philological Society set up the 'Unregistered Words Committee' in 1857 with the purpose of collecting words not published in previous dictionaries. The members soon realized that what lay ahead of them was a task too great to be resolved by the publication of a supplement to other dictionaries. Thus began the Society's project for a new dictionary, which the *Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary* of 1858 hoped would include 'every word occurring in the literature of the language it professes to illustrate' (Crowley, 1996: 159). This project took over twenty years to launch. The Society reached an agreement with Oxford University Press in 1879 and the first fascicles of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) were published over the next 44 years.

In nineteenth-century English-speaking America there were a number of specific events and activities such as cattle ranching, the railroad, gambling, the gold rush and the new political system which added new words, senses and idioms to the language: *bartender*, *bootleg*, *congress*, *cowboy*, *popcorn*, *steamboat*, *face the music*, *go off the rails*, *hit the jackpot*, *stake a claim*, *strike it rich* (Crystal (2002: 248). At the same time, borrowing continued. It is difficult to overemphasize the role that lexical borrowing has played in language development. As subsequent waves of immigration hit the United States, so did their linguistic influence; lexical newcomers were welcomed from Ireland, Germany and Italy. It was not immigration, however, that was to determine the largest group of foreign borrowings into American English, but political and military expansion.

Mexico and the United States

Varieties of English and Spanish had already been in contact for over two centuries when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) saw land constituting what are now the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, Utah, Nevada and parts of Oregon, being signed over to the United States. It left 100,000 Mexican citizens on the 'wrong' side, 'annexed by conquest along with the land' (Andalzúa, 1999: 29). The history of these people who were left behind and the resulting Chicano culture will be addressed in following chapters. They are mentioned at this stage to show how it is that American English has borrowed more terms from Spanish than any other language (Mencken, 1963: 191).

Border histories are generally complicated matters, and the US-Mexican border is no exception. Reports of issues relating to the border are publicized daily in both countries and this high profile has prompted both serious study and much popular speculation regarding not only diplomatic relations and migration but also the ensuing mutual linguistic influences. As Mexican migration is often circular, that is, Mexicans often return (sometimes repeatedly) to Mexico, customs and language travel with them, leading to further linguistic cross-fertilization.

Many Spanish words had made their way into American English well before the Mexican War: *corral*, *padre*, *plaza*, *ranch*; many came due to the California gold rush, and others from the Spanish-American War. Many underwent phonetic change and grammatical conversion, as well as begetting

derivatives: *Vamos* > *vamoose* > *to mosey*. Western fiction, Hollywood, television and 'the constant invasion of southern California by transient visitors' (Mencken, 1963: 192) have kept these loans alive, and the 'constant invasion' of southern states by Mexican and other Latin American immigrants makes Spanish a constantly renewable source of loans and loan translations. The 'permanent' Spanish-speaking population, descendants of those 'annexed with the land', has also had considerable influence on the English spoken in the Southwest, although not all borrowings have been accepted in 'general' American English. On the other side of the border, the opposite process takes place as Anglicisms are incorporated into Latin American Spanish.

The adoption of Anglicisms into Spanish, much to the chagrin of the *Instituto Cervantes*, is enormous. The influence of the English language on Latin American Spanish is more powerful and profound than indigenous or African substrata, even though indigenous and black populations are the majority in some Latin American countries (Rosenblat, 1990[1978]: 375). This profundity does not lie merely in the vast amounts of 'English' words adopted by millions of Spanish speakers. Rosenblat refers to the universal character of borrowings and demonstrates that English has been the vehicle for the adoption of words coined from Greek and Latin elements, and of loans from French, Italian, German, Dutch, Danish/Norwegian, Finnish, Turkish, Hindi, Japanese, Malay-Polynesian, the languages of Australia, and of loan translations from Chinese, as well as Amerindianisms and Mexican words spread through English into other modern languages (1990[1978]: 350–354).

The influence of English loans has been extensively studied as part of the *Proyecto de Estudio coordinado de la norma lingüística culta de las principales ciudades de Iberoamérica y de la Península Ibérica*, which was officially approved at the third symposium of the *Programa Interamericano de Lingüística y Enseñanza de Idiomas* (PILEI) in 1966. In the results of the 1972 survey of urban Mexico Lope Blanch describes the situation of Mexico in relation to the United States:

> México es un país sumamente expuesto al contagio con la lengua inglesa. Vecino de los Estados Unidos, tiene con ellos una frontera de más de 2,500 kilómetros. Guarda estrechas relaciones económicas con su poderoso vecino. Recibe cada año un buen número de turistas norteamericanos, y cientos de miles de mexicanos van a trabajar temporalmente a los Estados Unidos (1977: 272).

However, he suggests that while it is true that the impact of American English on Mexican Spanish is no greater than in other areas as physically close or

politically bound to the US such as Puerto Rico or Panama, it is probable that the use of English loans is more frequent in Mexico than in many other parts of Latin America (Moreno de Alba, 1972: 23, and 1999: 148). Mexico also plays a role in the diffusion of these loans to other parts of Latin America. As Andalusia linked in former times, Mexico is the conduit for the neo-colonial influence of the US to the rest of Latin America. This is partly because of the geographical location of Mexico and the fact that a significant proportion of all other Latin American immigrants to the United States travel through Mexico.

Mexican Spanish is perhaps the most familiar variety in Spanish-speaking America for a number of reasons. It holds special status partly due to the impact of media giants Televisa whose news monopoly could be considered the Spanish American equivalent of CNN. This television company has spread Mexican Spanish through its news programs and other broadcasting, covering a wide selection of Mexican popular culture, all over America: North, Central and South. This includes a cinematographic culture of the twentieth century which has also played a part in the linguistic creativity of Mexican Spanish. For example, *cantinfladas*, after the comic actor Mario Moreno 'Cantinflas', are well known throughout the Hispanic world. They are characterized by:

> rapid-fire delivery, exaggerated intonation, scrambled syntax, and meaningless words created at the moment in order to camouflage the fact that one is making no sense (Cotton & Sharp, 1988: 3).

Cotton & Sharp also point to the linguistic creativity of Mexican Spanish as seen in figures of speech. They state that the word stock of Mexico is exceptionally rich in these terms (1988: 162–163), and like many others, highlight the neologistic colloquial verbs, often humorous, formed by adding -ear conjugational endings to a stem, usually a noun: *chaquetear*, *huevonear*, *pedorrear*. Their conclusion on Mexican Spanish is that critics agree that 'it bears witness to the lively imagination and linguistic creativity of its speakers' (1988: 174). To these innovations Moreno de Alba adds 'youth culture' clippings: *vibraciones* > *vibras*, and others which are not necessarily restricted to the speech of youth, although they tend to remain in the realm of colloquial speech: *de perdida* > *de perdis*; *refresco* > *chesco* (1999: 155).

Moreno de Alba continues to study *mexicanismos* and publishes articles on a monthly basis in the magazine *Este país: tendencias y opiniones* in his column 'Minucias del lenguaje'. These articles in turn are periodically published

collectively in book form, most recently *Suma de minucias del lenguaje* (2003). In his *minucias* Moreno de Alba chronicles the entry of Mexicanisms into the DRAE, for example *desmañanarse*, meaning *madrugar*, included as Mexicanism in the 2001 DRAE. The Mexicanisms documented by researchers such as Moreno de Alba are almost invariably lexical; while certain turns of phrase are perceived as peculiarly *Mexican*, the existence of structural Mexicanisms is debatable.

Mexican Spanish has spread and acquired considerable prestige due to the work of writers such as Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes as well as other prize-winning writers of different genres such as Poniatowska and Pitol. It is partly through such literary ambassadors that Moreno de Alba can say that Mexican Spanish: 'ha venido constituyendo en un dialecto evidentemente autosuficiente e incluso influyente en otros' (1999: 135). Rosenblat points to the prestige of the Mexican Revolution and the nationalization of the oil industry as well as Mexico's hospitality in providing asylum for Republican Spanish exiles as reasons for the Mexican influence in the Spanish used in Venezuela (1990[1978]: 356). He also mentions the impact of Mexican cinema as well as 'su cancionero', familiar not only in Venezuela but in America as a whole.

Southwest US Spanish has been isolated from the innovations that have taken place in Mexican Spanish. While the varieties of Spanish spoken there are largely considered varieties of Mexican Spanish, in contemporary Mexico they are considered 'substandard' to say the least. Lope Blanch (1990) points out that the Spanish of this region has been under siege from English as an official language and that in many cases has only subsisted in the home, or at best as the language of a social group. In his dialect surveys carried out in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California he notes 'un mismo fenómeno capital':

> el de la reducción o simplificación del sistema lingüístico, no sólo en su dominio léxico, sino también en el gramatical (1990: 12).

Code-switching is also an integral part of communication among Spanish speakers of the Southwest. It is important to note that Lope's studies were carried out in communities that were considered traditionally Spanish-speaking, that is, vestiges of the Spanish Colony as opposed to more recently formed immigrant communities. The social and linguistic relationship between these, later known collectively as the Chicano community or

'Chicano society' (Penfield, 1989), will be dealt with at length in the following chapters.

The contact situation in the US becomes more complicated as the established Chicano community, continually replenished by waves of new arrivals from Mexico, is joined by immigrants from numerous other Latin American countries who also contribute to English-Spanish or Spanish-English code-switching varieties. Code-switching has traditionally been viewed as a transitional stage in second language acquisition. However, Kachru's studies of non-native Englishes (1992) show how code-switching can define later norms of emergent varieties. Similarly, Fishman states that code-switching often becomes a variety in itself (1996: 631). This may turn out to be the future of Spanish-English code-switching, now commonly referred to as *Spanglish*.

The phenomenon of Spanglish is a complicated issue and will be dealt with in following chapters. Nonetheless, it is important to mention here as one of the most recent chapters in the history of English and Spanish, and it may provide clues for translation strategies, as a fast-growing informal variety which could be a useful resource for the English translator aiming to render Mexican Spanish varieties in translation. Like most code-switching varieties spoken around the world, Spanglish is hugely criticized, by both English and Spanish speakers. Organizations such as *US English, Inc.* fear for the language of America, certain that code-switching is one of the evils that threaten the very fabric of society (see Figure 1). It is seen by detractors both as an English invasion of Spanish and a Spanish invasion of English, and thus 'wrong'. While some Spanglish is the speech of immigrants still learning English, linguistic incompetence does not account for all Spanglish varieties and usage. It may be in part as Morales puts it, 'Spanish adapting the crazy rhythms of English, and English inheriting the multicultural content of Latin America' (2003: 6). However, as I will argue in subsequent chapters, 'Spanglish' is perhaps more appropriately conceived as the set of Spanish-English contact phenomena, rather than a single, tangible variety in itself.

In January 2003 the U.S. Census Bureau published estimates as of July 2001 in which the label 'Hispanic or Latino (of any race)' accounts for 37 million inhabitants of the United States, nearly 13% of the total population, and more than Blacks (of non Hispanic or Latino origin). Not all of these Hispanics or Latinos speak Spanish, but along with growing proportions of 'mainstream Americans' they are undoubtedly at least familiar with Spanglish,

Figure 1. US English, Inc ask: "Will it come to this?"

which Morales describes as part of the 'crazy polyglot chaos that is growing by leaps and bounds' (2003: 12) in the United States and he equates it with Vasconcelos' notion of a fifth race, the 'raza cósmica'. Following this idea, perhaps Spanglish could be described as a 'lengua cósmica', drawing on elements from a large number of vastly different origins through Spanish and English.

Unity and Diversity

In spite of the labels put on varieties, the reality is the same for both English and Spanish: as much diversity exists among varieties in England as between 'British' and 'American' English and the same is true for the 'Castilian' of Spain and Latin American varieties of Spanish. In spite of this diversity, a basic unity holds together varieties of Spanish and unites varieties of English: there is one 'literary' language and there are multiple spoken forms. Menéndez Pidal's words regarding Spanish are equally applicable to English:

> La lengua culta y literaria es tan connatural al hombre cuando quiere universalizar sus pensamientos, como la lengua local lo es cuando piensa las cosas más cotidianas y caseras (quoted in Del Valle and Stheeman, 2002: 98).

That said, there are a number of features claimed to distinguish the two broad groups.

American varieties are seen to be at once archaic and innovative. 'Archaism' is said to be seen in lexical items as well as in morphology and phraseology. Archaism seems an inappropriate term when applied, for example, to *lindo*, a lexeme still in use by approximately 90 million Mexicans who far outnumber the inhabitants of Modern Spain, where it is deemed to be archaic. In a similar vein, the supposedly archaic form *gotten* is used by over a hundred million more English speakers than *got*. The same applies to the *voseo* of considerable areas of Latin America and much vocabulary. At times the emphasis shifts, and the word *lorry*, while current in Britain, is obsolete in America and could therefore arguably be classed as archaic there. These so-called archaisms have their place in typologies of difference as examples of lexemes or morphological structures once used in both varieties, now exclusive to one (*cf.* Algeo (1989), Tottie (2002)) which can be elaborated from the various corpora available to linguists.

The concept of innovation covers a multitude of sins. As far as the American varieties are concerned, the greatest amount of innovation has been in lexical terms: shifting, shortening, combining, blending, borrowing or creating, American varieties seem to have displayed more creativity in recent times than European varieties have at any time since the Renaissance. Differences in morphology and syntax are perceivable, but slight. The Mexican use of diminutive suffixes will not hinder comprehension, nor will minor differences in syntax generally be conducive to misunderstanding in cross-cultural communication. Perhaps noteworthy is the preference for periphrastic forms of both American (especially Mexican) varieties of Spanish and American English. This is particularly noticeable in Spanish constructions of the type *ir a* + infinitive to express a future action: 'Mañana *voy a ir* al cine', and *ir* + gerund: 'Mira, *vamos haciendo* una cosa'. Beyond that, the essential unity outweighs the minor deviations and, outside the regional lexicon, there is scarcely a single feature in the general American varieties that causes incomprehension to speakers of other varieties.

The lexicon can cause comprehension difficulties, but this is generally not the case with written language, which tends to reflect educated usage and avoids unlearned neologisms (a 'learned' neologism would be a scientific term, for example). There are of course many types of written texts, not all of which conform to a pan-Hispanic variety of Spanish or a global variety of educated English. Journalism has provided the link between learned literature and spoken language since the nineteenth century (Rosenblat, 1997d: 280) as it must make concessions to local usage (1997d: 283) and thus a newspaper can be more complicated for the user of a different variety than academic literature or other types of creative literature. It is regularly a source of neologisms characteristic of innovative varieties: in the case of Mexican Spanish, agglutination leads to journalistic coinages such as *desanalfabetizacionismo* (from the Mexican newspaper *El Universal*, cited in Cotton & Sharp, 1988: 33). Journalistic texts and many other creative works are often written in a locally colored idiom rather than in a learned variety. The translator who wishes to respect the essence of a source text must seek strategies for attempting to convey such local color and flavor.

English and Spanish Around the World

The top four languages in the world by number of native speakers are Chinese, English, Hindi, and Spanish (Instituto Cervantes, 2003). English may be in second place but is the world's current lingua franca, enjoying a much more universal status than Latin or Arabic, or any other lingua franca, at any time in history. Spanish, the official language of millions of Latin Americans has served as lingua franca for centuries, superimposed on a myriad of Amerindian languages. Two-thirds of the children of the world grow up in a bilingual environment (Crystal, 1998: 14), one of the elements in around half of those contact situations is English or Spanish. Crystal lists a hundred pidgins and creoles (1997: 340–341) although some are groups or types, such as Caribbean Creole, which covers around 30 varieties. While many have their base in French, Portuguese, Hindi, Swahili, and Arabic, English- and Spanish-based varieties account for roughly half of those listed. Crystal also includes Pachuco (Pochismo), which he describes as a 'Spanish-English contact language in limited use in Arizona and parts of southern California' (1997: 340).

Non-native varieties of English continue to arise in Africa and Asia in post-colonial contexts, producing literature written 'with an accent' (Nelson, 1992: 330). These diverse non-native varieties remind us of the flexibility of English. Strevens points out that

> English is inherently a borrowing and an Anglicizing language. Ever since its earliest beginnings it has been part of the nature of the English language to incorporate ideas, concepts, and expressions from other societies and to make them part of English. (1992: 31)

Dialect studies and Linguistic Atlases have shown us for over a hundred years that there is no 'one' English, and the *norma culta* project has shown the many faces of Spanish. Rosenblat writes 'se está generalizando un consenso a favor de la pluralidad de normas cultas' (1990[1977d]): 309–310) regarding Spanish and non-native models of New Englishes (Crystal, 1995) provide the norm in the places where they are used. Both English and Spanish in their multiple guises are at once first, second, official, foreign languages and lingua franca all over the world.

Kachru (1992) views the current sociolinguistic profile of English in terms of three concentric circles. The 'Inner Circle' includes the US and the UK as well as the other 'traditional cultural and linguistic bases' (1992: 356) of

English, such as Canada and Australia. The 'Outer Circle' refers to the institutionalized post-colonial non-native varieties, found in countries such as India, Kenya and Singapore. The 'Expanding Circle' covers other 'users' of English worldwide, mainly EFL speakers. In some cases English is the only language that cuts across languages and national boundaries, a link language, and thus used for local integrative roles (Kachru, 1992: 358). Similarly, while Spanish is the native language for millions of people, there are millions of second-language speakers and speakers of new 'Spanishes' in Equatorial Guinea as well as of contact varieties in numerous officially Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America.

Even a superficial reading of the history of both English and Spanish is sufficient to observe multiple roots, innovation, linguistic cross-fertilization and massive borrowing. English has borrowed from most of the major languages of the world, as well as lesser-spoken and extinct languages. Spanish has done much the same thing. They have drawn upon each other and given birth to varieties which are now spread all over the world. The American varieties, in turn, have borrowed from their parent languages and from each other. They are at once archaic and innovative, bearing the impact of indigenous substrata, and more importantly they share a linguistic creativity seen in clippings, compounds, and back formation as well as other types of grammatical conversion and neologism. This pooling of resources and creativity can be seen in a growing number of non-native varieties, and contact varieties emerging from code-switching.

Translators have been responsible for large amounts of borrowing and innovation that have become part of many standard languages. A translator must be creative in her use of resources. In the case of English and Spanish the potential resources are seemingly endless. Translators can look to the creativity found in non-native varieties: if literature can be written 'with an accent', perhaps we can translate with one, too. Spanish-English pooling of resources as found in Spanglish is particularly relevant. A *lengua cósmica* model might prove useful for translating from an innovative, anglicized variety such as Mexican Spanish.

Before determining translation strategies, a closer examination of Chicano language, specific to Mexican Americans, and Spanglish, not specific to any particular Spanish speakers, or even exclusive to speakers of Spanish, is advisable in order to get closer to possible translation strategies more specifically. It might be that an apparently exotic foreignizing strategy as far as

the British reader is concerned would produce relatively everyday language for many speakers of American varieties of English in the US and elsewhere. The translator should also be aware of World Englishes, including non-native varieties and their potential role in providing further creative resources.

NOTES

1. The Instituto Cervantes claimed 400 million Spanish speakers in 2003 as did Obediente Sosa in 2000, although some of these may be second language speakers; Crystal (2002) claims 355 million first language speakers, and over 400 million speakers of English as a second or official language, apart from the other billion or so 'users' of English; Katzner (2002) quotes 375 million native speakers each for English and Spanish.
2. Knowles cites correspondence between the dean of Windsor and Henry IV (1979: 55).
3. Quoted in Lapesa, (1988: 289–290). Although the *Gramática* was printed in 1492, it was not reedited until the eighteenth century. Perhaps this was in part due to that very same Bishop of Avila who, having become the first Bishop of Granada and taken on the evangelizing and 'castilianizing' of the moriscos following the expulsion of the Moors, soon realized that it was not the practical tool he had thought it to be, and learned Arabic instead.
4. Lope Blanch further clarifies the situation, pointing out that *tiza* is what is used for chalking a billiard cue and *gis* is used for writing on blackboards (1977: 266).
5. In his Treatise on the Astrolaba, Chaucer writes 'God save the King, that is lord of this language'. Delisle and Woodsworth find this to be 'the earliest reference to the "King's English", an indication of Chaucer's awareness of the influence of the royal Chancery in establishing the official form of written English' (1994: 29).

CHAPTER TWO

The Chicanos

The Chicanos say, "We didn't cross the border. The border crossed us."
Morales, *Living in Spanglish*

AS WE HAVE SEEN, English and Spanish had already come into contact and exercised a certain degree of mutual influence upon each other prior to the 'discovery' of the New World and during the centuries of conquest and colonization that followed. Contact between the English colonies and the New Spain was transformed by the independence movements and wars that took place in North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

By the 1820s, the newly independent Mexican Republic was struggling to establish itself and to maintain its territory intact while the United States sought to expand southwards in the name of progress. The complicated circumstances of the three decades after 1830—of annexation, conquest, and purchase—were to redefine both the political and the linguistic frontiers between the two emergent nations.

Patterns of migration which began at that time and continue to the present day, with their peculiar characteristics of continuity and circularity, have ensured an uninterrupted presence of Mexican Spanish in the United States, American English in Mexico, and the birth and development of a border contact-language, and various hybrid varieties, which have come to be known collectively as 'Spanglish'.

This chapter aims to shed some light on the historical background of the Spanish language in the US through a history of the first *Spanglish* speakers, the Chicanos,[1] and of a situation in which contact varieties of American English and Mexican Spanish have come to hold some sway over the national usage in each country, if only in terms of lexical borrowing. Reference will be made to Puerto Rico, another annexed territory, and to other migrant

communities, in order to demonstrate the impact of the contact situation on contemporary American society and language.

The Adam-Onis Treaty signed by Spain and the United States in 1819 and ratified by the US and the Mexican Republic in 1831 established the boundary between the US and Mexico. Anglo-American colonists came to the frontier region nearly 300 years after the Spaniards had established communities north of the Rio Grande and tens of thousands of years after the first Indians had established their homes on the land. Moore says that Mexicans have been 'very nearly as long' in the US as the 'Indians', pointing out that 'Mexican immigrants settled in the upper Rio Grande valley of New Mexico a full generation before the Plymouth Colony in New England' (1976: 159). Leaving aside the fact that some 'Mexicans' are 'Indians' and that the 'Mexican immigrants' she refers to would have been Spanish colonists, the important thing to note here is the presence of the Spanish language in the region centuries before English was introduced.

The Way the North was Lost

President Vicente Guerrero abolished slavery in the Mexican Republic in 1829 and this proved unacceptable to the majority of Anglo pioneers who had settled in Texas with Spanish permission, which was ratified by Mexico following Mexican Independence (1821). Wealthy, landed *tejanos* had united with the Anglo newcomers to oppose the Mexican Congress in 1824 when it joined Coahuila and Texas into a single state, and again in 1827 when the new Constitution of Coahuila and Texas prohibited slavery and all slaves living in the territory were declared free. By 1833, the *tejano* elite demanded separation from Coahuila and by 1835 took up arms to fight for the independence of Texas, which was achieved, albeit temporarily, in 1836 (Zoraida, 1994: 53–65). If Mexico was unwilling to recognize Texan independence, matters worsened with the election of James K. Polk and the annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845. Polk ran for the presidency under an expansionist platform, justified by the American belief in Manifest Destiny, aiming to expand the United States from east to west and if possible, down to the Rio Grande. Montejano points out that the strategic importance of the Rio Grande was well understood:

> Here was a river that could link the rich commerce of northern Mexico, from Santa Fe to San Luis Potosi, with world markets; a river that could rival the Mississippi as the most important trade route of the continent. (1987: 18)

The annexation of Texas was just the beginning of the way the west was won, or from another point of view, the way Mexican territory would be halved.

Anglo colonization of the southern states was such that by 1845 Mexicans were outnumbered by newcomers in most regions, apart from the border towns located along a strip beside the Rio Grande approximately 100 kilometres wide. In California and Arizona, the Spanish-speaking elite had long felt neglected by the Mexican authorities and had looked towards the US as an alternative. Indeed, prior to Mexican independence:

> no pocos novohispanos descontentos con su condición colonial se convencieron de que Estados Unidos sería no sólo un amigo sino un aliado poderoso en caso de llegar a un enfrentamiento abierto con el régimen [español] (Guidea&Rodriguez, 1994: 12).

There had been little Spanish colonization in Arizona due to the intensity of the Indian resistance, and according to Moore, most of the Mexican population in California approved of the idea of annexation by the US (1976: 18) owing to central neglect in the face of 'Indian problems'. Whether or not this is true, it is probably the case that Mexican residents were increasingly outnumbered and unable, for various reasons, to pose any real threat or resistance to the ever-expanding Anglo colonization.

At the time of the annexation of Texas an ambitious Anglo mercantile clique lived alongside the landed Mexican elite, situated economically and therefore socially above the independent but impoverished Mexican *rancheros* and the indebted *peones*. The big business of the time was cattle ranching, an activity which had sustained the Mexican elite for several generations. Unsurprisingly, then, many Anglo pioneers learned the Mexican way of riding horses and herding wild steers. These would eventually become known as cowboys. This explains the introduction of lexical items such as *corral*, *buckaroo* (from *vaquero*) and the verb *to mosey* (*mosey* < *vamoose* < *vamos*) into the regional English at that time. But while there may have been a degree of integration of some Anglos in Texas, the position of the native Spanish speakers began to change. Racial and social segregation increased as Mexicans became a minority (Acuña, 1988: 29) and their social standing would soon plummet. Commercial ambition and the desire for expansion, combined with slave-holder interests, led to the annexation of Texas and, like his predecessors, Polk tried to buy

New Mexico and California from Mexico in an attempt to secure east-west expansion as well as greater control of the Rio Grande. With the admission of Texas into the United States in 1845, the scene for the Mexican-American War was set. The Mexican government not only refused to sell the northern territories, but also persisted in its refusal to acknowledge the loss of Texas. Polk's response was to send troops to the Rio Grande. Following minor skirmishes that shed American blood, the US declared war on Mexico, a war that was to last two years and resulted in 55% of Mexican territory becoming part of the United States.

Figure 2. Mexican Territories ceded to the US.

The U.S.-Mexican War ended with the signing of the *Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits, and Settlement between the United States of America and the United Mexican States concluded at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848*, finally proclaimed on July 4th following amendments and ratification, more commonly known as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Alta California, New Mexico and Texas had been Spanish for almost three centuries and Mexican for 25 years. The Treaty of Guadalupe not only recognized Texas as part of the United States, but ceded territories from the Gulf to the Pacific, as far south as the Gila River and the Rio Grande. The Gadsen Purchase of 1853 sought further expansion, partly by correcting the 'mistakes' made in 1848 by following the Disturnell map, which situated the town of El Paso del Norte 34 miles to the north and 130 miles east of its true location. The new border included Arizona south of the Gila River, an area which includes some of the world's richest copper mines, at the same time ensuring that the river itself remained on the US side. New political entities were created out of the ceded territories:

> Texas, al que se le redujo el 66.2% de su área original; partes para Wyoming, Nebraska, Arkansas, Oklahoma, y Colorado, cuyo 66% de su suelo fue mexicano, e integramente, con tierras de nuestro país: Nuevo México, Arizona, Utah, Nevada y California, o sea el 55% del total del territorio de México (García Cantú, 1991: 107).

Not only were the Californian gold mines, the Arizonan copper mines and future Texan oil fields now on the US side of the border, but also over 100,000 Mexican citizens. Articles VIII and XIX of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo dealt with the rights of those annexed citizens. According to article VIII, Mexicans residing in the newly annexed territories were free to stay or leave, either way retaining their property, and they were given one year to declare themselves Mexican citizens, or become US citizens by default. The cession of La Mesilla as part of the Gadsen Purchase (or Tratado de la Mesilla) meant that approximately 2,000 Mexican citizens who had chosen to relocate and settle in northern Mexico found themselves once again in the United States (Martínez, 1994: 159). Article XIX accorded Mexicans 'all the rights of the citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution' and assured them 'the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction'. Unfortunately, this was not generally the case, as many Mexicans were dispossessed of their land through fraud and violence all over the new

Southwest. While some fled to Mexico, most of those who remained found themselves in a position similar to that of the Native Americans, outsiders in their own land, owing to land greed and speculation, expansion, colonialism and war (Silverman, 1994: 17).

The New Borderlands

> The Mexico-Texan, he's one fonny man
> Who lives in the region that's north of the Gran';
> Of Mexican father, he born in these part.
> For the Mexico-Texan, he gotta no lan';
> And sometimes he rues it, deep down in hees heart.
> He stomped on da neck on both sides of the Gran';
> The dam gringo lingo he no cannot spick,
> It twista da tong and it maka heem sik;
> A cit'zen of Texas they say that he ees!
> But then why they call heem da Mexican Grease?
> Soft talk and hard action, he can't understan',
> The Mexico-Texan, he gotta no lan'.
>
> Américo Paredes Manzano—'The Mexican Texan', 1939 [2]

Following a process of war and annexation, there may be a period of *biculturality* or a 'hybrid' generation, or a swift and complete cultural transformation (Montejano, 1987: 25). In this case, there was considerable diversity in local conditions as far as the annexed people, culture and language were concerned: annihilation, subjugation and peaceful accommodation. Silverman points out that, like the cowboys in Texas, Anglos colonizing the region adopted aspects of the local Mexican lifestyle while retaining their own traditions. However, while borrowing from Mexican culture, for example, in the adoption of Californio gold-mining techniques, Euro-Americans often treated Mexican Americans like a conquered people (1994: 22). Once the local techniques had been mastered, many Californios found themselves dispossessed of their lands by fraudulent legislative measures or forcibly removed, and in many cases lynched and murdered. The 1862 Homestead Act turned over vast amounts of the public domain to private citizens by allowing people to settle and claim vacant lands in frontier areas. It was often difficult, if not impossible, for Mexicans to prove that these lands were in fact theirs and not vacant. The discovery of copper, zinc and silver in Arizona and New Mexico led to further expulsion of Mexican-American land owners.

Nonetheless, inhabitants of more remote and isolated Spanish-speaking communities were left in peace. These tended to be the outposts of the arid zones of Texas, New Mexico, California and Arizona.

In the post-annexation politics of Laredo, Texas, ethnic division was secondary to class. Thus, the landed Mexican elite retained their social standing and therefore there was some degree of biculturality; for example, ordinances were published in English and Spanish and both American and Mexican holidays were celebrated. In spite of the numbers of Anglos, Germans and Italians living in San Antonio (Texas) 'almost everyone spoke Spanish and most of the business was conducted in this common language' (Montejano, 1987: 35). Spanish speakers retained a certain amount of power and consequently their language in these towns, even if only for a few decades. American and European immigrants to the region were mainly single men who subsequently married into the local Mexican elite. Among those that claimed the Spanish language as their own were families with surnames such as Lacaze, Laborde, Lafargu, Decker, Marx, Block, Monroe, Nix, Stuart and Ellert (Montejano, 1987: 37). Furthermore:

> For the Anglo settlers, some degree of "Mexicanization" was necessary for the most basic communication in this region, given the overwhelming number of Mexicans. But such acculturation meant far more than the learning of a language and a proper etiquette; it represented a way of acquiring influence and even a tenuous legitimacy in the annexed Mexican settlements (ibid.).

However, by 1900 the Mexican upper class was non-existent except for in a few border enclaves and Spanish was displaced as the common language. Nonetheless, by this time there had already been considerable lexical borrowing and very probably loan translations were incorporated into the English spoken in the region.

New Mexico is a special case in the American Southwest, probably due to its relative geographical isolation. Although the racial makeup of the former province included Pueblo Indians and *genízaros* (detribalized Plain Indians) and Anglo-American migration to New Mexico displaced Nuevomexicanos in positions of influence and policy making, Arellano asserts that following annexation, native 'Hispanos' comprised close to 80% of the total population (2000: 59). While displaced and dispossessed Mexicans fled for their lives from other annexed territories, resistance was strong in New Mexico. Anglo 'land-grabbers' may have been successful in California and in most of Texas, but the

protest activities of the Gorras Blancas, a Nuevomexicanos resistance organization, such as the destruction of fences built by the Anglo newcomers, kept some common land as such. The protest of the Gorras Blancas against the encroachment upon and theft of their lands began in 1889, and by the end of 1890, their notoriety had spread throughout the territory and reached the eastern states (Arellano, 2000: 63). Similarly successful was El Partido del Pueblo, which by 1890 received enormous popular support and won seats in the New Mexico Assembly (Acuña, 1988: 73). The Spanish language newspaper industry continued to thrive well into the twentieth century and the social and political standing of the native population was such at the turn of the century that Gonzales-Berry and Maciel claim that:

> one cannot overemphasize the fact that the political position of the Nuevomexicanos was unique, making their status and development different from those of Chicano communities in other regions of the United States (2000: 85).

This unique position can still be seen a century later, in 2004, when the only 'Hispanic' governor in the United States, Bill Richardson of New Mexico, gave the first Spanish-language response to President Bush's State of the Union Address.

Although Texas south and west of the Nueces River, most of New Mexico and the unfertile regions of the other annexed territories remained predominantly Mexican, the situation in the region was not generally favourable to the Mexican population. González Navarro points out that there is barely any record of marriages between Anglos and *latinoamericanas* in California in the latter half of the 19th century (1994: 257). This social exclusion perhaps partly explains the virtual loss of native Spanish speakers in that region until the massive migrations of the twentieth century. In Arizona, intermarriage declined as the 19th century drew to a close. The railways brought greater numbers of Anglo women, and as the Indian threat reduced, Mexican help was no longer required to dominate the Apaches (Acuña, 1988: 89). Also, overt land dispossession, expulsions and other repressive measures were an everyday occurrence in the areas where Anglos outnumbered Mexicans. Where Mexicans outnumbered Anglos, that is, along the border, such measures were not so easily applied, as we will see shortly.

Not only was there considerable diversity in local conditions for the annexed Mexicans, but conditions would also vary at different times. Spanish-speaking Nuevomexicanos found their political power diminished in the

search for statehood. There were religious, ethnic, pseudo-political, and linguistic arguments against statehood for New Mexico. As a territory of Spanish-speaking, former colonial Catholics, opponents in the Senate railed against New Mexico's admission as a state on the grounds that Nuevomexicanos were 'too fond of their imperial past, that they secretly aspired to a "Kingly government" founded on Monarchical and Catholic principles—not democratic and secular ones' (Nieto-Phillips, 2000: 102). This emphasis on the Spanish colonial past was in part due to Nuevomexicanos' appeal to a Spanish-American ethos in order to avoid the use of the loaded term "Mexican". As the Mexican race was seen as a "mongrel" race unfit for self-government, Nuevomexicanos felt compelled to defend their racial "fitness" for self-government by proclaiming themselves as "pure-blood" descendents of the Spanish conquistadors. The term 'Spanish-American' was a strategic one, which emphasized the "Spanish", i.e. European lineage, as well as an American national allegiance. This combination rendered them racially fit for self-government. It was this denial of a mixed-race heritage that was to assist in the eventual approval of the Bill of Statehood for New Mexico in 1912.

Spanish Americans had declared their allegiance, but not necessarily their language. Article 21 of the Enabling Act originally stated that 'the ability to read, write, speak and understand English without the aid of an interpreter shall be a necessary qualification for all state officers and members of the state legislative' (Gonzáles-Berry, 2000: 173). However, this article was removed and replaced by a more inclusive one. The reformed article in the Constitution mandated that all public documents be printed in both English and Spanish, that English proficiency not be a prerequisite for holding office or jury duty (translators would be provided) and that children "of Spanish descent" be guaranteed an education in their own language. Thus, New Mexico became the only state to possess two official languages. This bilingual article held for over 30 years before its eventual elimination.

Mexicans living in the former Mexican territories had to develop self-defence mechanisms, legal and otherwise. Laws were passed in Arizona blocking the right of Mexicans to buy, take up or preempt claims in the copper and silver mining areas. Those who had land lost it in 'controversies characterized by fraud and delay' (Acuña, 1988: 95). The California Land Claims Act of 1851 was one of the major events that forced many Mexican Americans from their land. The so-called "greaser act" of 1856, an

antivagrancy act, was responsible for the imprisonment of numerous homeless Mexicans who lost their land due to the earlier Land Act. This led to the birth of popular heroes 'nacidos al calor de esta conflictiva situación' (Ceballos Ramírez, 1994: 179), who became social 'bandits' after experiencing atrocities and fighting against forced expulsion. One such case is that of Joaquín Murrieta, who is claimed to have been a peaceful miner who turned into an outlaw after Anglo-Americans stole his land and attacked his family.

The 'Cortina Wars' of 1859–60 and 1873–75 are good examples of the consequences of repressive measures carried out in communities where Mexicans outnumbered Anglos. According to the well-embellished story, Juan Nepucemo ('Cheno') Cortina, son of a wealthy landowning family in the Lower Valley of Texas, witnessed the Brownsville marshal brutally assaulting a drunken *ranchero*, a former servant of the Cortinas. Cortina came to the rescue, and in self-defence shot the marshal in the arm: charges of attempted murder were filed against him. Having become an outlaw, Cortina organized a force of hundreds of men, perhaps as many as 1,200 (Acuña 1988: 45), which after defeating the local authorities of Brownsville and San Antonio, maintained control of the region until the US Army sent troops in December 1859 (Montejano, 1987: 32–33). Cortina was forced to flee to Mexico, returning to the region in 1890, where he received a hero's welcome (Acuña, 1988: 47). This was not the only episode where persecution, or competing claims to land or livestock precipitated a state of virtual warfare, especially in Texas, with a mobilized Mexican element matching arms with the local authorities. Cortina, Murrieta and others figures of Mexican resistance in the Southwest have become immortalized in *corridos* (Mexican folk ballads) and are crucial to the folk history and culture of the region, which through the oral tradition has been instrumental in the conservation of the Spanish language in the region.

In New Mexico, an alliance of Anglo lawyers, politicians, bankers and merchants known as the Santa Fe ring swindled many Mexicans out of their land. While the Gorras Blancas enjoyed success in parts of New Mexico, the actions of the Santa Fe ring and others like them in the other former Mexican territories effectively depleted the economic base of the Mexican population through land dispossession. This led to the loss of their political clout. Without a land base, the people who would later call themselves Chicanos turned to wage labor, which in the circumstances of the Southwest at that time, even before mass Mexican migration to the region, meant that the local

Mexican Americans became migrant workers, following the crops and working on the railways.

El Paso became the hub of massive recruitment efforts of Mexican workers as American railway companies suffered a labor shortage. Asian immigrants had been instrumental in building the first transcontinental railway, but the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) led employers to increasingly recruit Mexican workers as an alternative source of cheap labor. 'Foreign-born' Mexicans, i.e. those born in Mexico, migrated in this period due to the availability of increased employment opportunities. The first border patrol was established in 1904 to stop Asian workers from coming into the United States through Mexico, not to restrict Mexican access. The newly arrived Mexicans quickly assimilated into the highly-segregated Mexican-American communities and became indistinguishable from them.

Coming and Going: Contiguity and Continuity

Meanwhile, the population of the Mexican border towns was growing. Many New Mexican families had relocated to Chihuahua following the war and now people from other parts of Mexico moved northwards in search of employment. The Mexican Revolution began in 1910 and the turmoil, the danger, the economic catastrophe and social chaos surrounding it pushed many Mexicans north. Many chose to emigrate to the US, where the majority immediately found work on the railways or in agriculture. The 'citizens by default' and the 'new' Mexican migrants worked, lived and migrated together. The US-Mexican border has often been described as a 'porous' border, with insufficient natural obstacles to halt crossings and an extension impossible to monitor in its totality. Prior to the formal establishment of the Border Patrol in 1924, it was even more porous. Contiguity in these circumstances meant that Mexicans came and went, legally and illegally, as their labor was needed; some remained in the US while others returned to Mexico when the seasonal work was over. The unofficial 'revolving door' policy began: Mexican workers were welcome when their labor was required, and released from their contracts and 'encouraged' to leave when their work was done.

In 1917 the Immigration and Nationality Act set up new restrictions establishing literacy tests as a condition for entry to the US and a tax of $8. This was aimed primarily at European peasants in a bid to reduce immigration and enhance its "quality" (Silverman, 1994: 77). The Act succeeded in reducing immigration, as did the First World War. Together with the 'Great

Migration' of African Americans (as well as that of other southerners) which began around this time to the industrial north to better paid factory jobs, these factors led to a sharp increase in the labor demand and to crisis in the fields and industries of the Southwest. Business leaders, especially in railway building and manufacturing, lobbied the government to alter the law so that Mexican workers would be exempt. While the need for workers was greatest in Texas, California and Arizona, the demand in numerous other states was enormous (Alanís, 1999: 24). Thus a waiver for Mexican farm workers, railway laborers and miners was introduced, mainly due to the need for a greater amount of cheap labor, but also partly due to the Zimmerman note.[3] This waiver has been called the first *Bracero* program, responding to the 'necesidad de brazos' (Alanís, 1999: 14). Contracts based on a model designed by the Mexican government were drawn up stating rate of pay, schedule, place of employment, etc., and Mexican workers were temporarily welcome.

Fears that the 1917 Act had reduced the number of Mexicans crossing the border in search of employment were perhaps unfounded. As Alanís points out, many Mexicans crossed the border at clandestine or 'traditional' crossing points along the porous border, that is, at places not monitored by customs or passport control (1999: 15). It is impossible to know how many Mexicans were deterred by the Act, but many returned to Mexico for other reasons. Conscription became compulsory for those who could not prove their foreign status, and as many Mexicans and Chicanos had no papers, the fear of conscription caused a massive exodus. Indeed, 'Cada vez que se acercaba la fecha de un nuevo reclutamiento, el retorno se incrementaba' (Alanís, 1999: 53). This loss of Mexican labor meant that by 1918 alarmed agribusiness employers lobbied the US government to negotiate with the Mexican government arguing that crops, and probably more persuasively, profits, would be lost.

In spite of the return of thousands of Mexicans to Mexico and the flagrant breaches of human rights experienced by both Mexicans and Chicanos in the Southwest, especially Texas, the 'push' factors from Mexico meant that there was always a ready supply of migrant workers waiting in northern Mexico to replace them. These 'push' factors include the social and economic factors caused partly by the Mexican Revolution, political instability, inflation and poverty, as well as the railways in both countries which had made travel cheaper and easier. The 'pull' factors were (and undoubtedly still are) the need for *brazos* and the relative non-availability of other sources of cheap labor.

Apart from the traditionally argued push and pull factors, Alanís cites the interviews of the anthropologist Manuel Gamio,[4] carried out in 1926–27 with subjects who migrated from Mexico to the US during the Mexican Revolution. Only 6.5% cited unemployment as their motive for migration, with a more significant 29% citing situations related to the armed struggle. However, the largest group of those interviewed (34.4%) hoped to earn higher wages in the US and therefore aspire to a 'mejoría económica' (the American dream) and another 9% migrated because of the "afán de aventura y deseos de viajar a Estados Unidos y conocer ese país" (Alanís, 1999: 36). 1917 may have seen the first massive migration (and return to Mexico) but the desire for 'mejoría económica' and 'afán de aventura' no doubt contributed, and continue to contribute, substantially to the migration of millions of Mexicans to the US.

Revolving Doors: Migration, Discrimination and Organization

The years between the two World Wars were a period of demand for *Americanization*,[5] but simultaneously, of exclusion. US-born Mexican-Americans began to assimilate while new immigrants reinforced Mexican culture in the region and contributed to the conservation of the Spanish language. Often those whose aim was assimilation found themselves segregated to such a degree that this was practically impossible. Therefore, both groups, often as one, began to form organizations with the aim of improving their lot. The Great Depression (1931–32) drastically cut employment opportunities and therefore sharpened the antagonism toward foreigners who were seen as competitors for scarce jobs and social welfare (Grayson, 1984: 141). A rise in pseudo-nationalism led to the expatriation of thousands of Mexicans. Just as those who were unable to prove their *foreign* nationality (for the purposes of exemption from conscription) were deemed American during the First World War, now those who could not prove their *American* citizenship were judged foreign, and deported.

While some Chicanos can trace their history back to the oldest colonial settlements, others find their roots in the migration process (García, 1994: 308). The first three decades of the twentieth century have been called the *época de inmigración* of Chicano history. By 1923, over a thousand Mexicans arrived in Ciudad Juárez every day with a view to crossing the border (1994: 311). Following the Quota Law of 1924, Mexican workers who qualified were entitled to a 'green card', enabling them to commute on a daily basis from a Mexican border town to a job in the US. Americans generally made no

distinction between the new arrivals, commuters and those who had become citizens by default after the US-Mexican War. In the 1930s, the US economy was suffering and Mexican migrants were convenient scapegoats. As well as deportation, this also translated into discrimination and repression of differing degrees and types–prejudice, physical intimidation and ethnic slurs–none of which was anything new, and had already begun to lead to Mexican-American resistance and organization.

By 1930, 90% of schools in south Texas were segregated (Montejano, 1987: 160). Some of this was *de jure*, as segregation was advocated for 'instructional' purposes, and in other cases is was *de facto*, due to the demarcation of school districts in ethnically segregated residential areas.[6] Indeed, many towns divided by railway lines had clearly distinct Anglo and Mexican quarters. Social division was the strongest in Texas, achieved through economic and educational control. A dual wage system operated: as with different wages for whites and blacks in various regions, "Mexican wages" (which could be defined succinctly as twice the work, half the wages) were paid. The education of the time (and place) can only be described as deficient, as it seemed that illiterate or semi-literate laborers were considered better suited to agricultural work:

> Las escuelas mantenían al mexicano en un papel subordinado, dándole solo conocimientos mínimos de inglés, al tiempo que minaba su español con rudimentarias clases de comprensión de lectura y matemáticas (Maciel & Saavedra, 1988: 48).

As workers became aware of better opportunities elsewhere in terms of higher wages as well as less abuse, many moved northwards, like the equally oppressed African Americans (Texas was the lynching capital–or *linchocracia*–of the US, both for blacks and Mexicans). Of course, as has already been observed, there was diversity in local conditions–both for blacks and Mexicans–but even when segregation was not the norm, separation, and therefore discrimination, tended to be a fact. In order to combat discrimination, Mexican Americans began to come together to take action. Various social movements arose, perhaps the most important of this period being The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

LULAC was founded in 1928 in Corpus Christi, Texas, to promote Mexican-American unity and to help Mexican Americans win full rights as US citizens and fight discrimination. They were pioneers who also called for

bilingual education and an end to both *de jure* and *de facto* segregation. LULAC symbolized the rise of the Mexican-American middle class whose goal was assimilation (Acuña, 1988: 239). Its members demanded equality as North Americans: their major goals were equal access to education and other public and private institutions, and the enactment of state laws to end discrimination against Mexicans (Acuña, 1988: 240).

In 1938, *El Congreso del Pueblo de Habla Española* held its first conference in Los Angeles. This organization strove to win equal rights for all Spanish-speaking people in the United States. It encouraged Mexican Americans to support a unified labor movement to fight discrimination and poverty. The Mexican American Movement (MAM) was founded in 1939 with the notion of 'Progress through Education', providing community grants to Mexican-American students for higher education, which considerably subsidized the first generation of University-educated Mexican Americans. It is worth pointing out that much organizational experience came from Mexico, which was often acquired by those Mexican Americans who had been deported and then returned to the US.

The ranks of the Mexican Americans in US society were constantly increased by the number of Mexican migrant workers entering the US, as already mentioned, temporarily, periodically or permanently; some legally, others illegally. As the US entered the Second World War, the economy required Mexican help once again, and so the 'Emergency Labor Program' better known as the Bracero program, came into force in 1942. The Bracero program aimed to secure more labor, urgently needed to replace mobilized American workers and Japanese farm workers who had been interned in camps, and due to the increased industrial activity as part of the war effort. The first stage of this program aimed to cover agricultural jobs in the Southwest, vacated by conscripted Americans and "resettled" Japanese Americans. By 1943 it had expanded to non-agricultural jobs, and *braceros* could be found not only in the agricultural Southwest but also in the northern industrial cities. As the Bracero program permitted the legal entry of Mexican migrant workers into the US, many considered that the flow of illegal immigrants would subside. However, Grayson claims that in the first decade of the Bracero program, the number of illegal immigrants increased faster than the number of legal *braceros* (1984: 143). Moore presents figures, the result of speculation, of a ratio of 4:1, illegal to legal (1976: 42), while García Cantú claims a much higher ratio of 9:1 (1991: 434). While figures are impossible to

prove, the fact is that most agree that the number of illegal crossings far outnumbered legal ones.

The Bracero program also impacted on the majority of the Mexican border towns. Large groups of *bracero* applicants came to the northern border by train. Their arrival altered the social and economic environments of many border towns. Ciudad Juárez became a hotbed of recruitment and a main gathering point for the agricultural labor force. It is estimated that the population of the border regions in Mexico doubled in size each decade (Gómez-Quiñones, 1988: 158) during the 20th century, mainly due to the migrant movement in both directions.

Two key events in Chicano history took place during the war. The first was the notorious case of Sleepy Lagoon. Eventually reversed and dismissed due to lack of evidence, this murder case initially convicted numerous random Chicano youths of murder, the prosecutor pointing to the clothes and haircuts of the defendants as evidence of guilt. Distinctive clothing gave the name to the second major event of the war years as far as Chicanos are concerned: the "Zoot Suit riots".[7] A street fight between servicemen on leave and Mexican-American youths in Los Angeles resulted in the serious injury of a sailor. A large group of sailors organized a retaliatory strike against the 'zoot-suiters' which turned into ten days of rioting. Only 'zoot-suiters' were arrested. When Eleanor Roosevelt wrote that the unrest had been caused by "long-standing discrimination against the Mexicans in the Southwest", she was accused of stirring race discord (Gómez-Quiñones, 1988: 258) and was thoroughly criticized, no doubt due in part to the coincidence of the historical meeting of President Roosevelt that same year with the Mexican President Camacho, as part of the Good Neighbor Policy. Her statement resembled communist propaganda, it was argued, and others who called the riots 'race riots' were more explicitly labelled communists. The humiliation of Sleepy Lagoon and the "Zoot Suit riots" helped build on the growing small-scale Mexican-American organizations and the events are considered by many as crucial to the foundation of the Chicano Movement.

Grass Roots Democracy

While *braceros* and illegal immigrants continued to cross the border, and sectors of the already established Mexican-American population fought for their civil rights, hundreds of thousands of Mexican-American men served in the armed forces during World War II. In spite of the medals that recognized

this involvement, many Chicano veterans still met with discrimination and little social acceptance. A new group of politically conscious Mexican-American veterans launched vigorous protests against segregation in Texas and elsewhere. The most prominent new organization was the G.I. Forum, which gained national recognition after a protest in Three Rivers, Texas, where a funeral home refused to provide burial services for a decorated Mexican-American soldier killed in action.

LULAC had been active during the war, and in 1946 supported a class-action suit against three school districts in California. The case argued that Mexican-American children are segregated because they were thought to be primarily Spanish speaking. The Court ruled that this segregation was unconstitutional, and the case set a precedent for the US Supreme Court's ruling in Brown v. Board of Education, which overturned the concept of "separate but equal", thus ending segregation on the basis of color or race in schools across the country.

Numerous organizations were formed during the 1940s and 1950s, and with varying degrees of success, changes were made for many Chicanos. Segregation was on the wane, and 'Mexican Schools' began to improve. Thanks to the support of the G.I. Forum and MAM among others, more and more Chicanos were able to progress through education. This in turn led to upward mobility for at least some Chicanos.

The Korean War created a new labor shortage and this led to an extension of the Bracero program in 1951. In spite of the renewal, by 1953 the US government felt that control of the immigration flow from Mexico was necessary, and Operation Wetback was created. García cites numerous studies showing that illegal workers have supported the economy of California (1994: 318–319), and Bustamante (1994, 1997) has repeatedly stated that the presence of 'undocumented' migrant labor in various states saves the US economy thousands of millions of dollars per year.[8] Bustamante also points out, however, the political utility of the migrants as scapegoats 'cada vez que quieren distraer al público estadounidense de las verdaderas causas de alguna calamidad' (1994: 304), and this is reflected in the implementation of programs such as Operation Wetback, and more recent legislative reform, such as Proposition 187, as well as Bush's 2005 proposal for building a fence the length of the US-Mexican border.

Operation Wetback was an intense border enforcement plan, which was responsible in 1954 for the repatriation of almost four million illegal

immigrants, the majority Mexican. At the same time, the Bracero program was still in force, and employers could carry out recruitment drives in Ciudad Juárez and other border towns, so that 'administrative processes reached the ultimate in absurdity' (Moore 1976: 43) as "illegals" could be transported back across the border and readmitted as "legally contracted workers", thus "drying out" the wetbacks (ibid.). Acuña claims that undocumented workers were rarely rounded up during harvest time, and that Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) agents were instructed to withhold searches and deportations until after the picking season (1988: 266–267). The law was enforced once the harvest was in or when recession struck. Unfortunately, as on previous occasions, not all of those deported were "illegal aliens". It is generally recognized that common practice of Operation Wetback focused on Mexicans in general, and many US citizens were deported, because of their appearance.

Mexican Americans continued to organize throughout the 1950s and various organizations were listed as subversive. Consequently, many members, together with members of LULAC and the GI Forum, were deported. Nonetheless, immigration from Mexico not only continued, but continued to increase, in spite of the fact that certain regions, such as rural Texas, were blacklisted by the Mexican government and therefore excluded from the Bracero program. While many Mexicans migrated into Texas, Texas-Mexicans migrated elsewhere. 'In a sense, there was a "domino effect", as one migration reinforced the other' (Montejano, 1987: 273). The already established Mexican Americans migrated as they became aware of the rates of pay in other states, such as California, and even Louisiana and Mississippi, which were twice those of Texas (Acuña, 1988: 180). Meanwhile, the continuous arrival of 'illegals' meant that Texas growers saw no need to raise wages.

The 1950s saw a growth in union activity, and advances were made in the struggle for civil rights. The protests of the 1950s were mainly concentrated in the cities, but the new political consciousness spread to the countryside in the 1960s. Chicanos of all walks of life became active and visible in the struggle for their rights, under the umbrella term of the Chicano Movement, or *la Reconquista*.

The Chicano Movement: la Reconquista

The Chicano Movement was by no means a unified national entity. The powerful farm worker movement led by César Chávez in California was only one facet in a historical phase of activism, which reflected all hues of the political, labor, educational, and social spectrums. The Chicano politics of Texas consisted of 'aggressive political nationalism' (Montejano, 1987: 317), focusing on labor organization and civil rights, whereas in New Mexico, the struggle was concentrated around the volatile land grant movements, under the leadership of the enigmatic López Tijerina. Whether the focus was on land or labor, disenchantment as a result of class and racial oppression was the common denominator of these confrontation politics known collectively as *Chicanismo*, which:

> emphasized Mexican cultural consciousness and heritage, pride in the Spanish language, and the quest for economic opportunity and political representation (Maciel & Peña, 2000: 270).

The collective negative experiences increased the appeal of *Chicanismo* which, although described as 'at times a set of general and nebulous notions' (ibid.), did translate into a radicalization of political, labor, and educational struggles, as well as artistic and literary production.

The most commonly accepted etymology for the word'Chicano' is that it derives from *mexicano*, pronounced 'meshikano', as in *Mexica* (see, for example, Stavans, (2003: 95)). Among the many theories regarding the origins and usage of 'Chicano'[9] there is agreement insofar as it was a derogatory term applied to lower class Mexicans in the Southwest, the middle classes preferring to call themselves Mexican Americans, with or without a hyphen. Radical Chicanos embraced the word in the 1960s much in the same way that 'black' was chosen over 'colored' for self-identification around the same time. It is probable that the black-power movement inspired the adoption and subsequent popularization of 'Chicano' as an act of defiance and self-assertion (Gutiérrez, 1995: 185). 'Mexican-American' was rejected by those who recognized the validity of the hyphen for European, African, or Asian ethnic extraction, with the argument that the adjective 'American' describes a continent, and therefore the suffix in 'Mexican-American' is redundant.

Acuña notes a marked trend toward assimilation following WWII, with many Mexican-American parents refusing to teach their children Spanish

(1988: 320). Romano defines four broad categories of adjustment of people of Mexican descent in the US: Anglo-Saxon Conformity, Stabilized Differences, Realigned Pluralism, and Bi-Culturalism (1997[1969]: 58–59). The assimilationist trend observed by Acuña was visible in the activities of organizations such as LULAC and the GI Forum, who later, more radical Chicanos accuse of advocating 'Anglo-Saxon conformity', that is, assimilation and acculturation. Continuous migration has, Romano argues, created pockets of 'stabilized differences', that is, communities that remain culturally Mexican, although on US soil. Campa disagrees, suggesting that 'stabilized differences' do not in fact exist, pointing to a slightly more complex cultural picture. While accepting both cultural retention and acculturation among Mexican Americans, he finds nothing contradictory in their coexistence, and furthermore presents the notion of 'double acculturation', that is, the Mexican-American culture of the Southwest as acculturating simultaneously to Mexican immigrant culture and to Anglo-American culture (García, 1989: 284).

Romano defines 'Realigned pluralism' as a reaction of those who chose Anglo-Saxon conformity over stabilized difference, only to find that they were still excluded from the main currents (1997[1969]: 59). Symptomatic of realigned pluralism are 'ethnically oriented...parallel activities and institutions, [...] scholarship oriented organizations, [...] community service oriented, as well as political organizations' (ibid.). While the goal of much of the Mexican-American middle-class may have been assimilation (Anglo-Saxon conformity), LULAC and the GI Forum, and grass roots organizations such as the Community Service Organization (CSO) would, according to Romano, fall into this category, together with manifestations of the 'third generation return' (ibid.). This phenomenon, that of the third generation's return to identification with their own ethnic group after having undergone the process of assimilation, puts the cultural nationalism of radical student Chicanos of the 1960s and 1970s in the same category as LULAC.

Campa and others divided this category into the Mexican-American Generation and the Chicano Generation (García, 1989: 298–299). He described the former generation as middle-class led, and acknowledged its struggles and not insignificant breakthroughs, especially in education. The Chicano Generation was much more radical, and built on both the successes and failures of the Mexican-American Generation. The success of the latter in lobbying for education reform, employment, political representation, and

public accommodation opened many doors for their children, the Chicano generation, especially in education. The Mexican-American Generation was moderate, seeking changes through the system, working from within, while the radicals of the Chicano Generation aimed to restructure the system (Gonzales, 1999: 196). In the early 1960s, the moderates still predominated. Gonzales suggests that two of the most prominent individuals of the Chicano movement, César Chávez and Corky Gonzales, might be considered transitional figures from the Mexican-American Generation to the Chicano Generation (1999: 206). This proposition seems unsustainable, unless it is a mere chronological observation, as it is difficult to see how either could be considered moderates.

César Chávez is possibly the best known representative not only of the Chicano movement in the 1960s and 1970s, but of the US-Mexican community as a whole. Chávez founded the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) in 1962 with other former CSO organizers. The NFWA later joined with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) to become the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC). Under Chávez's leadership the UFW, as it later became known, achieved significant gains for farm workers through successful boycotts of agricultural products, the most famous and most successful being the grape boycott. Many authors see Chávez's fight, often referred to as *la causa*, as a vital wing of the civil rights movement, more than simply a trade union struggle. The activities that Chávez and his organizers led inspired the Chicano activism of the 1960s and 70s, and many agree that they helped to create a Latino civil rights movement. Luis Valdez founded the *Teatro Campesino* which used one-act plays to publicize the struggle of the farm workers and the Chicanos, thus contributing to the spread of the new consciousness.

The civil rights era in the US saw a rise in activism of all kinds. Members of LULAC, the GI Forum and other organizations worked together in campaign groups called the Viva Kennedy clubs. It has been claimed that the clubs led Kennedy to victory in Texas, demonstrating the pivotal significance of the Texas Mexican-American vote. Seeing their vote in action encouraged many who were previously disenchanted with a political system from which they felt excluded to participate. Thus encouraged, the Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations (PASSO) was formed with the aim of achieving national impact. As the anti-war and the black-power movements intensified in the US after 1965, young Mexican Americans also began to

voice their frustrations and protests (Gutiérrez, 1995: 185), leading to the rise of more radical organizations such as the Brown Berets, who were the Chicano analogues of the Black Panthers and the Puerto Rican Young Lords.

Numerous Chicano organizations appeared all over the Southwest. Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzales, former boxer, ex-GI Forum member, and Colorado coordinator of the Viva Kennedy clubs became disillusioned with conventional party politics and decided to take more direct action, gradually espousing cultural nationalism. His epic poem *I am Joaquín* (1967) has been described as 'probably the most inspiring piece of movement literature written in the 1960s' (Acuña, 1988: 341).

There had been considerable youth and student organization in the Southwest for several years. By 1967 United Mexican American Students (UMAS), began to reflect a concern about the lack of Chicano gains in comparison with blacks (Acuña, 1988: 320). Peaceful accommodation had not worked, and this led to radicalism, and cultural nationalism, which expressed itself in a pride of identity and a rejection of assimilation as a goal (ibid.). The Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) was formed in Texas, spreading to other states, and numerous other youth and student organizations were formed. Corky believed that radical youth political action was the way forward, and called the First National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver in 1969. The result of this conference was the Plan Espiritual de Aztlán, which set goals of cultural nationalism and self-determination. Inspired by Alfaro Siqueiros' 1922 manifesto to the Sindicato de Artistas y Obreros Revolucionarios, the Plan:

> borró simbólicamente la frontera entre Estados Unidos y México; identificó al suroeste como Aztlán, tierra ancestral de los aztecas; y promovió y autorizó la percepción de mexicanos y chicanos como un solo pueblo, una sola raza—foreign-born y native-born chicanos—(Martínez, 1989: 179).

It is important to note the increase in Mexican migration to the US during the 1960s and 1970s, both legal and illegal. Approximately 300,000 Mexicans entered the US legally during the 1950s (Gonzales, 1999: 194) and the number doubled in the 1970s (Huntingdon, 2004: 3). INS Annual Reports show that 779,467 'illegal aliens' from Mexico were apprehended in the 1960s (Grayson, 1984: 144), the number greatly increasing during the 1970s to such an extent that by 1977 figures approached 1 million per year (ibid.). If we apply the INS "got-away" ratio of 1: 3 or 4, meaning that for every illegal

crosser caught, 3 or 4 got away (Acuña, 1988: 441), even a conservative estimate would give a total of at least 3 million Mexicans entering the US every year at this time. This mass migration reinforced the cultural revitalization of Chicanos, helping to slow Americanization and bring about a renaissance in Mexican-American culture (García, 1989: 285). The phenomenon was most noticeable in California 'where the trend toward *pochoization* was the most advanced' (Acuña, 1988: 320). *Pochoization*, the opposite of Americanization for Chicanos, implies an encroachment of the Spanish language and Mexican cultural values on 'American' language and culture. Ornstein-Galicia describes a *pocho* speech-form, Chicano caló, as 'the tongue of rebellious elements' which 'was chosen as the symbolic embodiment of Chicano expression' (1989: 51).

Another significant *Chicanismo* figure was the evangelist Reies López Tijerina. Originally from Texas, he became interested in land issues in northern New Mexico. After three years of fact-finding trips to archives in Mexico City and Spain, he founded the Alianza Federal de Mercedes Libres in 1963, which 'endeavoured "to organize and acquaint the heirs of all Spanish land-grants covered by the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty" with their rights' (Maciel & Peña, 2000: 272). He questioned the legitimacy not only of private land-ownership, but also of the US Forest Service in the establishment of the Kit Carson National Forest. He aimed to return the land to its rightful owners, who had lost it through deception, fraud, and violence, often with the assistance of state corruption. As with other struggles within the Chicano movement, cultural symbolism became a rallying force for collective action (Maciel & Peña, 2000: 273) and Alianza members spoke Spanish, rarely using English.

Tijerina was a leader who advocated action when words failed (Maciel & Peña, 2000: 274), and in 1966 the Alianza proclaimed the Republic of San Joaquín del Río de Chama in the Forest. More conservative Hispanos accused him of being a rabble-rousing agitator, and the Alianza changed its name to Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres due to the pressure and harassment that had ensued from his activism (2000: 275). While Alianza statements had been radical enough, actions had been symbolic, affirming historical rights, but Tijerina's actions were gradually more extreme, and he eventually found himself in court facing 54 criminal charges, including kidnapping and assault. Maciel and Peña give an account of the trial, and of Tijerina's words in his defense:

"[Y]es, we are guilty of claiming our lands, guilty of believing in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo" (2000: 276).

Tijerina was acquitted of all charges, only to be retried and convicted in 1970, by which time he was already serving a sentence for burning Forest Service signs.

Tijerina's influence gradually declined. Nonetheless, years of such activism had left their mark on the Southwest and elsewhere. Efforts in education had lasting consequences. Affirmative action as part of various Equal Opportunity programs increased Chicano student numbers, and their protests increased Chicano study options and Chicano-related research in numerous universities. All of this, combined with massive migration from Mexico revitalized the Mexican culture and the Spanish language in the Southwest, and continuing migration sees this trend continue.

After the Bracero program terminated in 1964, the Border Industrialization Program (BIP) was developed, this time to allow US industrial employers access to cheap labor in *maquiladoras* or *maquilas* (assembly plants or sweatshops) on the Mexican side of the border. This has encouraged additional northward migration from all over Mexico, and the population of the border region continues to grow. Some of the population is temporary, 'through traffic' only, and some is permanent. Thus, varieties of American English and Mexican Spanish continue to congregate along the border, and their influence spreads in both directions.

The presence of the Spanish language in the United States is not restricted to people of Mexican origin. The umbrella term 'Hispanic', successfully popularized by the Nixon administration, covers all people from Spanish-speaking Latin American countries. According to the US Census Bureau, 'Hispanics' or Latinos comprised more than 13% of the total US population in 2001.[10] It is estimated that nearly three-fifths of the Latino population are of Mexican origin and Puerto Ricans make up about one-tenth (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2004).

Puerto Rico – The First Spanglish Nation

The history of Puerto Ricans in the United States is similar in origin to that of the Chicanos. After 400 years of Spanish colonial rule, Puerto Rico was annexed by the US following a war, the Spanish-American War (1898). Like the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans changed nationality without leaving their

country. The Foraker Act (1901) established the relationship of the United States with Puerto Rico and many of its provisions are still in force. During this period the Puerto Ricans were in a citizenship limbo as they were not citizens of Spain and the title "Puerto Rican citizen", although it applied, meant little, as Puerto Rico was neither a free country nor legally part of another. The Jones Act (1917), which stipulated that Puerto Ricans were entitled to US citizenship, finally solved this ambiguity, and Puerto Rico became an unincorporated territory of the United States. The Jones Act also declared English as the official language of the island. English had already been declared the official language of education immediately after the Spanish-American War, in what Crawford describes as 'an especially futile attempt at social engineering', which succeeded in 'depriving generations of children of a meaningful education' as most instruction consisted of 'rote repetition of a language they had no opportunity to use outside the classroom' (2000: 17). Spanish was restored as the language of teaching in 1948 and was declared the sole official language of Puerto Rico in 1991, a declaration recompensed by the Prince of Asturias Award for Letters.[11] By 1993, both English and Spanish were decreed official languages. While the people of Puerto Rico are predominantly Spanish-speaking, the variety of Spanish spoken is increasingly anglicized (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2004).

Operation Bootstrap saw the massive migration of Puerto Ricans to New York in the 1950s. It was designed to solve the island's economic problems by exporting labor to the mainland (Silverman, 1994: 52). Like the Bracero program, it sent thousands of Spanish speakers to the US, and many of whom stayed on. Whereas Puerto Rico does not have a physical border with the US, continuity and circularity can be said to characterize their migration in a manner similar to that of Mexican migration. The "Great Migration" for Puerto Ricans took place between 1946 and 1964, but improved economic conditions have prompted return migration from the US to Puerto Rico, the rate of which has sometimes exceeded that of emigration (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2004). As is the case with Mexicans, there is frequent back-and-forth travel as well as return migration.

Puerto Ricans were the first group to make the presence of Spanish felt in New York (Zentella, 2002: 170) and still account for the majority of the city's Spanish speakers. While the majority of the over 3,000,000 Puerto Ricans in the US are concentrated in New York and New Jersey, there are also large groups in Massachussetts, Illinois, California, and Florida. Miami, Florida, is

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home to a major concentration of the next largest national group of Latinos in the US, the Cubans.

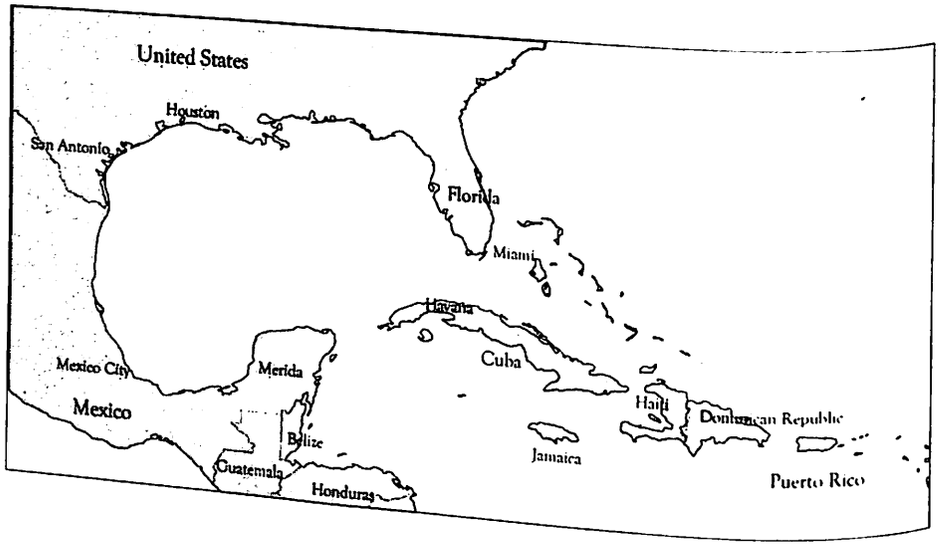

Figure 3. The Caribbean.

Bienvenido a Miami

Cuban migration to Miami began with the flight of the elite and entrepreneurial class following the Cuban Revolution in 1959. Unable to send money home, they invested in Miami, propitiating dramatic economic growth in the region. Miami Cubans promoted international tourism and developed important trade relations with Latin America, achieving an economy larger than those of many Latin American countries (Huntingdon, 2004: 9). This was a Hispanic success story, so much so that in 1973 Dade County was declared bilingual and bicultural (Crawford, 2000: 25). By 2000, two thirds of the population of Miami were 'Hispanic', and more than half were Cuban or of Cuban descent (Huntingdon, 2004: 9).

Miami is 'perhaps the most dynamic and fully Spanglish city in the US' (Morales, 2002: 243). 'The entire city seems to be bilingual' (ibid.); an affirmation perhaps barely an exaggeration in a city where Anglos have undergone what various authors have described as 'acculturation in reverse', Spanish skills having become necessary for advancement (Crawford, 2000: 26). Miami is a media center not only for the Spanish-speaking US, but also for Latin America, with networks such as Univision and Telemundo based there, as well as the Spanish-language divisions of companies dominating the music industry. Huntingdon points out that the 'pressure' toward Hispanization in the Southwest comes from below, and has been politically driven, whereas in South Florida, it comes from above and has been economically driven (2004: 10). In spite of these intrinsic differences, 'In the long run, however, numbers are power, particularly in a multicultural society, a political democracy, and a consumer economy' (ibid.).

The Decade of the Hispanic

At the beginning of the 1980s, Izaguirre's article entitled 'The Decade of the Hispanic' (Acuña, 1988: 412) expressed optimistic ideas regarding the immediate future of 'Hispanics' in the US. In Miami, assimilation and Americanization were unnecessary, and in other regions the impact of the civil rights struggles and radical activism of the preceding decades was palpable in a number of ways. Bilingual education was a civil rights issue that affected Native Americans, traditionally Spanish-speaking communities in the Southwest, and Puerto Ricans, as well as 'foreign-born' speakers of languages other than English. Bilingual and vernacular education had been available in the US until WWI, when 'wartime fears strengthened a campaign to Americanize the immigrant, especially in linguistic matters' (Crawford, 2000: 98). Bilingual education was revived in Florida in the 1960s by Cuban exiles who had every intention of returning to Cuba and therefore wished their children to receive instruction in Spanish. LULAC campaigned for bilingual education for Mexican Americans as a transitional stage towards assimilation, and more radical Chicanos saw it as necessary for their cultural nationalist goals.

The Bilingual Education Act was passed in 1968 and from 1975 to 1981 imposed bilingual education on nearly 500 school districts, mainly in the Southwest (Crawford, 2000: 93). However, Acuña points out that most Mexican students in the Southwest did not have access to bilingual education,

and when they did, the teachers were often neither bilingual nor qualified (1988: 390). Indeed, Crawford quotes figures in the 1990s showing that less than 30% of Limited English Proficient students (LEPs) in California were in bilingual classes and only 20% were taught by fully certified instructors. Nonetheless, Stavans claims that 43% of Chicanos, 50% of Puerto Ricans, and 40% of Cuban-Americans born in the US have participated in bilingual education programs (2001: 152). It is highly likely therefore that bilingual programs have played some part in maintaining the Spanish language in the US, producing several generations of students who are bilingual and biliterate to varying degrees.

The backlash against bilingualism came in the 'Decade of the Hispanic'. Dade County's Cuban population grew considerably with the Mariel boatlift (1980) and acquired different characteristics. The new immigrants were poorer, darker, and in some cases criminals (Castro took advantage of the open-door policy of the US towards Cuban defectors and released large numbers of people from the island's prisons). Whether due to the characteristics of the new immigrants or merely their numbers, Dade County voters resented tax-payers' money being spent on them and the same year saw the so-called Anti-Bilingual Ordinance passed. It was 'arguably the most draconian language law in US history' (Crawford, 2000: 26). It prohibited the use of county expenditure on anything not in English, and:

> This led, among other restrictions, to a ban on hurricane warnings and bus schedules in Spanish, an embargo on prenatal care pamphlets in Haitian Creole, and the removal of non-English-language signs at the Dade Metrozoo, where some vigilant citizens had complained about the Latin Species names posted outside animal cages (ibid.).

Nonetheless, Spanish bilingualism and biculturalism flourished in the area, and the Ordinance was eventually repealed in 1993.

The 1980s also saw the rise of the English-only movement, epitomized by the organization US English. Initially successful, promoting English as official language statutes and constitutional amendments which were passed in numerous states, the organization came full circle in the 1990s, 'from fringe-group status to mainstream acceptance to political marginality' (Crawford, 2000: 32). Links to the Pioneer Fund, a foundation created in the 1930s to promote 'racial betterment' through eugenics, and a leaked memorandum appealed on the whole to white supremacists, alienating mainstream support

for the English language as a social unifier. Tanton, founder and President of US English, was the author of the leaked memorandum that in reference to the Latino population, asked the question:

> will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile? (Crawford, 2000: 23)

Indeed, not only are 'Hispanics' more fertile, but also, the Spanish-speaking minority continues to grow through migration, legal and otherwise. According to the 1990 census, the number of 'Hispanics' in the US increased by 61% in the 1970s and by 53% in the 1980s (Gonzales, 1999: 223). Huntingdon, alarmed by more recent figures showing that the number of 'Hispanics' increased by almost 10% from 2000 to 2002, like Tanton, points to fertility rates which, for 2002 were estimated at 1.8 for non-Hispanic whites, 2.1 for blacks, and 3.0 for Hispanics (2004: 3). Indeed, in 1998, "José" replaced "Michael" as the most popular name for newborn boys in both California and Texas (2004: 11). The *Reconquista* is well-underway. It is estimated that 'Hispanics' may constitute up to 25% of the US population by 2050 (2004: 3). Fertility and immigration, Huntingdon fears, could divide the US into a country of two languages and two cultures. 'There is no Americano dream', (2004: 12) he says, inadvertently pointing to a hybrid alternative.

It is perhaps true that assimilation and Americanization are no longer as desirable or necessary as far as new generations of immigrants are concerned, but there is plenty of evidence to suggest that both English and Spanish are spoken in Latino communities, and code-switching is a common phenomenon. This is also true of the Mexican border regions, whose populations increased massively when NAFTA came into force in 1994, and the number of *maquilas* rose sharply. By 2000 Mexico's northern border population represented 17% of the total population, almost double the proportion a hundred years earlier (Canales, 2003: 102).

The ever-increasing mobility of the population sees language varieties travelling north and southwards, circular migration taking place both on a national and international level. Additionally, while Spanish and English language media based in the US cater for the huge numbers of Latinos living there, their products are consumed all over Latin America.

Cultural and Linguistic Hybridity: Chicanos, Latinos and Spanglish

Twentieth-century migration from Mexico to the US tended to be circular. Most 'wetbacks' were not one-time only crossers, nor did they traditionally have any intention of remaining in the US. This pattern began to change in the late 1980s following the Immigration Reform and Control Act known as the "Simpson-Rodino" bill of 1986, which granted amnesty for those who could prove continuous residence in the US since 1982. At this point,

> El patrón circular de la migración, preponderante hasta entonces comenzó a desplazarse hacia una permanencia en los EUA (Padilla, 2005).

Nevertheless, the effects of over a century of such a pattern have not been eliminated, and a significant proportion of migration continues in the previously predominant circular pattern.

The circularity of US-Mexico migration, both legal and illegal, leads to change on both sides of the border. Many authors have described the social and cultural changes caused by mass migration. Studies of Mexican migrant communities in the US unsurprisingly reveal consequences similar to those of others carried out across the globe among various displaced ethnic and cultural groups. Change occurs not only in the receiving society and the migrant communities themselves but also in the migrants' place of origin. Migrants change their socio-cultural and linguistic habits, and some of this is passed on to their home communities when they return, temporarily or permanently. While many of the changes that occur can be attributable to globalization, for example, the adoption of English vocabulary, it is also quite reasonable to expect that some changes are culturally and locally very specific, and the direct result of circular migration patterns.

Not only have Mexicans in the US changed, but they have also contributed to the modification of US culture, especially in the Southwest (Bustamante, 1994: 320). Indeed, together with other Latinos in the US, they are changing 'la fachada cultural de Estados Unidos':

> Los mexicanos y otros latinos siguen "americanizándose" al mismo tiempo que, por la proximidad de sus países de origen con Estados Unidos, gran parte de la cultura latina se conserva o se adapta de forma tal, que influye en la cultura estadounidense. Además, la coherencia de los patrones de inmigración que aún enfrenta este sector de la población ayuda sin duda a la latinización de la cultura de Estados Unidos (Bustamante, 1994: 324).

In a similar vein, García-Acevedo points out that many sectors of the New Mexican economy are dependent on Mexican workers and states that the long-term impact is no longer just economic, 'but will increase the "Mexicanization" of the state, in cultural, social and linguistic dimensions' (2000: 234). Even if circular migration ceases to be the predominant pattern, similar effects will continue to be produced as many US-based Mexicans return, often repeatedly, to Mexico. Legislation permitting dual nationality came into force in 1998 in Mexico, making it much easier for many Mexicans who are legally established in the US to return to Mexico on a regular basis. Additionally, recent years have seen no reduction in the numbers of first-time border crossing, thus allowing for a continuing revitalization of Mexican culture in the US.

The Mexicanization or 'amigoization' (Stavans, 2003: 68) of parts of the Southwest can be grouped together with the cultural influence of other Latinos in the US under the term *Latinization*. Perhaps the most evident effects can be observed in popular culture. Publications such as *Latina* magazine contain articles written mainly in English, but also in Spanish and Spanglish, about Latino movie and pop stars who also enjoy considerable mainstream success. Salsa, used to describe rhythms as well as sauce, is as 'American' as disco and ketchup ever were, and thanks to globalization, part and parcel of hegemonic global culture. Of course, this is a two way process. The other side of the coin is *chicanización* in Mexico (Castañeda, 1995: 55) which entails the use of cultural symbolism as a manifestation of identity, for example, tattoos of the Virgin of Guadalupe. We can now find hot dogs in Mexico, and burritos in the US, and that Tex-Mex creation, nachos, with 'American cheese' and jalapenos, heated in the microwave, on both sides of the border (and beyond).

On a linguistic level, this translates into the use of Anglicisms in Spanish and *mexicanizaciones* (Bustamante, 1997: 308) in English as well as extensive use of code-switching, and the emergence of hybrid varieties. Spanglish, Spaninglish, espanglés, and Engliñol are some of the names given to Spanish-English hybrid language varieties. Valenzuela's (2003) concepts for describing border cultural processes, applicable to Mexican interaction with US culture on either side of the border, can also be applied to Spanglish: *apropiación cultural*, *transculturación*, *inovación o creación cultural*, *recreación cultural* and *resistencia cultural*. Spanglish resists the imposition of the dominant-culture

language, as far as its existence in the US is concerned; however, it could be seen to impose transculturation from the dominant culture when considered in the Mexican context. Whatever ideological component is attributed to it, its linguistic effects are felt through calques, blends, neologisms, and grammatical conversion, which can also combine with code-switching to create new varieties. For example, Ornstein Galicia points out that the sociolinguistic impact and status of Chicano caló, one variety of Spanglish, has gone far beyond mere slang (1989: 52), and describes it as a vibrant variety of Spanish spoken on both sides of the US-Mexico Border (1989: 53).

US-Mexican English-Spanish hybridity is a widespread phenomenon, impacting on many aspects of culture, from the colloquial speech of migrant communities, through cuisine, to art and literature. It can be observed in Chicano literature, both in English and in Spanish, and its linguistic ramifications will be dealt with in the following chapter.

We have thus seen how the geographical borders between English and Spanish in America became blurred in the nineteenth century, through annexation, conquest, and purchase. Since then, migration to the United States, especially from Mexico and Puerto Rico, with its peculiar patterns of continuity, contiguity and circularity, has altered the cultural and linguistic makeup both of the destination of migrants in the US and in their places of origin. Organization and resistance have also played a significant role in the *latinization* of contemporary US culture, which in turn has had an impact on both the English language as used in the US and the Spanish language used in Latin America. Massive migration from other parts of Spanish-speaking America, such as Cuba, has played a significant part in the preservation of the Spanish language in the United States as well as in cultural renovation and fusion. One such manifestation of fusion is the phenomenon of *Spanglish*, a linguistic melange which is familiar to Latinos and others in the US and elsewhere.

NOTES

1. The sources of this history are mixed. Mexican versions are mainly those found in Schumacher's anthology (1994). Acuña's *Occupied America* (1988) is the cornerstone of the Chicano viewpoint, also reflected in the work of other Chicano historians and sociologists. Montejano (1987) provides the basis for Texas specifics, and Gonzalez-Berry & Maciel for New Mexico. US versions are taken principally from Moore (1976) and Silverman (1994), as well as material consulted online at http://www.pbs.org/kpbs/theborder/history/, which contains links to newspaper coverage of events. I have tried as far as possible to present facts and interpretations consistent with the three viewpoints.
2. Quoted in Montejano (1987: 158).
3. German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmermann sent a telegram, which was intercepted, to the Mexican government. In it, a German-Mexican alliance in return for the recovery of the lost Mexican territories was proposed. This German offer and US reaction was repeated during WWII when 'Roosevelt found in Germany's courting of Mexico a strong inducement for cooperation with his southern neighbor' (Grayson, 1984: 26).
4. Gamio's various works are much cited; for example, see García-Acevedo (2000), Moore (1976), Montejano (1987), López y Rivas (1979), and Valenzuela Arce (2003).
5. Americanization entails the assimilation and acculturation of immigrants, beginning with speaking English. It refers to the so-called 'melting-pot'.
6. Menchaca points out that if residential segregation had not been practised in the past, school segregation would not be a contemporary problem (1995: 181).
7. The suits worn by some Mexican Americans at that time were part of the Pachuco culture, which will be dealt with in the following chapter. They resembled those worn by young Blacks in Harlem and were thus given the same name by outsiders. Mexican Americans never used the term zoot-suit themselves, preferring to call their suits 'drapes'.
8. This has been confirmed by many sources. See, for example, The New York Times, April 5th 2005, 'Illegal Immigrants are Bolstering Social Security with Billions'.
9. Other less commonly accepted theories are presented in Hernández-Gutiérrez & Foster (1997); see, for example, Macías (1997: 41) and Vázquez (1997: 6).
10. www.census.gov/Press-release/www/2003/cb03-16.html, accessed May 20th 2003.
11. The 1991 Premio Príncipe de Asturias in Letras went to the Pueblo de Puerto Rico, 'cuyas autoridades representativas, con decisión ejemplar, han declarado el español único idioma oficial de su país', http://www.fpa.es/esp/03/index.html?a=8|$|letras|$|1991, accessed December 14th 2005.

CHAPTER THREE

Spanglish

Español titlán Englishic,
Titlán náhuatl, titlán Caló,
¡Qué locotl![1]

SPANGLISH is a name given to mixed Spanish-English codes spoken in the US, Mexico and elsewhere. In this chapter I aim to describe the origins of Spanglish and trace its development, through an examination of its manifestations, literary and otherwise, and through an analysis of sociolinguistic studies. I propose a Spanglish continuum as a tool for the translator of Mexican texts, as part of an overall foreignizing strategy.

'Do you speak Pocho?' asks Ulica (1997[1924]: 101). *Pocho* is used in Mexican and Chicano Spanish to describe both an Anglicized variety of Spanish and its Mexican-American speaker. Its Mexican use is said to derive from *potzico*, from the Sonoran Opata language, meaning to cut grass by uprooting, *arrancarla con todo y sus raíces* (Valenzuela, 2003: 39). 'El pocho se está extendiendo de una manera alarmante', writes Ulica, shocked:

> Me refiero al dialecto que hablan muchos de los "Spanish" que vienen a California y que es un revoltijo, cada día más enredado, de palabras españolas, vocablos ingleses, expresiones populares y terrible "slang" (1997[1924]: 101).

Ulica's article is clearly a humorous piece in which he complains:

> De seguir las cosas así, va a ser necesario fundar una Academia y publicar un diccionario español-pocho, a fin de entendernos con los nuestros (ibid.).

He concludes his article with a request for the writing of 'un extenso vocabulario de pocherías por connotados académicos' (1997[1924]: 103). Almost a century later, similar—but usually more seriously expressed—ideas can

still be found in a plethora of academic publications as well as in newspaper articles. His 1924 request for a *Pocho* lexicon may have been in jest, nonetheless, by 1996, a second edition of Galván's *Dictionary of Chicano Spanish*, a serious lexicographic endeavour, had been published, and by 2003, the Lewis-Sebring Professor in Latin American and Latino Culture at Amherst College, Ilán Stavans, published a lexicon as part of his work on Spanglish (2003: 65–250). *Pocherías* have not disappeared, and while they are often still referred to as such by speakers of Mexican Spanish, 'Spanglish' is currently the most common term used among English speakers and English-dominant bilinguals for English-Spanish contact phenomena in the US such as *pocho*.

Spanglish is spoken by first generation Spanish-speaking immigrants to the United States, the majority of whom, as we have already seen, are of Mexican origin. It is often also spoken by second and subsequent generation Latinos, be they Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or of Spanish-speaking Central or South American extraction. Stavans implies that Spanglish is a variety akin to medieval English or Spanish, a 'new language' in the making (2003). This seems reasonable to a certain extent if we look to numerous hybrid varieties that exist worldwide, some of which develop over time to the point of achieving official language status, such as Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea. However, Spanglish may not be quite such a clear-cut entity, and others argue that there are different types of Spanglish, such as Garrido (2004) who finds two: the 'so-called Spanglish' of Spanish speakers in the US that would be more appropriately termed adaptive bilingualism, and that of English speakers, which he considers simply a style within US English.

So what is Spanglish? Is it 'an invasion of Spanish by English' (González Echevarría, 1997)? Is it slang? Are there criteria for distinguishing Spanglish from 'Spaninglish', 'Engliñol', 'casteyanqui' and Pachuco caló? Is it a tangible entity at all? Spanglish is perhaps simply a term that covers several different kinds of English-Spanish language contact phenomena, from academic jargon to varieties such as border caló, Tex-Mex and Hispanized English (HE) (Zentella, 1997: 47)[2] to transitional or adaptive bilingualism among Latinos in the US, all of which are characterized by borrowing and code-switching. From here on I will use 'Spanglish' to refer to Spanish-English contact phenomena in general.

Early signs of Spanglish can be seen in the 19th century as Anglo migration to Texas increased English-Spanish language contact. Borrowings from Spanish into English abounded in the period, and Stavans's lexicon (2003) dates the first recorded use of many Spanish loanwords in English. Examples include 'barrio' (1841), 'bonanza' (1842), 'chaparral' (1850), and 'ranchero' (1826). Earlier examples include 'corral' (1582), 'lasso' (1768), 'plaza' (1683) and 'sombrero' (1770). As Mexico's northern regions and Puerto Rico became part of the US following the US-Mexican and Spanish-American wars, English was imposed, leading to a diglossic situation. Ferguson's concept of diglossia described a situation in which two varieties of the same language, one 'high' and the other 'low', were used for different purposes (2000[1959]: 65–80), and Fishman later developed it to describe how two different languages are used in compartmentalized roles in a given society (2000[1967]: 81–88). In the case of the Southwest and Puerto Rico, English became the 'high' variety, used in government and education (with the exceptions already described in the earlier chapters) and Spanish became the 'low' variety, the language of the home and other domains. While it is often assumed that the compartmentalized roles assigned to languages under diglossia keep the two languages quite separate, some mutual transfer or interference tends to occur. In the case of the US-Mexican border, a colloquial border variety soon developed, sometimes called *pochismos* but more frequently called caló, probably after the in-group variety spoken by the Spanish Romani.

From Caló to Spanglish

Galindo claims that caló possesses linguistic roots dating back to 15th- and 16th- century Spain, as well as having linguistic ties with Mexican indigenous languages such as Nahuátl, and English influence resulting from the language contact situation in the Southwest (1999: 180). She links it culturally and linguistically to 'the pachuco/pachuca of the past' as well as 'the present-day cholo/homeboy or chola/homegirl of urban barrios' (ibid.). Pachuco culture originated at the beginning of the 20th century in El Paso, the city known in Pachuco caló as 'El Pachuco'. Pachucos wore 'zoot suits', generally smoked marihuana, and employed a special caló, characterized by its peculiar lexicon and use of code-switching. The drug-related subculture of some Pachucos was no doubt responsible for what Chicano scholars agree was intense police persecution of Pachucos in general in El Paso and in other cities of the Southwest. This caused a mass exodus of 'zoot-suiters' to Los Angeles in the 1930s, contributing to the spread of their linguistic variety. The most famous analysis of the Pachuco is that of Octavio Paz (2002[1950]), which paints a very

negative picture of a social misfit. Monsiváis has criticized Paz's portrayal on more than one occasion by saying that 'La excelencia prosística de Paz no atenúa su desinformación' (1977: 15; 1988: 55). They do agree, however, together with most authors on the subject, that Pachucos shared a linguistic code, considered by some as an underworld argot or secret jargon, by others as a language variety in a wider sense, and by Paz, as a linguistic aberration.

José Montoya's poem *El Louie* is a well-known portrayal of a Pachuco. Meléndez Hayes likens Montoya's lament on the death of Louie to the laments for the hero in *corridos*, which were very common in Chicano folk literature, for example, the early twentieth-century Texas-Mexican *corridos* of border conflict (1989: 97). It is written in Spanglish, with parts in caló:

> Hórale!
> Trais filero?
> Simón!
> Nel!
> Chale, ése!
> Oooooh, ese vato! (Montoya, J. (1997[1969]): 226)

and switches from Spanish to English and vice versa:

> Ese Louie...
> Chale, call me "Diamonds!" man!
> Y en Korea fue soldado de
> Levita con huevos and all the paradoxes del soldado raso-
> Heroism and the stockade (ibid.).

Pachucos were a small but very visible minority among the Mexican population in the US whose linguistic impact also reached Mexico. While they may have had some peculiar in-group vocabulary that can be classed as part of a secret jargon, it is highly probable that much of their speech reflected patterns of language usage of the broader Spanish-speaking Mexican community in the Southwest and also of northern Mexico. Pachucos certainly cannot claim exclusive use of code-switching or any other feature generally associated with either Chicano Spanish or HE. There is evidence of the use of code-switching and caló among Mexican Americans much earlier than the appearance of the zoot-suited Pachucos, indeed, Ramírez says it can be traced to 1880, but he cites the second two decades of the 20th century, the Pachuco

era, as the period in which caló came into its own (1989: 535). Ramírez makes no distinction between Pachuco and Chicano caló, describing the in-group language spoken by many Mexican Americans as:

> la amalgamación de varios dialectos mexicanos, aparejados con coloquialismos del inglés, expresiones de slang y argot que principiaron a tomar forma única y distinta (ibid.).

Clearly this implies a mixing of codes, taken from both Spanish and English, and the result would fall within the broad definition of 'Spanglish' proposed here. *Literatura Chicana 1965-1995: An Anthology in Spanish, English, and Caló* (Hernández-Gutiérrez & Foster, 1997) begins with a Spanish preface, followed by an English version. Hernández-Gutiérrez writes:

> A lo largo de los textos seleccionados, la expresión lingüística es diversa: inglés, español y bilingüe (caló) (1997: ix)

and a few pages later:

> Language expression is diverse across all selected texts: English, Spanish, and Spanglish (1997: xix).

Does this mean that for Hernández-Gutiérrez caló and Spanglish are one and the same? I would venture that caló is merely one of the linguistic phenomena that would now enter into the category labelled as 'Spanglish'.

Galindo describes caló's 'unique and creative lexicon', giving examples of indigenous etymology: *chante* [Nahuatl *shantli* or *chantli*, 'house'];[3] and the influence of English: *bironga*, thought to be what she describes as a lexical extension of 'beer' assigned Spanish morphology: *-onga*' (1999: 180). *La Onda*, 'variante local de la tendencia hippie' (Monsiváis 1977: 16), no doubt inspired by the relative success of the Chicano Movement in the US, was responsible for the introduction of a considerable amount of caló into Mexican youth slang. A generation earlier, Tin Tan had delighted Mexican audiences with his comic portrayal of the Pachuco in several films, such as *El Rey del Barrio* (1949). Monsiváis notes the significant presence of Chicano culture in Mexico, partly due to 'las incesantes corrientes migratorias' (1994: 457). Language is the vehicle of culture, thus the two inevitably travel together. Perhaps this explains the substantial overlapping in the cataloguing of lexical items. Studies of Mexican drug subculture argot, which 'grew as a sort of bicultural synthesis

along the southern United States and Mexican border areas' (Kaplan *et al*, 1990: 153), claim lexical items for its exclusive vocabulary which can also be found in studies of Pachuco or Chicano caló such as that of Ramírez (1989). Similarly, this overlapping extends to items variously labelled as pertaining to Chicano Spanish (Galván, 1996, Smead & Clegg, 1996), Mexico City popular youth speech (Alarcón, 1978), and even as Anglicisms in Mexican and Latin American Spanish (Moreno de Alba, 1988). Stavans (2003) dismisses these categories; for him, and I am inclined to agree with this economical vision, it is all simply Spanglish.

Chicano caló is a variety known to some extent to most speakers of Mexican-American Spanish (Ornstein-Galicia, 1989: 51), and *pochismos* can be found in Mexican Spanish, especially, but not exclusively, in the border cities. Chicano caló became much more visible in the wake of Black Power and other movements of self-affirmation, as it became the language of the Chicano Movement. Thanks to the so-called Renaissance of Chicano Letters (more appropriately referred to as *el florecimiento* in Spanish), which is generally agreed by Chicano scholars to have begun in 1965, the sociolinguistic impact and status of Chicano caló has gone 'vastly beyond the evanescence of slangs' (ibid.), and now is a source of lexical borrowing as well as style-shifting for both Mexican and Mexican-American Spanish, in colloquial registers, at least.

'I am Joaquin', Corky Gonzales' epic poem, a search for Chicano identity, is one of the most famous pieces of Chicano literature. Written in English, it is sprinkled throughout with Spanish loanwords, some of which have since been incorporated into general American English usage, or at least now require little, if any, explanation: *gringo*, *campesino*, *coyote*, *mestizo*, *barrio*, *machismo*. The poem also includes a very purposeful switch to Spanish:

> "El Grito de Dolores, Que mueran
> los Gachupines y que viva
> la Virgen de Guadalupe"...(1997[1969]: 210),

as well as the occasional one-word switch:

> All compañeros in the act (ibid.).

The artistic accompaniment to César Chávez and *la causa* was Luis Valdez's *Teatro Campesino*. Valdez's plays, such as *Las Dos Caras del Patroncito* (1965) were written in English, Spanish, and Spanglish, intended for the enjoyment and political education of farmworkers and other poor, uneducated

Chicanos, whilst drawing attention to the plight of the unprotected farmworker:

> **Patroncito**: [...] Taxes, insurance, supporting all them bums on welfare. You don't have to worry about none of that. Like housing, don't I let you live in my labor camp, nice, rent-free cabins, air-conditioned?
>
> **Farmworker**: Si, señor, ayer se cayó la puerta.
>
> **Patroncito**: What was that? English.
>
> **Farmworker**: Yesterday the door fell off, señor. And there's rats también. Y los excusados, the restrooms, ay señor, fuchi! (1997[1965]: 285)

The civil rights triumphs and the success of affirmative action led to an unprecedented number of Chicano and other Latino students in higher education, which in turn led to demand for and the implementation of numerous Chicano Studies programs in various universities. A gradual increase in the number of Chicano and Latino academics followed, and as the study of Mexico and US-Mexican relations developed, political and academic Spanglish began to appear. English translations are often not sought in academic and journalistic writing for US-Mexico terminology such as *bracero*, and *maquiladora*, although equivalents such as 'guest worker' and 'assembly plant' are sometimes used. In literature on Mexican migration to the US, legal and otherwise, we can read about *mojados* ('wetbacks'), *la migra* (the INS), and *coyotes* (people who smuggle undocumented immigrants across the border), in the latter case, probably for reasons of economy of language. Similarly, Anglo historians sometimes follow the lead of Chicano scholars when writing about Mexican history and speak of *campesinos* and *hacendados*, while the concept of *barrio* is employed in many disciplines. This use of academic Spanglish in English texts is relevant information for the translator as it is a precedent for the use of loans or switches in certain semantic fields.

Borderlands/La Frontera (Anzaldúa, 1999) is a significant Chicano text that has become required reading on syllabi not only in courses on Chicano literature and feminist theory but also on contemporary American women writers, and even on major American authors. Anzaldúa writes on behalf of the *deslenguadas*, victims of 'linguistic terrorism' (1999: 80). She searches for a language to which Chicanas can connect their identity, 'a language with terms that are neither español ni inglés, but both' (1999: 77); she speaks a forked tongue, Tex-Mex, or Spanglish:

Because I, a *mestiza*,
Continually walk out of one culture
And into another,
Because I am in all cultures at the same time,
Alma entre dos mundos, tres, cuatro,
Me zumba la cabeza con todo lo contradictorio.
Estoy norteada por todas las voces que me hablan
simultáneamente

(Anzaldúa, 1999: 99).

Chicano and other Latino linguistic studies of Spanish in the US began to flourish in the 1970s and continue to provide important empirical research results regarding the use of English, Spanish and code-switching in Latino communities. Chicano sociolinguists, who are often based at universities across the Southwest, such as those of New Mexico, California, Arizona and Texas, and Puerto Rican academics, together with Cuban and other 'American' linguists, have collaborated to create an immense corpus of research material on Latino language use in the US. The focus of this corpus continues to be rich and varied, from prosody in Chicano English (Penfield, 1989), calques in Chicano Spanish (Smead and Clegg, 1996), to the effects of contact on the use of Spanish pronouns in New York (Otheguy & Zentella, 2005), but it is in studies that make reference to bilingualism that we find two, often overlapping, language contact phenomena that best explain Spanglish: code-switching and lexical borrowing.

Bilingualism, Code-switching and Lexical Borrowing

'Spanglish', as a word applied to the 'mixing' of Spanish and English, is a 'hold-all' term for Spanish-English contact phenomena. These can include, transfer (transference, or interference), simplification (reduction), overgeneralization, analysis, grammatical convergence, and calques. However, the most salient characteristics of hybridity, and perhaps the most studied, are the partially overlapping concepts of code-switching and lexical borrowing.

There are approximately 30 times as many languages as there are countries (Romaine, 1995: 8), and as a result of shifting borders of many types, languages are in contact under conditions of diglossia, bilingualism or multilingualism in practically every country of the world. Code-switching is a worldwide phenomenon, the result of the co-occurrence of language varieties. Kaplan *et al* find that code-switching is a concept that has been developed in

order to account for a wide range of sociolinguistic phenomena; this underlines the fact that 'language interaction is routinely a problem of diversity both within the community and the individual' (1990: 141). Gardner-Chloros is of the opinion that 'code-switching' is a blanket term for a range of interlingual phenonmena, which has become a 'victim of its own success' since 'its use encourages us to believe that we are studying a unitary phenomenon with objective reality rather than a fuzzy-edged construct' (1995: 70). Spanglish is an equally fuzzy-edged construct, which lends a certain appropriateness to using code-switching as the starting point for its study.

Code-switching can be defined as a speaker's use of two codes in the same speech act. Codes can be styles or varieties within one language; however, for the purposes of this work, I will take them to mean two discrete linguistic systems, in this case, English and Spanish. There are different ways that codes can be switched in a single speech act, for example, codes can be switched by two different speakers taking turns, one speaking English, the other speaking Spanish; or a single speaker may speak several full sentences in English before switching to full sentences of Spanish. However, this would not be described as Spanglish, nor is it what is usually understood to be code-switching. Code-switching, like Spanglish, is generally understood to take place when one speaker uses both English and Spanish in the same speech act, and often in the same sentence.

The mixing of languages in code-switching can be extra-, inter- or intrasentential. Poplack (2000[1979/80]) found that extra-sentential switches accounted for almost half of those encountered in her study of a Puerto Rican barrio in New York, full sentences being the most frequently switched constituent. Apart from full sentences, extra-sentential switches include fillers, interjections, tags, idiomatic expressions and quotations.[4] Intersentential switches are those that take place at clause boundaries, and intrasentential switching, for Poplack is 'true' switching. Poplack finds that tag-switching and single noun switches are often 'emblematic switching', that is, code-switching as a discourse strategy which adds a particular in-group bilingual and bicultural 'flavor' to what would otherwise be monolingual, monocultural speech. This is taking a more pragmatic approach to code-switching, where potential motivations are taken into account. From a grammatical perspective, many authors have proposed sets of rules or constraints to predict when codes are and are not switched.

Poplack proposes two constraints for code-switching, the *free morpheme constraint* and the *equivalence constraint* in what was one of the first attempts to show that code-switching is not merely a random language mixture. The free morpheme constraint prohibits intraword mixing of morphemes, and the equivalence constraint states that switches will tend to occur at points where the surface structures of the two languages are similar, that is, where no violation of a syntactic rule of either language will result from the switch. These constraints are not universals, and there is ample evidence demonstrating the existence of intraword mixing or 'bicodal words' (McClure, 2001). Nonetheless, there is considerable support for the idea that code-switching is indeed rule-governed, and the equivalence constraint in particular appears to hold for Spanglish (Jacobson 1990, Roca & Jensen 1996, Zentella 1997). This is perhaps quite simply because both Spanish and English are typologically similar languages, with SVO a strongly implanted pattern (though to differing degrees) in both. It is easier, then, for speakers to 'realign their usage' in such as way as to maximize the structural equivalence between the two, thus creating more potential loci for switching (Romaine 1995: 178). Indeed, Romaine claims that this realignment of usage can lay the groundwork for massive convergence (ibid.), and if we consider that English and Spanish have been in contact for over 150 years in parts of the US, already resulting in identifiable varieties such as HE and Chicano Spanish, it is probable that some degree of convergence has already taken place, consequently facilitating code-switching or Spanglish to an even greater degree.

Countless studies have been dedicated to both grammatical and pragmatic frameworks for the analysis of code-switching[5] and there is little agreement between scholars in either. Whether or not code-switching can be explained in terms of government and binding or in any other grammatical terms is not relevant to this work; by contrast, pragmatic considerations of potential motivation are of interest. It is important that the translator has an idea of the possible communicative implications in code-switching, whether as a discourse strategy or a discourse mode, as its function may be of significance in a given text. While its use can be merely stylistic in a work of fiction, code-switching may also be used to express covert messages, essential to plot or character development, and thus its translation can be a sensitive issue.

Sociolinguistic studies report tendencies, not absolutes (Clyne, 2000[1987]: 261) and this is clear when we see that so many reasons and explanations have been given for how and why people switch that it is almost

impossible to draw any meaningful conclusions beyond each particular case study. All sociolinguists touch on the question of identity at some point, and it appears to be the only point where some degree of agreement exists. Language and identity go hand in hand and whether consciously or not, our speech reflects our affiliation to a particular community:

> Everyone, including the Queen of England and the King of Spain, displays their badge of group membership via the dialect they speak (Zentella, 1997: 269).

Speakers make use of more than one linguistic variety 'in order to simultaneously activate more than one social identity' (Herbert, 2001: 225). The use of code-switching can be perceived, then, as proof of membership in a bilingual community, and it does not matter if this is done at clause boundaries or not, or if the speaker is an English- or Spanish-dominant bilingual. What concerns us here is that increasing numbers of people with varying degrees of proficiency in English and Spanish often code-switch, that is, they speak Spanglish.

Myers-Scotton (1995) has proposed the Matrix Language Framework Model (MLF) for the analysis of code-switching, which entails the notion of a Matrix Language (ML), a base language, and an Embedded Language (EL), which others call the 'donor' language (Zentella, 1997) or lexifier language. While this may be a useful tool for linguistic analysis in some situations, where there clearly is a base language that borrows vocabulary from the other, it has been frequently pointed out in the literature that, in the case of Spanglish, the ML can alternate in the same discourse and both languages can play equally important roles in code-switching (*cf.* Jacobson, 2001). Although the most common type of code-switching is indeed 'one in which one language occupies a dominant position and the other is subordinated' (Jacobson, 2001: 61) we should bear in mind that it will not always be possible to identify an ML. Alternation notwithstanding, there might be a place for the MLF model in translation, as the notions of ML and EL could provide a useful framework for translating loans and switches, even if it is only applicable at clause level.

There is a very fine line between loans and switches. In terms of the exchange between standard languages, the difference between code-switching and borrowing is one that develops over time. A loan may begin as a switch, with an increase in the frequency of use leading to a gradual increase in the degree of acceptance with which it is met in the speech community. Phonological integration follows and a loan can become assimilated to the

point of being indistinguishable from the lexicon of the borrowing language. However, in a bilingual community where codes are switched regularly, it is more difficult to separate borrowing from switching. This is especially true at word-level, where various typologies of lexical innovation have been proposed. It is claimed that loans are clearly distinguishable from code-switching as loanwords are integrated or assimilated, and function morphologically and syntactically as 'base' language elements, while embedded elements in code-switching retain characteristics of the lexifier language. The notion of *nonce borrowing*, which has achieved a relative acceptance in the literature, applies to borrowings that are syntactically and morphologically–but not necessarily phonologically–integrated, but are still not considered as pertaining to the base language. This makes them neither established loanwords nor switches, in fact for those who use the term, nonce borrowing is quite separate from both. However, nonce borrowings differ only from established loanwords quantitatively with respect to frequency of use and degree of acceptance, as well as varying in the level of phonological integration (Romaine 1995: 153), and it may not always be possible to distinguish a nonce borrowing from a 'lexical switch'.

For Smead and Clegg, a 'lexical switch' can be differentiated from a loanword by using phonological criteria. Hence in Chicano Spanish, *ride* is a lexical switch, if pronounced with a retroflex, a lax diphthong, and an alveolar occlusive, whereas *raid* (alveolar trill, a tense diphthong, and an interdental fricative) is a loanword (1996:124). Such a distinction is probably not objectively possible to make, as:

> the two phonological systems of many bilinguals are not completely separated which fact makes their pronunciation a poor guide to whether the linguistic expression in question is a codeswitch or not (McClure, 2001: 160).

Even if the distinction were feasible, it barely seems worth making if we are working on the assumption that any English-Spanish combination can constitute Spanglish regardless of how it is pronounced. Moreover, a translator might consider the following opinion:

> If, in fact, phonology is a poor guide to the status of an oral form as a codeswitch or a borrowing, in the case of written text, it is obviously no guide at all (ibid.).

This is not necessarily true, as writers might represent phonology in a transcription, thus providing clear signs of the degree of integration of a

switch. Whether or not we need to subdivide, the term 'lexical switch' is quite a useful one for referring to a single-word switch, as is Ben-Rafael's analogous notion of 'unitarian', as opposed to 'segmental', code-switching (2001).

Contact Neologisms

Otheguy and García state that it is impossible to distinguish effectively between loans and lexical switches and coin the term *contact neologism*, which they use to refer to loanwords, lexical switches and also to calques (1993: 139). This is a practical way of dealing with contact phenomena as it covers a multitude of contact features previously described in various typologies, even by Otheguy and García themselves. Typologies have aimed to divide and subdivide, separating loans from switches, loans from calques, word calques from phrasal calques, loanshifts from semantic loans and semantic extensions, and so on. In bilingual contexts it may be impossible to declare criteria for distinguishing between contact phenomena with any degree of certainty and the term contact neologism is very useful for collectively describing the features of a mixed code such as Spanglish.

Clearly there are many types of contact neologism, and many of these are of the kind that purists seem to find so upsetting. First generation Latinos in the US use English meanings imported in calquewords or in loanwords and switches (Otheguy & García, 1993: 150), resulting in contact neologisms such as *bildin*, used for structures of a very different shape or character from anything that they would have called *edificio* in Latin America (1993: 147). This reflects 'a mismatch of culture' (1993: 150), as words are borrowed for the novel contents of the foreign habitat, as well as for a new conceptual reality. There are numerous examples of this kind of contact neologism, such as the frequently mentioned New York Puerto Rican, or Nuyorican, example of *la boila* from 'boiler', which often changes gender while maintaining a closer resemblance to the original English in Mexican Spanish: *el boiler*. Contact neologisms are passed on to next generation who then speak Anglicized Spanish, and often HE, both of which have been called Spanglish.

Semantic shifts or 'neosemanticisms' (Kaplan *et al* 1990: 145) account for another type of contact neologism that is stigmatized, in spite of the fact that shifting is an integral part of language change, even in standard varieties. These include *grocería* for 'grocery store', *librería* instead of *biblioteca* for 'library' and *papel* for '(news)paper', which while confusing for the outsider, are perfectly understood by the 'in-group'. Similarly offensive to purists are

phrases which appear to be loan translations, or phrasal calques, such as *dar para atrás*, 'to give back' and *llamar para atrás*, 'to call back'. Otheguy comes to their defence, pointing out that highly stigmatized loan translations can turn out to be 'innovative exploitation of an untouched traditional system' (1993: 32). In the case of *para* and *atrás*, there is no semantic extension of either word, as *para* can have *atrás* as a goal or point of future union (1993: 34):

> Each expresses in *llamar para atrás* what it expresses everywhere else: in the case of *para*, the notion of movement toward a goal; in the case of *atrás*, the notion of a point situated behind the speaker in either time or space (ibid.).

It is neither innovative in lexis nor in grammar, and structurally, *atrás* is not parallel to 'back'. It is merely 'a new conceptualization of repetition in terms of a physical "return metaphor"' (ibid.). If in 'proper' Spanish one should use the verb *devolver*, or *regresar*, are American English speakers who 'return calls' guilty of calquing? Otheguy concedes that the English model 'call back' probably did play a role in the creation of *llamar para atrás*, but it was neither a linguistic or structural one, rather cultural or conceptual.

For Otheguy, what appears to be the Anglicization of Latinos' Spanish is in fact the Americanization of their culture (1993: 21). Garrido (2004) agrees, but evidence to the contrary can be found in Mexico, where Anglicized Spanish, with a high incidence of contact neologisms can also be found. Between 1983 and 1985 the Colegio de la Frontera Norte carried out a series of studies in various Mexican towns and cities, including border regions, to see how true it was that 'Entre más cerca de los Estados Unidos vive un mexicano, más se agringa', based on the stereotype 'confirmed' by Mexicans from other regions when hearing phrases such as 'Ai'te uacho a dos blokes de la marketa, ése' (Bustamante, 1997: 305). Maciel points to the irony of the Mexican deprecation of *pochos*, while Chicanos in the US have struggled to preserve their culture and language, displaying 'resistencia cultural ante el colonialismo educativo' (2003: 307), and within Mexico, this deprecation extends to the language and culture of the residents of the northern border regions. The studies gauged ethnicity, using '*premisas socioculturales*' purportedly capable of determining the relative distance of a subject from traditions understood as characteristic of Mexican cultural identity, and noted Anglicisms. The hypothesis sought a negative correlation between the use of Anglicisms and ethnicity, but the results were so surprising that two more studies were carried out, and linguists were brought in from the Colegio de México for the final

analysis. The Colegios found extreme cases where there was a positive correlation between Anglicisms and ethnicity, and in general, the border cities displayed higher levels of Mexican ethnicity than Mexico City.

For the linguistic analysis, the Anglicisms in the data obtained were divided into two categories: *anglicismos procesados* and *anglicismos apropiados*. The first type was equated with *pochismos*, that is, English loanwords displaying some degree of integration into Spanish, and Bustamante calls them *mexicanizaciones* (1997: 308). It was found that speakers who used a significant number of *mexicanizaciones* or *anglicimos procesados* scored higher on ethnicity than those who used very few, or used *anglicismos apropiados*, which he describes as 'el uso real de palabras en inglés' (ibid.). This latter category corresponds to Smead and Clegg's 'lexical switch'. On the whole, there was no statistically significant correlation between the use of Anglicisms and ethnicity (Bustamante, 1997: 309), which is still arguably sufficient to contradict Otheguy and Garrido, but admittedly only in part, as their point is made with reference to Latinos in the US rather than Mexicans living close to the northern border. It would be interesting to see what results would be obtained from a new study now, 20 years later.

Involuntary Sociolect, Stylistic Choice, or Embarrassing Vernacular?

> –Bueno ¿apá?
> –¡M'ijo! ¿Cómo le ha ido?
> –Pos viera que mal, apá.
> –¿Cómo mal, así?
> –Pos sí, todavía no aprendo inglés y el español se me está olvidando.
> –Nooo, pos mejor regrésese, m'ijo, no se vaya a quedar mudo.

For Garrido, the so-called Spanglish of Spanish speakers is an involuntary sociolect, 'the way the speaker speaks in spite of himself' (2004: 1), in contrast to the Spanglish of English speakers, whose token use of Spanish is a stylistic choice. If it were that simple then the speech of many North Mexicans would either be symptomatic of a shift towards English, whether they actually speak any English or not, or it would have to be a stylistic choice. It is often neither; rather it is a regional variety in which contact features can be observed.

It is probably true that the Spanglish of many speakers often is a stylistic choice. Speakers of either English or Spanish can choose to display—or make a

claim to–in-group membership through emblematic switching, which is a marked choice. While language learners or transitional bilinguals may switch to cover lexical gaps and more proficient bilinguals will tend to switch full sentences or clauses, many English-dominant Latino bilinguals will make use of limited Spanish vocabulary to demonstrate their affiliation to the Latino community. Poplack found that in-group membership favoured intrasentential switching, which is what she calls 'smooth' or 'true' code-switching (2000: 321). However, as generations of bilingual children in the US have been discouraged over the last hundred years from speaking Spanish, both by educators and those parents who consider the language as an obstacle to progress, many second and subsequent generation Latinos speak little or no Spanish. Nonetheless, they may still make a claim to in-group membership, and can compensate their incomplete command of Spanish, and therefore capacity for fluent, 'true' switching, by emblematic switching. This is often achieved through tag-switching as well as through the use of Spanish interjections, fillers, and idiomatic expressions in a sentence in English. For example, a Californian *cholo* wishing to wear the linguistic badge of Mexican identity may make use of the Pachuco *ése*, or use interjections such as *caray* or *caramba*. The latter has achieved familiarity among English speakers thanks to Bart Simpson, and this token Spanglish can be heard among non-Spanish speakers in many countries. While this kind of emblematic switching may account for significant proportions of the Spanglish of many Chicanos, we must not forget that much switching is carried out by Spanish-English bilinguals who are proficient speakers of both languages.

There are many myths that sociolinguists have tried to dispel regarding the use of code-switching among bilinguals. One is the popular assertion, popular even among bilinguals themselves, that speakers switch to cover linguistic gaps, that is, they switch languages because a given vocabulary item is only part of their linguistic repertoire in one of the two languages. Indeed, some code-switching is due to an incomplete knowledge of the second language, and may result in the formation of contact neologisms. In her research carried out in New York, Zentella finds that 'crutching', that is, the use of a constituent insertion, does sometimes occur to cover a linguistic gap but points out that code-switching is not generally used as a lexical cover-up (1997: 98–99). It would be a gross overgeneralization to say that code-switching is always the result of linguistic deficiency or performance errors. Although this may be a part of code-switching in general, and of Spanglish in particular, Romaine

points out that one of the most common discourse functions of code-switching is to repeat the same thing in both languages (1995: 143). Poplack calls this function 'repetition-translation' (2000: 222). If this is one of the most common discourse functions of code-switching, then we can clearly refute the notion that code-switching is a reflection of a limited linguistic ability: one needs to be proficient in *both* languages in order to carry out 'repetition-translation'.

Misconceptions regarding those who alternate languages in their repertoire abound. Not only linguistic abilities are brought into question, but also intellectual abilities. Thus, Spanglish and other manifestations of code-switching are condemned by monolinguals and bilinguals alike, seen as the result the incapacity to speak either language properly, culminating in a chaotic, unacceptable form of speech. Some authors have used the potentially offensive term *semilingual*[6] to describe these speakers, implying that they are communicatively incompetent. I have already noted the substantial support among researchers for the idea that code-switching is rule-governed, which means that a code-switching variety such as Spanglish is not the random hodge-podge that some would have it to be. Citing research carried out among US Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, Zentella concludes that the rule-governed nature and important functions of Spanish-English alternation beyond that of filling in for vocabulary gaps have been proven conclusively (2002: 180). Furthermore, if the grammar of both languages is observed in code-switching, then it follows that proficiency in both languages is necessary for proficient switching. Romaine describes code-switching as the display of the full communicative competence of bilinguals (1995: 173) and stresses the need to reject the view that every departure from monolingual norms should be recognized as a sign of imperfect competence (1995: 177). A departure from the norms, such as code-switching, might actually be the norm in certain situations.

Spanglish may be the norm in some situations among Spanish-English bilinguals, but it faces strong opposition along the road to social acceptance. Some of the opposition is grounded in linguistic purism, in the name of the preservation of both English and Spanish. While the RAE and Instituto Cervantes seek both to improve the quality of the Spanish spoken as a minority language in the US and to maintain the unity of the Spanish language across four continents, others lay claim to purist arguments in an attempt to disguise their xenophobia. Romaine is of the opinion that it is a

cultural fact that no Anglophone nation anywhere has exhibited enthusiasm for any kind of bilingualism other than transitional (1995: 324). She highlights the case of multilingual South Africa, where English-Afrikaans bilingualism exists in an asymmetrical fashion: Afrikaners (as well as speakers of many African languages) speak English, but Anglophones tend to speak only English. Clearly, language equals power. Proponents of the English Only movement in the US are a case in point. Their arguments are political, not linguistic, disguised by a thin veil of culture: the English language must be kept 'pure' as it is the vehicle of US culture, and it is what makes the States 'United'. Spanish is seen as the usurper and Spanglish as the embodiment of what could happen to the English language in the US if the 'other' is not kept in check: the hegemony of the monolingual minority elite would be threatened.

All purism is a response either to some form of language contact or to variation within a language, or a combination of the two, and serves to sanction some linguistic features introduced by contact and variation and outlaw others (Thomas, 1991: 133). Language contact of a bilingual type is the archetypal situation in which purism occurs (ibid.). Thomas equates xenophobic purism with elitist purism as both have the goal of 'elevating the language above, or distancing it from, an *embarrassing vernacular*' (1991: 132, emphasis added). Thomas further points to the shared goals of nationalism and purism in the desire to rid the language of unwanted foreign elements (1991: 136). It is not surprising, then, that Spanglish should be a target for nationalist and purist attacks, being such a foreignized variety, and an 'embarrassing vernacular' to boot. Nationalists disapprove of Spanglish both in English- and Spanish-speaking America: whereas in the US, nationalist purism is associated with right-wing xenophobia, in Mexico it is often associated with left-wing anti-US, anti-imperialist sentiments, i.e., not only conservative intellectuals such as Paz consider it to be an aberration. Thus, in the abstract, a highly improbable anti-Spanglish alliance is created.

It is possible that with time, Spanglish will achieve relative respectability, and become consolidated as the lingua franca, gradually becoming the norm, for the US-Mexican border community as well as the broader US Latino community. Stavans presents a musical analogy comparing Spanglish with jazz and rap, musical styles that began as a result of improvisation and lack of education among African Americans, providing a voice for the downtrodden, illiterate and socially excluded, which eventually gained social acceptance and

moved into the mainstream (2003: 3). Stavans takes the similar origins of Spanglish, the means of expression of another 'involuntary minority',[7] currently the subject of scorn and deprecation, and predicts a similar future of increased currency and social acceptance. Whether or not such a musical analogy is valid in the discussion of linguistic phenomena, the ever-increasing use of Spanish and Spanglish in the US does lend some support to his argument, although it is too soon to tell just how far down the road to acceptance Spanglish will actually travel. Certainly opposition is strong, as Spanglish competes with both English and Spanish, both in the US and in Latin America, and while there is much lexical borrowing between the two languages, partly due to the linguistic mobility which comes as a result of circular migration, Spanglish remains principally an in-group, intraethnic means of communication.

A Shift towards English?

Code-switching has often been equated with language shift and Spanglish is thus seen as a step in the intergenerational shift towards English. However, code-switching in some cases can be a positive force in maintaining bilingualism (Romaine, 1995: 40). For instance, Gonzales (1999) and Zentella (1997) argue that women's use of code-switching in New Mexico and New York respectively is part of a strategy, which permits participation in the broader Hispano community and the dominant Anglo community, that has assisted in language maintenance and decelerated language shift. The role of women in language maintenance is of great significance as the greater need of males to acculturate and assimilate has been noted by many (e.g., Jacobson, 1990: 123).

In literature, there was a shift towards English following the Second World War, a shift which identifies a second stage in Chicano literature, a period of assimilation (Rodríguez, 1977: 369). However, the so-called Renaissance of Chicano Letters in the 1960s entailed the renaissance of Spanish as a literary language in the US. Thus, the shift towards English was reversed; although Rodríguez points out that the shift back to Spanish also included the incorporation of English (ibid.), resulting in the increased use of Spanglish in Chicano literature.

So, Chicanos have shifted from Spanish to English and back again, and yet once again Spanglish is seen as symptomatic of a shift towards English. It is possible that Spanish is gradually disappearing as a first language in the US as

traditional patterns of intergenerational language shift among immigrants mean that English generally becomes the language of the third generation. Nonetheless, there is a difference of opinion among researchers as to whether the traditional patterns of intergenerational language shift are followed in the Latino community. While Stavans claims that Latinos have broken the pattern (2003[2002]: 139), some case studies have concluded that this is not the case. Hudson *et al* find that education is 'the main engine of sociocultural integration and thus of intergenerational language loss' among Mexican Americans (1995: 182). On the other hand, García and Cuevas find a positive correlation between a higher level of education and increased Spanish ability among second and subsequent generation Nuyoricans (1995: 188–190). They venture that while second generation status brings US citizenship for other Latinos (as well as other immigrants), and consequently language loss, Puerto Ricans are already US citizens, seeing less need to assimilate, and therefore language loss is less likely (García & Cuevas, 1995: 189). This point of view makes generalizations regarding the Latino community imprudent.

Clearly there can be no general rule for the Latino community as a whole, nor can there be for the Chicano community in particular. Hidalgo finds that 54% of Mexican-born Chicanos become bilingual, but more importantly here, 63% of all of the US-born population of Mexican origin is bilingual (1993: 49). These figures make the notion of shift in Chicano speech habits questionable as monolingualism and bilingualism co-exist. This coexistence favours the use of Spanglish as widespread bilingualism almost inevitably produces widespread code-switching.

The existence of English monolingualism among Chicanos means that at least some shifting has occurred. According to Zentella, purist criticism of 'Spanglish' and the 'bad Spanish' of Nuyoricans and Chicanos has actually accelerated language shift to English in some communities (2002: 180). She argues that if a variety is held in contempt, speakers will abandon it in favour of the dominant variety. If this is true, then the language maintenance and improvement goals of the Academia Norteamericana and the Instituto Cervantes in the US would be better served by the adoption of a more tolerant attitude towards Spanglish, and the offer of assistance to those who wish to build on that Spanglish base towards a higher level of proficiency in a standard variety of Spanish.

While second and subsequent generation Latino immigrants do not necessarily speak Spanish as a first language, the use of Spanish in the United States is so extensive in migrant communities that it is almost inevitable that they do speak some, and often together with English. The constant influx of new Spanish speakers extends its use, and there are no signs that this migration is on the wane, in fact, quite the contrary. Consequently, it is probable that as Latino migration in general and Mexican migration in particular continue to increase, there will be less need for recent arrivals to speak English, and even if half of third-generation Latinos shift towards English, the Spanish-speaking population will still be numerically strong enough to guarantee maintenance, which in turn favours the spread of Spanglish.

Blurring of Domains

The ever-increasing numbers of Latinos in the United States and subsequent increase of Spanish and Spanglish are gradually changing the linguistic habits of the extended speech community. The monolingual elite would have us believe that prior to the Latino 'invasion', the US was a monolingual country, obliterating at a stroke the cultural heritage of millions belonging to both voluntary and involuntary minorities. While this has clearly never been the case, it is probably true that a more classic diglossic situation existed previously, with a stricter compartmentalization of domains. The magnitude of the Latino population is leading to a blurring of domains for English, Spanish, and Spanglish in parts of the Southwest, Midwest and East coast. Whereas Garrido states that Spanish is spoken in the home but business in conducted in English (2004: 6), this is clearly not the case in Miami, and in the political arena, a reasonable command of Spanish is an unwritten prerequisite for candidates in some areas, especially in states such as New Mexico and Texas.

The 2002 Texas Democrat Gubernatorial Spanish-language debate is an example of the blurring of domains for English, Spanish, and Spanglish. While the Spanish used was criticized by many, variously described as 'badly mangled', 'embarrassingly butchered', and containing 'gringuismos',[8] that is, it was Spanglish rather than Spanish, its impact on language use in the political domain was felt immediately. In response to the debate, the Republican National Committee (RNC) announced initiatives to attract Hispanic voters,[9] which included Spanish lessons for party leaders in key states, and by August 2004, both main presidential candidates were running Spanish-language adverts in the potential swing states of Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Florida and Nevada.

While politicians use Spanish in search of the *voto latino*, other publicists seek the *dólar latino*. As the Latino community continues to grow so does the Latino market. It is not just in Miami that '*tiempo* is money', and Spanglish becomes more and more visible as Latinos have more money to spend. Hernández finds that the rise of Spanglish in the mainstream media in the US strongly correlates with the boom in the Latino youth population, 'and the flicker of interest in corporate America to reach it' (2004: 2). From the Absolut Ritmos campaign (2003) to McDonalds' *Lo McXimo*, a wide range of consumer goods are currently marketed in the US in Spanglish. Bilingual magazines such as *Latina* and *Hombre* are proof of the fact that people buy and sell in Spanglish.

Hernández talks of 'Generation Spanglish', that is, young, bilingual Latinos whose US life is Spanish-inflected in many ways (2004: 3) and whose money and votes are sought by Anglos and Latinos alike, both using Spanglish at times. Hernández predicts that 'Generation Spanglish' will soon come into its own as demographic data shows that Latino children are the largest and fastest-growing youth grouping in the US (2004: 6), and that Spanglish may become the first language for some. Indeed, he gives as an example his niece, Bianca, who speaks Spanish at home, English at school, and code-switches fluently with her peers:

> In her playtime, Bianca, like other talkative young children in my extended family, switches between English and Spanish literally at every other word. It is astonishing to listen to. She and her playmates speak so confidently, and so quickly, that you don't get the sense her Spanglish will pass when she hits her teens and becomes an adult. It's *her language* ... (ibid.).

Nonetheless, Spanglish speakers such as Bianca are Spanish-English bilinguals who code-switch, and although Hernández affirms that Spanglish is '*her language*', it emerges in her linguistic repertoire as a result of her bilingualism, not as an autonomous third code. Perhaps 'Generation Spanglish' hasn't quite arrived yet, but the 'cultural clues are everywhere', concludes Hernández (ibid.), as new Spanglish coinages extend to names of Californian children, such as 'Estephanie'.

It is this ever-increasing use of Spanglish in a growing number of domains and among a group that is projected to be the largest US minority in a few decades that has led to opinions such as those of Stavans, that it is a new language in the making. The use of Spanglish is often unintentional and

unconscious, and when a speaker uses a word such as *quequi*[10], she is often unaware that it is not Standard Spanish and that it derives from the English word 'cake'. Neologisms such as these lend weight to the hypothesis that a new code is indeed emerging, a mixed language with the possibility of achieving autonomous status.

An Emergent Third Code: Mixed Languages

> In situations of intense language contact it is possible for a third system to emerge which shows properties not found in either of the two systems. Thus through the merger or convergence of two systems, a new one can be created. (Romaine, 1995: 4)

Gardner-Chloros reminds us that we should not lose sight of the fact that 'our so-called standard languages are all mixtures in origin' (1995: 70). In a similar vein, Elizaincín is of the opinion that:

> De la misma manera como no existen ya las razas puras, tampoco sería posible encontrar lenguas puras, es decir, sin contaminación alguna (1992: 21).

Romaine provides many examples of linguistic mixtures, including 'code-switching varieties' such as *pocho*, *caló*, *Tex Mex*, *joual* (a variety of Canadian French), *tuti futi* (a mixed Panjabi-English variety spoken in the UK) and Tok Pisin (1995: 291–294). As well as code-switching varieties, a number of 'mixed languages' have been studied by linguists and sociolinguists all over the world. Many are Creole varieties that arose from the contact situation which came into being as a direct result of European Colonial expansion between 1500 and 1900, while others are more recent and more varied in their linguistic sources. Indoubil, for example, a widespread lingua franca spoken in Zaire, is a mixture of French, Swahili, Lingala and English, which originated in the 1960s and was similar to Pachuco caló in that it was a language of defiance used mainly by young males (Romaine, 1995: 68). Like Spanglish, its use gradually spread and Indoubil currently displays considerable regional variation.

It would be impossible to mention all the mixed varieties that are spoken in the world. What is important to note is that where languages are in contact, whether as a result of a geographical border or colonial expansion, mixed codes arise. Pidgin and Creole languages tend to develop in the absence of bilingualism, pidgin varieties being a bridge between speakers of mutually

unintelligible languages, which develop over time into Creoles. Thomason identifies a second type of mixed language, those that arise in two-language contact situations under conditions of full, or at least extensive, bilingualism (1995: 16). Varieties of this second type, for example, Spanish Romani caló, are the result of the resistance by speakers to full cultural assimilation by a dominant group, during a long period of intense bilingual contact (Thomason, 1995: 19). In both types, a variety can have lexical affiliation with one language, and the structural traits of another. Convergence and simplification take place and the new variety can gradually distance itself from the parent languages.

Mixed Spanish-based varieties abound, from the 'Spanglish' of Gibraltar, *Llanito*, and the Italian-flavored *lunfardo* and *cocoliche* of Argentina, to Quechua-based Andean varieties such as *motoso* or *media lengua*. In the latter case, a process of relexification has taken place, whereby the grammatical structure remains predominantly Quechua while Quechua vocabulary has been replaced by Spanish (Torres, 2004: 7). *Guarañol* is the name given in Paraguay to a similar mixture of Guaraní and Spanish (ibid.). A much studied mixed variety is *portuñol*, which, as its name suggests, is a mixture of Spanish and Portuguese, widely spoken along the Uruguay-Brasil border. Portuñol, according to Torres, is the

> expresión de una identidad especial que no es uruguaya ni brasileña, sino la suma de las dos. El paralelismo entre esta situación y la que define el *Tex-Mex* de la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos es incuestionable (ibid.).

These are but a few examples of the linguistic consequences of biculturality.

Thomason points out that some surprising linguistic mixtures can become a major language of a speech community (1995: 15). Papiamento (or Papiamentu), which like the people of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao has a mixture of Dutch, Spanish, and Arawak Indian ancestry, as well as French and Portuguese linguistic influences, is the unofficial language of those islands. It is the native language, although Dutch remains as the official language, and the study and use of English is an everyday occurrence. While mixed languages such as Indoubil come to serve as lingua franca, and others such as Papiamento are taught in schools, few achieve official language status as in the case of Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin is one of the three official languages of Papua New Guinea, together with English and Hiri Motu, the latter itself a mixed variety, an Austronesian pidgin.

Low prestige varieties rarely achieve high prestige status, but it is worth mentioning that a dominant or high prestige language can have negative prestige, and come to lose its prestige altogether in certain domains. The criteria for establishing prestige can vary. The language of the dominated can win over and become the dominant variety. For example, the Franks gave their name to France, but the French language evolved from Vulgar Latin, not from the Germanic tongue of the conquerors. Similarly, the Normans were unable to impose their language on the populace of the British Isles, although, as in the case of Spanglish, many loans and calques were adopted and assimilated.

Spanglish Manifests Itself

It is difficult to imagine Spanglish achieving official recognition in the near future, partly due to its heterogeneity and lack of stability. Nonetheless, manifestations of Spanglish and the attention paid to it are increasing. To return to Stavans' jazz analogy, Spanglish is difficult to define, but easily recognized, and like Jazz in the early days, it is most commonly found on the streets and in the realm of popular culture; in television, film and music. It comes as no surprise to find Spanglish in rap lyrics; it is at home there as Ebonics have been since the 1980s. In 'Latin lingo' the Cuban-American group Cypress Hill finds Spanglish to be a Latino bilingual language variety that can be described as "funky"[11], and on the Mexican side of the border, the popular group Molotov provides us with curiosities such as:

> Dame dame dame dame todo el power
> para que te demos en la madre
> Gimme gimme gimme gimme todo el poder
> so I can come around to joder[12],

and:

> I'll kick your ass yo mismo por supporting el racismo,
> blow your head hasta la vista
> por ser un vato racista[13].

If we log on to Latina magazine's website (www.latina.com) we can find headlines such as 'Amor & Sex' and 'Our Cultura'. In the 'Our Cultura' section, we can participate in a poll in which we are asked: 'Are psychiatric

services taboos in our cultura?' One of the possible answers is: 'Yes, many Latinos claim that shrinks are only for locos'.

Such popular manifestations in music and advertising have been observable for decades, while publications such as *Latina* are more recent additions to popular Spanglish forms of expression. In this context, Spanglish remains a non-prestigious variety. However, literary varieties of Spanglish are blossoming. Within the realm of Chicano literature, respected novelists such as Sandra Cisneros make use of calques as well as emblematic switching. In her most recent novel, *Caramelo*, Cisneros writes mainly in English, with calqued chapter titles: 'The little mornings' (*las mañanitas*); calqued terms of endearment: 'my life', 'my sky'; as well as other calques, for example: 'What a barbarity!' She also makes extensive use of emblematic switching in the form of tag-switching and interjections: *Virgen Purísima, ay, caray, ¡a poco!, mija, mijo, mi gordita*, and sayings: *sin madre, sin padre, sin perro que me ladre*.

Cisneros has received much critical acclaim and *Caramelo* is a best-seller in many countries, as is her first novel, *The House on Mango Street* (1984). Moving up further in the stakes of literary acclaim and respectability is Giannina Braschi, considered by many to be Puerto Rico's premier poet. She has received numerous awards and her novel *Yo-Yo Boing!* (1998) was nominated for the Pulitzer. *Yo-Yo Boing!* has a double narrative voice (hence the *yo-yo*), one English-speaking and the other, a Spanish-dominant bilingual. When prize-winning poets produce entire novels in such a variety, its prestige must be reconsidered. The novel begins with a ten-page introduction in erudite, standard Spanish, and ends in a similar fashion. The main body of the text, however, switches extra-, inter-, and intrasententially, making use of some rather unusual Spanglishisms at times, symptomatic of Braschi's status as an educated poet. For example, the word 'decimononic' might be quite understandable to an educated Spanish-English bilingual, but not necessarily to an English monolingual, and it belongs in a different category from popular Spanglish neologisms such as 'washetería' and phrases such as 'deliberar grocerías' ('to deliver groceries').

Mexican writers such as Humberto Crosthwaite code-switch in their work, reflecting the language used in the northern regions of Mexico. In Crosthwaite's *Marcela y el rey: Al fin juntos* (1988), codes are mixed, with chapter titles such as 'Where have you gone, juan escutia', an English-language title for a Spanish-language chapter. Similarly, in *Idos de la mente: La increíble y (a veces) triste historia de Ramón y Cornelio*, another of his novels, an advert

appears for a recording company, 'Jimmy's Records, where we uncover [instead of 'discover' > *descubrir*] las estrellas' (Crosthwaite, 2001: 59).

Tato Laviera is a *Loisaida*[14] poet whose language, like that of many other Nuyorican writers, reflects the hybridity of his culture and expresses the linguistic insecurity of many Latinos:

> i think in spanish
> i write in English
> [...]
> tengo las venas aculturadas
> escribo en spanglish
> [...]
> english or Spanish
> spanish or English
> spanenglish
> now, dig this:
>
> hablo lo inglés matao[15]
> hablo lo español matao
> no sé leer ninguno bien
> so it is, spanglish to matao
> what I digo
> ¡ay, virgen, yo no sé hablar! (Laviera, 1994: 332–333)

Similarly creative in his linguistic hybridity is the Cuban-American Roberto Fernández. In his novel *Raining Backwards* (1988), written in Florida at the height of the anti-bilingual campaigns of the English Only Movement, the Tongue Brigade 'se encarga de que los ciudadanos no perpetúen sus malsanos hábitos lingüísticos' (Fernández, 2001: 1). The characters in the novel are obliged to speak in English, and so they do, '¡pero qué ingles!' (ibid.). The 'código lingüístico subversivo' (2001: 2) used is Spanish disguised as English; lexical and phrasal calques abound in a multitude of 'cócteles lingüísticos' (ibid.). In the chapter entitled 'The Good Night', which for bilinguals is obviously a reference to Christmas Eve, the narrator buys a record called 'They are from the Hills' by the Moorkiller Trio (Fernández, 2001: 3). Those unfamiliar with Cuban music will not recognize in the title a popular son, the *Son de la loma*, by *El Trío Matamoros*. Similarly, a monolingual might be disconcerted to find that Hortensia has a waterfall on her eye. Even a fluent bilingual might need to be reminded of the polysemous nature of the Spanish

catarata...(ibid.). Fernández declares in his paper presented at the *II Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española* that:

> la literatura producida en medio de choques de culturas requiere un lector que esté consciente de que existe una constante negociación lingüística y cultural en las zonas de contacto (2001: 5).

This requirement might appear a little excessive to the average reader but it should be a prerequisite for the translator of such literature. It is the translator's task, then, to make the reader aware of this constant negotiation.

The Status of Spanglish

Kachru (1992) proposes 4 stages in the nativization of English, a process in which English is acculturated. English comes into contact with another language, and in the second stage there is extensive diffusion of bilingualism, which slowly leads to the development of varieties within a variety (1992: 56). The third stage is that of gradual acceptance, followed eventually by the final stage, that of recognition (Kachru, 1992: 57). Spanglish exists in multiple guises, some of which have become literary languages, as we have already seen. Poetry and minority literature notwithstanding, Spanglish has not achieved social acceptance, and thus according to Kachru's framework, Spanglish is probably still at stage two.

The use of Spanglish is continually multiplying. Cyber Spanglish is a rapidly growing subcode, not just among Latinos in the US but among Spanish-speakers in general. One is invited to 'clika here' on many a website and we can chat with *chatos* and *chatas* in Cybercholo chatrooms at the click of *el maus*. Cyber Spanglish is symptomatic of the Anglicization of technological advances, a process which affects the majority of the world's standard languages, nevertheless, it is relevant here as another manifestation of Spanglish.

Spanglish may not yet have achieved respectability, but it is moving into the mainstream, the word itself becoming increasingly better known. Indeed, it is the title of a very mainstream Hollywood 'movie', filmed in 2004. It is this mainstream usage that can lead to greater acceptance regardless of political or linguistic debate in various arenas, including newspaper articles and debates within the Instituto Cervantes and other academic circles.

A considerable part of the plethora of articles dedicated to Spanglish in recent years was produced in response to an innovative translation carried out by Stavans. Reacting to the comment that Spanglish is not a language, and such a variety will earn no respect until it has produced a literary work comparable to the Quixote, Stavans undertook the translation of the first chapter of the aforementioned masterpiece into Spanglish. Clearly the act of an agent provocateur, the translation is an amusing exercise for some, and an aberration for others. The publication of this translation led to the publication of a series of articles in the Centro Virtual of the Instituto Cervantes, as well as interviews with Stavans and newspaper articles about his work, mainly, but not exclusively, in Spain and in the US. This media attention brought both the word Spanglish and Stavans' work into the limelight, and thus encouraged, Stavans called for papers for a conference on Spanglish.

The First International Conference on Spanglish took place at Amherst College, Masachussetts, in April 2004. The conference program included papers and round-table discussions on Spanglish Linguistics, Spanglish Media, Spanglish Culture and Spanglish Arts, as well as poetry readings. The panellists included respected US sociolinguists such as Ana Roca, and other US-based academics from prestigious universities such as Harvard, as well as researchers from Catalonia, such as Antonio Torres from the University of Barcelona and M. Teresa Turell from the Universitat Pompeu Fabra. The Catalans equated Spanglish with other mixed varieties, and made reference to the different Iberian varieties in contact in Spain, such as Castilian, Catalan, and Gallego, as well as other contact phenomena such as the 'Engliñol' of the Anglophone immigrant community in Spain, and the *portuñol* of South America. Joaquín Garrido of the Instituto Cervantes provided the voice of officialdom, and Giannina Braschi read excerpts from her award-winning opus of Spanglish poetry. The papers presented can now be added to a multitude of sociolinguistic studies on mixed varieties in the international academic community.

Stavans, who has been called 'el primer catedrático de *Spanglish*' (Torres, 2004: 17), finds that 'el binationalism, as well as biculturalism, y el bilingüismo are hand in hand' (Stavans 2000: 33). Torres points out that:

> este código híbrido, de orígenes populares, tiene mucho de actitud contracultural, de desapego a las 'normas de conducta'. Y lo destacable es que estas manifestaciones expresivas se documentan, se recogen, ya sea en pintadas, en letras de canciones, en películas, en la prensa, en la literatura, o también en estudios y recopilaciones de

> interesados y especialistas en el tema. En este sentido, Ilán Stavans (2003) ha proporcionado una herramienta insustituible con su extenso diccionario de Spanglish.
>
> [...]
>
> En definitiva, el Spanglish constituye un fenómeno natural que ha surgido, como tantas otras variedades de contacto, por el encuentro de dos culturas. Es una realidad innegable y, como tal, no debería ser objeto de tantas polémicas. Habrá que ver si desarrolla un proceso de gramaticalización y de expansión en sus dominios de uso que lo lleve a convertirse propiamente en una lengua, pero ese futuro debe corresponder sobre todo a quienes lo hablan. Por el momento, el Spanglish puede entenderse como una variedad, que se comporta a menudo como un registro, cuya utilización no tiene por qué significar el desconocimiento del inglés y del español. Ser multilingüe y multidialectal es, a veces, una necesidad, y siempre una virtud (2004: 21).

Later in the same year, Spanglish was once more the topic of debate, albeit on a much lesser scale, at the *III Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española*, held at Rosario, Argentina. The theme of this third conference was 'Language, Identity and Globalization', thus allowing Carlos Fuentes to declare in his inaugural speech that:

> El contagio, asimilación y consiguiente vivificación de las lenguas del mundo es inevitable y es parte inexorable del proceso de globalización[16].

Many of the papers presented discussed topics relating to identity, ideology, and migration, and how all of these come to bear on language use and attitudes. The focus of a considerable proportion of the participation was placed firmly on Latin American indigenous communities and *mestizaje*; ethnic, cultural and linguistic. Enrique Krauze found the Spanish language to be the 'expresión de un continuo mestizaje'[17] and many of the papers presented bore witness to the multiple forms of Spanish spoken around the world, including code-switching varieties. The existence of much literature written in code-switching varieties was highlighted, the code-switching in question mostly involving the mixing of Spanish and Amerindian languages.

Moreno discussed various mixed varieties, which he divided into three distinct categories: those arising in a geographical frontier region; those born from the coexistence of different ethnic and linguistic groups in a single geographical space; and mixed codes resulting from 'social frontiers'. This third category includes varieties which come about as a result of migration, such as the *cocoliche* of Argentina and US Spanglish. However, he does

recognize that the case of Spanglish in the US is sociolinguistically more complex than that of other mixed codes, as while his definition of Spanglish as a 'mezcla de lenguas bilingüe' spoken in the US is perhaps not quite as broad as that given in this chapter, he does concede that it is not a single homogenous entity, as it is a term applied to the bilingual speech of diverse ethnic groups in various geographical locations. He concludes his comments on Spanglish with a straightforward declaration of the fact that:

> los intercambios y transferencias con la lengua inglesa son sencillamente inevitables: el espanglish durará tanto como dure la coexistencia del español y el inglés[18].

Spanglish had already featured in earlier conferences, such as the V Congress of the Americas (Puebla, Mexico, 2001), where Mallo and Bertazzi presented their research results on Spanglish among their University students in Argentina. They point out that the Spanglish used in Argentina has characteristics quite different from the Spanglish used in the US, since in Argentina it is associated with being up-to-date and enjoying a higher status (Mallo & Bertazzi, 2001: 1). This corresponds to the status associated with those who use *anglicismos apropiados*, described in the studies referred to earlier.

Similarly, Marcela Gómez Zalce's daily column in the Mexican newspaper *Milenio*, 'A puerta cerrada', makes use of English in an elitist manner, by way of lexical switches. Samples such as the following demonstrate that the writer is an educated, well-informed bilingual:

> *Turns out* que el gobierno federal está un poquito hasta la madre de las estridentes declaraciones del mandatario estatal en relación con su *great killing party* y la cruda —¿moral?... *we don't think so*—realidad del día después. Hasta ayer, mi estimado, no existía ninguna presión *whatsoever* contra José para que se pusiera como neurasténico perturbado (2004).

While Gómez Zalce's style is a slightly more educated, bilingual version of Private Eye's Glenda Slagg, the fact that such a column appears daily in a national newspaper attests to the fact that the English language and the use of code-switching (Spanglish) are intelligible, and to a certain extent, acceptable, to a considerable proportion of the newspaper readership of Mexico.

Many authors have noted the facility for Anglicization in the English language and the desire by English users, native speakers and non-native speakers alike, to borrow and neologize. American English in particular is open to adoptions of foreign elements (Kahane, 1992: 212). This is a two-way

process however, as Americanisms cover many linguistic fields, such as those of the mass media, pop art, economics, business, the consumer society, technology, and the lifestyle of the young (Kahane, 1992: 215). These neologisms often enter wholesale into the majority of the world's standard languages. Given the circumstances, therefore, their incursion into Spanish, in both the US and Mexico, seems almost inevitable. Circular migration is often the vehicle of transmission of such neologisms further afield, in the Caribbean and Central and South America. This influence of American English, then, is partly responsible for the spread of Spanglish, not just in the US, but also, albeit to a lesser degree, all over the Spanish-speaking world.

So far we have seen samples of the multiple manifestations of Spanglish, and we have discussed the opinions of many authors who have tried to describe and categorize it. Perhaps it is a *xenolect*, that is, a foreignized variety, the result of learners learning from other learners. As a xenolect develops, it becomes *mimolect*, that is, a variety whose external appearance resembles that of another (Stewart, 1989: 263–280). There is enough evidence to argue that the Spanglish of Spanish-speaking immigrants in the US is a xenolect, and we could say that Chicano English and other types of HE constitute mimolects. However, if we take Spanglish to mean any type of Spanish-English contact phenomenon, then Spanglish defies any single definition or description.

Indeed, Spanglish is difficult to classify as while it may be described as a mixed variety, the mixture is primarily in vocabulary and there has been little if any convergence and simplification as far as grammar is concerned. Is 'pochismos' Spanish with English interference, English with Spanish interference, simple code-switching, or a separate code that can properly be said to act as a 'mother tongue'? asks Peñalosa (1975). If Spanglish is a term used to describe all of these, a traditional definition seems an insufficient and unsatisfactory means of conceptualization. In order to conceptualize such a phenomenon, then, we must seek other methods.

The Spanglish Continuum

> Lengua es [...] un concepto occidental que cubre realidades de gran heterogeneidad, hechos plurilectales en su realidad de uso, continuos multiformes (Torres, 2004: 1).

Spanglish is probably not as close to being a new language as Stavans would have it. It is unlikely that there are any first language speakers as yet, although

Anglicized varieties of Spanish and varieties of HE are spoken as a first language. 'Spanglish is making strides, yes,' says Hernández, 'but its greatest achievement so far might be that it has become modern Latinos' most reliable social lubricant' (2004: 7). There may be no native speakers as yet, and little or no convergence and simplification, but if Hernández and scaremongers such as Huntingdon are right, that might change in the near future. 'Generation Spanglish' may yet arrive.

Otheguy says that from a strictly linguistic point of view, there are no contact varieties, only contact features (1993: 27). I define Spanglish as the set of such features and as such it can be conceived as a point or points on a continuum for bilingual speakers. I propose a continuum, based on the post-Creole continuum, the Spanglish Continuum, presented in Figure 4. This continuum ranges from Standard varieties of English, such as General American at one extreme to Standard General Spanish at the other, with Spanglish at the center.

In this continuum we have two high varieties or acrolects, standardized varieties of the two macro-systems in question, English and Spanish. As we move towards the center, we pass through various mesolects, that is varieties of Anglicized Spanish and HE, which refer to those varieties displaying contact features spoken in the US as well in Mexico, Puerto Rico, and, theoretically, elsewhere. Here there is quite a range of codes and varieties; within each macro-system there are urban and rural varieties, popular and standard, as well as styles within codes.

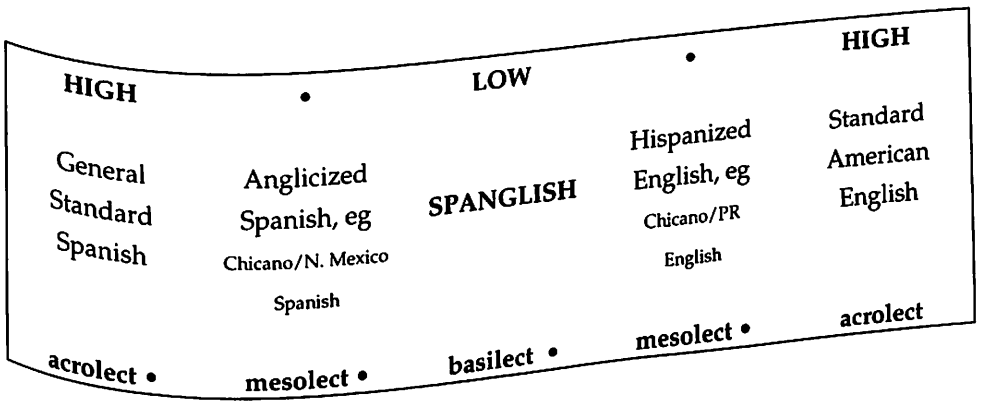

Figure 4. The Spanglish Continuum

Most speakers tend to one extreme or the other of this continuum, as speakers tend to be English-dominant or Spanish-dominant bilinguals. However, the linguistic repertoire of a speaker can entail the use of a multiplicity codes and varieties, and a speaker may move up and down the continuum, according to the context of the speech act. In a similar fashion to Zentella's 'Language proficiency spectrum' for bilinguals (1997: 180), we can place monolingual speakers of Spanish who have limited English comprehension at one extreme of the continuum and at the other, English monolinguals with limited Spanish comprehension at most. Moving towards the center through the mesolects, we can place Spanish-dominant bilinguals with weak to fluent English, and English-dominant bilinguals with weak to fluent Spanish. In the center we find balanced bilinguals, with near equal fluency in both languages, who will tend to be the most proficient Spanglish speakers. The main difference from Zentella's spectrum is that the latter measures language ability whereas this continuum aims to show usage.

Balanced bilinguals are not necessarily always those who make the most extensive use of code-switching, although they do tend to be the most proficient switchers when they do use it, as we have already seen. A speaker's use of Spanglish might place her at the center of the continuum as a speaker of the non-prestigious mesolect regardless of her proficiency in English or Spanish. Hernández's prototypical speaker of Spanglish as a first language, while having native-like proficiency in at least English or Spanish (perhaps both) would be positioned at the center point.

It is important to note that the varieties of Spanglish along the continuum are not necessarily all mutually intelligible: there are many varieties just as there are many varieties of English and Spanish. Nonetheless, many authors have already noted a certain amount of levelling among Spanish-speaking Latinos in the US; speakers drift towards the prestige varieties, according to their location. In California and Chicago, for example, Spanish speakers drift towards Mexican Spanish, and the Spanglish spoken generally reflects the predominance of Chicano varieties. In New York, on the other hand, other *caribeños* move towards Puerto Rican Spanish and/or Nuyorican varieties of PR English. In Florida, the prestige norm is Cuban, and the local variety of Spanglish there is often known as Cubonics, after Ebonics.

The Spanglish Continuum and Translation Strategy

The Spanglish continuum is a way of conceptualizing a multitude of contact features which manifest themselves in varieties of English and Spanish. The excerpts quoted from US Latino and Mexican writing are symptomatic of diverse established and emergent varieties. Perucho writes:

> La literatura chicana moderna o contemporánea [...] es una expresión de la literatura estadunidense [...] una voz infrenable del *melting pot* cultural: una más de las formas artísticas estadunidenses que se expresa con un acento mexicano (2001: 2).

How can we translate English texts written with a Mexican accent? Using the Spanglish continuum, we can locate the mirror image of such a variety, and thus translate into Spanish with an American or Chicano English accent. When translating in the opposite direction, which is the case in the corpus of this work, the opposite applies. When translating code-switching, we can 'switch the switch'.

As writers move up and down the continuum between English and Spanish, so can the translator. If a text is written in a Mexican variety of Anglicized Spanish, it can be translated into Hispanized English. The strategy here is to locate the kind of Spanish or Spanglish on the continuum and find its mirror image at the English side. In the Mexican texts chosen for the translation corpus analysed in the following chapters, some make limited use of loans while others contain numerous calques and code-switches. As the strategies proposed in this work stem from considerations inherent in a foreignizing approach, I suggest that these loans, calques and switches in the ST should be compensated for, in an attempt to translate 'with an accent'. Compensation does not necessarily need to be in place, that is, the use of a switch, loan or calque at the exact same locus in the TT as in the ST, as it can be in kind, i.e., a similar departure from standard norms in the guise of a contact neologism can be recreated at some point in the TT.

The continuum presented here is proposed for use as part of an overall foreignizing strategy to be applied to the translation of contemporary Mexican texts. In the following chapters I will explain what this strategy consists of and demonstrate how it can be put into practice. Nonetheless, it may be helpful at this stage to give an idea of the guiding principles or ideological motivations behind such an approach. Ironically, we can find a clear summary of the essence of the foreignizing approach in the words of one of its detractors. The

foreignizing stance entails the immersion of oneself in a foreign culture without colonizing it:

> to stop translating and start listening, to open yourself up to the 'mysteries' of an alien culture without necessarily trying to render what you learn into English, the tainted language of the colonizers (Robinson, 1997: 108).

A foreignizing translation 'owes a stronger loyalty to a stabilized or objectified source language or culture' (Robinson, 1997: 112) than to the target language or culture, and is one that can involve 'a playful creole slippage between languages' (ibid.). The familiarity with Spanglish together with the application of the Spanglish Continuum can be of great assistance when aiming to perform such a translation of contemporary Mexican texts.

Mexican literature is a minority literature in global terms that has been subjected to domesticating or assimilative translation practice since the first Nahuatl and Mayan works were translated into Spanish nearly 500 years ago. Linguistic imperialism continues as Mexican language varieties are often denigrated by the representatives of Spanish linguistic imperialism, that is, the Instituto Cervantes and the local branch of the RAE. Just as there seems to be no logic in imposing an Iberian norm in the speech of Latin American people, I see no logic in producing a translation of Mexican writing in a standardized variety of British (or American) English which dilutes both the cultural and linguistic content of the source text.

Spanglish is an umbrella term for contact features perceptible in varieties which constitute a growing form of expression. These mixed forms of expression are manifestations of new varieties of world Englishes and Spanishes. One of the criteria for achieving language status has already been met: Spanglish has its own body of literature, short stories, novels and poetry, as well as popular and vernacular expressions. Literature makes use of Spanglish on both sides of US-Mexico border, as well as further afield.

Varieties of British English and American English are part of a two-center model. New varieties of English, such as Chicano English and PR English belong in a subset of American English, whilst other world varieties, such as Indian English have developed in the aftermath of the British Empire. In literary terms, we are beginning to see an acceptance of diversity; instead of a straightforward two-center model, there is a glimmering of acceptance of a linguistic lattice, a multitude of interlinking varieties. This acceptance extends beyond the academic circles of sociolinguistics and into the best-selling

readership, if the sales of books by writers such as Cisneros and Braschi are anything to go by.

Stavans has shown that it is possible to translate into Spanglish, even though his version of the Quixote was perhaps a tongue-in-cheek response to a provocation. We can use Spanglish as a resource as part of foreignizing strategy. The greater the translator's understanding of the phenomenon, the greater the possibility of its exploitation in translation. The proposed Spanglish Continuum can be the translator's tool, taking the English end as a starting point in an attempt to 'mirror' the Spanish source text. If we accept the idea that code-switching, and therefore the use of Spanglish, can decelerate language shift, we can perhaps also accept the idea that the use of Spanglish in translation can decelerate loss, and promote gain.

NOTES

1. Español entre inglés
   entre náhuatl, entre caló.
   ¡Qué locura!
   From 'Poema en tres idiomas y caló'. J.A. Burciaga (1997[1977])
2. Hispanized English is the name Zentella gives to a variety of American English commonly spoken by Latinos that is characterized by interference from Spanish, which can be seen in prosody and phonology as well as in the use of loans and loanshifts, and in extreme cases, in syntax.
3. It is also possible that *chante* comes from the English shanty, which Merriam-Webster has as 'probably from Canadian French *chantier* lumber camp, hut, from French, *gantry*, from Latin *cantherius* rafter, trellis'. Any apparent resemblance between Latin and Nahuatl etymology is presumably coincidental.
4. These are Poplack's categories (2000: 236), for which she gives the following bilingual exemplifications:
   fillers: *este*, I mean
   interjections: *¡ay, Dios mío!*, shit!
   tags: *¿entiendes?* you know
   idiomatic expressions: *y toda esa mierda*, no way
   quotations: put down *'menos'*
5. Various such studies, many of which are cited in this work, can be found in the anthologies edited by Fishman, Conrad & Rubal-Lopez (1996), Galindo & Gonzales (1999), García & Fishman (2002), García & Otheguy (1989), Jacobson (1990) and (2001), Milroy & Muysken (1995), Roca & Jensen (1996), Roca & Lipski (1993), Silva-Corvalán (1995), and Wei (2000).

6. For details of the debate on semilingualism and semi-speakers, see Romaine (1995: 260–265) and Lipski (1993: 155–182).
7. For Zentella, Native Americans, Chicanos, African Americans and Puerto Ricans are all 'involuntary minorities' due to their status as conquered, annexed, or enslaved peoples, as opposed to 'voluntary' immigrants from other parts of the world (1997: 272).
8. See for example http://www.pocho.com/news/2002/texasguv/texasguv.html and http://aprendizdetodo.com/language/?item=20020301
9. Thomas B. Edsall, 'GOP Touts War as Campaign Issue', The Washington Post, January 19th, 2002
10. *Quequi* also enjoys widespread currency in colloquial Mexican Spanish.
11. 'Latin lingo', from the album *Cypress Hill*, 1991
12. 'Gimme tha Power', from the album *¿Dónde jugarán las niñas?*, 1997
13. 'Voto latino', from the album *¿Dónde jugarán las niñas?*, 1997
14. *Loisaida* is the Nuyorican for the Lower East Side of New York.
15. *Matao* < *matado*, i.e., 'contaminated', unacceptable language use.
16. Carlos Fuentes' opening speech of the Rosario Conference: http://cvc.cervantes.es/obref/congresos/rosario/inauguracion/fuentes_c.htm
17. Enrique Krauze, plenary speaker at the Rosario Conference, El imperio del español, http://cvc.cervantes.es/obref/congresos/rosario/plenarias/krauze_e.htm
18. Francisco Moreno Fernández, Medias lenguas e identidad, the Rosario Conference, http://cvc.cervantes.es/obref/congresos/rosario/ponencias/aspectos/moreno_f.htm

CHAPTER FOUR

Translation Strategies: An Overall Foreignizing Approach

each of us is the other's barbarian, to become such a thing, one need only speak a language of which the other is ignorant.

Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*

we need a non-metaphysical "cosmopolitanism" that supports a suitable openness to alterity. A non-metaphysical "cosmopolitanism" ... should be understood as an ethical stance of friendship to the Other.

Mark Bevir, 'Derrida and the Heidegger Controversy'

IN THIS CHAPTER I aim to define an overall strategy that can be applied to the translation of contemporary Mexican texts, especially those that make creative use of language and display linguistic innovation, often involving code-switching and contact neologisms. While the focus is mainly on literary texts, the strategies presented can also be applied to the translation of other genres, such as journalism and popular songs. I have called this overall strategy a foreignizing one, as it is based on proposals that contemporary translation theorists and critics have referred to by that name, in turn based on the writings of the German Romantics, especially Schleiermacher. However, as will become clear in this chapter, my proposal draws on the foreignizing stance in that it seeks to maintain the foreignness and respect the alterity of the ST, but does not go to the extremes advocated by writers such as Venuti (1995, 1998).

Translation has been defined in so many ways at different times that it seems impossible for theorists and practitioners to reach a consensus as to what actually takes place in the translation process, or how we can differentiate types of translation, if they can be differentiated at all. Most writers on the subject appear to accept the division between literary and non-literary

translation, as form plays a much greater role in the former, to the extent that it can scarcely be separated from content. Poetry is the extreme case and should be considered separately. Thus, whereas my comments relate mainly to literary translation, for the purposes of this work I exclude poetry. Nonetheless, as I am interested in exploring the relevance and practicality of the application of the proposed strategy to other types of creative writing, the corpus does include another lyrical form, a song, and journalistic articles which are lengthy analytical pieces, as opposed to straightforward news reports. Therefore, all of the texts in the corpus are relevant in this discussion, and I would hope that some of my observations would be equally relevant to the theory and practice of translation in general.

Foreignizing Translation

Following Berman, Venuti uses the term 'foreignizing' to describe the kind of translation advocated by Schleiermacher in his 1813 lecture, translated by Wattraud Bartscht as 'On the Different Methods of Translation'. According to Schleiermacher, there are only two paths open to the translator:

> Either the translator leaves the writer alone as much as possible and moves the reader toward the writer, or he leaves the reader alone as much as possible and moves the writer toward the reader (Schleiermacher, 1992[1813]: 42).

As Schleiermacher considers that 'the actual purpose of all translating' is 'an enjoyment of foreign works as unadulterated as possible' (1992[1813]: 52), he advocates the former method; that is, he would have the reader try to appreciate the foreign text in as much of its 'foreignness' as possible. While this may not seem in principle too far removed from traditional distinctions between 'literal' and 'free' translations, Venuti elaborates on Schleiermacher's options, referring to them as 'foreignizing' and 'domesticating' methods. The difference between the two, according to Venuti, is that the domesticating method, that of moving the writer towards the reader, traditionally speaking a 'free' translation, is 'an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home' (Venuti 1995: 20), whereas Schleiermacher's preferred foreignizing option, a more 'literal' translation, puts 'an ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad' (ibid.).

Venuti draws on Schleiermacher's distinction in a manner similar to Berman (2000) who developed a 'negative ethics' and an 'analytic' of translation from the German Romantic's treatise on translation, and called for an almost psychoanalytic reflection on the part of the translator. Berman eschews what he describes as ethnocentric, annexationist translations and states that the 'properly ethical aim of the translating act' is 'receiving the Foreign as Foreign' (2000: 285–286). This goes against the norm in the history of Western translation as a practice that has routinely naturalized, acclimatized, and assimilated the foreign, due to the 'deforming tendencies' at work in translation, tendencies that are unconsciously replicated by translators as part of a deeply ingrained system that is 'the internalized expression of a two-millennium-old tradition, as well as the ethnocentric structure of every language' (2000: 286). Translators can however '...hope to free themselves from the system of deformation that burdens their practice' (ibid.) by means of a process of analysis in order to neutralize this unconscious behaviour. Berman's psychoanalytic approach suggests that he finds the majority of translators to be 'in denial' regarding their activity and its impact. Venuti furthermore would appear to find them socially and politically unaware and thus issues a call to action beyond the reflexive process advocated by Berman. Schleiermacher's lecture provides the starting point.

Venuti is at odds with translation into English due to its canon of 'fluency'. For centuries, translations have been praised when they read 'smoothly' or 'fluently', creating what Venuti repeatedly refers to as the 'illusion of transparency'. This is what House would call 'covert' translation (1998). Fluent, free translation is covert because it is deceitful; it is not overtly a translation, but rather masquerades as an original, thus, claims House, the translator 'cheats' (1998: 66). Like Venuti, she finds that an 'overt' translation is the means of providing readers with an unadulterated view of the original (1998: 69), which is Schleiermacher's aim, and very probably practically every translator's utopian ideal. But while House accuses the fluent translator of 'cheating', Venuti accuses such a translator of 'violence': a fluent, covert translation violently appropriates the ST and source language culture for domestic purposes, as a colonizer would. This for Venuti, as well as others, such as Dingwaney & Maier (1995), not only perpetuates inaccurate images of the source language culture for domestic consumption, but is an act of violence, consisting of an ethnocentric reduction of the 'Otherness' of the ST and, by extension, of the source language culture, to domestic values.

Clearly Venuti draws on Schleiermacher in order to showcase his own agenda, as he admits that Schleiermacher's theory is 'shaky ground on which to build a translation ethics to combat ethnocentrism' (1995: 111). This shakiness stems from the fact that, while the lecture 'provides the tools for conceptualizing a revolt against the dominance of transparent discourse in current English-language translation' (1995: 117) by advocating respect for the foreign, Schleiermacher's ultimate aim was to have a literary coterie enrich the German language and culture through translation; that is, he held a nationalist cultural political agenda, in which an educated elite would control the formation of a national culture by redefining its language through foreignizing translations (ibid.).

Venuti contrasts Schleiermacher's aims with those of his British contemporary Francis Newman[1], who produced controversial foreignized translations of Homer. While Newman advocated Schleiermacher's method, he detached it from the cultural and political interests of the nationalist literary German elite. For Newman, the aim of education was to foster liberal democracy, so the target audience for his translations was not the elite, and this was reflected in the popular language and style he used in his translations. Thus, he was engaged in more democratic cultural politics than Schleiermacher, and it is this more democratic politics that Venuti subscribes to in his advocating of the foreignizing method. Like Newman, Venuti seeks to challenge domestic canons. However, he goes much further than Newman, seeking not only to challenge the canons of translation, but other canons as I will explain shortly.

Schleiermacher's aim of enriching the German language and culture through foreignizing translation was not essentially different from the processes that had been taking place in other European languages for centuries, such as English and Spanish as discussed in Chapter One. The success of these previous experiences would have inspired the German Romantics and motivated them to look to the foreign for their own nationalist agendas. While their ideas in literature and philosophy may have been influential, their advocating of a foreignizing method of translation appears to have been less so, if we can judge by Pannwitz's comments made almost a hundred years later. Pannwitz suggests that translators proceed from a 'wrong premise' when aiming to translate from the source language into the target language, as they seek 'to turn Hindi, Greek, English into German instead of turning German into Hindi, Greek, English' (Benjamin, 2000[1923]: 22)[2]. He

strongly criticized the fact that his contemporary translators had 'a far greater reverence for the usage of their own language than for the spirit of the foreign works' (ibid.). Indeed, he held that:

> The basic error of the translator is that he preserves the state in which his own language happens to be instead of allowing his own language to be powerfully affected by the foreign tongue (ibid.).

This kind of foreignizing strategy may have a nationalist domestic agenda of language and cultural enrichment like Schleiermacher's as its starting point, or it may be indicative of a genuine desire to respect the Otherness of the ST and source language culture (SLC). Whatever the reasoning behind the strategy, the results in terms of the TT will, in theory, be similar.

Steiner also drew on the German Romantics in his hermeneutic approach to translation. He describes two 'currents of intention and semantic focus' in translation: 'resistant difficulty', which is 'the endeavour to situate precisely and convey intact the "otherness" of the original'; and 'elective affinity' which leads to 'immediate grasp and domestication' (1998: 412–413). For Steiner, the 'elucidative strangeness of the great translation' (ibid.) grows out of the tension between resistance and affinity and he does not suggest working with one 'current of intention' at the expense of the other. Were he to do so, 'resistant difficulty' would be a strategy analogous to 'overt' translation, leaving the author alone, and bringing the reader to him or her: a foreignizing approach. As its name suggests, 'resistant difficulty' would result in a TT that is harder to read than a domesticating translation, but 'resistance' and a certain amount of difficulty are often intentional in a foreignizing approach.

Foreignizing and domesticating translation are the names that Venuti chooses to divide and define types of translation. These two categories derive from age-old debates on 'literal' and 'free' translation and depend on the translator's primary allegiance to the ST or to the TT. A useful way of conceptualizing this difference is the cline presented by Gutt (2000). Based on relevance theory, Gutt's cline has 'direct translation' at one extreme, corresponding to the most 'faithful' and 'literal', 'closest' translation (im)possible, an ideal perfect homologous rendering, and what remains are degrees of 'interpretative resemblance' through 'indirect translation', to infinity. Foreignizing translation is thus a degree of indirect translation that aims to get as near as possible to the 'direct' end of the cline, as opposed to 'domesticating' strategies, including dynamic equivalence, adaptation,

pastiche, and other kinds of rewriting in the target language, which are invariably much more 'indirect'. Foreignizing translation aims to produce a TT that manifests a greater degree of loyalty to the ST and the SLC than to that of the target language.

Furthermore, Venuti inscribes values in his strategy which go far beyond any linguistic criteria. His politics push him towards an ethics of translation, and his strategy is intended as resistance. He calls for translators to be politically active, to be radical, and his strategies are designed to challenge domestic canons not only of translation, but of cultural and linguistic hegemony, especially with regard to the status of English as a global language and Anglo-American dominance on the world stage. His project is very ambitious to say the least, apparently contradictory in practice, and untenable in its totality. Nonetheless, it is a very interesting proposal with considerable redeeming features, many of which can be incorporated into an overall foreignizing strategy that has more modest pretensions. Let us now look at the aims of Venuti's resistant foreignizing stance.

Resistant Strategies: Challenging Canons

The adoption of a foreignizing approach can be an act of resistance, a demonstration of inconformity, when faced with the realization that 'traditional translation practices reveal a fear of the other, a need to turn the alien into the familiar' (Levine, 1991: 16). It is this sense of inconformity that leads translators like Venuti to argue the need for a:

> theory and practice of translation that resists dominant target-language cultural values so as to signify the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text (1995: 23).

Such an act of cultural resistance requires resistant strategies, and for Venuti, the first act of resistance is to choose a text for translation from outside the dominant canon. Venuti's foreignizing translation is a dissident cultural practice. He argues that over the centuries translators have introduced new genres into the target language scenario by translating texts that fall outside the prevalent domestic literary canon, and he suggests that in the current cultural and political climate, those who translate into English should seek to challenge the Anglo-American canon by translating 'marginal' texts. He later speaks of 'minoritizing translation', a kind of foreignizing translation that also advocates the selection of a text 'whose form and theme deviate from domestic literary

canons' (1998: 11). Leaving aside for the moment the consideration that most professional literary translators will seek payment for their work, and that payment generally depends on publishers who will often be the ones to choose the ST, not the translator, let us turn to the question of domestic canon.

Venuti seems to implicitly affirm that a canon exists in English literature and that it is the result of the political, cultural and linguistic hegemony of the US and the UK (labelled by Venuti in conjunction as 'Anglo-American'), but this does not account for 'English' literature. He would perhaps include Australia and Canada in this westernized, imperialist English language canon, but he does not make this explicit. More serious is the exclusion of other world literatures written in English. It is perhaps the case that he does not include postcolonial literature in the category of 'English literature', so that Caribbean, African and Asian literature written in English would not be contemplated in his definition of domestic canon. Whatever the case, I am not convinced that we can define a 'domestic' canon to account for literature written in English by citizens of the UK and the US.

While this is clearly not the place to attempt a description of current literary canons, it is worth mentioning that much contemporary literature written in English goes against the dominant cultural white male Christian imperialist ethnocentric viewpoint that Venuti is so clearly against, both in language and ideas. To keep within the scope of the work, I will limit my argument to the work of the Chicana writer Sandra Cisneros. As mentioned in the previous chapter, her novel *Caramelo* (2002) makes extensive use of calques and code-switching which would surely put her outside the domestic English canon that Venuti seems to object to. In addition, at the time Venuti wrote *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995) Cisneros' status was considerably more marginal than it is now. A Chicana, a bilingual bicultural dark-skinned marginal woman writer, struggling to make her voice heard in an imperialist Anglo culture, a few years later Cisneros would be a best-selling author, and her first novel, *The House on Mango Street* (1984) is now required reading on many American Literature courses in the US. With both sales and the recognition of academia under her belt, is Cisneros now thus part of the domestic canon? If so, Venuti would presumably then have us choose to translate Mexican texts that pose a threat to Cisneros' dominant canon. However, I propose considering using her style as inspiration for a foreignizing translation strategy.

To attempt to define a canon for English literature in either the UK or the US is difficult, and one that covers both seems impossible. Faced with such an impossible task, the translator is in no position to select a foreign text that deviates from dominant literary canons in the target language culture: how can one choose to deviate from something that is undefined? Fortunately, challenging literary canons–domestic or foreign–is not on my translation agenda, and therefore I consider this part of Venuti's theory dispensable. There are other ways to demonstrate resistance. My intention is to foreignize by applying resistant strategies that generate heterogeneous discourse, as advocated by Venuti, but I do not intend to follow him blindly in all things. This should be clear from the texts selected for translation and analysis in the corpus of this work.

Carlos Fuentes is now a canonical figure in Mexican literature and is well-known throughout the world. While *Malintzin de las maquilas* may make use of marginal discourse, as does much of his literary production, Fuentes' status both within Spanish-American literature and in world literature in translation puts the novel well within 'global' canons. Similarly, while Elena Poniatowska provides a voice that is critical of the hegemony repudiated by Venuti, her work is widely published, and it is not particularly marginal or radically groundbreaking in its style. Both Fuentes and Poniatowska are creative in their use of language, and their work in that sense is innovative, but Poniatowska is not the only intellectual to produce journalistic texts in a literary style in the quality press, nor is Fuentes the only novelist to reflect the everyday speech of marginalized people in his fiction. Victor Hugo Rodríguez Bécquer's creative wordplay is original and challenging for the translator, but his writing would not be classed as revolutionary; and Jorge Ibargüengoitia wrote often quite humorous, satirical novels and short stories with considerable social commentary, which is not in itself a radically new concept, nor is Hugo Salcedo's dramatization of a real-life event. Molotov's lyrics continue with a tradition common to popular singers and poets for over a hundred years in the contact zone, now performed by a band with greater technology and a larger audience. In short, none of the texts in the corpus is marginal or canon-challenging. They were chosen as representative samples of linguistic creativity in Mexican Spanish, most containing English-Spanish contact neologisms, and their authors have perhaps gone some way towards helping certain styles, registers and varieties of Mexican Spanish to gain greater currency and recognition by lending their authority to their loans and switches.

As well as seeking to challenge domestic literary canons, Venuti wishes to 'shake the regime of English' (1998: 10) in his foreignizing or minoritizing translation. While I can accept that translation, and therefore, translators, played an important role in establishing the linguistic hegemony of English as a global language, it does not follow that translators can reverse the situation. It may well be that *la Malinche* was instrumental in the success of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, but it does not follow that a 21st-century interpreter or translator is in a position to bring down the government, or pose any real threat to hegemony, be it political, cultural or linguistic.

On the other hand, a translator can play a part, as translators have done throughout history, in the propagation of new linguistic forms, borrowed from other languages and cultures, and current in emergent or relatively new varieties. Even to speak of *Englishes* in the plural is to challenge the monolingual and monocultural myth perpetuated by the US-UK English hegemony. But languages are already in constant flux without the help of the translator. Spanish is 'under attack' from English, especially in Mexico and other Latin American countries linked geographically or politically to the US, and while a translator working into English might apply the Spanglish continuum in a foreignizing frenzy in order to make things linguistically more just, the 10–20 million Latinos in the US pose more of a threat to the English language and dominant Anglo culture, according to the scaremongers, in their insistence on speaking a non-standard variety of English. Kachru's outer circle (1992) is doing more to defamiliarize English, challenging its hegemony by developing non-native varieties, than translators could ever hope to do. English is now a 'megalanguage' (Hagemann, 2005: 76) and what the translator can do, then, is exploit this heterogeneity, in a manner similar to that of Kelman in his novel *Translated Accounts* (2001) which is written in English, but purports to be a translation into English. Hagemann explains that the context of Kelman's novel is that of English as a megalanguage, which has:

> long ceased to be the property of native speakers. From a postcolonial point of view, Kelman writes against the assumption that a certain privileged group has the right to determine what the English language is. Coming as he does from Scotland, Kelman may have been suspicious of this assumption from the beginning (2005: 78–79).

While Venuti states that 'translation discourses can be developed to exploit the multiplicity and polychrony of *American* English' (1998: 11, emphasis added), I think that the translator has a much wider range of Englishes on the

menu, with many ingredients to choose from when cooking up heterogeneous discourse. Nonetheless, it is perhaps the case that in general, American English is more flexible than British English (in their standardized varieties at least) and therefore more receptive to this type of innovative approach to translation.

The linguistic hegemony that Venuti wishes to challenge is part and parcel of the political, economic, and cultural hegemony of the former colonial powers and of the economic 'neocolonialist' powers. This hegemony is manifest in postcolonial societies, and in globalization which, in the sense intended here, can be interpreted as the cultural and economic hegemony of the West. The relationship between translation and hegemony has been explored by many authors with regard to various dominant target languages, not only English (see for example, the anthologies of Bassnett & Lefevere (1990); Venuti (1992); Dingwaney & Maier (1995); Bassnett & Trivedi (1999), and Niranjana (1992); Robinson (1997);). The views expressed cover a wide range of languages, and the problems of translation between them and their cultures of unequal status. I will try to cover a representative cross-section as the mass of available literature on the topic is daunting.

Edward Said notes a seemingly 'deliberate policy of maintaining a kind of monolithic reductionism where the Arabs and Islam are concerned' (1995: 99) in his denunciation of 'the Orientalism that distances and dehumanizes another culture... and the xenophobic fantasy of a pure "Western identity"' (ibid.). Mehrez explores the experience of francophone North African texts (1992: 120–138), while Jacquemond looks at the translation of Arabic into French, specifically the case of Egyptian literature (1992: 139–158). In a heartfelt critique of translation and the colonial context from a poststructuralist point of view, Niranjana describes the impact that translation can have in terms of creating and perpetuating images of the Other:

> By employing certain modes of representing the other—which it thereby also brings into being—translation reinforces the hegemonic versions of the colonized, helping them acquire the status of what Edward Said calls representations, or objects without history (1992: 3).

Cheyfitz presents a similarly negative critique of imperial violence and the role that translation has played in this. He states that 'translation was, and still is, the central act of European colonization and imperialism in the Americas'

(1991: 104) and provides an extreme example of the far-reaching impact of translation combined with colonialism:

> the homogenizing of these diverse peoples under the name of "Indians" being the primal act of translation (Cheyfitz, 1991: 105).

Observations such as these from the social history of empire 'offer evidence that translation has indeed been used as a tool of colonial dominance' (Robinson, 1997: 88); and translation is thus a part of the violence that ensues from colonialism.

It is easy to lament, or be indignant about, and criticize past wrongs, but not as simple to suggest future action. Postcolonial theorists of translation suggest ways in which translation can be used to resist or redirect colonial or postcolonial power (ibid.). Niranjana, for example, calls for a rethinking of translation and for a practice of 'retranslation' which consists of reading existing translations 'against the grain' (Niranjana, 1992: 172) as well as carrying out new translations of previously translated texts. If colonizer translators have misrepresented the colonized and contributed to the creation of stereotypes, then it makes sense for a new generation of postcolonial bilinguals to carry out new translations. One would hope that these new translators could achieve better results without being guilty of violence, of ethnocentric reduction in their work. From being 'a harmful and pernicious tool of empire', translation can take on 'a positive and constructive decolonizing role' (Robinson, 1997:105). Niranjana celebrates heterogeneity and hybridity and, based on poststructuralist readings of Benjamin, advocates literalism as the preferred mode of translation, theoretically similar to Venuti's project of minoritizing or foreignizing translation. The translator who makes use of a literalist strategy must take great care not to give the Other a foreignized voice that appears to be simply inarticulate, thus contributing further to negative stereotypes. I will return to this problem later.

Gupta finds that the choice of text becomes critical for the translator, not for the purpose of challenging literary canons or linguistic hegemony, but due to its capacity to create and propagate stereotypical images. 'The only way to resist stereotyping is', he believes, 'to complicate the target culture's image of the source culture' (1998: 180). He suggests that this be done by translating at least two kinds of texts:

> those which introduce and emphasize unexpected (not familiar and stereotypical) differences between the source culture and the target culture (and creating translations that emphasize these differences, by using forms of 'linguistic resistance', described below); and those that emphasize, in contrast, the similarities between the two cultures (and thus resist easy exoticization of the source culture) (ibid.).

He finds that both kinds of text must be translated in the postcolonial Indian context, or there can be no effective political resistance (ibid.). These resistance-oriented intentions are consistent with the foreignizing approach.

Domesticating methods of translation are to be avoided if they are guilty of appropriating or effacing the Other when translating into a dominant, colonial or hegemonic language such as English, but it is interesting to note that some postcolonial theorists accept domesticating or appropriating tactics when they are applied to the effacement of the *dominant* Other. Campos advocates a non-Eurocentric *Anthropophagic* approach to translation, one that allows literature in Brazilian Portuguese to swallow other literatures (Vieira, 1999: 95–113). The difference in attitude appears to lie in the power relations: it is wrong for dominant language cultures to efface the Other when it is under the yoke of colonialism or hegemony, but minor language-culture writers and translators are free to serve themselves generous helpings from what has been imposed on them, and transform it however they wish. Harish & Trivedi discuss the cannibalistic metaphor, and equate this latter kind of domestication with the Tupinambà people of Brazil eating a priest in the 16th century, which:

> may even be said to have been an act of homage. After all, one does not eat people one does not respect (1999: 1).

This might be a little difficult to digest for foreignizers who feel that their method should be preferred at all times and in all contexts, but we would do well to bear in mind that no strategy or approach, no matter how apparently all-encompassing, will do for translating all texts from all languages for all readers in all contexts.

The linguistic, stylistic, and temporal context of my advocating a foreignizing strategy is that of the translation into English of contemporary creative texts written in Mexican Spanish. I believe that this strategy is also applicable to other text-types and to translation between other language pairs. The examples given in this work may or may not demonstrate the success of the strategy in this particular context, but the translator must decide when it is

and is not applicable in other contexts and adapt it where necessary. I do not suggest its blanket application to the translation of all Mexican texts written in Spanish, nor to Spanish-English translation in general. Translation between Spanish and English can fall into many categories due to the status of both languages as global, former languages of empire, currently postcolonial in several continents. The economic, cultural and linguistic hegemony of English and Spanish is felt particularly in the Americas, superimposed like the churches built on top of prehispanic temples throughout Latin America, and analogous in varying degrees to the postcolonial situation of many Asian and African countries. New relations of dependence have arisen from economic post- and neo- colonialism and imperialism in which English and Spanish and their historic cultures, and additionally their exported contemporary consumerism, have been superimposed on others.

The Other is often internal, metaphorically within the hegemony inherent in globalization, and also quite literally with patterns of migration, legal or illegal, permanent or temporary. The majority of the global population coexists with various cultures and divergent ideas. The multicultural society is not a new concept in the history of humanity, but its ubiquity is perhaps without precedent. We now enjoy a much clearer visual image of other cultures thanks to the globalized mass media as well as increased mobility and displacement through tourism and migration. Worldwide access to means of communication and information increased exponentially in the 20th century to the extent that there are isolated communities in many countries where, although clean water may be in short supply, people watch satellite television and use mobile phones. Exposure and familiarity notwithstanding, understanding and acceptance of Otherness seem to lag far behind so that discord, and not harmony, is still regularly found. The Other quite often remains anathema. Thanks to political correctness much lip service is currently paid to 'diversity', which has become a buzzword in recent years, but economic and political interests ensure that the status quo endures. While technology evolves, humanity remains the same in its dealing with the Other, so that genuine respect, acceptance of diversity, and hospitality continue to elude us.

In this context, the foreignizing translator campaigns for recognition and respect for the Other as such notions extend to the representation of other cultures through translation. Tolerance of diversity (acceptance is a taller order) extends to language attitudes, in the recognition of non-native and mixed varieties. English is quite a 'hospitable' language in that it is an

Anglicizing language, and it could perhaps be accused of domesticating, as it appropriates concepts and nomenclature from other languages, just as colonizers have appropriated artefacts and natural resources, even people and countries, for their own benefit. Domesticating or not, its flexible structure and the apparent ease with which it borrows foreign words, amply and consistently demonstrated throughout its history, show English to be a 'hospitable' language capable of adapting to foreign elements. The speakers of a language are ultimately responsible for linguistic change and whereas political hegemony appears not to lose its grip, the speakers who make up dominant culture routinely alter their speaking habits and cultural practice, adopting foreign words and activities. Thus, eating spicy food and dancing to Latin American rhythms are incorporated into the dominant culture, 'jihad' needs no translation, and consequently, in the foreignizer's framework, canons are challenged. Translators can thus use this cultural and linguistic 'hospitality' to advantage and foreignize in translation, and introduce new words and flavors to the dominant language.

In short, foreignizing requires literalism and borrowing. Venuti and many postcolonial writers call for a 'defamiliarizing' use of language, of heterogeneous discourse, and the acceptance of an *in-betweenness*, so that readers can be brought face to face with the reality of difference. This is a reasonable point of departure, as translation from a foreign language is not the rewriting of an English text, but should convey something foreign. Its Otherness should be respected. While challenging hegemony in order to change the world and put an end to social injustice is an admirable ambition, achieving it by (re)translating poetry, which is what Niranjana and Venuti seem to be saying by their theory and practice, is clearly unrealistic. Nonetheless, I would agree with both postcolonialists in general, and Venuti in particular, in advocating the use of heterogeneous discourse and exploiting the multiplicity of Englishes in order to produce foreignizing translations that remind the reader that the source text is indeed foreign. If such a strategy happens to be counter-hegemonic, then that is an added bonus for the translator-activist, but it should not be the principal aim.

The Mexican (Con)Text and Foreignizing Translation

It is complicated to consider Mexico as a postcolonial country in this context, as the 'post-' should properly refer to its status as a former colony of Spain, but

the linguistic and political scenario under scrutiny here is that of its neocolonial or neoimperialistic status with regards to the US and English. 'Current clashes between the dominant Anglophones and peripheralized Hispanics' in the US come under the umbrella of postcolonial problems for some theorists (Robinson, 1997: 17), but the 'massively exploitative *neo*-colonial policies' of the US in Latin America (ibid., emphasis added) make the 'post' seem an inappropriate prefix, and therefore postcolonial theory is not particularly helpful in defining Mexico's status. Mexican Spanish and culture are perceived as under attack from US English and 'global' culture both in Mexico and in the US, so perhaps it is comparable to the situation of other postcolonial societies. Nonetheless, we should remember that Spanish is also a superimposed colonial language in Latin America, now supposedly threatened by another: English. Nomenclature such as 'postcolonial' should perhaps then be avoided, although many of the issues that the theory raises are clearly relevant and should be kept in mind.

Nahuatl was the Aztecan language of empire in Mexico, and it is interesting to note that according to Todorov, the Other was discredited for the Aztecs in their ethnic and linguistic self definition, *nahuatlaca*, which he says means 'people who explain themselves and speak clearly' (Todorov, 1999: 77). The *Academia Mexicana* disagrees with this interpretation in its *Diccionario breve de mexicanismos*, where the etymology of *nahuatlaca* is given as 'de *nahuatl* 'náhuatl' + *tlacatl* 'persona, ser humano" and therefore means, quite simply, 'persona de habla nahua'. The *Diccionario* also defines *nahuatlata*, from the adjective *nahuatlato*, literally 'que habla náhuatl', from '*náhuatl* 'náhuatl (lengua)' + *tlatoani* 'el que habla', de *tlatoa* 'hablar", which thus means 'versado en la lengua y cultura nahuas'. However, other Mexican sources define *nahuatlaca* as 'la gente superior, la gente que manda', a definition not entirely compatible with Todorov's, but nevertheless one that associates the Aztec language and its speakers with power[3], to be contrasted with other language varieties and their speakers. Just as the Other could not speak clearly or powerfully for the Aztecs, both they and other indigenous groups were 'translated' and misrepresented following the Spanish Conquest. Todorov recounts the Spanish arrival at the Mexican Caribbean coast, where the local people were heard to shout 'Ma c'ubah than', thus giving the Mayan peninsula its current name, Yucatan. Unfortunately, according to Todorov, the phrase comes from a Mayan variety and means: 'We do not understand your words'

(1999: 99), although this is not confirmed in other sources, and it is perhaps simply a much-repeated but unfounded anecdote.

Indigenous substrata have been noted in numerous loanwords in all varieties of Spanish and constitute one of the distinguishing features of 'postcolonial' Mexican varieties. Other features of Mexican Spanish consist of differences resulting from the geographical proximity of the US and the influence of another imposed colonial language (exacerbated by migration), American English, so that purists can point to Anglicisms at both lexical and structural levels. The Mexican language contact zone has been doubly 'conquered', by Spanish and English, on both sides of the border. Speakers in the zone continue to innovate, appropriating linguistic components from two dominant, colonial languages, creating a peculiarly Mexican language variety. Mexican Spanish thus manifests its difference from other varieties, and this difference is expressed in Mexican texts. If this difference can be perceived by the reader of a Mexican ST, it should not be effaced by translation, and a foreignizing strategy can actively seek to maintain it.

For Venuti, one of the reasons for employing such a strategy would be with a view to challenging hegemony, but as I have already suggested, this is, at best, unlikely. Should we at least try to redress the balance by foreignizing? Should we try to restore the 'native' voice to Mexican texts? While such intentions are in theory laudable, a foreignizing strategy that seeks to counter the effects of Spanish colonialism–or US neo-colonialism–by the introduction of indigenous vocabulary would be a thoroughly suspect academic exercise: it would intelligible to a handful of readers, if any at all, and therefore as practical and purposeful as attempting to build a pyramid on top of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Too exotic a translation is counterproductive. The aim of a foreignizing translation is to respect the fact that the source culture is different, not to ridicule it. An overly exoticizing translation can reinforce the idea that alterity should be equated with incomprehensibility; and incomprehension is clearly not synonymous with respect. The consequences of overexoticizing are potentially even more ominous. Carbonell points to two different translations of the opening address of a speech made by Saddam Hussein:

> Ayyuhā al-ciraqiyyūn al-bawāsil (1999: 171)

The phrase is translated by official Iraqi sources as the fairly neutral 'Valientes iraquíes', but by CNN as '¡Oh, iraquíes valerosos!' (ibid.). Whereas the latter

version is a more literal rendering which could for that reason be classed as a foreignizing one, Carbonell finds it to be hyperbolic (the superfluous 'Oh'), anachronistic (the use of *valerosos*), and thus, ridiculous. An even more serious accusation is that the pragmatic function of the CNN translation is:

> que el texto confirme ciertos estereotipos sobre el dirigente iraquí y su pueblo que justifiquen políticamente las acciones de la guerra (ibid.).

Such an example thus analysed makes a foreignizing approach appear to be an exceptionally risky business. That said, most translation does not take place under such sensitive conditions and Venuti is joined by others who claim that the defamiliarization of English can challenge dominant literary and cultural canons, and even hegemony, without declaring war on the Other.

Hedrick argues that Chicano bi- or interlingualism 'works to defamiliarize English by moving it over into a place foreign to it' (1996: 154). Hedrick analyses the effects of bilingual wordplay in Chicano literature and discusses the work of Chicano critics to show how:

> the dominant tongue is brought over into a foreign place specifically for the purposes of reclaiming–through humour, defamiliarization and secrecy–an 'authoritative' discourse (1996: 153).

Unequal power relations between Mexico and the US are not going to change because of foreignizing translation practice, but if the 'breaking down of borders and hierarchies between languages and cultures' (Hedrick, 1996: 154) can be sought through heterogeneous language use in literature, then it can also be sought through the use of heterogeneous language in foreignizing translation. Perhaps the best we can hope for is the recognition of the Other within, the Other who also has a voice in our language, even if it is another variety of 'our' language. We can aim for this by attempting to match the hybridity manifested in the ST by (trans)creating hybridity in the TT, as Niranjana suggests:

> translators can intervene to inscribe heterogeneity, to warn against myths of purity, to show origins as always already fissured (Niranjana, 1992: 186).

So, how do we actually inscribe heterogeneity and carry out a resistant, foreignizing translation? Venuti advocates a reversal of the translator's traditional 'invisibility' (Venuti, 1995), that is, the translator should become

'visible'. This is where we begin to tread on dangerous ground as the translator's visibility is acceptable to the general reading public in a short preface or the occasional footnote, but an awareness of the constant presence of the translator in the main body of the TT can lead to a sense of discomfort similar to that of someone reading over your shoulder. An analogy in another medium would be that of watching the Mexican soap opera *Los ricos también lloran* in the former Soviet Union where, in the early 1990s, the Russian dubbing was carried out without previously muting the Spanish dialogue[4]. This was a foreignizing translation at its worst: the original voices could (literally) be heard, but the continuous voiceover intervention prevented the audience from being able to listen to what the Mexican voices were actually saying. The translator is generally only perceived when she becomes visible due to the peculiar style of the TT whose opacity draws attention to itself, and the reader experiences difficulty due to 'translationese'. 'Translationese' has been discussed by various authors and goes under various names, for example, 'translatorese', which is defined by Hagemann as language use that is:

> sometimes linguistically wrong, and even more importantly, it lacks grammatical and, occasionally, semantic coherence (2005: 76).

Visibility is not advisable if it is to be achieved by creating incoherence.

Venuti cites numerous examples of translators who are visible to varying degrees in their work, including modernist translators of poetry, such as Pound, and the Zukowskys, whose homophonic versions of Catallus—in which the translators' visibility completely eclipses the ST—are frequently cited by translation theorists. If these are the translations that Venuti chooses as his examples to illustrate resistant strategies, then it is no surprise that many critics wonder if awkwardness and 'resistance' in translations are the same thing (Gupta, 1998: 188). Homophonic translation is a radical manifestation of the translator's visibility, and there are more subtle ways in which the translator can gain a more visible role without going to such extremes.

Following from Benjamin's advocating of literalness, many translators choose a literal mode, method, or strategy. Benjamin advocated following the syntax of the ST very closely, and this is one way of foreignizing. This might be feasible for some language pairs but it is not advisable as a general rule as it risks exoticizing to the point of unintelligibility. Perhaps 'a certain Mr Spence' was guilty of excessive literalness in his work, as according to Lord Dorset:

> he was so cunning a translator that a man must consult the original to understand the version (Dryden, 1992[1680]: 30).

Alternatively, he may have been partial to archaizing translation, as are Venuti and many other translators throughout history, especially translators of classical poetry. As the name implies, an archaizing strategy is one in which the translator draws on archaic forms of English to create effects of temporal or spatial distance between the ST and the TT. The problem inherent in all of these kinds of foreignizing strategies is that they can lead to opacity, and whatever the ideological starting point for a translator may be, surely the main aim of the process and product is to access, or make accessible, areas of knowledge; therefore, if a translation is overly difficult to understand, it could be considered a failure.

It is worth mentioning that in their call for a rethinking of translation and their discussions of retranslation, foreignizing and minoritizing translations, both Niranjana and Venuti present examples from their own practice, examples that come from the translation of poetry. Without wishing to enter into a detailed discussion of poetics, I would argue that 'poetic licence' also applies to the *translation* of poetry. The contemporary readership of poetry can be described as an exclusive community, one which will allow the translator more creative freedom. A project such as Venuti's minoritizing translation is experimental in nature and therefore is more suited to the translation of poetry. Readers of poetry will accept greater poetic licence in poetry in translation, indeed, they might actually expect it. In this context, language can be employed that would be considered highbrow, gibberish, or translationese in another context, such as in the translation of contemporary prose, fiction or non-fiction. Thus Venuti's archaizing strategy finds a place in the translation of poetry intended for an intellectual elite, in keeping with Schleiermacher's plans, although it contradicts Venuti's alleged democratic stance. Venuti's and Niranjana's poetic translations are thus acceptable, whereas the strategies they outline are not necessarily applicable to other kinds of texts, where they are open to criticism similar to that expressed by Puttenham in 1589, who disapproved of the English used 'in Vniuersities where Scollers vse much peevish affectation of words out of the primitiue languages' (cited in Cheyfitz, 1991: 97).

Thus, the gravest danger of employing foreignizing strategies as advocated by poststructuralists, postcolonial theorists, and intellectuals such as Niranjana and Venuti, is that the translation can be so opaque as to appear to be another

foreign text, so that instead of **ST > TT**, from the foreign language to the target language, **FL > TL**, we have:

$$\text{ST } (\text{FL}^1) > \text{TT } (\text{FL}^2).$$

This converts the act of translation into an academic, elitist activity, and thus a disservice to the ST and the SLC, quite the opposite ideological and theoretical premise claimed by proponents of foreignizing translation. Therefore, I do not subscribe to the notion of a high degree of visibility, as the original, the ST, should remain the main focus of the exercise. Mirrors and windows have been a recurring theme in the metaphors of translation, as a 'good' translation should 'reflect' the original, or let its 'own light' shine through. An extreme foreignizing stance would subject the original image to the distorting, refractive physics of a hall of mirrors, pull down a blind that lets only a little light through, or draw the curtain on it altogether. This is not the aim of my foreignizing stance.

So what remains of the foreignizing proposals outlined by Venuti and others? We are left with cautious literalness, and the use of heterogeneous discourse, which can be achieved through borrowing. Heterogeneity, a broad concept by definition, will serve us well as the guiding essence of a foreignizing strategy. Whereas archaisms can fall under this umbrella term as far as Venuti is concerned, it does not seem appropriate for them to be included among the conceptual tools included in the *foreignizing* kit, as they are not *foreign* but obsolete, and they certainly do not seem relevant in the consideration of strategies for the translation of contemporary texts written in contemporary varieties. In lexical terms, a foreignizing strategy in the context of a contemporary version of a contemporary text should borrow from contemporary foreign varieties. Borrowing most commonly occurs in a translation when a particular nuance cannot be found in the closest TL equivalents, but translators also borrow in order to reproduce a particular sound effect, 'or to ensure that a cultural Other is not translated entirely out of existence' (Fawcett, 1997: 34). In the next chapter we will see how the Spanglish continuum can be applied to assist with borrowing in the specific case of the translation of contact neologisms in Mexican Spanish texts.

A foreignizing approach can borrow not only vocabulary but also in syntactical terms, by following the TT syntax as closely as possible. This strategy can be particularly successful in some contexts. Gupta, for example, writes:

> I have seen few successful foreignizing translations (though it is difficult to define what success means in this context) from Indian languages into English with one general exception: translations into the lexicon and syntax of Indian English can be read as resistive renderings. (Gupta, 1998: 186)

Such a version will be quite accessible for the Indian reader of English, and Gupta adds, that for the Western reader, 'the 'strange' (i.e. 'foreignized') English serves to resist easy assimilation' (ibid.). News of a result like this is music to the foreignizer's ear. A word of caution, though, as awkwardness is a step away when the syntax is followed closely, and we are warned that literalness of syntax 'is dangerous when pushed too far' (ibid.).

Syntactical fidelity, then, can sometimes work, but will lead to uncomfortable structures in some language pairs. Nonetheless, it is often a feasible strategy for Spanish-English translation, and its application can be particularly successful when attempting to render stylistic peculiarities. Although Nord finds stylistic devices to be culture bound (1997: 88), other functionalists, such as Reiss, find that the translator must aim to reproduce them. For Reiss, creative literature falls into the category of 'form-focused texts' where phonostylistic elements are significant factors (2000: 33) to the extent that, in poetry and literary prose, 'syntactical traits can be used as art forms' (2000: 32). The concept of 'fidelity' has a different meaning according to the text type in a functionalist approach, and in the case of form-focused texts it 'requires a similarity in formal principles and the preservation of the esthetic effect of the original' (2000: 41). Literalism is a way of achieving this similarity.

Reiss also calls for the preservation of individualistic styles in translation 'if possible' (2000: 28) and refers us to Ortega y Gasset, who writes:

> Escribir bien consiste en hacer continuamente pequeñas erosiones a la gramática, al uso establecido, a la norma vigente de la lengua (1955: 434).

Thus, Reiss suggests that:

> the translator of a form-focused text should also be creative in deviating from the norms of the target language, especially when such "erosions" have an esthetic purpose (2000: 36–37).

Similarly, Newmark states that 'the more important the language of the text, the more closely it should be translated' (1991: 1). Once again, it seems that

literalism provides the key. Some 'erosions' and individualistic styles may produce strange language if translated closely or literally, but as Levine asks: 'why can't a translation be as idiosyncratic as an original?' (1991: 95). This question is at the heart of a foreignizing translation strategy: to respect the Other, we must begin by respecting the work in question and by seeking to render its peculiarities, some of which will be cultural, and others which will be idiosyncrasies.

So then, the foreignizing translator can seek a literalness of syntax in order to produce a close image of the ST. Clearly discretion and subjectivity play a part in such a strategy, as they do in borrowing, since **ST (FL^1) > TT (FL^2)** is to be avoided. Nevertheless, dramatic ST effects can be lost when syntax is domesticated beyond recognition. Hurley notes that translators usually adopt the punctuation style that 'fits within the traditional practice' of the target language (2004: 190) and explains how this can lead to loss. In his review of the translation of a text by the Haitian writer Jacques Stephen Alexis, Hurley observes how the ST punctuation conveys or emphasizes 'a sense of excitement and breathlessness', suggests 'rapid changes of activity and perspective', and 'heightens pace and tension'. The translators under review omitted most of Alexis' suspension points, and 'The English version, consequently, emerges as a more subdued version than the original' (ibid.).

Venuti also draws on Lewis' (1985) concept of 'abusive fidelity'. In this sense, 'abuse' refers to peculiarities in a given text which can be described as resisting, or 'abusing', the norms of its own language, and essentially refers to the same concept as Ortega's *erosiones*. Both Venuti and Lewis argue that a successful translation should not suppress these differences; on the contrary, it is the translator's duty to make something of them. The foreignizer seeks to avoid putting the translated author into 'la prisión del lenguaje normal' (Ortega, 1955: 434) and instead actively seeks to recreate 'abuse', translating in a 'resistant' fashion. The Spanglish continuum is a conceptual tool that can be used for recreating a specific type of abuse, as we will see in the next chapter. Its application will not always be possible to all instances of innovation, unusual language use or wordplay. Other varieties will provide inspiration in other contexts in which the translator can make use of heterogeneous discourse in order to achieve 'abusive fidelity', an integral part of a foreignizing strategy. Thus, when the authors under review 'abuse' Spanish by switching codes, I apply the Spanglish continuum in order to recreate that abuse.

In the following extract, Fuentes abuses the norms of Spanish, not only by the use of innovative contact neologisms, but by his syntax: a long sentence divided only by commas gives voice to the thoughts of two characters, as well as to the narrator:

> ¿Malibú? ¡Maquilú!– decía el anunciador vestido de smoking azul con camisa de olanes y corbata fosforescente, ante la ola de muchachas que llenaban el galerón alrededor de la pista, más de mil trabajadoras apretujadas aquí y la aguafiestas de la Dinorah diciendo que son las luces, las puras luces, sin las luces esto es un pinche corral para vacas, pero las luces lo hacen todo bonito y Marina se sintió como en la playa, nomás que una playa de noche, maravillosa, en la que las luces azules, naranja, color de rosa, la acariciaban como los rayos del sol, sobre todo la luz onfli, plateada, que era como si la luna la tocara y también la bronceaba, la volvía toditita de plata, no un envidiado *sun-tan* (¿cuándo iría a la playa?) sino un *moon-tan* (Fuentes, 1995: 177).

Mac Adam's published translation reads as follows:

> "Malibú? Maquilú! Maquilá!" said the MC –in a blue tux with a ruffled shirt and fluorescent tie– to the wave of women filling the stands around the dance floor, over a thousand working women all crowded in together. It's the lights, just the lights, said Dinorah, the wet blanket. Without the lights this is a miserable corral, but the lights make it all nice and pretty. But Marina felt as if she were on a beach at night, where the beams of light–blue, orange, pink–caressed her, especially the white, silvery light, which was like the moon touching her and tanning her at the same time, turning all to silver, not a suntan for others to envy (when would she ever go to a beach?) but a moon tan (1997: 136).

Here we can see that the translator has domesticated the syntax to a certain extent: thanks to the addition of 3 full stops and 2 parentheses, the TT is easier to read than the ST, as the TT syntax is much closer to the norms of Standard English. I would question such a rendering on the grounds that the ST syntax is abusive; thus, that of the TT should be also. There can be no doubt that Fuentes is familiar with the syntactic norms of Spanish; here he chooses to deviate from those norms in order to create a particular dramatic effect. The passage provides various simultaneous appreciations of the immediate physical environment, reflecting non-standard, colloquial speech patterns, in a style that recalls a modernist stream of consciousness. Rendering such a style into short, neat, English sentences implies a rewriting that leads to loss, a loss which can be avoided by carrying out a more literal translation.

All of the aforementioned strategies can be described as compensatory to some degree. A foreignizing translation constantly seeks compensation for

potential loss. Venuti and others find Harvey's framework (1995) useful in defining types of compensation, and therefore helpful to the would-be foreignizer. Harvey's framework takes sets down possible degrees of correspondence when seeking to compensate loss. Analogical compensation aims for 'direct correspondence' by making use of the same linguistic device as in the ST, that is, it draws on the same linguistic repertoire in the TT (1995: 81). As this is not always possible, 'non-correspondence' is also an option, whereby a linguistic or textual feature is compensated by a completely different class of feature (ibid.). Whereas 'direct correspondence' would seem to be the foreignizing translator's ideal, overall strategies to overcome potential shortcomings must be considered due to practical considerations.

Harvey states that the textual location of compensation can be parallel, contiguous, displaced or generalized. It is possible at times to compensate in place, be it in a parallel or a contiguous location, and displaced compensation can and does often work for specific features of a text. Nonetheless, compensation in kind is often a more practical option, and in Harvey's framework, this can be achieved through a strategy of 'generalized compensation' (1995: 84). If the ST displays a series of similarly-marked departures from standardized language use which will impact stylistically in broadly similar ways, a generalized compensation strategy is the most appropriate. Levine's use of Black American English to convey Black Havana in the translation of *Tres Tristes Tigres* is an example of this (*cf* Levine, 1991), as is my proposed Spanglish continuum, which can be perceived as a generalized compensation strategy that aims to deal with such departures and stylistic considerations.

A generalized compensation strategy, in this case, an overall foreignizing strategy can give a foreign flavor to a TT. However, the translator should proceed with caution. Fawcett warns us that:

> compensation is not some sort of neutral translation technique to be employed like universal filler whenever a crack appears in the wall of translation (1997: 82)

as it is 'a disruptive move' (ibid.) and for that reason, any compensation should be carefully considered prior to use. The TT should not be overly difficult to understand or the act of translation will be counterproductive; instead of providing an insight into the Other, the TL audience will choose to ignore the TT. An extreme case of foreignizing that leads to a gobbledygook-ridden translation does not challenge hegemony or dominant culture's preconceived

ideas about the Other, it merely challenges the translator's possibility of being published and the translation thus being read.

Target, Function, and Context

As in any act of translation, the target audience and the purpose of the translation will determine strategic decisions and, therefore, will affect the extent to which a foreignizing strategy can be applied. For instance, a translation product geared towards academic use in a foreign language department in a university can have quite different characteristics from those of a translation aimed at a more general readership. In the former, the academic readers might be content with, or demand, a bilingual version, a crib of sorts, in which the TT is to be consulted alongside the ST, as a guide, a supplement, not as an independent text. In such a case, the translator may presume that the reader will already have considerable knowledge of the SL and SLC and moreover the inclination to carry out the additional research necessary to comprehend the opacities of both ST and TT. Reiss takes the name 'scholarly translation' from Güttinger to describe this kind of translation (2000: 100).

For Reiss, the term 'scholarly translation' characterizes Schleiermacher's second option, that is, the basis of the foreignizing approach. In his translation of Reiss's book, Erroll Rhodes provides an alternative rendering of Schleiermacher's distinction:

> Either the translator leaves the author as undisturbed as possible and requires the reader to be adaptable, or he makes no demand on the reader and requires the author to be adaptable (ibid.).

A 'scholarly translation' is thus one that makes demands on the reader, and this will seem quite acceptable to many a 'scholar', especially one that would consider easy reading to be an insult to scholarly intelligence. Indeed, Reiss finds that a scholarly translation tends to lead to a sense of dissatisfaction in the reader that can be productive, as it may:

> arouse a curiosity and an interest in the original work, and inspire an effort to find the same thoughts expressed more effectively and perhaps more gracefully (2000: 101).

Furthermore, according to Reiss we should consider the function of the so-called scholarly translation. If its function can be declared as 'a quarry for

knowledge and instruction' and not 'for literary enjoyment and entertainment' (ibid.) then any 'demands' on the reader can be excused. However, a foreignizing translation of a literary text should not exclude the possibility of enjoyment and entertainment, unless perhaps the author has made it apparent that the work is in fact intended to produce sensations of displeasure and boredom. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to expect that translations produced for academic use might have particular characteristics often perceived among other readerships as complicated.

Academia is of course a special case, and under normal circumstances a translator would not be given free rein to produce an unrestrictedly foreignized TT. For the purposes of a large publishing house, aiming to market the TT successfully to the general public, a translation has to be more conservative, much closer to the fluent translations decried by Venuti. This reality stems from several practical considerations, the first being that the translator will not be paid for producing a TT that an editor disapproves of or cannot understand. If a radically foreignized TT is actually published, it risks severe negative criticism first of all from the critics, who for the most part will be aware that it is a translation, and secondly, by the general reader who will routinely receive the text as if it were an original. In both cases, the translation could be deemed a failure: the negative criticisms which properly correspond to the TT and the translator will be ascribed to the ST and its author. Thus the translator has performed a disservice to the author of the ST, and potentially to the SLC as a whole.

What is the general readership a publisher and/or translator have in mind? Perhaps we should qualify what is meant by a more 'general reader'. If a translation into English is geared towards a specifically British market, then this will determine not only the extent to which a translator can safely foreignize, but also the type of overall foreignizing strategies employed. It is probably advisable, for example, to make less use of the Spanglish continuum when translating for a specifically British readership than for an American one, due to the lesser degree of familiarity with Spanish and Spanglish in the UK than in the US. On the other hand, if the general readership is conceived as 'general' in a wider sense, that is, for all potential readers of a text printed in English, then certain specific solutions will have to be reconsidered. Thus, the *franglais* solution suggested in the following chapter, which is probably clear and intelligible to the average British English speaker/reader, may not be appropriate if the TT is meant for consumption in countries where exposure

to French is limited or nonexistent. Such specific strategies may make reading unnecessarily difficult for the 'general' reader.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that a considerable number of contemporary writers in English produce texts written in varieties that make reading difficult. An Indian English novel such as Rama Mehta's *Inside the Haveli* (1977), for which she was awarded the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1979, contains numerous concepts not immediately comprehensible to many speakers of English who are unfamiliar with Indian culture. These include kinship terms, cultural practices such as *purdah*, and the title itself poses a problem. Nonetheless, context provides the key, without the need for a glossary or footnotes. Highly regarded and widely recognized writers of fiction often represent certain varieties by making use of non-standard language that may not be immediately accessible to speakers of other varieties of English. In *The House on Miguel Street*, for example, Naipaul writes:

> Elias said, 'Shut your arse up, before it have trouble between we in this street' (2000[1959]: 30).

Some of those of 'native' stock, born and bred in Ireland and the UK, such as Irvine Welsh and Roddy Doyle, write in varieties that can make speakers of Standard British English struggle, but this does not appear to have hampered their commercial success or limited their readership in Britain or beyond. The case of Chicano literature has already been mentioned, and similar observations can no doubt be made regarding African and Asian literatures, produced in diverse varieties of English or Englishes.

Literature written in a variety other than the reader's own will almost inevitably cause some kind of comprehension difficulty. At the same time, such literature testifies to the fact that there is no longer one 'English' or a unified 'English Literature', if there ever was. If literature is thus produced, there appears no good reason for the production of translations that make use of an excessively standardized, written equivalent of an RP variety where the ST does not. There are plenty of English(es) to choose from in literature, and therefore to draw from when translating. A foreignizing translation might make more demands on the reader than a fluent, domesticating one, but it might not necessarily make any more demands than the ST does on the SL reader, which ultimately should be the yardstick by which the translation is judged.

The Feasibility of Foreignizing

> Coin brassy words at will, debase the coinage;
> We're in an if-you-cannot-lick-them-join age,
> A slovenliness provides its own excuse age,
> Where usage overnight condones misusage.
> Farewell, farewell to my beloved language,
> Once English, now a vile orangutanguage.
>
> Ogden Nash

Having discussed why a translator may choose to adopt a foreignizing strategy, let us now consider some of the criticisms of such a stance in more detail. One of the most frequent criticisms of foreignizing translation is that it results in the excessive visibility of the translator in the production of TTs that are overly difficult to read, risking **ST (FL^1) > TT (FL^2)**, as already discussed. We can say that this is criticism on a linguistic and stylistic level. However, this same negative impact can have much further-reaching effects in terms of the reception of the text in the target culture, according to some authors.

Berman warns against one of the dangers inherent in foreignizing translation that must be borne in mind by those advocating respect for the Other:

> An exoticization that turns the foreign from abroad into the foreign at home winds up merely ridiculing the original ([2000]1985: 292).

Critics of Venuti's foreignizing proposal, such as Shamma (2005), take this notion further and suggest that the opposite political-cultural effects than those advocated and intended by Venuti are achieved by adhering to his proposed strategies, and that negative stereotypes are actually confirmed by their use. To illustrate this argument, Shamma analyses Burton's translations of the *Arabian Nights* and their reception in Victorian England. Shamma argues that Burton saw his translations as a work of anthropology and ethnography, but also as:

> a contribution to the advent of a new age that would see the end of the crippling priggishness of Victorian England (Shamma, 2005: 54)

thus making his starting point compatible with Venuti's proposals of challenging canons, hegemony, and such like. Furthermore, Shamma finds

that the translation strategies employed by Burton, such as linguistic heterogeneity and literalism, are also in line with Venuti's proposals. Not only does Shamma criticize Burton's translations per se, using adjectives such as 'artificial', 'tedious' and 'cumbersome' (2005: 58) to describe the TT, but also he finds the results, in terms of the social impact of the published translation, to be contrary to foreignizing aims:

> it is evident that Burton's translation restated and perpetuated the Western age-old stereotypes about the East. Its foregrounding of the alterity of the source text and culture only facilitated the familiar process of affirming the self in contrast to the emphasized difference—or rather eccentricity—of the Other (2005: 61).

Shamma provides examples of critical opinion of the time, such as that published in *The Lincoln Gazette*, whose reviewer inferred from Burton's translations that 'Eastern people look at things from a more natural and primitive point of view', that 'Arabs are highly imaginative... they are emotional to the hysteric degree', and that 'All this effervescence, so different to our rigid repression, all this exuberance of feeling, is the gift of a hot climate' (ibid.). Such opinions inferred from the TT lend weight to Shamma's arguments in that the results of the TT are in direct opposition to the purported aims of a foreignizing translation. However, there is room for doubt that Burton's strategies are actually in line with Venuti's proposals and those of other foreignizers.

As a Spanish-English translator I am in no position to question Shamma's criticisms of a translation from Arabic, but I can scrutinize some of his other arguments. While it may be true that 'the impact of translation cannot be reduced to the translator's strategy' (2005: 64), Shamma perhaps inadvertently contradicts his postulate that Burton's translation can be deemed to follow Venuti's foreignizing strategy to the letter, as he quotes Burton's reference to his "long dealings with Arabs and other Mahommedans", and says that it is these dealings 'which would allow him to *bring the Orient home* to the English readers' (2005: 57, emphasis added). Here we would do well to remind ourselves that Venuti, like Schleiermacher, does not advocate the 'bringing home' of anything, but rather the 'sending abroad' of the reader.

Burton was a gifted linguist whose credentials as far as his command of Arabic is concerned have been much lauded, for example, by Edward Said (2003). The famous explorer is perhaps best known for his translations from Arabic, such as the *Arabian Nights*, and from other 'Oriental' languages such as

Sanskrit, for example, the *Kama Sutra*. However, he was not only an Orientalist translator, and also translated selections of Camões' sonnets from Portuguese, producing versions that have been described perhaps euphemistically as 'eccentric' (White, 2006). Of Burton's Camões-inspired *Lyricks* of 1884, White writes:

> Burton made it his ambition to write as Camões would have written had he been born English in 1524–that is, pre-Shakespeare, pre-Spenser, using a language he has to cobble together from such sources as Wyatt and Surrey (2006).

Not surprisingly, then, 'the result is magnificently unreadable' (ibid.). In view of this, Shamma's criticisms of Burton's work seem quite justified. However, I remain unconvinced that Burton had foreignizing intentions. If what White says is true, then Burton's translations while archaizing, were in fact domesticating translations, even if some of his declared intentions may have coincided with some of those in a foreignizing approach. Nonetheless, Shamma makes a valid and very important point that the potential foreignizer would do well to keep in mind, namely that the best of intentions do not automatically produce the best of translations, and he shows that a translator's eccentricities can be mistaken for signs of SLC eccentric alterity.

Robinson rightly points out that all translations are based on interpretations, and that these interpretations vary from translator to translator (1996: 109). He argues, therefore, that Niranjana's proposals, illustrated by her retranslations, are merely examples of a specific interpretation, not of a different translation method or strategy (1996: 110). Robinson is not alone in highlighting the subjectivity inherent in the act of translation. In the preface to his translation of *Speaking of Siva*, Ramanujan writes that the translator:

> cannot jump off his own shadow. Translation is choice, interpretation, an assertion of taste, a betrayal of what answers to one's needs, one's envies (cited in Dharwadker, 1999: 120).

Similarly Todorov finds that 'Discourse [...] is fatally determined by the identity of its interlocutor' (1999: 231). Most practising translators are consciously aware of this but it is unlikely that most readers are. The fact that Niranjana's interpretations are personal is not sufficient argument to dismiss foreignizing proposals in their totality.

Robinson notes 'an implicit reader-response assumption behind foreignist theories', that a foreignizing translation will rouse the TL reader 'to critical thought and a new appreciation for cultural difference', concluding that this is 'an abstract claim that has almost no basis' (ibid.). It is impossible to prove, and unreasonable to expect, that a foreignizing translation will have the same positive effects on all readers, such as the 'new appreciation for cultural difference' that Robinson refers to. Nonetheless, I believe that it is the translator's duty to represent this cultural difference so that it can be observed. Not all readers will be roused to critical thought, but a foreignizing strategy that makes use of heterogeneous discourse, 'abusive fidelity' and a degree of literalism will at the very least make most readers aware that they are in the presence of the Other. The foreignizing translator's greater visibility may also lead readers to an awareness of the subjectivity inherent in translation, as they become more aware of the translator's presence in the TT.

In spite of all the criticisms, a foreignizing translation strategy is feasible. Ortega y Gasset points to his success in Germany where at the time of his writing his famous *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción*, 15 German editions of his works had been published (1955: 452). This success 'se atribuye en sus cuatro quintas partes al acierto de la traducción' (ibid.) as he praises his translator who appears to have foreignized to a certain degree, as she:

> ha forzado hasta el límite la tolerancia gramatical del lenguaje alemán para transcribir precisamente lo que no es alemán en mi modo de decir (ibid.).

In terms of lexical borrowing, a foreignizing translation strategy is not only feasible but can be necessary in order to convey nuances. Schopenhauer is one of many to provide arguments for the foreignizer:

> At times, a foreign language introduces a conceptual nuance for which there is no word in our own language. Then anyone who is concerned about the exact presentation of his or her thoughts will use the foreign word and ignore the barking of pedantic purists (Schopenhauer, 1992[1800]: 32).

Examples of lexical items with contextually significant conceptual nuances will be given in the following chapter.

It is easy to see how critics are able to consider the justifications behind foreignizing translations as pious platitudes. Fawcett urges caution as far as attempting to give a voice to the linguistic Other is concerned, as while this kind of translation may have 'the noblest of aims', he argues, 'we should not

delude ourselves as to what it can achieve' (1997: 122). It is true that translation has contributed to colonialism, Orientalism, with all its negative connotations, and to the formation of cultural and racial stereotypes, but it is difficult to see how it can actually do anything to redress the balance. Certainly it requires considerable mental effort to see how Niranjana's retranslations of twelfth century *vacanas* contribute to decolonization in any tangible, perceptible way as far as the people of India are concerned, or to how India is perceived in the West. It may be even more complicated for a Western outsider to contribute to change in some contexts, for example, Gupta finds that:

> The humanistic motives of the Western translator are parallel to those of the British colonizer who thought he was bringing progress to India (1998: 182).

Thus admonished, the humanistic foreignizing Western translator must acquiesce and concentrate on the task in hand.

The foreignizing approach proposed here accepts that a translator can do little or nothing to right past wrongs, but suggests an alternative practice that seeks to avoid the perpetration of new acts of violence. Rick Francis, translator of the Mexican writer Alfonso Reyes is of the opinion that:

> Translations are the antidote for provinciality and stultifying insularity. One can appropriate while translating, but to do so is to miss the marvelous opportunity to alter our language towards the foreign (in Stavans, 1998: 3).

Octavio Paz would in all probability have disapproved of many aspects of the foreignizing strategy outlined in this work, especially the Spanglish continuum, given his relatively conservative, purist opinions regarding the Spanish language; nonetheless, he clearly understood the potential benefits of translation in its propagation of the humanist notion of universality combined with recognition of the cultural Other:

> por una parte la traducción suprime las diferencias entre una lengua y otra; por la otra, las revela más plenamente: gracias a la traducción nos enteramos de que nuestros vecinos hablan y piensan de un modo distinto al nuestro (Paz, 1990: 12–13).

Into the 21st century and a new generation of translators undertakes 'retranslations' of certain Mexican texts. Wiersema (2003) compares the 1963 and 2002 English translations of Azuela's *Los de abajo* and notes a considerable

increase in the number of Spanish loans employed: from 45 to 204. He finds that this borrowing tendency in translation is on the increase as a by-product of globalization. The gap between cultures is closing, he argues, and as Mexican culture slowly becomes better-known, there is less need to find TL equivalents for much vocabulary, as it can lead to what Wiersema calls 'excessive translation'. An excessive translation is a 'translation that fails to foreignise/exoticise' (ibid.), that is, it uses TL terms where SL terms would now be acceptable. He argues that the practice of literary translation has changed as a result of globalization, that texts have become more exotic. By way of exemplification he gives food-related vocabulary items which may not be the most profound examples, but serve to make his point as they are extracted from a literary source such as Mastretta's *Arráncame la vida* (1988). He finds that 'Future translations need to be as foreignising as possible' clarifying that this should be done 'within the limits of reasonable acceptability' (ibid.).

Ramanujan advocates the exemplary aim of translating a non-native reader into a native one (Dharwadker, 1999: 121), a humanist ideal which is compatible with Schleiermacher's proposal of sending the reader abroad, which in turn is the basis of the foreignizing stance. A foreignizing approach aims to convey the 'deep delightful difference' (Gupta, 1998: 188) of another literature and has as its overall aim that of respecting the alterity of the ST and therefore of moving towards it in translation, not away from it. The conversion of a non-native reader into a native one is of course impossible without the reader's cooperation and this inevitably entails the reader making an effort. A foreignizing translation does require an effort on the part of the reader. Based on relevance theory, Gutt's contribution to translation theory (2000), that 'optimal relevance' requires 'minimum processing effort', suggests that the reader should not have to 'work' when reading a TT. I agree that creating difficulty on a par with reading the ST in a foreign language with which the reader is unfamiliar is nonsensical, but we must also realize that the ST may require more than minimum processing effort, and therefore the TT should reproduce that effect. A TT that provides no challenge at all to the TT reader could be a misrepresentation of the ST and a disservice to its author.

A text with a title such as *Malintzin de las maquilas* is inconceivable in anything other than a Mexican language variety. Its 'delightful difference' should not be effaced through fluent translation. I am in total disagreement with advocates of fluent translation who would have a story written by Fuentes

read as though it were originally written in English, because it clearly was not, and the often quoted notion of producing the text he would have written had he been British (or American) seems wildly inappropriate and disrespectful. He is not British and he did not write in English; he is a Mexican author who wrote in Mexican Spanish. Fuentes has no difficulty writing in educated Standard English, as can be seen from his numerous publications in English, but if he chooses to write his fiction in Spanish, displaying features of non-standard Mexican varieties, then this should be respected by the translator. The same holds for any other author.

This does not mean that I advocate the production of TTs that are excessively difficult to read or can be described as gibberish, nor would I have the translator endeavour to represent innovation to the extent that the 'abuse' of the TT exceeds that of the ST. If the purposes of a translation are didactic, then the translator may produce a bilingual edition heavily laden with notes; in any other case the translator must proceed with caution and avoid excessive visibility. On the other hand, I do not wish to produce an English TT that obliterates everything that was foreign about the ST. This is not a simple task. Translation is, after all, 'A balancing act, always' (Levine, 1991: 82).

In outlining this overall foreignizing strategy it is important not only to highlight what my main aims are, but also to distance myself from those aspects of foreignizing approaches advocated by other theorists with which I disagree. While I am not ideologically opposed to Venuti's call to challenging hegemony where possible, I am doubtful of the translator's capacity to put this into practice through translation. My aim is not to transform the English language or Anglo-American culture with any degree of immediacy; nor do I intend to threaten the ideals, values, freedoms and way of life that hegemonic representatives "hold so dear": I aim to draw on the multiple forms available within varieties of the English language in order to produce TTs of Mexican STs that celebrate heterogeneity, respectful of their 'foreignness'.

I advocate a cautious foreignizing approach, in line with Humboldt's suggestion that 'a translation should indeed have a foreign flavour to it, but only to a certain degree' (1992[1816]: 58). Loss is inevitable in translation, but compensatory strategies can be employed to limit the loss of salient features, and an idea of generalized compensation such as Harvey's (1995) can prove to be useful. The translator must be creative, and this creativity begins with the search for inspiration: we need to wake up to the world of possibilities open to us beyond dictionaries, and look to other language varieties.

For the translation of contemporary Mexican texts it can prove fruitful to look to apparently equivalent varieties such as Chicano English, hence my proposal of the Spanglish continuum as a conceptual tool for the foreignizing translator. The continuum can be applied to specific problems of contact features but, of course, has its limitations. In the search for heterogeneous discourse, the creative translator may look to varieties broadly called 'Spanglish', or other mixed codes, such as *franglais*, for the solution of individual problems. Other options will always be possible: the key is to keep an open mind.

Age-old debates stemming from the *verbum-verbo/sensum-sensu* dichotomy remain unresolved after more than two thousand years. I believe that one of the aims of translation should be that neither is sacrificed. Even if one of the two will tend to predominate in a TT, a translator must always aim to reproduce both form and meaning. An overall foreignizing strategy aims to produce a TT that respects the ST in its entirety: message and form, content and style, word and sense, in such a way as to preserve and respect its 'deep, delightful difference'.

NOTES

1. Venuti provides thorough coverage of the Victorian controversy between Newman, whose foreignizing translations were criticized, and Arnold, who produced translations more in line with the domestic canon of fluency (1995: 118–147). This controversy is also recalled by Borges in his account of the translators of the *1001 Nights* (1935).
2. Rudolph Pannwitz published *Die Krisis de europaischen Kultur* in 1917 which was quoted by Walter Benjamin in his influential and much anthologized *The Task of the Translator*, the introduction to his translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens*. The translation of Benjamin's essay, and therefore of Pannwitz's comments, is Harry Zohn's (1968), in Venuti (ed) (2000).
3. The website of the Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indigenas states that:
   'El sentido real del término nahuatlaca (náhuatl y tlácatl) es "la gente superior, la gente que manda". [...] La palabra náhuatl puede derivarse de la tradición tolteca y referirse a una nación dominante [...] Los toltecas hablaban lengua náhuatl, la cual fue adoptada posteriormente por otros grupos. Durante la hegemonía mexica, el náhuatl fue la lengua oficial en Mesoamérica, por cuanto la aplicación a los aztecas del término nahuatlaca significaba la gente que manda'.

However, elsewhere on the same site we can read that 'El nombre del grupo náhuatl proviene del verbo nahuatli (hablar con claridad)', an explanation closer to Todorov's version.
http://cdi.gob.mx/conadepi/index.php?option=articles&task=viewarticle&artid=408&Itemid=3 Accessed September 3rd 2005 and April 25th 2006

4. Personal observation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Translation Problems in Sample Mexican Texts

> Translation is a site of tension and conflict, an activity swept along, in the dark and without a reliable compass, on the currents of culture, ideology and history. The theories we construct, our whistling in the dark, are intended to give some direction to the flow and some comfort to the navigator.
>
> Peter Fawcett, *Translation and Language*

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CHAPTER is to show how an overall foreignizing strategy can be applied. Samples of the work of other translators of contemporary Mexican texts are discussed, and alternative renderings are provided, as well as original translations of previously untranslated texts of different genres. In the quest for an overall strategy which will lead to more successful translations that respect the alterity of the ST, I propose strategies for the translator, such as the application of the Spanglish continuum. English-Spanish contact phenomena in a variety of styles are examined, together with other textual variables and properties, all of which require the translator to consider a series of possible strategies. Although the strategies are applied to the translation of Mexican STs, their applicability in other translation scenarios can be considered.

Among the many potential problems of translation are cultural referents, words or phrases which express concepts familiar to the source language and source culture reader, but are problematic in translation as they may be alien to the target reader's language and culture. At times, equivalent effects can be achieved by finding analogical concepts in the target language; at others loss seems inevitable. How can we make good, or at least minimize, this loss? While footnotes should be avoided and compensatory glossing kept to a minimum

unless the intentions are didactic, some explanations and borrowings can often prove necessary.

Malintzin of the Maquilas

La frontera de Cristal: una novela en nueve cuentos by Carlos Fuentes (1995) is a collection of stories whose title refers to the geopolitical border between Mexico and the United States, and the sociocultural reality in that region, but it also refers to the figurative border between two worldviews, their differences separated by an apparently invisible line. We can see literally across the border, and what we see seems familiar, but social inequalities and cultural differences can lead to problems of translation.

One of the short stories in the collection is 'Malintzin de las Maquilas'. The Malintzin of the title is Marina, who works in a *maquila*, a term rendered by Alfred Mac Adam in the 1997 English version as 'assembly plant'. The story opens with the line:

> A Marina la nombraron así por las ganas de ver el mar (1995: 153).

Perhaps so, but her name is clearly a reference to Doña Marina, otherwise known as *Malintzin*, or *la Malinche*. *La Malinche* played a much commented crucial role in the Spanish conquest of Mexico, and her case seems an appropriate place to start due to her role as interpreter, or translator, not only of languages but also of signs and worldviews.

Literature concerning the controversial figure of *La Malinche* is vast[1], but here our main concern is the reference to her in the title of the short story and how it bears on the understanding and translation of the text. *La Malinche* was a slave whose role as Hernán Cortés' mistress and interpreter served both her master and the imperial goals he aimed to achieve. In this story, Marina works in a *maquiladora*, often translated as 'sweatshop' in other contexts. She is not a slave in the true sense; although it could be argued that she is little better off as she works for a low wage, serving the neoimperialistic aims of the US economic intervention in Mexico. While not actually sleeping with the enemy, she is certainly on the payroll. In current Mexican Spanish usage, *malinchista* is a derogatory adjective used to describe a person or attitude which favours the foreign over the Mexican, be it in cultural or consumerist ways. This partly explains the link between Marina and *Malintzin*.

In 'Malintzin de las Maquilas', Marina is part of the army of exploited third-world manual workers who make consumer goods for first-world consumers. She lives in the Colonia Bellavista of Ciudad Juárez, a neighborhood that has become a household name in Mexico due to its connection with a number of the victims collectively known as *las muertas de Juárez*. This association is not referred to in the text, but will probably be at least subconsciously registered by most Mexican readers, and this same part of Ciudad Juárez is also associated with the *maquilas* as well as with illegal border crossing, and this does concern us here. One morning, on her way to work, Marina contemplates the barrios:

> Ya desde esta hora, las barrancas de Juárez parecían hormigueros. La actividad de los barrios más pobres empezaba temprano y se confundía con el enjambre que desde las casuchas y el declive se iba desparramando hasta la orilla del río angosto y allí intentaba cruzar al otro lado. Entonces ella volteaba la cara sin saber si lo que veía la molestaba, la avergonzaba, la hacía compadecerse o sentir ganas de imitar a los que se iban del otro lado (1995: 155).

There is a hint of *malinchismo* in this fragment, a feeling Marina tries to suppress.

The text presents a series of contrasts and comparisons, beginning with the title, 'Malintzin de las maquilas' where the symmetry of the alliteration and assonance suggests the duality of the signs to come. *Malintzin* is reminiscent of prehispanic Mexico, but takes us back to the Spanish conquest, a time of conflict and culture clash; the *maquilas* are a contemporary manifestation of US imperialism, in times of a different clash. The title suggests the ancient and the contemporary, the traditional and the modern, rich and poor, and laborers and consumers. The underlying theme of the exploitation of women from prehispanic times, through the Spanish Empire to the current situation (the vast majority of adult sweatshop workers are women), is also suggested.

In the 1997 translation, the title becomes 'Malintzin of the *Maquilas*'. Leaving aside for the time being the question of *Malintzin*, let us focus on *maquilas*. The use of the word *maquilas* in the title is the only use of *maquila* or *maquilas* in the English version. Fuentes uses *maquiladora* or *maquila(s)* 7 times in the text and Mac Adam opts for 'assembly plant' or 'plant(s)' and 'factory'. The title is invoked when Marina refers to herself as 'Marina de las Maquilas' (1995: 174) but this is lost in translation, severed from the title, at the textually equivalent point in the English version: 'Marina of the Assembly Plants' (1997: 132). In this context the title becomes meaningless. Does the English language

reader know that the '*Maquilas*' in the title are synonymous with 'assembly plants'? Furthermore, the coherent parallel formed by the title and the textual allusion in the ST is lost. Their first terms, Malintzin and Marina, are culturally linked equivalents, while their second terms are identical: *maquilas*. In the published TT the former pair consists of an obscure nahuatlism and a recognizable proper name, and the latter are separate, apparently unrelated terms, one of which is exotic. Clarity of meaning is lost together with the parallel.

This lack of clarity becomes a translation problem later in the text as wordplay depends on the use of the word *maquila*. Halfway through the story Marina and her friends, along with another 1000 or so *maquiladora* workers go on a 'girls' night out'. They go to a nightspot called 'Malibú'. Here we can see clearly the significance of the name, as the phonological similarity of Malibú and *maquila* is played on by the host:

> ¿Malibú? ¡Maquilú! –decía el anunciador vestido de smoking azul con camisa de olanes y corbata fosforescente, ante la ola de muchachas que llenaban el galerón alrededor de la pista, más de mil trabajadoras apretujadas aquí y la aguafiestas de la Dinorah diciendo que son las luces, las puras luces, sin las luces esto es un pinche corral para vacas, pero las luces lo hacen todo bonito y Marina se sintió como en la playa, nomás que una playa de noche, maravillosa, en la que las luces azules, naranja, color de rosa, la acariciaban como los rayos del sol, sobre todo la luz blanca, plateada, que era como si la luna la tocara y también la bronceaba, la volvía toditita de plata, no un envidiado *sun-tan* (¿cuándo iría a la playa?) sino un *moon-tan*. (1995: 177)

The translation aims to compensate the wordplay by the addition of *Maquilá*.

> "Malibú? Maquilú! Maquilá!" said the MC–in a blue tux with a ruffled shirt and fluorescent tie–to the wave of women filling the stands around the dance floor, over a thousand working women all crowded in together. It's the lights, just the lights, said Dinorah, the wet blanket. Without the lights this is a miserable corral, but the lights make it all nice and pretty. But Marina felt as if she were on a beach at night, where the beams of light–blue, orange, pink–caressed her, especially the white, silvery light, which was like the moon touching her and tanning her at the same time, turning all to silver, not a suntan for others to envy (when would she ever go to a beach?) but a moon tan. (1997: 136)

Unfortunately this attempt at compensation is not effective due to the fact that *maquila* is not used anywhere other than in the title and at this point, and nowhere is it explained.

Reiss points out that 'a single sound can constitute an important formal element' in expressive texts (2000: 32), and the sounds of the word *maquila* are clearly very important here. This would be the first argument for foreignizing, and introducing the Spanish loan *maquila*. There are also semantic reasons. Perhaps the translator of the published TT felt that *maquila* was too exotic, too foreign to be included in an English text, however, I disagree. A simple internet search for the word *maquila* leads us to various English language sites, such as the Maquila Solidarity Network (www.maquilasolidarity.org) and the Maquila Portal (www.maquilaportal.com), the website of 'Mexico's Maquiladora Industry Information Center', (the latter, admittedly, a Mexican site that appears to have been translated into English from Spanish). The Maquila Solidarity Network defines *maquila* thus:

> Maquila is the short form of the word maquiladora. It was originally associated with the process of milling. In Mexico it became the word for another kind of processing– the assembly of imported component parts for re-export.[2]

Throughout the website, the word *maquila* is used in English, often as a synonym of sweatshop, with reference to 'assembly plants' and 'sweatshops' in Mexico and Central America as well as in Africa and Asia. This connotative meaning sets the loan *maquila* apart from 'assembly plant' or 'factory', neither of which covers the semantic field expressed by *maquiladora* or *maquila*. 'Sweatshop', defined by the Gran Diccionario Oxford (1998) as *fábrica donde se explota a los trabajadores*, would be a much closer semantic rendering than 'assembly plant' or 'factory'; however, whereas 'sweatshop' can perhaps convey the associative meanings implicit in the text, it cannot be used in this particular context to recreate wordplay, and such a choice would lead the translator to neglect salient formal properties of the text.

This loss in the TT can be reversed by the introduction of the term *maquiladora* or *maquila*, or both, at an early stage in the text. The use of such a word could be perceived as exotic, but as I have already pointed out, English translations are not sought in academic and journalistic writing for much US-Mexico terminology, and a loan such as *maquiladora* falls into this category. This use in other written texts justifies its introduction into an English language translation: it may be a foreignizing strategy to use a loan in a literary context, but *maquila* is in current usage in other written contexts and therefore its use cannot be criticized as overly exotic. The use of 'assembly plant' domesticates the *maquila*, reducing a non-unionized exploitative institution

into a mere factory. It is not the same sociocultural reality. This is comparable to translating *taco* as 'sandwich'.

Four references are made to Marina's workplace before Fuentes introduces the term *maquila*. *Fábrica* is used three times, and the neutral *trabajo* once. Three mentions of a factory are sufficient for us to understand the nature of her workplace, and shortly after the introduction of *maquiladora* (1995: 158) we are given the following explanation:

> tan limpia y moderna la fábrica, el parque industrial como decían los managers, las maquiladoras que le permitían a los gringos ensamblar textiles, juguetes, motores, muebles, computadoras y televisores con partes fabricadas en los EEUU, ensambladas en México con trabajo diez veces menos caro que allá, y devueltas al mercado norteamericano del otro lado de la frontera con el solo pago de un impuesto al valor añadido (1995: 159).

We are later treated to a more detailed account of Marina's activities:

> Las burlas de las muchachas sonaban en sus oídos mientras trenzaba los alambres negros, azules, amarillos, rojos, toda una bandera interior que proclamaba la nacionalidad de cada televisor, *assembled in Mexico*, qué orgullo, ¿cuándo le pondrían fabricado por Marina, Marina Alva Martínez, Marina de las Maquilas? (1995: 174)

In Mac Adam's translation these excerpts become:

> a factory so clean and modern, what the managers called an industrial park.
>
> It was one of the plants that allowed the gringos to assemble toys, textiles, motors, furniture, computers, and television sets from parts made in the United States, put together in Mexico at a tenth of the labor cost, and sent back across the border to the U.S. market with a value-added tax (1997: 120),

and:

> The jokes the girls made echoed in her ears as she braided the black, blue, yellow, and red wires, an interior flag that announced the nationality of each television set. Made in Mexico—there's something to be proud of. When would they put a label on the sets that said "Made by Marina, Marina Alva Martínez, Marina of the Assembly Plants? (1997: 132).

Thus, it is made quite clear what kind of factory or assembly plant Marina's workplace is.

If we wish to introduce the term *maquiladora* in the TT, it can be done at this point, parallel to where it is presented in the ST. Fuentes has already opened the door for us with:

> la fábrica, el parque industrial como decían los managers, las maquiladoras... (1995: 159)

We are dealing with a factory, what the managers call an industrial park, and we are informed implicitly that to everyone else it is a *maquiladora*. Therefore, an alternative translation could make the implicit explicit, and introduce *maquiladora* or its shorter form *maquila* at this point thus:

> such a clean and modern factory, the industrial park, the managers called it, or the *maquila* as everyone else calls it, the maquilas that allow the gringos to assemble textiles...

It is interesting to note the translator's use of the Mexican Spanish loanword 'gringo' (1997: 120). Clearly a much more integrated loan than *maquila*, 'gringo' is an example of a borrowing that has gradually gained greater currency in spoken and written contexts after being introduced into American English by Spanish speakers, probably towards the end of the nineteenth century. If we recall the inherent borrowing and Anglicizing nature of English (Strevens, 1992: 31) and the role that translators have played in language expansion, borrowing *maquila* in the same sentence as 'gringos' barely seems to warrant justification. However, any borrowing should be explained and in this particular case it can be perceived as part an interlingual strategy which reflects the bi- or interlingual or Spanglish nature of the ST, as illustrated by the telling switch '*assembled in Mexico*, qué orgullo'(1995: 174).

Using *maquila* enables us to retain not only the meaning of the original word, but also other formal properties of the text. For example, the prosodic, metrical and alliterative symmetry of 'Marina Alva Martínez, Marina de las Maquilas' is retained in 'Marina Alva Martínez, Marina of the Maquilas', as well as maintaining the allusion to the title of the story. Similarly, there is no loss with 'Malibú, Maquilú'. It all works if we simply borrow *maquila*.

Perhaps some kind of clarification is necessary with regard to *Malintzin*. While I would certainly avoid translator's notes in the main body of the text, a footnote to the title as a preventative measure, before the story starts, might well be advisable. A suggestion of the synonymy of Malintzin and Marina would be sufficient to convey the very subtly disguised eponymous nature of

the title, for example: '*Malinztin*, also known as *La Malinche*, was a Mexican noble given as a peace offering to Hernán Cortés who called her Doña Marina. Her role as interpreter was crucial in the Spanish conquest of Mexico.'

Application of the Spanglish continuum

The Spanglish continuum can be applied to the translation of the ST as it makes use of various English-Spanish combinations which should be reflected in the TT. Several of the Mexican characters in the novel make use of lexical borrowing, for example, Rosa Lupe:

> Ella se sonó la nariz y dijo que era una manda que sólo tenía chiste en la escarcha, no en el *summer* (1995: 158).

The TT under analysis provides compensation in place:

> She blew her nose and said it was a vow that only made sense in the frost, not in the summer–she used the English word (1997: 119).

While this compensation solves a particular problem, compensation in place is not always possible. The translation of the following fragment is a case in point:

> pero tú de vez en cuando deja caer tres palabritas, Candelaria de mi vida, *three little words* como dice el fox... (1995: 161)

The TT reads as follows:

> Say so much as three little words, my dear Candelaria, "three little words", as the old song goes... (1997: 121),

which is a successful rendering, although some loss occurs. Similarly, a phrase such as 'Yo soy *kidnapeable*' (1995: 179) translated as 'I'm kidnappable' (1997: 136) entails translation loss as does the Ø translation of *sun-tan* and *moon-tan* (1995: 177; 1997: 135). The difficulty of compensation in place here leads us to the consideration of compensation in kind as a generalized compensation strategy consistent with an overall foreignizing approach.

Compensation in kind can be achieved through the application of the Spanglish continuum. If the ST makes use of an English loan, the TT can

make use of a Spanish loan, thus compensating in kind, not necessarily at the equivalent point of the text. An example can be found in the 1997 TT where *famullo* is borrowed. Where the ST reads:

> –Ésta es Rosa Lupe. No la reconoces cuando se le mete lo santo. Te juro que normalmente es muy diferente. ¿Por qué hiciste manda?
> –Por mi famullo.
> Les contó que ella llevaba cuatro años en la maquila y su marido–su famullo–seguía sin dar golpe. El pretexto eran los niños, ¿quién los iba a cuidar? –Rosa Lupe miró sin mala intención a Dinorah–. El famullo se quedaba en casa cuidando a los niños pues por lo visto hasta que crecieran.
> –¿Lo mantienes? –dijo Dinorah para vengarse de la alusión de Rosa Lupe.
> –Pregunta en la fábrica. La mitad de las que chambeamos allí mantenemos el hogar. Somos lo que se llama jefecitas de familia. Pero yo tengo famullo. Por lo menos no soy madre soltera (1995: 158–159).

the TT has:

> "This is Rosa Lupe. You can't recognize her when she's in a saintly mood. But believe me, she's normally very different. Why'd you get involved with this vow business?"
> "Because of my *famullo*."
> She told them she'd been working in the plants for four years but her husband–her *famullo*–still hadn't found work. The children were the reason: who would take care of them? Rosa Lupe looked at Dinorah, although not with obvious malice. The famullo stayed at home with the kids, at least until they were grown.
> "You support him?" asked Dinorah, to get back at Rosa Lupe for her remark.
> "Just ask around the factory. Half the women working there are the breadwinners in their families. We're what they call heads of households. But I have a *famullo*. At least I'm not a single mother." (1997: 119)

This wholesale importation of the Spanish *famullo* in some measure serves to compensate the loss entailed in the difficulty of transposing English words in the ST. At the same time, the use of this particular loan here makes it even more curious to note that *maquila* was not borrowed, especially when its omission leads to such significant translation loss.

Here we can see the practical application of the Spanglish continuum; Spanish borrowings in the TT compensate for English borrowings in ST, the use of which constitutes a salient feature of the ST which cannot be ignored in translation. The use of English words in the ST serves the function of emphasizing the inherent contrasts. The 'advertencia doble: no pise el

pasto/*keep off the grass*' reminds us of the importance of both languages in the ST and this must be reflected in the TT.

One of the functions of the bilingual, Spanglish nature of the language in the ST is to illustrate the duality of the power relations; the workers are Mexican and the administrative staff are *gringos*. It is a question of 'us and them': two languages, two kinds of work. This might explain Mac Adam's strategic decisions to make use of Black English at points; perhaps it is a compensatory strategy that makes use of the speech of what the translator perceives as a similarly oppressed or disadvantaged social group. For instance, Marina makes reference to the lack of child-care facilities in the area, and Dinorah responds:

> –Aquí nada alcanza para nada, chavalona (1995: 156),

which is translated thus:

> "Around here, sister, there's not enough of anything for anything" (1997: 117),

where the use of 'sister' suggests AAVE. Marina's lover, Rolando, is referred to as 'el bato más chingón' (1995: 174). This is rendered as 'the main man' (1997: 132), which is also reminiscent of AAVE. While these are plausible equivalents, I would question the decision to select Black speech for rendering colloquial Mexican Spanish as I consider that there are other options.

Mac Adam had already rendered colloquial Mexican Spanish into Black speech in the translation of another Carlos Fuentes novel. His first experience with Fuentes, which was to edit a chapter of *Cristóbal Nonato* that the author had translated into English himself, was not successful:

> To say he didn't like what I had done would be like calling the French Revolution a domestic squabble between Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette (Mac Adam, 1991: 337).

Three years later, however, Fuentes invited Mac Adam to work with him on the translation of the same novel, which was published as *Christopher Unborn* in 1989.[3] Among the problems they faced was the replication of popular speech. Mac Adam's solution was to produce various AAVE-inspired paragraphs. Two years later he asked: 'Why did I drift insensibly into a semi-black form of speech?' (1991: 341), when 'Carlos often demurred at passages like this' (*ibid.*). He finds no answer to his own question, and is forced to conclude that: 'Some of our decisions made none of us happy, but we had few options' (*ibid.*). An

option that perhaps went unconsidered by both author and translator is what I believe to be a much more obviously equivalent speech form, that of the Chicano community. In the context of colloquialisms, there is often little difference between Mexican and Chicano Spanish and the application of the Spanglish continuum here would lead us logically to Chicano English in search of colloquial equivalents.

While *chavalona* is not exclusive to Mexican Spanish it is quite clear in the context that we are dealing with Mexican speech produced on the Mexican side of the border. I consider that this is sufficient to justify the adoption of linguistic forms used by Mexicans and Chicanos in the US. If we look to Sandra Cisneros, for example, we can find the use of *mija* in similar contexts, and elsewhere, *amiga*. Perhaps it is not even necessary to use a lexical switch. Gómez Zalce's column (quoted in Chapter Three) makes use of the switch 'my friend' in Spanish contexts and this in itself is arguably a calque on the use of *amigo* or *amiga* used in certain registers both in Mexican and Chicano Spanish. If we used 'my friend' here, it would suggest Spanglish while at the same time being clear in English. However, this would suggest male social bonding in period dramas to some English readers, and the Spanglish nuance is so subtle that it is practically imperceptible. *Amiga* is probably contextually more appropriate.

Bato, a word associated with *cholos*, comes from the vocabulary of the Pachucos but is also current in Chicano English among Chicano youth. This currency could justify its use in a foreignizing TT; nonetheless, it would probably be criticized, and not unreasonably, as an excessively obscure exoticism. Although the use of such an overt exoticism could be seen to compensate other unavoidable losses, its opacity potentially leads to increased loss. Combined with *chingón*, the translation of *bato* becomes more problematic. The translation of taboo words into neutral language inevitably entails loss. *El bato más chingón* is 'the main man', 'the coolest dude', 'the big guy', 'top cat', 'top banana', etc., but none of these options cover the taboo of *chingón*, nor do they adequately convey the Pachuco *bato*. Before resigning ourselves to this loss, various options can be considered. If there are already Spanish borrowings in the TT perhaps we should continue with the Spanglish theme and consider both wholesale exotic borrowing, and other Chicano options.

A wholesale exotic borrowing understandable to those familiar with colloquial Mexican Spanish would be *el más cabrón*, which covers the same

semantic field as *el bato más chingón* and preserves the taboo. However, those familiar with colloquial Mexican Spanish will probably have no need for a TT, and like the ST itself, such a wholesale exotic borrowing would be incomprehensible to the majority of TT readers. Such a solution would mean that all was lost in translation and nothing gained. If Chicano options result in an excessively obscure rendering, then we could return to the AAVE options, as suggested in the 1997 version. The overlapping in usage between AAVE and HE, especially Chicano and PR English, has been frequently noted in the literature (*cf* Zentella), so US Black speech is a good second choice if the Spanglish continuum fails to solve a particular problem of this nature. The English version 'the main man' suggests AAVE, although there has been some crossover in its use and its currency has extended into the mainstream of colloquial American usage. The Spanglish continuum is not a panacea, and while it prioritizes a certain kind of solution, in some cases other strategies, such as borrowing from other sociolects, will be more appropriate. This is probably one such case.

There are other foreignizing Spanglishisms in the TT besides the aforementioned use of 'gringos' and the borrowing of *famullo*. One is the translation of *bisnes* (1995: 174). Rolando, Marina's lover is always active:

> siempre con su celular pegado a la oreja, arreglando bisnes, conectando, negociando, conquistando al mundo, Rolando, con su corbata marca Hermés y su traje de color jet, arreglando al mundo, ¿cómo iba a darle más de una noche a la semana a Marina, la recién llegada, la más simple, la más humilde?, él, un hombre tan solicitado, ¿el bato más chingón? (1995: 174)

The English version is as follows:

> And his cellular phone stuck to his ear, taking care of *biznez*, connecting, making deals, conquering the world. Rolando, with his Hermés tie and his jet-plane-colored suit, arranging the world, how could he afford to give more than one night a week to Marina, the new arrival, the simplest, the humblest? He, someone so lusted after, the main man? (1997: 132)

Here we can see that *bisnes*, a slang, Spanglish adapted borrowing from the Chicano community in the US, growing in use in mainstream Mexican society, is merely modified orthographically. This retains the Spanglishness; the spelling change serves to reinforce the Chicano or HE pronunciation: it is not 'business' but 'biznez'.

This fragment brings another issue to the forefront, that of Rolando's name. His activities are conveyed by the gerund, thus rhyming with his name: *arreglando bisnes, conectando, negociando, conquistando al mundo, Rolando....* Retaining the name 'Rolando' leads to translation loss–there can be no rhyme unless Spanish verb endings are applied to English verbs, which clearly would lead to overcompensation and translationese. We could consider a simpler answer, changing Rolando's name to one which rhymes with the English gerund -ing, or perhaps -in' would be more in keeping with the register. One Spanish name that could be considered is Agustín:

> his cell always stuck to his ear, doin' *biznez*, connectin', dealin', conquerin' the world, how could he give Agustín, with his Hermés tie and jet-colored suit, fixin' the world, the newcomer, the most ordinary, the most humble Marina more than one night a week?, him, so in demand, the main man?

This partial rhyme solution might work well in rap, but is not a convincing solution for a written TT, and name changes for arbitrary reasons should be avoided. Fuentes may have chosen the name Rolando in order to rhyme it with the gerund but it is unlikely and moreover, impossible to prove. If we wish to preserve the phonological repetition of the ST, or at least compensate for this, we could look for other possibilities that allow for an equivalent effect in the TT. The inclusion of an additional gerund phonologically similar to *Rolando* can be considered, for example 'rolling':

> with his cell always stuck to his ear, doing *biznez*, connecting, dealing, conquering the world, Rolando, rolling, with his Hermés tie and his jet-colored suit, fixing the world, how could he give the newcomer, the most ordinary, the most humble Marina more than one night a week?, him, so in demand, the main man?

This inclusion does not introduce new ideas; it reinforces the idea of Rolando's movements and, although to a lesser degree, it allows for phonological repetition, as well as being incidentally a bilingual pun.

Marina is twice referred to as *la más* + adjective in an inferior sense, and the use of the superlative 'más chingón' to describe Rolando puts him on a pedestal for her. *Más* is used three times in the ST and while the suffix *-est* is used to describe Marina's supposed inferiority in the published TT, we could provide a foreignized translation as far as the syntax is concerned, by using a structure that is common to both SL and TL, and create an effect closer to that of the ST. Taking advantage of the bisyllabic nature of 'simple' and 'humble'

we can use 'the most' instead of the suffix -est, thus resulting in a similar, more emphatic syntactic structure.

There are other points in this short story where a literalness of syntax as part of an overall foreignizing approach can be applied in order to achieve effects in the TT that are similar to those produced in the ST. In the previous chapter the '¿Malibú? ¡Maquilú!' passage was presented in order to demonstrate how Fuentes abuses the norms of Spanish, not only by the use of innovative contact neologisms, but by his syntax. For the sake of clarity, I will include it once again:

> ¿Malibú? ¡Maquilú! –decía el anunciador vestido de smoking azul con camisa de olanes y corbata fosforescente, ante la ola de muchachas que llenaban el galerón alrededor de la pista, más de mil trabajadoras apretujadas aquí y la aguafiestas de la Dinorah diciendo que son las luces, las puras luces, sin las luces esto es un pinche corral para vacas, pero las luces lo hacen todo bonito y Marina se sintió como en la playa, nomás que una playa de noche, maravillosa, en la que las luces azules, naranja, color de rosa, la acariciaban como los rayos del sol, sobre todo la luz blanca, plateada, que era como si la luna la tocara y también la bronceaba, la volvía toditita de plata, no un envidiado *sun-tan* (¿cuándo iría a la playa?) sino un *moon-tan* (1995: 177).

Where this long sentence divided only by commas gives voice to the thoughts of two characters as well as to the narrator, the published translation, I argued, domesticated the syntax by producing a TT closer to the norms of Standard English, adding 3 full stops and 2 parentheses:

> "Malibú? Maquilú! Maquilá!" said the MC –in a blue tux with a ruffled shirt and fluorescent tie– to the wave of women filling the stands around the dance floor, over a thousand working women all crowded in together. It's the lights, just the lights, said Dinorah, the wet blanket. Without the lights this is a miserable corral, but the lights make it all nice and pretty. But Marina felt as if she were on a beach at night, where the beams of light–blue, orange, pink–caressed her, especially the white, silvery light, which was like the moon touching her and tanning her at the same time, turning all to silver, not a suntan for others to envy (when would she ever go to a beach?) but a moon tan (1997: 136).

If Fuentes has chosen to abuse the standard syntactic norms of Spanish in order to create a particular dramatic and dynamic effect, then the translator must also be accordingly and appropriately abusive, and this can be achieved by carrying out a more literal translation. If we keep as close as possible to the syntax of the ST by maintaining most of the original punctuation, we are able

to produce a similar 'babble' of voices and subordinate clauses, and therefore a similar style:

> "Malibu? Maquilu!" said the MC, dressed in a blue tuxedo with a ruffled shirt and fluorescent tie, faced with the wave of girls that filled the gallery around the dance floor, more than a thousand workers crammed in and Dinorah, the party pooper, saying that it's the lights, just the lights, without the lights this is just a frigging cattle market, but the lights make everything look lovely and Marina felt like she was on the beach, just that it was a wonderful beach at night, where the blue, orange and pink lights caressed her like sunshine, especially the white, silvery light, that was like the moon was touching her and tanning her, turning her all silvery, not an enviable sun-tan (when would she ever go to the beach?) but a *moon-tan*.

This TT remains close to the original syntax: there are 16 commas both in the ST and in the TT, 13 of which are in the same textual location, the literalness leading to a resulting overall effect of stylistic similarity. Thus, we can see that literalness can be a part of a foreignizing translation that can help us to retain stylistic features of the ST, without necessarily leading to opacity.

An analysis of the translation of these texts shows that a hybrid lexical strategy and a close, literal rendering of syntax as part of an overall foreignizing strategy can be applied to Mexican narrative. Carlos Fuentes is part of the canon of Mexican narrative. However, the strategies that make up an overall foreignizing approach should also be applicable to other kinds of texts. Let us now take a look at a sample from a different genre, a popular song that uses language far from canonic.

From Spanglish to Spanglish

Molotov is a popular group both in Mexico and the US. Their discography includes songs with lyrics written and performed in Spanish, English, and Spanglish. Their popular appeal is due not only to their catchy, danceable music, but also to their lyrics which allude to social themes while creatively combining Spanish and English. Molotov's success in the US has not yet led them to produce parallel versions of their tracks, one in Spanish, the other in English. However, I would not rule out such a possibility, and the recording of a performance of such a parallel version would require the appropriate accompanying printed material on the compact disc, as well as virtual publication on the Molotov website. The bilingual nature of their lyrics would

call for a creative translation strategy, almost inevitably foreignizing. Let us see how this can be done.

One of Molotov's greatest successes to date is 'Frijolero', from the 2002 album, *Dance and dense denso*. As the song includes verses in Spanish and English and a dialogical chorus entailing code-switching, the first strategic decision regards the extent of the switching of switches, that is, what will actually get translated from SL to TL. The first section is in Spanish:

Yo ya estoy hasta la madre de que me pongan sombrero
Escucha entonces cuando yo digo no me llames frijolero
Y aunque exista algún respeto y no metamos las narices
Nunca inflamos la moneda haciendo guerra a otros países

Te pagamos con petróleo e intereses nuestra deuda
Mientras tanto no sabemos quien se queda con la feria
Aunque nos hagan la fama de que somos vendedores
De la droga que sembramos ustedes son consumidores

and thus can be translated into English. However, the chorus begins in English:

Don't call me gringo, you fuckin' beaner
Stay on your side of that goddam river
Don't call me gringo, you beaner,

and continues in Spanish with two lexical switches, 'beaner' and 'Mr.':

No me digas beaner, Mr. Puñetero
Te sacaré un susto por racista y culero
No me llames frijolero, pinche gringo puñetero
(*chingao*)

The language order for the following verses is English–Spanish–English. So, we have a song which switches several times from Spanish to English and back again, at times upon the completion of a verse, intersententially; at others the switch is intrasentential or lexical. These switches should be reflected in the translation, while translating as much of the Spanish as possible.

It would be illogical for a translation into English to translate the English verses into Spanish, but compensation is clearly called for. This can be achieved by retaining the bilingual dialogue of the chorus, and by the inclusion of representative lexical switches, such as the title, *frijolero*, and the

lexical switches or loans *sombrero*, *gringo* and *rancheros*. I propose the following version for the first section:

Yo ya estoy hasta la madre de que me pongan sombrero
Escucha entonces cuando yo digo no me llames frijolero
Y aunque exista algún respeto y no metamos las narices
Nunca inflamos la moneda haciendo guerra a otros países

I've really fuckin' had it with them giving me a sombrero
So listen up then when I tell you don't call me frijolero
And though there's some respect and we keep out of your faces
We never boost our money by invading other places

Te pagamos con petróleo e intereses nuestra deuda
Mientras tanto no sabemos quien se queda con la feria
Aunque nos hagan la fama de que somos vendedores
De la droga que sembramos ustedes son consumidores

We pay off our debts to you with interest and with oil
In the meantime we don't know who gets to pocket all the spoils
When you want to point at dealers it's so easy to accuse us
And while we might be growers it's you who are the users

The chorus remains the same:

Don't call me gringo, you fuckin' beaner
Stay on your side of that goddam river
Don't call me gringo, you beaner

No me digas beaner, Mr. Puñetero
Te sacaré un susto por racista y culero
No me llames frijolero, pinche gringo puñetero
(chingao)

as does the next rapped section:

Now I wish I had a dime for every single time
I've gotten stared down for being in the wrong side of town
And a rich man I'd be if I had that kind of chips
Lately I wanna smack the mouths of these racists

Then as the song switches back to Spanish, still in rap, we can translate once more:

Podrás imaginarte desde afuera,
Ser un Mexicano cruzando la frontera.
Pensando en tu familia mientras que pasas,
Dejando todo lo que tú conoces atrás.

Imagine that you're not already here,
You're a Mexican crossing the frontier.
As you cross your family is on your mind,
You're leaving everything you knew behind.

Si tuvieras tú que esquivar las balas?
De unos cuantos gringos rancheros?
Les seguirás diciendo good for nothing wetback?
Si tuvieras tú que empezar de cero?

What if you had to dodge the bullets
Fired by a few gringo rancheros?
Would you still say good for nothing wetback
If you had to start from scratch?

In this verse the near rhyme *rancheros/cero* is compensated by the near rhyme wetback/scratch. The fact that this verse is rapped allows for greater flexibility in terms of number of syllables and stress patterns; there is no fixed syllable-to-note scoring. The final part of the lyrics needs no translation as it is written in English and ends appropriately with a very simple lexical switch:

Now why don't you look down to
Where your feet is planted
That U.S. soil that makes you take shit for granted
If not for Santa Ana, just to let you know
That where your feet are planted would be Mexico
Correcto!

The switches in the TT compensate to a small degree performance details that cannot be put down on paper. Most of the Spanish language verses are sung with a *gringo* accent which emphasizes the Spanglishness of the song. All that the translator can hope to do in a written context is give foreign color to the TT through the use of lexical borrowing and exoticisms in the form of Spanglish.

Intellectual Journalism

We have discussed samples from canonic and counter-canonic texts; now let us move in another direction and look at journalism. My sample texts here are taken from the work of the highly respected author Elena Poniatowska who, as well as writing fiction, regularly produces critical texts of a more social nature, many of which are published in daily newspapers. Poniatowska's literary work has been translated into a number of languages and a foreseeable anthology of her non-literary production, especially of her award-winning journalistic writing, would surely also be translated. In November 2002 the Mexican newspaper *La Jornada* published her three-part article under the title 'Ciudad Juárez: matadero de mujeres' concerning *las muertas de Juárez*, which is now part of the fast-increasing corpus of texts concerning the murders. The translation of 'Ciudad Juárez: matadero de mujeres' therefore, would have as its target readers both those interested in Poniatowska's writing in particular, and in current social issues in Mexico in general, perhaps with a special focus on gender.

In the first instalment (November 26th, 2002) she describes the border:

En la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos pocas heridas cicatrizan, al contrario, la mayoría se infecta y pudre el organismo. Allí, en zonas de contagio, bullen a la más alta temperatura el poder político, el narcotráfico, la violencia, la codicia. Se trata de una franja gangrenada. En ella se estancan rencorosos, desempleados frustrados, los aprendices de todo y oficiales de nada (México es un país de desempleados y, por lo tanto, de hambrientos). Juárez es una ciudad tomada por la chatarra, un inmenso cementerio de automóviles. Allí, entre la herrumbre de las salpicaderas, las cajuelas y las portezuelas, tratan de respirar los habitantes. Además del osario del que nos habla Sergio González Rodríguez, se acumula el de ese soberano imbécil que es el automóvil. Ahogados por hierros retorcidos y llantas ponchadas, los extraterrestres (o casi) que viven en esta franja de tierra cumplen con el precepto: "polvo eres y en polvo te convertirás". Un polvo gris, mortuorio, todo lo ensucia, los escasos árboles se cubren de polvo, los cadáveres de 300 muchachas se desintegran enterrados en el polvo, el espíritu de 500 desaparecidas se va perdiendo como ánima en pena convertido en polvo.

The border as *zona de contagio* is reminiscent of *zonas de contacto* or 'contact zones', defined by Pratt as:

social spheres where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination (1992: 4).

Poniatowska's reference to the border is physical as well as social, but this is not incompatible with Pratt's postcolonial suggested use of the term 'contact zone', which she describes as:

> an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographical and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect. By using the term "contact", I aim to foreground the interactive, improvisational dimensions... (1992: 7).

Anzaldúa's (1999) metaphor of the border as *herida abierta* is also invoked and developed by Poniatowska. The border is thus not only a contact zone in linguistic and postcolonial terms, but it is also a wound, and here it is a gangrenous one, and contagious at that.

There is little or no applicability of the Spanglish continuum in Poniatowska's first piece, but if we move on to the second instalment, we may find possibilities for its application:

> Las ciudades fronterizas de Tijuana y Ciudad Juárez, por ejemplo, están catalogadas como ciudades problema: alcoholismo, narcotráfico, prostitución. Juárez sería la segunda ciudad en la lista, pero debido a los asesinatos, alcanzó un espantoso primer lugar. Según Adriana Gandía, esa frontera iba a ser un ejemplo de desarrollo, habría trabajo para todos en las maquiladoras, aunque la mano de obra fuera barata, allá los mexicanos podrían tener una mejor vida. La situación en el campo era de enorme miseria y la rápida industrialización en Ciudad Juárez atrajo a mucha gente que decidió venir a trabajar en las maquilas por una paga mínima, pero segura, al menos. Juárez brindaba un mejor nivel de vida y quién quite y con suerte hasta podrían pasarse al otro lado. En los años 90, Juárez conoció un auge laboral y económico que la equiparó con la antesala del *American way of life*. Llegaron muchos mexicanos a esta ciudad fea (hoy todavía más fea gracias a los automóviles) y entre ellos llegó para quedarse, también en automóvil, el narcotráfico. (2002, II)

Here we see a switch, the wholesale borrowing of 'American way of life', a borrowing that should be compensated in some form or other. Leaving *maquiladora* in Spanish goes some small way towards compensating the switch involved in 'American way of life' and its use here would be justified on the grounds that the text belongs in the category of literature regarding US-Mexico issues. Nonetheless, it would be prudent to introduce it by means of 'double representation', that is, presenting both SL and TL terms in the translation 'so that one acts as a gloss of the other' (Chesterman & Wagner, 2002: 60) or by means of a more explicit definition. The 'double

representation', a concept similar to Poplack's term 'repetition-translation', or definition would have to occur at the site of the first mention of *maquiladoras* in the second paragraph of the November 26th text, where Poniatowska writes of victims who:

> por lo general sostenían a su familia al trabajar en maquiladoras, farmacias o tiendas de autoservicio (2002, I).

This fragment can be rendered thus:

> [who] on the whole supported their families by working in assembly plants, known as *maquiladoras* or *maquilas*, pharmacies, and supermarkets.

From thereon, *maquiladoras* and *maquilas* can stand alone.

On the basis of the following TT, doubt remains, however, as to whether the borrowing of *maquiladora* is sufficient compensation:

> The border cities of Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez, for example, are classed as problem cities: alcoholism, drug trafficking, and prostitution. Juárez would be the second city on the list, but it has climbed to a dreadful first place due to the murders. According to Adriana Gandía, this border was going to be the model of development: there would be work for all in the maquiladoras, and although labor would be cheap, Mexicans would be able to have a better life there. The situation in rural Mexico was one of extreme poverty and the rapid industrialization in Ciudad Juárez attracted a lot of people who decided to come to work in the maquilas for pay that was low but guaranteed, at least. Juárez offered a higher standard of living and, with a little luck, perhaps even the possibility of crossing over to the other side. In the 1990s, Juárez saw an upsurge in employment and an economic boom that made it virtually the threshold to the American way of life. Many Mexicans arrived at this ugly city (now even uglier thanks to all the cars) and among them, also arriving by car, drug trafficking came to stay.

The problem is that the use of 'American way of life' is not a standard case of code-switching in that it is not merely a switch between languages but rather a cultural or philosophical one which would equally be felt if the phrase were used in an English text. The 'American way of life' is a loaded term whatever the language of the text into which it is inserted, whether ST or TT. If we are not dealing with straightforward English-Spanish contact phenomena, then the results that can be expected from the Spanglish continuum will be questionable. Another kind of compensatory strategy is in order, perhaps extra

glossing, or quite simply typographical compensation, such as the use of capital letters and inverted commas: 'the American Way of Life'.

The third instalment also presents lexical borrowings, such as 'night-clubs' and 'kleenex', which hold currency in contemporary Mexican Spanish; not just in colloquial speech, but in the serious journalistic prose of a writer of the magnitude of Poniatowska:

> Es cierto, Ciudad Juárez tiene una vida nocturna (sórdida en muchos casos, y alimentada por cuarteles de soldados estadunidenses que vienen en busca de una buena parranda), hay tráfico de droga, *night-clubs*, bares, cantinas, prostíbulos, antros de perdición, hoteles de paso, etcétera.
>
> [...]
>
> "Las mujeres no valen nada, puede matarlas cualquiera", concluyen las autoridades, como corrobora el libro *Huesos en el desierto*. Como un *kleenex*, un vaso de plástico de usar y tirar, un plato desechable, la vida de 300 muchachas se ha ido por el caño. Estas jovencitas no eran basura: estudiaban, tenían esperanza, amigos, novio; una de ellas enseñaba catecismo, otra a reconocer las letras a parvulitos, y ahora que han muerto no se da ningún valor a lo que fueron cuando tenían vida. Al contrario, las autoridades parecen decir: "Se lo buscaron" (2002, III).

The first fragment contains overlapping concepts as far as the translation is concerned, such as *bares* and *cantinas*. In British English 'bars' and 'pubs' are used, but it would be almost impossible to argue that 'pub' is equivalent to *cantina* due to differences in connotative meanings. Collins gives the options 'bar' and 'saloon' for *cantina*, the latter of which has a particular associative meaning, with overtones of swinging doors and cowboys in the Wild West. Webster, more interestingly, provides 'cantina' as a Spanish loanword, used mainly in the Southwest. The use of 'cantina' in the TT can compensate the borrowing of 'night-club' in the ST:

> It is true that Ciudad Juárez has a night-life (often sordid and fuelled by barracks of American soldiers who come in search of a good time), there is drug-trafficking, and there are night-clubs, bars, cantinas...

There is also a certain degree of semantic overlap involved in *prostíbulos*, *antros de perdición*, and *hoteles de paso*, the last being a concept roughly equivalent to hotels where one pays by the hour, often referred to colloquially in Britain as 'sleazy hotels', and known in the US as 'hourly-rate motels'.

Whereas motels are perhaps the US cultural equivalent of *hoteles de paso* in many cases, with a similar attitudinal meaning, a motel is a roadside hotel at which one generally arrives by car. This makes 'hourly-rate motels' an inappropriate choice here as it is a hyponym of *hoteles de paso*. I suggest the adoption of the practical adjectival term 'hourly-rate' to convey the purpose of the establishment, i.e., one does not spend the night there, in an attempt to get across the notion of sleaze clearly implied in the ST.

It hardly seems necessary to include *antros de perdición* in a context where bars, cantinas, and hourly-rate establishments are listed unless it is to further emphasize the sordid, seedy nature of the environment. According to María Moliner *antro de perdición* is defined as a place, for example a betting house, 'en que la gente se entrega al vicio'. Moliner does not specify the kind of *vicio* and *perdición* entails more than the loss of just money. While Poniatowska could well be referring specifically to illicit gambling houses, it is worth pointing out that in current Mexican usage, *antro* has replaced *discoteca* among younger speakers in the same way that 'club' replaced 'disco' in the UK, and *antro de perdición* would be used in a similar fashion to a place, usually a bar, *de mala muerte*. When used seriously, usually by older and more conservative members of society, it conveys opprobrium, as it is disapproving and stigmatizing of the place in question; when used by younger speakers there is a touch of irony regarding some characteristic(s) of the place, indeed, it is often used ironically and sometimes even boastfully by those of a liberal bent when recounting their bohemian exploits. In both cases its use is due to its rather dramatic, slightly antiquated feel. It is not a formal nomenclature for a specific type of establishment and as such, a similarly descriptive and judgemental term must be sought in English. I consider that 'den of iniquity' covers the same semantic field with a similarly sordid, connotative meaning and sense of the dramatic. The first fragment can be translated in the following manner:

> It is true that Ciudad Juárez has a night-life (often sordid and fuelled by barracks of American soldiers who come in search of a good time), there is drug-trafficking, and there are night-clubs, bars, cantinas, brothels, dens of iniquity, hourly-rate hotels, etc.

The second fragment contains problems of a different nature. The victims are equated with disposable, throwaway consumer goods, such as tissues and paper plates. While this is emphasized in the ST by the use of the adjective 'desechable', loss occurs in translation as 'disposable plate' would be a calque. This is a case of seemingly unavoidable loss, but it is not one that actually

alters the message nor does it entail stylistic repercussions. This loss is therefore minimal, and compensation is unnecessary.

Poniatowska's use of the brand name loan 'kleenex' poses a few problems. We could simply use the brand name as a synonym of 'tissue', just as other brand names are used in place of nouns and verbs, such as 'scotch tape' and 'hoover'. However, it is worth mentioning that a brand name often has extended meaning in Mexican Spanish, extending beyond a particular product, for example, 'cornflakes' is often used to refer any packet cereal and the clipped 'coca' from *Coca Cola* is used by many as a generic term for any kind of fizzy drink. This has led to neologistic turns of phrase and one could be asked if one wants a *coca de sabor*, that is, a fizzy drink that is not 'plain' *Coca Cola*, but belongs to that family of drinks by virtue of containing carbonated water and chemicals. This is probably not the case here as *kleenex* refers to any kind of disposable paper handkerchief, in the way 'tissue' is used in English. 'Kleenex' is an American English brand name loan which means that the application of the Spanglish continuum is theoretically possible, but it is not viable in practical terms; there is no Mexican Spanish brand name loan that could be successfully incorporated into a TT. The loan is lost, sacrificed for the sake of clarity and simplicity. The only type of compensation here is the double representation of the book title, *Huesos en el desierto*. The book was written in Spanish and as yet, no translation has been published. Therefore, there is no English language title that takes precedence over the Spanish in the TT, on the contrary, the title's translation is a gloss of the original:

> "Women are worthless, anyone can kill them", the authorities conclude, as corroborated by the book *Huesos en el desierto* ('Bones in the desert'). Like a tissue, a plastic cup to be used and thrown away, a paper plate, the lives of 300 young women have gone down the drain. These young women were not rubbish: they studied, had hopes, friends, boyfriends; one of them taught catechism, another taught the alphabet to infants, and now that they are dead no value is given to what they were when they were alive. On the contrary, the authorities seem to be saying: "They were asking for it".

Although this text is a newspaper article, Poniatowska is an academic and literary author. This is reflected in her journalistic prose which makes use of metaphor and literary descriptive passages, as is clearly illustrated in the first extract, resulting in a style which is unusual in journalism. While it is Poniatowska's literary and intellectual background that is reflected in her journalistic prose, different influences can be perceived in the literary works of

other authors. Let us turn now to a sample of a literary work that makes use of different styles and registers.

¡Corte!

Victor Hugo Rodríguez Bécquer, known locally simply as 'Bécquer', is a contemporary poet and short story writer from Zacatecas who began his artistic career as an actor, director and playwright, winning awards for theater and experimental cinema in the 1970s. His recent narrative draws on his theatrical past and, no doubt, present, considering his current post as Director of Cultural Activities for Zacatecas City Council. His fiction has not yet been published in translation, although there is currently a project underway in the University of Zacatecas to produce a Spanish-English bilingual anthology of short stories by Zacatecan authors, including *el maestro* Bécquer. The proposed anthology has as its target audience second and third generation Zacatecans resident in the US. Any TT produced by a British translator for this purpose and target audience would therefore require second checking by a native speaker of American English.

The extracts under discussion in this chapter are taken from *La comunión de la sirena* (2000), a story divided into 10 short sections, entitled:

Primer delirio
Segundo aire
Tercer respiro
Pausa cuarta
Capítulo quinto
Apunte seis
Corte siete
Rollo ocho
Nota nueve
Décimo intento

These subheadings reflect the action of the story. In the first chapter, or 'delirium', the narrator speaks of his brother Alejandro and his group of friends, and their first contacts with cinema in the 1960s and early 70s, watching already classic, mainly European, films from the 40s and 50s, as well as contemporary film. This potted history also covers some Mexican film-making endeavours, amateur as well as professional, both local and national.

Alejandro is given a cine camera and the members of the group map out a plan for making their own film. Alejandro directs the other characters in the making of a film, hence the subheadings relating to notes, takes, rolls and cuts, with several early breaks while the plot and the directing are discussed. We should note formal properties of the text such as the almost script-like structure of the dialogue at times; the friends' names are not given, rather their role in the film-making enterprise is presented in italics in brackets and without definite articles, as if it were to be read as a part in a play or a film. Individual identity is not important, the player is subordinate to the role played, and in turn the roles are secondary to the language of the script.

Language plays the starring role in this story: several members of the 'cast' remain nameless throughout and many of those who are specified in some way are referred to only by their function, for example, *iluminador* and *maquillista*. Others have nicknames, such as *Carro*, from CARlos ROberto (2000: 22) and *fortachón*, also referred to as *Rober el bob-bolista* (2000: 57), presumably derived from the proper name *Roberto* although this is not stated explicitly in the text. Furthermore, not only do the speakers lack proper names, there is often no clear sign of who the speaker is at a given moment; it is simply not important. What is important is the flow of pseudocinematic descriptive passages intermingled with repartee. The language used both by the narrator and the characters is often colloquial and rather creative. It takes some time for the film to be made as the actor-crew-characters do not always concentrate on the task in hand, but instead they distract and divert the attention of others, often with wordplay in such a way that it becomes a game for all to join in. Some of the creative use of language entails loans, adapted to differing degrees. For example, *Capítulo quinto* presents the line:

> —Okei (dice *director*), éste sí que se las trae. A ver cuándo convidas a tus quemas. ¿Es normal, o así alucinas todo el *taim*? (2000: 37)

in which we can observe *Okei* and *taim*, two lexical switches. Further down on the same page there is reference to 'míster Martínez', another lexical switch. In *Nota nueve* the author makes use of a contact neologism, a phonetically rendered toilet or bathroom synonym, an original Spanglish coinage: 'pipis rum' (2000: 56). The final switch of the story in *Décimo intento* is 'la pitchur' (2000: 64), referring to the completed film.

The first question is whether the Spanglish continuum can help us here. The following passage is the context of the aforementioned line:

> —Te la tenías guardadita, viejo (dice *asistente*).
>
> —Okei (dice *director*), éste sí que se las trae. A ver cuándo convidas a tus quemas. ¿Es normal, o así alucinas todo el *taim*?
>
> —Ssste buey (les dice). Sí, cambia el sentido, pero si es que te las das de sicoloco-paranoico y psicopatomoto o sociomoto y sico-etcétera... pero quieres hacer la historia intrascendente, órale.
>
> —Una locuaz taraleta que se acelera masoquista, por una añeja frustración y sabe cuanto. ¡Ahora es cuando! Ésta es la historia que vamos descubriendo poco a poco y de todos modos te sales con la tuya, porque complementa el guión (todo esto Martínez al aire).
>
> —No le saques (dice *fotógrafo*).
>
> —No, es que está cabrón conseguir todo lo que míster Martínez ha delirado.
>
> —No seas güey (dice *iluminador*), ¡atízale!
>
> —Pero yo no salgo para nada (dice *actriz*), y esta historia ya no es la misma que dijo éste (se refiere a *director*), ¿o a poco nomás querían verme encuerada y van a cambiar de onda?
>
> —Ni que estuvieras tan güena (*fortachón* al quite) (2000: 37).

It would appear that switches are the least of the translator's worries here. Apart from the orthographically modified lexical switches, the ST fragment is characterized by the use of colloquial language with wordplay and taboo language embedded in a humorous tonal register, all of which must be rendered in the TT. Beyond reversing the switches it is difficult to see how the Spanglish continuum can be helpful here; other textual strategies will be needed to reflect the creative use of language. However, we can begin with the switches in order to observe the possible application and potential limitations of the Spanglish continuum in this context.

The passage contains three Spanglishisms: *Okei*, an integrated loan that is orthographically altered; *taim*, a lexical switch with a modified, phonetic spelling; and *míster*. The spelling and accentuation suggest Spanish pronunciation which means that all three loans can be classed as Spanglish, even though 'OK' and 'Mister' would perhaps normally belong in the separate categories of internationally recognized (and frequently used) expressions and terms of address. The use of Spanglish here is neither an involuntary sociolect nor a cultural badge of affiliation as it might be in a migrant community, nor is it a display of regional usage: the use of English among these bohemian filmmaking youths is a stylistic choice, most likely a sign of their pretentiousness. Consequently, it is more important to convey the pretentiousness of the switch than to find its mirror image on the Spanglish continuum and there may be other reasons for avoiding the use of the

continuum here, for example, in the context of bohemian banter in the early 1970s, years before mainstream familiarity with Spain and Spanish in the UK and the Latino boom in the US, Spanish borrowing in English seems somewhat inappropriate.

Furthermore, if we apply the Spanglish continuum to the translation of 'míster Martínez' it actually causes loss. The ST juxtaposes a foreign term of address (Ft) and a SL name (SLn):

ST: Ft + SLn.

In an English TT, the surname 'Martínez' becomes a foreign name, but Spanish is nonetheless the language of the source culture in the context; thus 'Martínez' is exotic, but remains a source culture name (SCn). If the English *míster* in the ST is switched to the Spanish *señor* in the TT, we then have a source culture term of address and a source culture name:

ST: Ft + SLn > TT: SCt + SCn.

Hence the juxtaposition or contact effect is lost. If, however, we apply a different F factor, we might be able to retain the juxtaposition. A different language pair could be used for the interlingual strategy and we could, for instance, move from Spanglish to Franglais, making use of French loans. In this way we can retain the F/S balance by translating 'míster Martínez' as 'monsieur Martínez', which gives:

ST: Ft + SLn > TT: Ft + SCn.

This is an appropriate choice of language as many English-speaking readers of the TT can muster some 'schoolboy' French, and French is the foreign language that is most commonly used and misquoted in displays of pretentiousness among English-speaking bohemian types; therefore a few simple vocabulary items, perhaps even intentionally misspelt, seem to be an appropriate equivalent to the borrowings used here. In addition, like 'Mister', 'monsieur' belongs in the category of internationally recognized terms of address.

We can continue to apply this interlingual strategy to compensate other English borrowings in the ST, for instance, *todo el taim*, could be rendered as 'all the *tom*', or even '*toot le tomps*' or '*toot le temps*', instead of the correct

French spelling *tout le temps*, in order to suggest a typically far from well-pronounced borrowing from French. A slightly longer switch here would also compensate for loss of the switch in the 'naturalization' of the spelling *Okei* > 'OK'. If French is chosen as the switching language then it should perhaps also be applied to 'pipis rum'. This humorous, childish coinage warrants a similarly playful translation. A version such as 'salle de oui-oui' might make a few readers groan but it is perhaps not an unreasonable rendering of 'pipis rum', a similarly awful, childish coinage; thus:

> Ada presume el diseño del vestido que dibujó la encargada del vestuario y que es maestra de corte y confección de la Academia Eugenia (por si alguien quiere ir). Durante la misma pausa algunos aprovechan y van al pipis rum. (2000: 56)

becomes:

> Ada shows off the dress design, drawn by the woman in charge of wardrobe who teaches dressmaking at the Academia Eugenia (in case anyone is interested in going). Some take advantage of the same pause to go to the salle de oui-oui.

Franglais foreignizing is a solution in this case where the alterity that is being highlighted is a rendering of pseudo-Otherness displayed within the ST, but it cannot be a general strategy for the translation of Spanglish in Mexican texts, as the introduction of faux-alterity would be responsible for the obliteration of genuine SLC Otherness. However, it may well be a useful alternative to the Spanglish continuum in cases where an interlingual ST strategy achieves certain stylistic effects that have associative and connotative meanings other than those that could be conveyed in a TT produced by the application of the continuum.

Creativity will also be necessary in order to render 'sicoloco-paranoico y psicopatomoto o sociomoto y sico-etcétera'. An interlingual strategy is not necessary here; the ST Greek etymology will do equally well in the TT. On the other hand, we could compensate here for other untranslated switches or compensate for other kinds of interlingual loss and include an additional loan. In the case of *sicoloco* some loss is almost inevitable. It is phonologically close to *psicólogo* even if prosodically different, yet cleverly introduces *loco*, the semantic opposite of the word implied. These effects are difficult to reproduce. If, for *sicoloco-paranoico* we opt for 'psycho-loco paranoid' not all of the effects are lost. This is part of a list in the ST: 'sicoloco-paranoico y psicopatomoto o sociomoto y sico-etcétera...'and as such needs to be considered as part of a list

in the TT in order to be assessed. The prefixes are not problematic at all, but the suffix 'moto' is. It derives from *mota*, caló for marihuana, and can be used as a noun, i.e. a person who smokes marihuana, but more commonly as an adjective to describe a habitual pot-smoker: *Joel es muy moto*; or to describe a more temporary state, equivalent to the English 'high'. The concepts we need to get across are psychology, psycho- and sociopath, madness, and the underlying drug theme. In the absence of a TL equivalent for *moto* we need to be creative. Something might be lost, but something might be gained. We need some kind of substitute for *moto* and if lexical derivatives of 'marihuana' are of no use, vocabulary from the same trope—or psychotrope—might work. One option can be found in the realm of psychotropics, and the suggestion of hallucinatory substances is certainly in keeping with the tone. We can create our own blends and also add another to compensate loss: 'psycho-loco paranoid psychopathotropic or sociotropic or psychotrippy and psycho-etc...'

It might be useful at this stage to present the complete ST passage again, and then the full proposed TT:

> —Te la tenías guardadita, viejo (dice *asistente*).
>
> —Okei (dice *director*), éste sí que se las trae. A ver cuándo convidas a tus quemas. ¿Es normal, o así alucinas todo el *taim*?
>
> —Ssste buey (les dice). Sí, cambia el sentido, pero si es que te las das de sicoloco-paranoico y psicopatomoto o sociomoto y sico-etcétera... pero quieres hacer la historia intrascendente, órale.
>
> —Una locuaz taraleta que se acelera masoquista, por una añeja frustración y sabe cuanto. ¡Ahora es cuando! Ésta es la historia que vamos descubriendo poco a poco y de todos modos te sales con la tuya, porque complementa el guión (todo esto Martínez al aire).
>
> —No le saques (dice *fotógrafo*).
>
> —No, es que está cabrón conseguir todo lo que míster Martínez ha delirado.
>
> —No seas güey (dice *iluminador*), ¡atízale!
>
> —Pero yo no salgo para nada (dice *actriz*), y esta historia ya no es la misma que dijo éste (se refiere a *director*), ¿o a poco nomás querían verme encuerada y van a cambiar de onda?
>
> —Ni que estuvieras tan güena (*fortachón* al quite) (2000: 37).

In translation, this can become:

> "You'd been saving that one, hadn't you, mate," (says *assistant*).
>
> "OK," (says *director*) "he's off again. Why don't you let us all have some next time you light one. Is this normal or do you trip like this *toot le temps*?
>
> "Shush man (he says). Yeah, the meaning changes, but if you want to be all psycho-loco paranoid psychopathotropic or sociotropic or psychotrippy and psycho-etc... but you want to make the story insignificant, fine."
>
> "A crazy loony chick who goes masochistically wild, because of her childhood hang-ups and what have you. Now's the time! That's the story we're discovering bit by bit and you get your way anyway, because it complements the script (Martínez on the air all this time)."
>
> "Don't back out now (says *photographer*).
>
> "No, but it's a hell of a job getting everything monsieur Martínez dreamt up on his trip."
>
> "Don't be stupid," (says *lights*), "have a toke!"
>
> "But I'm not in it at all anymore (says *actress*), and this story isn't the same one he told me it was (refers to *director*), or is it you just wanted to see me naked and so now you're going to change everything?"
>
> "Like you're that hot," (*big man* bites back).

This TT retains the effects of the ST: colloquial and taboo language, switches, wordplay, and hopefully, humour.

In this extract we saw various features of colloquial language that can cause problems for the translator. One such feature was the use of nicknames, which in this instance was not because of their significance in themselves in terms of characterization, but rather to demonstrate the insignificance of the proper names, indeed the identity, of the characters. In other situations, nicknames serve a different literary purpose; they are of utmost significance and must be given serious attention. Let us now look at one such case, Jorge Ibargüengoitia's novel *Dos crímenes* (1979).

Ibargüengoitia's literary production which had promised to be as prolific as that of Fuentes (who, incidentally was born in the same year as Ibargüengoitia) was cut short by his death in 1983 in an aeroplane accident. He left behind him a wealth of writing in short stories, novels, drama, essay and journalism, very entertaining satire being a key feature of the majority of his work. *Dos Crímenes* is no exception.

Me dicen el Negro, estoy jodido

Marcos González, alias *el Negro*, is innocent of the two unrelated crimes of which he is formally accused. However, while on the run as a result of the trumped up charges of terrorism against him, he commits two other 'crimes'. He is guilty of attempting to con his uncle, don Ramón, out of a considerable amount of money, and is guilty of being unfaithful to his girlfriend, alias *la*

Chamuca, with both his uncle's niece, Amalia, and her daughter, Lucero. *El gringo*, the offended husband and father, makes at least two botched attempts on *el Negro's* life that we know of: first he shoots holes in the poncho that the intended victim, unbeknown to *el gringo*, had taken off moments earlier; then he shoots his own daughter, who was wearing the aforementioned poncho at the time. Marcos leaves the village on the night of the murder of don Ramón, thus becoming the prime suspect, and it is only thanks to don Pepe, Ramón's closest friend, that Marcos eventually escapes a prison sentence resulting from both counts.

The novel is written in the first person, with two narrators. The first section is narrated by Marcos up to the point where he leaves the village of Muérdago. Don Pepe then takes up the narrator's voice and he begins to unravel the mystery behind Marcos' visit to the village as well as his current whereabouts. Don Pepe realizes that Marcos is innocent of the charges against him but that he is somewhat stupidly responsible for a considerable part of the rest of his misfortunes. Out of respect for the late don Ramón, however, don Pepe saves both the day and Marcos.

Nicknames are a salient feature of the narrative in *Dos Crímenes* and great care must be taken in translating them in order to produce a successful TT. It is worth noting that nicknames are not limited to any particular domain or age group in Mexican society, nor are they as predominantly a male phenomenon as they tend to be in many English-speaking countries. In Mexico, they are as likely to be found in public domains as in the more familiar, semi-private domains of the family and school playgrounds, or closed situations where nicknames are not always known to the bearer. Not just celebrities in sports and show business but presidential candidates and even bishops have aliases that are used in the media and by the public. Evidently, a nickname tends to be a reference to something: it can be a diminutive of a proper name or a deformation of a surname, for example, but more often than not, it alludes to a personal characteristic, usually physical. Wordplay is frequently involved. A nickname generally entails some connotative, associative, and attitudinal meaning which can be of utmost importance in a Mexican text, and often quite difficult to render in translation. The translator needs to try to retain as much ST meaning as possible in the TT and nicknames can be a part of this.

Most of the principal characters in *Dos crímenes* have nicknames. Marcos is *el Negro* and his girlfriend is *la Chamuca*, the devil. *Negro* is a common nickname in Mexico, often referring to the darkest-skinned member of a

family. In this case we are informed that Marcos' aunt Leonor was a *mulata*, and so we infer that his mother, Leonor's sister, was too. *La Chamuca* is also of a dark complexion, hence her 'dark' nickname, although she is not necessarily black or of African descent.

Don Ramón is *el Negro*'s uncle by marriage to his aunt Leonor. Marcos's 'cousins' are the children of Ramón's brother *el guapo*, therefore they are not blood relations, and this distance is highlighted by contrasts. There is nothing dark about this family: the 'cousins' are the fair-haired *hijos del guapo*. Cousin Alfonso is known as *el Dorado*, and cousin Amalia's daughter is called Lucero, which while not a nickname nonetheless serves to further emphasize the 'light' and implied beauty of the Tarragonas in contrast to the darker features of the poor side of the family.

The nicknames in *Dos crímenes* reflect common practice in Mexico, calling people by a name that describes physical characteristics, often related to skin and hair color. People of dark skin and/or hair will often be known as *el/la Moreno/a*, or the shortened version *More*, or as *el/la Negro/a* or *Negrito/a*. They are sometimes given more playful nicknames such as apparently proper names, for instance, *René*, short for *renegrido*, or loans, such as *el Black*, which are also quite common. Less common, but not particularly obscure, are nicknames that include references to the devil, such as *el Chamuco* or *la Chamuca*, as in the case of Marcos' girlfriend. People of fair hair and/or white skin are generally called *güeros* although references to gold are sometimes included, such as the nickname given to the popular singer Paulina Rubio: *la chica dorada*. The criteria for distinguishing between the two categories are, of course, subjective, and in some parts of Mexico it will be enough to have hair and eyes that are not black to be called *güero/a*, especially by salespeople who appeal to the conscious or subconscious belief that to be *güero/a* is to be more attractive than most; an opinion held by many in Mexico. This deeply ingrained, often self-deprecating racism is widespread, as indigenous traits are denigrated whereas white, European features are exalted as standards of beauty.

Ibargüengoitia does not subscribe to the subjective criteria of the pale skin to attractiveness correlation and his darkly nicknamed characters are very good-looking; Lucero tells *el Negro* that he was very handsome, and don Pepe is quite taken with *la Chamuca's* good looks. Beauty is not the only concept associated with skin color and racial background, however: wealth, class, education, and, as a consequence, social standing, are also linked with it in the collective psyche. Indeed, the stereotype of wealthier, more powerful whites

and darker, powerless poor is not completely unfounded. Almost 500 years after the Spanish Conquest, nearly 200 years of independence, and almost 100 years since the Mexican Revolution, the Mexico's President was a tall, white man, whose surname was Fox[4]. It is no coincidence that Amalia married *el gringo* and that her daughter is called Lucero; she represents the money-grabbing *malinchista* middle class. *El Negro* on the other hand represents the masses, which like him, have been badly done to, time and time again: 'me dicen el Negro, estoy jodido'.

The translator must take great care not to lose the contrasts inherent in the text and nicknames play an important role in establishing this duality. In Asa Zatz's 1984 English version, no single strategy is employed in the rendering of the nicknames. *El Negro* becomes 'El Negro' in the TT, invariably with a capitalized Spanish definite article, and similarly Marcos' friend *el Colorado* becomes 'El Colorado'. *La Chamuca* however, becomes 'the Chamuca', with the English article, not capitalized. Zatz also applies the English article to *el gringo*, where both capitals and inverted commas are added: "The Gringo". Inverted commas and upper-case first letters are used in the rendering of those nicknames that are actually translated by Zatz: *el Dorado* > "The Golden Boy"; *el guapo* > "Handsome"; *el Manotas* > "Paws", and *Dientes* > "Teeth". Leaving aside *el Manotas* and *Dientes*, lesser characters, let us take a closer look at the principal nicknames and their translation.

The most significant nickname in the novel is *el Negro*. Marcos, the central character in the novel, is generally called by his name to his face, and *el Negro* behind his back. Marcos is aware of this fact, and his label-nickname is part of his lament, a recurrent motif in the book:

> ¡Qué lugar tan raro para haber nacido! pensé, igual que cada vez que regreso. Nací en un rancho perdido, mi padre fue agrarista, me dicen el Negro, estoy jodido (1979: 65).

He extends this lament as he perceives things get worse:

> –Nací en un rancho perdido, mi padre fue agrarista, me dicen el Negro, la única parienta que llegó a ser rica empezó siendo puta: estoy jodido (1979: 90).

and worse:

> nací en un rancho perdido, mi padre fue agrarista, me dicen el Negro, la única de mi familia que llegó a ser rica empezó siendo puta y con sólo echar una firma perdí catorce millones de pesos. Decir que estoy jodido es poco (1979: 125).

and worse:

> –Nací en un rancho perdido, mi padre fue agrarista, me dicen el Negro, y el único pedazo de buena suerte que me ha tocado, que fue que mi tío me dejara una herencia, es ahora prueba de que yo lo asesiné. Estoy jodido. Y por si fuera poco, ya desde antes había yo echado a perder esta buena suerte, porque tengo firmado un convenio con mis primos según el cual me comprometo a entregarles cuatro quintas partes de la herencia (1979: 189).

This recurrent motif allows us to appreciate the full extent of the negative overtones of his nickname. Marcos was born in a godforsaken place in the middle of nowhere, of a father who was probably a landless peasant or *campesino* who participated in social movements. Added to this impoverished, underprivileged background, the fact that people refer to him as 'El Negro', according to his perception, puts him right at the bottom of the social scale, the lowest of the low. His nickname is the final straw, the antithesis of the cherry on the cake. So how do we translate it?

Spanish nicknames such as *el negro* or *el gordo* use an adjectival noun to express a characteristic that would usually be rendered in English by an adjective in conjunction with a noun. Thus, in translation, instead of an article + adjectival noun structure, a TT nickname can transpose the grammar, for instance, adding a noun as a suffix: *el gordo* > 'fatboy'. Alternatively, the corresponding English adjective can be used, adding the adjectival suffix -y/ie, for example, *el gordo* > 'fatty'; *la güera* > 'blondie'. It is sometimes possible to do this with colors. There would be no problem translating a nickname like *la Rosita* into 'Rosie' but *Negro* into 'Blackie' would only be acceptable nowadays if the *negro* in question were a pet or some other being or object, but not a person. *El Negro* is a difficult nickname to translate and without modification its wholesale imported use will inevitably suggest the English word 'negro' to the reader of the TT which, although it is a Spanish loan in its origins, clearly covers a different albeit related semantic field. That said, I would be inclined to agree with Zatz in leaving *el Negro* untranslated in the TT. My personal preference would leave the article in the lower case, however, and italics to distinguish it from the language of the TT would be appropriate. This Ø translation would also be consistent with a foreignizing approach.

Should the other nicknames also be imported without translation, allowing more of the foreign spirit to spill over into the TT and for it to be consistent? If *el Negro* is to retain its ST form, then its antithesis, *el Dorado* should do the same. Zatz's "The Golden Boy" is a successful rendering in that

the concept is clearly understood; he is a shining example of success, he is a credit to his family and to the bank where he works. We suspect that he is also a gold-digger, and we can infer that, unlike *el Negro*, he has golden, or at least fair, hair. However, there is potential loss of equilibrium if only one of the two contrasting terms in the ST is translated in the TT. Furthermore, I would question the need for translation at all of *el Dorado*. I would imagine that *el Dorado* is a familiar enough concept to most educated readers, and even more so to readers of Latin American literature. Even if the TT reader does not have the same idea of all that *el Dorado* might suggest to the ST reader, it will in all probability suggest gold in some way, thus maintaining some balance between something shiny and valuable and something dark, opaque and thus symbolically of less value. If the two names are left in Spanish in the TT then the minor decisions of detail are typographical. I would be inclined to maintain stylistic consistency and opt for italics and lowercase articles in both cases: *el Negro*, *el Dorado*.

If we are to continue in a consistent fashion we should probably also leave *la Chamuca* unchanged–other than the application of italics–in the TT. However, this would cause serious comprehension problems. The TT reader, like the ST reader, can be expected to comprehend the opposition between *el Negro* and *el Dorado*. However, unlike the ST reader, the TT reader cannot be expected to pick up on the slightly more subtle opposition between Marcos' lovers, reflected in their names, *la Chamuca* and Lucero. There is loss of another kind as a newspaper misprint drastically alters the essence of *la Chamuca*:

> Pedí un café y estuve revisando los periódicos con mucho cuidado. La noticia de "los terroristas" aprehendidos, que había aparecido en primera plana el día anterior, había ido a parar en la página 18 de *Excélsior* ese día, y no tenía continuación en ninguno de los otros periódicos. La información de *Excélsior* era un refrito de la del día anterior, excepto por una cosa: daban los nombres de los fugitivos, o mejor dicho, los apodos: "El Negro" y "La Chamaca". No aparecían nuestras fotos. La situación, decidí, era, dentro de lo posible, lo mejor. (1979: 71)

The 1984 translation reads as follows:

> I ordered a cup of coffee and checked through the papers carefully. The news about the captured "terrorists" that had appeared on the front page the day before was now relegated in *Excélsior* to page 18, and none of the other newspapers carried a followup story. The report in *Excélsior* was a rehash of what had come out the day before, except that the names of the fugitives were given, that is to say, their aliases, "El Negro," and "La Chamaca." There were no photos of us. The situation, I decided, was as favorable as might be expected under the circumstances. (1984: 65–66)

The humour is lost in this TT: if the meanings of *chamuca* and *chamaca* are not made explicit, instead of perceiving a humorous effect, the reader will merely observe a spelling change and suspect a printing error, not in the Mexican newspaper, but one that has its origin in a London or New York publishing house. It is not a simple matter to go from diabolic or demonic overtones to an innocent childlike image through the changing of a single letter. Perhaps this was something Zatz considered long and hard before deciding that this effect was simply impossible to achieve, so either readers can work it out for themselves, or the effect will be lost.

Before resigning ourselves to loss or condemning the TT reader to the task of researching two wonderfully Mexican vocabulary items, not included in the average bilingual dictionary nor indeed in a good many monolingual Spanish dictionaries, we should at least make an effort to render this effect. *Chamuca*, like the masculine form *chamuco* is a synonym of *diablo*, *demonio*, and *chahuistle*, 'devil', while *chamaca* is a synonym of *chiquilla* and *chavala*, 'little girl'. If we consider that the Ø translation of the nickname and of its misspelt variation entails unacceptable loss, then other strategies must be considered. There are only really two options open to us: glossing or full-blown translation. Glossing would serve to define the nicknames and allow them to remain in their ST form, but the effect of the newspaper error could not have the same impact on the TT reader that it would if successful TL forms were adopted, in the same way that a joke loses its impact when it is explained rather than told.

Strategies for finding a successful rendering must take into consideration the nature of the error in *Excélsior*. A simple vowel change transforms a devil into a little girl. If we wish to reproduce the same effect, first we need to establish our priorities. If the meaning of both nicknames is of paramount importance, then the names must be balanced in the translation in such a way as to transform a 'black magic woman' into a Brownie Guide. If we keep with the notion of 'devil' for *chamuca* we could try, for example, 'little devil' > 'little girl', or a more colloquial 'L'il devil' > 'L'il girl', but this entails the changing of too many letters to be credibly attributable to error, even for a mediocre newspaper. A simpler option is needed, such as 'demon' > 'lemon', but the connotative meanings of 'lemon' are irrelevant and possibly inappropriate. If we move away from the idea that *la Chamuca* is devilish and focus on the fact that she most probably acquired her nickname due to the color of her skin, we

could try 'the miner' (black as coal) > 'the minor'. This would be a successful textual rendering; 'miner' to 'minor' is a plausible typing mistake or a possible result of verbal miscommunication, which drastically changes the meaning to produce a humorous effect. The semantics, however, are not convincing. How likely is if for a woman be nicknamed 'the miner' because of her dark skin?

If we cannot misspell the nickname to create another, we could mishear it. Had the reporter said 'L'il devil', the typist could have mistaken it for 'L'il elf'. Alternatively, if the reporter pronounced 'th' as 'f', the typist could understand the nickname to be 'L'il Ethel'. Admittedly, the typist would have to be hard of hearing to have come up with this, or there would have had to have been a chain of versions before it even got put down on paper, which is perhaps slightly more plausible. While elves are considered helpful little creatures, not at all evil or demonic, 'L'il Ethel' sounds like a more natural and possible nickname for a woman. It is a rather innocent sounding name, one that could be given to a nice *chamaca*, and it contrasts with the naughty sounding 'L'il devil', a nickname that suggests both black and sin. An alternative version would be:

> I ordered a coffee and looked through the papers very carefully. The story of the "terrorists" who had been arrested, which had been front page news the day before, was now on page 18 of *Excelsiór* and there was no follow-up story in any of the other papers. The information in *Excelsiór* was a rehash of the day before's apart from one thing, the fugitives' names, or rather their nicknames: *El Negro* and *L'il Ethel*. There were no photos of us. I decided that, given the circumstances, this was about as good as it gets.

Like *el Negro*, I wonder if, given the circumstances, this version is perhaps as good as it can be, but having one imported nickname another translated is not a particularly satisfying solution.

Furthermore, the introduction of a name like 'Ethel' into a Mexican text in place of *chamaca* is not consistent with a foreignizing approach, and the obliteration of the Mexicanism *chamuca* is even more serious. L'il Devil > L'il Ethel for *la Chamuca* > *la Chamaca* might be a successful rendering of a specific, decontextualized translation problem, but it is an inappropriate use of compensation if its impact is felt throughout the whole of the TT. Such a solution would be TT-oriented to a domesticating degree, and therefore inconsistent with the overall foreignizing approach suggested here. The specific problem at this point is that the humour is lost if the meanings of *chamuca* and *chamaca* are not understood by the reader of the TT. The foreignizing

translator may resign herself to loss whilst leaving both nicknames in Spanish, perhaps hoping that readers will do the work, or do the research for the reader, and introduce an explanatory note thus:

> The information in *Excelsiór* was a rehash of the day before's apart from one thing: the fugitives' names, or rather their nicknames: El Negro and *La Chamaca*[1]. There were no photos of us. I decided that, given the circumstances, this was about as good as it gets.
>
> [1]*Chamuca* means 'devil' in Mexican Spanish while *chamaca* means 'child' [*fem.*].

The final decision regarding this type of explicatory compensation strategy may not depend on the translator but on editorial policy, as translators may not always be at liberty to introduce notes unless they are carrying out a 'scholarly' translation. If allowed, a definition of this type is not an extreme instance of the translator's visibility and in this case does not lead the reader directly to the implied conclusion that the nickname *Chamuca* is a reference to the character's skin color. Nonetheless, many readers neither require nor wish for assistance, and if notes are to be included, then endnotes can be chosen over footnotes as they are less obtrusive. However, footnotes are more consistent with a foreignizing approach, and have the advantage of being easier to find for the reader, due to their immediate visibility.

Another skin-color related nickname is *el Colorado*. He is a friend of Marcos whose actual name we never discover. Unlike the Tarragonas who address their 'cousin' as Marcos to his face and refer to him as *el Negro* behind his back, *El Colorado* only ever addresses Marcos as *el Negro*; their familiarity and peer status is not expressed by being on first-name-terms, but on nickname-terms. Like *el Negro*, his nickname stems from his skin color; unlike *el Negro*, his nickname is not one that will allow the TT reader to infer this. If it is possible to demonstrate its meaning without translating, we can then keep another nickname in its ST form, preserving a little more of the foreignness. This line of thinking leads us to the alternative discarded in the translation of *la Chamuca*, that of glossing. *El Negro* and *El Colorado*'s first meeting, a few lines after the first mention of the latter, provides what is almost a gloss of the nickname:

> —Mira nomás, Negro, cómo has cambiado, que no me daba cuenta de que eras tú.
> Yo tampoco me había dado cuenta, pensé, de que el Colorado, además de ser rojo, es cacarizo (1979: 67–68).

It is translated by Zatz as:

> "I can't believe it—Negro! Couldn't tell it was you, you've changed so much."
> It was the same with me. I had never noticed before that besides being red-faced, El Colorado was also pockmarked. (1984: 63)

If we make this a little more explicit by glossing, we have:

> "Look at you, *Negro*, you've changed so much I didn't realize it was you!" And I hadn't realized, I thought, that *el Colorado*, apart from being red-faced—hence the nickname—was pockmarked.

This glossing solution is consistent with a foreignizing approach; a foreign term is borrowed that will probably make more demands on many TT readers, some of whom may be forced to investigate the link between *Colorado* and red, and it allows for the retention of the ST nickname and stigmatization of this character. It is perhaps worth mentioning that while *el Colorado* is presumably fair-skinned, he is not middleclass like the Tarragonas but a *campesino* who works in the fields. This outdoor lifestyle explains his red face. Like *el Negro*, the color-related nickname is also practically a pejorative class reference.

Another pejorative name for a white person in this story is *el gringo*. While Zatz renders 'el gringo' as "The Gringo", which is acceptable in that 'gringo' is a clearly understandable Spanish loan in English, I wonder if it is meant as a nickname at all. Ibargüengoitia does not use a capital letter as he does with 'el Negro', 'el Dorado', 'la Chamuca' and 'el Colorado', arousing the suspicion that it is not a nickname at all, merely a disrespectful way of referring to Jim Henry, who is indeed a gringo, that is, an Anglo-American. Marcos mentions his name once in his narration, when he explains that he is Amalia's husband. Clearly *el gringo* is of no importance to Marcos at all; it doesn't matter who he is or what his name is: he's just the gringo Amalia happened to marry. This dismissive view appears to be shared by don Pepe who also refers to him as 'el gringo', only mentioning his full name in the two situations that demand formality, the police investigation and the reading of the will. Marcos has no respect whatsoever for Jim Henry, a fact made painfully obvious by his seduction of both the wife and the daughter of the unfortunate gringo. I agree with Zatz on leaving the nomenclature as 'gringo', but I am not convinced that it is a nickname; thus, I consider inverted commas and capitals unnecessary.

Unfortunately, the apparently logical typographical reasoning used to discredit the notion of a nickname in the case of *el gringo* by no means constitutes a water-tight criterion. It does in fact clearly fail in the case of *el guapo* where a capital 'G' is equally absent. There is no likelihood that *el guapo* is anything other than a nickname, even if it is a statement of fact, like 'el gringo'. The translation of a name does not appear to be consistent with a foreignizing approach, but this SL nickname would be too obscure and incomprehensible if imported unchanged into the TT, and therefore should probably be translated if any sense is to be made of it. Zatz employs the same strategy here as with *El Dorado* > "The Golden Boy", that is, a TL nickname in uppercase and inverted commas: *el guapo* > "Handsome". This is moderately acceptable, but if we are going to go to the trouble of translating a name, it may be possible to find an alternative that would make for a more natural sounding one in English.

English adjectives such as 'good-looking' or 'gorgeous', synonyms of 'handsome', do not make convincing nicknames when they stand alone, and a noun or name that suggests a good-looking person might be more appropriate. One such option is 'babe' but this has unfortunate connotations of women in British politics as well as talking pigs, and cannot be seriously considered. 'Beau' is a noun which is also a proper name. It has the advantage of meaning handsome in the language it is borrowed from, which might strike a chord in many readers' minds, even if its current English use is of a different nature. It works as a nickname due to being homophonous of 'Bo', a relatively common nickname in the US. Not all TT readers will immediately call Beau Brummel and dandyism to mind, but those who do will conjure up an image of an attractive male figure, appropriately *guapo*. However, 'Beau' is also a proper name as well as meaning 'boyfriend' in some varieties and if it is to be used it must be made clear that it is a nickname in this context. All of the other proposed nicknames have been rendered in italics and so it seems fitting that *Beau* should also appear in italics to avoid confusion.

A foreignizing approach aiming to respect the alterity of the ST must carefully consider the effects of translating, or not translating, nicknames in a contemporary Mexican text. Social themes can be embedded in them and they can be a vehicle for humour. They cannot be omitted nor should their semantic load be diluted. Any sacrifice should only occur as a last resort. The Spanglish continuum may not be helpful, or even particularly relevant, in the translation of nicknames, but if some nicknames remain in Spanish in an English TT, then the results are nonetheless consistent with the application of

the continuum in particular, and with an overall foreignizing approach in general: the ST's foreignness remains explicit.

The Crossing

Social themes are not only embedded in nicknames or dealt with explicitly in journalism but also alluded to with varying degrees of directness in contemporary drama. Hugo Salcedo's play *El viaje de los cantores* (1990), which was awarded the Premio Internacional Tirso de Molina (1989) by the Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana in Spain as well as the Premio Mejor Autor Mexicano de los Críticos y Periodistas Mexicanos de Teatro (1990), dramatises a real-life incident that took place in Sierra Blanca, Texas, in 1987. 19 young men were locked in a freight train as they were smuggled over the border into the US. A mechanical fault took the train off its scheduled route for several hours and, at a temperature of 40° C in what was effectively a hermetically sealed metal wagon, 18 of the men suffocated before their presence was detected. The play has been translated into German by Wilfried Böhringer as *Die Reise der Sanger* (1993) and into French by Ángeles Muñoz as *Passage* (2005), but no English version has yet been published, in spite of a performance in Chicago in 1991 at the Teatro Vista/Theater with a View, under the name *The Crossing*. The target audience for the performance was presumably made up of mainly Latino theater-goers. A published TT would, however, have a broader English-speaking target audience, as a translation may also be read by those who have not attended a performance but have an interest in Mexican theater. Nonetheless, a play is generally written to be performed on stage and a translation should take this into account.

The play follows the first *indocumentados* on the train from Ojo Caliente, Zacatecas, to Ciudad Juárez, where they are joined by more would-be illegal crossers. Once in El Paso, Texas, they board their final train, the Missouri Pacific Lines train to Dallas, but it grinds to a halt in a siding in Sierra Blanca, approximately 90 miles from their starting point. This is where the journey ends for 18 of the passengers. The play is written in Spanish and the majority of the characters, the Mexican travellers, speak exclusively in Spanish. However, the monologue in which the train driver reports the mechanical fault by telephone is a notable exception. The driver is in Texas, calling an office belonging to Missouri Pacific Lines, also in Texas, and so he initially speaks in English. However, he then quickly switches into Spanish, displaying speech characteristic of the contact zone:

> Is Tony there? I'm Francisco. What? I am Francisco Pérez. (*Rie*) Soy tu padre pinche Tony. ¿Por qué te haces el que no conoce, eh? Ah, ¿verdad que ya me conociste? (Salcedo, 1990: 39).

From what we can hear, the conversation between Francisco and Tony takes place mainly in Spanish, but considerable code-switching occurs. Once again we find here that a manifestation of Spanglish constitutes a salient feature in the ST, symptomatic of the biculturality of the border region, and is thus a significant formal and stylistic device that should not be ignored in translation.

After the initial interchange in which the interlocutors introduce themselves in English, the conversation flows freely in Spanish. After an informal exchange of pleasantries and banter in Spanish, the conversation turns to the matter in hand—work—and the language also takes a turn. In the following passage, Francisco states his business in English, and we can observe some of the switches in the monologue, both inter- and intrasentential:

> I'm here. Here? Pues here, in Sierra Blanca. Pues porque se descompuso el pinche chucu-chucu. Tuve que desviar la armatroste ésta a una de las vías auxiliares. Por eso no me puedo ir de largo, y ni me voy a ir tampoco. What did you say? No te oigo, habla más fuerte. ¡Tampoco me grites que ya te oí! I love my life, por eso no me arriesgo. I love my crazy life (1990: 40).

There is scope for the application of the Spanglish continuum in the monologue, in order to produce compensation in kind as a generalized compensation strategy consistent with an overall foreignizing approach. Compensation in place may be possible, but as we have seen, it is not always possible to apply the Spanglish continuum and reproduce inverse switches at exactly the same textual location in the TT as in the ST.

A switch from English to Spanish takes place over 4 sentences: 'I'm here. Here?' is followed by a lexical switch: 'Pues here, in Sierra Blanca', indicating a switch to Spanish. The subsequent switch to Spanish for 3 sentences is probably triggered partly by the lexical switch of the crutch *pues*, which was perhaps a case of emblematic switching, but also by the mention of the location, Sierra Blanca, a Spanish toponym. After the 3 Spanish sentences comes an English sentence, which is followed by 2 sentences in Spanish, and a sentence containing a switch at clause boundaries. The final sentence in this passage is in English. A foreignized TT should contain at least one full sentence expressed in the SL as well as making use of intrasentential switching

in order to maintain the bilingual balance of the ST. The following proposed TT aims to retain several ST features.

> I'm here. Here? *Pues* here, in Sierra Blanca. *Pues*, because the freakin' *chucu-chucu* broke down. I had to leave that there monstrosity on one of the side tracks. That's why I can't go on, and I won't go on either. *Qué dijiste?* I can't hear you, speak up. And don't shout, I already heard you! I love my life, that's why I don't take risks. I love my *vida loca*.

Firstly, *pues* remains as a feature of the ST, as it originally occurred, in an English-language context. It is a crutch word that does not hamper the meaning of the overall sentences as far as the TT audience is concerned, and allows for the retention of bilingualism and foreign flavor. For further flavor, the colloquial ST *chucu-chucu* is close to the TL semantic equivalent 'choo-choo', which is an equally childish expression, and it should be abundantly clear from the context that the train driver is referring to the train. This inclusion aims to compensate the loss of other switches that cannot be retained easily in the TT.

None of the full sentences would be free from difficulty for the TT audience or reader if imported wholesale from the Spanish ST into the English TT, but the same can probably be said for the inclusion of the entire sentences in English in the Spanish ST and, therefore, this argument is no impediment to the foreignizing translator; on the contrary, a sentence in Spanish probably ought to be included for that reason. In an attempt to remain as close to the ST as possible, I propose that where the ST switches to English with 'What did you say?', the TT can switch to Spanish. Although 'Qué dijiste?' may not be immediately understandable to all members of the TT audience, the word *qué* is probably one of the most easily recognized Spanish words among English speakers, the question mark provides an important contextual clue for readers of a published text, and more importantly, it should be clear from the actor's intonation when performed that this is a question. Furthermore, the same pragmatic function is served by the next utterance: 'I can't hear you', so that even in the worst case scenario in which the TT reader fails to understand the words 'Qué dijiste?', the same message of incomprehension is also provided in the following statement.

This repetition criterion can also help us in the translation of the final switch in the passage. We have already heard Francisco say 'I love my life', and this information serves as a safeguard if we then choose to switch 'crazy life' into Spanish. *Vida loca* may not enjoy the same degree of currency or comprehension as *qué* among English speakers, but it enjoys considerable currency in the English-speaking Chicano community, as illustrated by the title of the 1993 film *Mi Vida Loca*, and in the broader Latino community and beyond, in part thanks to Ricky Martin's successful pop song *Livin' la vida loca*. With repetition as a safeguard and points of reference from popular culture, we can apply the Spanglish continuum here.

A translator cannot expect to be able to redress the balance after domesticating or assimilative translation practice has been applied to Mexican literature over centuries, but should at the very least be sensitive to these issues, look beyond pious platitudes, and try to avoid domesticating pitfalls where possible. I have demonstrated how a foreignizing strategy can be applied to the translation of contemporary Mexican texts, using a heterogeneous lexicon combined with cautious literalism. In the specific context of creative texts that display features of linguistic innovation such as contact neologisms, with special emphasis on English-Spanish contact (Spanglish), I advocate borrowing from varieties that can be perceived as displaying similar features, such as Chicano English. When the authors included in the corpus 'abuse' Spanish by switching codes, I apply the Spanglish continuum in order to recreate that abuse. The Spanglish continuum is a conceptual tool that can be used for recreating a specific type of abuse, and as already noted, its application to all instances of innovation, unusual language use or wordplay will not always be possible. Thus, when Bécquer 'abuses' Mexican Spanish in his wordplay, I choose to recreate that abuse by using *franglais*, as part of my foreignizing strategy.

While the success of my foreignizing approach can only be judged in this chapter on the basis of the specific examples cited from contemporary Mexican texts, I hope that the strategies have been sufficiently outlined as to be applicable to other kinds of Mexican texts as well as to translation of diverse textual genres between other language pairs.

NOTES

1. Esquivel's recent work *Malinche* (2005) gathers together information from various sources, ranging from Cortés' letters and Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* to works by contemporaries such as Miralles (2004) and Núñes Becerra (2002). Noteworthy among her sources is the compilation of the papers presented at the colloquium *La Malinche, sus padres y sus hijos*, edited by Margo Glantz (2001).
2. http://www.maquilasolidarity.org/resources/maquilas/whatis.htm, accessed November 21st 2004.
3. In spite of this initial disagreement, Mac Adam then went on (at the author's request) to translate several of Fuentes' novels, including a new version of *The Death of Artemio Cruz* (1991), *The Orange Tree* (1993), *The Campaign* (1993), *Diana: The Goddess Who Hunts Alone* (1995), and *The Years with Laura Díaz* (2000).
4. At the time of writing, the frontrunner in the 2006 Mexican Presidential election was Andrés Manuel López Obrador, alias *el peje*, a smaller, darker man, whose closest rivals were un-nicknamed criollos.

CONCLUSIONS

> Rather than the manufactured clash of civilizations, we need to concentrate on the slow working together of cultures that overlap, borrow from each other, and live together in far more interesting ways than any abridged or inauthentic mode of understanding can allow.
>
> Edward Said, *Orientalism*

TRANSLATOR EDUCATION is a much debated and sensitive subject. It is of the utmost importance as any role in the exchange between cultures should not be entered into lightly. Translators must have, and have continued access to, many kinds of knowledge, as well as possessing native-like proficiency in at least two languages. The socio-historical background to the source language culture is essential knowledge for the translator as it is inextricable from the history of the language itself, which is an integral part of the most basic knowledge a translator should have. A lack of such cultural knowledge is inexcusable for those who hope to translate literary texts, which cannot be comprehended or successfully rendered without appreciation within a greater SL cultural context. An all-round humanities-based education is recommendable for those who work with languages between cultures, where philology, linguistics, sociolinguistics, cultural theory, history, and philosophy are all relevant, as well as studies of a more social nature. Translation Studies finds its place in all of these disciplines.

Translation theory ideally comes from translation practitioners, and should be able to provide practical advice on the basis of observation and experience. Current translation theorists and translators can find a wealth of information in the translation work and writings of translators throughout history. When this empirical and theoretical information is combined with the study of language history we can see the crucial role that translators have played in the formation of national languages and cultures, as well as in the

dissemination of knowledge and the spread of religions, the formation of empires and the transmission of cultural values (*cf* Delisle & Woodsworth, 1995). The collective experience serves as a basis upon which we build our own thoughts regarding translation practice, and formulate theories.

This work invites the translator of Mexican texts to review the historical background and the sociopolitical and linguistic factors that have led to the emergence of new varieties of English and Spanish, in particular the mixed varieties and code-switching common to parts of Mexico and the US, often known collectively as Spanglish. The purpose of this is to gain a more profound understanding of this type of linguistic phenomena, so that occurrences of code-switching and contact neologisms in an ST are not problematic for the translator. Fifteen years ago, Reyes looked forward to:

> an awakening in the field of literary translation to the problems posed by interlingual texts and to an active participation in their solution by translators concerned for the advancement of the human spirit regardless of social class, race or creed (1991: 307).

Those translators who find that Reyes' cap fits should find the proposals outlined in this work useful.

The contribution to translation theory presented in this work is based on the foreignizing approach proposed by Venuti, which in turn is based on German Romantic reflections on translation. The aim of the approach is to send the reader 'abroad', not bring the author back home. It is a theory that, when put into practice, may produce TTs that require more effort on the part of the reader than translations that are described as 'fluent'. These so-called 'fluent' translations require the investment of less effort on the part of the reader due to their primary allegiance to the target language and target culture rather than to the ST and its language and culture. The relative difficulty of a foreignizing translation is often intentional, as a reminder of the Otherness of the original work. While the aim of some foreignizers is to emit a radical call to action, my foreignizing approach intends to issue a wake-up call, in the guise of translator interventions that highlight that the TT was produced in anOther language, in Other circumstances, in anOther context.

A work by a writer such as Junot Díaz seems to demand a foreignizing translation. Díaz was not satisfied by the translation of his short story collection *Drown* (1996) (published under the title *Negocios* in 1997), accusing the translator of having carried out a 'clean and clear but somehow also a sterile job' (2002: 402). Perhaps the translator found the interlingual nature of

the stories problematic, and thus translated the English into Spanish, but left the Spanish simply as Spanish, leaving Díaz to complain that his use of Spanish in the original English version was 'more interesting than the use of Spanish in the translation' (ibid.). For Díaz:

> When the Spanish from the English texts gets translated, it's like throwing water on water. You lose the dissonance (ibid.).

Díaz wants 'very strict controls over the Spanish translation' (ibid.) in future, as:

> I want to make sure to resist the kind of Spanish people think will facilitate the reading, but rather to foster the kind that will facilitate the book (ibid.).

Díaz appears to be asking for a foreignizing translation, perhaps one in which the Spanglish continuum is applied, in order to convert his utterances in American English with a Dominican accent into an appropriately anglicized variety of Dominican Spanish. It is a shame that the majority of the translation into Spanish of literature produced by Latin Americans in the US is carried out in Spain (*cf* Balderston &Schwartz, 2002), under the patronage of publishers who appear to be reticent to recognize the linguistic variation of Spanish as a global language, thus opting for such 'sterile' translations.

Said finds that 'human identity is not only not natural and stable, but constructed, and occasionally even invented outright' (2003: 332). The foreignizing approach to translation draws on postcolonial theory, which has shown that translation has indeed played a significant role in creating stereotypes, as byproducts of the domestication and imposition of cultures. The foreignizing translator seeks to establish an alternative practice to counteract these acts of ethnocentrism, one that does not contribute to stereotyping or cultural suppression but rather aims to respect the Otherness of the ST. Respect is the key ingredient in the overall framework of a foreignizing approach, respect for the Otherness of the ST, for the SL culture, and last but by no means least, for the author.

The proposals outlined in this work aim to provide conceptual tools for the translator and practical advice for carrying out foreignizing translations. The examples discussed relate particularly to the translation of contact neologisms and code-switching in contemporary Mexican texts, themselves a manifestation of contemporary social reality in Mexico. I consider that I have demonstrated that my suggested overall approach and the use of the Spanglish

continuum as a generalized compensation strategy, as well as specific solutions, are successful in this context. Thus, we saw that the colloquial border language of Fuentes' *maquiladora* workers, which makes use of various English loans, can be rendered successfully into a Chicano-inspired style of English, making use of various Spanish loans. The application of the Spanglish continuum is also successful in the translation of drama, as I showed in the proposed translation of a fragment of a Salcedo play. The code-switching in a song like *Frijolero* can be inverted in order to produce a similarly bilingual parallel version. Terminology can be borrowed from the source language for the sake of precision in fiction and current affairs pieces, for example, *maquiladora*, which conveys nuances that are lost if it is rendered as 'assembly plant'. Such borrowing can be carried out via double representation for the sake of clarity.

A literal rendering of syntax can have positive effects as part of an overall foreignizing approach. As I demonstrated in the case of 'Malintzin of the Maquilas', syntax can be reproduced quite literally in order to achieve effects in the TT that are similar to those produced in the ST. Combined with the application of the Spanglish continuum, literalness can be used to achieve not only the transmission of the same message, but also to reproduce similar effects. In some cases the Spanglish continuum will not be applicable, but as we saw in the case of *La comunión de la sirena*, we can experiment with other language pairs so that, instead of Spanglish, we can look, for example, to *franglais*. I have shown that the strategies proposed in this work can be applied to various textual genres; here they were applied to fiction and drama, lyrics and journalism. I believe that the strategies can be also be applied in other contexts, where translators wish to respect the ST and SL culture, and do not wish to defuse the potential impact of either regional and/or innovative language use by translating it into standardized or blandly neutral English.

The humanist ideal of translation as a bridge between cultures is perhaps an overly utopian idea, as there is almost inevitably some degree of domestication involved in the process and product. Nonetheless, mine is an essentially humanist proposal, and like Edward Said, I believe that 'Our role is to widen the field of discussion, not to set limits in accord with the prevailing authority (2003: xviii)'. The application of the Spanglish continuum in translation will be a controversial strategic proposal for those who seek to perpetuate the canon of domestic fluency. Linguistic change is an inevitable part of the continual evolution undergone by human society, and many would agree that:

> no one finds it easy to live uncomplainingly and fearlessly with the thesis that human reality is constantly being made and unmade, and that anything like a stable essence is constantly under threat. Patriotism, extreme xenophobic nationalism, and downright unpleasant chauvinism are common responses to this fear. We all need some foundation on which to stand; the question is how extreme and unchangeable is our formulation of what this foundation is (Said, 2003: 333)

If we adopt a flexible position with regard to our formulation of that foundation, we can turn linguistic diversity and change to our advantage in translation, as new cultural reference points will become available to assist us in rendering aspects of language and culture that were previously considered culturally distant. We may not be able to combat xenophobia directly through translation but we can aim to do something positive through our work. The more open-minded we are the more potential resources we have when translating, and we can create further spaces in which alterity is treated with respect.

Translation should not consist of effacing the Other; a TT should not superimpose a church onto a pyramid. The foreignizing translator treads the line between exoticization and effacement. It is a fine line, as a step too far in either direction can be counterproductive. A foreignizer believes that a TT should retain significant target culture elements which can be reflected in language use. A foreignizer believes that the suppression of the alterity of the ST is a disservice to the author of the ST and potentially to the SL culture as a whole. An overall foreignizing approach allows for a degree of preservation of linguistic and cultural differences through the employment of heterogeneous discourse. The foreignizing translator is respectful of the Other and should be creative in the process. However, great care must be taken in order to avoid the production of TTs that are exotic to the extent that they appear to parody or ridicule the ST.

Thus, the translator must be cautious when applying the Spanglish continuum or following ST syntax closely in a TT. Nonetheless, we should not be afraid of producing innovative TTs of innovative STs; on the contrary, abusive fidelity is required when SL abuse is present in the ST. We may find inspiration in the work of a myriad of writers who write in any number of varieties of English. If there are no 'pure' varieties of English and Spanish but rather an abundance of varieties that reflect diversity worldwide, some of them conceivable on continua, then we can expand our potential translation resources by being aware of literature that documents diverse language use.

There will be cases where analogous TT language will be found for an ST variety.

Translation is about making choices, it means making decisions. After deciding what our overall priorities are, we make decisions of detail regarding the solution of specific problems. I propose the guidelines suggested here as a model to be followed in certain circumstances, particularly where the language of the ST deviates from the standardized norm, reflecting aspects of a reality that would be suppressed by a fluent translation strategy. A foreignizing approach provides scope for ideas and guidelines for specific cases after the main priority, that of respect for the alterity of the ST, has been identified.

APPENDIX

Corpus of Texts and Translations

Fuentes (1995) 'Malintzin de las maquilas'	Mac Adam (1997) 'Malintzin of the Maquilas'	Proposed TT 'Malintzin of the Maquilas'
—Ésta es Rosa Lupe. No la reconoces cuando se le mete lo santo. Te juro que normalmente es muy diferente. ¿Por qué hiciste manda? —Por mi famullo. Les contó que ella llevaba cuatro años en la maquila y su marido —su famullo— seguía sin dar golpe. El pretexto eran los niños, ¿quién los iba a cuidar? —Rosa Lupe miró sin mala intención a Dinorah—. El famullo se quedaba en casa cuidando a los niños pues por lo visto hasta que crecieran. —¿Lo mantienes? —dijo Dinorah para vengarse de la alusión de Rosa Lupe. —Pregunta en la fábrica. La mitad de las que chambeamos allí mantenemos el hogar. Somos lo que se llama jefecitas de familia. Pero yo tengo famullo. Por lo menos no soy madre soltera (1995: 158–159).	"This is Rosa Lupe. You can't recognize her when she's in a saintly mood. But believe me, she's normally very different. Why'd you get involved with this vow business?" "Because of my famullo." She told them she'd been working in the plants for four years but her husband—her famullo—still hadn't found work. The children were the reason: who would take care of them? Rosa Lupe looked at Dinorah, although not with obvious malice. The famullo stayed at home with the kids, at least until they were grown. "You support him?" asked Dinorah, to get back at Rosa Lupe for her remark. "Just ask around the factory. Half the women working there are the breadwinners in their families. We're what they call heads of households. But I have a famullo. At least I'm not a single mother." (1997: 119)	"This is Rosa Lupe. She's unrecognizable when she goes all holy. She's usually very different, I swear. What are you giving thanks for?" "For my *famullo*." She told them she had been at the maquila for four years and that her husband, her *famullo*, still didn't have a job. The children were his excuse, who would look after them? Rosa Lupe looked at Dinorah without meaning anything by it. The *famullo* stayed at home looking after the children until they were grown up, apparently. "Do you support him?" asked Dinorah, to get back at Rosa Lupe for her insinuation. "Ask around the factory. Half the women who work there bring home the bacon. We are what they call heads of household. But I have a *famullo*. At least I'm not a single mother."

Fuentes (1995) 'Malintzin de las maquilas'
–Aquí nada alcanza para nada, chavalona (1995: 156).
tan limpia y moderna la fábrica, el parque industrial como decían los managers, las maquiladoras que le permitían a los gringos ensamblar textiles, juguetes, motores, muebles, computadoras y televisores con partes fabricadas en los EEUU, ensambladas en México con trabajo diez veces menos caro que allá, y devueltas al mercado norteamericano del otro lado de la frontera con el solo pago de un impuesto al valor añadido... (1995: 159).

Mac Adam (1997) 'Malintzin of the Maquilas'	Proposed TT 'Malintzin of the Maquilas'
"Around here, sister, there's not enough of anything for anything (1997: 117)"	"There's not enough of anything to go around here, amiga."
a factory so clean and modern, what the managers called an industrial park. It was one of the plants that allowed the gringos to assemble toys, textiles, motors, furniture, computers, and television sets from parts made in the United States, put together in Mexico at a tenth of the labor cost, and sent back across the border to the U.S. market with a value-added tax (1997: 120),	such a clean and modern factory, the industrial park, the managers called it, or the maquila as everyone else calls it, the maquilas that allow the gringos to assemble textiles, toys, engines, furniture, computers and televisions with parts manufactured in the US, assembled in Mexico by workers who are ten times cheaper than over there, and sent back to the North American market on the other side of the border paying just the value-added tax...

Fuentes (1995) 'Malintzin de las maquilas'
Las burlas de las muchachas sonaban en sus oídos mientras trenzaba los alambres negros, azules, amarillos, rojos, toda una bandera interior que proclamaba la nacionalidad de cada televisor, assembled in Mexico, qué orgullo, ¿cuándo le pondrían fabricado por Marina, Marina Alva Martínez, Marina de las Maquilas? (1995: 174)
siempre con su celular pegado a la oreja, arreglando bisnes, conectando, negociando, conquistando al mundo, Rolando, con su corbata marca Hermés y su traje de color jet, arreglando al mundo, ¿cómo iba a darle más de una noche a la semana a Marina, la recién llegada, la más simple, la más humilde?, él, un hombre tan solicitado, ¿el bato más chingón? (1995: 174)

Mac Adam (1997) 'Malintzin of the Maquilas'	Proposed TT 'Malintzin of the Maquilas'
The jokes the girls made echoed in her ears as she braided the black, blue, yellow, and red wires, an interior flag that announced the nationality of each television set. Made in Mexico—there's something to be proud of. When would they put a label on the sets that said "Made by Marina, Marina Alva Martínez, Marina of the Assembly Plants? (1997: 132)	The girls' teasing rang in her ears while she plaited the black, blue, yellow, red wires, an interior flag that proclaimed the nationality of each TV, assembled in Mexico, what pride, when would they put made by Marina, Marina Alva Martínez, Marina of the Maquilas?
And his cellular phone stuck to his ear, taking care of *biznez*, connecting, making deals, conquering the world. Rolando, with his Hermés tie and his jet-plane-colored suit, arranging the world, how could he afford to give more than one night a week to Marina, the new arrival, the simplest, the humblest? He, someone so lusted after, the main man? (1997: 132)	his cell always stuck to his ear, doing *biznez*, connecting, dealing, conquering the world, Rolando, rolling, with his Hermés tie and his jet-colored suit, fixing the world, how was he going to give the newcomer, the most ordinary, the most humble Marina more than one night a week?, him, so in demand, the main man.

Fuentes (1995) 'Malintzin de las maquilas'	Mac Adam (1997) 'Malintzin of the Maquilas'	Proposed TT 'Malintzin of the Maquilas'
¿Malibú? ¡Maquilú! –decía el anunciador vestido de smoking azul con camisa de olanes y corbata fosforescente, ante la ola de muchachas que llenaban el galerón alrededor de la pista, más de mil trabajadoras apretujadas aquí y la aguafiestas de la Dinorah diciendo que son las luces, las puras luces, sin las luces esto es un pinche corral para vacas, pero las luces lo hacen todo bonito y Marina se sintió como en la playa, nomás que una playa de noche, maravillosa, en la que las luces azules, naranja, color de rosa, la acariciaban como los rayos del sol, sobre todo la luz blanca, plateada, que era como si la luna la tocara y también la bronceaba, la volvía toditita de plata, no un envidiado *sun-tan* (¿cuándo iría a la playa?) sino un *moon-tan*. (1995: 177)	"Malibú? Maquilú! Maquilá!" said the MC–in a blue tux with a ruffled shirt and fluorescent tie–to the wave of women filling the stands around the dance floor, over a thousand working women all crowded in together. It's the lights, just the lights, said Dinorah, the wet blanket. Without the lights this is a miserable corral, but the lights make it all nice and pretty. But Marina felt as if she were on a beach at night, where the beams of light–blue, orange, pink–caressed her, especially the white, silvery light, which was like the moon touching her and tanning her at the same time, turning all to silver, not a suntan for others to envy (when would she ever go to a beach?) but a moon tan. (1997: 136).	Malibu? Maquilu! said the MC, dressed in a blue tuxedo with a ruffled shirt and fluorescent tie, faced with the wave of girls that filled the gallery around the dance floor, more than a thousand workers crammed in and Dinorah, the party pooper, saying that it's the lights, just the lights, without the lights this is just a frigging cattle market, but the lights make everything look lovely and Marina felt like she was on the beach, just that it was a wonderful beach at night, where the blue, orange and pink lights caressed her like sunshine, especially the white, silvery light, that was like the moon was touching her and tanning her, turning her all silvery, not an enviable *sun-tan* (when would she ever go to the beach?) but a *moon-tan*.

Molotov (2002) Frijolero

Yo ya estoy hasta la madre de que me pongan sombrero
Escucha entonces cuando yo digo no me llames frijolero
Y aunque exista algún respeto y no metamos las narices
Nunca inflamos la moneda haciendo guerra a otros paises

Te pagamos con petróleo e intereses nuestra deuda
Mientras tanto no sabemos quien se queda con la feria
Aunque nos hagan la fama de que somos vendedores
De la droga que sembramos ustedes son consumidores

Don't call me gringo, you fuckin' beaner
Stay on your side of that goddam river
Don't call me gringo, you beaner,

No me digas beaner, Mr. Puñetero
Te sacaré un susto por racista y culero
No me llames frijolero, pinche gringo puñetero
(*chingao*)

Now I wish I had a dime for every single time
I've gotten stared down for being in the wrong side of town
And a rich man I'd be if I had that kind of chips
Lately I wanna smack the mouths of these racists

Podrás imaginarte desde afuera,
Ser un Mexicano cruzando la frontera.
Pensando en tu familia mientras que pasas,
Dejando todo lo que tú conoces atrás.

Si tuvieras tú que esquivar las balas?
De unos cuantos gringos rancheros?
Les seguirás diciendo good for nothing wetback?
Si tuvieras tú que empezar de cero?

Now why don't you look down to
Where your feet is planted
That U.S. soil that makes you take shit for granted
If not for Santa Ana, just to let you know
That where your feet are planted would be Mexico
Correcto!

Proposed TT *Frijolero*

I've really fuckin' had it with them giving me a sombrero
So listen up then when I tell you don't call me frijolero
And though there's some respect and we keep out of your faces
We never boost our money by invading other places

We pay off our debts to you with interest and with oil
In the meantime we don't know who gets to pocket all the spoils
When you want to point at dealers it's so easy to accuse us
And while we might be growers it's you who are the users

Don't call me gringo, you fuckin' beaner
Stay on your side of that goddam river
Don't call me gringo, you beaner

No me digas beaner, Mr. Puñetero
Te sacaré un susto por racista y culero
No me llames frijolero, pinche gringo puñetero
(*chingao*)

Now I wish I had a dime for every single time
I've gotten stared down for being in the wrong side of town
And a rich man I'd be if I had that kind of chips
Lately I wanna smack the mouths of these racists

Imagine that you're not already here,
You're a Mexican crossing the frontier.
As you cross your family is on your mind,
You're leaving everything you knew behind.

What if you had to dodge the bullets
Fired by a few gringo rancheros?
Would you still say good for nothing wetback
If you had to start from scratch?

Now why don't you look down to
Where your feet is planted
That U.S. soil that makes you take shit for granted
If not for Santa Ana, just to let you know
That where your feet are planted would be Mexico
Correcto!

Poniatowska (2002) 'Ciudad Juárez: matadero de mujeres/ I', November 26th'

Desde luego el libro de Sergio González Rodríguez vale la pena. *Huesos en el desierto* nos enseña a un gobierno que cierra los ojos, a un país de culpables, y nos abofetea con la indiferencia (y también la indefensión) de 400 mil mujeres, casi la mitad de la población de Juárez, Chihuahua, que cuenta con un millón de habitantes. Asimismo nos advierte que entre 1993 y 1995 los cadáveres de 30 mujeres asesinadas se encontraron casi en el mismo lugar, que en 1995 la ciudad padeció mil 302 delitos sexuales de los que 14.5 por ciento fueron violaciones. Un año después, el número de delitos había aumentado 35 por ciento respecto a 1995. Los cuerpos estrangulados y violados encontrados en la arena del desierto pertenecían a muchachas pobres, morenas, de cabello largo, delgadas, bonitas (como son todas las jóvenes), que por lo general sostenían a su familia al trabajar en maquiladoras, farmacias o tiendas de autoservicio.

[...]

En la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos pocas heridas cicatrizan, al contrario, la mayoría se infecta y pudre el organismo. Allí, en zonas de contagio, bullen a la más alta temperatura el poder político, el narcotráfico, la violencia, la codicia. Se trata de una franja gangrenada. En ella se estancan rencorosos, desempleados frustrados, los aprendices de todo y oficiales de nada (México es un país de desempleados y, por lo tanto, de hambrientos). Juárez es una ciudad tomada por la chatarra, un inmenso cementerio de automóviles. Allí, entre la herrumbre de las salpicaderas, las cajuelas y las portezuelas, tratan de respirar los habitantes. Además del osario del que nos habla Sergio González Rodríguez, se acumula el de ese soberano imbécil que es el automóvil. Ahogados por hierros retorcidos y llantas ponchadas, los extraterrestres (o casi) que viven en esta franja de tierra cumplen con el precepto: "polvo eres y en polvo te convertirás". Un polvo gris, mortuorio, todo lo ensucia, los escasos árboles se cubren de polvo, los cadáveres de 300 muchachas se desintegran enterrados en el polvo, el espíritu de 500 desaparecidas se va perdiendo como ánima en pena convertido en polvo.

Proposed TT Ciudad Juárez: Slaughterhouse of Women/I

Of course Sergio Gonzalez Rodriguez's book is worthwhile. *Huesos en el desierto* ('Bones in the Desert') shows us a government that closes its eyes, a country of guilty people, and it hits us with the indifference (and defencelessness) of 400 thousand women, almost half the population of Juárez, Chihuahua, which has a million inhabitants. At the same time it informs us that between 1993 and 1995 the corpses of 30 murdered women were found in almost exactly the same location, that in 1995 the city suffered 302 sexual offences of which 14.5 percent were rapes. One year later, the number of offences had increased by 35 percent compared to 1995. The strangled and raped bodies found in the desert sand belonged to women who were poor, dark, long-haired, thin, and pretty (as are all young women), who on the whole supported their families by working in assembly plants, known as *maquiladoras* or *maquilas*, pharmacies, and supermarkets.

[...]

Few wounds heal on the border between Mexico and the United Status, on the contrary, most of them get infected and the organism rots. There, in the contagion zones, political power, drug trafficking, violence and greed boil at the highest temperature. It is a gangrenous strip. The embittered, frustrated unemployed stagnate there, apprentices of everything and officially nothing (Mexico is a country of unemployed and therefore hungry people). Juárez is a city overtaken by junk, an immense automobile cemetery. There, among the rust of the mudguards, boots and car doors, the inhabitants try to breathe. As well as the bone yard that Sergio Gonzalez speaks of, the remains accumulate of that incredible imbecile that is the automobile. Smothered by twisted ironwork and punctured tyres, the (almost) extraterrestrials who live on this strip of land live up to the precept: "dust you are and to dust you shall return". A deathly grey dust dirties everything: the few trees there are covered in dust, the corpses of 300 young women disintegrate, buried in the dust, the spirit of 500 missing women is gradually lost, like a lost soul turned to dust.

'Ciudad Juárez: matadero de mujeres/ II', November 27th

Las ciudades fronterizas de Tijuana y Ciudad Juárez, por ejemplo, están catalogadas como ciudades problema: alcoholismo, narcotráfico, prostitución. Juárez sería la segunda ciudad en la lista, pero debido a los asesinatos, alcanzó un espantoso primer lugar. Según Adriana Gandía, esa frontera iba a ser un ejemplo de desarrollo, habría trabajo para todos en las maquiladoras, aunque la mano de obra fuera barata, allá los mexicanos podrían tener una mejor vida. La situación en el campo era de enorme miseria y la rápida industrialización en Ciudad Juárez atrajo a mucha gente que decidió venir a trabajar en las maquilas por una paga mínima, pero segura, al menos. Juárez brindaba un mejor nivel de vida y quién quite y con suerte hasta podrían pasarse al otro lado. En los años 90, Juárez conoció un auge laboral y económico que la equiparó con la antesala del *American way of life*. Llegaron muchos mexicanos a esta ciudad fea (hoy todavía más fea gracias a los automóviles) y entre ellos llegó para quedarse, también en automóvil, el narcotráfico.

Proposed TT Ciudad Juárez: Slaughterhouse of Women/II

The border cities of Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez, for example, are classed as problem cities: alcoholism, drug trafficking, and prostitution. Juárez would be the second city on the list, but it has climbed to a dreadful first place due to the murders. According to Adriana Gandía, this border was going to be the model of development: there would be work for all in the maquiladoras, and although labor would be cheap, Mexicans would be able to have a better life there. The situation in rural Mexico was one of extreme poverty and the rapid industrialization in Ciudad Juárez attracted a lot of people who decided to come to work in the maquilas for pay that was low but guaranteed, at least. Juárez offered a higher standard of living and, with a little luck, perhaps even the possibility of crossing over to the other side. In the 1990s, Juárez saw an upsurge in employment and an economic boom that made it virtually the threshold to the American Way of Life. Many Mexicans arrived at this ugly city (now even uglier thanks to all the cars) and among them, also arriving by car, drug trafficking came to stay.

'Ciudad Juárez: matadero de mujeres/ III', November 28th

Es cierto, Ciudad Juárez tiene una vida nocturna (sórdida en muchos casos, y alimentada por cuarteles de soldados estadunidenses que vienen en busca de una buena parranda), hay tráfico de droga, *night-clubs*, bares, cantinas, prostíbulos, antros de perdición, hoteles de paso, etcétera.

"Las mujeres no valen nada, puede matarlas cualquiera", concluyen las autoridades, como corrobora el libro *Huesos en el desierto*. Como un *kleenex*, un vaso de plástico de usar y tirar, un plato desechable, la vida de 300 muchachas se ha ido por el caño. Estas jovencitas no eran basura: estudiaban, tenían esperanza, amigos, novio; una de ellas enseñaba catecismo, otra a reconocer las letras a parvulitos, y ahora que han muerto no se da ningún valor a lo que fueron cuando tenían vida. Al contrario, las autoridades parecen decir: "Se lo buscaron".

Proposed TT Ciudad Juárez: Slaughterhouse of Women/III

It is true that Ciudad Juárez has a night-life (often sordid and fuelled by barracks of American soldiers who come in search of a good time), there is drug-trafficking, and there are night-clubs, bars, cantinas, brothels, dens of iniquity, hourly-rate hotels, etc.

"Women are worthless, anyone can kill them", conclude the authorities, as corroborated by the book *Huesos en el desierto* ('Bones in the desert'). Like a tissue, a plastic cup to be used and thrown away, a paper plate, the lives of 300 young women have gone down the drain. These young women were not rubbish: they studied, had hopes, friends, boyfriends; one of them taught catechism, another taught the alphabet to infants, and now that they are dead no value is given to what they were when they were alive. On the contrary, the authorities seem to be saying: "They were asking for it".

Bécquer (2000) La comunión de la sirena

—Te la tenías guardadita, viejo (dice *asistente*).

—Okei (dice *director*), éste sí que se las trae. A ver cuándo convidas a tus quemas. ¿Es normal, o así alucinas todo el *taim*?

—Ssste buey (les dice). Sí, cambia el sentido, pero si es que te las das de sicoloco-paranoico y psicopatomoto o sociomoto y sico-etcétera... pero quieres hacer la historia intrascendente, órale.

—Una locuaz taraleta que se acelera masoquista, por una añeja frustración y sabe cuanto. ¡Ahora es cuando! Ésta es la historia que vamos descubriendo poco a poco y de todos modos te sales con la tuya, porque complementa el guión (todo esto Martínez al aire).

—No le saques (dice *fotógrafo*).

—No, es que está cabrón conseguir todo lo que míster Martínez ha delirado.

—No seas güey (dice *iluminador*), ¡atízale!

—Pero yo no salgo para nada (dice actriz), y esta historia ya no es la misma que dijo éste (se refiere a *director*), ¿o a poco nomás querían verme encuerada y van a cambiar de onda?

—Ni que estuvieras tan güena (*fortachón* al quite) (2000: 37) .

Ada presume el diseño del vestido que dibujó la encargada del vestuario y que es maestra de corte y confección de la Academia Eugenia (por si alguien quiere ir). Durante la misma pausa algunos aprovechan y van al pipis rum. (2000: 56)

Proposed TT The Siren's Communion

"You'd been saving that one, hadn't you, mate," (says *assistant*).

"OK," (says *director*) "he's off again. Why don't you let us all have some next time you light one. Is this normal or do you trip like this *toot le temps*?

"Shush man (he says). Yeah, the meaning changes, but if you want to be all psycho-loco paranoid psychopathotropic or sociotropic or psychotrippy and psycho-etc... but you want to make the story insignificant, fine."

"A crazy loony chick who goes masochistically wild, because of her childhood hang-ups and what have you. Now's the time! That's the story we're discovering bit by bit and you get your way anyway, because it complements the script (Martínez on the air all this time)."

"Don't back out now (says *photographer*).

"No, but it's a hell of a job getting everything monsieur Martínez dreamt up on his trip."

"Don't be stupid," (says *lights*), "have a toke!"

"But I'm not in it at all anymore (says *actress*), and this story isn't the same one he told me it was (refers to *director*), or is it you just wanted to see me naked and so now you're going to change everything?"

"Like you're that hot," (*big man* bites back).

Ada shows off the dress design, drawn by the woman in charge of wardrobe who teaches dressmaking at the *Academia Eugenia* (in case anyone is interested in going). Some take advantage of the same pause to go to the salle de oui-oui.

Salcedo (1990) El viaje de los cantores

I'm here. Here? Pues here, in Sierra Blanca. Pues porque se descompuso el pinche chucu-chucu. Tuve que desviar la armatoste ésta a una de las vías auxiliares. Por eso no me puedo ir de largo, y ni me voy a ir tampoco. What did you say? No te oigo, habla más fuerte. ¡Tampoco me grites que ya te oí! I love my life, por eso no me arriesgo. I love my crazy life (1990: 40).

Proposed TT The Voyage of the Cantors

I'm here. Here? *Pues* here, in Sierra Blanca. *Pues*, because the freakin' chucu-chucu broke down. I had to leave that there monstrosity on one of the side tracks. That's why I can't go on, and I won't go on either. *Qué dijiste?* I can't hear you, speak up. And don't shout, I already heard you! I love my life, that's why I don't take risks. I love my *vida loca*.

Ibargüengoitia (1979) Dos Crímenes
¡Qué lugar tan raro para haber nacido! pensé, igual que cada vez que regreso. Nací en un rancho perdido, mi padre fue agrarista, me dicen el Negro, estoy jodido (1979: 65).
—Nací en un rancho perdido, mi padre fue agrarista, me dicen el Negro, la única parienta que llegó a ser rica empezó siendo puta: estoy jodido (1979: 90).
nací en un rancho perdido, mi padre fue agrarista, me dicen el Negro, la única de mi familia que llegó a ser rica empezó siendo puta y con sólo echar una firmar perdí catorce millones de pesos. Decir que estoy jodido es poco (1979: 125).

Zatz (1984) Two Crimes	Proposed TT Two Crimes
What a strange place to have been born in, I thought, as I do every time I return. I come from up in the hills, my dad was a loser, everybody calls me El Negro, life has handed me a screwing. (1984: 60)	What a strange place to be born, I thought, just like I do every time I come back. I was born in the middle of nowhere, my dad was a peasant, and they call me *el Negro*; I'm screwed.
I come from up in the hills, my dad was a loser, everybody calls me El Negro, my only relative who got rich started out by being a whore. Life has handed me a screwing. (1984: 84)	I was born in the middle of nowhere, my dad was a peasant, they call me *el Negro*, and my only relative that got rich started off as a whore: I'm screwed.
I come from up in the hills, my dad was a loser, everybody calls me El Negro, the one member of my family who got rich started out as a whore, and I lost fourteen million pesos just by signing my name. To say that life has handed me a royal screwing would be putting it mildly. (1984: 119)	I was born in the middle of nowhere, my dad was a peasant, they call me *el Negro*, the only one in my family who got rich started off as a whore and I lost 14 million pesos just by signing my name. To say I'm screwed is an understatement.

Ibargüengoitia (1979) Dos Crímenes
—Nací en un rancho perdido, mi padre fue agrarista, me dicen el Negro, y el único pedazo de buena suerte que me ha tocado, que fue que mi tío me dejara una herencia, es ahora prueba de que yo lo asesiné. Estoy jodido. Y por si fuera poco, ya desde antes había yo echado a perder esta buena suerte, porque tengo firmado un convenio con mis primos según el cual me comprometo a entregarles cuatro quintas partes de la herencia (1979: 189).
—Mira nomás, Negro, cómo has cambiado, que no me daba cuenta de que eras tú. Yo tampoco me había dado cuenta, pensé, de que el Colorado, además de ser rojo, es cacarizo. (1979: 67–68)

Zatz (1984) Two Crimes	Proposed TT Two Crimes
"I come from up in the hills, my dad was a loser, everybody calls me El Negro, and the only piece of luck that ever came my way turns out to be proof that I murdered my uncle. Life has handed me a royal screwing. And if that's not enough, I already loused myself out of my good luck by signing an agreement with my cousins to hand over four-fifths of the inheritance." (1984: 185)	I was born in the middle of nowhere, my dad was a peasant, they call me *el Negro*, and the one piece of good luck that comes my way, my uncle leaving me an inheritance, now turns out to be proof that I killed him. I'm so screwed. And as if that weren't enough I'd already blown my good luck, because I signed an agreement with my cousins saying I'll give them 4 fifths of the inheritance.
"I can't believe it—Negro! Couldn't tell it was you, you've changed so much." It was the same with me. I had never noticed before that besides being red-faced, El Colorado was also pockmarked. (1984: 63)	"Look at you, *Negro*, you've changed so much I didn't realize it was you!" And I hadn't realized, I thought, that *el Colorado*, apart from being red-faced—hence the nickname—was pockmarked.

Ibargüengoitia (1979) Dos Crímenes

Pedí un café y estuve revisando los periódicos con mucho cuidado. La noticia de "los terroristas" aprehendidos, que había aparecido en primera plana el día anterior, había ido a parar en la página 18 de *Excélsior* ese día, y no tenía continuación en ninguno de los otros periódicos. La información de *Excélsior* era un refrito de la del día anterior, excepto por una cosa: daban los nombres de los fugitivos, o mejor dicho, los apodos: "El Negro" y "La Chamaca". No aparecían nuestras fotos. La situación, decidí, era, dentro de lo posible, lo mejor. (1979: 71)

Zatz (1984) Two Crimes	Proposed TT Two Crimes
I ordered a cup of coffee and checked through the papers carefully. The news about the captured "terrorists" that had appeared on the front page the day before was now relegated in *Excélsior* to page 18, and none of the other newspapers carried a followup story. The report in *Excélsior* was a rehash of what had come out the day before, except that the names of the fugitives were given, that is to say, their aliases, "El Negro," and "La Chamaca." There were no photos of us. The situation, I decided, was as favorable as might be expected under the circumstances. (1984: 65–66)	I ordered a coffee and looked through the papers very carefully. The story of the "terrorists" who had been arrested, which had been front page news the day before, was now on page 18 of *Excelsiór* and there was no follow-up story in any of the other papers. The information in *Excelsiór* was a rehash of the day before's apart from one thing: the fugitives' names, or rather their nicknames: *El Negro* and *La Chamaca*[1]. There were no photos of us. I decided that, given the circumstances, this was about as good as it gets.

[1] *Chamuca* means 'devil' in Mexican Spanish while *chamaca* means 'child' [*fem.*].

Nicknames in Dos Crímenes/Two Crimes

ST (1979)	TT (1984)	Proposed TT
el Negro	El Negro	*el Negro*
el Colorado	El Colorado	*el Colorado*
la Chamuca	the Chamuca	*la Chamuca*
[la Chamaca	La Chamaca	*la Chamaca*][2]
el Dorado	"The Golden Boy"	*el Dorado*
el guapo	"Handsome"	*Beau*
el gringo	"The Gringo"	the gringo[3]

[2] *Chamaca* appears in the ST as a newspaper error, that is, instead of *Chamuca*. See Chapter 5.

[3] This is arguably not intended as a nickname in the ST. See Chapter 5 for discussion.

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INDEX

Translating Contemporary Mexican Texts: Fidelity to Alterity addresses an area of research that has received little if any attention in translation theory: the translation into English of contact neologisms and code-switching in Mexican Spanish. The translator of Mexican texts is invited to review the historical background and the sociopolitical and linguistic factors that have led to the emergence of new varieties of English and Spanish, in particular the mixed varieties and code-switching common to parts of Mexico and the United States, often known collectively as Spanglish. Since translation should not consist of effacing the Other, *Translating Contemporary Mexican Texts* provides conceptual tools and practical advice for carrying out foreignizing translations that allow for a degree of preservation of linguistic and cultural differences through the employment of heterogeneous discourse.

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