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Translating the Queerness of Spanglish in Audiovisual Contexts

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Abstract

Over the past decade there has been an increase in audiovisual representation of Latinx communities in the United States. More recently an unprecedented quantity of scripted Spanglish—or radical Spanish-English bilingualism—has become an important element in this portrayal. Given the transnational shift in marketing and distribution of audiovisual platforms such as Netflix, a large amount of this content has been dubbed and subtitled for Spanish-speaking audiences. In this context, this paper serves a tripartite purpose. First, it positions Spanglish as a Queer community translinguistic practice that can serve very clear purposes in texts. This breaks from existing translation scholarship which has tended to view Spanglish as a type of accented speech that predominantly furthers character development. Second, it is the first longitudinal study to consider how Spanglish AV sources have been translated into Spanish. Case studies examined in this paper include Disney/Pixar's film *Coco*, the Netflix sitcoms *One Day at a Time* and *Gentefied*, and the Starz drama *Vida*. Finally, this paper seeks to broaden Démont's "On three modes of translating queer literary texts" (2018), suggesting that his "modes" may help us understand translation practices affecting a range of minoritized communities.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, Spanglish, minoritized communities, queer

La traducción de lo queer del espanglish en contextos audivisuales

Resumen

A lo largo de la última década, se observó un incremento de la representación audiovisual de las comunidades latinas en Estados Unidos. Más recientemente, una cantidad sin precedentes de *espanglish* —o bilingüismo radical español-inglés— se ha convertido en elemento importante de dicha representación. Dado el giro transnacional del mercadeo y la distribución de plataformas audiovisuales, como Netflix, gran parte de ese contenido se ha doblado y subtitulado para audiencias hispanohablantes. En ese contexto, este artículo atiende un triple objetivo. Primero, posiciona el *espanglish* como una práctica translingüística de la comunidad *queer* que puede atente a fines muy claros en los textos. Esto rompe con la academia existente en traducción que ha tendido a ver el *espanglish* como una especie de habla con acento notorio que en su mayor parte da color al personaje. Segundo, es el primer estudio longitudinal que considera la forma como se han traducido al español las fuentes audiovisuales en *espanglish*. Los estudios de caso analizados en el presente artículo incluyen la película *Coco*, de

Disney/Pixar, las comedias *One Day at a Time* y *Gentefied*, de Netflix, y el drama *Vida*, de Starz. Para terminar, el artículo busca ampliar el texto de Démont "On three modes of translating queer literary texts" (Sobre tres maneras de traducir textos literarios queer, publicado en 2018), indicando que sus "maneras" pueden ayudarnos a entender las prácticas traductivas que afectan a una variedad de comunidades minorizadas.

Palabras claves: traducción audiovisual, Spanglish, comunidades minorizadas, queer

La traduction du queer dans le *spanglish* dans le domaine audiovisuel

Résumé

Au cours de la dernière décennie, la représentation médiatique des communautés latino-américaines a augmenté considérablement aux États-Unis. Dernièrement, une quantité sans précédent de spanglish, ou bilinguisme radical espagnol-anglais, a fait son apparition dans les médias, se tournant un élément-clef de cette représentation latino-américaine. Au vu de l'évolution internationale du marketing et de la diffusion des plateformes audiovisuelles telles que Netflix, une grande partie de ce contenu a été doublée et sous-titrée à destination des publics hispanophones. Dans un tel contexte, cet article revêt un objectif tripartite. En premier lieu, il positionne le Spanglish en tant que pratique translinguistique de la communauté Queer, capable de servir des objectifs très précis à l´écrit. Cela rompt avec la tendance des travaux de recherche, publiés dans le milieu de la traduction, à considérer le Spanglish comme une sorte de "langage exagéré" servant surtout à l´élaboration des personnages. En second lieu, il s'agit de la première étude longitudinale à se pencher réellement sur la manière dont les sources audiovisuelles en Spanglish ont été traduites vers l´espagnol. Les études de cas analysées dans cet article comprennent le dessin animé *Coco* de Disney Pixar, les comédies de Netflix *One Day at a Time* et *Gentefied*, et la série Vida diffusée par Starz. Enfin, cet article cherche à élargir le «On three modes of translating queer literary texts" de Démont (2018), en suggérant que ses «modes» puissent faciliter la compréhension des techniques de traduction touchant tout un ensemble de communautés minorisées.

Mots-clef : traduction audiovisuelle, Spanglish, communautés minorisées, queer

Introduction

Over the past decade there has been an increase in audiovisual representation of Latinx[1] communities in the United States, complete with portrayals of their language use. Shows such as *Devious Maids* (Cherry, 2013), *Jane the Virgin* (Urman, 2014), *Breaking Bad* (Gilligan, 2008), *Queen of the South* (Fortin & Miller, 2016), *Orange is the New Black* (Kohan, 2013), *One Day at a Time* (Calderon Kellett & Royce, 2017), *Vida* (Saracho, 2018), *Gentefied* (Lemus & Chávez, 2020), and the Disney/Pixar feature-length animated film *Coco* (Unkrich, 2017) all demonstrate—with varying degrees of accuracy—how Latinx communities speak a wide spectrum of language varieties. These range from somewhat standardized varieties of English and Spanish to many so-called "bilingual" varieties of Spanglish that lie at points on the continuum between these two national named languages. With this visibility has come a previously unprecedented quantity of scripted Spanglish—known by some scholars as "radical Spanish-English bilingualism."[2] Given the recent transnational shift in marketing and distribution of audiovisual platforms such as Netflix, a large amount of this content has been dubbed and subtitled for Spanish-speaking audiences who, presumably, may not be able to access the Spanglish in the original (Jenner, 2018).

While translation studies scholars have discussed the challenges that bilingualism, codeswitching, and heterolingualism in source texts can present to translators, many of those discussions have centered on small-scale portrayals of dialogue in largely literary or AV works. For example, Grutman discusses the challenge of translating non-standardized language varieties in one context into non-standardized varieties in another. His concern, which focuses primarily on regional varieties or the speech patterns particular to certain socioeconomic classes, is that often the cultural specificity of the source text does not fully map onto the cultural context which is reproduced in the translation (2006). Meylaerts (2006) considers the translation of bilingual and multilingual texts, but still from a starting point that the languages in question are somewhat discrete from one another, which I will problematize in due course. For their part, Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2011, 2019) see Spanglish as an L3, viewing it not as a translanguage—a term which will be defined shortly—that exists on a spectrum. Instead, they see it as a variation from the dominant language of a source. However, their work does not consider situations in which Spanglish may be the L1 and, rather than being a variation from standardized English or Spanish, is the dominant or preferred translanguage of many US Latinx communities.

Despite some of these ground-breaking studies, there are a few angles that remain to be explored. The first is a look at Spanglish as a source language that considers its sociolinguistic positionality in US Latinx communities. Spanglish, I will argue, is not merely idiosyncratic to the speech patterns of individual characters. Instead, it is a community language which can contribute to the development of the broader narrative rather than merely at the character level.

Cussel (2021) criticizes a fixation of national named language as being at the heart of translation studies, yet we know that much of the world communicates in ways that transgress these linguistic categories (see also Otheguy et al., 2015). Given the increased representation of Spanglish in audiovisual sources in recent years, it is pertinent to rethink whether it is simply a mixing of national languages or if it is perhaps

1 The term Latinx (pronounced Latin-ex) is a gender-inclusive term that has been gaining in popularity in the US. In addition to gender diversity, it also mimics the Boolean search operator *. In this capacity it can serve as an open-ended stand-in for hyphenated or compounded identities of which Latinx may be one of many.

2 The term "radical bilingualism" is problematized later, however for more information on this nevertheless useful term see Derrick (2015) and Torres (2007, pp. 75–96).

something else entirely. This paper begins by discussing the Queer[3] nature of Spanglish as something that exists outside of what is considered socially normative or acceptable and, instead, claims its space as a valid linguistic system outside the colonially constructed framework of prestige.

Second, scholars have not yet examined the overarching implications and challenges of translating source texts in Spanglish on as large a scale as is currently emerging. Beseghi (2019) and Kingery (2019) both consider individual translations of US Latinx sources which deploy a range of Spanish-English mixing as aesthetic or character-driven tools to shape the narrative—Beseghi looks at the translation of one character's dialogue in *Jane the Virgin* into Italian and Kingery analyzes the Spanish translation of Junot Diaz's *The Brief Wonderous Life of Oscar Wao*. Nevertheless, there has been no study of audiovisual sources that compares and tracks the diversity of translation strategies applied to Spanglish sources that have been translated into Spanish in recent years. This paper addresses this lacuna by considering four separate published case studies on recent audiovisual sources to see how translation strategies have been applied differently over time. While the cases studied only span a period of four years, the dramatic increase in audiovisual representations of Spanglish during this time has presented a challenge to translators for which a solution has yet to be identified. This comparative study, then, will shed light onto how different translators have grappled with this relatively new problem in different ways over time.

To do this, I will rely on Marc Démont's "Three Modes of Translating Queer Literary Texts" as the locus of comparison for these case studies. Démont's three modes are *misrecognizing* (or not identifying queerness in the source), *minoritizing* (translating the Queerness in such a way as to render it strange or other where it was not in the source), and *Queering* (or representing Queer content in Queer ways). Each of the case studies considered in this paper will be assigned a translation mode given the data presented. The trends that emerge and the degree to which Démont's modes may be applied more broadly will be considered further in the conclusion.

To discuss the aforementioned questions, this paper is divided into three main sections followed by a conclusion. In the first section, "The Queerness of Spanglish," I begin by considering the Queer translinguistic nature of Spanglish as a mutable linguistic register that exists to resist normative uses of language that often force speakers to perform language in ways that conform to dominant social expectations.

The second section, "Translating Spanglish for Monolingual Hispanic Audiences" briefly considers the unique challenges that arise when translating specifically between Spanglish and Spanish.

The third section, "Case Studies," puts four published case studies that scrutinize recent audiovisual translations into dialogue with each other. These case studies are presented in chronological order based on the release date of the film or TV show. The case studies analysed include 1) the Disney/Pixar film *Coco* (Attig, 2019), 2) the Netflix sitcom *One Day at a Time* (Attig & Derrick, 2021), 3) the Starz drama *Vida,* and finally, 4) the Netflix drama *Gentefied,* both presented in (Derrick & Attig, 2023). This parallel presentation will support a reflection of how these AV sources with significant presence of Spanglish have been translated for international Spanish-speaking audiences and the diversity of these approaches over the

3 I capitalize the term Queer to refer to a political orientation that seeks equity and liberation for intersectional identities that lie outside the hierarchy of prestige that is assigned by patriarchal, capitalist, and colonial power structures. When the term is used as an umbrella term for LGBTQ+ people, it remains uncapitalized as "queer." When the term is used in quotations, capitalization of this term will reflect how it is capitalized in the source.

past few years. In addition, I will contextualize these various strategies by relying on sociolinguistic and cultural studies theories to discuss how the depiction of language use in US Latinx communities and the social commentary on the othering of US Latinxs in a predominantly Anglo country raise unique challenges for translators that extend well beyond heterolingualism or individualized bilingualism in source texts. Each case study will be assessed against Démont's tripartite model to consider how the translators' chosen strategies misrecognize, minoritize, or queer the resulting translations.

Finally, I conclude by applying Démont's tripartite model to the ensemble of sources considered in this paper before proposing a broader application of his theory; I suggest that the issues he raises are not unique to queer literature, but rather are widespread among literature that emerges from minoritized communities and is translated for dominant global centers.

1. The Queerness of Spanglish

Before jumping into a chronological discussion of recent AV sources, it is pertinent to consider the object of this study more broadly: What is Spanglish and how is it sometimes different to individual character portrayals that use heteroglossic, bilingual, or other accented voices in AV sources?

First and foremost, the theoretical underpinning that enabled the previous sentence is fundamentally flawed. To suggest that a voice may be heteroglossic, bilingual, or accented is predicated on the existence of voices which are completely neutral. This is simply not how language works. Everyone has an accent. Accents with higher prestige, however, are what is commonly understood as being "neutral," and sometimes these prestige accents also benefit from the strategic use of multilingualism to perform their prestige, as is discussed in the case study on *Coco* (Attig, 2019, p. 159). But these prestige accents are not ontologically neutral; their prestige is merely a societal construct (Lippi-Green, 2012, pp. 45-47). That said, even if the last sentence of the previous paragraph were theoretically sound, the Spanglish in the sources considered in this paper is different to individual characterizations in one very significant way: It is not merely the linguistic production of a lone character; it belongs to a much wider community.

Individual characters' idiolects may contribute to character development by portraying their own migratory path, lived experience, family ties, or other cultural elements that are unique to their lives. Spanglish, on the other hand, is a mutable community translanguage which has a range of grammatical features that draw inspiration from both English and Spanish and which are deployed differently by different speakers. Gloria Anzaldúa (1999) said

> For a people who are neither Spanish nor live in a country in which Spanish is the first language; for a people who live in a country in which English is the reigning tongue but who are not Anglo; for a people who cannot entirely identify with either standard (formal, Castilian) Spanish nor standard English, what resource is left to them but to create their own language? A language which they can connect their identity to, one capable of communicating the realities and values true to themselves—a language with terms that are neither *español ni inglés*, but both. (p. 77)

A translanguage refers to an understanding of a linguistic production (language/lect) that reflects the ethical or methodological orientation of translinguistics. This sociolinguistic posture is defined by Lee and Dovchin (2020) as reflecting three realities:

1. Boundaries between "languages" are the result of ideological invention and sedimentation.
2. Such boundaries do not unilaterally guide communication in everyday contexts.
3. Communication itself is not limited to "language" insofar as interlocutors draw on a

> range of semiotic and spatial repertoires. (p. 1)

Translinguistics stands in opposition to the linguistic notion of codeswitching in that the latter is observer-oriented and presumes that languages are separate in the minds of bilingual or multilingual speakers but can be observed to mix in the mouth of a code-switching subject (Toribio, 2002; MacSwan, 2020, p. 3). The former term, on the other hand, does not accept, practically nor theoretically, that languages are discrete systems which can be clearly defined and separated (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 282; Reagan, 2019, p. 7). Instead, translanguaging is speaker-oriented and recognizes that any speaking subject's language (an unquantifiable concept) is comprised of one internal system from which speakers choose features in order to communicate with their target audience. Spanglish is one such manifestation of language that does not conform to national language norms. Instead, it is similar to Portuñol/Portunhol—a mixing of Portuguese and Spanish common along the geographical borders of Brazil—which Larkosh says "operates largely unconcerned with the normative grammar of either one [Portuguese or Spanish]; each person who speaks it can be said to do so on their own terms, using the vocabulary and pronunciation from either language to facilitate communication with their interlocutor at any given time" (Larkosh, 2016, p. 554).

Given that translinguistics recognizes language as a singular system rather than a system in which each "named" language exists separately in the mind of speakers, it stands to reason that the production of standardized "named" language varieties is performative and seeks to reproduce the societal expectations of binary notions of language: An utterance must be either in Spanish or in English. Such a discrete and binary production of language functions much in the way that gender performance does; we are taught to perform our gender to match the expectations of those around us. Similarly, we are taught to use language in order to fit in with the groups and social classes in which we navigate our lives or to which we aspire.[4]

Spanglish resists such binaries and stands as a *trans*language because it crosses the borders of these national definitions of language in resistance to prescribed norms. Furthermore, Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes argues that Spanglish itself is a Queer language—a term which in this instance does not necessarily suggest sexual and gender minority, but rather a refusal to conform to classist, imperial, or patriarchal expectations. On this topic, he states that non-monolingual productions such as Spanglish share with Queerness:

> La manera en que las dos se vinculan con las nociones de pureza e impureza; de aquello que es civilizado o básicamente aceptado, contrapuesto a aquello considerado tabú, salvaje, bárbaro, inferior o degradado. No hay nada intrínsecamente puro o impuro en la sexualidad o el lenguaje, excepto la manera en que se constituyen y definen en diferentes momentos históricos y entornos socioculturales. Sin embargo, los dos, al igual que el lenguaje y el género sexual, están frecuentemente entrelazados. (La Fountain-Stokes, 2006, p. 143)[5]

Spanglish transgresses the doxa of language boundaries and is met with substantial criticism for doing so. Some influential TEL[6] (translin-

4 For more information on performing identities through language use, consult Barrett (2017), Lippi-Green (2012).

5 The way in which both are connected to notions of purity and impurity; of that which is civilized or essentially accepted, versus that which is considered taboo, barbaric, inferior, or degraded. There is nothing intrinsically pure or impure in sexuality or in language beyond the way in which they are constructed and defined in different historical moments and sociocultural contexts. Nevertheless, both language and sexuality are often intertwined (Translation is mine).

6 This is inspired by the term TERF, meaning "trans-exclusionary radical feminist" that is used as both an insult and a well-earned adjective for feminists who minimize or deny the place of

guistic exclusionary linguists) figures in the Spanish-speaking world have had this to say about Spanglish:

> "Spanglish is neither good nor bad, rather it is abominable."—Octavio Paz, author
>
> "Let us not pretend; the communication that is achieved with this instrument [Spanglish] is poor...to believe that these impoverished systems could go very far at all is to have no grasp of reality."—Manuel Alvar, philologist
>
> "Only Latinos who are less privileged and uneducated use Spanglish, they are illiterate in both languages."—Roberto González Echevarría, professor
>
> "the immigrant without money or culture that attempts to use Spanglish uses it because he doesn't know much English or Spanish... Spanglish is a consequence of ignorance."—Xosé Castro Roig, translator (Betti, 2011, pp. 43–44)

Given this strong stigma against the use of Spanglish, the choice to use it is, by definition, a form of Queer resistance to assimilation and societal expectations. But this language use extends well beyond individuals' idiolects and specific class or regional contexts in the United States. Instead, it is widespread across socio-economic classes and geographies of US Latinxs (McClure & Mir, 1995, p. 34). Rather than bending to the expectations of the Anglo-dominant society in the US, some Latinx individuals and collectives choose to speak Spanglish as a way of demonstrating that they can function in either English or Spanish but are most comfortable when they can move between languages (Zentella, 1982, p. 4).

Furthermore, Spanglish is not a chaotic combination of elements present in both Spanish and English. Instead, it has been demonstrated to have an internally consistent grammar. Previous studies have found that all the case studies considered in this paper demonstrate uses of Spanglish and codeswitching that align with the observed patterns of real-world speech (Attig, 2019; Attig & Derrick, 2021; Derrick & Attig, 2023).[7] This attempt at recreating a vernacular use of language in a scripted context is, nevertheless, different from authentic vernacular uses of language in natural settings. The replication of orality in scripted media, or "prefabricated orality," is described by Baños-Piñero and Chaume as an "orality which may seem spontaneous and natural but is actually planned" (Baños-Piñero & Chaume, 2009, p. 1). How each of these shows captures its own version of orality is discussed in each of the longer case studies from which the data for this study has been drawn. Despite the case studies considered in this paper demonstrating relatively true-to-life representations of Spanglish, there are certainly examples of scripted audiovisual texts that use very artificial representations of Spanglish. Those have not been included in this study as the author did not find extant in-depth translation analyses on them.

This community aspect of Spanglish plays an important role in the case studies discussed in this paper. At times, the use of Spanglish by some characters and the lack thereof by others establishes clear dynamics of in-group/out-group communities which contribute to the story's tension. Since Spanglish is mutable and draws from the full linguistic repertoire of the speakers, its use in the shows studied in this paper varies in much the same way as it does in Latinx communities across the US. In some instances, dialogue may appear to be almost exclusively in Spanish with very little English influence. At other times, the utterances are dominated by English constructions or vocabulary with little Spanish presence. There are also examples where characters navigate their

trans people in feminism while simultaneously claiming to be radical or forward-thinking.

7 For more information about the observed grammar of Spanglish, see Grosjean (2013), Gumperz (1976), McClure (1977), Montes-Alcalá (2007, 2015, 2016), Muysken (2000), Poplack (1981), Toribio & Rubin (1996), Zentella (1982, 1997).

translingual inventory by juggling Spanish, English, and bilingual wordplay such as "reverse Spanglish" or other types of linguistic supra-consciousness as discussed by Rosa (2015) and Gauvin (2000).

2. Translating Spanglish for Monolingual Hispanic Audiences

Given the Queer starting point and the representation of Latinx communities that the use of Spanglish in scripted media affords, it is important to consider if the same representation is available to viewers of Spanish dubbed versions of the AV media that have been studied to date. Or, is the window into transgressive practices of certain US Latinxs communities closed to global monolingual Hispanophone audiences? Since the most obvious translation strategy would be to erase the presence of English in favor of a monolingual Spanish translation and then dub that translation as per normative dubbing practices, the ability of the dubbed versions to translate the tension and political orientation of the source for the new audience is not immediately apparent.

However, given the aforementioned Queer orientation of Spanglish, we will illuminate this question by considering how the various translation/dubbing approaches presented in the following studies map onto Marc Démont's "On Three Modes of Translating Queer Literary Texts" (2018). Démont identifies three main modes—or resulting strategies, intentional or not—that translators tend to use when translating queer texts.[8] The first is *misrecognizing translation*. This is when translators do not identify queer elements in the source texts at all, thus erasing them in the translation. The second is *minoritizing translation*. In such translations, texts are flattened into translations that have only a "unidimensional" meaning and play a "superficial game of denotative equivalences" (p. 157). For example, *minoritizing translations* can result in Queer wordplay, neologisms, or nonbinary pronouns being rendered into literal translations that do not map onto Queer language uses in the target culture (Attig, 2022). The third is a *"queering" stance* in which a queer lens is applied to the source text to preserve and render the queer visible in the translation.

As we will see, this tripartite model is highly applicable to the translation of Spanglish works, even those which do not deal with gender or sexual minorities as the term "queer" is often understood to mean, and which I understand to be the focus of Démont's observations. Instead, this study shows that Démont's model can be applied to a wide range of translations of texts written by many minoritized communities.

3. Case Studies

The translation of Spanglish into a dubbed modality for monolingual Spanish-Speaking audiences has been attempted in a variety of ways between 2017 and 2020. The cases that I will put into dialogue with each other here were selected because in-depth studies have already been conducted into individual translation strategies as depicted in these works. These previous studies are among the few that consider recent audiovisual translations of Spanglish into Spanish, but until now, they have been published as isolated case studies. Thus, a consideration of them together can give us insight into the several different approaches that translators have taken to rendering Spanglish sources into Spanish over the period in question. Each case will be considered here in chronological order based on the release date of the sources so that we can consider how this growing area of media has been translated differently over time. Given that each case study has been discussed at further length in other publications, an in-depth discussion of the methodology for each study will not be presented here but can be found in the separately published case studies.

8 It should be noted that Démont does not differentiate between capitalized Queer and lower-case queer, as I prefer. Consequently, I have followed his capitalization practices when referring to his work.

A categorization of each translation mode as per Démont's model follows the discussion of each case study.

3.1. *Coco* (2017)

The first case study was published in 2019 and considered Disney/Pixar's 2017 film *Coco* (Attig, 2019). *Coco* appeared in the English-dominant source version with 294 Spanish utterances spread over the length of the 109-minute film. All speaking characters in the movie use Spanglish to varying degrees, though it is generally in short bursts that are accessible to mainstream Anglophone audiences. The presence of Spanish in the source was generally categorized by Attig as belonging to one of five categories: 1) Spanish expressions (*Día de Muertos*), 2) personal names with a Spanish rather than English title (*Mamá Coco, Tío Berto*), 3) the use of Spanish terms for untranslatable ideas (*mariachi, alebrijes*), 4) the use of diminutive forms that do not exist in English (*Miguelit-it-ito*), and 5) Spanish song lyrics. Given the frequency of Spanish influence, the diversity of use, and the general accessibility of these short insertions to the audience, the Spanglish is more than an occasional detour from a dominant English source, it is an ever-present aspect that contributes to the storyline. But, what is the tale that this Spanglish weaves?

Coco tells the story of a young boy, Miguel, who on the Day of the Dead, finds himself transported from his mundane life to the land of the dead. There, he is separated from his living family by an impenetrable border which can only be crossed by bridge, and only then by those who possess proper documentation. This is a clear analogy of undocumented children in the US and the way in which the US-Mexico border separates families. As such, the use of Spanglish throughout the movie reinforces this borderland aspect of the film. In fact, a 2019 study of the film suggested that, given the linguistic cues and almost nonexistent explicit references to Mexico, it is equally plausible, if not more so, for an American audience to understand the film as taking place on the northern side of the US-Mexico border as it is for them to conceive that the narrative is set in Mexico itself (Attig, 2019, p. 155). Furthermore, the Spanglish in the film and social class of the characters is more consistent with linguistic practices in the US rather than in Mexico. As previously mentioned, Spanglish is a widespread translanguage in the US and is present across the socioeconomic spectrum. However, Spanish-English translanguaging in much of Latin America is an individual phenomenon that serves to perform in accordance with the linguistic abilities expected from those belonging to a higher social class—one to which the characters in *Coco* do not belong—and demonstrate facility with English. This reinforces the idea that the speaking subject has likely travelled to the US or had a private education (McClure & Mir, 1995, p. 46).

As with all Disney feature-length cartoons, *Coco* was translated and dubbed into a wide range of languages, including Spanish. However, the Spanish language dubbing does not preserve any aspect of the dominant linguistic register of the source (Attig, 2019, pp. 155-156). While the case study does not provide examples of this erasure, the absence of the aforementioned 294 code-switches is immediately obvious when comparing the two versions.

The result is that the Spanglish linguistic cues that reinforce the transnational or border aspects of the film are levelled into a monolingual Spanish target that is almost certainly set in Mexico; any possibility that it could take place north of the Río Bravo / Rio Grande is minimized. The study acknowledges the myriad problems with rendering Spanglish in the English source into Spanglish in the Spanish translation, including how translanguaging in Mexico characterizes the speakers as belonging to a very specific social class, which is inconsistent with the film. Nevertheless, the complete erasure of the bilingual aspects has significant ramifications on the interpretations available to the viewers of the translation despite the difficulty in finding an obvious approach.

Consequently, the result of the Spanish translation of this first study reflects Démont's category of *misrecognition*. Whereas the Spanglish in the source served more than an aesthetic purpose (it served to geographically orient the film), the Spanish translation seems to have not recognized the importance of the language use and thus erased it. On the other hand, the briefly mentioned French and Portuguese translations are examples of *minoritizing*. Here, though the codeswitching is retained in the target, it is a superficial equivalence which indexes a very different cultural context. While the source conjures up in the minds of audiences a US Latinx community, the formal equivalence of Spanish in French or Portuguese does not reference existing Mexican-American communities since those who may code-switch between French or Portuguese and Spanish would live in a very different cultural context.

3.2. *One Day at a Time* (2017)

The second study to be discussed is that of the first season of the Netflix series *One Day at a Time* (*ODAAT*; Attig & Derrick, 2021). Like *Coco*, *ODAAT* was also first released in 2017 and is a reboot of the 1970's Norman Lear sitcom of the same name. It tells the story of a Cuban-American single mother who lives with her two kids and mother in Echo Park, Los Angeles. *ODAAT* uses code-switching much less than *Coco*, but it is a regular feature in the dialogue. Attig and Derrick (2021) found 496 utterances including influence from Spanish in the first season of the show. These were subdivided into four categories: 1) Cultural switches, including terms related to foods, celebrations, and family; 2) emphasis, a category which uses Spanish as a stylistic device to highlight certain key words in a phrase; 3) commands; and 4) high-impact terms, including vulgarity. This presence of Spanish is an is a sitcom about Latinx people; a fact which might be minimized if there were no such linguistic cues. Here, the Spanglish in the show not only serves to highlight the *Latinidad* of the characters but also to indicate that those who translanguage are part of the in-group. In contrast, some characters were not Latinx—non-Latinx characters were almost exclusively Caucasian in the show—and did not translanguage or, for comedic effect, attempted and failed. This language use reinforced the idea that non-Latinx characters were out-group members (Attig & Derrick, 2021).

To retain this in-group (Spanglish/Latinx) and out-group (English-only/Caucasians) linguistic divide in the translation, the dubbing agency deployed a unique approach: They contracted the Latinx actors themselves, all of whom speak Spanish, to voice themselves in the dubbing. At the same time, they hired Mexican voice actors to voice the non-Latinx characters (Attig & Derrick, 2021, p. 659). The strategy was not uniformly applied in that Marcel Ruiz, the actor who played the son, did not voice himself in the dubbing but was instead voiced by a Mexican child actor. Still, the majority of the translation did retain the in-group speech by rendering it into a Cuban accented Spanish, consistent with the Cuban identity of the protagonists, while the out-group was dubbed with a Mexican pronunciation and intonation. Since the uniqueness of this approach is audible in the dubbed version but not necessarily in writing, examples of this strategy were not provided in the case study. This innovative approach to the dubbing, of course, had nothing to do with the translation strategy itself. Nevertheless, from the viewer's perspective, the translation and the voices used for the dubbing cannot be divorced from one another (Tuominen, 2019, p. 230).

In this case, the translation/dubbing can be characterized in Démont's model as taking a *queering* stance. It recognizes the social dynamics created by language use in the source and seeks to replicate it in the translation through innovative dubbing techniques that diverge from normative dubbing practices. Of course, the method to achieve this type of phonetic/accented distinction between in-group and out-group dynamics will necessarily be different in different languages. Nevertheless, the innovative approach used here could serve as inspiration for

future dubbing of Spanglish. It resists superficial equivalence and exoticization because it seeks to reproduce an accent that fits the characterization of the protagonists, in this case Caribbean Spanish speakers, while still differentiating them, through language, from out-group characters. This type of dubbing model could be applied to Spanglish sources more widely with great success.[9]

3.3. *Vida* (2018)

The third case study that we will consider is a forthcoming article about *Vida* (Derrick & Attig, 2023). First released by Starz in 2018, *Vida* tells the story of two estranged sisters who return home to the Boyle Heights neighbourhood of Los Angeles following the death of their mother, Vidalia. The sisters inherit their mother's bar, which they must comanage with her widow, and rename it Vida. Together the three struggle against gentrification to keep their mother's legacy alive in a changing neighborhood.

Having left Boyle Heights years before with an ambition for upward social mobility, both sisters, Emma and Lyn, struggle to fit in with the largely working-class residents around them. Language, particularly a lack of fluency in the Chicanx Spanish with which they grew up, often contributes to their tension with long-time residents who now view them as chipster (Chicano hipsters) gentrifiers, also known as gentefiers. The linguistic barriers between the sisters and those around them comes from various angles: Sometimes Emma, who is more comfortable in Spanish, looks down on others for speaking "pocho" (non-standardized) Spanish, while at other times Lyn's own inability to speak fluent, prestige Spanish in elite circles earns her the contempt of others. One example of this dynamic, both in the source and in translation, can be seen in the interaction shown in Example 1:

Vida's language use is more nuanced and the linguistic power dynamics more complex than was the case with *Coco* or ODAAT. Both *Vida* and *Gentefied* were analyzed using a hybrid model of Gumperz (1982) and Montés-Alcalá's (2016) examples of sociopragmatics of code-switching in scripted texts (Derrick & Attig, 2023). This analysis found: 1) cultural switches, 2) emphasis, 3) commands, and 4) high-impact terms to be the key areas for intrasentential code-switching. In addition, some characters in *Vida* use sustained Spanish in a way that was not present in the previous case studies. Despite these important linguistic differences and the higher ratio of Spanglish or monolingual Spanish in *Vida*, the translation strategy mimics that of *Coco*. All of the linguistic cues in the dubbed version of *Vida* are leveled into a fluent Spanish that is spoken by all (Derrick & Attig, 2023). This results in several instances, like the one above, in which the tension between the characters due to the link between language use and belonging is rewritten, erasing the complex relationship many Latinx heritage speakers have with their family and community's language.

As with *Coco*, the translation strategy applied to the dubbed version of Vida fits into Démont's category of *misrecognizing*. Whereas in the source there are significant implications of belonging, or struggling to belong, that the language use conveys. The translation erases it completely, perhaps because such cues were not perceived by translators, though causation cannot be proven with any certainty. This has a domino effect that can cause language-based jokes to fall flat or language-based tension to disappear, and thus give the impression that certain interactions are improbable.

3.4. *Gentefied* (2020)

The final case study that we will consider in this article is the Netflix show *Gentefied,* which

9 While beyond the scope of this paper, it should be noted that the translation of Queer content in ODAAT has, in some instances, been plagued by minoritizing or misrecognizing modes of translation. For more information see Attig (2022).

Example 1

Silvia	Whoever ends up with him will have to measure up. **No puede ser una cualquiera.** What I mean is that it will take someone special.	La mujer que se lo lleva deberá estar a la altura. No puede ser una cualquiera. Me refiero a que tendrá que ser alguien especial
Lyn	Um. I know what **cualquiera** means. I've heard it several times before.	Sí, sé a qué se refiere con cualquiera. No es la primera vez que oigo esa palabra.
Silvia	I'm sure you have	No lo dudo. (*Vida* S1: E2)

was also studied by Derrick and Attig and published in parallel with the previous case study on *Vida* (Derrick & Attig, 2023). *Gentefied* premiered in 2020 and tells a very similar story to the one in *Vida*. A Boyle Heights working class family resists gentrification as their family-owned taco restaurant fights to remain open amid rising prices and changing neighborhood expectations.

The language use in *Gentefied* exists on a wider spectrum than in the previous sources, though it does follow the same general categorization as in *Vida*. In *Gentefied*, however, several characters speak almost exclusively in Spanish while many of the Anglos speak no Spanish at all. Others fluently navigate normative varieties of both languages as well as the liminal translingual spaces between them. The show uses this linguistic diversity to bolster the dominant recurring criticism of gentrification that is at its core. Across the episodes we see that all the local long-time residents of Boyle Heights have some comfort level in Spanish, while the outsiders who are attempting to gentrify the neighborhood consistently do not. This forces locals to adapt and to translate themselves to the outsiders who are buying up the property and changing the character of the neighborhood. A forthcoming study argues that this serves to create a linguistic border around Boyle Heights, establishing as insiders those who navigate the Spanish-Spanglish-English continuum, and as outsiders those who do not (Derrick & Attig, 2023).

The Spanish dubbed version of this show retains the linguistic divide by translating all long-time Boyle Heights residents' speech into normative Spanish while leaving the English speech of outsiders untranslated. This requires Spanish speakers to read subtitles to access the English. Though this does erase the Spanglish itself, aurally it supports the linguistic divide that the show creates in the source while nevertheless rendering the speech of Boyle Heights residents fully accessible to global Hispanic audiences (Derrick & Attig, 2023). The following scene, which was left untranslated in the Spanish dubbed version of the show, illustrates this linguistic tension between long-time Boyle Heights resident, and her Anglo landlord, Tim:

Ofelia:	De una esquina a la otra.
Tim & Ana	Stop, stop, stop, stop, stop!
Tim:	Don't you dare!
Ofelia:	(Speaking to her employee) Eres mi empleado. ¡Bórralo!
Tim:	I swear on Beyonce's babies, I will cut you sir. Ofelia, you will owe me thousands of dollars, ok? Thousands. This is my building and I'm making it better for you!
Ofelia:	¿Para mí?
Tim:	Yes, you!
Ofelia:	Pues que pendejada, ni me dijiste lo que ibas a hacer, gabacho mentiroso.

Yo estaba muy bien y muy contenta antes de que tú te aparecieras.

Tim: Ofelia, I cannot understand you.

(*Gentefied* S1:E5)

This approach to translation follows Démont's *queering* mode. Here the translation breaks with established and expected linguistic norms in order to situate the translation outside the English-Spanish linguistic polarity that dominated the translations of *Coco* and *Vida* as seen in previous case studies discussed in this paper. Consequently, the in-group/out-group dynamics present in the use of Spanglish in the source text is retained in the translation through a strategic deployment of non-translation of out-group dialogue in the translation made for Spanish-speaking audiences.

4. Conclusion

Given the diverse approaches to dubbing audiovisual sources from Spanglish into Spanish, let's return to Démont's tripartite model of translating queer texts. He suggests that there are fundamentally three ways in which such texts are translated: 1) they are misrecognized—that is to say that the translators do not recognize the content to be queer; 2) they are minoritized into a unidimensional and superficial game of denotative equivalences; or 3) the texts are recognized as the product of a queer culture and are translated so as to communicate that queerness in the translation (Démont, 2018). This tripartite model is fruitful as we assess the aforementioned dubbed sources. In the first category, that of misrecognition, we can find leveling strategies such as those applied to the Spanish version of *Coco* and *Vida*. Here the role that language plays in the source is misunderstood or not valued, and the resulting translation either eliminates or redirects the role that language can play in the development of the narrative.

The second mode, that of *minoritizing* translations, is not present in the case studies considered here. This is perhaps predictable in that translating Spanglish into Spanglish might, by default, be a *queering* strategy. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to consider further studies of how Spanglish is translated into languages besides the lexifying languages of English and Spanish to see if this mode dominates in those contexts. Unfortunately, an extended discussion about this is beyond the scope of this paper.

Finally, the translations of *ODAAT* and *Gentefied* demonstrate dubbing strategies that confirm the translators' understanding of the cultural implications of Spanglish and seek to replicate the sociolinguistic dynamics of the language use in the dubbing, albeit in different ways in both shows. This is what Démont's model refers to as affirming or *queering* translations. Further studies could shed light onto whether or not this mode emerges as dominant in the linguistic landscape of translations of Spanglish into Spanish, or if these are exceptional examples.

Until now, there has been no comparative study into the ways in which Spanglish has been translated into Spanish in audiovisual scripted media. While the goal of this study is not to prescribe best practices for this type of translation, it is beneficial to consider the different ways that translators have approached this media so that whatever path we choose going forward will be intentional and based on an understanding of the domino effect resulting from the intertwined ramifications of our decisions. After all, US Latinx communication exists in a culturally bound translingual liminal space between the national languages of English and Spanish. Despite this liminality, it is governed by unspoken rules and expectations that need to be understood in order to be replicated in any translation. As is the case with peripheral or minoritized literature more generally, those at the periphery are expected to navigate and understand certain rules about the dominant societies in which they live; the dominant societies, on the other hand, are not expected to have the same cultural fluency towards these minoritized communities

(Susam-Sarajeva, 2002). How such sources as these can be translated, then, in AV media is not straightforward, but the approaches considered in this paper can provide some inspiration as to varying strategies that may be applied to different translations.

The source texts studied in the papers which informed this study are not necessarily queer (LGBTQ+), though some, by sheer coincidence, are. Instead, it is the Queerness of language use that has drawn my attention to Démont's model. Given the applicability of Démont's model to the translation of Latinx/Spanglish audiovisual media, though, prompts the following question: Is this truly a model based on queerness? I do not think that it is. While it certainly applies to texts reflective of queer realities, as Démont articulates, this model should be extended more generally to consider the ways in which texts from minoritized communities that are translated for broader audiences are treated. Spivak, Susam-Sarajeva, Bandia, and Appiah have raised questions about translation in postcolonial or peripheral contexts that this tripartite model could further illuminate (Appiah, 1993; Bandia, 2010; Spivak, 2005; Susam-Sarajeva, 2002). I also think much can be gained by applying Démont's model within professional translation environments to encourage translators to consider their own limitations regarding the cultural specificity of sources emerging from minoritized or peripheral communities and to edit their own work with an eye for minimizing misrecognition or minoritizing elements in their translations.

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