Translating Code-Switching on the Screen:
Spanglish and L3-as-Theme

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Abstract

This paper outlines the complexity, for the purpose of translation, of accounting for how languages alternate in multilingual films and the realisation that the number and importance of instances of L3 (forms of expression other than a text's main language) constitute a variable that can ultimately affect a translator's solutions. In particular, it focuses on an issue that has not received much scholarly attention so far, the fictional representation of code-switching (CS) in feature films, with examples drawn largely from Spanglish (2004), given that one of the main themes of the film is language diversity and its problems for interpersonal communication. The paper distinguishes different types of language shifts (alternations) as part of a film's plot or script, involving translation between characters (intratextual diegetic translation) or otherwise, in order to better characterise CS as a concept borrowed from sociolinguistics. We then include CS in a broader concept of language shifts and distinguish L3 as a translation problem from CS. A tripartite classification of films is proposed, according to the amount and importance of L3: anecdotal, recurrent, and L3-as-theme.

Key words: multilingualism, third language (L3), code-switching (CS), alternating languages, Spanglish, L3-as-theme.

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1. Introduction

The importance and amount of multilingual films has increased over the last decades (Heiss, 2004, p. 208; de Higes-Andino, 2014, p. 211). Awareness of the variables involved needs to grow as well in order to provide insight, guidelines and justifications for greater quality in the translations of such films and TV shows. For the purpose of translation and translation studies, we use a notation system of L1 for the main language (not necessarily English) of any source text (ST), and L2 for the main language of any translation (TT); L3, then, signals any language in the source text other than L1 (L3ST), or any language in translated texts other than L2 (L3^{TT}). Thus, a source text comprised of L1+L3ST or any translation comprised of L2+L3^{TT} contains language variation by virtue of the presence of L3, or *third language* (Corrius, 2008). Androutsopoulos (2007) observes that in multilingual texts one language tends to predominate quite noticeably over the other(s). From the perspective of (audiovisual) translation, the ST and the TT[1] (AVT) have different predominant languages, L1 and L2, respectively, leading to the notion of *third language(s)* in ST and TT, for any other languages. L3 is less frequent in any text than L1 (or L2), and this is its defining feature; other L3 features—like comprehensibility, proximity, historical rivalry, stereotypes, and prejudices—are variables to be established anew for every case study (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa, 2011, p. 211). Although L3 was initially proposed to tag foreign languages it can also be used to locate any relevant use of language variation (dialects, sociolects, chronolects, idiolects) when used in fiction as a stylistic device to sound "foreign". The important point to be made is that the *third language* is not a language (French, Chinese) but a sign of meaningful language variation; so, the notation system groups all multiple different languages under the same label of L3, with no need for L4, L5, etc. Different languages can be distinguished under L3 (L3Fr for French, L3Chi for Chinese, or L3a, L3b, and so on).

Viewers are usually meant to identify with a film's in-group characters, who nearly always speak the same language as the audience. They tend to come from the same country (Bleichenbacher, 2008), as an important part of a shared identity, except of course, in history dramas, space operas, or fantasy films (e.g., *Gladiator*, 2000; *Star Wars*, 1977; *The Lord of the Rings,* 2001), where language is even more important because national background is not a factor of empathy with the audience. The out-group characters, by contrast, have strange, alien, or foreign identities, from the audience's perspective, and the effect is reinforced when they use forms of expression the audience does not use or know, and this is true even for films set in remote or make-believe times and places. Alienation of out-group characters by use of L3 is a frequent practice for Hollywood productions. L1 is in line with the intended audience's language, and this alignment tends to be used as a device for in-group "bonding", especially when, as so often happens, the *third language* is used to stress the point that some of the characters come from "other" (out-group) cultural backgrounds

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[1] TT / target text (translation) includes AVT as well as written translations and interpreting. Likewise, ST / source text includes audiovisuals as well as written and oral texts.

or when there is a need to show the audience that the cultural setting has changed. In AVT, quality may depend on how languages are assigned, birthplaces conveyed (and kept or changed) and possible discrepancies between the use and form of L2 and intended character portrayal. These factors are related to and depend on additional factors such as the mode of translation (dubbing, or subtitling, or a hybrid version of both), well-established AVT conventions and criteria, and, quite fundamentally for the main topic of this study, the AVT intended audience's language profile, their knowledge and tolerance of other languages, and, particularly, when L3ST happens to coincide with L2.

As the presence and importance of the *third language(s)* vary from film to film, we propose the following categories:

- *Anecdotal*, with only a few L3 words throughout the film, e.g., L3-French in *Moulin Rouge* (2001).
- *Recurrent,* where we can hear languages other than L1 in numerous parts of the film, e.g., L3 Spanish in *Land and Freedom* (1995).
- *L3-as-theme,* meaning that there is an intense and highly relevant presence of L3, language is referred to and talked about and metalingual elements or conversations might appear, too, e.g., *Inglourious Basterds* (2009).

L3-as-theme may involve a constant mixture of languages as part of the film's plot, and is featured heavily in films like *Um filme falado* (2003), which mixes Portuguese, French, English, Italian and Greek; or *Spanglish* (2004), with a fairly balanced mix of English and Spanish. In these films each character speaks their own language as an important part of their national identity. For Díaz-Cintas (2015), languages mark geographical and political borders and embody the characters' social, cultural and personal features. Linguistic uniqueness helps to develop the theme of characters' otherness. In Hatim and Mason's words (1994, p. 43), "[i]n situations where two or more codes coexist in a speech community, code-switching is not random and the translator or interpreter, like all language users, must be able to recognise the question of 'identity' involved". Language as a system of communication is a pervasive theme in both films. Needless to say, an awareness of the third language is relevant not only to language and linguistic diversity, but also to culture and identity. "We use variation in language to construct ourselves as social beings, to signal who we are, and who we are not and cannot be" (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 63). L3 is usually one of the means by which a different culture is brought to the fore. Hence, third-language presence becomes more relevant as a signal of place, context, identity and cultural distance and not just a mere alternative means of conveying a verbal message.

2. Code-Switching, a Misleading Term?

Code-switching can be defined as "the use of several languages or dialects in the same conversation or sentence by bilingual people" (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 4). CS is used in particular circumstances by bilingual people who alternate between languages in an unchanged setting (Bullock and Toribio, 2009). Thus, "code-switching has and creates communicative and social meaning" (Auer, 1998, p. 1). In fact, it even reflects social differences and tendencies within a given society: it identifies a social group, that is to say, it symbolises identities beyond the linguistic fact. Bilinguals may display different degrees of proficiency in each language in CS, and the actual features of CS may change in different contact settings. The reasons for using CS may vary, including, for example, a speaker's need to fill certain lexical gaps, to express their ethnic identity or to achieve a particular discursive aim, among others (Bullock and Toribio, 2009).

The term "code-switching" was first coined by Hans Vogt in 1954—in the field of linguistics—as a form of bilingual behaviour. Later, it appeared in Haugen (1956), Diebold (1961), Jakobson (1961) and Álvarez Cáccamo, (1990, 1998), among others. Other terms have been used to refer to this phenomenon or to certain aspects of it, such as: "transversion" (Clyne, 2003), "alternation" (Auer, 1984), "code-mixing" (Muysken, 2000), "insertion" or "congruent lexicalisation" (Pfaff, 1976), "interference" (Weinreich, 1953; Paradis, 1993; Treffers-Daller, 2005), "borrowing" (Thomason and Kaufman's, 1988), "nonce-borrowing" (Poplack and Meechan, 1995).

Although "code-switching" has the widest currency among scholars, for Gardner-Chloros (2009, p. 11) the two parts of the term ("code" and "switching") are misleading. Initially, "code-switching" referred to "a mechanism for the unambiguous transduction of signals between systems"; "code" originally had nothing to do with language and was borrowed from the field of communication technology. Nowadays, "code" is understood as a neutral term to refer to languages, dialects, styles/registers, etc., which may be used instead of the term "variety". In AVT, Chaume (2001) has proposed various signifying codes, which include the linguistic code. Secondly, "switching" refers to the alternation between the different varieties that people speak, and in the early psycholinguistic studies carried out in the 1950s and 1960s, "psychologists assumed that something similar to flicking an electric switch went on when bilinguals changed languages" (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 11). For a long time, scholars did not pay much attention to the study of code-switching, and research into it developed slowly and almost invisibly until the work done by Gumperz and his associates—Wilson and Blom—in the 1960s and early 1970s (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). In the last forty years, interest in the topic has grown and related research been carried out. CS as an object of study in AV fiction (as multilingual texts) is challenging because it deals with several languages, and CS comprises a broad range of contact phenomena (how closely languages interact), which makes it difficult to set the boundaries of a well-defined characterisation: its linguistic manifestation may vary from cases involving the insertion of a single word to other cases where languages alternate at a lively pace, involving larger segments of discourse.

Following Myers-Scotton, Monti (2014, p. 137) distinguishes three different types of CS in films: *turn-specific*, when code-switching is determined by changing languages in the turns of each character in a conversation; *intersentential*, across sentence boundaries within a given turn; and *intrasentential*, within the same sentence (from single-morpheme to clause level). CS in AV fiction can be used to establish the same types of relationships that are found in real multilingual communities (Monti, 2014, p. 137), though it is essential for researchers and translators not to forget the crucial distinction between real-life language use and the practices of scriptwriting.

3. Code-Switching Among Other L3 Alternations in Film Fiction

The studies and references mentioned above have outlined many of the formal features and variables of language variation, and even some of the functional and stylistic ones. According to Zabalbeascoa and Corrius (2014, p. 258–259) the most salient features of the third language include how L3 may be (in different degrees):

- real or constructed (e.g., Italian, Klingon);
- comprehensible or not (to the audience or to other characters);
- native or non-native (ranging from high level of speaker proficiency to high level of incompetence or farcical representation);
- source-text L3 may happen to be the same language as the main language of the translation (L2): $L3^{ST} = L2$;
- L3 may be part of a stereotype, either a stereotype of the language or a stereotype of some or all of its speakers, or certain aspects of its related culture(s);
- the various languages may be related (members of the same family) or have a history (e.g., rivalry, dominance) together that goes back more or less in time;
- L3 may be a familiar or recognisable language, in different degrees, or regarded as exotic and completely unfamiliar to the intended audience.

Our claim in this paper is that a full account of L3 features and variables can probably be reached by looking not only at the variables involved in each individual instance of L3 appearance in a feature film (as listed above), but that it is also necessary and fruitful to observe patterns of how L3 alternates with either L1 or L2, depending on whether we are dealing with ST films or their translated versions. By "alternate" we mean the dynamics of shifting (i.e., switching) from one language to another—any number of times—in any combination of L3 with L1 or L2, or even between different languages with L3 status. Formally, we could represent such language-shifting dynamics, including code-switching, with a ">" sign, for instance: L1 > L3 > L1, to show how L3 alternates with L1 by appearing between two L1 utterances, and L2 > L3 > L2 for the case of translation.

So, L3 variables are established by asking questions such as how many different L3-languages are there and which ones are they; and then by adding further details, as checklisted above.

And beyond that, the questions that arise from this approach include: Does it matter how many L1>L3 shifts or switches there are and where they occur in a given film (in terms of finding coherence and consistency in the TT)? Are there different types of shifts and switches and what are their variables? What kind of features can be associated with them? Do they have more to do with style, plot development or character portrayal?

We can establish (so far) at least five types of switches involving alternations of L1 (or L2) and L3 for the purpose of distinguishing code-switching in feature films from other interlinguistic alternations or uses of L3 by the scriptwriter:

- Intratextual (diegetic) translation; prototypically, one character is translating for another (e.g., acting as official or casual interpreter).
- Code-switching by bilingual characters (as defined by Gardner-Chloros, 2009, p. 11), involving one or more speakers and one or more interlocutors, or none (speaking to self).
- Background conversations, as spoken by extras, where L3 is distinguishable, even if the actual substance of the utterances is hard or impossible to discern.
- Foreign-language quotes or quote-like utterances, proverbs, sayings, etc. (e.g., to show erudition).
- Metalinguistic references or topics. Different kinds of bilingual wordplay will belong to this type, for example the bilingual (English-German) pun "Nice to *miet* you" which was used to in reference to car-rental companies in Majorca (Spain). The combination of the German word *mieten* (rent) and the English phrase "Nice to meet you" evokes the pleasure to rent a car.

As the presence and patterns of L3 vary from film to film, there are a number of factors that can also differ across audiovisual texts, as listed below. For a full appreciation of quality in AVT, it is necessary to see how these variables affect and function in the smaller units of AV fiction, i.e., conversations. We use the term "conversation" as used in the Trafilm Guide (2018, p. 6)[2] and as described by Zabalbeascoa and Corrius (2019): "the communicative context of an instance of L3. A Conversation may contain more than one L3-instance. All L3-instances belonging to the same [ST] Conversation (and their respective TT versions) share the same start time and duration".

The types of alternations and their variables can be listed as:

- Number, distribution and duration of L3 appearances throughout a film.
- Number of L3 instances within a given scene or conversation.
- Position of L3 in a scene: start, middle, or end. This might be evidence that L3 is used solely for salutations, for example, but not necessarily, salutations can happen at any point in a scene.
- The presence of just one language as L3 in a given film (vs more; e.g., German, French, Italian, in *Inglourious Basterds* (2009).
- The total number of characters involved (see 3.1, below).
- The number of switches (see 3.2, below).
- The number of L3 languages (see 3.3, below).
- The number of conversations that include L3 instance(s).

3.1.   Characters

The number of characters involved has different combinations:

A.   1 character "self-switch"
When the same and only character changes the language because of self-translation, rephrasing, clarifying, diglossia, etc. For example, in *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969), the three main American characters are trying to hold-up trains and banks in Bolivia, in one of the robberies, we can hear "Raise your hands! ¡Manos arriba!", as Butch is translating his own words.

B.   2+ character "self-switch"
When two or more characters switch from one language to another because of self-translation, rephrasing, clarifying, diglossia, etc. Examples of this can be found in TV series like *Modern Family* (2009), with a lot of interaction between characters that are native speakers of either English or Spanish and with some knowledge of the other language, especially when one of such characters has to act as interpreter and gets help from others present, for example when Manny (Gloria's first child) "also translates/interprets her mispronounced words" (Dore, 2019, p. 64), or when there is a conversation between two CS characters, and each one is strong in a different language.

C.   2+ languages
When every character speaks their own (different) language, in other words, they alternate monolingualism. For instance, *Um filme falado* (2003) narrates the story of a teacher who goes on a cruise with her daughter. Passengers are from different nationalities and everyone speaks their own language. During the Captain's dinner, the captain (who speaks English) sits at a table

with three passengers: Delphine (French), Francesca (Italian), and Helena (Greek); each character contributes to the conversation in their own language with no diegetic interpreter or translation.

D. 2+ characters

When there is a total mix; i.e., both of the above (B and C) for 2+ combined. This is a complex situation and may appear in scenes with several people talking at once, and at least two conversations going on simultaneously.

E. 2+ languages + interpreter

Two or more characters speak their own language with the mediation of an interpreter, as in the interpreting scene in *Lost in Translation* (2003), or Example 1.

(1) *Spanglish* (2004) 2+ L-exchange + translator

Deborah:	I rented a house here for the summer and now she needs to sleep in the house because of the bus schedule. (L1)
Man:	*Ella dice que rentó una casa durante el verano y quiere que te quedes con ella.* (L3)
Flor:	No, sorry. (L1)
Flor:	*Porque tengo una hija y no puedo.* (L3)
Man:	She can't because of her daughter. (L1)

In Example 1, a man in the street who can speak English and Spanish, probably a Chicano, acts as an interpreter for Flor and Deborah, who cannot understand each other's language.

3.2. Switches

The number of switches within a conversation may vary:

A. Single alternation

Often just one or two words in intra- and intersentential CS, but also turn-specific (Example 2), at the start or end of a conversation.

(2) A Passage to India (1984)

Waiter:	*Memsahib* (L3 Hindi)
Mrs. Moore:	Oh, thank you! (L1 English)
Waiter:	Tea coming. (L1)

B.   Sandwich alternation
    A turn in a different language appears between two separate turns.

(3) Carla's Song (1996)

Conductor:	Tickets, please. The tickets. (L1 English)
Carla:	*No tengo*. (L3 Spanish)
Conductor:	Could you show me the ticket, please? (L1)

C.   Multiple alternation with single L3
    When there is a constant back and forth of languages and turns between two or more characters but the third language does not change.

(4) *Land and Freedom* (1995)

Conductor:	*Bienvenido a España*. (L3 Spanish)
Passenger:	Welcome in Spain. (L1 English)
David:	Thanks very much. (L1)
Conductor:	*El sindicato ha tomado la línea y nosotros cobramos el billete de los que vienen a luchar contra los fascistas.* (L3)
Passenger:	Trade Union is controlling all the line. (L1)
David:	Thanks. (L1)
Conductor:	*Gracias. Bienvenido.* (L3)
David:	*Gracias.* (L3)

D.   Multiple alternation with multiple L3s
    There is an alternation of different languages between characters (more than two turns).

(5) Raid on Rommel (1999)

Signorina:	*Porco cretino. E' l'ultima volta che mi fa questo gioco. Il generale sentira' per questo*. (L3a Italian)
Captain:	*Italienische Huren beeindrucken mich nicht!* (L3b German)
Signorina:	Why don't you speak English? (L1 English)
Captain:	What seems to be the problem, *signorina*? (L1+ L3a)
Signorina:	Why I'm not leaving on that plane to Tobruk? Why? (L1)

3.3. Third languages

The number of third languages present in an audiovisual text may also be different.

A. ONE third language (L3)

There are films that contain only one type of third language, this is very common and there are plenty of examples, for instance in *An American in Paris* (1951) or *Moulin Rouge* (2001) L3 is French, in *Spanglish* (2004) L3 is Spanish. Category A, (and B and C, below), may be complicated by various degrees of non-nativeness and L3 proficiency (e.g., broken English and broken Spanish in *Bread and Roses* (2000), or even pseudolanguages, farcical representations of real languages).

B. TWO different third languages. (L3a + L3b)

There are also many films which have two third languages, for example in *Raid on Rommel* L3a is Italian and L3b is German; in *Land and Freedom* (1995) L3a is Spanish and L3b is Catalan or in *Carla's Song* (1996) where L3a is Spanish and L3b French. Still, considering that accents can be used to mark otherness and thus they can be considered as L3, we have examples such as *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) where L3a is French and L3b is English with a French accent (Corrius, 2008).

C. MORE than two different third languages (L3a + L3b + L3c, etc.)

There are audiovisual texts that for some reason or other (signal otherness, create humour, represent different identities, etc.) use three or more languages; that would be the case of *Lost in Translation* (2003) with L1-English + Japanese, French, German and non-native English with a Japanese accent; or *Um filme falado* (2003) with L1-Portuguese + four different L3s: English, French, Italian and Greek.

4. Code-Switching in *Spanglish*

4.1. The Spanish in *Spanglish*, a Case of L3?

Spanglish (2004), a sample of L3-as-theme, stands out from most multilingual films that just sprinkle L3 here and there in token samples; CS and language mixing can be encountered throughout the film. And, unlike other L3-as-theme films (e.g., *One, Two, Three*, 1961, or *Bread and Roses*, 2000) it can be regarded as a precursor of TV shows in the 21st century, like *Modern Family* (2009), *Jane the Virgin* (2014), or *Narcos* (2015), all of which use constant alternations between L1-English and L3-Spanish, within the L3-as-theme category. The language alternations begin in *Spanglish* when an unmarried Mexican mother, Flor, decides to cross the border and migrate to the USA with her daughter Cristina. Once she arrives in Los Angeles, she finds a job as a housekeeper for the Clasky family. Because Flor does not speak English and the Claskys do not

speak Spanish, communicative problems arise on both sides. *Spanglish* characters can be grouped into three categories: the main character, Flor, who speaks only Spanish until almost the end of the film; the Claskys, who speak English only; the characters who are proficient in English and Spanish, Cristina, and her cousin Monica.

When the monolingual characters want to communicate with each other, an interpreter is needed to avoid miscommunication. At first this role is played by Monica, and later on, in different instances, by Cristina. For Delabastita (2002) and Díaz-Cintas (2015), multilingualism is sometimes used to create confusion or misunderstanding in order to construct humour. Authors like Chiaro (2007) and Dore (forthcoming) focus almost entirely on the third language as an element of humour. In AVT, quality may suffer if the L3 message is translated or otherwise made clear to the audience when there is a deliberate attempt in the script to keep the audience in the dark as to what is being said, for humour or for suspense or dramatic effect.

Spanglish might be said to be a metaphor of both the cultural clash and the (mis)communication issues between the USA and Mexico. Flor steps across the cultural divide, going from the Mexican to the US culture. Indeed, the film is about the journey many Mexicans embark on to the USA and presents the differences and similarities between these two cultures. It shows areas where the two cultures can find it very hard to understand and "feel for" each other. The audience can easily appreciate that Flor and her daughter are moving from their country to a foreign land, crossing a physical border, and a cultural one, with two distinct settings (landscape, furnishing, wardrobe and food) can be seen.

The title itself, *Spanglish*, refers to this constant mix of English and Spanish; it provides a label for the code-switching partaken in the film. However, in this particular case, "Spanglish" refers more to the mix of languages (typical of the way Mexican-Americans often speak) than to the CS used by each of the characters in the film. Spanglish might even be considered a language variety rather than a combination of two languages, a fusion creating a "new" language as spoken by its US–Spanish community. It includes the anglicising of Spanish words and syntax, translating phrasal verbs or using English words with a Spanish appearance (Mar-Molinero, 1997). Spanish is regarded as a heritage language in the USA, with its stereotypes and stigmas, and Spanglish may have a positive or non-evaluative meaning, referring to a sociolinguistic phenomenon that defines a certain speech community and social group which has its own culture. On the other hand, for Treffers-Daller (2012) and Boztepe (2003), CS can be seen as instantiations of interference. Sometimes Spanglish is seen as having a negative connotation, as a broken or "contaminated" English (by Spanish) or Spanish (by English), either as part of a learning curve for speakers, who still need to improve their proficiency, or as a historical or dialectal corruption of one of these languages, through excessive borrowing or interference from the other.

Code-switching in the film is more clearly portrayed between the two groups of people defined by their birthplaces and their native languages than within any individual group, as CS also refers to.

Following Monti's (2014) classification, we might say that, on the whole, *Spanglish* displays more *turn-specific code-switching* involving two or more characters in conversation. Towards the end of the film, though, Flor begins to alternate from Spanish into English when she converses with the Claskys. A few instances of *intersentential* CS can be encountered: for example, when Cristina is upset and says to Flor, "No, it'll never be all right. You're wrong. This is exactly what I was worried about. I will never be able to forgive you! *¡Nunca te perdonaré, nunca!"* or when Flor replies "Not a space between us. *¡Que sea la última vez, Cristina!*" Some plot development-related instances of *intrasentential CS* can be found, too. For instance, at the very beginning of the film we can see a note on the fridge, which reads, "*Cristina, pon queso en la tortilla y ponlo dentro del* microwave *por un minuto. Te quiero. Mami*"; or when Clasky's mother is being introduced to Flor and she says, "What's your name. *Llamo*? It's one of my five Spanish words". Mr Clasky also uses this type of code-switching a couple of times, "is *simpático* the word?", and a bit later, "Oh, boy, *engreído* is gonna be rough".

Yet, if we had to describe a character in the film as a Spanglish speaker, we would choose Flor as she is the one who most displays its traits in her speech. In the last 15 minutes of the film she speaks in clearly non-standard, non-native English. Flor is of a much lower social class than the Claskys, which is underscored by her use of Spanish. Here, the AV fiction is a reflection of certain sociocultural realities. According to Luna and Peracchio (2005, p. 761), in the USA, Spanish tends to be associated with a lower socioeconomic status and can activate feelings of inferiority, while "Hispanics tend to perceive English as the language of integration". English, of course, is the de facto official language of the USA and it "denotes the language spoken by the group that holds the political, cultural and economic power within a country" and it has more positive connotations (Luna and Peracchio, 2005, p. 761).

When we come across a film like *Spanglish* (2004), with such a large amount of L3 and CS (by number of instances and screen time), one realises that the distinction between "main" AV language (L1/L2) and "others" (L3) is not always necessarily clear-cut. A film like *Spanglish* (or TV shows like *Narcos*) might better be described as having two main languages, L1-English plus L1-Spanish in the ST. A possible criterion for establishing one language or another as the "main" language is how it matches up with the assumed language of the intended audience (for ST or TT). What matters is that without this language mix in L3-as-theme type films, like *Spanglish*, the plot would lose an essential component. Later in the 21st century, the trend becomes more established, with TV shows like *Modern Family* (2009), possibly with an increasingly diverse intended audience, including not only monolingual English-speakers but also native speakers of English with some knowledge of Spanish, and maybe even vice versa, in a similar case to the TV show *Narcos* (2015).

4.2. Rendering Code-Switching: When L3 Can Mix with L1

Cultural references, as well as code-switching, interference or other language phenomena integrated in a film script might be serious obstacles (i.e., strong restrictions according to Zabalbeascoa's (1999) *Model of priorities and restrictions for translation*) for achieving (the intended goals or priorities) of a successful translation. According to this model, translation quality is achieved when the priorities for a translation are clear and agreed upon by the stake-holders and intended users, and reflected in the TT. Restrictions, or constraints, are factors that make the job more difficult, or sometimes impossible, depending on their number and strength. In our analysis, the nature of the priorities and restrictions for the version of *Spanglish* to be distributed in Spain, explains why it is not dubbed (except for the unseen narrator utterances), contrary to common practice in Spain. In the version for Spain, L1 on-screen utterances (perceived as L3^{TT}-English for the TT viewers) are translated with L2-Spanish subtitles when the characters are on screen. Coincidentally, this is also a feature of the ST, in which L1-English subtitles are used to help the English-speaking ST audience understand the utterances in L3ST-Spanish. The few off-screen (unseen) utterances of Cristina-as-narrator are the only parts translated from L1-English into L2-Spanish and then dubbed (Example 6), also as a precursor to what happens in *Narcos* (2015) with its narrator.

(6) *Spanglish* (2004)

ST unseen narrator's voice

Narrator (Cristina):   Holding out had helped though. She was no longer intimidated. Working for Anglos now posed no problems. It would just be a job. White America beckoned. She stepped across the cultural divide.

TT dubbed version

Narrator (Cristina):   Su paciencia le había ayudado, ya no sentía cohibida, trabajar para los gringos ya no sería un problema, sería sólo un trabajo. La América blanca la reclamaba, y ella cruzó la frontera cultural.

Table 1 summarises the transfer of the ST languages (L1 and L3ST) to the TT for Spain. Basically, English (the main language of the ST and its intended audience) can also be heard in the TT, but in its AVT version for Spain, and because it is not dubbed, it becomes a foreign language (L3^{TT}) for the intended TT audience made up of native speakers of Spanish with no assumed knowledge of English beyond a basic level. For Cristina's unseen, off-screen narration her voice is dubbed from ST-L1-English into TT-L2-Spanish. Cristina's narration is used "to complement the information provided visually as well as some of the exchanges between the Mexican characters" (Sanz, 2011, p. 24). Interestingly, L3ST-Spanish is also retained (as L2) in the TT. "Spanish is maintained untranslated at the spoken level but conveyed through open subtitles in the original version of the film" (Monti, 2014, p. 155). The roles of the two languages have been swapped; in other words, L1, which is the language of the ST audience and thus the main language of the ST, becomes a foreign language for the TT

audience (L3^{TT}); and L3ST, which is a "foreign" language for the ST audience, becomes the main language of the AVT audience (L2). All of this is achieved largely because there is no distinction between two otherwise distinct varieties of Spanish, Iberian Spanish and Mexican Spanish (not to mention Chicano), which could well be treated as different languages in other films or AVT cases. For the version screened in Spain: English is L1 and L3^{TT}; Spanish is L3ST and L2.

Table 1.

Spanglish – *Language Correspondences in AVT for Spain*

ST audio	AVT audio
L1 English	*L2 Spanish*
• The Claskys and most secondary characters. • Cristina's off-screen narration.	• Mainly Flor and Cristina. • Cristina's dubbed voice, as narrator.
L3 Spanish	*L3 English*
• Mostly Flor and Cristina (with English subtitles).	• The Clasky's • Most secondary characters (with Spanish subtitles).

A further feature needs to be pointed out in this discussion: the use of subtitles for L3 is a priority for the AVT because it was a priority for the ST, as an instance of intended equivalence, a concept borrowed from Zabalbeascoa (1994) and a part of his *P-R model*. Equivalence can be sought at multiple levels, not necessarily or exclusively lexicosemantic similarity (which is what people often understand equivalence to mean). In this case, a potentially important level, in the pursuit of quality would be to strive for an equivalent "combination of L3 + translated subtitles", even if the roles of English and Spanish are reversed in ST and its AVT. The translation mode in *Spanglish* of combining subtitles with dubbing might be simply the result of an attempt to represent multilingualism. For de Higes-Andino (2014), multilingualism is portrayed or "marked" when dialogues are left untranslated, or, we might add, undubbed. Multilingualism, as manifested in code-switching, plays such an important part in *Spanglish* that we can assume that the obvious strategy for producing a version for a Spanish-speaking audience is to keep both English and Spanish audio in the AVT precisely because language variation is part of the plot (L3-as-theme). Each character is portrayed partly by their choice of language and occasion for using it. This is not always the case, though, not even in the English-Spanish language combination. In TV shows like *Modern Family* (2009) and *Dexter* (2006), the importance and degree of language variation is considerably reduced in translation, and this goes against any effort of increased quality, rather the contrary; it affects quality negatively, for the simple reason that some scenes rely heavily on the audience

being able to perceive multilingual dynamics. In *Bread and Roses* (2000) (quite analogous to *Spanglish* in its use of L1>L3 alternations, though more dramatic and political in nature), important subtle distinctions of how (well) each character could speak English and Spanish were practically wiped out in the dubbed version for Spain, with remarkable (negative) effects in the TT on the quality of character portrayal, the meaning of certain scenes, and the audience's ability to interpret exactly what was going on. Indeed, *Spanglish* seems oddly unique in this respect, and we can only speculate why. One reason might be that the lead actress, Paz Vega, is Spanish and very famous in Spain.

When AVT translators come across code-switching, they have to decide how to render L3 in the TT. Quality is not necessarily kept by simply leaving foreign languages untouched, especially when that negatively affects the portrayal of multilingualism, or CS, or scenes of miscommunication. As described by Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2011, p. 120–121) there are five different types of solutions in translation. Quality may be searched for by means of creatively exploring potential solutions amongst a wide variety of different types and combinations provided first by broad exploratory descriptive studies that set out to collect samples of different ways of tackling a variety of problems posed by multilingual combinations and the reasons they are used for. We adapt them here, for a tripartite classification of strategies for rendering $L3^{ST}$ in AVT.

1. *Retaining one or more of the ST language(s):*
   a. If $L3^{ST}$ does not coincide with L2 ($L3^{ST} \neq L2$), L3 utterances are often left untranslated in the audio, and multilingualism is still noticeable in the translated version: ST [L1+L3] --> TT [L2+L3]. This is the case of the Spanish dubbed version of *An American in Paris* (1951) where the $L3^{ST}$-French used in the ST has been retained in the TT for Spain;
   b. If $L3^{ST}$ happens to coincide with L2, the language of the intended audience for the AVT, and is left untranslated, then multilingualism can no longer be appreciated by the viewers as a feature of the film because L2 and $L3^{TT}$ are the same language, rendering L3 undetectable. This results in poorer quality when certain important features of any film, such as the portrayal of a given character's "otherness", depend entirely on the noticeable presence of a third language and this is not compensated for either. For example, in *Carla's Song* (1996) the Spanish used as $L3^{ST}$ has been retained in the L2-Spanish version, resulting in L3 invisibility.
   c. $L3^{TT}$ is the same language as L1, and $L3^{ST}$ happens to coincide with L2, which is so often the case for Spanish dubbed versions of US films and TV shows that include dialogues in $L3^{ST}$-Spanish. In *Spanglish*, the effect of otherness is caused (in Spain) by English $L1^{ST}$, which is perceived as L3 for the Spanish-language audience, not by $L3^{ST}$–Spanish as it coincides with L2-Spanish.

2. *Avoiding any instances of $L3^{TT}$:* in this case, L1 and $L3^{ST}$ are equally rendered as L2. Again, this option gives rise to L3-invisibility, entailing that multilingualism (including CS) ceases to be a feature of the film. For instance, in the dubbed version for Spain of *Monsoon Wedding*

(2001) L3-Hindi, as a feature of the ST, is no longer perceivable in the TT, impoverishing the result when not compensated for.

3. *Using new languages in the TT:* even when the number of languages is retained in translation the actual languages may differ. Multilingualism is kept as a feature but the languages of the TT do not entirely coincide with those of the ST, so the effect caused in the TT might be different from the one caused on the ST audience. There are instances of this in *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969) or in *Fawlty Towers* (1975), where Spanish L3ST is changed to French and Italian in the respective dubbed versions. In the former, there are several scenes where the main characters speak Spanish in the ST but French in the TT; and in the latter there are some humorous scenes, where Manuel (the Spanish character) speaks Spanish in the ST but Italian in the TT. It is interesting to note, too, that in the Spanish version even the character's name has been changed for an Italian one: Paolo.

In brief, the pattern of languages is not random in *Spanglish*, and its AVT for Spain does not erase the feature of multilingualism by dubbing everything into the same language (unlike *Bread and Roses*, 2000); rather, this version shows its quality by a creative strategy of systematic subtitling combined with a highly restrictive use of dubbing (for off-screen narrative) so that the multilingual nature of the film is not negatively affected, certainly not its CS. The marked multilingualism, through non-translation at the spoken level is quite significant in a country where dubbing is the most common modality of audiovisual transfer. In fact, as stated by Díaz-Cintas (2015), in a country where the translation of multilingual films tends towards standardisation with far less linguistic variation, the case of *Spanglish* has proven to be a model of translation practice, both in its quality and as a historical landmark. Retaining CS in the AVT gives "vital clues about the immigrant characters' socio-linguistic hybrid identities and, as such, it is a very important feature of the filmic text" (Monti, 2014, p. 165).

5. Conclusions

In this brief study we have confirmed ideas coming from all of the references cited above that the use and presence of language combinations and CS is a much more complex issue than one might suspect on first approaching the topic. Studies like this are necessary to show the variety of problems posed, the number of features displayed and the range of possible solutions a translator might resort to, including the wealth of data already gathered, and that increased awareness of all this can help to improve the quality of AVT. The point we have insisted on here is that beyond any characterisation of L3 at the level of instances and types it is also essential to contextualise them as much as possible for an improved understanding of their functions and how they are rendered in translated versions, with a view to providing insight and guidelines for translators having to tackle this issue. We have provided a broader context for the notion of code-switching as borrowed from

sociolinguistics, and adapted it here for the purpose of analysing film scripts, and exploring ways of improving their translated versions. We have presented examples of CS while comparing it to related phenomena, such as intratextual translation and isolated uses of L3, including them all under the concept of alternations (or switches). A proposal is included for labelling multilingual films according to the presence and importance of L3: *anecdotal*, *recurrent* and *L3-as-theme*. We have also found the need to relate patterns of multilingualism and code-switching to functions of the plot or script, such as portraying cultural identity, be it stereotypical or otherwise. Another possible function of CS is to provide clues to show any changes in a cultural backdrop or setting.

Of course, much research still has to be carried out to show the full range of code-switching instances and patterns, their role in each film and how they are rendered in actual translated versions or what potential innovative solutions can be proposed for the future, making the viewing experiences of foreign audiences closer to that of the source text viewers.

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