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“Can joo belieb it?”: The Racial Politics of Chican@ Linguistic Scripts in U.S. Media (1925-2014)

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

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in Chicana and Chicano Studies

by

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ABSTRACT

"Can joo belieb it?": The Racial Politics of Chican@ Linguistic Scripts in U.S. Media (1925-2014)

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Language has long been used as a means of indexing one's ethnic, gendered, racial and, arguably, their sexual identities. One's perceived "accent" drawl, tone or even word choice communicates socially constructed cues to listeners. Studies have shown that white listeners often detect an "accent" from speakers of Color even when one is not apparent. My dissertation project focuses on these politics of language within the field of ethnic and media studies. I examine how patterns of "accent" are linked to troubling representations for Chican@ and Latin@ actors have remained noticeably similar throughout the twentieth century despite drastic changes in media technologies. For instance, from celebrity magazine of the 1920s to the digital era Spanish inflected English (SIE) "accents" are perceived and represented in the media in strikingly similar fashion.

I analyze racialized linguistic representations across four media formats: print media (1920s-1940s), television (1970s), animated film (2000), and the Internet (2010-2014). Each period represents different moments of heightened racial, immigrant strife often expressed in coded humorous, language play. For instance, staged "accents" and slang worked to racialize Chican@ and Latin@ comedic actors and voiceovers as sidekicks, peripheral characters and non-citizens. "Accent," encased in quotes, is used to emphasize the relational

nature and notion that certain people are heard as having one and other not. Two of my dissertation chapters focus on the visual representation of vocal SIE "accents" through word play in subtitles (print media, Internet). The first chapter focuses on Mexican film actress Lupe Vélez and the representation of her linguistic "accent" in fan magazines while the last chapter investigates how web celebrity "La Coacha" uses of accented subtitles in her parody YouTube videos. Two other chapters examine how vocal "accents" and slang are heard and performed in relation to the written directives in scripts (television and animated film). The second chapter addresses the characters Chico Rodriguez and Louie Wilson in the 1970s sitcom *Chico and the Man* and the subsequent third chapter examines language use and Benjamin Bratt's accented voice over acting of Mexican villain "El Macho" in *Despicable Me: 2* (2013). Together, these four case studies demonstrate how language has long been a primary mode of racialization, which recurrently casts People of Color as both funny and foreign across different media forms.

I use a feminist critical discourse analysis (FCD) as my primary approach. This analysis focuses on how knowledge is produced, reported, and used. FCD refers to how the systems of gender are produced in cultural productions by focusing on the linguistic tactics in relation to struggles of power and agency. The literal language is investigated as well as the power dynamics that are not made explicit by the text. Archival materials such as magazines, television and film scripts, and analog videos were consulted. I also engaged in acousmatic listening in order to analyze the "accent" in question, for example a video clip's sound was transcribed, meaning the dialogue, without the visual image, in order to analyze and interrogate how the "accent" is vocalized.

My project makes key contributions to topics related to Chican@ and Latin@, media, and linguistic fields. This interdisciplinary approach to language and media representation pushes the boundaries of how to study language in a fictionalized context when viewers read the speaker as a real person and not a scripted character. Ultimately, I investigate how the racial politics of language helped craft several character tropes largely assigned to performers, actors, and comedians of Color in media.

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A Note On Language

A dissertation on language necessitates a precursory note for readers to understand how terms are used, avoided, represented, and reimagined. To begin the terms voice, language, and speech on a day-to-day basis are often used interchangeably. However, some basic definitions of these terms are crucial in understanding the phenomenon of sound and the bodies that produce them. The basic concept of voice refers to the sound made by the mouth, tongue, lips and larynx. Language is understood as a verbal system shared by communities, and the term speech gestures to both spoken and written forms of language. The voiced and written representation of Spanish inflected English (SIE), or English with traces of a Spanish "accent," by both native (and non-native) speakers is this project's chief concern. Because language carries different discursive values, this dissertation is mindful of how language itself is visually presented.

In recent years, the use of "@" has come to replace the gendered custom of "a/o" at the end of Chicana/o. The hyphen was once seen as a political gesture to include both cisgenders. Many Chicana feminists then made the case for their own word, insisting instead on "Chicana and Chicano" with Chicana written first in a symbolic gesture to make up for centuries of patriarchy. The @ is meant to collapse the and/or binary approach to gender. Finally, as Sandy Soto argues in *Reading Chican@ Like a Queer*, the "@" catches our attention, is unpronounceable, seems like a typo, and is rasquachismo.

Following the prefaces in both Alicia Schmidt-Camacho's *Migrant Imaginaries* and Dolores Inés Casillas's writings on bilingual (Spanish-English) texts, specifically *Sounds of Belonging*, I also choose to not italicize Spanish words in this dissertation. Doing so, according to Casillas, "…supports U.S.-based class, racial, and linguistic hierarchies,

particularly in regard to Spanish. (…) It assumes that readers are monolingual in English. It differentiates the Spanish while affirming English as the norm" (p. xiii). I also represent accented words in their phonological structure and not its phonetic elements. I conscientiously encase the word "accent" within scare quotes to gesture to the social construction of "accents." Indeed, we all have "accents" yet some are racialized and marked much more loudly than others.

In analyzing Spanish inflected English (SIE), I have chosen to represent accented words through English-language phonetic spellings. Many of the media sources consulted and quoted in this project relied on phonetic spellings, for instance writing "joo" to stress the word "you" spoken by a non-English dominant speaker. Doing so privileged English-dominant readers familiar with English-phonetics. Therefore, I represent accented words, like machine as machin and not mɪšin. The visual representation of this accented sound conjures collective memories of Chican@s and Latin@s learning how to spell English words with Spanish-speaking tongues. For many Chican@s, as noted by Ana Celia Zentella, Rosaura Sanchez, and Bonnie Urciuoli, learning how to spell and speak in English meant being corrected and policed by both Spanish and English-dominant speakers in both private and public. In conjuring these painful memories through strands of humor, I am acknowledging both the violent nature of disciplining one's tongue, as Gloria E. Anzaldúa reminds us, as well as the liberating nature of humor.

Throughout these pages, I make the case that one's "accent" should never be ignored. An "accent," according to Casillas, stands in as a family's sonic archive, detailing one's geographical, classed, and racialized origins. An "accent" as the poet Denise Frohman states, acts as a "stubborn compass always pointing towards home."

I. Introduction

> Sofia: It's the New York Yiants.
> Ellen: What are their names?
> Sofia: The New York Yiants.
> Ellen: The Yiants?
> …
> Ellen: I think you stick with your Yiants. Don't let that man change you. If you like the Yiants, you stick with the Yiants.[1]

Sofia Vergara was introduced to English-language U.S. mainstream audiences in 2009 as the character Gloria Pritchett on the ABC family sitcom *Modern Family* (2009-).[2] Since Vergara's debut in Hollywood, her voice and physical body have been mocked by fictional characters on screen as her role as Gloria and in her appearances as herself on daytime and nighttime talk shows. The public imitation of her Spanish inflected English (SIE) "accent" and comments about her large natural breasts and hourglass feminine figure are examples of how mainstream media racializes Latinas through their voice and sexuality.[3] In the epigraph above, Vergara a guest on the daytime talk show *The Ellen Degeneres Show* (2003-) gets mocked and asked repeatedly to reiterate the word "Giants" as Ellen and the studio audience laugh. Degeneres' own iteration of the accented word also encourages laughter from the audience. At the end of the interview, Degeneres gifts Vergara a New York Giants jersey, but with the word "NY Yiants" stitched on the back of the jersey. In past appearances by Vergara on *The Ellen Show* Vergara has been subjected to a host of different antics used to provoke laughter at the expense of her body and linguistic "accent." For instance, she has received two lap dances from topless muscular men; demonstrated new Cover Girl products by having Degeneres use the makeup on Vergara incorrectly (for example putting lipstick on

Vergara on and around her lips); was blindfolded and smelled three topless muscular men in order to identify which one was wearing her fragrance; and on two occasions Degeneres has physically embodied Vergara by wearing large prosthetic breasts and speaking in a Spanish inflected English (SIE) "accent." Vergara has consistently been linguistically mocked by Degeneres, pronouncing specific words like "gee-if" for "gift," "pie-ra-mids" for "pyramids," and "boo-ks" for "books." The public engagement with Vergara's voice and body, meant as lighthearted daytime humor targeted at stay at home mothers, is troubling to say the least. As viewers we are encouraged to laugh at Vergara's pronunciations, visual "accent," curvy body, and (hyper) heterosexual sexuality. Despite the disproportionate attention directed at Vergara, she is not the only Latina-identified celebrity in the entertainment business who constantly gets mocked in the public eye.

The popular late show *Jimmy Kimmel Live*! (2003-) features Guillermo Rodríguez or simply Guillermo, a Mexican sidekick in character as a parking lot security guard. As Jimmy Kimmel begins his late night talk show with an opening monologue and interviews guests, Guillermo's short stocky body stands to the left of the stage in his parking lot security uniform. He engages with the guests on occasion and participates in Kimmel's skits. Essentially, Guillermo is a comedic stage prop for the late night show. During the annual "Jimmy Kimmel Live Spelling Bee," Kimmel invites the children who win the National Scripps Spelling Bee Contest to the late night show to compete against Kimmel's cast in a live spelling bee contest. The chosen auditor of the words is Guillermo and the judge is Kimmel's cousin Sal. In the most recent Kimmel Spelling Bee aired June 3, 2015, Guillermo comes out in a childlike bumblebee costume to give the words to the contestants to spell. Guillermo reads the word to Kimmel,

(1) Guillermo (G): Ey-loo.

[*Audience laugher*.]

(2) Jimmy (J): Say that again?

(3) (G): Ey-loo.

[*Audience laugher. On the screen the word "Heirloom" appears followed by more audience laughter*.]

(4) (J): Maybe get close to the mic or something.

(5) (G): Ey-loo.

[*Audience laugher*.]

(6) (J): Ey-loo? Could be "hello" for all I know. [*Audience laugher*.] Can you use it in a
(7) sentence please.

(8) (G): Okay. Scheck out my coo ey-loo.

[*Audience laugher*.]

(9) (J): Oh! I think I figured it out. J-e-l-l-o.

(10) Sal (S): No, no. That's not how you spell heirloom. I'm sorry. Heirloom is the word.

(11) (J): Oh, why didn't you say that?

(12) (G): Dat's what I say. Ey-loo.

The premise of the skit is to have Guillermo repeat the English words in his SIE "accent," and to confuse the spelling bee champions, Kimmel, and audience. The official spelling bee champions, who are children of immigrant parents, are able to understand Guillermo and are able to spell the words correctly. Kimmel, to his surprise states, "Unfortunately they speak Guillermo." In this case "Guillermo" is code for listening ears accustomed to speaking English as a second language. The joke lies in testing the champions against Guillermo's pronunciations, which they understand and monolingual Kimmel cannot

comprehend Guillermo. Yet, the humor in this skit relies on Guillermo's voice. In lines 6 and 7 above, Kimmel's statement "Could be 'hello' for all I know" and subsequent statements about Guillermo's English coupled with audience laughter contribute to larger, existing public discourses about Mexicans being "too dumb" to master a second language through audible signs and learned notions over one's "proper" and non-accented pronunciation. At the end, Guillermo stands his ground and reminds Kimmel that he is the one that does not understand because he was saying "heirloom" the entire time. Within this context, understanding SIE not only brings attention to these spelling bee champions as familiar with home or family "accents" but it also reifies understanding SIE as a trait worthy of champions. While, Vergara and Guillermo's voices are mocked, Internet memes circulate online with similar representations of SIE of how Latin@s are expected or assumed to speak.[4]

Internet memes are defined as a joke that acquire influence by online transmission and are seen as a shared social phenomenon.[5] Latin@s online create and circulate memes with accented phrases like, "Ey, you know Chata? Chata Fuck Up," "Latinas be like, Lemmie hesplain suntin to juuu mami," "Hey puto liver alone, cheese my seester," and "Mexican word of the day: wooden chair. My primo had an ice chest full of beer, but wooden chair any." This brash sense of humor laced with curse words appear on Latin@ blogs, Latin@ social media users platforms, and circulate frequently because of the increasing number of Latin@s Internet users.[6] Because social media sites like Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter encourage their users to post not only photos or videos but most importantly through text, there are various visual representations of Spanish inflected English (SIE) as mentioned above through the creation of memes.[7] This digital phenomenon coupled with popular

cultural televised moments of linguistic mocking, like Vergara's and Guillermo's, raises serious questions about the role of Latin@s in English-dominant sectors of mainstream media.

Current English-dominant mainstream media representations of Latin@ communities resemble discourses of early 1900s propaganda of the "Mexican problem."[8] Specifically, mainstream discourses and media coverage of "illegal aliens" who cross the U.S./Mexico border to steal jobs from Americans, pregnant Mexican women who come to the U.S. to give birth, and young Latino males who are seen as criminals create anxieties of Latin@s taking over the U.S.[9] The publicity of such Latin@ issues coupled with the current census data that "Hispanic" populations have increased 43% between 2000 to 2010 contribute to the growing anxieties that the fabric of the U.S. is receiving both a color and language adjustment. These social anxieties are manifested in the way Latin@s are portrayed as "passive," infantilized, caricatured and guised as humor.[10] The discourses concerning Latin@s' Spanish specifically their pronunciation of English words and heterosexual femininity and masculinity are recurring media tactics. Contemporary representations of Latin@s in English-dominant mainstream media are familiar given, as Isabel Molina Guzmán argues, that Latin@ bodies in mainstream media have long been defined by a history of sexualized and racialized representations.[11]

My attempt to parallel Vergara's and Guillermo's body and voice with other comedic Hollywood Latin@s led me on a historical research project and focus on the discourses of accented voices in the media of Latin@ actors in film, television, and online. In looking at the past for examples of Latin@s actors who were racialized, gendered, and classed because of their accented voice and in order to understand current discourses of SIE "accents,"

Chican@ and Latin@ bodies must be traced "across the entire mediascape—the fact and fiction, news and entertainment."[12]

Research Questions

This dissertation project uncovers layers of language politics as performed in diverse media by Chican@ and Latin@ performers. Therefore, this project brings together Media Studies, Linguistics, and Chican@ and Latin@ Studies. Discussions of mainstream Chican@ and Latin@ media often negate any possibility of agency.[13] As a result, documentary film and film created by Chica@s and Latin@s serve as examples of "authentic" representations.[14] The trinity that resulted in approaches to studying Chican@ media representations during the Chican@ Movement "by, for, about" functioned at a particular historical time period in the late 1970s.[15] This approach to media, however, does not account for the complicated and contradictory relationship Chican@s and Latin@s have with mainstream representations.[16]

An analysis of popular media outlets investigates the linguistic representations of Chican@ and Latin@ bodies. The following questions guide my research:

1. How does Chican@ and Latin@-styled mainstream humor depend on embodiments of visual and heard linguistic difference (e.g., "accent," slang terms, Spanglish, African American English)?

2. How are linguistic techniques considered a racial project in the creation of Chican@s and Latin@s?

The first question addresses the multiple ways in which humor relies on visual and heard linguistic "accents" by Chican@ and Latin@ and racial stereotypes for comedic fodder. This embodiment or performance is what Eric Lott refers to as "love and theft."[17] Lott references the symbolic nature of minstrel performances between Black actors and their embodiment of stereotypical representation of themselves. In this performative crossing of racial

boundaries, Lott argues that "Minstrel performers often attempted to repress through ridicule the real interest in black cultural practices they nonetheless betrayed—minstrelsy's mixed erotic economy of celebration and exploitation."[18] My first research question also seeks to unveil the different forms humor presents itself in various ways; for example, from scripted humor used within sitcoms and film to Internet circulated videos. These multiple forms of humor and different modes of interaction embedded within media texts leads me to my second research question, how the Spanish accented English sound or "accent" is linked to Chican@s and Latin@s as an example of what Michael Omi and Howard Winant call a racial project.

Racial projects are representations of race in popular discourse, thought, interaction, and most importantly for my project, in language.[19] Through language, specifically SIE "accents," Chicano English, and Spanglish, the development of meaning-making concerning race can be traced. In addition, racial projects strive to provide significance to racial and socioeconomic classifications in the mainstream. Voices, according to Jonathan Sterne, are the most naturalized and personalized forms of "subjective self-expression" and are a factor in racializing people as much as their bodies.[20] Voices of actors in question differ in the media they appear and the time frame in question. The linguistic tactics in specific media vary because different media access diverse audiences and was created in distinct time periods. A focus on language politics, therefore centers how and what language is used to craft particular sexualities and discourses of ethnicity on Chicana@ and Latin@ bodies or the semiotic process of Spanish inflected English (SIE).[21] An accented sound is linked to racialized, gendered, and classed imaginings, not only assigned to Hollywood representations of Chican@s and Latin@s, but often to *all* Chican@s and Latin@s in

general at different historical and political times across the mediascape.

Theoretical Framework

Media images, in particular stereotypic representations, are constructed yet believed to be correct or accurate "proofs" of gender, language and/or culture.[22] Historically, "Hispanic" women have occupied the type cast characters of "the spitfire" and "the female clown" and men the untrustworthy "greaser" and manipulative and dangerous "Latin lovers."[23] For Chicanas and Latinas these forms of representation are signified by "loud" colors, exaggerated facial and bodily expressions, and by sonic differences that provoke laughter toward the "Latina Other."[24] This "Latina Other," which includes a vocal and physical body, becomes a disputed zone where racial, cultural, economic, and political struggles take place.[25] Isabel Molina Guzmán argues that, "difference is usually marked by the performance of a hypersexuality that stands in opposition to white heteronormative definitions of socially appropriate feminine sexuality."[26] Therefore, Chicana and Latina bodies in mainstream media interrupt a Black and white racial binary and serve to sell a profitable difference.[27] Discourses surrounding Chicana and Latina bodies "is an extension of the overall commodification, paranoia, and policing of the sexuality of women of color."[28]For Chicanos and Latinos representation by specific colors has not been as important as it has the construction of Chicanas and Latinas in Hollywood, but more their cleanliness and accented English voice.[29]

Yet, William A. Calvo-Quirós argues color in general, since the colonial period, has been used to socially, politically, and economically categorize people by visual and sonic aesthetics. Specifically, in Casta paintings of the Spanish Empire people of mixed blood were known as "broken color people" or color quebrado and were used to determine who

had access to fully participate as citizens of the Spanish Empire based on hair styles, clothing patterns, color preferences, and language proficiency. Therefore, aesthetics and bright colors of "the Other" were categorized as inferior because difference is always perceived as deficient and defiant.[30] The use of color and difference achieve the mainstream's ideology of exaggeration and non-normativity especially when Chican@ and Latin@ are juxtaposed in relation to whiteness and "proper" forms of linguistic pronunciation.[31] Visual excess, hence manifests itself through Chican@ and Latin@ body movements and size, color, "accent," and dress in media.

This visual excess, be it wearing bright colors or excessive jewelry, is also part of a larger discourse on suciedad. Suciedad, a Spanish-language word for nasty and dirty, as argued by Deborah R. Vargas is in conversation with three discourses of difference. The discourses are obscene and hypersexual undisciplined bodies, darkened and perpetually untrustworthiness in terms of loyalty to the state, and finally, "diseased 'cultures of poverty' subjects overdetermined to fail to arrive to normative womanhood and manhood."[32]

In Vargas' argument she calls for a Latino Queer Analytic of lo sucio that can be applied to my project's focus on how Chican@ and Latin@ bodies have been voiced and treated in the media. Heard as different because of their linguistic "accents," speakers according to mainstream discourses are rendered unruly, threatening, dirty, colored, immigrant Latin@ bodies. Accented English, specifically Spanish inflected English (SIE), therefore can be argued is a mode of excess. As Bonnie Urciuoli argues some bilingual Latin@s internalize clear linguistic boundaries and order of when and where to use English and Spanish.[33] "Accents" betray these social boundaries of when and where to speak. SIE is seen as breaking boundaries only in relation to mainstream dominant notions of "proper" language

use and pronunciation. To Spanish-English bilingual Chican@s and Latin@s "accents" are normalized, part of everyday lives, legible, and audible. For monolingual listeners and speakers their ears and eyes require labor when listening and reading the accented language. This excess of accented language in humorous representations of Chican@s and Latin@s is the punch line in comedy because humor, is based on exaggeration.

For this dissertation project, I address spaces of agency for contemporary performers in the mainstream and cultural readers of media texts, specifically Isabel Molina Guzmán's use of symbolic rupture. Symbolic rupture refers to the process of understanding the interpretation of viewers that allows for the rupture of mainstream media practices that reproduce values of Latinidad as exotic, foreign, and consumable.[34] To not analyze mainstream representations because they are inherently stereotypical and to only focusing on independent productions is not the ideal solution to establishing "real" representations of Chican@s and Latin@s. This ideology functions in discourses of authenticity. However, the impact of mainstream representation should not be underestimated because people use these representations to make decisions about racialized minorities.[35] A focus on how mainstream representations work and create meanings for in-group viewers is necessary to understand the multiple readings a media text can have.

Herman Gray's canonical work about race and television focuses on the construction and meaning of blackness. He states that early comical representations of Black people were stereotypical and racist but that many "poor, working-class, and even middle-class [B]lacks still managed to read against the dominant discourse of whiteness and find humor in the show[s]…these pleasures meant different things [because viewers are] situated in very different material and discursive worlds."[36] In Jacqueline Bobo's research on Black women

as cultural consumers and readers of media, she places these women in a position of power and capable of producing their own meanings of texts in question that reflects their own merit.[37] Finally, Anna Everett in *Returning the Gaze*, analyzes the tension between film's racist representation and its popularity with Black communities. Everett reminds the reader of the diversity of viewers' reception, primarily the socioeconomic class and philosophical differences, evident in writing about film in Black presses.[38] Analysis of the tensions between stereotypical representations and pleasures from in-group viewers considers the multifaceted shape of historical recovery that centers conflicts, contradictions, and struggles.[39]

These periods of history where stereotypes and mocking are prevalent and directed toward ethnic minorities increase when dominant society identifies specific communities not assimilating well enough into mainstream culture.[40] Because of the high visibility of stereotypes, in-group viewers understandably have a complicated relationship with these images. In-group viewers, hence "learn skills, to lose inhibitions, to suffer and to be consoled in style, to painlessly envy the elites, [while] happily resigned to poverty, to laugh at stereotypes that ridiculed them, [and] to understand how they belong to the nation."[41] In-group viewers learn about their social position through stereotypes, because the mainstream recycles and circulates these images. One of the components of mainstream media is its accessibility to large audiences through advertisements (print and audio), press, and viewing in public venues when discussing film and television. When discussing the medium of the Internet, race and representation function in a similar yet diverse way.

Race and representation on the Internet, just like any other medium, works for and against representations that move away from stereotypical images. The Internet has created

producers overnight and people have been able to post, blog, and retweet images and videos that they created, therefore it has blurred the line between consumers and producers.[42] Lisa Nakamura in *Digitizing Race*, locates the Internet as a privileged site in terms of its access but also in the ways it contributes to counterhegemonic and hegemonic images of racialized bodies.[43] She reminds us that images we see online do have a historical legacy and that issues of gendered and raced bodies online are both cybernetic and real.[44] Her goal, therefore is to investigate the process of digital racial formation by examining the ways that visual capital is created, consumed, and circulated on the Internet."[45] Her ideas can be used to discuss the representations of Chican@s and Latin@s in the genre of humor and how they do or do not contribute to historical stereotypes. Her argument can also assist in determining how in-group viewers are able to articulate their views of how these visual and oral images work. The ability to read pleasure in the consumption of digital representations, as viewers and image-makers, stems from their lived experiences. No text exists in isolation, "signs shift and move, and are as complex and contradictory as the bodies that read them. We read signs from our relationship to them, real bodies and ideologies."[46] For Chican@s and Latin@s "the color-line is aural as it is visual and forms a revealing site where racial difference is policed, coded and produced," hence the issue of language marks Chican@s and Latin@s and is an additional source of racism.[47]

The final area of focus for this project seeks to engage with is that of a close analysis of language use in scripted comedic performances of Chican@s and Latin@s. This form of language use and analysis might seem unusual for sociolinguists because of the "inauthentic" origin of speech because it is not seen as "naturally occurring speech."[48] A focus on language representation however is crucial to investigate contemporary discourses

surrounding "the end" of race and racism. Ana Celia Zentella argues that the focus on identity or language has become a substitute for justifying difficult civil rights and political issues.[49] My investigation of language will be of various forms that appear in the performances of English, Spanglish, Mock Spanish, Mock English, Chicano English and Spanish. These various language representations, especially Spanish-language, ironically the U.S. is the second largest Spanish speaking country, remains a reason for prejudice and exclusion, while at the same time a signifier of pride and identity.[50]

Mary Bucholtz argues that instead of focusing on authentic speakers a productive approach would be to consider how certain people are treated as authentic speakers of a language form.[51] In the historical case of media representations of Chican@s and Latin@s, their bodies and voice are stereotyped on screen and off screen. Through accumulation theory, therefore the vocal body in fictitious media settings is indistinguishable from the off screen factual person because of stereotypical and similar ways Chican@s and Latin@s are portrayed to the same audiences.[52] Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz argue for an analysis of "authenticity effects" which "does not deny the cultural force of authenticity as an ideology but emphasizes that authenticity is always achieved rather than given in social life, although this achievement if often rendered invisible."[53] This authenticity is attached and created through "tactics of intersubjectivity" which states that identity is adapted to its context, hence "identities emerge from temporary and mutable interactional conditions, in negotiation and often contestation with other social actors and in relation to larger and often unyielding structures of power."[54] Consequently these comedic representations of Chican@s and Latin@s are seen as "real" speech to outside viewers and these women and men are considered authentic speakers of the scripted dialogue.

The focus on language politics comes from the idea that we are currently living in a "post racial" society; therefore since race is "no longer relevant" the focus on the various forms of language expression becomes a salient component of the existing structure of racism. Since as a society we believe to no longer discriminate based on race, language becomes a racialization tool and is seen as "racism lite."[55] Through language, furthermore we reproduce our various racial, gendered, and classed identities.[56] For some Chican@s and Latin@s, Spanish-language and language forms with Spanish influences, for example Spanglish and Chicano English, become a component of their identities.[57] People who are U.S. Americans who do not speak American Standard English (ASE) are seen as "defective" citizens and do not deserve equal protection of the law as their ASE counterparts.[58] Jane Hill argues in "Language, race, and White public space," that there is economic control that is inherent in whiteness and in the culture of standardized English.[59] One of the components of white public space is defined as "intense monitoring of the speech of racialized populations such as Chicanos and Latinos and African Americans for signs of linguistic disorder."[60] Differences in language sounds depend on the phenotype of the racialized body that is speaking Spanish consequently is racialized.[61] Therefore, mainstream media can be associated with white public space that confines Chican@ and Latin@ performances as speaking non Standard English. For this project the expression of race through language in the genre of humor helps with understanding how language plays an important role in comedic representations.

In Elaine W. Chun's research on ideologies of mocking, she analyzes the beliefs that validate Korean American comedian's racializing style because they are justified with discourses of authenticity.[62] Her argument informs my project when discussing how in-

group members are perceived when they embody stereotypes of their own community. For example in Américo Paredes' "The Anglo-American in Mexican Folkore," he argues that in the Mexican American tradition of ethnic joking there are two themes that arise.[63] The first, he categorizes as the "Stupid American" joke where a Mexican American takes advantage of a white person where the punch line results in a misunderstanding of language, and secondly "the self-satirical" joke where Mexican Americans make fun of themselves and the punch line results in the misunderstanding of U.S. culture.[64] Paredes concludes that the "Stupid American" joke is a release of bottled-up antagonistic feelings of the Mexican American telling the joke and the "self-satirical" joke uncovers ambivalent emotions about the self.[65] While Paredes focused on the psychological meanings, José E. Limón expanded Paredes' study and focused critically on the social location of his joke tellers, where he argues that storytelling and joking can influence and/or uphold social order and have the ability for social action.[66] In the realm of media, however when the joke teller is mocking one's own, Chun argues that according to mainstream ideologies, it is seen as not racist and it is considered an "authentic" and true representation of their own community.[67] This belief complicates and adds a layer of performativity for Chican@ and Latin@ comedic representations. In addition to performing these stereotypes and audience expectations, similarly as Black performers and audiences in order to survive, Joseph Boskin and Joseph Dorinson in "Ethnic Humor: Subversion and Survival" state that the,

> Black artist had to participate in self-caricature…Blacks, therefore, developed a gaming stance stoically laughing on the outside to cope with their pain inside. Black humor served many important functions including group survival, escape into pride and dignity, self-criticism, and the resolution of conflict.[68]

One of the unique elements of this type of analysis, in-group-mocking in-group, is that it decenters whiteness.[69] For Chican@s and Latin@s, their sonic authenticity and mode of distancing themselves from whiteness is marked by "accents."[70]

"Accents" are perceived in relational interactions and do not "name sound pattern[s] alone, but a sound pattern linked to a framework of social identities."[71] "Accents" therefore are recognized in only certain people and function in an all or nothing form; people have "accents" or they do not.[72] In this era of "post-racial" discourse, race is erased, ridiculed and mocking of linguistic differences play an important role as a racializing technique. The mocking of linguistic difference appears in the performances of cultural producers and everyday people. I am concerned with the performance of mocking ones "accent" but most importantly the mocking of the visuality of an SIE "accent."

Michel de Certeau's theory on language, writing, and what he calls the scriptural economy summarize and traces the importance and transformation of the SIE "accent," or sonic legacy, in media. De Certeau's concern is that the uniqueness of one's voice, the sound of the body, is an imitation, because it is reproduced and produced by the media.[73] Therefore, voices in media cannot be labeled as "true voices" because voices in the media are mythified, colonized, and as viewers of media we are told how to interpret the voices represented. The analysis of voices in media should not be limited to asking: what are the voices saying? But rather, *how* are voices produced, valued, taken as truth, through their written representation in print, the scriptural economy.

The written representation of language guarantees a scriptural power in making history and can shift depending on who has access to write language down.[74] Printed text, de Certeau argues, is printed on bodies because once words are printed they become law and

official statements about communities described. Printed words affect with pleasure and/or pain because people become signs, now they are something *named*, *called*, and *said*.[75] The contradictory relationship between being named, called, and said is that on the one hand, it is recognition in the mainstream but at the same time the people who are being named, called, and said are inscribed by a written system that has no author or owner. However, people who have access to writing also have power to write their own histories because the importance of writing is that it is visible and with visibility one can claim space through language. De Certeau states that people whose bodies have been inscribed through text eventually accept the words used that name and call them but only after they make their own meaning of those words.

> It is a matter of exhausting the meaning of words, of playing with them until one has done violence to their most secret attributes, and pronounced at the last the total divorce between the term and the expressive content that we usually give it. Henceforth, the important thing is neither what is said (a content), nor the saying itself (an act), but rather the transformation, and the invention of still unsuspected mechanisms that will allow us to multiply the transformations.[76]

De Certeau encourages language play, creativity, and shifting meanings of words. His theories on written language are essential in understanding how historically the printed "accent" of Spanish-English bilingual speakers has marked their bodies to signify foreignness, illiterate, and humorous because they cannot "master" the English language. This dissertation attempts to trace the transformation and creativity of how this historical printed "accent" has transformed into a bilingual scriptural economy online for the empowerment of bilingual speakers. The visible SIE "accent" acquires the right to reclaim history.[77] My goal is not to place language as the only existing form of discrimination and empowerment but to consider how language, race, class, and gender work together in stereotypical representations of Chican@s and Latin@s in comedy. My primacy is language

in an effort to decouple notions of sight and knowledge and to direct more attention to the ear in order to highlight the transformation of sound, voice, and "accent."

Methodology and Methods

My approach to this dissertation project stems from a personal and lived experience growing up in a working class family, with immigrant parents and living in a constant state of what Gloria Anzaldúa calls, nepantla.[78] This continuous state of being and learning how to juggle mainstream (white) culture, my parents immigrant culture, and creating one of my own has provided a unique and multifaceted form of analyzing and surviving in a U.S. context. Anzaldúa theorizes that Chican@s embody a survival tactic, la facultad, because they are caught in multiple worlds and unknowingly cultivate this method.[79] This form of seeing through serpent and eagle eyes, oppressor and oppressed, the creation of Mestiz@ people has been able to assist in providing different interpretations of representation. This Mestiza consciousness is born by,

> Developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity…She has a plural personality, she operates in a pluralistic mode—nothing is thrust out, the good the bad and the ugly, nothing rejected, nothing abandoned. Not only does she sustain contradictions, she turns the ambivalence into something else.[80]

This contradiction, tolerance and ambiguity provides a particular place for what Patricia Hill Collins calls "outsider-within social location" that calls for a distinctive perspective on a diversity of subjects.[81] This subjugated knowledge, I argue, provides different readings of mainstream images for Chican@s and Latin@s because they have learned to read parts of themselves in images and representations that do not reflect any similarity of their lives.[82] Therefore, these contradictory images and relations to the self provide different readings of texts.

For my particular approach to Media, Chican@, and Latin@ Studies, the binary reading of a "good" representation versus a "bad" representation does not exist because they are neither "good" nor "bad." Instead, I view them as complicated and multilayered as different aspects of visual and oral representations resonate to the diverse social and political location of the reader. My role as a Chicana feminist is not to validate certain cultural texts for Chican@ and Latin@ communities but to provide a thorough analysis of complexities of mainstream media representation and to focus on potential and symbolic spaces of rupture for some viewers.

My Chicana feminist approach is concerned with an "epistemological understanding of how knowledge is generated, how it is reported, and how it is used."[83] What Mary Bucholtz calls "feminist critical discourse" (FCD) assists in focusing on the spoken and written information of institutional contexts in order to investigate how systems of gender are reproduced and redrafted in a variety of cultural texts, where they focus on linguistic tactics whereby texts place readers in given discourses.[84] For my project the form in which Chican@ and Latin@ representation is considered will not only focus on issues of the body but how their linguistic representation is portrayed, given the medium of media. Bucholtz argues, that in gender and language research, discourse analysis must have vital components for example the analytical stance of the researcher, the context, and the forms power versus the position of agency manifest.[85] As a result my focus on language, Chican@s and Latin@s, media, and humor provides these contradictory spaces of interpretation and expression. An analysis of language therefore is not only about language, but also simultaneously concerns gender, race, and class. In order to fully investigate an

interdisciplinary approach to language across various time periods and media formats several analytical techniques must be utilized.

I utilize Charles Sanders Peirce's understanding of semiotics.[86] I approach language as a sign, or SIE as a sign specifically, which centers how the accented sound represents notions of foreignness, unintelligent, and becomes associated with the form Latin@s speak in media. The "accent" functions as an indexical sign because I trace the relationship between the "accent" and the racist ideologies attached to the sound and the visual representation in different media. Furthermore, this dissertation also shows how SIE "accent" changes in meaning, not only in the medium represented but how audiences interpret the "accent." Therefore, the role of symbolic rupture in each chapter becomes central as the dissertation progresses from 1920s fan magazines to 2010s interactive social media.

Other methodology techniques like archival materials such as magazines, television and film scripts from the 1970s, and analog videos are also consulted, specifically the collections at the Media History Digital Library, The Paley Center for Media in Beverly Hills, and Writer's Guild Foundation in Los Angeles. Finally, I engaged in acousmatic listening, a method from Sound Studies, in order to analyze the "accent" in question, for example a video clip's sound is transcribed, meaning the dialogue, without the visual image, in order to analyze and interrogate how the "accent" is vocalized. Watching and listening to these texts differently helps with focusing on different aspects of the analysis. For example, when I begin to analyze a media text, I watch the text be it a sitcom episode, film, or online video, three times without taking any notes, then when I am ready to begin the transcription, I mute the sound and conduct a visual analysis, and other times I only listen to the dialogues without watching the screen to focus on a different perspective of the text. I then watch the

media several times to transcribe the speech. Therefore, at the end, I have one transcript with the dialogue and another with the visuals and body movements. In the speech transcripts, I look at phonological patterns of accented speech for example Chicano English, Mock Spanish, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), and Spanish inflected English (SIE). Each of these methods are used in combination because it depends on the time period in question and what primary resources are available.

Chapter Overview

The organization of the dissertation is not meant to be a complete history of language politics concerning Chican@ and Latin@ actors. However, case studies were chosen based on the public discourse of Chican@ and Latin@ voices. The dissertation is organized chronologically and each chapter focuses on different media platforms to investigate how an accented voice, that was different form American Standard English (ASE), was represented in that medium and contributed to ideologies of race, gender, and socioeconomic class during that particular era. The specific media where the "accent" appears is important because it determines who has access to the visual sound and how the language appears differently in the medium. Medium specificity also controls how audiences can respond to the text in question. For example, in 1920s fan magazines the viewer reception is difficult to trace as oppose to videos on YouTube that encourage social media users to participate. Also, the role of symbolic rupture in the interpretation of the "accent" becomes central to my argument as the dissertation progresses because it depends on the access to viewer feedback. The dissertation attempts to trace SIE "accents" as semiosis through time and various media formats.

The first case study concerns Mexican film actress Lupe Vélez and her voice. Specifically how her "accent" was visually printed and represented in fan magazines from the 1920s to 1940s. This chapter utilized digital and periodical media archives, Feminist Critical Discourse (FCD), and semiotic analysis. "Her Fiery 'Accent': Sonic Legacy in Celebrity Magazines," uses the print representation of Vélez's linguistic "accent" in order to show how her language, body, and sexuality were racialized, deemed foreign, dangerous, and infantile. A form that Vélez's English proficiency was constantly questioned was how journalists chose to represent her voice with double vowels for example, *beeg* for big. Lupe Vélez left Latinas, in and out of Hollywood, a sonic legacy (a Spanish inflected English "accent") that is required of Latinas to perform a sense of "authenticity."

In "'Cuz you've got soul': Scripted Black and Brown Language Politics in 1970s Television," concerns the linguistic relationship between the performance of Louie Wilson (Scatman Crothers) and Chico Rodriguez (Freddie Prinze) in the 1970s sitcom *Chico and the Man*. This chapter utilized analog and digital media archives, television show scripts, FCD, semiotic analysis, and acousmatic listening. This chapter uses television scripts and on screen dialogue between Louie and Chico to analyze the language politics and "accents" of both characters in order to show how communities of color vocalize an alliance to each other against "the man" in the 1970s. Issues of authenticity for both performers were questioned in the press. Finally, this chapter also emphasizes the importance of comparative ethnic studies and show how the sonic legacy is seen as inauthentic speech for the character of Chico.

The third case study, "Very ¡MACHO!: Digital Bodies and Voice in Animated Film," investigates Benjamin Bratt's Spanish inflected English (SIE) voice over for the animated Mexican villain "El Macho" in *Despicable Me: 2*. This chapter engages with acousmatic

listening, FCD, and semiotic analysis. This chapter focuses on the SIE performance of Benjamin Bratt and how his voice relies on the historical representation of Mexican males as animated villains and how "new" tactics of racializing characters continue to appear. I rely on theories of race in animation, voiceover theories in animation, and previous work on Black representation in animated film. The sonic legacy in animation continues to be present when voicing characters, however now Latino actors provide their voices to bring Mexican characters to life and are able to rupture the sign for a moment.

The final chapter, "'Can joo belieb it?': Visual 'Accents' and Subtitles in Online Videos," investigates the visual SIE accent present in subtitles of Internet performer La Coacha. A semiotic and FCD approach assists in analyzing the visual accented sound. This chapter uses theories of subtitles and new media to emphasize the tension in performers of color creative work especially those who use stereotypes of their own community for humorous punch lines. At the same time La Coacha's performances create a space of belonging, through language, for Latin@s online by ironically using the Latin@ sonic legacy. La Coacha uses this sonic legacy in similar and different forms than analyzed in previous chapters because she controls her own material. The visual and sonic mocking of Vergara and Guillermo's body and language, that opened and influenced my curiosity of this sonic legacy, are ongoing texts that teach us about past and present language politics of Chican@s and Latin@s in the U.S. Ultimately, the dissertation showcases how linguistic "accents" continue to racialize communities of color, how we experience linguistic "difference" through sight, sound, and body in media, and how linguistic insiders can invert negative linguistic stereotypes of their community to laugh through the pain.

Notes to Introduction

[1] Video on You Tube of Sofia Vergara on the Ellen Show, "Sofia Vergara's Favorite Football Teams," Youtube video, 1:53. Posted by "The Ellen Show," November 12, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0g9rfd7jrVc , accessed Tuesday, March 15, 2016.

[2] My use of "mainstream media" refers to English-dominant mainstream. I use the term mainstream media and Enlgish-dominant mainstream media interchangeably. This study does not analyze representations of Latin@s in Spanish language media. See Viviana Rojas,"Chusmas, Chismes, y Escándalos: Latinas Talk Back to El Show de Cristina and Laura en América," in *From Bananas to Buttocks: The Latina Body in Popular Film and Culture*, ed. by Myra Mendible, 279-309 (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007) and Arlene Dávila's, *Latinos, Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

[3] Isabel Molina Guzmán speaks of this correlation with female actor Salma Hayek in, "Salma Hayek's Frida: Transnational Latinas Bodies in Popular Cultures," in *From Bananas to Buttocks: The Latina Body in Popular Film and Culture*, ed. by Myra Mendible (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007).

[4] I use the "@" symbol as a means of flagging gender but also, as Sandra Soto succinctly states, "I mean for it to catch our attention with its blend of letters from the alphabet on the one hand and a curly symbol on the other hand, a rasquachismo that at first sight looks perhaps like a typo and seems unpronounceable," Sandra K. Soto, *Reading Chican@ Like a Queer: The De-Mastery of Desire* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), 2.

[5] Alice Marwick, "Memes," *Contexts* 12, no. 4 (2013): 12.

[6] Pew Research Center found that social media preferences vary by race. For example, Black and Latin@ users are more likely to be on Instagram, Facebook, and Twiter than their white counterparts, Jens Manuel Krogstad, "Social media preferences vary by race and ethnicity," *PewResearchCenter.com*, February 3, 2015, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/02/03/social-media-preferences-vary-by-race-and-ethnicity/, accessed March 15, 2016.

[7] For example on Facebook, once a user is logged in at the top of their news feed where one can post it states, "What's on your mind?" On Twitter the site asks "What's happening?" and on Instagram (of the three social media sites is more image/photo driven) after you select a photo or video to load they state "Caption this." Therefore, all social media sites encourage users to express themselves through text and with an image.

[8] Gilbert G. Gonzalez, "The 'Mexican Problem': Empire, Public Policy, and the Education of Mexican Immigrants, 1880-1930," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 26, no. 2 (2001).

[9] See Leo R. Chavez, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens and the Nation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008); Otto Santa Ana, *Brown Tide Rising: Metaphors of Latinos in Contemporary American Public Discourse* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002); Otto Santa Ana, *Juan in a Hundred: The Representation of Latinos on Network News* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2013); Elena R Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's Reproduction* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008); and Jonathan Xavier Inda, *Targeting Immigrants: Government, Technology, and Ethics* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publications, 2006).

[10] Humor in this project is used as an umbrella term to encompass humorous work (parody, comedy, satire, and irony) that is meant to invoke laughter.

[11] Isabel Molina Guzmán argues that Latina bodies are subjected to this form of representation. I emphasize that so are Latinos, hence my inclusion of "@," Molina Guzmán, "Salma Hayek's Frida."

[12] Isabel Molina Guzmán, *Dangerous Curves: Latina Bodies in the Media* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 17.

[13] See Molina-Guzmán, *Dangerous Curves* (New York: New York University Press, 2010) specifically her discussion of viewers' "symbolic rupture" that will be discussed later in the introduction. Also, Stuart Hall, *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse* (Birmingham, UK: Center for Cultural Studies University of Birmingham, 1973); and Jacqueline Bobo, *Black Women as Cultural Readers* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1995) as examples of viewers agency and ability to read and interpret media texts in unique ways.

[14] Rosa Linda Fregoso, *The Bronze Screen: Chicana and Chicano Film Culture,* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 2.

[15] Fregoso, *Bronze Screen*, xvii.

[16] Some scholarship that does count for complicated readings of Latinas in the mainstream are Molina Guzmán, "Salma Hayek's Frida,"; María Elena Cepeda, "Singing the 'Star-Spanglish Banner': The Politics and Pathologization of Bilingualism in U.S. Popular Media," in *Beyond El Barrio: Everyday Life in Latina/o America*, ed. by Gina M. Pérez, Frank Andre Guridy, and Adrian Burgos (New York: New York University Press, 2010); and Cynthia Fuchs, "'There's My Territory': Shakira Crossing Over," in *From Bananas to Buttocks: The Latina Body in Popular Film and Culture*, ed. by Myra Mendible (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007).

[17] Eric Lott, *Love and theft: blackface minstrelsy and the American working class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[18] Eric Lott, *Love and theft*, 6.

[19] Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[20] Jonathan Sterne, ed. "Voices," in *The Sound Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 491.

[21] Rosaura Sanchez, *Chicano Discourse: Socio-historic Perspectives* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers,1983) and Bonnie Urciuoli, "Discussion Essay: Semiotic Properties of Racializing Discourses," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 21 (2011): 114-23.

[22] Richard Dyer, *The Matters of Images: Essays on Representations* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 27 and Isabel Molina Guzmán and Angharad N. Valdivia, "Brain, Brow and Booty: Latina Iconicity in U.S. Popular Culture," *The Communication Review* 7 (2004): 205-21.

[23] Charles Ramírez Berg, *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, & Resistance* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), 75.

[24] Ramírez Berg, *Latino Images in Film,* 75.

[25] Viviana Rojas, "The gender of Latinidad: Latinas speak about Hispanic television," *Communication Review* 7, no. 2 (2004): 133.

[26] Molina Guzmán, "Salma Hayek's Frida," 120.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Jillian M. Báez and Aisha Durham, "A tail of two women: Exploring the contours of difference in popular culture," in *Curriculum and the Cultural Body*, ed. by Stephanie Springgay and Debra Freedman (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 132.

[29] For a detailed analysis of the relationship between color and People of Color see, William A. Calvo-Quirós, "The Politics of Color: Chromophobia, Chromo-Eugenics, and the Epistemologies of Taste," *Chicana/Latina Studies: the Journal of Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social* (*MALCS*) 13, no. 1 (2013); Frances R. Aparicio and Susana Chávez-Silverman, *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, University Press of New England, 1997); and Michael Taussig, *What Color is the Sacred?* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

[30] Paula Rothenberg, "The Construction, Deconstruction, and Reconstruction of Difference," *Hypatia* 5 (1992).

[31] See Calvo, "The Politics of Color," for discussion of color practices by Chican@s as "exaggeration" in the eyes of the mainstream. I emphasize "proper" pronunciation.

[32] Deborah R. Vargas, "Ruminations on Lo Sucio as a Latino Queer Analytic," *American Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2014).

[33] Bonnie Urciuoli, *Exposing Prejudice: Puerto Rican Experiences of Language, Race, and Class* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

[34] See Molina Guzmán, *Dangerous Curves*, argument of symbolic colonialism reproduced my mainstream media and the symbolic rupture that cultural readers possess to understand and see pass the fictional constructions of Latinidad.

[35] Angharad N. Valdivia, *Latino/as in the Media* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2010), 25.

[36] Herman Gray, *Watching Race: Television and the Struggle for "Blackness"* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 75-76.

[37] Bobo, *Black Women as Cultural Readers*.

[38] Anna Everett, *Returning the Gaze: A Genealogy of Black Film Criticism, 1909-1949* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

[39] Rosa Linda Fregoso, *MeXicana Encounters: The Making of Social Identities on the Borderlands* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 108.

[40] Guisela M. LaTorre, "Humor and Hemispheric Consciousness: Chicana/o and Native American Contemporary Art," *Journal of American Studies of Turkey* 18 (2003): 4.

[41] Carlos Monsavias quoted in Dolores Inés Casillas, "Adíos Cucuy," *Boom: A Journal of California* 1, no. 3 (2011): 45.

[42] Lisa Nakamura, *Digitizing Race: Visual Cultures of the Internet* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 18.

[43] Nakamura, *Digitizing Race*, 13.

[44] Ibid., 11.

[45]Ibid., 15.

[46] Báez and Durham , "A tail of two women," 138.

[47] Valdivia, *Latino/as in the Media,* 16; and Priscilla Peña Ovalle, *Dance and the Hollywood Latina: Race, Sex, and Stardom* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 119.

[48] Mary Bucholtz, "Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7, no. 3 (2003); and Elaine W. Chun, "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery: Margaret Cho's Revoicings of Mock Asian," *Pragmatics* 14, no. 2 (2004): 265.

[49] Ana Celia Zentella, "The 'Chiquitification' of U.S. Latinos and their Languages; OR, why we need an anthro*political* linguistics," in *Texas Linguistic Forum* 36 (1996): 10.

[50] Valdivia, *Latino/as in the Media,* 17; and Zentella, "The 'Chiquitification' of U.S. Latinos and their Languages."

[51] Bucholtz, "Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity," 407.

[52] Debra Merskin, "Three Faces of Eva: Perpetuation of Hot-Latina Stereotype in Desperate Housewives," *Howard Journal of Communications* 18 (2007): 135.

[53] Bucholtz, "Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity," 408.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006); Jennifer Esposito, "What Does Race Have to Do with *Ugly Betty*?: An Analysis of Privilege and Postracial(?) Representation on a Television Sitcom," *Television & New Media* 10, no. 6 (2009); and Nakamura, *Digitizing Race.*

[56] Carmen Fought, *Language and Ethnicity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 20.

[57] Ana Celia Zentella, "Latin@ Languages and Identities," in *Latinos: Remaking America*, ed. by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Mariela Páez (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

[58] Zentella, "The 'Chiquitification' of U.S. Latinos and their Languages," 11.

[59] Jane H. Hill, "Language, Race, and White Public Space," *American Anthropologist, New Series* 100, no. 3 (1998); and Adam Schwartz, "The Teaching and Culture of Household Spanish: Understanding Racist Reproduction in 'Domestic' Discourse," *Critical Discourse Studies* 3 no. 2, (2006).

[60] Hill, "Language, Race, and White Public Space," 680.

[61] Hill, "Language, Race, and White Public Space" and Urciuoli, *Exposing Prejudice*.

[62] Chun, "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery."

[63] Américo Paredes, *The Anglo-American in Mexican Folklore* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1966).

[64] Paredes, *The Anglo-American in Mexican Folklore*.

[65] Ibid.

[66] José E. Limón, "History, Chicano Joking, and the Varieties of Higher Education: Tradition and Performance as Critical Symbolic Action," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 19 (1982).

[67] Chun, "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery," 278.

[68] Joseph Boskin and Joseph Dorinson, "Ethnic Humor: Subversion and Survival," American Quarterly 37, no. 1 (1985): 93; Joseph Boskin, *Humor and Social Change in Twentieth-Century America* (Boston, MA: Trustees of the Public Library, 1979), 57; and Robert Brake, "The Lion Act is Over: Passive/Aggressive Patterns of Communication in American Negro Humor," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 9, no. 3 (1975).

[69] Chun, "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery," 285.

[70] Angharad N. Valdivia, "Rosie Goes to Hollywood: The Politics of Representations," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 18, no. 2 (1996).

[71] Asif Agha, *Language and Social Relations* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 191.

[72] Agha, *Language and Social Relations,* 192.

[73] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans by Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), 132.

[74] De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 139.

[75] Ibid., 140.

[76] Ibid., 152.

[77] De Certeau states that writing, because it is visible, "acquires the right to reclaim, subdue or educate history," Ibid., 144. I emphasized Spanish inflected English "accents."

[78] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books, 1999).

[79] Anzaldúa, *Borderlands La Frontera*, 61.

[80] Ibid., 101.

[81] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 11.

[82] Along the same lines of Hall, *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*; Gray, *Watching Race;* and Bobo, *Black Women as Cultural Readers*, work of Black people as cultural readers, Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera,* provides a very specific language politics of Spanish, English, Spanglish, and a border tongue analysis that Chican@s must navigate and posses. Even if they're not fluent in Spanish.

[83] Verta Taylor and Leila J. Rupp, "When the Girls are Men: Negotiating Gender and Sexual Dynamics in a Study of Drag Queens," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30 (2005): 2116.

[84] Mary Bucholtz, "Theories of Discourse as Theories of Gender: Discourse Analysis in Language and Gender Studies," in *The Handbook of Language and Gender*, ed. by Janet Holmes and Miriam Meyerhoff (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 55.

[85] Bucholtz, "Theories of Discourse as Theories of Gender," 63.

[86] Floyd Merrell, *Pierce, Signs, and Meaning* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

II. Her Fiery "Accent": Sonic Legacy in Celebrity Magazines

> I never engage to no mans. I no marry no-one, not now, not ever. Why? Because I am not crazee. I do not want to be marry. I like my freedom too much, bet your life. I lofe no mans, I never have lofe, I never will lofe. Eet is all—what you say? —bolonee.[1]—Lupe Vélez

Scholars of film and media associate female actor Lupe Vélez with the rated B eight part film series *Mexican Spitfire* (Dir. Leslie Goodwins, 1939-1943).[2] Vélez starred as "Carmelita," a female Mexican singer and dancer. The series begins when a publicity agent from New York City sees Carmelita's musical and dancing talent in Mexico and brings her to the United States in hopes of solidifying a singing contract for a radio program. She marries her publicity agent Dennis Lindsay (Donald Woods) at the end of the first film and continues to be married to Dennis in the eight part film series. The comedic film follows difficulties the newlyweds face as Dennis' aunt and his ex-fiancé attempt to break up Carmelita and Dennis. The film series earned acclaim with fans in the U.S. Vélez starred in other films, such as *Resurrection* (Dir. Edwin Carewe, 1931) and *Hollywood Party* (Dir. Oliver Hardy, 1934), that bolstered her popularity but her off screen coverage fascinated readers of celebrity magazines. She was featured in various cover stories and appeared in long four page spreads in gossip magazines like *Motion Picture*, *Movie Classic*, *New Movie* and *Photoplay*. Her presence in said magazines did not focus on her professional acting, singing, or dancing. Instead printed stories reported on her off-screen personal life. Specifically, Vélez's romantic relationships with white men as well as her emotional and over-the-top public antics.

The publicity surrounding Vélez's wealth and fame, were often wrapped in rumor and speculation. For example a recurring Hollywood rumor held that Vélez would go to any

length to protect her extensive jewelry collection, even having her doormen answer the door with a gun in their hands to intimidate unexpected guests.[3] Her Beverly Hills home, was known for hosting extravagant parties for Hollywood's A-list celebrities. Fan magazines credit Vélez for starting the Hollywood trend of collecting shelled reptiles as pets.[4] By 1934, Veléz's appearances in fan magazines began to dwindle. Initially Vélez would go along with the press, playing up her mannerisms for publicity stunts but she soon grew tired of the print media's over simplification of her persona and obsession with her love life.[5] Ultimately, Lupe Vélez personified a racial difference both off and on screen in relation to white women in Hollywood displacing white femininity or as Jennifer Stoever argues, "in recognizing the judgment of the gaze, in which dancing in public is immediately equated with a brown (hyper)sexuality deemed 'terrible and disgusting,' the speaker calls attention to the displacement of white sexuality onto this same construction."[6] She starred in films up to the end of her life. Today, documentaries and biographies of Vélez detail her tragic suicide in 1944. Rumored reports of her lifeless body found on her bathroom floor with her head stuck in the toilet bowl sensationalize her body and gaze after death.[7] Although her body was actually discovered in her bed, in popular culture, Vélez's death is remembered but not her influence in Hollywood celebrity culture. An aspect of Vélez's character that film viewers are aware of, but have not fully explored is her voice.

Less mentioned but just as significant was Vélez's vocal and visual "accent." As the epigraph indicates, journalists made explicit efforts to visually highlight Vélez's "exotic nature" which contributed to her racialization in Hollywood. Readers of English-language magazines and newspapers from the late 1920s to 1940s imagine her vocal sound "mediated through and by raced, gendered, and historicized 'listening ears.'"[8]

Figure 1.- Lupe Vélez on the January cover of *Motion Picture Magazine* in 1933, Volume 44.

Through print, journalists created her visual "accent" and cued viewers to read Vélez's quotes in an accented manner. This chapter focuses on Vélez's "accent" in newsprint representations and Vélez's sound from the 1930s as a problematic yet vocal legacy that Latinas in and out of the media have inherited without their consent. Highlighting her printed "accent" can offer an analysis of contemporary representation for Latinas (tackled in chapter five). Vélez's "accent" can be heard in her films but reading her "accent" in black-and-white during one of the most innovative transitions in film, silent to "talkies," makes certain that she is consistently marked as different. Investigating the strategic use of language in racializing Vélez historicizes the role of language and power in "accents."[9] This chapter uses periodicals from 1928-1941 by the *Los Angeles Times* (*LA Times*), *New York Times* (*NY Times*), *La Opinión,* and the fan magazine *Motion Picture Magazine* (MPM) to examine how frequently Vélez was quoted with a visual "accent." Vélez was quoted with an "accent" in order to normalize American Standard English (ASE) therefore racializing ASE as white.[10]

Tactics used to differentiate and racialize Vélez included infantilizing her English and questioning her proficiency. For instance, journalists commented on her childlike accented English, questioned her comfortability with the English-language, and her loud and over the top Spanish antics during the height of her career. Her loudness and perceived excessiveness, as argued by Jennifer Stoever, "function[s] as aural substitutes for and markers of race."[11] Her fame, not coincidental, was marked and benefited from her vocal body. Figure 1 shows the frequency of stories on Vélez and mentions in the celebrity publication *Motion Picture Magazine*.

Vélez's debut in Hollywood reflects the eighty-two mentions in MPM at the beginning of her career. The decline in 1934 (Vol. 47) may have been owed to her time in Europe and time spent out of the spotlight because she focused on family by adopting her niece. Also, the mentions of Lupe Vélez in MPM after 1934 were not as accented as they were in the late 1920s. Reviewing these historical materials offers access to a written portion of Vélez's personality. Despite these prominent patterns, the written representation of Vélez has not been analyzed in great detail. These print materials are useful in imagining an era that shaped our contemporary memories of her voice. The epigraph is an example of her speech, an accented sound that teaches us about exotification, racialization, and linguist exploitation.

Vélez's accented sound or "accent " was made visible through text as a means to naturalize American Standard English and racilize Vélez further. The use of "accent," encased in quotes, emphasizes the socially constructed notion that only certain people are seen and heard as having an accent or marked difference in their speech. "Accents" as heard and represented are relational to standard or dominant language.[12] "'Accent' is a social construct, it serves as an important racializing factor that significantly impacts the lives not only of Latina/os in the USA, but of racialized individuals more broadly."[13] A verbal "accent" consists of stresses on particular syllables and verbal intonations, therefore the way of speaking remains as important as what is being said, or in my project, how the voice was imagined via representation on paper. Some "accents" are more desirable than others and regarded as more prestigious while other "accents" might be categorized as inferior.[14]

Vol. # (Dates)	# of Mentions	Vol. # (Dates)	# of Mentions
36 (Aug 1928-Jul 1929)	82	51 (Feb 1936-Jul 1936)	1
39 (Feb 1930-Jul 1930)	35	52 (Aug 1936-Jan 1937)	4
41 (Feb 1931-Jul 1931)	53	53 (Feb 1937-Jul 1937)	8
42 (Aug 1931-Jan 1932)	42	54 (Aug 1937-Jan 1938)	6
43 (Feb 1932-Jul 1932)	32	55 (Feb 1938-Jul 1938)	5
44 (Aug 1932-Jan 1933)	46	56 (Aug 1938-Jan 1939)	7
45 (Feb 1933-Jul 1933)	22	57 (Feb 1939-Jul 1939)	7
46 (Aug 1933-Jan 1934)	36	58 (Aug 1939-Jan 1940)	7
47 (Feb 1934-Jul 1934)	36	59 (Feb 1940-Jul 1940)	8
48 (Aug 1934- Jan 1935)	15	60 (Aug 1940-Jan 1941)	5
49 (Feb 1935-Jul 1935)	0	61 (Feb 1941-Jul 1941)	8
50 (Aug 1935-Jan 1936)	3	**TOTAL**	**468**[15]

Figure 2.-Number of Lupe Vélez mentions in different volumes of *Motion Picture Magazine* from 1929 to 1941. Some magazine issues were not included in the archive, therefore there are zero mentions for Volumes 37, 38, 40, and 49.

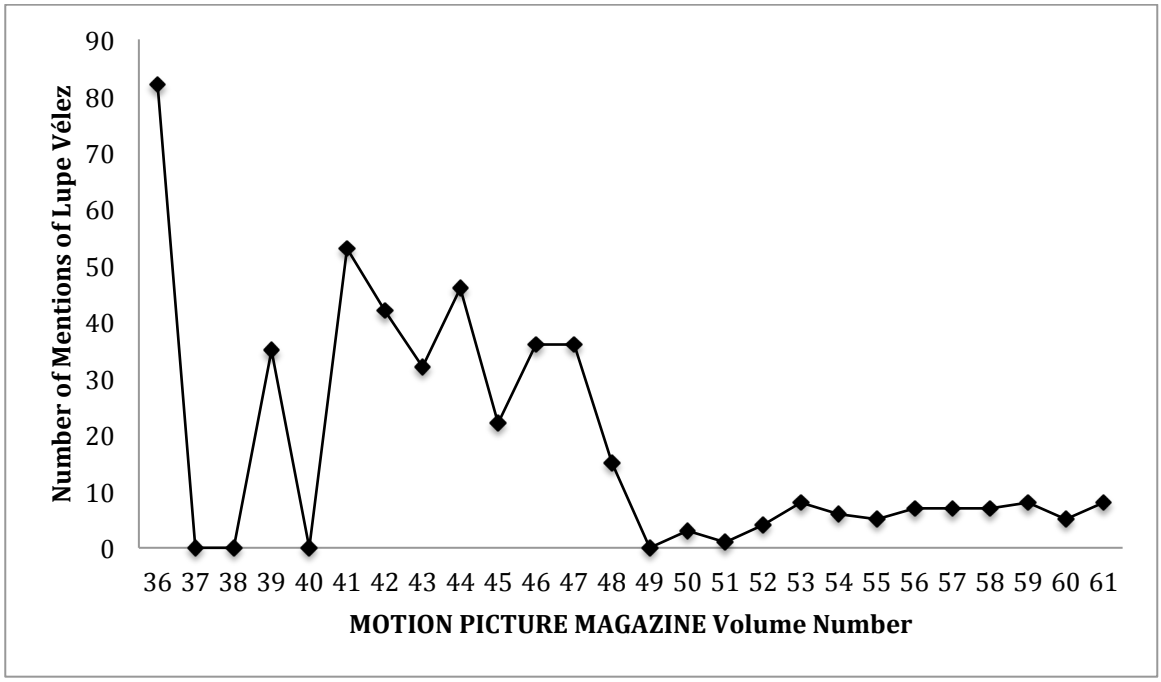


Figure 2.-Number of Lupe Vélez mentions in different volumes of *Motion Picture Magazine* from 1929 to 1941. Some magazine issues were not included in the archive, therefore there are zero mentions for Volumes 37, 38, 40, and 49.

As Pierre Bourdieu argues, linguistic capital is an embodied capital that gives us one dimension of who and where a person comes from.

> Thus, we know that properties such as voice setting (nasal, pharyngeal) and pronunciation ("accent") offer better indicies than syntax for identifying a speaker's social class; we learn that the efficacy of a discourse, its power to convince, depends on the authority of the person who utters it, or, what amounts to the same thing, on his "accent," functioning as an index of authority.[16]

The way one sounds carries authority and power and differs with every individual because there are social constructions attached to particular sounds. If "accents" are categorized in a hierarchy then so are the bodies that are stereotypically associated with that sound. When one speaks, there are historical and cultural meanings attached to people's specific speech pattern that racializes, classes, and genders them.[17] When we hear someone's voice we do not only hear the language, we hear a "whole social person."[18] "Accents" therefore mark and differentiate bodies of speakers. Therefore, marking the word "accent" is a constant reminder that "accents" are situational, lived in the imaginary, and linked to specific socializations that stratify bodies by the way they pronounce one word associating them with systems of power.[19]

Shilpa S. Davé argues, in *Indian Accents: Brown Voice and Racial Performance in American Television and Film,* that Indians and Mexicans are groups that have been historically difficult to racially categorize. A vocal "accent," therefore, serves as an important attribute to racialize these groups.[20] Having an Indian vocal "accent" or an "ethnic" accent "indicates different hierarchies of access to American citizenship and the American Dream."[21] Therefore perceived "accents" create a relationship of cultural exclusion in the U.S. regardless of legal citizenship on sonic differences. Hence, the history of racially difficult groups, according to U.S. census data collectors, like Mexicans has been

one of contention and confusion. Racial classification of Mexicans in the U.S. has shifted between indigenous, granted U.S. citizenship, and classified as racially white, or ethnically as Hispanics, Latino, and immigrant.[22] There are multiple generations of people of Mexican descent living in the U.S. with steady rates of cyclical and new flows of immigration.[23]

The racial classification of Mexican people and those of Mexican descent living in the U.S. has shifted across decades. As stated in Leo Chavez's *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation*, "The place of immigrants in the nation is subject to laws governing immigration and naturalization, attitudes toward immigrants, the criteria for and benefits of citizenship, and perception of what constitutes the nation and its people."[24] These relationships with the nation are not fixed, however negative connotations associated with being Mexican, regardless of generation or legal status, remains attached to contemporary understandings of Mexicans. Stereotypes such as lazy Mexicans, devious Mexicans, hot and spicy Mexicans, and/or Mexican laborers, do not specify generation or citizenship. There is no distinction between the diversity of Mexicans living in the U.S. because media representations represent Mexican stereotypes with the same linguistic "accent." The "accent" functions as a mode of signaling outsider, foreigner, or non-citizen regardless of legal status. Sound offers a counterpoint to a visual representation. In much the same way that skin and urban "accents" mark Black bodies, Spanish-language, with its classed and immigrant connotations, work to mark Latin@s.[25]

The recycled image of Spanish and accented English speaking Latin@s in the media continue to be used to produce a community that is deemed foreign. Angharad N. Valdivia in *Latino/as in the Media* discusses various approaches and methodologies in producing academic work concerning Latin@s and Media Studies. She argues that Latin@s in the

dominant narrative are consistently imagined as Spanish speakers. The representation of Latin@s as a monolithic Spanish speaking community or Spanish inflected English (SIE) speakers helps illuminate the limits of racial and gender essentialism, different claims on identity rooted in uniqueness, disconnection, isolation and nationalism.[26] As Herman Gray states, "cultural politics [are] so much more complicated than questions of positive and negative images."[27] For Latin@s the image of the monolithic Spanish speaking Latin@ is a sense of pride but continues to signify foreign, unassimilable and different.[28] The social concerns of Spanish spoken in public and English Only policies reflects the ambiguous relationship between Latin@s and the Spanish-language. For example English-Only advocates are determined to make English the official language of the U.S. in fears of non-English speakers "taking" over the nation.[29] Furthermore, in Jane Hill's research she argues that certain white people lay claim to white public space by regulating and mocking freely the Spanish-language striping speaking rights to native speakers.[30] Spanish speakers, therefore continue to symbolize a danger and threat to the mainstream, a strong sentiment that no other language represents, and an easy form of exclusion and discrimination in the U.S.[31]

Emphases on the politics of language for this chapter highlights the ambivalent response Latin@s have with English and Spanish-languages in the mainstream media. Vélez's voice represented visually in print demonstrates how Hollywood during the late 1920s to 1940s encased the bodies of Mexican women for mainstream production, consumption, and circulation as exotic, humorous, and easily mocked beings. This is not to argue that men were not quoted in similar ways but an accented male body produced different sensual affects than a racialized, female body.

Qualities of "the Latin lover" mandated a different type of "accent."[32] In a *Los Angeles Times* article from 1929 states, "The situation is so much more difficult for the male foreigner…for an accent is not piquant or attractive on the male. It is even apt to make him seem effeminate and more often comical."[33] An "accent" from a body of a male seemed as an emasculating quality especially for a Mexican male who was type cast as a dangerous greaser. Gendered sound produces different reactions in listeners and links to decisions of social attractiveness that depend on the speaker's sex and speech rate.[34] For women, the sonic difference was heard as attractive, occasionally comical, "accents" harmonized within a female body.

My attraction to Vélez's representation in the press stems from the realization that her accented speech was published without reservation and rather unapologetically. Growing up after the Civil Rights Movements and in a "post-racial era" where I have not experienced this form of racism so openly was shocking. The epigraph is an example of Vélez's speech that first made me reread the quote several times not only to understand what was being said but because my eyes had never read this style of journalism. *Motion Picture Magazine* (MPM), my primary archive, is recognized as the first monthly fan magazine started in 1911 and spanned decades until it ended in 1977. The magazine initially published under the name *Motion Picture Story* changed its name to *Motion Picture Magazine* in 1914.[35] The magazine strategically decided to feature celebrities in order to attract a female readership. Circulation of the magazine is difficult to come by, but numbers are estimated at 400,000 in 1919.[36] Research on magazines continues to be politically significant because as Pierre Bourdieu states, magazines have social power.[37] Magazines define and categorize people,

materialize people's anxieties and fears by printing and making issues public.[38] Lupe Vélez's voice is preserved in that text and as a result her body "re-membered" and archived.

The attraction of Vélez's style of representation relies on the importance of how the visual presentation of text centers our daily life due to the popularity of social media. There are three main reasons to analyze print media. First, we are constantly updating our feelings and what we did or are currently doing on different social media platforms. Because we read various statuses a pattern began to stand out to me. I had to stop and reread some social media posts because I had not seen a visual representation for certain words. I only had sonic memories of words like "guat" (what), lez (let's), and sheating (cheating). Second, users of various social media platforms highlight their "accent" and make it visible to read. There is a rupture in the flow of writing and reading that makes the accented work pop on the screen. Yet, in the contemporary form of quoting in an accented manner, the press or journalist does not control the representation, instead the social media user chooses to update a status in accented speech. Finally, specifically to magazines, text is used to fix meanings of images to reduce the number of interpretations. The role of text does not solely describe or explain the image but rather the text functions as the image.[39] I attempt to unveil historical and contemporary (tackled in detail in chapter five) printed "accents" and the politics behind that form of representation. Even though it has been decades since she starred in a film, Lupe Vélez continues to teach us new perspectives on media, representation, race but most importantly her influence and contemporary relevance.

Before Vélez entered Hollywood, the industry had experience with representing some "history" of Spanish speakers throughout the world. The beginning of film paralleled the tension between the U.S. and Spain beginning in 1895 and the resultant Spanish-American

War in 1898.[40] The Spanish-American War presented the U.S. with the first filmic portrayals of peninsular Spanish and of Hispanic colonial culture as well as Spanish opposing Filipinos and Cubans.[41] The birth of film went hand in hand with the representation of race because film structures were based on vaudeville routines, minstrel humor, comedies based on comic strips; travel-tourism, exotica and anthropology, documentaries of current events, and story films, all formats that were based on racial and ethnic stereotypes.[42] Not only were stereotypes well known and common, derogatory racial and ethnic epithets like "darkies," "coons," "greasers," and "redskins," circulated in the titles of films, in the subtitles of silent film, and in promotional material.[43] Vélez's body was certainly not the first to be racialized in Hollywood. There was a longer history in Hollywood of naming people of Spanish origin.

The social influence of film and technological advances circulated racist ideologies not only in the U.S. but throughout the world. The first story film to depict Hispanics according to Gary D. Keller, in *Hispanics and U.S. Film,* was *Gypsy Duel* (1904). In this 1904 film the stereotype represented was of the hot-blooded impassioned woman who was embodied by a Spanish Gypsy.[44] These character traits of being passionate, low socioeconomic class, short tempered and perceived, as a nomadic race would soon be synonymous with description of women and men of Mexican descent. These character traits contributed to notions of Mexicans as non-citizens and never belonging in the U.S. Hot-blooded would later be used to explain the on and off screen persona of Lupe Vélez among other adjectives that simultaneously made reference to her gendered, sexualized, classed, and racialized body.

A. Cultural and Political Stardom of Lupe Vélez

Lupe Vélez dubbed in Hollywood as "the hot tama-lee," "whoopee Lupee," "tropical hurricane," "Senorita Cyclone," among other names that described her "spicy" image, was born in 1908 as María Guadalupe Vélez de Villalobos in San Luis Potosí, México.[45] Her nicknames were written phonetically and made to be read in English so monolingual English speakers could read in "Spanish" and be able to pronounce it "properly." This form of text is also a visual example of one of Jane Hill's Mock Spanish elements, hyperanglicized pronunciation of the Spanish language. Vélez's mother was an opera singer and her father a colonel in the Mexican army. She spent some time growing up in Mexico City and on a ranch with her grandmother until her mother and father decided to send her and her sister Josefina to a convent in 1921 in San Antonio, Texas. A convent would separate Lupe, who was thirteen years old, from her then twenty-one year boyfriend who she refused to stop dating.[46] She spent three years in San Antonio and learned how to speak English. Her English proficiency, however, was consistently questioned on and off screen.

Eventually, Vélez returned home to Mexico City because her father had to fight in the war. He went missing for ten months and Vélez had to work in order to provide for her family. At sixteen years old she found a job as a salesgirl in a department store in Mexico City and pursued dreams of being a singer and dancer. She becomes a dancer in a chorus line, dancing to jazz and the fox trot, but soon become a headlining artist in Mexico City. Her performances were popular among poor communities in Mexico because Vélez was known for grabbing a bite to eat after a late show at a market and sharing booths with locals. Throughout her career she stayed true to her homeland and customs.[47] Vélez's time in the U.S. was influential to her career.

Figure 3.- Lupe Vélez's screen shot for her film *Wolf Song* (1929) in *Motion Picture Magazine* March 1929, Volume 37.

Vélez's time in the San Antonio, Texas gave her enough English vocabulary to be able to perform in English making her performances standout on a linguistic and physical level. Vélez sang in English, drew laughter and attention from adoring Americans in the audience. Journalist Jorge Loyo on January 18th 1937, in *El Universo Illustrado*, writes about Vélez's stage presence in the Mexican theater and comments on her performance, "[Lupe] was neurotic and mestiza…is there a more dangerous cocktail?"[48] The reference to her mixed race (Indigenous and Spanish) and gender as mentally unstable speaks volumes to the constant racialization and gendering that was an unsafe combination to possess, not only as public figure but for anyone to have. She would sing English-language songs accompanied with risqué dance numbers. Encountered in Mexico City on stage, Vélez makes her way to Los Angeles in 1926. She spends a couple of years on stage singing and dancing until a movie producer offers her a life on the big screen.[49] Her career in cinema began during the silent film period.

Lupe Vélez's first feature-length film *The Gaucho* (1927) was a silent film, a romantic adventure set in Argentina. Her first "talkie" was in 1929 in *Tiger Rose,* a dramatic romance adventure film where Vélez was described as playing the role of a French half-caste woman named Rose who does what she pleases and is desired by all the men in the film. Vélez played dramatic roles but soon found a niche in comedic films when film transitioned to sound. Her acting has been described as "over the top" because she was trained in the era of silent film. During silent films, actors relied on facial and bodily gestures to tell the story therefore their movements were exaggerated. In the transition to sound actors had to relearn their craft, memorize lines, and control their voice. At first critics could not decipher what Vélez said because of her "accent." That said, they also had a hard time understanding U.S.

born actors during the years between silent and "talkies" because audiences were not used to hearing sound dialogue on screen.[50] The role of "accents" in film produced different reactions from viewers because it depended on who spoke the accented dialogue in a specific genre of film.

As stated in a *Los Angeles Times* article published on December 1st 1929 titled "Accented Heroines Prominent," which discussed the role of linguistic "accents" in sound film, it mentioned that, "The Latins of the group will provide an interesting outlook. The natural Latin gift is dramatic temperament, and this gift should be more effectually realized in talkies than in silent."[51] "Accent" and drama flourished because of sound dialogue in film. This dramatic component was accomplished by hyperbolical performances that could also be achieved in the genre of humor. The success of comedy would be central because viewers could hear "accents" and associate it with particular bodies on screen. In the genre of drama in silent films Vélez portrays these "ethnic" women from various "exotic" locations. As stated earlier, it is difficult to know what Velez's comfortability with the English-language was during those early productions. However, what is evident, is that her "accent" and broken English gained her capital that was then accentuated on and off the screen, by the press, and by Vélez herself.[52]

Not only did her broken English become a staple of her acting she also landed a film series that she starred in later in her career that centered on her fiery "accent." Vélez became famous for the film title "Mexican Spitfire." Charles Ramírez Berg describes her acting style during the "talkies" as "performative excess" meaning that she was providing more than was needed for the narrative.[53] Berg reminds us that her performances go beyond the sexual narrative of "the female clown." He specifically states that Velez's comedic performances

are “landmarks of sound-era slapstick for a female clown;” slapstick that I emphasize relies on accented sound and her performances in silent film.[54] Therefore, her representation as female clown included residue of a sexual narrative, bodily exaggeration both facial and hand gestures, but most importantly her linguistic exaggeration can be over the top because of the introduction to sound.[55] Vélez both on and off the screen got away with pushing limits. Berg argues that the excess in her body and her Spanish ad-lib appeared in each of her films. In the series “Mexican Spitfire,” specifically, she functions as countering the stereotype of “the female clown” and serves as a small moment of victory for Spanish speakers because of her untranslated use of Spanish phrases.[56]

Along the same vein of re-reading Vélez’s performances, Rosa Linda Fregoso in “Lupe Vélez: Queen of the B’s” and Chon Noriega in a special appearance on the cable television station Turner Classic Movies (TCM) exclusive on “Race and Hollywood” offer in depth readings of Lupe Vélez’s legacy.[57] Fregoso contextualizes Vélez’s career within a contradictory era for Mexicans and Mexican Americans during the 1940s.[58] Well into the Great Depression, there was already an anti-Mexican immigrant sentiment that propelled a series of events: thousands of forced deportations of Mexicans regardless of citizenship, World War I Mexican American veterans who experienced second-class citizenship once they returned to the U.S. as war heroes and the implementation of the Bracero program which increased Mexican immigration.[59] During this period where Mexican origin people living in the U.S. were no longer categorized as white, they became Mexican, which signified a racialized forever foreigner.[60] The presence of immigrants alarms the nation because of economic competition, population growth and “various linguistic and ‘cultural’ threats.”[61] Valdivia argues that, “The eternal foreigner status assigned to Latina/os rests

partly on perceptions that we cannot speak English without an accent."[62] Forever foreigner status stems from the obsession of difference and the emphasis of "accent" with Latin@ actors.

The effects of this historical time period and understanding of Latin@s, specifically Mexicans in the film industry, was affected by the economic crisis but also the introduction of Production Codes that surrounded issues of sex and racial mixing.[63] Fregoso mentions that Vélez was singled out in the media during this anti-immigrant period. A commentator of the *Continental* stated, "It is time for [Lupe Vélez] and her foreign accent to disappear so that our own American actresses can occupy the space that corresponds to them."[64] A focus on her "accent" as a point of reference for her foreignness is telling of the importance of her voice and the threat of her difference through sound. And while Vélez's representation in "Mexican Spitfire" exploits for a comedic effect her "'foreign-ness' of her over blown accent, along with her racialized gender," her body in excess during this historical time period, Fregoso argues, cannot be boiled to solely a stereotype, but that Vélez "was deliberately transgressive, deploying her own image to comment on her position within the industry." [65] Fregoso reads Vélez's body and participation in Hollywood from a position of power and reminds us of Vélez's agency.

Other historical factors that contributed to the success of Lupe Vélez and other Latin@ actors, of the time was during the silent period actors regardless of ethnic background, could play any role with the exception of darker skinned Latin@s. Once the introduction of sound entered film it changed the opportunities for Latin@ actors.[66] Dolores Del Rio, for instance, stated, "Skin tone was very important then, and Spanish-speaking actors in Hollywood fell into two categories. If light skinned, they could play any nationality, including American.

Dark skinned actors were fated to play servants or appear as villains."[67] Dolores Del Rio was constantly referenced opposite of Lupe Vélez and she was considered a high-class sophisticated actress and not as "dangerous" as Vélez. In Del Rio's comments on the opportunities for Latin@ actors based on skin color she makes reference to light skinned Latin@s being able to play white Americans, meaning that the actors could pass as white. Del Rio was also typecasted into exotic roles, like Vélez, however Del Rio was not racially stigmatized. Del Rio "transcended her ethnicity. Hollywood accepted her because, in the eyes of the film colony, she acted 'white.'"[68] Vélez's unrestrained excitability and enthusiasm during her press interviews and romantic relationships were perceived as "lack of class," meriting an "accent."[69]

As stated earlier "accents" in women on screen were more desirable than that of Latino men, therefore the number of Latina actress was higher than Latinos. In these representations on film Latinas, "were sometimes one-dimensional, occasionally demeaning, but they were varied, they were frequent, and as often as not, they were affluent."[70] While there are clear drawbacks to playing stereotypes Latinas also had the opportunity to play women of upper social scales in addition to having onscreen relationships with white actors. Another Latin@ actor who did not have as much success in the "talkies" was Ramon Novarro. Ramon Novarro comments on sound dialogue in film and the effects on Latin@ actors, "They say silence is golden, and for actors of Hispanic origin, silent movies were wonderful. We were not limited by our voices or accents. So Hollywood welcomed us with open arms. It has never been the same since."[71] The introduction to sound in film diminished opportunities of Latin@ actors in the U.S. because of their "accents." Novarro stated that Hollywood welcomed Latin@ actors with open arms; foreign was "in" however, not too

foreign because executives would not hire them.[72] The "inclusion" of foreignness in the industry also makes reference to Latin@s as non-citizens. Vélez found success in the talkies even though she was typecast as the hotheaded fiery Mexican used to describe her primitive behavior.[73] Therefore, Vélez's "broken English and mixed-up phrasing were purposefully played up to fit the character she was pigeonholed to play."[74] She flourished in the "talkie" genre and capitalized on being misunderstood because of her scripted accented English on screen.

On screen, in the beginning of Vélez's career, she was not enthusiastic of the way her scripts were written. The first time it occurred she was quoted as being angry and demanding, "Who is this so-and-so who writes this stuff?" She went to the writer of the film and said, "What do you think I am? You write this in English!"[75] Later on in her career she was more complicit. She understood her popularity and would play up her "accent" in films. Vélez had an ambivalent relationship with her "accent" and the forms it was represented in print media. However, she was very proud of her Mexican ancestry. But the Hollywood industry contributed to her love-hate relationship with her Mexicaness and herself.[76] She continued her career in the sound era of film and became a lucrative actress in the genre of comedy. Not only were technological advances crucial in the success of Vélez but also the historical time period that was "welcoming" of Mexicans in the U.S. specifically.

Delpar's *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico*, *1920-1935*, traces the cultural relations between Mexico and the U.S. from 1920-1935.[77] She mentions that during this time period U.S. admirers of Mexican culture criticized modern U.S. culture. Their criticisms stemmed from U.S. culture perceived as lacking authenticity and incoherence as opposed to Mexico's culture that was grounded in

an Indigenous, Spanish and colorful aesthetics.[78] These cultural relations Delpar argues were able to flourish because both countries had "fertile environments" for example, stability after the Mexican Revolution, the end of Word War I, and a growing cultural nationalism in both Mexico and the U.S.[79] Delpar reminds us of an interesting point that the U.S. became a place for not only Mexican migrant laborers but cultural migrants like composers, painters, and actors whose work was recognized and made famous in the U.S. Ironically, these same cultural migrants who were admired so highly flourished during the same time U.S. politicians debated the appeal of Mexican immigration over-all and came to an agreement to repatriate thousands of Mexicans and Mexican descent U.S. citizens during the Great Depression.[80] Before the Vogue era,

> American awareness of Mexican culture, art, and literature was even more limited. Americans admired Mexico's natural beauty and its picturesqueness, but since early nineteenth century their perceptions of its people had been colored by racism, ethnocentrism, and antipathy toward Catholicism…travelers who wrote accounts of their impressions observed many changes that they considered positive, but they still tended to evaluate the country in terms of its progress toward American standards. Even the most sympathetic were likely to consider Mexicans to be childlike and unsuited to self-government.[81]

The aesthetics of Mexican culture was always pleasing to an American eye but the people who created the picturesqueness were always seen as a population of concern. Mexicans have always been considered childlike and never smart enough for U.S. standards.

The U.S.'s sentiments about Mexican people are influx as well as the Spanish-language. During the Vogue era, different cultural events in the U.S. took place for example the enrollment of Spanish-language courses in high school, establishment of a historical journal dedicated to Latin America, books about Mexico were published in the U.S., some literature in English was translated into Spanish, children's books about Mexico were written, and films that used Latin America as a backdrop in addition to adding Latin American

characters. As Carmen Fought states in her research on language and ethnicity, "…language ideologies are constantly in flux. As the context of a particular community changes historically, views about the value and use of particular codes may also change."[82] These cultural shifts in attitudes towards Spanish-language and the people that spoke it comes with contradictions. The presence of Latin American culture positioned "vogue" across borders but not within the U.S. therefore Latin American culture, specifically Mexican, was not free of exploitation, stereotypes, or exotification.

In early U.S. film productions, according to Delpar, Mexican males were always portrayed as thievish, vengeful, cowardly, and inherently violent.[83] Mexican women on the other hand were represented in a more "positive" manner worthy enough to have relationships with white men on screen even if they did not end up in a romantic relationship with the man at the end of the film. In the end however, they were given the opportunity nonetheless to have interracial romantic relationships in fictional settings.[84] Echoing Fregoso's previous sentiments, Chon Noriega expressed on the Turner Classic Movies (TCM) special originally aired May 14th 2009, the series of "Mexican Spitfire" films continually asks if the character "Carmelita," who is married to a white business man in the set of films, will be able to assimilate. Noriega answers, "I think what's fascinating about the films, is they always answer no. She's not…It's a foregone conclusion she is not going to be able to assimilate, but she's not going to leave and no one is going to be able to push her out of the marriage let alone out of the country."[85] The representation of her persistent "failure" to assimilate attracted many viewers and fans. Noriega mentions that her role as "Carmelita" was important because these films take place in the U.S., she has U.S. citizenship through the marriage, and she's a part of U.S. culture. In essence, she is legally a

U.S. citizen but remains alienated because of her racialized, gendered, and linguistic identities.

The success of Vélez's comedic films took place amidst a U.S. experiencing public anxieties of her Mexicaness, sexuality, and language. Her roles began to take place in the U.S., which differed from her earlier films where plot settings were set in exotic locations.[86] Her "accent" served as a reminder of Mexicans living and staying in the U.S. Her Spanish inflected English (SIE) "accent" circulated on film and in text in the press. According to Alicia I. Rodríguez-Estrada in "Dolores Del Rio and Lupe Velez: Images on and off the Screen, 1925-1944," she argues that Vélez, in her film depictions and off screen, represented the need to be conquered.[87] She mentioned in a footnote that Vélez's "ethnicity and embellished Spanish accent added to an aggressive style of personality that permitted yelling and physical contact, behavior not displayed by Anglo women" that added to her exotic and different sexuality in the press.[88] In being compared to white women's femininity Vélez called attention and expanded the definition of a different type of femininity, a racialized and classed femininity, a "new woman" for her time.[89] Vélez's femininity was dangerous in relation to white femininity that was often represented as "proper" and attached to stereotypical constructions of femininity. The consumption of her wild femininity occurred in pages of fan magazines that were sold across the country exposing Vélez not only to Spanish-language media but also mainstream English-language avenues.

In Mary Beltrán's work on stardom, crossover, and the Latina body where she explains the obsession and social function of Jennifer Lopez's butt, she highlights crucial points that can be applied to the social significance of Vélez's body. Put simply, Jennifer Lopez is to butt as Lupe Vélez is to "accent." Like Jennifer Lopez's entrance into the mainstream, Vélez

entered the white space of Hollywood as a Mexican with a very loud "accent" and without apologies. The press obsesses and mocks Vélez and her "accent." When mentioned within fan magazines it was rarely about her actual roles in upcoming films or her craft like other artists featured instead, it was about her Mexicanness and her voice. The mention of these two qualities was addressed in as little as four line entries or in entire spreads of Vélez in *Motion Picture Magazine* (MPM). For example in a short entry in 1929 in a MPM feature "In and Out of Focus: Gossip of the Stars and Studios," readers are notified that Lupe Vélez was one of the selected few to receive an invitation to meet Prince George of England. The invitation was very telling of her position in Hollywood and her international appeal, "but she [Vélez] confesses that she did not make a hit with royalty, although she was dressed up in black velvet with a long train and looked 'ver'nize.' 'He [Prince George] said, "I axpected you would be *wild*,"' Lupe relates. 'So I din' get my man—only all the res' of the mans that was ther.'" In this printed quote we come to understand that even though Vélez was dressed the part to blend in with royalty, she was expected to perform and be wild, the embodiment of the "Mexican Spitfire." She is quoted with a Spanish inflected English (SIE) mentioning that she did not get the man she wanted but she was able to get the rest of the men. While it is unclear if she wanted to "get" Prince George, the short entry makes clear her expected gender and racialized performance linked to her sexuality. Her international appeal, in this case to England and Prince George, borders a fine line of stereotyping that crossover actors experience.

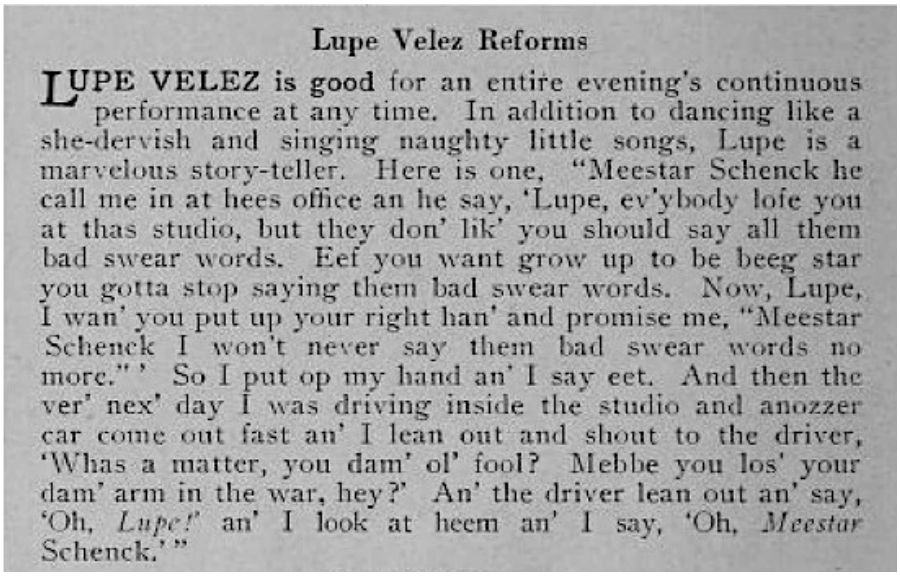
According to Beltrán, "…for Latino film actors, as for other people of color working in front of the camera, there is a fine line between crossover success and exploitation that only serves to reinforce racial hegemony."[90] Even though Vélez was successful before the term

crossover was theorized she did appeal to international audiences, English and Spanish-language media consumers, and her image was able to sell in both markets across the U.S./Mexico border.[91]

Actors as stars are marketable products, and according to Richard Dyer, commodities – constructed, pitched, sold, and often profitable. Stars are not only interesting to consider in terms of an economic market but also because they represent both private and public spheres. Stars are producers and consumers, and the way they negotiate these spheres (private and public) attracts us as viewers to them and their life in the public eye.[92] Stars teach us how to make sense of the body. Issues of race and sexuality are culturally and historically specific to them and the media eye garners them a claim to authenticity.[93] Stars have social power and the more viewers think they know about movie stars' lives, a greater sense of intimacy develops. In the following pages I illustrate some examples of how Vélez was quoted, how journalists described her voice and default her character, and how journalists use Vélez's speech to mock the actress and relegate her as a less than serious female actor.

B. Vélez's spicy "accent"

Motion Picture Magazine (MPM), a fan magazine geared towards women, printed gossip from the production studios, interviewed female and male movie stars, announced upcoming films, printed notes to the editor, offered beauty tips, and published fashion spreads of the trendiest film stars. One of the elements of the magazine called "All the Gossip of the Stars and Studio" was a space where short stories and updates of various artists were presented. In 1928 MPM had the following update on Lupe Vélez (figure 4).



Lupe Velez Reforms

LUPE VELEZ is good for an entire evening's continuous performance at any time. In addition to dancing like a she-dervish and singing naughty little songs, Lupe is a marvelous story-teller. Here is one. "Meestar Schenck he call me in at hees office an he say, 'Lupe, ev'ybody lofe you at thas studio, but they don' lik' you should say all them bad swear words. Eef you want grow up to be beeg star you gotta stop saying them bad swear words. Now, Lupe, I wan' you put up your right han' and promise me, "Meestar Schenck I won't never say them bad swear words no more." ' So I put op my hand an' I say eet. And then the ver' nex' day I was driving inside the studio and anozzer car come out fast an' I lean out and shout to the driver, 'Whas a matter, you dam' ol' fool? Mebbe you los' your dam' arm in the war, hey?' An' the driver lean out an' say, 'Oh, *Lupe!*' an' I look at heem an' I say, 'Oh, *Meestar* Schenck.' "

Figure 4.-Excerpt from article "All the Gossip of the Stars and Studio" in *Motion Picture Magazine* September 1928 Volume 36.

First, in Figure 4, the journalist describes her as being a good performer that can last all night, a sexual innuendo, and at any given time because of her humorous appeal. Her song performances described as "naughty" and fast dance moves insinuates that Vélez can work and provide sensual labor whenever they desire. The submission on Vélez for "All the Gossip of the Stars and Studio" was meant to showcase her storytelling capabilities. Aside from the content, most of her words in the short entry are accented in the text. Figure 5 is a chart that I complied of Vélez's accented written vocabulary that journalists accomplished and the Standard American English (SAE) version to show how her sound was visibly made different.

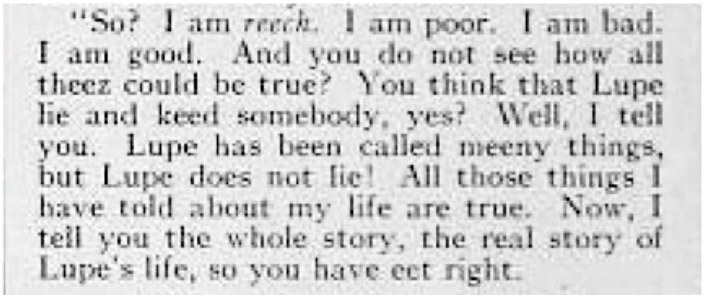
My concern with the visibly accented language does not rely on whether her voice was quoted "correctly" and/or if the accented language represents how some Mexican English learners sound. The importance lies in how her language variation was highlighted and central to her character but also in what ways her sound was made *visible*. Interesting, some of the words that were suppose to be accented when pronounced in SAE are the actual pronunciations. For example, when speaking English some of the vowels and consonants are not pronounced; for example, "next" to "nex," and "damn" to "dam.'" When those particular words are spoken, the missing letters are silent. This form of citing her voice adds to the exaggeration of her personality and serves to infantilize her. A different form of exaggeration is present in the words "Meestar," "hees," "eef," "beeg," "eet," "mebbe," and "heem." The use of double vowels and consonants is a visual way of exaggerating the intonation of the word and by default Vélez. The labor involved in the pronunciation of accented words sounds and may feel familiar. The movement of the mouth and tongue moves different and feels unusual which forces readers to read slowly.

Accented	SAE	Accented	SAE
Meestar	Mr	eet	it
hees	his	ver’	very
an	and	nex’	next
ev’ybody	every body	anozzer	another
lofe	love	whas	what
lik’	like	ol’	old
eef	if	mebbe	maybe
beeg	big	los’	lost
wan’	want	dam’	damn
han’	hand	heem	him
op	up		

Figure 5.- Is a list of Lupe Vélez’s visually accented vocabulary in MPM and the translated Standard American English word that corresponds.

However, a transgressive result of having Vélez's voice printed this way is the fact that readers may have struggled and had to read closely what Vélez was saying, leaving a Mexican "accent" in their mouth. While the Mexican "accent" is stereotypical to viewers it represented Mexicaness. Vélez's body, language, gender and race were highlighted in a short article intended to tell readers that she was a great storyteller.

Another example of Vélez's visual "accent" appeared in a 1931 MPM article entitled "The Nine Lives Of Lupe" where she clears up some rumors about her accused lying of her past life (figure 6). Some of Vélez's words are in italics and some are not. The attraction of the eye to the manipulated font creates a rupture in the reading. This example of her represented voice is less accented than the previous example (figure 4) three years prior to this article. But "*reech*" "theez" "keed" "meeny" and "eet" are enough word manipulations to provide commentary on Vélez on who and what she represents. Even though there are less accented words it does not escape the consequences of this type of representation. For example, Rosina Lippi-Green, in *English with an Accent: Language, ideology, and discrimination in the United States*, argues that, "we *exploit* linguistic variation available to us in order to send a complex series of messages about ourselves and the way we position ourselves in the world we live in. We perceive variation in the speech of others and we use it to structure our knowledge about that person."[94] The form the magazine decided to represent her voice not only reflects their sentiments about Vélez, but also how the mainstream saw themselves in relation to Spanish- language speakers. The exploitation of Vélez through text adds to her exotification on screen and dismissal. Vélez herself stated, "…when Americans make Mexican picture[s], the men all wear sombreros and the women high combs.



"So? I am *reech*. I am poor. I am bad. I am good. And you do not see how all theez could be true? You think that Lupe lie and keed somebody, yes? Well, I tell you. Lupe has been called meeny things, but Lupe does not lie! All those things I have told about my life are true. Now, I tell you the whole story, the real story of Lupe's life, so you have eet right.

"So? I am *reech*. I am poor. I am bad. I am good. And you do not see how all theez could be true? You think that Lupe lie and keed somebody, yes? Well, I tell you. Lupe has been called meeny things, but Lupe does not lie! All those things I have told about my life are true. Now, I tell you the whole story, the real story of Lupe's life, so you have eet right.

Figure 6.- Excerpt from article titled "The Nine Lives Of Lupe" printed in *Motion Picture Magazine* June 1931, Volume 41.

They don't do that everywhere [in Mexico]. Mexicans laugh, but it's no use telling American producers."[95] Her political commentary on the representation of Mexicans in the U.S. is telling of her awareness of the stereotypical nature of the film industry and her failed attempts to change the image of Mexicans in the U.S. Her frustration with mainstream representations of static Mexicans in U.S. film shows what role Mexicans were type cast for. For Vélez, her stereotypical representation as a sexual object was fun to laugh at.

The threat of difference, hidden in the genre of comedy, makes "accents" loveable and laughable.[96] Comedy and humor relies on embellishment and exaggeration. Vélez was always seen as a character and always performing for someone else. Her "accent" circulated during the height of U.S. sponsored Americanization programs, the Great Depression, forced deportations of Mexicans who were U.S. citizens, and the Bracero Program. Each of these events in U.S. history targeted Mexicans who were socially constructed as a "problem," dirty, backward thinking, and inarticulate because of their lack of proficiency in the English-language. Vélez's "accent" works with and against racists ideologies of being Mexican in the U.S. Some examples of how Vélez's "accent" was used against her by the press follows.

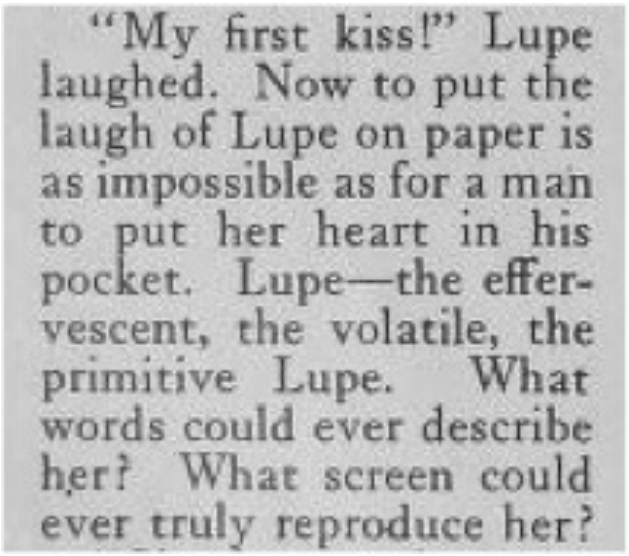
There were hundreds of examples of various nicknames the press gave Vélez. The most common being "the hot tama-lee," "whoopee Lupee," and "the Mexican Spitfire." Another nickname that was given to the actress was "Miss Popocatapetl," used in reference to the relief Gary Cooper's parents felt in 1933 when they found out that their son was not marrying the volcano Lupe Vélez.[97] She was described as having "Mex Appeal" (figure 7) being "Mexicoquetish" in her upcoming film "The Broken Wing" in 1932.[98] Vélez's body was described as having an explosive sexuality that encouraged laughter. Her speech was described as broken English and as "funny Spanish-American."[99]

Figure 7.-Photo of Lupe Vélez that accompanied the description of her "Mex Appeal" in *Motion Picture Magazine* May 1932 Volume 43.

The mainstream press did not have the correct terminology to begin to comment on Vélez's language variation. Some examples (figure 8, 9, 10) of how her sound was preserved in text are as follows.

The excerpt in figure 8, from a larger piece titled "The Love Life of Lupe Velez: She Began Kissing At Seven—She Loves Her Dog, But No Man," features Vélez's romantic relationships. The article describes how Vélez, loves to love, yet may never get married to avoid being controlled by a man. It also explains how Vélez makes analogies between men and dogs. Vélez is treated as the exception and that she could never be fully captured in print or in film. This ability to make Women of Color the exception, the uncategorizable, adds to the exotification and obsession of consumption. According to the article, she cannot be captured because she has a bubbly explosive personality that reflects not one of a child, but of someone at the beginning stages of human development. Vélez is categorized as "sub human." The reporter then questions if Vélez has a heart, following Vélez's dating advice to the reporter not relent emotionally to men. The article ends with her accented language as the reporter wonders if Vélez is a "new" type of woman, unlike a strong historical femme fatales like Cleopatra and Marie Antoinette. Her transgressive femininity, vocalized by Vélez, demonstrated her gendered expectations and by default opened her up to becoming the "uncategorizable," "exotic," "wild" woman.

Figure 9, a description of Vélez sitting in a chair reading a book outside by her stone fireplace, again highlights her "exotic" nature and makes headlines with the literal title of the picture "Mexican Fire." Her fiery temperament, which radiates literal heat, according to MPM, can now feel normal because her fireplace will provide her familiar warm temperatures of Mexico.

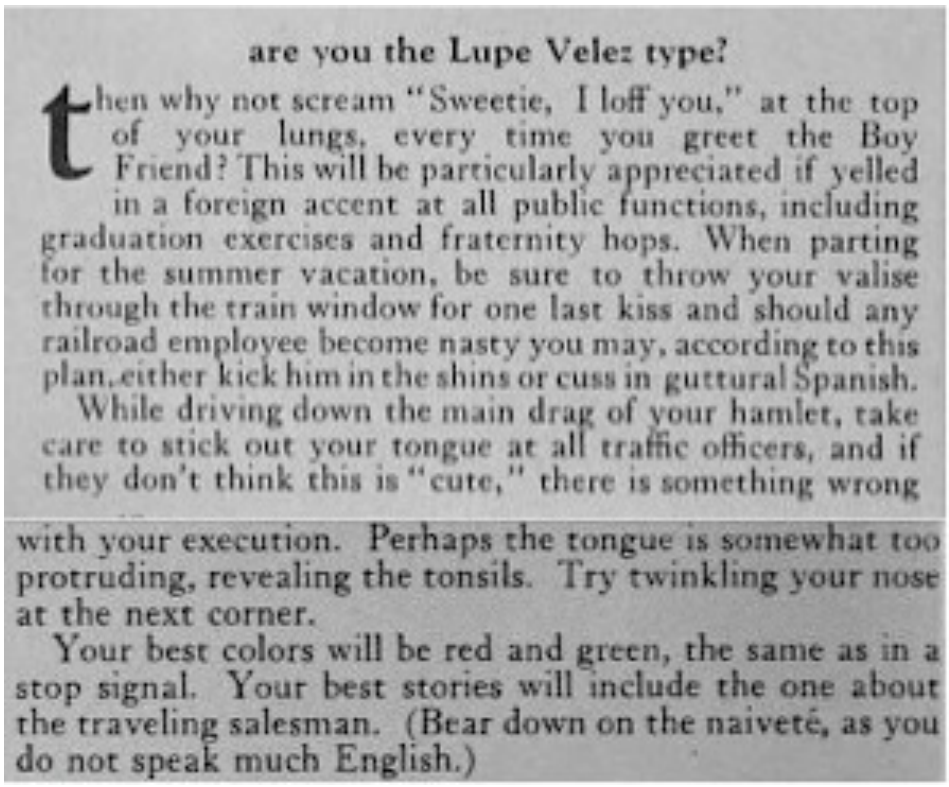


"My first kiss!" Lupe laughed. Now to put the laugh of Lupe on paper is as impossible as for a man to put her heart in his pocket. Lupe—the effervescent, the volatile, the primitive Lupe. What words could ever describe her? What screen could ever truly reproduce her?

Figure 8.- An excerpt of a longer piece entitled "The Love Life of Lupe Velez: She Began Kissing At Seven—She Loves Her Dog, But No Man," published in January 1929 in *Motion Picture Magazine* Volume 36.

You'd think that Lupe Velez, with her temperament, would find enough in herself. But no, she's gone and, after the fashion of her own country, had an outdoor hearth built in the patio of her new home in Laurel Canyon. Maybe just to make herself feel that her own temperature is normal

Figure 9.- Is a description of a photograph of Vélez entitled "Mexican Fire" published in May 1929 in *Motion Picture Magazine* Volume 38.



are you the Lupe Velez type?

then why not scream "Sweetie, I loff you," at the top of your lungs, every time you greet the Boy Friend? This will be particularly appreciated if yelled in a foreign accent at all public functions, including graduation exercises and fraternity hops. When parting for the summer vacation, be sure to throw your valise through the train window for one last kiss and should any railroad employee become nasty you may, according to this plan, either kick him in the shins or cuss in guttural Spanish.

While driving down the main drag of your hamlet, take care to stick out your tongue at all traffic officers, and if they don't think this is "cute," there is something wrong with your execution. Perhaps the tongue is somewhat too protruding, revealing the tonsils. Try twinkling your nose at the next corner.

Your best colors will be red and green, the same as in a stop signal. Your best stories will include the one about the traveling salesman. (Bear down on the naiveté, as you do not speak much English.)

Figure 10.- An excerpt of a larger article "Are you the type? How to behave like Greta Garbo, Clara Bow and company" published in *Motion Picture Magazine* April 1930 Volume 39.

Again, it does not matter that Vélez grew up in a large city and not in a humid jungle, but women of Latin American origin or descent become associated with tropical jungles, reflective of their hotheaded temperament.[100] Even though her house and extravagant style were published, she is framed "lower" in socioeconomic class and pitted against the sophistication of Dolores Del Rio.[101] Hollywood acts as "cultural ethnographers" because they distort and manipulate images of Mexican characters and actors.[102] Figure 10, an example of how mainstream media outlines particular signifiers, becomes associated with Vélez that stand through time.

The excerpt in figure 10 provides summaries of different actresses. The article "Are you the type? How to behave like Greta Garbo, Clara Bow and company," Vélez is fourth unnamed "company." The article asked women readers to decide what type of Hollywood star they were and provided simple tips for women to imitate their favorite actresses. They encouraged its female readership to not only copy Hollywood's leading ladies makeup styles (a feature of the magazine) but that readers could also consume these famous women's characteristics. For fan magazines, "the printed page [appropriates] a language of description that could elevate, and animate, the screen idol for its audience, as a counter to stardom's fragments."[103] The detailed description of actors was meant to share personal details to foster intimacy between readers and the actors. The actors had to come alive in a different medium through text.[104] An analysis of how one can mimic Vélez follows, where the final most important component is an "accent."

Figure 10 provides a prescription on how to become Lupe Vélez vocally and through apparel. One of the first instructions is to yell and to make sure to say "loff" instead of "love" very loudly so everyone can hear and direct it to your boyfriend every time you see

him. The greeting will also work better if it is yelled in a foreign "accent." When confronting an authority figure there are two options to handle the situation, one to become physical or begin swearing in Spanish. Authority figures who pass by and do not interact with you just stick out your tongue but not too much because it still has to be flirty. In terms of how to adorn the body green and red colors are favored but in order to *really* become Vélez one has to be naïve because lack of the English-language reflects illiteracy. This formula on becoming Vélez, and these other women, was to describe as a fun way to bring Hollywood into American families. There is no way to check how many women dressed in red or went home with Spanish "accents," but we do know that Vélez did enter American homes in one form or another. These instructions on "how to celebrity" are very simple and not that complicated. Yet somehow she can be captured with very few aesthetic requirements but the primary characteristic is her accented voice. A linguistic, but most importantly an accented sonic difference becomes a required signifier for Lupe Vélez and Mexican. Together these figures highlight her sonic and ethnic difference, a fairly unfamiliar sound that was unknown to early listeners and viewers of her film, and readers of her print representation. Readers of her print representation were socialized to read and expect these ethnic and gendered signifiers to be attached to Mexican actors.[105]

Susan Douglas' study on radio listening theorizes how the act of listening is a social construct and every generation learns how to listen differently. Although Douglas theorizes specifics about radio, her theories are useful because we deal with similar generations and listening is a component of reading. Douglas argues that listening occurs in our brains and assists us in creating worlds that we are apart of or worlds we do not belong to.[106] Sound, a set of social relations, theorized by Jennifer Stoever is a racialized practice.[107] Furthermore,

new technologies like radio provided the nation a different relationship to sound, as well as another relationship to the technological invention of sound in film. However Douglas argues that in film there is an image that is already attached to a particular sound and no imagination is required when listening, therefore lacking the Zen of listening. However Vélez's accented dialogue in print, sometimes accomplished with just a photograph, created a society that learned how to read differently and listen differently.

We are socialized to listen and listening practices differ depending on our social identities for example like race and gender. As mentioned above, Stoever theorizes listening as a racialized embodied practice or the "sonic color-line." The sonic color-line is the relationship between race, sound, and listening and goes beyond "describing racialized modes of perception and reception, the sonic color-line also demarcates unequal access to modes of sonic production that have historically separated the recorders from the recorded."[108] Therefore reminding us that sound and listening are entangled in power relations. When we read Vélez's imagined sound in text and listen to her performances on film we hear her race in addition to seeing her body, as Stoever suggests, "sounds are identified, exaggerated, and sutured to racialized bodies."[109] Her racialized body was consumed by the eye as well as the ear. Mainstream media associated a particular body with a specific type of sound, a certain body that was consumed with pleasure through sight and sound.

The combination of consumption of her sound in film, her body in photographs, and her "accent" in print illustrates that pleasure works in various mediums. Reading, listening and seeing are all connected processes that rely on each other but have distinctive properties. When people viewed Vélez's films they heard her "accent" whereas reading her "accent" in

magazines they hear a representation of her sound. Theories of listening to sound that a listener considers different are useful to understand how Vélez's voice in print was consumed.

In Roshanak Khesti's "Touching Listening: The Aural Imaginary in the World Music Culture Industry" she examines how fantasies are produced by world music, to sell difference, and how the racialized and gendered sound in music functions in the site of listening, the aural imaginary.[110]

> Within the aural imaginary there is an interaction with the other that is at times voyeuristic, at times sadistic, and at times narcissistic. Sometimes the sound is where we find ourselves; sometimes it is where we get lost. It is our entry point to alternate temporalities and spaces, where our moving body meets our still body. It is where our performative selves look down their noses at our subjective selves, where memory collides with futurity, where we subvert the limits of our social selves and embody ourselves differently.[111]

Kheshti describes the contradictions and negotiations listeners make when listening to sonic differences. While her project focuses specifically on world music, her theories can be applied to listening to sounds that are not familiar to our ears. In the aural imaginary there are interactions that are selfish, in terms of consuming for the self, and in the same breath the consumption is a quick fix of "exotic" culture. In listening to a far removed sound we find solutions to our problems with out physically going anywhere. The aural imaginary is where desire, affect, and fantasy intersect with capital, the other, and sound.[112] Most importantly it's an affective site where the listener is attached.[113] Khesti's concept of the aural imaginary explains pleasures that come from consuming linguistic differences reflected in the circulation and representation of Vélez's "accent." The way she spoke and the way that her body and wardrobe were described was an approach to be able to consume the exotic and tropical lands of Mexico by reading her "accent," speaking in her "accent,"

and seeing how she adorned her body. The consumption of her "accent" and her body was used for other women different than her to teach them about themselves. For instance, to learn how to be a vixen or to not learn how to be one. The consumption of Mexicanness by various audiences taught viewers and listeners how to consume a Mexican woman's body sonically and visually. The affective connection with difference drives the ocular and sonic obsession. The obsession was not solely concerning Vélez but women who posed a linguistic and ethnic threat to hegemonic white femininity. Vélez nevertheless was not the only celebrity at the time that was quoted with an accented language.

Consumption and indulgence of the sexualized "other" revealed concerns of pleasure and fear. In a feature in MPM in 1929 "Oo, La La! And Si Si!: Would the Foreign Damsels Marry Our Men?" highlights new actresses in Hollywood from Russia, France, Brazil, and Mexico. The article's subtext references fears of interracial marriages between immigrant women and presumed white male U.S. citizens. Their voices stand out on the page because they have been quoted in an accented way; visually their words are made obvious because they are in italics. This article is an example of an anxiety of foreignness, a different women's code of seduction and love that caused a threat to U.S. white women. Vélez's promiscuity, Vogel suggests, "hyper-sexed image was just another stain on her name, deriving from her 'Mexican-ness' and her hot-blooded ancestry."[114] The accented language serves various purposes. For example, as a subtitle to follow along in the plot of the story because audiences, in the 1930s, were used to reading what actors were saying in silent film. It was also a way to capture the essence of the artist since fan magazines brought Hollywood names to American homes on a monthly basis. It was also generated intimacy between actress and readers never available before. Finally, the printed accented voice was another

way to racialize Latinas and infantilize them. Not all reporters felt the need to cite with an "accent" however. An example in MPM where Lupe Vélez was not quoted in an accented way follows,

> Hollywood—and the rest of the world for that matter—is a funny place. If you don't follow the accepted standards of living, no matter how stupid they may be, you're declared eccentric, crazy, trying to 'put on.' It never occurs to anyone that you may choose to live your own life, and set your own standards of living.[115]

This example shows that she can be captured in a genuine form because she spoke English. The tone of the quote changes when not mocked. However a journalist in the *Los Angeles Times* in 1928 after quoting a Cuban actress Armida stated directly, "No attempt is being made to reproduce her accent; that which is naïve and engaging in actuality becomes merely annoying on paper." While the journalist is honest about his methods and critiques his peers in journalism, the article did not escape the racialization of Armida. The beginning of the article begins with "These fiery little Latin girls struggle so delightfully with the American language." The direct quote does not excuse other ways that language variation is discussed or exotified.

Women of Color in the media are positioned as inherit sexual beings, sexually available objects and up for the taking.[116] The description of Velez's body, character and voice falls in line with the trope of tropicalism. Different aspects of her visual and sonic representation, as argued by Frances R. Aparicio and Susana Chávez-Silverman, came to signify a sexuality innate in Latinas, it represented sexual desirability, proficiency and availability.[117] Vélez's sound came to represent an "authentic" Latina, a sound that infantilizes, sexualizes, and racializes a body linked to conquest, difference, and disembodiment.[118] Her sound became a "normalized" accent attached to Latinas bodies.

Not only was a particular sound attached to normalize Latina bodies so was a specific

economically profitable sexualization. In Isabel Molina Guzmán and Angharad Valdivia work "Brain, brown and booty: Latina iconicity in U.S. popular culture," they present the work of three Latinas Jennifer Lopez, Frida Kahlo, and Salma Hayek to remind the reader that Latina bodies signify beauty, sexuality and the nation. They argue that Latinas are on the margins of what is socially acceptable beauty and femininity because there is a long history of conquest over women's bodies that were feared, envied, wanted, and exploited for profit.[119] Molina Guzmán and Valdivia state,

> The marginalization of Latina bodies is defined by an ideological contradiction--that is, Latina beauty and sexuality is marked as other, yet it is that otherness that also marks Latinas as desirable...In the end, the physical representations of all three women [Lopez, Khalo, and Hayek] are informed by the racializing discourses of ethnic female bodies as simultaneously physically aberrant, sexually desirable, and consumable by the mainstream.[120]

The sexualization of Latina bodies is the oldest trick in the Hollywood book but it does not make it less significant; as viewers we should constantly be reminded. These bodies are seen as different because they sound and look different according to mainstream beauty standards. The consumption of the accented and racialized body is a fetishization of the spectacular that audiences can never get enough of.

The scholarly work on representation of stereotypes in Chican@ and Latin@ studies is familiar because common tropes of Latin Lover, Spitfire, Cantina Girl, and Bandito recycle themselves across years on various screens in order to maintain white racial superiority.[121] In Charles Ramirez-Berg's extensive work on Latino stereotypes in film he argues that the representations construct ideologies that mark "the other," reduces individuals to a monolithic truth and creates "in-group categorizations of out groups."[122] These constructed ideologies of the other replace factual information of the group represented. Debra Merskin in "Three Faces of Eva: Perpetuation of The Hot-Latina Stereotype in Desperate

Housewives," uses the on and off screen representation of Eva Longoria to argue the dangers of conflicting a fictional character with the actual actor because of the continual use of the same stereotype.[123] While she outlines the images of a contemporary actress her approach is useful when considering Vélez's own representation. Merskin argues that the circulation of these stereotypical images begins to gain credibility because of the permanence they begin to represent "naturalness and truth."[124] Part of this "naturalness and truth" gains power because of the same way same audiences receive the information. The effectiveness of confusion of the fictional character and actual actor occurs through Accumulation Theory where hegemonic systems of social control are set in place with persistent forms of stereotyping occurring in various media platforms.[125] Vélez, like Longoria, was represented on and off screen in a similar fashion. Her fictional characters spoke loudly, reacted in over the top manners, were sexually risqué, and spoke in accented English. In print, journalists highlighted these same characteristics to match the fictional characters Vélez performed on film.

The consistent portrayal of Vélez, on and off screen, as fiery, spicy, and temperamental during her entire career in addition to the continual use of the same adjectives to discuss Latinas in the media creates what Deena González calls "raced dialogue." These raced hegemonic discourses about "women of Mexican origin, Chicanas, are both raced and erased in a proposition that silences our responses contemporarily but also historically."[126] While previous studies discuss Vélez's agency, in addition to contemporary actresses, the repetition of raced dialogue erases and silences our responses to the racists and sexists representation since similar representations continue to be present and have not changed.

Lupe Vélez is considered the first Latina comedian in Hollywood and she has left Latinas a legacy of humor, fashion trends, independence, how to be out spoken, date without reservations, and a love-hate sonic relationship with our voices. Stereotypes fell off the screens and into reality. Mocking of Latinas on and off the screen, in comedy or drama, of their bodies, ethnicity, class, or the way people think they speak continues to be a prevalent issue that not only is seen at the theaters. As viewers we can never know how familiar Vélez was with English, if she hated the way they wrote her "accent" or negotiated her contradictions working in Hollywood. But what is certain is that the press made a persistent effort in showing Vélez's linguistic variation that they ridiculed and used against her to sexualize, racialized and class her body. Lupe Vélez was considered an authentic representation of Mexicaness.

In the following chapter discourses of authenticity are questioned when an actor does not follow set linguistic expectations leading to the public's questioning of his gender and ethnic performance.

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] Lupe Vélez quoted in Cedric Belfrage, "Not for love or money," *Motion Picture Magazine*, April 1930, Volume XXXIX, No.3, http://mediahistoryproject.org/.

[2] The first film in the series was *The Girl From Mexico* (1939), *Mexican Spitfire* (1940), Mexican Spitfire Out West (1940), *Mexican Spitfire's Baby* (1941), *Mexican Spitfire At Sea* (1942), *Mexican Spitfire Sees A Ghost* (1942), *Mexican Spitfire's Elephant* (1942), and *Mexican Spitfire's Blessed Event* (1943). All films were directed by Leslie Goodwins.

[3] Michelle Vogel, *Lupe Vélez: The Life and Career of Hollywood's "Mexican Spitfire"* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012), 86.

[4] Rosa Linda Fregoso, "Lupe Vélez: Queen of the B's," in *From Bananas to Buttocks: The Latina Body in Popular Film and Culture*, ed. by Myra Mendible (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007), 115.

[5] Vogel, *Lupe Vélez*, 6.

[6] For a full argument of the displacement of white femininity see Jennifer Stoever-Ackerman, "Splicing the Sonic Color-Line: Tony Schwartz Remixes Postwar Nueva York," *Social Text* 28 (2010): 77.

[7] Vogel, *Lupe Vélez*, 146.

[8] Stoever-Ackerman, "Splicing the Sonic Color-Line," 64.

[9] See Michelle Vogel's chapter "The Voice of Vélez" 78-86 in *Lupe Vélez: The Life and Career of Hollywood's "Mexican Spitfire*."

[10] American Standard English refers to the variety of English-language that is taught in schools and used for professional communication. ASE refers to the written and spoken form of the language. ASE is seen as the unmarked "unaccented" English white middle class English, Carmen Fought, *Language and Ethnicity*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[11] Stoever-Ackerman, "Splicing the Sonic Color-Line," 67.

[12] Asif Agha states that "accents" are relational, "accents" do not name sound patterns but social identities, and "accents" only become recognizable in certain individuals, *Language and Social Relations* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 191-92.

[13] Lauren Mason Carris, "La vox gringa: Latino Stylization of Linguistic (in)authenticity as Social Critique," *Discourse Society* 22 (2011): 475.

[14] See Mari J. Matsuda, "Voices of America: Accent, Antidiscrimination Law, and a Jurisprudence for the Last Reconstruction," *Yale Law Journal* 100 (1991), 1329-407.

[15] Some volumes are missing because the digital archive is yet to be completed. From volume 50 to 61 Vélez was abroad performing in the theater. She also stepped out of the limelight when she adopted her niece, Joan.

[16] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges," *Social Science Information* 16 (1977): 653.

[17] Shilpa S. Davé, *Indian Accents: Brown Voice and Racial Performance in American Television and Film* (Urbana-Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 2.

[18] Bourdieu, "The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges," 653.

[19] Jane H. Hill, "Language, Race, and White Public Space," *American Anthropologist* 100 (1998): 681.

[20] Davé, *Indian Accents*, 6.

[21] Ibid., 11.

[22] Clara E. Rodriguez, *Changing Race: Latinos, the Census and the History of Ethnicity* (New York: NYU Press, 2000).

[23] Leo R. Chavez, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 5.

[24] Ibid., 44.

[25] Angharad N. Valdivia, *Latino/as in the Media* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2010), 16. I added "urban accents" to Valdivia's reference. "Urban" is understood within a racial framework of Latino and Black poor communities.

[26] For a full discussion on the politics of respectability and cultural politics of difference see Herman Gray, *Cultural Moves: African Americans and the Politics of Representation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, Press, 2005).

[27] Gray, *Cultural Moves*, 188.

[28] Valdivia, *Latino/as in the Media*, 16.

[29] Amado M. Padilla, Kathryn J. Lindholm, Andrew Chen, Richard Durán, Kenji Hakuta, Wallace Lambert, and G. Richard Tucker, "The English-Only Movement: Myths, Reality, and Implications for Psychology," *American Psychologist* 46 (1991).

[30] Jane H. Hill, "Language, Race, and White Public Space," *American Anthropologist* 100 (1998) for her detailed full argument.

[31] Travis Lemar Dixon and Daniel Linz, "Overrepresentation and underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as lawbreakers on television news," *Journal of Communication* 50, no.2 (2000).

[32] Interestingly the construction of the Latin Lover in the 1920s, was "epitomized by Rudolph Valentino, augmented that of the bandit and greaser in films, however. Rather than laughter or disdain, the Latin lover evoked sensual sighs, and, as opposed to the 'bandit' and the 'greaser,' who were depicted as nonwhites, as racialized others, the Latin lover could potentially be assimilated and become white…the Latin lover could sometimes win the hand

of his white female lead. Rarely during this period did an actual Latin American actor play a Latin lover." Ernesto Chávez, "'Ramon is not one of these': Race and Sexuality in the Construction of Silent Film Actor Ramón Novarro's Star Image," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20 (2011): 523-24.

[33] Al Alma Whitaker, "Foreign Star Outlook Cited: Hollywood Authorities Give Views on Situation German Director Sees Hard Sledding for Aliens Male Actors with Accents Playing in Hard Luck," *Los Angeles Times*, August 25, 1929.

[34] Aaron C. Cargile, Howard Giles, Ellen B. Ryan, and James J. Bradac, "Language attitudes as a Social Process: A conceptual Model and New Directions," *Language & Communication* 14 (1994): 216.

[35] The information in this chapter was made possible because the Media History Project digitized the collection from years ranging from 1914 to 1941.

[36] David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 99.

[37] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*. Edited by John Thompson, translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[38] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1979), 19-20.

[39] Leo R. Chavez, *Covering Immigration*, 38.

[40] Gary D. Keller, *Hispanics and United States Film: An Overview and Handbook* (Tempe, AZ: Bilingual Press, 1994), 9.

[41] Keller, *Hispanics and United States Film*, 9.

[42] Ibid., 12.

[43]Ibid., 13.

[44] Ibid., 11.

[45] Clara E. Rodriguez, *Heroes, Lovers and Others: The Story of Latinos in Hollywood* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 65.

[46] Vogel, *Lupe Vélez* 17.

[47] Ibid., 34.

[48] Quoted in Michelle Vogel, *Lupe Vélez: The Life and Career of Hollywood's "Mexican Spitfire,"* 31.

[49] Biographically information from Dorothy Manners, "The Nine Lives of Lupe," *Motion Picture Magazine,* June 1931, Volume XLI, No. 5, http://mediahistoryproject.org/ Vélez is quoted and explains different stages in her life.

[50] Vogel, *Lupe Vélez*, 78.

[51] Edwin Schallert, "Accented Heroines Prominent: Many Pictures Now Presenting Stars Who Will Speak With Foreign Inflection; Lloyd Comedy Pioneering Achievement," *Los Angeles Times,* December 1, 1929.

[52] Rodriguez, *Heroes, Lovers and Others*, 66.

[53] Charles Ramírez Berg, *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, & Resistance* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), 90.

[54] Ramírez Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 92.

[55] Ramírez Berg argues that her wardrobe is not stereotypical because her character of Carmelita in the "Mexican Spitfire" actually wears the most stylish clothing, *Latino Images in Film*, 95.

[56] Ramírez Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 97.

[57] Rosa Linda Fregoso, "Lupe Vélez: Queen of the B's," in *From Bananas to Buttocks: The Latina Body in Popular Film and Culture*, ed. by Myra Mendible (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007).

[58] Rosa Linda Fregoso, *MeXicana Encounters: The Making of Social Identities on the Borderlands* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 117.

[59] Cynthia Orozco, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed: The Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009).

[60] Discuss how Mexicans were categorized as white Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the beginning of the Mexican Problem. Orozco, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed*.

[61] Chavez, *Covering Immigration*, 4.

[62] Valdivia, *Latina/os in the Media*, 17.

[63] Fregoso, *MeXicana Encounters*, 117.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Fregoso, "Lupe Vélez: Queen of the B's," 58 and 60.

[66] George Hadley-Garcia, *Hispanic Hollywood: The Latins in Motion Pictures* (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1990), 29.

[67] Quoted in Hadley-Garcia, *Hispanic Hollywood*, 29.

[68] Vogel, *Lupe Vélez*, 53.

[69] Ibid., 76.

[70] Hadley-Garcia, *Hispanic Hollywood*, 18.

[71] Quoted in Hadley-Garcia, *Hispanic Hollywood*, 27.

[72] Novarro was made famous because he was an actual Latin American who played a Latin lover. "Still, although he was often identified as a Latin lover, during his silent film career Novarro never played a Latino; rather, that notion was based on his Mexican background and popularized by the media." For more on Novarro and his racial, sexual, and physical representation in the media see Chávez, "Ramon is not one of these," 524.

[73] Vogel, *Lupe Vélez*, 6.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Quoted in Michelle Vogel's *Lupe Vélez: The Life and Career of Hollywood's "Mexican Spitfire,"* 53 from The Milwaukee Journal, December 28, 1944.

[76] Vogel, *Lupe Vélez*, 53.

[77] Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico*, *1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1992), viii.

[78] Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican,*viii.

[79] Ibid., ix.

[80] Ibid., x.

[81] Ibid., 5.

[82] Carmen Fought, *Language and Ethnicity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 32.

[83] Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican,* 169.

[84] Ibid., 169.

[85] "TCMs 'Race and Hollywood: Latino Images in Film' Mexican Spitfire (1940).mov," YouTube video, 6:11, interview with Chon A. Noriega July 26, 2010, posted by "UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center," November 10, 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z-vhL9q258A.

[86] "TCMs 'Race and Hollywood: Latino Images in Film' Mexican Spitfire (1940).mov," YouTube video, 6:11, interview with Chon A. Noriega July 26, 2010, posted by "UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center," November 10, 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z-vhL9q258A.

[87] Alicia I. Rodríguez-Estrada, "Dolores Del Rio and Lupe Velez: Images On and Off the Screen, 1925-1944," in *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West*, ed. by Elizabeth Jameson and Susan H. Armitage (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 484.

[88] Rodríguez-Estrada, "Dolores Del Rio and Lupe Velez," 491.

[89] Fregoso, *MeXicana Encounters*, 114-15

[90] Mary C. Beltran, "The Hollywood Latina Body as Site of Social Struggle: Media Constructions of Stardom and Jennifer Lopez's 'Cross-over Butt," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 19 (2002): 80.

[91] Crossover is defined as "the process of becoming popular with a new audience, with respect to film stars it often is used, particularly by the entertainment news media, to refer non-white performers who succeed in becoming popular with white audiences. Beltran, "The Hollywood Latina Body as Site of Social Struggle," 72.

[92] Richard Dyer, *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 2 and 5.

[93] Dyer, *Heavenly Bodies*, 13.

[94] Rosina Lippi-Green, *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 30.

[95] Grace Kingsley, "Lupe Velez Scores Hit in Mexico," January 16th 1938, *Los Angeles Times*.

[96] Davé, *Indian Accents*, 16.

[97] José Schorr, "Movie Star Calendar: Dating Them Up Through Past Events May 1933," Motion Picture Magazine, May 1933, Volume XLV, No.4. http://mediahistoryproject.org/.

[98] "They Call it Mex Appeal," *Motion Picture Magazine,* May 1932, Volume XLIII, No.4. http://mediahistoryproject.org/.

[99] Dorothy Manners, "The Nine Lives of Lupe," *Motion Picture Magazine,* June 1931, Volume XLI, No. 5. http://mediahistoryproject.org/.

[100] For more see Frances R. Aparicio and Susana Chávez-Silverman, ed. *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, University Press of New England, 1997).

[101] Rodríguez-Estrada, "Dolores Del Rio and Lupe Velez," 475).

[102] Ibid., 478.

[103] Susan Harrow, ed. *The Art of the Text: Visuality in Nineteenth-and Twentieth-Century Literary and Other Media* (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 2013), 2.

[104] Michael Williams, "Stars as Sculpture in the 1920s Fan-Magazine Interview," in *The Art of the Text: Visuality in Nineteenth-and Twentieth-Century Literary and Other Media*, ed. by Susan Harrow (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 2013), 138.

[105] Mary C. Beltrán, *Latina/o Stars in U.S. Eyes: The Making and Meanings of Film and TV Stardom* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

[106] Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 5.

[107] Stoever-Ackerman, "Splicing the Sonic Color-Line," 61 and 63.

[108] Ibid., 62.

[109] Ibid.,, 65.

[110] Roshanak Kheshti, "Touching Listening: The Aural Imaginary in the World Music Culture Industry," *American Quarterly* 63 (2011).

[111] Kheshti, "Touching Listening," 711.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid., 712.

[114] Vogel, *Lupe Vélez*, 76.

[115] Whitney Williams, "Follow Your Impulses!: Advises Lupe Velez," *Motion Picture Magazine*, November 1933, Volume XLV1, No.4. http://mediahistoryproject.org/

[116] See for instance Isabel Molina Guzmán and Angharad N. Valdivia, "Brain, Brow and Booty: Latina Iconicity in U.S. Popular Culture," *The Communication Review* 7 (2004) for more information on women's bodies in the media and their mainstream consumption. Specifically how women of color bodies are seen as objects (206) and are excessively sexualized (211).

[117] Frances R. Aparicio, and Susana Chávez-Silverman, ed, *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad*, (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, University Press of New England, 1997); and Valdivia 2000 in Molina Guzmán Valdivia, "Brain, brown and booty: Latina iconicity in U.S. popular culture," 211.

[118] Molina Guzmán and Valdivia, "Brain, Brow and Booty."

[119] Ibid., 206.

[120] Ibid., 213.

[121] Debra Merskin, "Three Faces of Eva: Perpetuation of The Hot-Latina Stereotype in Desperate Housewives," *Howard Journal of Communications* 18 (2007): 135.

[122] Charles Ramírez Berg, "Stereotyping in Films in General and of the Hispanic in Particular," *The Howard Journal of Communications* 2 (1990): 294.

[123] Dana E. Mastro and Riva Tukachinsky, "The influence of media exposure on the formation, activation, and application of racial/ethnic stereotypes," in *Media Effects/Media Psychology*, *Vo 5*, edited by Erica Scharrer (Boston, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

[124] Merskin, "Three Faces of Eva," 135.

[125] Melvin L. DeFleur, and Everette E. Dennis, *Understanding Mass Communication*, Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1981.

[126] Deena J. González, "'Lupe's Song': On the Origins of Mexican-Woman Hating in the United States," in *Velvet Barrios: Popular Culture and Chicana/o Sexualities* edited by Alicia Gaspar de Alba (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 255.

III. "Cuz you've got soul!": Scripted Black and Brown Language Politics in 1970s television

"You bettah put a safety belt on yo mouth, man. We ain't no mo thieves than you. Trash like dat make my Mexican blood boil…I'll have you know dat I AM an honorary Chicano. Ed, you're lookin at a Chicano-rary."-Louie to Ed

It took 23 years for network television to feature a Latino sitcom lead character after *I Love Lucy's* beloved Desi Arnaz. The racially mixed Puerto Rican and Hungarian comedian turned actor Freddie Prinze was given the opportunity of a lifetime. His youth, personality, and comedic training in New York made him a shoe-in for the role of Chico Rodriguez on the popular situation comedy (sitcom) *Chico and the Man* (1974-78). The two decade absence of a Latino lead character in a sitcom fueled high expectations from viewers. The political and social significance of a Latino character and plot on primetime television amidst a shift in Los Angeles's racial makeup was certainly not lost. Coupled with the show premiering during the 1970s, a time of revolution, change, and opportunity, added to the anticipation of viewers. Recognized as a historic racial televisual movement, the decade of the 1970s, previewed the highest number of Black centered sitcoms such as *Sanford and Son* (1972), *Good Times* (1974), *The Jeffersons* (1975), and *What's Happening!!* (1976). These shows debuted in the middle of political, social and racial strife for urban Black and Chicano communities. Such sitcoms from the 1970s are largely referenced as "relevant" television because of producer Norman Lear and his commitment to tackling issues of race and gender within several successful shows, including white shows such as *All in the Family* (1971) and *Maude* (1972). Lear clearly had an impact on television programming whose sitcoms raked in high viewer ratings. Victoria Johnson in *Heartland TV*, however, reminds us that while "relevant" programming (reflected society and was shocking) was successful on television

there were other 1970s sitcoms particularly those who represented the Midwest, for example sitcoms produced by Mary Tyler Moore Productions (categorized as "quality" programming meaning polite and moral), functioned without revolution or confrontations by systematic racism or poverty.[1] Television in the 1970s carved out a unique space for "relevant" programming that not only represented people of color living in ethnic enclaves but also within integrated neighborhoods by featuring white, Black, and/or Latino characters. Most representations of integrated neighborhoods in sitcoms relieved anxieties of racial integrations at the expense of humorous and racist punch lines. Previous research on these sitcoms mentioned above have focused on one particular ethnic group, or the relationship between white characters and characters of Color. My focus however concerns the onscreen linguistic and racial relationship between a Black character and Chicano character on *Chico in the Man*. This research is significant because it decenters whiteness therefore creating a space to analyze how communities of Color interact with each other and gives importance to people of Color's narratives and experiences.

The relationship between Louie Wilson (Scatman Crothers) the Black barrio's garbage man and Chico Rodriguez (Freddie Prinze) the Chicano Viet Nam veteran mechanic has not been one of interest in previous academic scholarship concerning *Chico and the Man*. Previous research has focused on the Chicano media activism that protested the sitcom and organized to demand more roles for Latinos on and behind the scenes in television.[2] *Chico and the Man* has also been analyzed in terms of how integrated neighborhoods in the 1970s represented race relations between white characters and characters of Color.[3] Specifically, the paternalistic onscreen relationship between Ed Brown the old white garage owner and Chico. In my previous research on *Chico and the Man* I conduct a gender analysis of the

conflicted reception of the sitcom and Ed and Chico's relationship.[4] My revisit to the television comedy, in the dissertation, focuses on the relationship between Louie and Chico. Together Louie and Chico discuss hardships of their respective racial and ethnic communities and Louie serves as a mentor to Chico when faced with bigotry from Ed Brown and as a father figure to Chico. For example in the epigraph, analyzed in full detail below, Louie stands up for Chicanos because Ed calls Chico a thief. Louie's response serves as an example of how racialized groups talk back "to the man" by vocalizing an alliance to each other. The analysis of two characters of color who shared the same screen contributes to the projected race relations between Latino and Black communities in the 1970s.

Studying sitcoms offers lessons of what is valued in society, how to behave, and how a particular moment is defined and validated.[5] An analysis of language, specifically slang, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), Chicano English, and Spanish inflected English (SIE) focuses on techniques of coalitional politics through humor and pays close attention to how voices are produced in sitcoms. Also, the vocalization of SIE "accent" or the sonic legacy discussed in Chapter two, functions differently during this particular social moment. The visual "accent" does not appear in newspapers but rather performed and embodied on the television screen. Also, viewers label the linguistic performance as inauthentic Chicano speech in letters to the editor in newspapers. Having a critical distance from the time period since the show aired, I now understand why the Black and Chicano relationship was not discussed before. As Chon A. Noriega states in *Shot in America,* "Chicanos defined their own goals in terms of a masculinity threatened by a white-controlled media and a Black-defined civil rights agenda."[6] Put simply, Chicanos wanted control of their own media and political representation outside of white cultural producers

and wanted to move away from the shadow of Black Civil Rights Movements. However my research seeks to shine a light on how Chicano issues did not follow the shadow of the Black Civil Rights but how Chicano social concerns in alliance with Black issues were represented on the sitcom *Chico and the Man*.

In this chapter I utilize archival analog tapes, periodicals, episode scripts, feminist discourse analysis (FCD), and acousmatic listening methods. Episodes that were of interest for this chapter were those where both Freddie Prinze and Scatman Crothers appear. There were a total of eleven episodes where both Prinze and Crothers appear and linguistically were significant for this study. From the eleven episodes three episodes were chosen: "The Letter" from season one, episode ten aired on December 6th 1974, "The Hallowed Ground" from season two, episode two aired on September 9th 1975, and "Ed's recuperation" from season three, episode six aired on November 19th 1976. These episodes represent three different ways that Chico and Louie symbolically fight "the man" through humor. Editorials from the *Los Angeles Times (LA Times)*, *New York Times (NY Times)*, specifically letters to the editor that highlight viewers' reception of the sitcom, and media magazines that referenced both actors were considered. I engaged in acousmatic listening, which refers to listening to a sound without the visual representation of the object making the sound. I engage in this form of listening, without the visual image, in order to focus on how lines were delivered on screen and how certain words in African American Vernacular English (AAVE), Spanish inflected English (SIE), and Chicano English are used in mainstream televisual spaces. This method of listening is particularly useful when scripts of certain episodes were not available in local archives. I transcribed certain episodes by focusing on the sound in order to provide a transcript of the dialogue being heard on screen.

Scripted tensions between race, class, and intergenerational issues appeared on the nationally televised barrio of East Los Angeles in *Chico and the Man*. The show's narrative not only revolved around Chicano-centric themes but like other "ghetto-centric" sitcoms of the era—*Sanford and Son, Good Times, and What's Happening!!*—it also served as a political and social marker of the realities of urban Chicanos and integration at the time. For many Chicano audiences, the show relied on stereotypical representations of Chicanos through Chico, the main character.[7] But for NBC it ranked in the top five on the Nielsen ratings chart and was the cheapest sitcom to produce.[8]

Strong opposition, however from viewers at the time the show aired pointed to Chico's lack of "authenticity" expressed through his "feminine" and linguistic performance of a Chicano. The performance of race, as argued by sociolinguist Mary Bucholtz, simultaneously indexes gender.[9] During this politically charged era, the performance of femininity by Chicanos was seen as a hindrance to La Raza, an emphasis not central in the literature of race and 1970s television. Implicit within these critiques of "authenticity" were racialized concerns of gender. Despite its less-than-perfect reception, *Chico and the Man* provided Latinos and Chicanos rare roles as writers, producers, and actors on a television sitcom. The inclusion of Latinos behind the scenes in the production of *Chico and the Man* only complicated the sitcom's controversial reception and brought concerns of individual success over community liberation. *Chico and the Man* also provided a unique space where Black and Brown character storylines worked together against racism through humor.

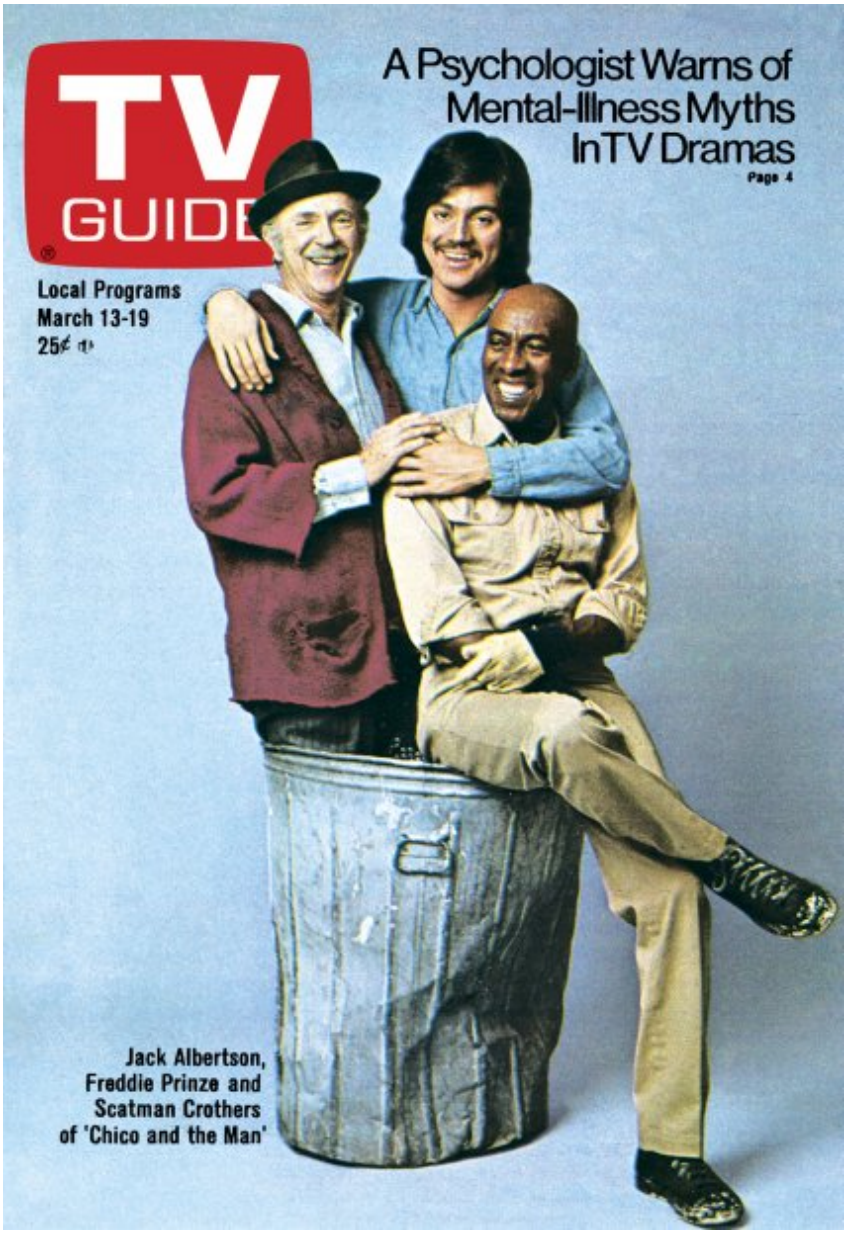


Figure 11.- TV Guide's March 13th 1976 cover.

A. Race and Relevancy in 1970s Television

Categorized as the stepchild of the 1960s, in popular culture few remember what occurred during the 1970s because it is often overshadowed by the excitement of the social movements of the 1960s. Yet, the 1970s hosted crucial global and national events, which helped shape popular cultural productions. Most countries experienced an economic recession because of an oil crisis (1973) and witnessed the end of the Viet Nam War (1975). In the United States, the passage of the *Roe v. Wade* decision (1973) and Richard Nixon's resignation after the Watergate scandal (1974) changed women's and political life, respectively. The decade was branded by reassessments of conventional moral, professional, and sexual mores.[10] In terms of popular culture, video games and consoles became part of home entertainment. Within fashion, bell bottoms, platforms, and Afros were staples of contemporary trends. In film, *Star Wars*, *Rocky*, *Jaws*, and *The Godfather* began their sagas, and the sounds of disco, funk, and hard rock filled the airwaves. On television, the U.S. debuted local news broadcasting, Monday Night Football, cable television, the miniseries format and "made for TV movies."[11]

One of the most important and perhaps least recognized legacies of the 1970s is the implementation of key civil rights policies, for example how to apply the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 into U.S. daily lives.[12] Both the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 were pieces of legislation, which made it illegal to discriminate against people because of their national origin, sex, religion, color, or racial background. Therefore, the question became how racial integration really looked like? The struggle for equality of gender, race and sexuality took place in legal, political, and public spheres, but were confronted and addressed through television.[13]

The election of Richard Nixon put a halt to the legacy of progressivism that was implemented by previous presidents. To Nixon and his administration, protests in the inner city for equal rights were acts of rebellion to the nation and were met with intense political and physical force.[14] His conservative cabinet monitored the representation of radicalism on television.[15] Any public act of disagreement with authority was deemed anti-American even on the television screen. Nixon's administration blamed television in large part for fueling social disorders in the U.S.[16] Many of this decade's content of television programming strategically showcased characters who moved away from the image of the 1960s radical. According to J. Fred MacDonald in, *Blacks and White TV*, the television content of the 1960s integrated political and social realities and brought them into its storylines. He argued, however, that the 1970s was more of a liability for networks because they were losing white middle class audiences.[17] MacDonald claims that issues of social injustice and racial prejudice became unpopular with viewers in the 1970s. Viewers demanded escapism from television instead of moral lessons as they tired of watching confrontations and longed to see more of a colorblind version of the U.S.[18] Television ratings confirmed that viewers wanted affirmation in place of questioning.[19]

Networks vied to retain their faithful white middle class audiences yet also satisfy "new" immigrant populations. Television programming from this era included sex and racial diversity but framed them in non-threatening ways through the structure of sitcoms. Larry Mintz argues that the utmost vital characteristic of the sitcom structure is the "cyclical nature of the normalcy of the premise undergoing stress or threat of change and becoming restored," which is the "happy ending" to the sitcom and the primary component of comedy.[20] As argued by Jannette L. Dates the representations of Black bodies in sitcoms

coerced, "viewers into believing that they should not become emotionally involved in the plot on a serious level because it was, after all, just a comedy, supposedly a light-hearted look at life."[21] Therefore, the 1970s are seen by some as a decade neither of regress nor progress because of continual tensions between satisfying white middle class populations at the expense of communities of Color.[22] A large number of sitcoms produced at this particular time starred people of Color and addressed "relevant" issues of race, women's rights, gay rights, and abortion debates. Yet, according to Eric Porter, author of "Affirming and Disaffirming Actions," television held a conflicting position in the decade. The very social and political advances made by people of Color increased white victimization on television.[23]

Issues surrounding who the "relevant" programming benefited or was meant for are issues not only of the 1970s but continue to appear in current discourses about television when sitcoms include people of Color. Eric Porter argues that race-based sitcoms of the 1970s were produced for businesspeople who aimed to capitalize on the civil rights movement of each racial political organization. For white suburban residents, the civil rights movements were what Daniel J. Boorstin called "pseudo-events."[24] The struggles of civil rights movements became materialized in white suburbia only through media outlets and served little to no function in their reality. These virtual spaces drove deep wedges of difference between the "suburban dweller and his or her inner-city counterpart."[25] For many viewers therefore racial integration was imagined through television.

These shows (*Sanford and Son*, *Chico and the Man*, *Good Times* and *What's Happening!!)* featured people of Color with plot lines based on colorblind politics intended to ease white middle class anxieties of racial integration. White middle class anxieties

stemmed from perceptions that their economic and political positions, as well as their morals, were challenged by urban people of Color intent on social change.[26] Yet Christine Acham in *Revolution Televised,* cautions against viewing 1970s television as a simplistic categorization only serving white Americans.[27] Acham agrees that these ghetto-centric sitcoms refashioned stereotypes from the minstrel period but also suggests that these shows used "levels of vernacular meaning inherent in many African American television texts."[28] These culturally linguistic practices provided spaces of pleasure for in-group viewers and instances of agency. Actors of Color in these mainstream television shows from the late 1960s and 1970s were frequently called sellouts, that is, "the shows and the performers involved were putting aside a race-specific agenda for the commercial payoff."[29] Although called "relevant," some viewers of communities represented in the sitcoms did not always receive the well intent of these shows.

Chico and the Man first aired September 13th, 1974 on NBC in front of a live studio audience and brought to light similar controversies about the show's mainstream representation of Chicanos. While in group viewers or Chicanos themselves may have very well identified with the show's "accents" and slang, the construction of the show's primary character, Chico, and his Brown body during the height of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement brought much-publicized tension. The Black character Louie Wilson played by Scatman Crothers first appears as a guest star in episode four, "New Suit," aired October 4, 1974 where viewers learn that he has been employed as a garbage man in the neighborhood of East Los Angeles for fifteen years. Louie and Ed, the garage owner and neighborhood bigot, have also been friends for the past fifteen years. As the show gained popularity Scatman became a costar. Toward the end of the sitcom writers relied on the characters of

Ed, Louie, and Della (played by Della Reese, Ed's landlord and neighbor) to move the story along after the untimely death of Freddie Prinze. Both Freddie Prinze and Scatman Crothers were seen as selling out their respective communities. This reputation would follow both performers' "authentic" embodiment of their characters specifically their vocal performance, which represents the similar expectations and representational burden actors of Color deal with in mainstream media.

B. Contested Reception

Chico and the Man ran for four seasons (1974-1978) on NBC with a prime airtime on Fridays at 8:30pm. After its first season, it ranked third on the Nielsen television ratings, following *All in the Family* and *Sanford and Son*.[30] Both *Sanford and Son* and *Chico and the Man* were set in Los Angeles during a time of immense population shifts. The population in 1970 in Los Angeles County was estimated to 9.6 million residents with 14.6% classified as Hispanic a 5% increase of Hispanic population from 1960.[31] The sitcom, produced by James Komack, aired 88 episodes just shy of the 100 needed for syndication. This makes it difficult to access because the show is not in syndication. Today, *Chico and the Man* occasionally airs on TV Land, a network that distributes classic sitcoms, variety shows, dramas and memorable TV programming twenty-four hours a day. Because the show was so popular, NBC renewed it for another year after Freddie Prinze's tragic death in 1977, yet was cancelled soon after due to low ratings.[32] It became obvious to executives that the show's success relied on the character of Chico performed by Prinze. The sitcom exposed white viewers to "other" Americans, namely urban people of Color, living and working together.

An estimated 40 million people tuned in weekly to watch *Chico and the Man*, a sitcom about a young, enthusiastic, sensitive, Chicano named Chico Rodriguez, played by Freddie

Prinze.[33] Ed Brown, portrayed by Jack Alberston, is a white man who owns a garage in Latino dominant East Los Angeles. Alberston's title as "the Man" on the sitcom centers the character of Ed as the authority figure on screen in addition to police officers and city officials. Most of the comedic material stemmed from the odd pairing of a young man of Color and an old white man, who live and work out of the same space. This interracial and generational on-screen relationship was at the center of much controversy. In an interview conducted by Victor Vazquez which aired on KPFK in 1975 entitled "Who's Behind Chico and the Man,"[34] interviews included actor/comedian Freddie Prinze, creator/producer/writer James Komack, associate producer Ray Andrade, and professor of journalism Félix F. Gutíerrez. This rare audio, which was also lost in history, provides a unique space where Chicanos and Latinos had the opportunity to theorize about Brown representations in the mass media. In this interview Ray Andrade remarks, "I find the show offensive in some respects. Freddie is too servile to [Ed] Alberston, he is looking for the white father. There is a certain lack of machismo in Freddie; he doesn't have it on the show…"[35] Andrade's observation of Prinze's lack of "authentic" performance as a Chicano, clearly indicates his worries of Chicanos perceived as not macho enough. He also mentions that he wished the show was more "Chicanoized" because of the shows inadequate "authenticity" but offered no suggestions on how to add a more authentic appeal to the show.[36] The radio interview, "Whose Behind Chico and the Man," expressed concerns of Prinze's mixed Puerto Rican and Hungarian heritage, which was of worry to viewers because they wanted to see a "real macho" Chicano play the part. Similarly, Freddie Prinze commented that he felt his racial and ethnic background were reasons why Chicanos did not warm up to the show. He states, "Cause like, I know from the trips I have taken to the barrio and being that I'm [from] New

York, I still have a lot of New Yorkisms. So I am not like the purest form of Chicano you can have on this show."[37] Prinze also expressed that Latinos should redirect their anger towards white actors who find themselves cast in Latino roles, rather than Latinos who secure Latino roles.[38] Prinze saw himself as a symbol of progress, not necessarily a part of an ongoing tradition of brown face. According to the radio interview, initial criticisms of the show focused on the perceived New Yorkisms and undefined L.A. Chicano mannerisms. Critiques stemmed from a New York production and acting style, yet with a virtual setting in Los Angeles, which upset some viewers. Nothing positive was expressed only that it was fulfilling the role of a sitcom as another entertaining ethnic program.[39] Ray Andrade voiced his concerns with how the Chicano community was exploited by *Chico and the Man* because as a Chicano show, it had no connection to actual Chicanos, besides the fact that it took place in a barrio.[40] Andrade argued that profit made off the show should reach the local Chicano communities. As Greg Oguss argues in "Whose Barrio is it?" the show's pairing between whiteness and otherness, in this case Chicano-ness, mirrors the paternalistic and racial power dynamics screened in other 1970s shows.[41]

Chicanos expressed, in letters to editors, that they wanted Freddie Prinze to act and speak more like a Chicano. In the radio interview, critics like Félix F. Gutíerrez and Ray Andrade, in addition to other opinion articles in the *Los Angeles Times*, referenced his "fluid mannerisms" in the way he would stand and annunciate English and Spanish words. Nearly every aspect of his performance from language use and gestures to his racial and ethnic background was criticized. In his defense, Freddie Prinze reflects on the sitcom,

> See what a lot of people don't realize is [that] it's not a Chicano show, it is a show where one of the main characters happens to be Chicano…I don't think it sells him out because everything I have done in the part I have done to come off good. I projected a positive

> image, ambitious, sensitive, Chico is a very sensitive guy, he cares, strong, determined and um not afraid.

Viewers wanted Prinze to stand up against Ed instead of being his servant. Andrade was also brought in, as the "authentic" Chicano, to train Prinze to walk and talk like a Chicano.[42] Prinze's portrayal of a sensitive, caring Chicano, was out of the question. His mothering/feminine role to help an "outsider" was scrutinized. Throughout the seasons, viewers watched as Prinze as Chico played a domestic role as he rescued Ed from alcohol and nurtured him through cleaning, cooking, and obeying Ed's requests. All of these traits are constructions of what femininity and ethnicity represents; as passive and self-sacrificing, usually associated with stereotypes of Chicanas.[43] In many ways these representations of race and gender were used to "tame" radical youth as well as, ease white middle class anxieties of these "new" populations in the 1970s. Chico's linguistic performance offered different definitions of masculinity, which engendered Chicanos in a manner where hypermasculine marked the climate of the era.[44] For Chicanos to be associated with the performance of femininity was a threat to the larger project of representing Chicanos as strong revolutionary heroes. Chico, and by default Prinze, was not man enough to play a Chicano. This representation, was used to "deradicalize" the hypermasculine trope, yet affirm a fluidity of gender. Some Chicanos, however, during that particular time were not willing to accept diversities of gender construction. Some possible inclusion of images concerning Chicano gender diversity could result in loss of political power. In my research on viewer feedback and reception little was mentioned on Scatman Crother's embodiment of Louie Wilson.

My focus centers people of Color and analyzes the relationship between Louie Wilson (Scatman Crothers) and Chico Rodriguez (Freddie Prinze). I argue that Louie's role on the

sitcom was to serve as a mentor to Chico to deal with Ed's bigotry, call out racism, and as an ally to Chicanos. Because presentations of blackness were screened previously on NBC on prolific "ghetto-centric" sitcoms, it garnered audiences' familiarity with one version of Black racialization. For Chico and Chicanos, however his character and "his people's issues" have a national platform for the first time in television history to discuss social and cultural concerns unlike representations of blackness. In the following pages I analyze specific scenes and examine the language used in order to investigate how characters of Color on screen symbolically fight back through humor and "accents" and how viewers can laugh *with* the racialized characters.

C. Working Class Representations

Scatman Crothers was born Benjamin Sherman Crothers in Terra Haute, Indiana in 1910. He is best known for his role as Louie the garbage man on *Chico and The Man*, his extensive animated voiceover work, and his role as Dick Halloran in the 1980 film *The Shining*. He received his nickname "Scatman" after an appearance on a radio program. Crothers explains that scat is what he does, he flirts with the melody. Crothers, a bandleader, singer, songwriter, comedian, turned actor, was the first Black actor and regular on the country western variety show Dixie Showboat from 1948-1951.[45] He was a natural for television because of his musical talent, expressive facial features, and lively manner especially during earlier television programs when studios used one camera set-ups and no close-ups as common techniques of video production. Crothers' stable television work, before *Chico and the Man*, was in animation. He provided his distinct scat and scratchy voice for various animated characters. Crothers had stable work in the industry as a performer on television and as a voice actor, but his acting opportunities dwindled in the

1960s due to changes in Hollywood's attitude toward Black actors at the time when the NAACP campaigned to provide roles outside of minstrel stereotypes.[46] Scatman's regular Hollywood performances were reminiscent of representations of Uncle Tom, trickster, and "the happy dancing coon." During the 1960s the image of blackness that was deemed appropriate was that of Sidney Poitier but, he did not sing or dance and instead starred in dramatic roles. Scatman is credited with eleven media projects in the 1960s, compared to sixty-one in the 1970s. The 1970s open doors for Scatman back into film and television because of the genre of Blaxploitation films, which he starred in, that showcased representations of Black power, cool, hip, and fly, blackness which included Scatman's voice, dark skin, and humor.

Scatman's audition for *Chico and the Man* made producer and creator James Komack hire him after Scatman delivered one line. Komack spoke of the audition in Scatman's biography that was written by his wife Helen Crothers and James Haskins. Komack was quoted as saying, "I think his first line was something like. 'Hey, I'm here to pick up your garbage.' You know, Scat doesn't talk too clearly, and it came out something like, 'Hey, Ahmhereafuhyhgatch.' I said, 'What'd he say?' Then I said, 'Hire him!'"[47] The visual representation of Scatman's "accent" can be analyzed as an example of Mock Ebonics as argued in Maggie Ronkin and Helen E. Karn's "Mock Ebonics." Mock Ebonics is defined as "a system of graphemicphonetic, grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic strategies for representing an outgroup's belief in the imperfection and inferiority of Ebonics and its users."[48] The sonic mocking of Komack in his storytelling and the visual representation of gibberish contributes to notions of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and its speakers as illiterate and infantile. Scatman's performance on the sitcom was described as a

stereotypical representation of blackness. The constant presentation of Louie as a city sanitation worker framed him as the help, a happy go lucky loyalist, and a male version of a mammy who kept the garage clean by taking out the trash. When he entered a scene he wore his sanitation uniform, which consisted of tan pants, long sleeved shirt and hat, and white canvas gloves. Viewers constantly see Louie working. Whether taking out trashcans filled with garbage, going into the alley, and returning back into the frame with empty cans. Viewers also see Louie outside of his work uniform engaging in leisure and friendship actives like bowling and watching football games with Ed and Chico in the garage. When Louie enters a scene he sings catchy tunes to announce his arrival like, "I don't care if them market crashes 'cause all my dough's tied up in trashes," and "The sun is shinin on a beautiful day, here comes ol'Louie to hall yo trash away." In a *Los Angeles Times* article Scatman was interviewed about the success of *Chico and the Man*. When asked what he had to say about criticisms about his own performance on the sitcom he states, "I'm me. I'm me everyday, man. That's right. I'm not puttin' on. This is me."[49] Scatman continues in the interview to explain how his musical background informs his performance of Louie. His jolly performance on screen and his non-aggressive response to Ed's outward bigotry was routinely questioned, as was Freddie Prinze's.

Viewers were extremely vocal about Prinze's performance as a Chicano, especially when it came to confronting the white garage owner Ed. As much as the sitcom centers on race, an analysis of class and labor of the characters gets overlooked or labeled as "ghetto-centric," which is understood as a sitcom with working class aesthetics. Chico, Ed, and Louie are all shown as blue-collar workers. Ed's character represents white working class populations, even though as a business owner, he's presumably middle class. He lives and

works out of the same space. In Jefferson Cowie's article, "Vigorously Left, Right, and Center" he argues, "We have let the working man (or woman) become a transparent, hollow mannequin, into whom we pour our own politics, our own hopes, and our own prejudices."[50] Cowie argues that the revival of working class characters in 1970s popular culture was called a "revenge sequence, in which scriptwriters seemed set on a misplaced retaliation against working people for their alleged conservatism."[51] His argument serves to not only recognize the trend of "relevant" working class sitcoms, but how issues of racism and sexism are projected onto working class people. With Cowie's argument in mind, Ed's bigotry and classism reflects not so much the prejudices of the working classes but also of the middle class. Similarly, while this class analysis serves to situate working class representations, in *Chico in the Man*, race certainly complicates Cowie's analysis.

Chicano viewers in a Mexican dominant city of Los Angeles were evidently angry when the show debuted. Some of them were fortunate to have the means to write to *The Los Angeles Times,* to draft their opinions. Many of the concerns were centered on the fact that the theme song, main character, and Spanish-language portrayed on screen was Puerto Rican inflected and not Chicano. This distinction between "accents," which are relational, are linked to frameworks of social identities, and seen as deterministic; people have "accents" or they don't.[52] Prinze's "accent" marked him as Latino but not suited for a Chicano specific role. Some viewers remarked that *Chico and the Man*'s sitcom format did not work as well as its Black counterpart, *Sanford and Son* because there was a mixed racial pairing between the main characters not present in *Sanford and Son*.[53] This statement furthers the stereotypical discourse surrounding Mexicans as passive, which is usually projected onto the "biological" characteristics of what it means to be a Mexican woman.[54]

Figure 12.- Left to right, Louie in his off duty aesthetic, Chico in his work uniform, and Ed.

Chicanos disliked the relationship between Ed and Chico because Chico, as a mechanic by trade, set low expectations for young Chicanos. *LA Times* writer Cecil Smith mentioned that she believed the controversies that arose were not significant outside the city limits of Los Angeles.[55] The executive producer of the show, Komack, had various pre-screenings before they aired and screened it to different audiences in San Francisco, Ohio, Tennessee, Colorado and in Burbank, California.[56] The audience in Burbank was more sensitive to the racial jokes because of their proximity to the topic represented.[57] In Smith's same article, she quotes Prinze who comments on the reception of his performance as a Chicano, "I wish I knew what they wanted. They say Chicanos talk a certain way, walk a certain way. I know lots of Chicanos. All different. They don't want an actor. They want a stereotype; a wind-up Chicano."[58]

Freddie Prinze addressed some negative sentiment about his performance and hinted to the politics of representation for actors of Color. Richard Dyer argues that the frequently understood aim of character constructions is to create a "realistic individual."[59] He makes a case that stereotypes "are linked to historically and culturally specific and determined social groups or classes and their praxes, which are almost bound to be outside the present cultural hegemony…invested in the notion of individuality."[60] Prinze argues that what some viewers wanted to see was an image that would be more familiar to them, a stereotype. Christine Acham, for instance, references the different exceptions of the types of representations between middle and working class Black people. She argues through research on Black centered shows of the 1970s that there is no authentic image of the Black community, believing such a notion denies the diversity within Black communities. Acham argues that some Black middle class viewers believed that in order for Black representations to fit into

the mainstream U.S., they had to emulate white middle classes, and separate themselves from Black working class representations. However, *Chico and the Man* showcased Black, Chicano, and white working class experiences living together, most importantly working class Black and Chicano communities jointly performing to symbolically fight the man.

D. Talking Back to the Man

The opening credits of the show aired with visuals of a happy East Los Angeles barrio. Puerto Rican singer José Feliciano sings the theme song with a salsa beat and lyrically encourages Chico to lend a helping hand because there is "good in everyone."[61] The theme song mentions that times will be better for Chico and the Man alluding to racial and class hardships they both face in the barrio. The opening sequence pans out on a mural of three male Mariachis. The camera zooms out, and we realize that the mural is located at a busy intersection highlighting public art and visual storytelling within Latino neighborhoods. Cars and Brown skinned people fill the screen as they cross the streets. What follows are a series of cheerful and peaceful clips of Mexican life in East Los Angeles. The camera frame scans, from the bottom to the top, the outside of a Catholic church. It proceeds to follow children at a park hitting a bright pink donkey shaped piñata in celebration of a birthday party. One of the children breaks the piñata and the rest of the children and adults run to gather the fallen candy. Images of old men in fadora hats playing dominoes in the park graze the screen. A white low rider decorated with white flowers made out of tissue paper, in merriment of a wedding, drives by. The last sequence is of Estrada Court Housing Projects, low-income housing buildings, and the brick wall that surrounds it, painted with bright colors of Indigenous patterns and iconography, a visual reference to a Chicano community. Together, the sight of Mexicans, Chicanos, along with cultural signifiers of Catholicism, piñatas, and

murals clearly represents scenes of Chicano East Los Angeles public life. The opening credits set the stage as an "authentic" representation of Chicanos. The visual presentation of East Los Angeles situates every episode in the sitcom as a visual reminder of who the sitcom is suppose to represent and in the television landscape this sitcom served as an aesthetic accent, a minor décor that highlights a dominant piece in this case the white mainstream shows at the time, in order to understand the construction of "otherness" through sound and sight.[62] The opening credits did not present the integrated barrio that the sitcom was based on.

The following are clips from three different episodes that best summarize Louie and Chico's relationship throughout the sitcom, specifically Black and Chicano race relations. Louie is seen giving Chico advice on how to deal with hardships in life. In this scene, Black and Brown communities are seen working together by the way Louie vocalizes his alliance with Latino communities and through the African American practice of marking. Through the cultural practice of marking the characters of color in the sitcom cope with racism on screen.

Season one, episode ten titled "The Letter" aired on December 6, 1974. In this episode Chico receives a letter from his Puerto Rican cousin Carlos from New York. Chico's cousin wants him to move to New York to help him with his used car agency where Chico will potentially be the head mechanic. This episode made explicit why Chico had New York behavioral characteristics like walking and speaking, in order to answer negative viewer reception of Prinze's "inauthentic" performance of a Chicano. Mando, played by Isaac Ruiz, was seen as Chico's "authentic" Chicano friend. In this episode Mando tells Chico he is crazy for getting along with Ed, because he's white, and some time in New York will

"straighten him out." When Carlos arrives to pick up Chico to take him to New York, Carlos realizes that Chico is content working in Ed's garage and Carlos returns to New York to start his business without Chico. In the beginning of the episode Chico receives some advice from Louie about his cousin's proposal to move,

[02:11]

(1) Louie (L): How you feelin son?

(2) Chico (C): If I feel any better et wood be illegal.

[*Laughs*]

(3) (L): Well give me some skin so I can grin.

[*Laughs. Louie and Chico do an elaborate eight-part handshake. When they are done there is studio laughter and clapping*.]

(4) (C): Louie how'd you stay so young?

(5) (L): Oh I keep chasin pretty young girls.

(6) (C): Oh dats da see-kret huh?

(7) (L): No. The secret is don't catch em.

[*Laughs*]

(8) (C): Louie, I wish I can put what you got in a bottle. I'd give it to Ed Brown.

(9) (L): Ah you're doin just fine with Ed. I'll agree sometime he grouchy and grumpy.

(10) (C): And sleepy, dopey n ess-knee-see.

[*Laughs*]

(11) (L): Yeah but some day he gon be happy. I'm gonna let you in on a secret son. One
(12) of these days you gonna be his full partner it's written in the stars.

(13) (C): You really believe in all that star jazz Louie?

(14) (L): Why sure, you got to. Man's destiny is preordained. Now, you being here in Ed's
(15) life is the moving fingah having writ.

(16) (C): The way I remember it, the only fingers I saw when I first came in here were in
(17) a form of a fist shakin in my face.

[*Laughs*]

(18) (L): No, I'm not talkin bout that kind of fingah. I'm talkin bout the thing you can't
(19) see all round ya, movin ya, and groovin ya. Now what'd you think dey mean when
(20) dey say the handwritings on the wall?

(21) (C): The graffiti.

[*Laughs*]

(22) (L): Ok, keep on makin fun of the stars one of dem gonna fall down n hit ya.

(23) (C): Louie, don't give me that star jazz will you.

(24) (L): It's true. I had an uncle who didn't believe in stars, made fun of dem, and one of
(25) those stars happened to be pinned on a sheriff's chest.

[*Laughs*]

(26) And now he a firm believer.

[*Laughs*]

[03:50]

In the transcript above in lines 2, 6, 10, Chico delivers his lines in a Spanish inflected English (SIE) "accent." This was common practice in Prinze's own stand-up comedy routine, which appeared frequently in his performance of Chico on television. The use of SIE was encouraged by fans because when Chico pronounces these words, for example "et wood" for "it would" or "ess-knee-see" for "sneezy," prompted laughter from the audience. His "accent" according to Asif Agha, is associated with a framework of social identities, which in this case the viewer gathers through Chico's speech as a racial foreigner compared to the diversity of sound patterns present.[63] The laughter can signal, for insiders, a

familiarity with learning how to speak English. In Louie's dialogue there are elements of African American English (AAE) and African American Vernacular English (AAVE), for example contraction of the suffix, unstressed initial syllables, and zero copula. Louie's verbal deletion of –ing for verbs like feeling and chasing in lines 1 and 5 are not grammatical structures of AAVE but phonology of AAE. Another sound of AAE is unstressed initial syllables like the word "about" pronounced "bout" present in line 18. A grammatical structure of AAVE is zero copula. Zero copula refers to when the subject is combined to the predicate without an explicit relationship like "to be." In lines 11,12, and 22 Louie states,

(11) (L): Yeah but some day he gon be happy. I'm gonna let you in on a secret son. One
(12) of these days you gonna be his full partner it's written in the stars.

(22) (L): Ok, keep on makin fun of the stars one of dem gonna fall down n hit ya.

In American Standard English (ASE) an underlined portion of the lines 11, 12, and 22 would read as,

he gon be happy ➔ he is going to be happy

you gonna be his full partner ➔ you are going to be his full partner

one of dem gonna fall down ➔ one of them is going to fall down

The shift in Louie's grammar to AAVE when he gives Chico advice and a pep talk about working with Ed Brown is to build rapport with Chico, emphasize Louie's own point, and crafts a more intimate space between two men of Color. From line 1, when Louie enters the scene and addresses Chico as "son," viewers witness a gesture of a respectful power dynamic between the two characters that represents their father-son relationship. Louie tells Chico to believe in destiny and that problems with Ed will settle because there is a bright

future working with Ed. At the end of the scene Chico and Louie engage in playful humor between believing in destiny and meeting your destiny (sheriffs' badge) to insinuate that if Chico does not stay on track his other option is to end up in the correctional system like Louie's uncle. Chico and Louie show viewers at the beginning of the scene an eight-part "secret" handshake that visually represents their camaraderie and verbally through the use of humor and AAVE that Louie also was a father figure to Chico helping him maneuver life's racial and gendered obstacles against "the man."

In another episode that shows a different element of Louie and Chico's relationship is Louie's use of the Spanish-language in the sitcom. In season two, episode two titled "The Hallowed Ground" (September 9, 1975), the scene opens with the Los Angeles city planning commissioner who comes into Ed's garage to evict him and by default Chico. Ed wants to shoot the city planner with a gun for coming onto his property but Chico convinces Ed that they need to fight this action legally or go to city hall to protest. In the following scene Chico, Louie, Ed, and Reverend Bemis are in the city planning office with the commissioner who entered Ed's garage and his boss madam chairman of the city planning division of Los Angeles.

[08:05]

[*On the left of the stage the madam chairman is sitting at her desk while the commissioner stands next to it. Across the desk, Chico, Louie, Ed, and Reverend Bemis are sitting down in chairs. Chico in a suit approaches the madam chairman and attempts to explain why they should not evict Ed but Chico fails. Louie gets up and approaches the madam chairman and commissioner*.]

(1) Louie (L): I'd like to say suttin, Chico.

(2) Chico (C): Yeah.

(3) (L): Buenos Dias.

[*Chico begins to translate what Louie says in Spanish.*]

(4) (C): Good day.

(5) (L): Hermosa señorita.

[*Laughs from the audience*.]

(6) (C): Pretty lady.

[*Laughs from the audience*.]

(7) (L): Y señor padre.
(8) (C): The reverend.

(9) (L): El Señor Comisero.

(10) (C): Miserable creep.

[*Laughs from the audience*.]

(11) (L): Y Señor Brown.

(12) (C): And hapless victim of bureaucracy.

(13) Madam Chairman (MC): Eh just, just a minute sir. I'm I to understand that you are of
(14) Spanish ancestry?

(15) (L): Well, you see miss chair lady. I've been in the neighborhood so long, I am now
(16) an honorary Lat-tino.

[*Laughs from the audience*.]

(17) (C): Dats right! Louie traded in his cadi for a 64 ché-vy with the pom poms in the
(18) antennas and a lee-tell dog in the back wean-dough wit the head going up and down.

[*Chico moves his head up and down. Laughs from the audience*.]

[08:48]

Louie's expressions in Spanish, which he uses to introduce himself to the people in the room, are translated by Chico and reveals to monolingual English speakers what their real intentions are in city hall and their true feelings about the commissioner wanting to evict Ed

and Chico from the garage. The Madam Chairman is confused as to why Louie speaks Spanish and asks if he has "Spanish ancestry." Louie claims that he's an honorary Latino because he has been living and working in the barrio of East Los Angeles for a long time. Their presence at city hall is an example of a coalitional setting because they are settling a dispute together in an office. Chico then humorously states that Louie traded in his Cadillac for a Chevrolet Impala. The association with African Americans and General Motors' Cadillac dates to the Great Depression. Cadillac dealerships were forbidden to sell cars to African Americans. However, the small population of rich Black people for example entertainers and boxers who owned Cadillacs would pay and send white men to the dealership to buy cars on their behalf.[64] Executives at General Motors wanted to cut out the middleman, the white men who were paid to buy cars for rich Black people, who were making money and decided to sell Cadillacs directly to Black people. "In 1928 General Motors manufactured 1,709,763 vehicles in the U.S., of which 41,172 were Cadillacs. By 1933 GM productions was down to a dismal 779,029 vehicles, a decline of more than 54%. But that year Cadillac sold only 6,736 cars, a decline of fully 84%...In 1934 [after GM decided to sell directly to Black people] Cadillac sales increased by 70%, and the division broke even."[65] Therefore, Louie's trade in for a Chevrolet lowrider Impala is a significant gesture by Louie as explained by Chico of Louie's commitment to Mexican communities in East Los Angeles. The specific trade in for a Chevrolet lowrider Impala has a long history with Mexican American servicemen in Southern California who returned from World War II with automotive skills and customized cars into lowriders; specifically the Impala in the 1970s was chosen for its trunk space, long frame, and various customization opportunities.[66] Chico's reference to cars and humorous punch is an example of a masculine racial reference.

At the end of the episode the city of Los Angeles does not evict Ed because Ed, Chico, Louie, and Reverend Bemis convince the commissioner that a wall in the garage was a wall that Junipero Serra wrote about in his journal. The garage is labeled a historical monument in the city of Los Angeles therefore Ed is able to keep his garage.

The final episode that I will discuss aired in season three. In episode six "Ed's Recuperation" (November 19th 1976), the characters of Color, Chico, Louie, and Della (Ed's landlord and neighbor played by Della Reese), come together to kick out a racist nurse named Amanda who is in the garage helping Ed recover from an operation. Amanda's racism is different than Ed's because she is from the south therefore her character speaks in a high nasally southern "accent" and directs derogatory comments toward the characters of Color in the sitcom. In the beginning of the episode, for example the nurse jokingly calls Della Ed's mammy. In response Della speaks in a stereotypical southern Black "accent" referencing Hattie McDaniel's performance in the film *Gone with the Wind* (1939) because Della states, "I scared Ms. Scarlet. [*Laughs from the audience.*] I so scared Ms. Scarlet. If you mammy me here one more time, Imma take my fist and…[*Chico and Louie hold back Della. Laughs from the audience*.]" Louie is worried because Ed might switch from drinking "bourbon to honey suckle wine" in reference to Ed's alcoholism and also the phenotype of his current friends, Della and Louie who are Black and Chico who's Chicano, instead of Amanda the white southern nurse. Near the end of the episode Della and Chico mark white, verbally and with their body, in order to cope with the racist nurse and poke fun of her "outdated" racism.

[19:25]

(1) Della (D): Chico!

(2) Chico (C): I'm in the Dixie land message parlor.

[*Laugher from the audience. Della enters Chico's room, which is located downstairs. Amanda has been taking care of Ed in Chico's room because Ed's room is upstairs and he cannot go up and down the stairs*.]

(3) (D): Where is he?

(4) (C): Miss mint julep is given him a bath.

(5) (D): Well, I hope she cuts her hands on his rib cage.

[*Laugher from the audience*.]

(6) (C): Ed's in big trouble Della. You should hear that woman.

[*Mocking Amanda*.]

(7) (C): Mister Rod-dree-guess, you know how I first became a nurse? I was just an itty
(8) bitty thang and one night I was strolling through the woods of Chatham County the
(9) moon was shinin and the darkies was singin.

[*Della hums. Chico gestures his hands toward Della as if he were leading an orchestra*.]

[19:52, *laughter from the audience*.]

[*Mocking Amanda*.]

(10) (C): Thank you that's fine. And then all of a sudden I heard a little chirp chirp in
(11) distress so I looked down and show nough, plain as day there was a little bird with
(12) his wing broken.

(13) (D): Aw.

[*Laughter from the audience*. *Mocking Amanda*.]

(14) (C): So, I took this little bird back home and I took a stick off a popsicle you know,
(15) put a splinter on his arm and nursed him back to health. And day by day his chirp
(16) grew brighter and his wings started flappin again and he was just healthy singin
(17) away. And then one day, without so much as a fairly well he just up and flew out the
(18) window, so I got my rifle and shot him dead.

[20:29, *laughter from the audience*.]

(19) (D): The moral of that story is don't mess wit her bird.

[*Laughter from the audience*.]

(20) (C): You got the pic-sha. When you peach blossom's patient you're her patient
(21) forever.

(22) (D): I heard dat.

[20:40]

In the transcript above in line 2, Chico's reference to "Dixieland Parlor" and line 4's "mint julep" describes Amanda's origin from the Southern U.S. therefore making reference to racial segregation that is stereotypically associated with the South and the current racism-taking place in Chico's room. In lines 7-9 Chico's southern "accent" with words like "thang" for "thing" and verbal deletion of –ing and his use of the term "darkies" are examples of a verbal performance of marking whiteness. Marking is understood as a way to parody of a group's or another person's speech. Marking white, as described by H. Samy Alim, is a verbal performance that is influenced by stereotypical white American linguistic characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors.[67] Cecelia Cutler argues that the use of marking white is to normalize blackness and therefore positions whiteness as "the other."[68]

While Della and Chico symbolically displace whiteness they simultaneously mock whiteness in two linguistic practices, marking as described above and Mock Spanish. In line 7 Chico's mocking of Amanda's hyper Anglicized pronunciation of his last name "Rodriguez" to "Rod-dree-guess" is a form of what Jane Hill coined as Mock Spanish. Mock Spanish is understood as an ironic "funny" racism used by white middle class people to speak Spanish in order to assert power and territory. Yet Chico's hyperanglicized tone, is used in his favor as he pokes fun of the way white people speak Spanish (which is still in English); therefore, Chico mocks monolingual white English speakers. In line 9 his use of

the “darkies” followed by Della’s performance of humming shows that there’s an understanding of the parody taking place and that the person they are ridiculing is not black people but racist white Southerners. Therefore, Chico and Della’s exchange normalizes their race and displaces whiteness. This scene, while it provides linguistically rich data, the manner in which racism is dealt with can be read as unproductive because of how racism is described as a thing of the past and also the erasure of 1970s race relations. At the end of the episode Della discovers that Amanda met her last four husbands in the hospital. Della pretends to be Ed’s girlfriend and Amanda states that she’s disgusted that he would be living with “a brown boy” and dating “Aunt Jemima.” This is the first time Ed has heard Amanda’s racism and he tells her to leave because she cannot speak to his friends in that manner. Then Chico says,

[23:30]

(1) Chico (C): Oh, Della. You are the greatest thing to ever happen to this garage.

[*Chico moves closer to Della and extends his arms to give Della a hug. Della stops him and says…*]

(2) Della (D): Back off! Don’t you get familiar wit me you brown boy!

[*Della shakes her head, places her right hand over her chest while delivering the line. At the end the phrase the words “you brown boy” are said in unison with Chico. After, Chico and Della laugh and hug*.]

[23:11]

At the end of the episode Della marks white and Chico joins her by repeating “you brown boy” referencing Amanda’s disapproval of Ed living with a Chicano and also mocking Amanda’s type of “outdated” racism. Interestingly, Ed’s racism is not highlighted even through throughout the series it is clear that Ed is racist.

Figure 13.- Left to right, Ed, Chico, and Della.

The racism of the past, which is understood as slavery and the South (made by references to darkies, mammy's, and plantation life) is not politically correct but Ed's bigotry toward Mexicans in East Los Angeles is socially acceptable in the parameters of the sitcom. While the sitcom, in the beginning, shocked viewers because of stereotypical jokes that can be categotize as "beaner jokes" executives of the show stated they were present in the beginning so Chico could show Ed that "not all Mexicans are the same." However, in the exchange between Chico and Della, Chico is not offended by Della's remark because there's an understanding of the performance of parody. There's a bond between the characters of color of their racialized experiences and they work together to teach and ridicule viewers who hold the same ideals as Amanda.

Revisiting this time period and style of "relevant" programming reminds me that progress is circular when it comes to representation and television. The 1970s showed viewers images of their communities at a national level in the context of humor. Issues that were fought in different sectors of society materialized on screen and questions regarding "who is the audience?" resonated. Chicano viewers' written feedback concerning Prinze's gender and language performance is what Michel de Certeau would categorize as taking power back from letting the accented speech on the sitcom define how Chicano bodies should speak. At the same time however, Prinze as a performer, used a Spanish inflected English (SIE) "accent" to claim space on television as a bilingual actor and to laugh at ourselves. Some scholars believe it was all for middle class white families while others remind us that televisual texts were also for People of Color because of the pleasures of seeing oneself on screen. The type of ethnic humor in *Chico and the Man* and other "ghetto-centric" sitcoms of the time can be considered politically incorrect, by our contemporary

society's standards, blunt and in your face. Sitcoms in the post-racial era shy away from "relevant" topics yet include people of Color as actors engaging in colorblind politics where race is no longer relevant, yet there are still forms of systematic discrimination for example through the character's voice construction. In the following chapter I discuss the circular progress of media and the representation of Mexican animated bodies.

Notes to Chapter Three

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[1] Particularly to the image of the Midwest, Victoria E. Johnson, *Heartland TV: Prime Time Television and the Struggle for U.S. Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

[2] Chon A. Noriega, *Shot in America: Television, the State, and the Rise of Chicano Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

[3] Greg Oguss, "'Whose Barrio Is It?' : Chico and the Man and the Integrated Ghetto Shows of the 1970s," Television New Media 6, no.1 (2005).

[4] Sara Veronica Hinojos, "Re-Visions of Chico and the Man: Chicanos and 1970s Television" (master's thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2011).

[5] Mary Ann Watson, "Sitcom Ruminations," *Television Quarterly* 29, no.2, (1997).

[6] Noriega, *Shot in America*, 52.

[7] Noriega, *Shot in America* and Oguss "'Whose Barrio Is It?'

[8] "Ratings lighting strikes one of season's bargains," *Broadcasting*, October 21, 1974, 40.

[9] Mary Bucholtz, "From Mulatta to Mestiza: Passing and the Linguistic Reshaping of Ethnic Identity," in *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*, ed. Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz (New York: Routledge, 1995), 364.

[10] J. Fred MacDonald, *Blacks and White TV: Afro-Americans in Television since 1948* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1983), 177.

[11] Cristina Pieraccini and Douglas L. Alligood, *Color Television: Sixty Years of African American and Latino Images on Prime-Time Television* (Dubuque: Kendall Hunt Publishing Company, 2009), 34.

[12] Beth Bailey and David Farber, ed., *America in the Seventies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 2.

[13] Bailey and Farber, *America in the Seventies*, 5.

[14] MacDonald, *Blacks and White TV*, 151.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., 158.

[18] As defined by Jennifer Esposito, "What Does Race Have to Do with *Ugly Betty*?: An Analysis of Privilege and Postracial (?) Representations on a Television Sitcom," *Television New Media* 10, no.6 (2009): 522, colorblindness or a "color-blind society" is when "we no longer see color of one's skin will not determine his or her life chances."

[19] MacDonald, *Blacks and White TV,* 157, 160.

[20] Larry Mintz, "Situation Comedy," in *TV Genres: A Handbook and Reference Guide*, ed. Brian G. Rose (Wesport: Greenwood Press, 1985), 114-5.

[21] Jannette Dates, "Commercial Television," in *Split Images: African Americans in the Mass Media*, ed. Jannette L. Dates and William Barlow (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990), 261.

[22] Stephanie A. Slocum-Schaffer, *America in the Seventies* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 155.

[23] Eric Porter, "Affirming and Disaffirming Actions: Remaking Race in the 1970s," in *America in the Seventies*, ed. Beth Bailey and David Farber (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 68-9.

[24] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A guide to pseudo-events in America* (New York: Antheneum, 1975).

[25] Cameron McCarthy, "Living with Anxiety: Race and the Renarration of White Identity in Contemporary Popular Culture and Public Life," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 22, no. 354 (1998): 356.

[26] Slocum-Schaffer, *America in the Seventies,* 166.

[27] Christine Acham, *Revolution Televised: Prime Time and the Struggle for Black Power* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 2.

[28] Acham, *Revolution Televised*, xv.

[29] Ibid., 4.

[30] Mary C. Beltrán, *Latina/o Stars in U.S. Eyes: The Making and Meanings of Film and TV Stardom* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 87.

[31] Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 42.

[32] Beltrán, *Latina/o Stars in U.S. Eyes*, 87.

[33] Alicia Sandoval and Paul Macias, "'Chico and the Man:' Some Chicanos are not Amused," *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), Oct. 27th 1974. Also *Chico and the Man* was number one in the Nielsen ratings the first two weeks of the new season, "Chico No.1 in Nielsens Last Week," *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), Sep. 27th 1974.

[34] Victor Vazquez, *Who's behind Chico and the Man*, cassette, KPFK Radio Pacifica (Los Angeles, CA) 1983.

[35] Noriega. *Shot in America,* 17, 71. Oguss. "Whose Barrio Is it?,"9.

[36] Vazquez, *Who's behind Chico and the Man*, 1983.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ray Andrade states in Vazquez, *Who's Behind Chico and the Man*, 1983.

[40] Vazquez, *Who's behind Chico and the Man*, 1983.

[41] George Oguss, "Whose Barrio Is It?," 3.

[42] Vazquez, *Who's behind Chico and the Man*, 1983.

[43] Yolanda Flores Niemann, "Stereotypes about Chicanas and Chicanos: Implications for Counseling, *The Counseling Psychologist* 29, no. 55 (2001): 72. Alma M. Garcia, "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970-1980," *Gender & Society* 3, no.217 (1989): 222.

[44] As defined by Varda Burstyn, *The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), hypermasculinity is "an exaggerated ideal of manhood linked mythically and practically to the role of the warrior," 4.

[45] James Haskins and Helen Crothers, *Scatman: An Authorized Biography of Scatman Crothers* (New York: Morrow and Company, 1991), 15 & 101.

[46] Haskins and Crothers, *Scatman*, 110.

[47] Ibid., 151-152.

[48] Maggie Ronkin and Helen E. Karn, "Mock Ebonics: Linguistic racism in parodies of Ebonics on the Internet," Journal of Sociolinguistics 3, no. 3 (1991): 360.

[49] Jim Stingley, "I'm not puttin' it on. This is me: The Scatman Cometh, Shoo-be-dop!," *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 1975.

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[51] Cowie, "Vigorously Left, Right, and Center", 91.

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IV. Very ¡MACHO!: Digital Bodies and Voice in Animated Film

"Dis is just gonna to take uno momento. I am throwing a big cinco de mayo pari. And I am going to need two handred of your best copcase decorated with the Messican flag." - Eduardo Perez/"El Macho," voiced by Benjamin Bratt in *Despicable Me: 2*

Despicable Me: 2 premiered July 3rd 2013 and earned two academy award nominations for Best Animated Feature and Best Original Song. The sequel to *Despicable Me* (2010) follows the life of Gru (Steve Carell) as he balances life as a new dad with being the world's greatest ex-villain. Although the film lost both awards it did gross over 970 million dollars worldwide and was the second highest grossing animated film of 2013. The movie's catchy soundtrack "Happy" produced and performed by Pharrell Williams also helped drive audiences to see the movie. In 2015 the franchise continued their successful branding by creating an animated feature dedicated to the yellow sidekicks of both *Despicable* films titled *Minions*. Despite the minion craze, my interest in this animated film rests on the least advertised yet most controversial character, the Mexican luchador villain Eduardo Perez/"El Macho" voiced by Peruvian and German actor Benjamin Bratt. The representation of an animated Mexican male, geared toward children all in the name of "family fun," surfaces historical racists tropes from the 1800s. The reappearance of the Mexican animated villain trope in this presumed era of "post-raciality," where race does not matter, is what Fredric Jameson theorizes as simulacra. Simulacra replaces reality, in this case a representation of a Mexican man as devious, mustached, and adorned with a sombrero, becomes *the* image of Mexican men in mainstream media. The contemporary representation of Mexican animated villains are stripped of their historical structure and significance and marketed as family entertainment, contributing to negative anti-Mexican sentiment in the U.S.

"El Macho's" controversy covered in mainstream entertainment news, such as the change in the voice actor, was not about Eduardo's stereotypical Mexican villain persona. A Mexican character who since early western films has socialized viewers.[1] While I focus on a production dilemma, I argue that representation of Eduardo, a Mexican accented villain, should be in the discussion of this film. The actor's original voice assigned for this character, Al Pacino, dropped out of the project six weeks before the film premiered at the Annecy International Animated Film Festival. Pacino's departure from the project might explain why in promotional materials (film previews and movie posters) there was no mention of "El Macho" or the plot of the film. The production was nearly finished and the animation aspect was "locked" meaning that the visuals were complete and so no major changes were permitted on the film.[2] Producers not only had to find a replacement but animators had a challenging task and a larger concern: fitting someone else's voice to the already completed computer animated work. According to Peter Debruge, an international film critic, never before had a task so difficult been tackled in the animation world.[3] The talents of the film's sound engineers and directors plus the time to complete said tasks were remarkable and the final product considered seamless. While the technological aspect has garnered plenty of attention, I want to focus on the visual and sonic choices made by the film's creators that resurfaced a historical trope. Three primary concerns guide this chapter's arguments: (1) the social and cultural significance of Eduardo Perez/"El Macho" and his scripted accented voice; (2) the reliance on an accented Mexican male as an animated villain; and (3) how these linguistic tactics of racializing characters continue to (re)appear and make millions of dollars on a global scale.

In this chapter, the sonic legacy of Mexican males is analyzed in the genre of animated film. I focus on the accented voice and provide a phonetical transcript to highlight the forced and performed "accent" of Eduardo Perez/"El Macho." The transcript provides a visual linguist "accent" that resonates with two historical examples of Mexican male animated characters, Warner Brother's Speedy Gonzales (1953-1999) and Frito Lay's Frito Bandito (1967-1971).[4] Both of these characters were voiced by legendary voice actor Mel Blanc and are examples of brownvoice performances, which is the racialized performance of a Mexican vocal "accent."[5] My approach to animated film is not concerned with the effects of children viewing or reading racialized, queer, or sexual messages in animated films or the hidden labor of global production.[6] Indeed, these two strands of study within studies of computer animation are crucial in understanding the animated genre. Instead, as a means of decoupling western associations made between sight and knowledge, my method privileges the ear and focuses on the relationship between the sonic and visual on screen.[7] Specifically, I analyze how and why the accented, racial voice, in many ways, is *required* for the visually villainous large fat digital body of Eduardo Perez/"El Macho" both work to communicate similar connotations of excess.

Voiceovers racialize, engender and queer the nonmaterial animated body in relationship to historical representations of Otherness. The current trend of adding digital interactive components to products with smartphones, tablets, and future screen technologies to come, positions animation, according to Suzanne Buchan, as able to "increasingly influence our understanding of how we see and experience the world visually."[8] Despite the technological differences that have transformed the process of creating animated film, from hand drawn

and photographic stills to computer animation, techniques for racializing characters with sonic markers of race and ethnicity have stubbornly stayed the same.

A. Animation and Race

There are many educational gains to watching "cartoons" or animated film with family, in particular, when parents engage and explain to children what they see occurring on screen. Research indicates that benefits are most evident when content is age appropriate since emotional material should be easily digested. The pleasures of sharing emotions, and quality time spent as a family contribute to knowledge and language development.[9] Animated films are "masterful inventions, giving perfect form to thought and feeling," therefore showing its viewers visual forms of dealing with difficult topics.[10] Scholars have also argued that audiences learn troubling effects of media either about their language, culture or community or about communities marginalized.[11] In a similar vein, I consider how all viewers are socialized to learn racial, gendered, and linguistic assumptions about "authentic" people of color, specifically Mexican men.

Studies show that People of Color continue to be underrepresented in the media, are marginalized when shown, and/or play minor roles compared to their white counterparts.[12] When people of color are included on screen they are often portrayed in stereotypical roles.[13] In fact, Dana Mastro has found that viewers of television, even with the limited representation of Latinos as sex objects, criminals, and comics, learn to have negative judgments not only about the characters on screen but Latinos in society, in addition to lowering the self esteem of Latin@s themselves.[14] Although cartoons are framed as an innocent entertainment pastime for families, it can convey historical stereotypes masked as animated characters. In the following pages a brief discussion on how race was represented

in early animation and the importance of voice in animated work are outlined to demonstrate the significance of cartoons and the influence they hold as family entertainment.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, animated film emerged with the popularity of live-action film; both categories of film experimented with representing ethnicity and race.[15] In early and animated film, racial tropes seen and popularized on stage in minstrel shows traveled to film screens. For example, the Zip Coon, Jim Crow, Uncle Tom, Pickaninnies, and Mammy, were showcased on screen. The construction of racial and ethnic stereotypes on stage in minstrel shows, by white performers, according to Eric Lott "arose from a white obsession with black (male) bodies which underlies white racial dread to our own day, it ruthlessly disavowed its fleshly investments through ridicule and racist lampoon."[16] The style of representing Black characters came from vaudeville and minstrel performances much after these types of performances ended on stage.[17] These troubling racial tropes continued to be a part of film representation.

The history of animation in the U.S. is considered "anti-black racism" because of the continued use of racial difference performed on stage and now projected on screen for the profit of white owned corporations.[18] It is difficult to separate the beginning of animated film and the development of motion pictures from racist representations, more specifically Black representations. As stated in Nicholas Sammond's *Birth Of An Industry*, "American animation is actually in many of its most enduring incarnations an integral part of the ongoing iconographic and performative traditions of blackface."[19] Racial difference was visually and sonically represented through blackface. For instance, big red smiling lips and big round white eyes heavily contrasted with black skin were accompanied by grammatically incorrect versions of African American Vernacular English (AAVE); creating

together troubling racial and ethnic stereotypes.[20] The construction and analysis of a stereotypical sound is overlooked because it is easier to acknowledge race than it is to "hear" race.[21] Therefore a linguistic minstrelsy continued in the construction of "blackness."[22]

Creators and animators must grapple with attributes like race, gender, and language and take into consideration if they have pushed social boundaries "too far."[23] The very essence of animation provides movement to characters and inanimate objects. In creating a fictional character, animators balance whether to recreate a racist and stereotypical historical legacy in animated film. Some critics believe the genre is inoffensive and meant as "good family fun" which, in some way, allows more flexibility in its presentation of race, gender, and language. The bodies on screen are computer-generated therefore considered dematerialized and assumed to not be taken seriously. Yet, although they are virtual characters they are materialized through sonic and visual characteristics linking them to physical bodies.[24] Sergei Eisenstein, film director and theorist, remarks that as viewers, "we sense them [animated characters] as alive. We sense them as moving, as active."[25] This relationship to characters on screen is not conscious; this viewpoint stems from watching a body in movement within a narrative storyline in the space provided by film.[26] Characters are drawn and given movement through animation, however they come alive through an actor's voice, a voice that stems from a human body. The synchronous sound, sound that matches the movements on screen, makes it clear whose voice belongs to what body.[27] Many famous actors and musicians voice animated characters therefore conceptualizing for viewers the human body and the animated body existing at once.

In Hye Jean Chung's essay "*Kung Fu Panda*" she argues that the computer generated bodies we see in animated film are indeed materialized because of the multiple stages of

constructing the body on screen, for instance, from the creators and people who give the characters voice. In creating such films they represent transnational identities, meaning that the filmmaking is contingent on diasporic talent, globally dispersed and distributed media images. In her detailed analysis of DreamWorks 2008 *Kung Fu Panda*'s main character Po, the Chinese panda voiced by Jack Black, she argues that his body (a panda bear) transcends on a global scale. The cultural significance of Po as a panda is recognized by its Chinese viewers, yet his voice (Jack Black's) anchors Po to the United States (U.S.). The social and historical signification of the panda, its ethnicity and race, is effectively erased by Jack Black's white Western voice.[28] This approach to animation not only links the virtual computer generated body to actual corporal bodies but is also aware of the importance of the character's voice. Similarly, the social and political work created by the animated character Dora from the animated series *Dora the Explorer* on Nickelodeon children's television network functions as a global and domestic representation of Latinidad.

Dora the seven-year-old Latina adventurer accompanied by a talking backpack and her sidekick monkey named Boots comes to signify a universal representation of who and what Latin@s are, argues Nicole M. Guidotti-Hernández.[29] Dora's body is considered thick (not fat), conveys independence as she solves problems without the help of adults, and wears comfortable clothing, markers of a feminist animated icon.[30] Dora's specific ethnic background is unknown adding to her likeability and profitability on a domestic and global scale, yet her representation does signify a racial group.[31] However, her linguistic and musical signifiers represent mainstream notions of Latinidad, what have been theorized as a political, commodified, and lived experience.[32] Politically, Latinidad is theorized as a Latino ethnic consciousness, commodified Latinidad refers to how it is represented in media, and

lived Latinidad makes reference to the process of identity making.[33] Dora's Latinidad erases the specific cultures and histories within pan-ethnicity.[34] Angharad N. Valdivia reminds us that the global acceptance of Dora, represented in her broadcast to multiple countries outside of the U.S. and endless children products, reflects the inclusion of Latinidad in mass media.[35] Valdivia also notes that Dora has broken barriers across a white male dominated animated world.[36] Yet the term "Latino," created to unify people of Spanish-speaking countries and territories in the U.S., erases historical differences and minimizes the diversity of Spanish-speaking people living in the U.S. The central focus of the show rests on teaching children simple Spanish-language words and phrases. While Dora's English or Spanish "accent" does not hint at a specific geographical region, her role as bilingual teacher to viewers marks her as general and commodified presentation of Latin@s.[37]

There have been three young women who have voiced Dora, although Kathleen Herles brought the character to life the longest from 2000-2010. Herles was born in New York to Peruvian parents. Her English and Spanish voiceover work does not hint to any Spanish-speaking geographical region adding to Dora's universality as a product yet complicating representations of U.S. Latinas. Since her voice does not suggest a physical territory via an "accent" we infer that Dora is not from the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Colombia, or Mexico, therefore she does not belong to a group with a racialized "accent." Guidotti-Hernández argues that Dora works simultaneously as commodified Latin@ culture and cultural contestation as, she exists as both an "authentic" yet hybrid representation of Latin@s.[38] Dora's voice is racially "generic." However if the sound of her voice marked Dora to a specific ethnicity, her voice performance would balance a thin line between stereotype and "authentic" representation. Dora's "generic" voice gives listeners an image of

her ambiguous cultural origin, a move toward a pan-ethnic or erasure of ethnicity. An example of sound that has not been able to de-racialize the texture of their voices are animated African American characters.

Jennifer Bloomquist's study on the use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in animated film from Disney's *Dumbo* (1941) to DreamWorks *Shrek* (2001) analyzes the use of minstrelsy in the construction of racially coded characters. She traces contemporary voiceovers and how they are racialized and anthropomorphized characters through historical acting troupes like the zip coon, sambo, and the mammy. She argues that in the animation world there has not been much progress in terms of providing well-rounded or diverse views of Black culture as other genres of film have accomplished. Even though the contemporary animated characters do not visually signify minstrel characters, the voice assigned to Black characters continues to portray them as childlike through stereotypes.

In a more historical approach to animation Nicholas Sammond's *Birth of an Industry* also explicitly discusses the origins of animated characters and proposes that, "Cartoons (or vaudeville, or live film) were not a form of entertainment that supplanted a dying blackface minstrelsy; rather, they were a permutation of minstrelsy, a part of a complex of entertainments at the dawn of American mass culture of which live minstrelsy was a fading element and film, including animation, a rising one."[39] Therefore, the structure of minstrelsy changed in order to fit into a new American entertainment. Moreover, Bloomquist states that Black participation in lending their voices to animated characters, continue to reinforce historical stereotypes. These stereotypes may not necessarily be visual representations of blackface but signify racism through the vocal performance. For example in Disney's *Dumbo* (1941) the flock of crows speak in jive slang, *The Jungle Book*'s (1967) King Louie

the Orangutan and monkeys all speak in jive slang, *The Little Mermaid*'s (1989) Jamaican accented crab Sebastian, and *Mulan*'s (1998) Mushu her comic relief sidekick, among other characters like Donkey from Dreamworks' *Shrek* (2001) and Marty the Zebra from *Madagascar* (2005). Bloomquist argues, "not only is it disappointing that so many other negative stereotypes remain completely intact for child audiences today, but it is equally troubling that despite the gains African American actors have made in traditional films…we have yet to see the development of positive new Black character types in animated film."[40]

Bloomquist's work and approach has influenced my own study in investigating Eduardo Perez/"El Macho" and his voice in *Despicable Me: 2*. We have similar concerns regarding historical stereotypes appearing in animated film and the use of an actor from the same ethnic or racial background to provide their voice to a racialized character. For *Despicable Me: 2* we have the familiar character of a Mexican villain. The perpetual "bad guy" is racialized next to white heroes in film and also animation, however, this particular Mexican villain is not your traditional sombrero, mustached, bandolero wearing Mexican but instead a mustached luchador or a more contemporary Mexican villain. Eduardo Perez/"El Macho's" voice, originally cast to be performed by Al Pacino, resonates with historical practices of white performers mimicking stereotypical "authentic" performances of people of color. Because Pacino left production late due to creative differences, actor Benjamin Bratt voiced the character in a false Spanish inflected English (SIE). Since the animation was already completed, Bratt's voice needed to match the same mouth movements. Therefore Bratt transformed Eduardo Perez/"El Macho" into his own racialized creation. The racialized animated creation can slip into a controversial space of collapsing and

reinforcing sonic legacies of Latino men through voice acting, in particular, when the voice actor is from the same ethno-racial group as the animated fictional character on screen.

B. Sound and Voice in Animation

Sound in animation creates a strong bond with the viewer as much as the visual representation of the character. Visual images are created first in animation followed by the addition of sound. Voicing characters makes for a difficult task because voice actors need to match their voice with the visual movements of the character. Sound designers of animated projects, therefore create entire sonic realms from their imagination, because they must make and add sound to the animated bodies and environment that was produced for them.[41] Creating fantasy worlds through sound adds credibility to imaginary worlds on screen.[42] Karen Collins' "Sonic Subjectivity and Auditory Perspectives in Ratatouille" analyzes the importance of sound in animated film and how sound can create affective relationships with fantasy worlds like animated film. She argues that the "point of audition" in cinema is similar to the point of view, a perspective created through sound where the auditory perspective is produced.[43] As Rick Altman further explains,

> We are asked not to hear, but to identify with someone who will hear for us. Instead of giving us the freedom to move about the film's space at will, this technique locates us in a very specific place—the body of the character who hears for us. Point-of-audition sounds thus constitutes the perfect interpellation, for it inserts us into the narrative at the very intersection of two spaces which the image alone is incapable of linking.[44]

As viewers we are connected with animated bodies on screen who Altman argues "hears for us." As viewers we connect with screened narratives because camera angles give an illusion of depth unlike sound that expands the imaginary world into our own.[45] This in turn creates a bond or relationship between viewers and sound.

Early voice actors, actors who do not physically perform on screen but provide their voices for animation and commercials, often received their big break on radio. Voice actors had experience projecting their voice and working closely with a microphone for radio shows and commercials. Providing one's voice for a character has been described as much more theatrical and bigger than regular acting.[46] Also, voice actors have expressed the attraction of doing voice over work because of the range of characters they can play through sound. Take for example white voice actor John DiMaggio whose voice famously gave life to Bender from 20th Century Fox Television's *Futurama* (1999-).

> I've played Black guys. I've played transvestite prostitute robots. I've played women aliens. I've played so many different kinds of characters through voice acting. And its, its, so freeing, and its so much fun, and I get to be broad and I get to perform and get to act and get to live this out. On camera? Playing a Black guy? There's no way. There's no way.[47]

The ability to perform out of one's race and gender is described as liberating. DiMaggio's reputable voice acting in Hollywood earned him accolades as the "blackest white guy" in the business. His fellow voice acting colleague Gary Anthony Williams, who voices the controversial self-hating Black character Uncle Ruckus on AdultSwim's *The Boondocks* (2005-) also comments on racial crossing in voice acting and states, "And like there are people I love to be mad with like, 'Man, don't do no Black character. You're insulting.' But him [DiMaggio] its like 'Respect, respect.' So I've gotten him several Black girlfriends just off the power of his throat alone…[he's] very Negro throated."[48] To be "very Negro throated" in the voice acting business proves profitable. Voice actors sustain long careers in the business because of their range of voices. Williams blesses DiMaggio in his racialized voice performances and offers a humorous punch, because there is a fine line between the desire to embody differences and creative freedom of an artist.

The performance of racialized voices surfaces issues of the politics of representation just as casting for a film or television series does. As Eric Lott in *Love and Theft* states, "Every time you hear an expansive white man drop into his version of Black English, you are in the presence of blackface's unconscious return."[49] Or with my project the vocal performance of a Spanish inflected English (SIE) or brownvoice is the appearance of brownface. In the animated world voices are characterized as the souls of the characters, they give viewers sonic relationships to fictional characters, and complicate the relationship between the texture of the voice, the voice actor, and the animated representation on screen.[50] But before I analyze Eduardo Perez/"El Macho's" voice and the computer generated body a brief history of the Mexican villain as stereotype will help establish the significance and importance of Eduardo Perez/"El Macho."

C. Sonic Legacies of Villains

The Mexican villain in *Despicable Me: 2*, a luchador of the name "El Macho," is not your typical western bad guy adorned with a sombrero, bandoleros, or scruffy beard; however, they share similar characteristics. The most famous portrayal of a Mexican animated villain belongs to *Frito Lay*'s Frito Bandito. In *Shot in America*, Chon A. Noriega provides a history of the infamous character and the Chicano media activists who succeeded in getting Frito Bandito off the air. Noriega reminds us of the social significance and signification of Frito Lay's bandit. He was described as "unshaven, unfriendly, and leering who stole white middle class people's corn chips at gunpoint."[51] Frito Bandito was brought to life by the voice of one of the most famous and memorable voice actors Mel Blanc and during a time period in U.S. history where public debates about the Mexican population and Mexican American Civil Rights were seen as a threat. But before Blanc gave life to Frito

Bandito, he voiced another Mexican character that was not a villain but a leader of Mexican mice against the mischievous Silvestre the Cat, Speedy Gonzales.

Speedy Gonzales made his debut in 1953 in *Cat-Tails for Two* as the fastest mouse in all of Mexico with his famous tag line "¡Arriba! ¡Arriba! ¡Andale! ¡Andale!" In his original aesthetic, Speedy wears a red t-shirt, black short hair, his top two front teeth protrude over his bottom ones and one is the color yellow. His aesthetic changed, to his commonly recognized look, two years later when he debuted in *Speedy Gonzales.* His short and stocky upper body remained the same. The seven-minute self-titled animation received an Academy Award in 1956 for the best short subject cartoon*,* an ironic form of public regard considering the so-called "wetback decade," that took place from 1944-54. The "wetback decade" saw an increase of anti-immigrant sentiment, during the release of the animated short.[52]

Speedy Gonzales', voice has been a performance of accented English popularized by Mel Blanc. In *Speedy Gonzales* (1955) Silvestre protects a cheese factory. On the other side of the gate labeled "International Boundary" a group of Mexican mice with different shades of yellow shirts and sombreros attempt to cross the fence to get cheese. Both the gate and the vague "International Boundary" are clear indicators of the U.S./Mexico border. They are unsuccessful because Silvestre eats the mice that cross over and spits out their sombrero as a sign of defeat and intimidation. One of the mice suggests that they recruit Speedy Gonzales, the fastest mouse in Mexico, to help them get some prized cheese. In the next scene viewers see that Speedy is at a carnival stand where people pay twenty-five pesos for five shots in attempt to hit Speedy.

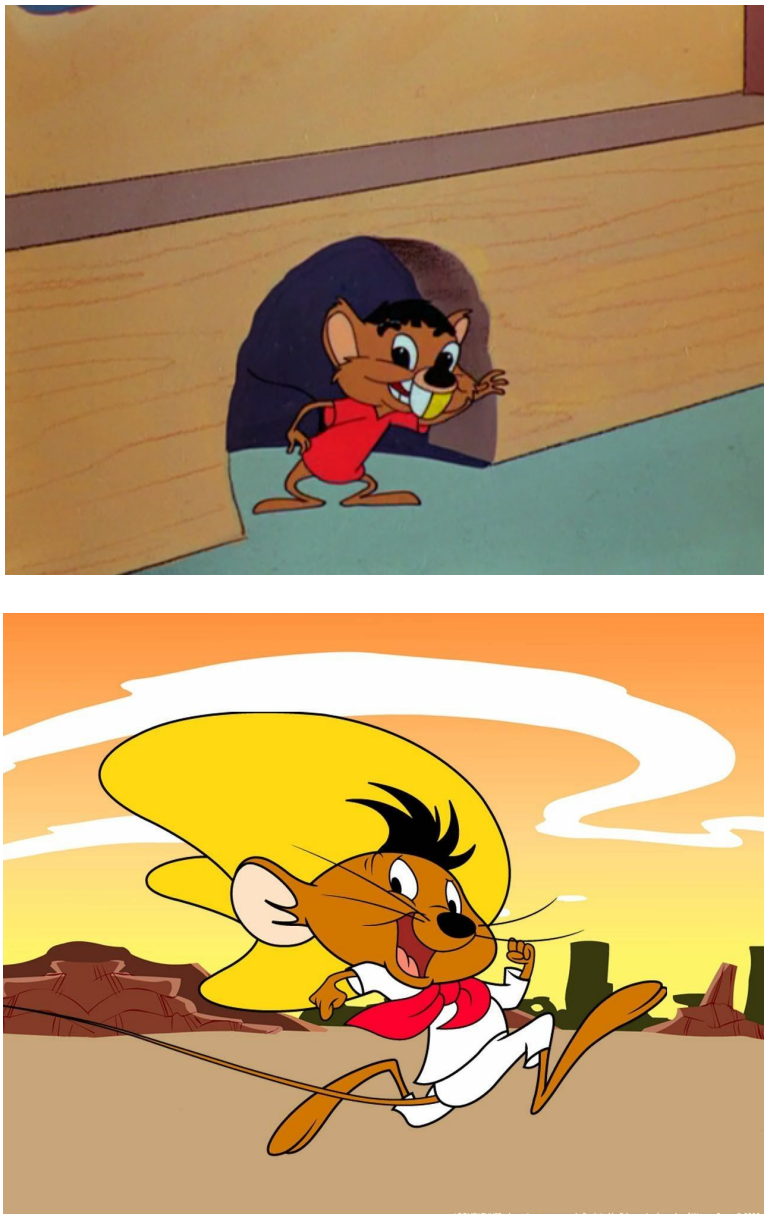

Figure 14.- Top: Speedy Gonzales (1953) in *Cat-Tails for Two*. Bottom: Speedy's aesthetic since 1955.

If they succeed they win a “beeg” prize. This use of Spanish inflected English (SIE) and a visual “accent” specifically the use of a double vowel “e” exaggerates the pronunciation and infantilizes Mexicans since the carnival stand is in Mexico. If the stand was in Mexico, the sign could have been written in Spanish but instead creators decided on an accented English that position Mexicans as illiterate and deliberately inferior in their use of the English-language. When the mouse arrives to seek Speedy’s help they speak in what is best described as Spanish gibberish. Instead of creating English-language subtitles for the Spanish-speaking mice or having the mice actually speak Spanish to each other, it reflects national debates about Mexican Spanish as incorrect, an easy language to learn, and devalues the diversity of the Spanish-language and Mexican people.

The multiple ways in which Speedy’s Spanish is presented both funny and linguistically botched casts ideas of Mexicans as illiterate and linguistic failures. There are some words in their dialogue that are distinguishable, for example English words like pussy cat and cheese, Spanish words like solamente, gringo, and probablemente, and an Italian word grosso. In their Spanish exchange, “probablemente” is used as “problem” instead of “probably,” a Spanish-English false friend word, to describe their problem with Silvestre. Speedy meets Silvestre and out wits him in order to get cheese for the rest of the mice. Speedy concludes the animated short by stating, “I likes this pussy cats fellow. Is silly.” Speedy’s tag line “¡Arriba! ¡Arriba! ¡Andale! ¡Andale!,” Spanish gibberish, his use of plural verb (likes), plural noun when not needed (cats), and his deletion of a pronoun (is silly) contributes to notions of Mexicans as linguistic failures. For example with the English-language like “beeg,” plural verbs when not needed, and missing pronouns in addition to not speaking formal or informal versions of Spanish, but instead Spanish gibberish.

Figure 15.-Still from *Speedy Gonzales* (1955) and an example of inflected Spanish with the word "beeg" for "big"

This representation of Mexicans inability to master English or Spanish-language places them as unattractive citizens therefore solidifying their "forever foreigner" status in the U.S. This representation of Mexicans not being able to master the English-language and speaking Spanish gibberish adds to notions of Mexicans refusing to learn English and refusing to let go of their "backward native tongue," therefore marking multiple generations of Mexicans unwilling to assimilate. Although Speedy is bilingual, his accented and grammatically incorrect English keeps him outside of the national narrative.

William Anthony Nericcio's research on Speedy Gonzalez analyzes the "good" and "bad" of the animated character but most importantly how Speedy reinforces politically charged images of Mexicans in the U.S.[53] Nericcio includes a memory of Speedy by an audience member who saw him present his research and the audience member stated, "The extreme exaggeration of Speedy's supposed Mexican accent played a big part in its staying power—at least in my case."[54] This sonic memory of an animated character is telling of the importance of not only what the character looks like but *how* the character speaks. The purpose of the lightning fast mouse is commentary on how Mexicans will never be that quick. The accented voice of the mouse reflects a low IQ because of Speedy's limited vocabulary.[55] Nericcio states that,

> Speedy is funny because he and his cohorts are familiar; he is familiar because of the history of exchange (cultural, military, linguistic, semiotic) between the U.S. and Mexico. The logic from which Warner Brother profits and which it helps to sustain is basic: we have seen Mexicans as simple, lazy thieves before; we see them again, we laugh.[56]

The similar form Mexicans are represented in Hollywood triggers a familiarity of laughter from viewers and listeners because lazy thieves, sombreros, and Spanish inflected English (SIE) have been used and continue to be used to stereotype Mexicans. Speedy, regarded as a

"good" and "authentic" character, made Mel Blanc one of the most sought after non-Mexican-Mexican voices for decades.

Mel Blanc voiced Bugs Bunny, Daffy Duck, and Porky Pig, among other early cartoon characters. Voice director Andrea Romano states, "You break down the voice [of Bugs Bunny], it's New Yorky, it's nasally, and he's a smart aleck. That could be such an unappealing voice, and yet endearing timelessly endearing."[57] The voice of Bugs Bunny and his famous tag line "Eh, What's up doc?" persists as part of U.S. popular culture and continues to be reproduced in remakes of Bugs Bunny animated film and Warner Brothers products. Mel Blanc's sonic depiction of Speedy Gonzales also made him memorable even though they currently do not replay Speedy Gonzales episodes on television. Cartoon Network cited that these cartoons were not relevant and they have no desire to reproduce ethnic stereotypes on their network.[58]

Blanc's vocal depiction of a lesser known Mexican villain Frito Bandito was not that endearing. Frito Bandito was a mascot for Fritos corn chips from 1967 to 1971. He has a stocky upper body with bandoliers across his chest and pistol holders, with pistols in them, on the side of his belt. One of the black and white commercials for Frito Bandito begins with a "wanted poster" of Frito on an easel with "magician," noted at the bottom.[59] Frito Bandito is animated yet accompanied by a human female model, presumably a magician's assistant, on the right hand corner of the screen. She begins to clap followed by a louder round of applause by the audience. Viewers at home are also positioned as unseen audience members present for the magic show, which also serves as a leading tactic, locating the viewer at home "closer" to the show. The curtains open and Frito enters the stage. The transcript, translated from the commercial, below:

(1) For my first treek, everybodee give the Frito Bandito their Frito's corn cheeps.

[*Human hands appear at the bottom of the screen to hand him a bag of chips.*]

(2) Grassy-as, grassy-as.
(3) Now, watch close now how dee hands is quicker dan dee eyez.

[*He places the bags of corn chips on a round table on the stage and covers it with a dark sheet. He removes it and says…*]

(4) ¡Olé!

[*Round of applause.*]

(5) How bout dat?
(6) The Frito Bandido make the mageek.
(7) I turn your Fritos corn cheeps,
(8) Into my corn cheeps.

[*Frito's face turns into a grin and he raises his eyebrows up and down. The next visual is of a young boy eating Frito Lay's corn chips while the following is narrated in a different Anglo accented voice.*]

(9) There may be a Frito Bandido in your house.

[*The young boy puts a corn chip in his mouth and a long thin mustached like Frito's appears above his top lip.*]

(10) So buy two and hide one for you.

In this commercial Frito "Bandido" (an Anglicized pronunciation) does not need his pistols to steal chips, however they are still located on his belt alluding to representations of Mexican men as violent and dangerous. Instead he tricks the audience into giving him all of the corn chips. Not only is he stealing corn chips but also once you eat the corn chips you yourself turn into a Mexican bandit with a simple mustache. The use of an animated Frito "Bandido" with a real life model and hands that appear at the bottom of the screen adds to the reality of Frito "Bandido."

Figure 16.- Stills of Frito Lay's Frito Bandito commercial

This suggests the possibility that this character actually lives among people outside the animated world, thereby connecting this Mexican animated villain to the 8 million Mexican bodies in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s.[60] In addition to the influx of Mexican immigrants and other Spanish-speaking immigrants from Latin American countries who entered the U.S. because of the 1965 Immigration Act.[61]

Noriega reminds us that during the 1960s and 1970s the image of the Mexican bandit was used in various advertisements not just for Frito Lay. This decade also featured few Latin@ actors on television and film but common themes in film that did feature Latin@s storylines were based on westerns, Mexican bandits, Latin@s as aliens in the U.S., and urban bandits.[62] The significance of using the Mexican bandit during this particular time in U.S. history (1960s to 1970s) occurred because it, "was the only one of the standard Hollywood genres whose practitioners regularly used genre symbolism to address the problems of Vietnam and to make the connection between domestic social/racial disorder and the counterinsurgency mission."[63] The Mexican bandit during this time period was supposed to embody public concerns of Chicano activists and Mexican laborers. Yet the image of the Mexican bandit had long been used in the U.S., before Speedy Gonzales and Frito Bandito, were conceived.

Juan J. Alonzo's *Badmen, Bandits and Folk Heroes*, argues that the representation of Mexican male identity in the U.S. can be read productively if we read the ambivalent points in cultural productions, for example he focuses on representations of "badmen" and "bandits" in western literature and film.[64] He reminds us that the reappearance of the stereotypical mustached Mexican bandit with a sombrero, bandoleras, and pistols produces a multiplicity of meanings because its reproduction, even in the same animated medium,

signifies various meanings. In its repetition and reproduction it establishes "truths" about Mexican men.[65] This figure has been in existence since 1840's conquest fiction and its longevity has lasted on the screen, mostly due to the 1910 Mexican Revolution.[66] Mexican Revolutionary heroes adorned with mustaches, pistols, and sombreros allude to the outlaw, criminal, violent vigilante Mexican who destroys their country and attempts to enter the U.S. The image of Mexican men as villains is a part of U.S. celluloid history.

The visual image of the Mexican bandit was materialized in the silent "greaser" films and continued in western film genres to the present. The "greaser" was created, "out of need for the Anglo-American to define himself as the morally and physically dominant inhabitant of the Texas territory and the West."[67] However, the bandit we all recognize, according to Alonzo and Charles Ramírez Berg, is the bandit influenced by the Mexican Revolution.[68] The reason why the visual image of the bandit has continued is because it holds a "narrative economy" that requires no introduction.[69] A narrative economy in film and media refers to a visual storyline that communicates cheaply and quickly to viewers.[70] The recurrent Mexican bandit lives in the U.S.'s imaginary because it requires few props, like a mustache, sombrero, and bandoleras, for viewers to be transported to a violent and dangerous Mexico.[71] The importance of this "old" recognizable stereotype lies in its reappearance that reinforces both historical and contemporary beliefs about Mexican sexuality, gender, and race.[72] The meaning of the image changes with new forms of audience consumption. In this case study animated film, has changed. The shift comes from the global scale of distribution of animated films thus creating "new" tactics of racializing characters.[73] Not only has meanings altered because of the global consumption of animation but also because of the "post-racial" moment in the U.S. In *Animating Difference* C. Richard King et al., state that

animating "difference has changed, or better said, the manners in which individuals and institutions describe it, interpret it, and account for it have changed."[74] The Mexican bandit has had surface changes, like the visual aesthetics of the character, except that the accented voice of the villain remains.

D. Politics of luchadores

My focus on language politics comes from the romanticized idea that we are currently living in a "post racial" society; therefore since race is perceived to be no longer relevant the focus on the various forms of language expression becomes a salient component of the existing structure of racism. As a "post-racial" society we can theoretically no longer discriminate based on race, language becomes a racialization tool and widely recognized as "racism lite."[75] In this era of "post-racial" discourse, where race is erased and ridiculed, the mocking of linguistic differences plays an important role because it becomes a form of speaking about someone's race without speaking about someone's race.[76] Language therefore, "signifies historical and social boundaries that are less arbitrary than territory and more discriminating (but less exclusive) than race or ethnicity."[77] My goal is not to place language as the only existing form of discrimination but to consider how language, race, and gender work together in stereotypical representations of Mexican men. In the "post-racial" movement, images of overt Mexican signification have to appear within a softer frame and not index the overtly racist "past." Therefore, the Mexican villain is not a western type or in a western setting but the character has been transformed into a luchador. An archetype that debuted as a Mexican sport in the 1930s, became a genre of Mexican television in the 1950s, of film in the 1960s, and continues to exist in wrestling rings throughout Mexico and Mexican neighborhoods in the U.S.[78]

For mainstream audiences in the U.S., The World Wrestling Entertainment Inc. (WWE) made luchadores popular with their character Rey Mysterio who began wrestling in 2002 and continues to be part of their franchise. In the same year a Mexican-American-Canadian animated series was created for Warner Brothers Television Network named *¡Mucha Lucha!* and followed the life of three luchador students Rikochet, The Flea, and Buena Girl, in a fictional Mexican town where they study at the Foremost World-Renowned International School of Lucha. Everyone in the Mexican town wears a luchador mask and has their own unique wrestling move. Actor Jack Black brought the mexploitation genre of Mexican luchador films to U.S. audiences with the comedic film *Nacho Libre* (2006) where he embodies a mixed race cook with a linguistic "accent" who wrestles to raise money for the orphans who live at the monastery where he works. Disney and Pixar created a character for their animated film *Planes* (2013) named El Chupacabra voiced by Carlos Jaime Alazraqui (also voiced Rikochet from *¡Mucha Lucha!*).[79] The Mexican El Chupacabra plane speaks in an accented English, not Alazraqui's authentic voice, and serves as the masked Latin lover plane that befriends the main character, working class farm dust cropper, Dusty. El Chupacabra calls Dusty his compadre after Dusty gave him successful tips when courting French Canadian plane Rochelle. El Chupacabra, based on Mexican folktale, was not the villain of the film but still a marginal character because the plane is named after the mythical creature that kills livestock by sucking their blood. The villain of the animated film is not the Mexican luchador plane or any of the other recent representations of luchadores until Universal and Illumination Studios created "El Macho."

E. Despicable Me: 2

"El Macho" resurfaces historical tropes of historical Mexican villains in *Despicable Me: 2*. In *Despicable Me: 2* viewers are reintroduced to Gru, his minions and his adoptive daughters Margo, Edith and Agnes. Gru is considered one of the best supervillains but in this film he has retired from his job to be a full time dad to his daughters. In the film, Gru is taken out of retirement to help the Anti-Villain League (AVL) capture a suspect who has stolen an entire laboratory from the Artic circle that produces the dangerous PX41 serum. Gru is assigned a partner Lucy from the AVL to help find the culprit. At the end of the film Lucy and Gru marry and Agnes, the youngest daughter, is thrilled that she has a new mom. The film excels in representing a diverse family structure, concerns of fatherhood, and pre-teen dating.[80] They make reference to current trends of online dating by having Gru's daughters develop a social media profile for Gru to encourage courtships and possibly a new mom. The second storyline of the film is to discover who the culprit is and capture him.

We meet Eduardo Perez in a cupcake store at the mall where Lucy and Gru are undercover. Below is a transcript of their first encounter with him. Eduardo Perez's fat body enters the shop. We see his balding head with a comb over that is attached to his mullet hairstyle, and a goatee that adorns his face. He is wearing a long sleeve red silk shirt (not buttoned all the way to the top) revealing a gold chain necklace and an emblem of the letter "E" that hangs from the chain.

[28:07]

(1) Eduardo Perez (EP): Ah-low?

[*Gru and Lucy frantically try to act normal and hide the periscope, they were looking through while spying on potential owners of shops that might have stolen the PX41 serum from behind the counter of a cupcake display case. Lucy jumps on the counter, crosses her legs and sips from a cup of coffee while Gru stands behind the counter and stares into a spoon.*]

Figure 17.- DVD box set for Despicable Me: 2 (2013).

[28:11]

(2) (EP): Buenos dias my frends. I am Eduardo Pérez. Owner of "Salsa y Salsa"
(3) rest-a-rant across the mall. Now open for brek-fast. And jew are?

(4) Gru (G): Gru and this is Lucy and we are closed.

(5) EP: Dis is just gonna to take uno momento. I am throwing a big cinco de mayo
(6) pari. And I am going to need two handred of your best copcase decorated with the
(7) Messican flag. It looks something like dis…Eya! What do you think?

[*He pop opens his red long sleeve shirt to reveal a tattooed Mexican flag on his hairy chest.*]

(8) (G): Look a way.

(9) Lucy (L): Ooo wow wow.

(10) (EP): Anyway I have to go. Ez all settled. I'll pick them up next week. Have a good
(11) day. Come by if you get a chance. Ok?

[28:57 *EP steps out. Gru releases a sigh of relief and EP steps back into the cupcake shop.*]

[29:02]

(12) (EP): And welcome to the mall fam-e-lee.

[*Eduardo Pérez smiles and his facial gesture pauses while Gru gasps and in his mind he pictures Eduardo's face in a luchador mask while the background of the screen shot is filled with flames and we hear strumming of Spanish guitars. He walks out of the store and Gru whispers…*]

[29:13]

(13) (G): El Macho.

In the transcript above I only highlight Eduardo Perez's accented language because it is my topic of investigation. In the script for the film, before Eduardo speaks, it states that Eduardo's dialogue should be read "in falsetto," a false sound in a high pitch, which Benjamin Bratt does not perform.[81]

Figure 18.- Stills from Despicable Me: 2 (2013). Eduardo Perez (top) and El Macho (bottom).

The character of Eduardo required an unusually high fictitious sound, which contributes to the feminization of Mexican men based on discourses of "machismo" (discussion of macho to follow) and adds to stereotypical notions of sounding fat. However, Bratt's robust full-bodied accented voiceover stereotypically matches the size and race of Eduardo. Gru (voiced by Steve Carell) also speaks in a forced sounding Transylvanian "accent." An "accent" created by Steve Carell. Producer of the first *Despicable Me* (2010) Chris Meledandri states, "Carell started to play with different vocals that involved accents, and he came up with one that lands somewhere between Ricardo Montalban and Bela Lugosi."[82] Meledandri's description of Gru's voice contains qualities of a sound that resonated between two people instead of regions or a country that could hint to Gru's geographical origin. Because "accents" are linked to social identities and geographical socializations, Gru's "accent" linked to "non-origins" privileges his white animated body. This animated text therefore is interesting on a linguistic level not only because of Eduardo Perez/"El Macho's" Spanish inflected English (SIE) but the film's inclusion of various accented performances.

Analyzing this film particular through "accents" and language politics is beneficial because the yellow minions have their own language that is not subtitled yet the other characters understand what the minions say. Also there are other instances where we hear accented sound and where the characters make overt references to differences heard in spoken sound. For example, there's a potential culprit in the mall that works at a wig store named Floyd (voiced by Ken Jeong) with an "Asian" accented English, the director of the Anti-Villain League (AVL) has a British "accent," Eduardo Perez has a son named Antonio with a suave accented English with hints of Spanish and Lucy mocks, but mentions that she is practicing, an Australian "accent" when she hears that she was transferred to the

Australian AVL office. Therefore the film's inadvertent focus on vocal differences can teach viewers notions of the inclusion of linguistic acceptance until one particular scene in film occurred. When Gru goes on a romantic date a woman tells him that she can help him get rid of his "accent" and encourages him to physically workout. Gru's body in the film is not muscular, his physical body can be described as an apple shaped figure and his Transylvanian "accent" can be fixed in order to be more sexually desirable. While Eduardo Perez/"El Macho" speaks with an "accent" and has a larger fat body than Gru there is no mention from other characters of "fixing" his body or vocal accented sound. However Gru is seen as someone who has the potential to be desired romantically by the opposite sex and by the State as a citizen. As Shilpa Davé notes about Indian "accents," the continual representation of brown bodies in brownvoice keeps viewers believing that brown bodies are undesirable bodies for citizenship because of the color of their skin and sound of their voice.

The inclusion of various types of accented English in a film targeted for children is notable because it teaches viewers about linguistic diversity, however their accented inclusion even for Gru, a white man, is mocked, marked as different, and correctable. In our first encounter with Eduardo Perez his greeting in line (1) a simple "Hello" turns into "Ah-low" and instantly racializes him sonically. In line (5) his use of Mock Spanish "uno momento" is used to mimic the form non-native Spanish speaking people believe Spanish is spoken. Mock Spanish when spoken by white monolingual speakers, Jane Hill argues, functions as a covert reproduction of racism. The practice of Mock Spanish reveals a "dual indexicality" where by white monolingual speakers are praised for their speaking abilities and historical Spanish-speaking communities are harassed for speaking Spanish. The use of mock Spanish by Perez and his use of ethnic humor functions as a subtle jab to white

monolingual speakers and inverts the stereotypical sound that white monolingual speakers hear.

The use of mock Spanish was part of the original script but Benjamin Bratt's influence in the film changed the delivery of some lines. Evidence of Bratt's subtle jab to white monolingual speakers are best recognized in the script of the film. The script that Bratt read stated, "This is just gonna take un momento," however Bratt vocalizes "uno momento" instead a form of mock Spanish.[83] There is no denying his Mexican identity as his tattoo, restaurant name, and enthusiasm for his Cinco de Mayo pari loudly signify Mexicaness.[84] The red silk shirt, gold chain, and restaurant are markers of Eduardo's middle class financial stability. His fat excessive body is matched by his excessive enthusiasm and "larger than life" personality that is reflected in the texture of his voice.

Eduardo Perez's fat racialized body on screen is the opposite of what R. W. Connell considers "hegemonic masculinity." Perez's jolly personality on a fat body connotes a non-disciplined and out-of-control body. Because Perez's body is not muscular he represents laziness and unintelligence, but most importantly his body poses an ethnic/racial threat to muscularity. Despite his large physique, Perez continues to disguise himself as "El Macho" and maintains his evil duties as a villain. However, Perez's Mexican fat body can also be read as a threat to the U.S. and reproduces white middle-class anxieties of obese bodies.[85] For example ideologies of laziness, lack of self-control in bodily desires, and consuming too much physical space. Specifically, Mexican immigrant bodies who come to "use and steal" U.S. resources, which is reflected in "El Macho's" successful attempt of stealing serum PX41 and all of Gru's minions by making them indestructible monsters. The historical

"bandido" qualities are transposed to that of a luchador. Eduardo Perez's alter ego "El Macho" is discovered regardless of his thinning hair and extra weight.

In the scene described above, Gru recounts how he knows Eduardo Perez is "El Macho." Perez's name "El Macho," a stereotypical racialized and gendered term with Spanish-language origins, denotes males of an animal species and plants. The term also gestures toward patriarchy because it is used against women to explain stereotypical male behavior. In the English-language the word "macho" has historically been used against working class Latino males and working class Latino culture to "explain" social constraints of working class Latinas and their lack of social progress.[86] Eduardo Perez's villain name "El Macho" speaks volumes to the negative connotation and mainstream view of working class Latino males. Eduardo Perez's villain alter ego "El Macho" is described to viewers who are unfamiliar with qualities that are attached to the Spanish-language term. In the following scene viewers are introduced to what a "macho" is.

The next scene has no dialogue from "El Macho" and features Gru talking about and describing "El Macho." He describes him as, ruthless, dangerous, very macho, and that he pulled off heists by using only his bare hands. When Gru says "And as the name implies. Very macho," the visual we see is "El Macho" in a cantina squeezing rattlesnake venom into a shot of tequila (Figure 18). He takes the shot, puts the glass into his mouth, chews it and eats it. He puts money on the counter and uses the rattlesnake to pin down the cash by exposing its fangs. He turns around and we see his long black straight hair, as he walks straight through a brick wall instead of using the saloon door. We find out throughout the film that "El Macho" stole the PX41 serum in order to turn Gru's yellow minions into purple destructible monsters to take over the world. "El Macho" meets his end after he drinks the

serum, turns into a hairy purple monster, although his mullet and goatee do not change therefore his classed visual negativity stays to continue to racialize his body, Gru zaps him with a lipstick taser, and Dr. Nefario (Gru's assistant) shoots him with the famous fart gun. When he falls he is treated as a wild animal who has been shot as the minions in safari hats pose for a picture next to the large hairy purple body laying on the floor. El Macho's failed strength at the end of the film reflects his weakened masculinity. Animation, as a form, represents and contains Mexicans as safe, comical, and without serious political recognition. Perez's alter ego as the luchador villain "El Macho" is exposed, confirming Gru's speculation of his villain identity. The villain identity as a luchador comes to a surprise for Mexican viewers who understand the cultural and political significance of a man wrestling in a mask.

The luchador villain never fights or even wrestles in the film. El Macho's mask signifies luchador, but the historical and political significance of the disguise is lost. Mexican wrestling began in the 1930s and was made popular by the 1940s by working class families.[87] In the wrestling world there are rudos (who are tough guys who break the rules) and técnicos (who wrestle by the rules and whose moves are more complex). In the world of lucha libre there are no villains. They also never ever reveal their non-luchador identity. Lucha libre literally means free struggle. In Heather Levi's essay "Masked Media," she notes that "…Lucha libre resonated with the widely held and fundamental philosophy of the Mexican popular class: life is struggle."[88] Clearly in the translation to mainstream animation all of the core elements that uniquely make Mexican wrestling are completely erased and commodified. The only object that remains is the style of luchador mask that "El Macho" wears. Lucha libre in U.S. popular culture has been simplified to only a mask, stripped of its

political origins, and its transition into the mainstream has been used against working class Mexicans. The embodiment of "El Macho" was completed with the use of Benjamin Bratt's voice.

In press junkets for *Despicable Me: 2* Benjamin Bratt reflects on his performance as Eduardo Perez/"El Macho." He mentions that in his traditional work (on television and film) he has always been coached that less is more. But in animation, more is more and he enjoyed being "outrageous and larger than life."[89] Part of the comedic punch in animations, especially for this character is, "the exaggerative movement of these characters originates in an unconscious humour, one that leads them into adventures beyond graphic consistency or character-based intention, beyond sense altogether, which is precisely the comedy of their movements, their nonsensical, frenetic shifting across forms, shapes and places."[90] Therefore, the inclusion of humor in animated film is to laugh for the sake of laughing, and in my argument, at linguistic "accents" that disregard national origin and represent vocal placeholders for mocking Spanish-speaking communities. Bratt's fascination with voice acting work speaks to being encouraged to perform excess. Bratt describes Eduardo as a person who has let himself go, referring to his fat body, and admits that the performance was liberating, since he enjoyed playing the "Latin flair" that he projects. When asked about bringing Eduardo Perez to life Bratt states that he was impressed with Steve Carrell's ability to create Gru with his "peculiar accent" and states: "In general to any native speaker when you massacre the language with a bad accent like I sometimes do in the film, it's hilarious."[91] We are made aware of his conscious attempt to try to be humorous in some of the accented vocal choices. In any comedic work, however, there is a possibility of reaffirming the stereotype, or potential to move away from it.[92] Bratt's description of

massacring the language with a bad "accent" is part of the humor of playing "El Macho," and his entry into the animated film, does slip between a thin space of collapsing and reinforcing historical sonic representations. In terms of his forced accented sound in voice acting he is able to provide symbolic commentary on how white performers have played Latino actors in his own performance of brownvoice minstrelsy.

Voicing animated characters is an intricate process. Not only in the labor animators provide but also *how* the voice will sound through the nonphysical/physical digital body. Animation also has a racist history because it adopted minstrel forms of entertainment that are clearly present in current animation through visual and sonic markers. Animation additionally concerns itself with movement. Eduardo Perez/"El Macho" physically moves on screen but also the character is able to move across international digital boundaries because he lives and owns a restaurant in the U.S. in the plot of the film. Eduardo Perez/ "El Macho" as a product is also exported to other countries because of the global release and box office profits. The affective relationship created by listeners with the character is contentious because of how Mexican male characters continue to be depicted with an accented English and their consistent portrayal as "bad guys." It seems that Mexican male representation in animation has come a long way yet similar characteristics continue to appear, for example a Mexican revolutionary villain to a luchador villain. Eduardo Perez/ "El Macho's" voice makes listeners realize the political and contradictory meanings of voicing an ethnic/racial character. In the following chapter examples of conscious linguistic self-mocking in Spanish inflected English (SIE) are further explored and provide different sonic lessons of "accents" mostly due to the media format in which the "accent" appears.

Notes to Chapter Four

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[1] Charles Ramírez Berg, *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, & Resistance* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), argues that the character of el bandido appeared in silent films as early as 1914, as part of a film genre known as greaser films.

[2] For locked info see, Christopher Beam, "Once More, With Less Pixelation!" *Slate*, May 29, 2009, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/explainer/2009/05/once_more_with_less_pixelation.html. For Anney see, Amid Amidi, "Once and For All, Al Pacino Proves the Worthlessness of Celebrity Voice Actors," *Cartoonbrew*, July 10, 2013, http://www.cartoonbrew.com/ideas-commentary/once-and-for-all-al-pacino-proves-the-worthlessness-of-celebrity-voice-actors-85592.html.

[3] Peter Debruge, "How Replacement Villain Became Unlikely Hero in 'Despicable Me 2,'" *Variety,* July 3, 2013, http://variety.com/2013/film/news/despicable-me-2-el-macho-1200504833/.

[4] Speedy Gonzales cartoons have not aired in the U.S. since 1999. Cartoon Network re-runs other Warner Brothers animated film, for example other Looney Tunes episodes, and stated that Speedy Gonzales message was outdated.

[5] My use of the term "brownvoice" is influenced by Shilpa Dave's theorizing, however in her analysis "brownvoice" references the vocal performance of Indian "accents." I agree with Dave when she states that the performance of brownvoice (Indian "accents") are overseen and underestimated in its significance, in addition to brownvoice (Mexican "accents." From here on my reference to "brownvoice" references Mexicans, unless noted otherwise, Shilpa S. Davé, *Indian Accents: Brown Voice and Racial Performance in American Television and Film* (Urbana-Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

[6] Rosina Lippi-Greeen, *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[7] Roshanak Khesti, "Touching Listening: the Aural Imaginary in the world music culture industry," *American Quarterly* 63 (2011).

[8] Suzanne Buchan, *Pervasive Animation* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 1.

[9] John C. Wright, et al., "The Relations of Early Television Viewing to School Readiness and Vocabulary of Children from Low-Income Families: The Early Window Project," *Child Development* 72, no.5 (2001).

[10] George M. Goodwin, "More Than a Laughing Matter: Cartoons and Jews," *Modern Judaism* 21, no. 2 (2001): 146.

[11] Scott Koslow, Prem N. Shamdasani, and Ellen E. Touchstone, "Exploring Language Effects in Ethnic Advertising: A Sociolinguistic Perspective, *Journal of Consumer Research* 20, no.4 (1994), Dana Mastro and Riva Tukachinsky, "The influence of media exposure on the formation, activation, and application of racial/ethnic stereotypes," in *Media Effects/Media Psychology*, *Vo 5*, ed. by Erica Scharrer (Boston, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), and Dana Mastro and Riva Tukachinsky, "Cultivation of perceptions of marginalized communities," in *The Cultivation Differential: State of the Art Research in Cultivation Theory*, ed. by Michael Morgan, James Shanahan, and Nancy Signorielli, (New York: Peter Lang Publishers, 2012).

[12] Hugh Klein and Kenneth S. Shiffman, "Race-Related Content of Animated Cartoons," *Howard Journal of Communication* 17, no. 3 (2006): 164.

[13] Dana E. Mastro and Elizabeth Behn-Morawitz, "Latino Representation on Primetime Television," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 82, no.1 (2005) and Klein and Shiffman, "Race-Related Content of Animated Cartoons," 164.

[14] I use the "@" symbol as a means of flagging gender but also, as Sandra Soto succinctly states, "I mean for it to catch our attention with its blend of letters from the alphabet on the one hand and a curly symbol on the other hand, a rasquachismo that at first sight looks perhaps like a typo and seems unpronounceable" (2), Sandra K. Soto, *Reading Chican@ Like a Queer: The De-Mastery of Desire* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011). Dana E. Mastro, "A social identity approach to understanding the impact of television messages," *Communications Monographs* 70, no.2 (2003); Dana E. Mastro, Elizabeth Behm-Morawitz, and Michelle Ortiz, "The Cultivation of Social Perceptions of Latinos: A Mental Models Approach, *Media Psychology* 9, no.2 (2007); Dana E. Mastro and Maria A. Kopacz, "Media Representations of Race, Prototypicality, and Policy Reasoning: An Application of Self-Categorization Theory," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 50, no. 2 (2006); and Mastro and Tukachinsky, "The Influence of Media Exposure on the Formation, Activation, and Application of Racial/Ethnic Stereotypes."

[15] Jennifer L. Barker, "Hollywood, Black Animation, and the Problem of Representation in Little Ol' Bosko and The Princess and the Frog," *Journal of African American Studies* 14 (2010): 483-4.

[16] Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3.

[17] Barker, "Hollywood, Black Animation, and the Problem of Representation in Little Ol' Bosko and The Princess and the Frog," 484.

[19] Nicholas Sammond, *Birth of an Industry: Blackface Minstrelsy and the Rise of American Animation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 5.

[20] C. Richard King, Mary Bloodsworth-Lugo, and Carmen Lugo-Lugo, "Animated Representations of Blackness," *Journal of African American Studies* 14, no. 4 (2010): 395; and Jennifer Bloomquist, "The Minstrel Legacy: African American English and the Historical Construction of 'Black' Identities in Entertainment," *Journal of African American Studies* 19, no. 4 (2015).

[21] Jennifer Stoever-Ackerman, "Splicing the Sonic Color-Line: Tony Schwartz Remixes Postwar Nueva York," *Social Text* 28 (2010).

[22] Bloomquist, "The Minstrel Legacy."

[23] Ibid., 483.

[24] Hye Jean Chung, "Kung Fu Panda: Animated Animal Bodies as Layered Sites of (Trans)National Identities," *Velvet Light Trap: A Critical Journal of Film & Television* 69 (2012): 27.

[25] Sergie Eisenstein and Jay Leyda, *Eisenstein on Disney* (London, UK: Methuen, 1988), 55.

[26] Paul Flaig, "Life Driven By Death: Animation Aesthetic and the Comic Uncanny," *Screen* 54 (2013): 12.

[27] Sammond, *Birth of an Industry,* 179.

[28] Chung, "Kung Fu Panda," 35.

[29] I use the "@" symbol as a means of flagging gender but also, as Sandra Soto succinctly states, "I mean for it to catch our attention with its blend of letters from the alphabet on the one hand and a curly symbol on the other hand, a rasquachismo that at first sight looks perhaps like a typo and seems unpronounceable" (2), Soto, *Reading Chican@ Like a Queer*.

[30] Carolina Fernández Rodríguez, "Representing 'Latinidades' in the Global Village: The Case of Dora the Explorer," in *A Rich Field Full of Pleasant Surprises: Essays on Contemporary Literature in Honour of Professor Socorro Suárez Lafuente*, ed. by José Francisco Fernández and Alejandra Moreno Alvarez (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014); Erin L. Ryan, "Dora the Explorer: Empowering Preschoolers, Girls, and Latinas," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 54, no. 1 (2010).

[31] Sarah Banet-Weiser, *Kids Rule!: Nickelodeon and Consumer Citizenship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 167.

[32] Jillian M. Baez, "Toward a Latinidad Feminista: The Multiplicities of Latinidad and Feminism in Contemporary Cinema," *Popular Communication* 5, no.2 (2007): 110.

[33] For a detailed description of three types of Latinidad as theorized in three disciplines see Baez "Toward a Latinidad Feminista."

[34] Nicole M. Guidotti-Hernández, "Dora The Explorer, Constructing 'Latinidades' and the Politics of Global Citizenship," *Latino Studies* 5, no.2 (2007): 212.

[35] Angharad N. Valdivia, *Latina/os and the Media* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2010), 192.

[36] Valdivia, *Latina/os and the Media*, 193.

[37] Bonnie Urciuoli states, "The terms *monolingual* and *bilingual* let people assume that words, sounds, and rules come in neatly monolithic packages, that individual speakers are carriers for these packages, and that speaker competence can be neatly gauged in terms of these packages. The terms *interference*, *ideal bilingual*, and *semilingual* let people think in terms how full and pure those linguistic carriers are. They focus attention on individual speakers instead of the dynamic contexts in which people do language," *Exposing Prejudice: Puerto Rican Experience of Language, Race, and Class* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 1996), 3.

[38] Guidotti-Hernández, "Dora The Explorer, Constructing 'Latinidades' and the Politics of Global Citizenship," 212-13.

[39] Sammond, *Birth of an Industry*, 25.

[40] Bloomquist

[41] Karen Collins, "Sonic Subjectivity and Auditory Perspectives in Ratatouille," *Animation* 8, no.3 (2013): 283.

[42] Video on You Tube about Sound Design in animation, "WALL E Animation Sound Design part 1." YouTube video, 8:26. Posted by "fartfx3," October 20, 2009, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NsfbXGDw_aA&feature=kp.

[43] Collins, "Sonic Subjectivity and Auditory Perspectives in Ratatouille," 286.

[44] Rick Altman, *Sound Theory, Sound Practice* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 60-1.

[45] Collins, "Sonic Subjectivity and Auditory Perspectives in Ratatouille," 287.

[46] Documentary, *I know that voice*, directed by Lawrence Shapiro, Los Angeles, CA: Record Farm Industries, 2013, Online streaming. Diedrich Bader (Voice Actor for "Batman: The

Brave and the Bold") commented on voice acting as it being "much bigger much more theatrical" compared to regular acting.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Lott, *Love and Theft*, 5.

[50] "Despicable Me-Featurette: 'Making Of'-Illumination," Youtube video, 5:12, posted by "Illumination," July 7, 2010, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gtczO1VqLAI.

[51] Chon A. Noriega, *Shot in America: Television, the State, and the Rise of Chicano Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 35.

[52] Zaragosa Vargas, *Labor Rights are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton (NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 287.

[53] William Anthony Nericcio, "Autopsy of a Rat: Odd, Sundry Parables of Freddy Lopez, Speedy Gonzales, and Other Chicano/Latino Marionettes Prancing About Our First World Visual Emporium," *Camera Obscura* 37 (1996): 212.

[54] Nericcio, "Autopsy of a Rat," 219.

[55] Francisco A. Lomelí, "The Origins and Evolution of Homies as Hip Rasquache Cultural Artifacts: Taking the Homes out of the barrio or the barrio out of the Homies," in *Routledge Research in Cultural and Media Studies: International Perspectives on Chicana/o Studies*, ed. by Catherine Leen and Niamh Thornton (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 116.

[56] Nericcio, "Autopsy of a Rat," 211-2.

[57] *I know that voice,* 2013.

[58] "Speedy Gonzales Caged by Cartoon Network," FoxNews.com, May 28, 2002, http://www.foxnews.com/story/2002/03/28/speedy-gonzales-caged-by-cartoon-network.html, accessed March 8, 2016.

[59] From Youtube video, "Frito Bandito TV Commercial 60's," Youtube video, 0:35, posted by "CineGraphic," December 13, 2009, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_jfthrlClew.

[60] U.S. Census Bureau, "1960 Overview," https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/overview/1960.html (accessed April 19, 2016); U.S. Census Bureau, "1970 Overview,"

https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/overview/1970.html (accessed April 19, 2016).

[61] Clara E. Rodriguez, *Heroes, Lovers and Others: The Story of Latinos in Hollywood* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2004), 148.

[62] Also a time period when it was not trendy to be Mexican or Latin@ and during the time actors' ethnic identity was hidden, Rodríguez, *Heroes, Lovers and Others,* 152.

[63] Noriega, *Shot in America*, 38.

[64] Juan J. Alonzo, *Badmen, Bandits, and Folk Heroes: The Ambivalence of Mexican American Identity in Literature and Film* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2009), 2.

[65] Alonzo, *Badmen, Bandits and Folk Heroes*, 3.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., 24.

[68] Ramírez Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 8; Alonzo, *Badmen, Bandits and Folk Heroes*, 15.

[69] Alonzo, *Badmen, Bandits and Folk Heroes*, 46.

[70] Robert Phillip Kolker, *Film, Form, and Culture* (Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 95.

[71] Alonzo, *Badmen, Bandits and Folk Heroes*, 46.

[72] This article discusses stereotypes in general and why studying them are relevant. I am applying their statement to highlight the importance of the "Mexican villain." C. Richard King, Carmen R. Lugo-Lugo, and Mary K. Bloodsworth-Lugo, *Animating Difference: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Contemporary Films For Children* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 38.

[73] King, Lugo-Lugo, and Bloodsworth-Lugo, *Animating Difference*, 23.

[74] Ibid., 20.

[75] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism Without Racists: Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014); Jennifer Esposito, "What Does Race Have to Do with *Ugly Betty*?: An Analysis of Privilege and Postracial(?) Representation on a Television Sitcom," *Television & New Media* 10, no.6 (2009); and Lisa Nakamura, *Digitizing Race: Visual Cultures of the Internet* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

[76] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism Without Racists: Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014).

[77] Mark Warschauer, "Language, Identity, and the Internet," in *Race in Cyberspace*, ed. by Beth E. Kolko, Lisa Nakamura, and Gilbert B. Rodman (New York: Routledge, 2000), 155.

[78] "History of Lucha Libre," *Maska Lucha.com*, accessed January 8, 2016, http://maskalucha.com/history-of-lucha-libre.aspx.

[79] Mexploitation is a film genre that was popularized in the late 1950s in Mexico. In the tradition of all exploitation films they provide commentary and resist traditional aesthetics of Hollywood and are low budget films. They "exploit" issues of sex, race, drugs, violence and gender. Popular Mexploitation films in the U.S. were horror films with famous luchadores that were imported in the 1960s. More recently Robert Rodriguez's Machete films are categorized as Mexploitation films because of the Mexican themes addressed in films. For more information see Andrew Syder and Dolores Tierney, "Importation/Mexploitation, or, How a Crime-Fighting, Vampire-Slaying Mexican Wrestler Almost Found Himself in an Italian Sword-and-Sandals Epic," in *Horror International*, ed. by Steven Jay Schneider and Tony Williams (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2005); and Doyle Greene, *Mexploitation Cinema: A Critical History of Mexican Vampire, Wrestler, Ape-Man, and Similar Films, 1957-1977* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2005).

[80] Betsy Sharkey, "At the Movies: Reviews; 'Me 2' twists the evil plot; 'Despicable' sequel takes a refreshing risk with grown-up themes but loses some fun," *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), July 3, 2013; Natalie Wilson, "Feminist Film Analysis 101: A Case Study of 'Despicable Me,'" Ms. Blog Magazine, August 23, 2010, http://msmagazine.com/blog/2010/08/23/feminist-film-analysis-101-a-case-study-of-despicable-me/; and "Despicable Me 2," *CommonSenseMedia.com*, July 1, 2013, https://www.commonsensemedia.org/movie-reviews/despicable-me-2.

[81] Cinco Paul and Ken Daurio, "Despicable Me 2 (2013)," film script, 2013, *Writers Guild Foundation*, Los Angeles, CA.

[82] "Behind the Scenes of 'Despicable Me,'" *About.com*, accessed January 8, 2016, http://movies.about.com/od/despicableme/a/despicable-me-facts.htm

[83] Cinco Paul and Ken Daurio, "Despicable Me 2 (2013)," film script, 2013, *Writers Guild Foundation*, Los Angeles, CA.

[84] José Alamillo, "Cinco de Mayp, Inc: Reinterpreting Latino Culture into a Commercial Holiday*," Studies in Symbolic Interaction* 33 (2009).
[85] Lee F. Monaghan, "Big Handsome Men, Bears and Others: Virtual Constructions of 'Fat Male Embodiment,'" *Body & Society* 11, no.2 (2005).

[86] Gloria González-López and Matthew C. Gutmann, "Machismo-Bibliography," *Science.Jrank.org*, http://science.jrank.org/pages/7838/Machismo.html.

[87] Greene, *Mexploitation Cinema*, 54.

[88] Heather Levi, "Masked Media: The Adventures of Lucha Libre on the Small Screen," in *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940*, ed. by Gilbert M. Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 344.

[89] "Benjamin Bratt talks about playing a villain and being a father | Despicable Me 2," Youtube video, 4:38, posted by "BlackTreeTV," June 27, 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vRScU6WBLBk.

[90] Flaig, "Life Driven By Death," 12.

[91] "Benjamin Bratt and Miranda Cosgrove on Despicable Me 2 Behind the Scenes." Youtube video, 6:04. Posted by "POPSUGAR Entertainment, July 1, 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HCWcW4C7KSU.

[92] David M. Timmerman, Grant F. Gussman, and Daniel King, "Humor, Race, and Rhetoric: A Liberating Sabotage of the Past's Hold on the Present," *Rhetoric Review* 31, no. 2 (2012): 171.

V. "Can joo belieb it?": Visual "Accents" and Subtitles in Online Videos

> Ladeez. If there's one ting Eva Mendes taught os to trap a man diz iz how to do it. Number one, joo pretend joo don't wanna get married. Number two, joo pretend joo don't wanna have shildren. Number three, joo pretend joo are on the peel. There's only two good news about diz. Number one, Ryan Gosling iz gonna have a Latino baybee! E' cubano! And number two, joo can be fortee jeers old and still have a baybee.[1]—Chisme Time, La Coacha

Comedian, singer and self dubbed "life coach to the stars," La Coacha hails from the U.S./Mexico border town of Tijuana. Her entertainment name, a creative, gendered spin on the word "coach," describes her staged profession of dispensing advice (and critique) to Hollywood stars. La Coacha's growing fame stems not from television, film, or radio but the Internet (Facebook, YouTube, and the mobile application Instagram), a modern day web celebrity, a weblebrity, whose YouTube career began by stalking the famous Cuban celebrity gossip blogger, Perez Hilton.[2] Besides "coaching" celebrities, La Coacha produces and stars in a gossip video series, called Chisme Time (Gossip Time). Each of her video productions uses parody to refashion popular television segments, such as late night humor, entertainment news, and gossip shows, with a brash, queer, racialized aesthetic. The epigraph, an excerpt from La Coacha's Chisme Time episodes, displays her trademark sonic appeal. Her gossipy nature and cheeky relationship advice for Latinas on how to "trap" a (white) man by getting pregnant is characteristic of her embellished, vocal speech. La Coacha's use of bright colors and exaggerated bodily and facial gestures frame both her body and language use as queer.[3] Yet, it's her strategic use of Spanglish and Spanish Inflected English (SIE) that best demonstrates her signature, queer racialized aesthetic. Recognized as Mexican, her SIE shifts to a Spanish Cuban "accent"[4] – "E' Cubano!" - in reference to Eva Mendes's Cuban ethnic background. La Coacha's comedic talents rely

heavily on her linguistic abilities to mock herself and others, a satirical commentary about stereotypical representations of Latinas in Hollywood. Ultimately, La Coacha represents a twenty-first century form of fandom and fame on the Internet. She embraces the historical sound (explained later in this chapter) and creates new possibilities of belonging through sound and body.

Parody, an educational and comedic tool, is used by La Coacha to convey political messages and commentaries. Unlike other parody videos, her music videos are accompanied by accented subtitles purposefully placed at the bottom of the screen ("No shildren"). Her use of subtitles, I argue, highlight her visual "accent" through the literal text of her sound that narrate a classed and gendered rasquache body on screen. La Coacha's rasquache aesthetic or classed, racialized inventiveness is uttered in accented English. The use of a visual "accent" in her subtitles privileges Spanish-English bilingual speakers; ears much more accustomed to different forms of Spanglish, who can laugh along and understand her Spanish-Inflected English (SIE). Her subtitles' visual "accent" (i.e., joo) favors bilingual speakers because it functions as (1) textual humor through her use of bilingual homophones and (2) as a form of expressing a linguistic identity linked to racial, gendered and classed undertones on the Internet.

However, the visual "accent" represented in writing via the subtitles and circulated to La Coacha's online fans does come with its share of contradictions. The performance of an imagined or staged immigrant sound, as heard by the accented English and the stutters in the speech's rhythm of speaking, coupled with the Internet circulation comes painfully close to self-objectifying acts of speaking.[5] Encased within the genre of humor, this visible, staged "accent" walks a fine line between collapsing and reinforcing stereotypes.[6] The significance

of these online subtitles in a space that encourages anonymity via the use of avatars and unique usernames, to its Spanish-English bilingual users indexes race, gender, and class. The SIE online subtitles contributes to the growing presence of Latin@[7] youth online and linguistic empowerment through humor. La Coacha's performances are political commentaries specifically on Mexicans, immigration, and race that emphasize the language politics of Latinas.

I approach this chapter by drawing from the fields of Film and Media Studies, Sociolinguistics, Humor, and Chican@ and Latin@ Studies. Film and Media theories on genre and function are used to emphasize viewers' access and engagement with visual "accents" in online spaces via subtitles. Sociolinguist theories about scripted performances and "accent" facilitate the importance of the accented printed speech. Humor studies addresses how racialized and gendered humor can be used as a tool of empowerment for the performer and its viewers. Finally Chican@ and Latin@ Studies informs my argument by providing a race and feminist lens to situating the social and political location of Chican@s and Latin@s in the U.S. These combined approaches provide a unique crossroads of analysis that explains the social significance of visual "accents" attached to Chicana and Latina bodies in media spaces.

Methodologically, I utilize a Feminist Critical Discourse (FCD) analysis to harmonize previously stated approaches to my research. This analysis focuses on the discursive properties and on messages not made evident by the literal media text. FCD refers to the study of the cultural and social structures that make the cultural event possible in relation to struggles of power through a feminist lens. The literal language is investigated as well as the power dynamics that are not made explicit by the text. Meaning that there is a focus on how

language is spoken and taken into consideration within the context of language (word choice, slang, and inflected English) used. Or as stated by Ruth Wodak,

> A fully "critical" account of discourse would thus require a theorization and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text, and of the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social historical subjects, create meanings in their interaction with texts.[8]

Wodak follows by emphasizing three crucial concepts in critical discourse analysis: history, ideology, and power. The historical sound or imagined immigrant sound refers to the linguistic stereotype attached to Latin@ actors, they must speak in Spanish-Inflected English (SIE) in order to play an "authentic" Mexican. Early Mexican actors lost opportunities to play diverse roles because of their "accents" therefore typecast to solely play Mexican characters with accented English (see chapter one). The language under examination in this chapter references this historical sound and is represented in two of La Coacha's music parody videos. The first is her YouTube music videos titled, "NEW Nicki Minaj 'Check It Out' music video featuring Will.I.Am-starring La Coacha" with a duration of three minutes and fifty-one seconds, uploaded onto her website on November 23, 2010. At over 1,355,300 views it stands as one of her most watched videos. The other video, found on her same website, is titled "Selena 'Amor Prohibido' Music Video for Ryan Gosling's Birthday!" with a duration of two minutes and thirty-four seconds, uploaded November 12, 2012. The importance of analyzing these particular parody videos, where La Coacha embodies other Women of Color[9] performers, are valuable because they decenter whiteness through language.[10] Her parody video "Selena's 'Amor Prohibido'" has a smaller viewership at over 39,000 but significant because she parodies her first Spanish-language song. Before I analyze La Coacha's significance online, I address the importance of her racialized aesthetic within mainstream Hollywood and how her performances on the red carpet and online are

placed within the trajectory of Latinas in the media. Her performances serve to understand the representational and historical value of her body and sound on the Internet.

A. La Coacha's Sensibility

The routine reliance of La Coacha's chisme as script adds to her queer sensibility. La Coacha's online parodies of existing white parodies and U.S. pop songs poke fun of the form mainstream media has represented Latinas. As low budget parodies, La Coacha has a loyal following on different Internet platforms – YouTube, gossip blog, Facebook, and Instagram, each of these Internet platforms encourage feedback, comments and interactions with fans. Her presence and interaction with viewers through her various posts on different websites is a measure of her popularity online. La Coacha's gossip blog and website, both titled "Chisme Time" unveil new webisodes on her blog and on her YouTube channel about once a week. The format of her signature "Chisme Time" videos resemble the cable network television show The Soup on the E! Channel as she summarizes key entertainment headlines and provides witty comments in Spanglish and SIE. The production value of these videos from an industry perspective may seem more budget conscious or unprofessional. Within a YouTube setting, however, where anyone with a camera can become a producer, La Coacha's videos appear more "professional" yet "tacky" in comparison to other DIY (Do It Yourself) online videos on YouTube.[11]

La Coacha also refashions the style of late night television shows by interviewing everyday people in public locations about their thoughts on popular culture and celebrities at red carpet events. For example, within La Coacha's YouTube channel, she often uploads videos named "Gay Walking." With a striking similarity to Jay Leno's "Jay Walking" on NBC's *The Tonight Show*, La Coacha strolls West Hollywood, a gay neighborhood in Los

Angeles County, and asks pedestrians their opinions about celebrity news. For instance, soon after hotel heiress Paris Hilton had various run-ins with the law, La Coacha asks, "Can joo belieb la Paris Hilton iz in yale?" Someone on camera answers "Oh yes…she's a spoiled bitch." Because her videos are uploaded online there are no federal codes of conduct to abide by. Her speech in addition to the people in her videos contain sprinkles of cursing, indicative that she is not on a mainstream network platform. Her pronunciation of the word "jail" to "yale" highlights La Coacha's accented vocabulary, mocking nature, and humorous jabs. La Coacha's access to red carpet events is also indicative of her rising popularity.

In a gesture towards the preponderance of "red carpet" and before glitzy awards shows, La Coacha also posts on her YouTube channel and blog, red carpet interviews. For example, notable pop names like Nicki Minaj, Ryan Seacrest, Nick Cannon, and Selena Gomez, to name a few, are amid her interviewees. She has attended the Grammy's, Cannes Film festival, MTV video music awards, and the Spirit awards, among other entertainment events. La Coacha's Facebook postings give fans instant access behind the scene "drama" of the industry. For instance, she once posted that officials at the Grammys warned that she needed to "tone it down" on the red carpet or else she was going to get kicked out of the event. La Coacha's perceived visual excess by Grammy organizers alludes to what is considered "proper" behavior at media events. The high volume of her colorful outfits and accented language threatens acceptable conduct when working that is embedded in socio economic undertones. The gendered, racialized, classed, and queer signification of "tone down" is used to comment on La Coacha's out of place presence in Hollywood. Her visible and physical presence of how she adorns her body for media events follows.

On both Facebook and Instagram, she posts pictures of her "Do It Yourself" fashion creations. In 2012 when she attended Kim Kardashian's "True Reflection Kim Kardashian for women" promotional perfume party, La Coacha created her own hat out of fruit and flowers that were used to recreate the scents in the perfume. La Coacha's hat was made out of slices of peaches and plums, purple orchids, and gardenias a fraction of the $40.00 retail price of the fragrance. In addition to the various social media platforms, she promotes Coacha Couture, a not-so-subtle jab at high fashion's fascination with all-things-couture. For instance, she often wears a tamale ring and accessories made out of beans to media industry events. Together, her Mexican aesthetic, speech, and access to celebrities introduces the film and music industry to her rasquache sensibility. Rasquachismo defined by Tomas Ybarra-Frausto is not a style or an idea but a "pervasive attitude." An attitude that is mindful of aesthetics, adaptability and resourcefulness.[12] A concept first used to valorize the sensibilities of Mexican working class communities and an affirmation of vernacular in language and practice. The aesthetic is accomplished by making movidas, as argued by Ybarra-Frausto, are coping strategies in order to make options, gain time, and maintain hope. Form and visual appearance of rasquache practices take priority over utility.[13] This aesthetic strategy embraces and utilizes the flamboyant, filling every space with a bold display, and favors bright colors. Bright colors that historically have been used against Latina's bodies are embraced and celebrated in La Coacha's personal aesthetic.[14]

Figure 19.- Photograph of La Coacha on the red carpet in her "Frijole Fairy" outfit on September 6, 2012 benefit for Vh1's "Save the Music." Embellished with various types of raw beans. Her purse, a can of Rosita's refried beans.

Figure 20.- Photograph of La Coacha on the red carpet on March 28, 2010 for Perez Hilton's Birthday Party. Her dress and shoes are embellished with different type of candy.

Figures 19 and 20 are examples of La Coacha's "Coacha Couture" and rasquache sensibility. La Coacha embraces her working class aesthetic and proudly brings her under dog perspective to red carpet events and her video productions. Her domesticana, a feminist intervention of rasquachismo, fashion creations calls "into question the patriarchal control in the domestic sphere and subverts its representation through their visual practice."[15] Amalia Mesa-Bains' theory on Chicana sensibility states that,

> Chicanas have expressed the rasquache defiance and tried to locate it within both the domestic and interrogation of the patriarchal…The understanding of this visual production necessitates the application of feminist theory. The sense of survival, irreverence, and affirmation in the work of women plays against the tension of domination and control.[16]

In her choice of beans to embellish her dress she refashions a Mexican trope and an ethnic/racial slur "beaner." She labels her outfit "Frijole Fairy" a play on the Spanish words frijol (bean) and hijole (gosh-awful) translating her fashion choice as the "Gosh-awful Bean Fairy" for Vh1's benefit "Save the Music." The use of beans as embellishment and a can of refried Rosita beans as a purse provides a racialized and classed but also gendered critique of high fashion in Hollywood (Fig. 19). La Coacha takes a gendered private practice of creating clothes and gives exposure to these movidas in the public sector of Hollywood. Her provocative fashion pushes the limits of sarcasm, irony and humor. La Coacha's adornment is used to accent the mundane and homogenization of fashion trends on the red carpet, she stands out.[17] Her outfit for Perez Hilton's birthday, a dress and accessories made out of candy is an example of her creativity, unique resourcefulness and taking an "in your face" attitude (fig. 20). An attitude that very loudly states La Coacha's racialized, classed, and gendered position and her "in your face stance" that she is a part of the Hollywood scene like it or not.

Clearly, La Coacha's aesthetic is excessively "tacky," flashy, loud, and too Mexican. "Tacky," a subjective term, references a tasteless, cheap, vulgar appearance or behavior. La Coacha is read in the mainstream as being "tacky" but her aesthetic projects, which adopt different ethnic codes are untranslatable to mainstream Hollywood codes of conduct. To some, her female clown behavior, calls to mind Lupe Vélez, her aesthetics (over accessorizing and her public unapologetic Mexicanness) those of Carmen Miranda but with less bananas (see chapter one). A "tackiness" in appearance uniquely and long associated with Latina film performers in the U.S. Latinas' dangerously, sensual, promiscuous, foreign, and dancing bodies in Hollywood visually represent difference and a threat to the mainstream.[18] La Coacha's performances are placed within a larger trajectory of "female clowns" yet she differs slightly because her character does not appear on film or television. The sociopolitical context of Latin@s in the U.S. is different from the constructions of historical female clowns. These historical female side characters were less instrumental to plots and more crucial to punch lines. U.S. audiences came to recognize Latina female clowns through a signature visual or aural feature: Lupe Vélez (linguistic "accent," Chihuahua dog), Carmen Miranda (bananas, midriff), Estelita Rodriguez ("Cuban Fireball," tropical dancing moves), Charo ("cuchi, cuchi," flashy outfits). La Coacha embraces these signature visual and aural features in her adornment of her body and her linguistic performances on the red carpet as well as online.

B. La Coacha's Parody

The issue of Latinas in the media and their "accents" continues to be part of their legacy in the film industry. Carmen Miranda, Rita Moreno, Charo, Rosie Perez, Salma Hayek, Jennifer Lopez and Sofia Vergara, for instance, have all been mentioned in the media in

reference to their sensual bodies as well as their "foreign" and "urban" "accents." Even the Puerto Rican women (Moreno, Perez, and Lopez) who are U.S. citizens, have been addressed as vocally foreign. These Latinas have appeared on various media spaces like print, film, television, and on the Internet where discourses often surround their vocal bodies. These representations of Latinas in the media get categorized as spitfires and female clowns as a result of their physical bodies and exaggerated linguistic bodies. With the current popularity of the Internet, which makes producers, directors and actors out of nearly everyone, the past functions as a digital archive. Representations of historical racial tropes found in film are present in contemporary cultural productions online.

La Coacha serves as an example of a woman online whose work makes reference to historical representations of Latinas in Hollywood. While there are hundreds of Mexican women performers online, La Coacha sets herself apart. One of reasons how she stands out is her incorporation of accented subtitles into video parody performances. Her online videos remind her viewers of the historical sound that has been used to categorize how Latinas in Hollywood should speak with a linguistic "accent." La Coacha's word play and accented sound remembers injustices of the past while simultaneously showcasing her linguistic creativity.[19] La Coacha's accented subtitled video parodies create linguistic spaces of belonging for Spanish-English bilingual users online. Her placement of accented subtitles within parody videos caters to English dominant viewers who are Spanish and Spanglish challenged. Hence, as mentioned, favoring bilingual Spanish-English speakers because they do not need to read along or struggle with the subtitles provided.

At first glance, La Coacha's video parodies might seem like any other "made at home" video with blurry graphics, lots of wigs, and cheap props. However her productions go

beyond an amateur level. Her aesthetics might be read as "cheap" but her use of parody through subtitles exceeds her artistic vision. Parody a comedic tool but also an educational one, a type of "creative criticism."[20] Parodies should add more information to the original performance, address "serious" material in an inconsequential way, and require humor regardless of previous knowledge of the original work. Because of her queer sensibility off and on the Internet, her video productions can be classified as campy performances or queer parodies.[21] A queer parody, according to Moe Meyer's is the production of queer social visibility.[22] Parody then becomes a tool where marginalized communities engage with occurring structures of signification by altering codes to center their own struggles.[23] However, what makes La Coacha's videos stand out, is her visual "accent" that is central to her queering. By visual "accent" I refer to her acoustic and gestural "accents" as it is represented through text, specifically through subtitles shown at the bottom of her videos. Or as Jill Dolan states, "To be queer is not who you are it's what you do. It's relation to dominant power, and your relation to marginality, as a place of empowerment."[24] Therefore, La Coacha's queering of her linguistic "accent" and body uses parody as a means to convey her powerful message online.

In La Coacha's videos she adds subtitles to guide readers through her Spanglish and SIE language, she privileges bilingual speakers/listeners of "accents" from Chican@/Latina@ communities and guides English dominant speakers to follow along through subtitles. As with any parody, the intertextuality between the original event and the comedic makeover must be obvious as well as resonate with viewers. The humorous message of the parody might not last because the message relies on the contemporary event. What resonates, regardless of time passed, are her subtitles. Josh Kun argues that parody at its most

intimidating and controversial occurs when "the displacement of one world by another at the hands of a wise-cracking outcast who hurls jokes from the margins."[25] La Coacha hurls jokes metaphorically and visually from the screen's margins located at the bottom of the frame, via her accented subtitles. Her wise-cracking jokes are amplified because she is a Mexican woman, a rarity in the realm of female comedians, and because she creates accented spaces where the normality of camp causes a threat to traditional gender and racial expectations.

C. Accented Subtitles

The polysemiotic nature of the media signified through various arrangements of acoustic, verbal, and visual elements usually assigned to film and television makes the online video production difficult to approach.[26] However, because La Coacha's parody videos are subtitled, theories of subtitled film are useful to analyze the significance of her production choices. Although subtitles are supposed to be subtle, we read La Coacha's parody with the following bold baby pink font outlined in black at the bottom of her video.

In the transcript of her subtitles (figure 22), the entirety of what she vocalizes is not included or accurately represented the manner in which La Coacha performed some of the words. It does, however, represent what viewers are cued to read in order to understand her performance. Her visual representations of words like "diz" for "this", "cuz" for "because", "nathan" for "nothing" and the suffix –ing into in' are elements of African American Vernacular English (AAVE, see figure 23).

Figure 21.- Stills of La Coacha's "NEW Nicki Minaj 'Check It Out' music video featuring Will.I.Am-starring La Coacha"

[0:07] (1) Stepped up in diz biz (2) Now am the (3) khottest Em-Si (4) All these khaters mad (5) Cuz am the Black Lady G (6) Foxy Brown (7) went downtown (8) Where is Missy? (9) Lil' Kim (10) Got nathan on me (11) Rumors speculatin' (12) that am into chocha (13) After pics of me (14) con La Amber Rosa (15) Kanye West (16) he did request (17) a piece of my pie (18) in a (19) Nicki Mènage à trois (20) Can joo belieb it?	(21) Am Billboard toppin' (22) On the 22nd (23) my album's droppin' (24) Can joo re-tweet it? (25) Not like ay need it! (26) Gonna beat Kanye (27) weed "Peenk Friday" (28) Sheck it out! [0:52 *La Coacha repeats "Sheck it out!" verbally eight times but does not rewrite the subtitle.*] [1:00] (29) How many times do ay… [1:02 *La Coacha follows by verbally saying "Sheck it out?" But does not rewrite the subtitle.*]

Figure 22.- Transcript of La Coacha's subtitles from "Scheck it Out" video parody.

American Standard English	AAVE		American Standard English	AAVE
this	diz		nothing	nathan
because	cuz		-ing	-in'

Figure 23.-Elements of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in La Coacha's "Scheck it Out" video parody.

These phonological components of AAVE appear because she embodies and parodies Nicki Minaj, a black female Hip Hop artist. My intention is not to correct her use of AAVE, but her use of AAVE "highlight[s] the ideological level at which boundaries between languages, dialects, and communities exist."[27] Her use of "sheck" versus "check" privileges Spanish-dominant English speakers and listeners. Her use of a Spanish sound for an English word reveals more about her "accent" than the word.[28]

Language is different than sound and because we communicate in various forms, sound matters greatly.[29] For example an artist whose sound was analyzed that bares similarities with the significance of La Coacha's sound is Mickey Katz. Josh Kun argues that Yiddish-English parodist Mickey Katz popularity from 1947-1957 was based on how Katz made language *sound* not on what he was actually saying. Katz's use of Yiddish "accent" and vocabulary ruptured American whiteness sonically.[30] The sonic force of Katz's was able to "enact a refusal of de-ethnicized Americanness through a defiant sounding of Jewish difference."[31] La Coacha, along the same vein as Katz and his sound, is able to fracture the hegemony of the English-language visually and sonically through subtitles. Other Latinas in Hollywood also break hegemonic English-language spaces but La Coacha is able to disrupt it through subtitles.

Subtitles in U.S. film productions signal un-American. Subtitles are used to translate to an American Standard English (ASE) speaking/listening audience what is said on screen. Subtitles in film, therefore serve as a marker of foreignness.[32] In B. Ruby Rich's "To Read or Not to Read: Subtitles, Trailers, and Monolingualism" she researches the unpopularity of subtitled film in the U.S. Initially, she believed U.S. audiences were xenophobic; however, she discovered that U.S. audiences go to the movies for entertainment and find reading

subtitles a laborious process, not a necessarily xenophobic act. U.S. viewers simply did not want to read, hated dubbing (voice over) in foreign film and/or learning foreign languages,[33] an indicator of their linguistic privilege. While La Coacha speaks English with sprinkles of Spanish words, her Spanish Inflected English (SIE) may well seem "foreign" to viewers; signaling a Spanish dominant or Mexican speaker. Because her subtitles are not written in American Standard English (ASE), rather transcribed in her diegetic speech, La Coacha forces the viewer to read her bilingual homophone subtitles and her SIE.[34] Subtitles are intended to give the reader/viewer an understanding of the person speaking, however since La Coacha mixes ASE with accented English spelling, viewers are forced to read subtitles; scripted with accented English spelling. In lines 20, 24, 25, 27 and 28 La Coacha provides viewers with examples that illustrate how she sees and hears the English-language. Reading her subtitles, specifically the ones mentioned above, are examples of the laborious process of reading, listening, and positioning one's mouth and tongue to pronounce the words La Coacha intends us to speak. As Rosaura Sánchez argues in her canonical work, *Chicano Discourse*, "Bilingualism thus registers the transitory phases of social changes for the Mexican-origin population, changes reflected not merely in geographical and occupational mobility but at the ideological and cultural levels as well."[35] Therefore, La Coacha's use of SIE and phonological speaking of AAVE might sound like a forbidden language, it is indicative of the geographical crossroads, mobility of language, and high numbers of People of Color online. In addition, her use of SIE combined with AAVE doubles as a racialized aspect of her body and video creations.

In line 20 and 24 the ASE version of the statement would be "Can you believe it?" and "Can you re-tweet it?" however La Coacha accented sentences transform into "Can joo

belieb it?" and "Can joo re-tweet it?" respectively. Her alterations to the language "you" to "joo" are intended to be read in English so monolingual speakers can follow along, and understand glimpses of issues surrounding English learners, such as difficulties pronouncing and learning a different language. In Carol O'Sullivan's *Translating Popular Film* she argues that subtitles are a way of translating "the foreign" to viewers who lack access to the source of the language being represented in film.[36] The literal texts at bottoms of screens are complex and distinctive because subtitles allow viewers interaction and contact to different places or a gateway into other worlds other than their own. [37] For La Coacha, however, her use of SIE subtitles reflects social concerns of Spanish spoken in public manifested in English Only policies.[38] For example, English-Only advocates are determined to make English the official language of the U.S. in fears of non-English speakers "taking" over the nation.[39] The use of La Coacha's SIE symbolically pokes fun at such hostile policies. La Coacha's excessively loud, visually and sonic use of SIE subtitles introduces English monolingual speakers to their worst linguistic nightmare. The level of engagement with her subtitles from linguistic outsiders (English monolingual speakers) varies. The numerous interactions with her subtitles are considered in order to determine how linguistic outsiders engage with her visual "accent."

According to Michel Chion there are three categories of how viewers engage with subtitles and language in film.[40] First "casual" listening entails listening for the cause or source of a sound; "semantic" listening is in reference "to a code or language to interpret a message;" and "reduced" listening "focuses on the traits of the sound itself, independent of its cause and of its meaning."[41] "Casual listening" is the most common way we interact with sound but also the most easily influenced and misleading manner of listening. We are able to

recognize a sound category, such as human voice, animal, mechanical, but not the unique and individual source from where it originates. Chion reminds us that casual listening in film is often manipulated. Most of the time we hear intended sound that is not authentic, meaning the sound is not representative of what actually occurs on screen. Semantic listening concerns itself with listening to codes to interpret a message and relies on context. Finally, in order to engage with reduced listening the sound must be heard repeatedly and it must be fixed in order to hear the qualities of a particular sound independent of cause or meaning. These three modes of listening are not mutually exclusive. Every person hears a different part of sound, but perception is not an individual occurrence because it is based on objectivity of shared perceptions.[42] "Reduced" listening, according to O'Sullivan's research on translating film is sometimes enacted when the landscape of the viewers' native language drastically differs from the foreign language.[43] Reduced listening, therefore engages viewers to pay close attention to the sound of speech on screen. La Coacha *forces* her viewers into reduced listening by highlighting through SIE subtitles the sounds she wants viewers to focus on. Monolingual speakers are prompt to read her accented English. Viewers read the difference in sound and text. With this introduction of the difference of sound La Coacha highlights her accented body on screen. Her accented body adorned with an aural costume,[44] expected of Latina performers in Hollywood, includes not only her written "accent" but also her facial gestures, resembles the legacy of female clowns.

La Coacha's physical body and subtitled sound gives viewers and listeners entrance to her "foreign" humorous world. In line 25 "Not like ay need it!" would be written in ASE as, "Not like I need it!" But La Coacha writes "ay" for "I" a bilingual homophone that Spanish-English bilingual speakers understand not only the substitution of similar sounds but also the

humor surrounding it. As Ana Celia Zentella argues that word play is the linguistic glue that connects Latin@s from different communities and encourages a pan-Latin@ consciousness.[45] In lines 27 and 28 "weed 'Peenk Friday'" and "Sheck it out!" would be written in ASE as "with 'Pink Friday'" and "Check it out!" respectively. The use of subtitles phonetically in SIE marks the language and the speaker as foreigner.[46] Subtitles locate and plant viewers in their subjectivity while at the same time transports them to other realms. Subtitles are associated with tolerance of other cultures. For example, the act of translation is a sign of hospitality where one can find pleasure in another's language and receive "the foreign word at home."[47] Carol O'Sullivan argues that viewer encounters with subtitles are different from discourses of commercialization and consumption of cultures within a tourist gaze, since subtitles allow viewers to *listen* to other voices.[48] Because La Coacha's videos are accessible from mobile devices the notion of "receiving the foreign word at home" resonates strongly. While there might not be evidence that U.S. audiences are xenophobic, as an explanation of low turn out rates for foreign films in the U.S., the accessibility, circulation and SIE by a Mexican woman transforms racial sound waves. There's an adjustment in sound because of the social location Mexican communities are located currently in the fabric of the U.S. Also, because subtitles are associated with foreign films and middle class viewing experiences, La Coacha utilizes subtitles in a different form from film and adds her racialized and classed aesthetic at the bottom of online screens.

La Coacha's use of Spanish Inflected English (SIE) subtitles symbolically mocks the trajectory of "accents" that represents foreignness. She mocks the form Latinas have been represented in English-language media and subverts the sound as a tool of humor. La Coacha's subtitled parody videos introduce outsiders to the creative and humorous world of

bilingual Spanish-English speakers. They also, I argue, serve as learning and teaching tools for bilingual speakers. Her educational lesson or "creative criticism" does not derive from her commentary and discourses that she provides in her video about Nicki Minaj. For example speculation of a lesbian relationship with Amber Rose, Nicki's "beef" with Lil' Kim, and that "Check It Out" samples a 1980's song, but the lesson is also made in the form subtitles are constructed to privilege bilingual speakers. La Coacha privileges a bicultural and bilingual experience in the U.S. through the use of visually accented words.

D. The Bilingual Scriptural Economy

The sound of Spanish-Inflected English (SIE) and the visual representation of the "accent" of a Mexican speaker provides a space of familiarity and listening as a bilingual; a unique cultural practice.[49] Ironically, while SIE is circulated online, there are regional debates about Brown[50] bodies in the U.S. For example, attacks on Raza Studies in Arizona, national debates of undocumented students and access to federal funding for college, and failed attempts by the Obama administration to pass immigration reform. These social issues concerning Latinos in the U.S. are all based on visual markers, however Jennifer Stoever-Ackerman reminds us how would U.S. citizenship sounds like in light of these Latino social issues. Stoever-Ackerman argues it is not just the "accent" or sound that marks someone as noncitizen but when and where the sound appears.[51] La Coacha's sound appears online as a form of entertainment, a customary practice by U.S. audiences to sit and laugh at linguistic and visual otherness. Yet, at the same time the soundscape and the social cultural context in the U.S. is evident in the linguistic in between-ness of bilingual speakers.[52] This cultural practice stems from growing up in Spanish dominant homes where English is considered the "foreign" language yet at the same time understood as the language of opportunity, therefore

creating a negotiated space between English and Spanish by bilingual speakers. The ways we learn to listen and speak are socially constructed and change over time.[53] Familiarity with this accented sound comes from a place of seeing parents and oneself struggle with double consonants and using different parts of one's tongue, different spaces in the mouth in order to train the tongue to produce new sounds. These SIE sounds privileges an immigrant, bilingual, and racialized ear and listening experience. Some linguistic practices of bilingual speakers are code-switching and code-shifting. Code-switching, is the substitution from one grammatical system to another, and code-shifting, refers to speech communities that progressively shift to speaking another language than their mother tongue over time. Both cultural elements of Latin@s in the U.S. are a complex phenomenon that involves two different languages and systems of meaning.[54] These cognitive and cultural works are sounds of survival because they are indicative of membership in speech communities and assist bilingual speakers who operate in English and Spanish linguistic contexts. Specifically, these accented sounds are instruments of signification that culturally transmit linguistic pride and ethnic belonging.[55] These sounds have social and political meaning and our relationships to them are indicative of who and where they are produced.

La Coacha as a linguistic insider has a unique perspective when creating her subtitled parody videos. For example, in Herman Gray's *Cultural Moves*, he analyzes Black investment in wanting to be seen in mainstream media and argues that there are differences between cultural productions produced by people of color versus someone who has no association to these communities. He states that culture matters when trying to produce culturally productive discourses instead of filling a diversity quota for capitalist industries.[56] The fact that La Coacha is Mexican and provides social commentary on the social location

of Latin@s through SIE matters because she's a linguistic and racial insider. La Coacha's use of ethnic humor gives her the ability to laugh at oneself, encourages linguistic membership through her accented sound, and the visual creativity of linguistic representation derives not from a "down and out" perspective but from a rasquache sensibility that its purpose is to stand out and fight back creatively.

La Coacha also provides possible lessons of empowerment for bilingual speakers online. Not only because Spanish-English bilingual speakers can understand some of the jokes and cultural references in the parody videos, but because she provides a visual text for the way "we" sound. She provides Spanish bilingual speakers a written vocabulary online where social media users can update their status in accented speech or dictation. This scriptural economy, theorized by Michel de Certeau, emphasizes the importance of writing (text) because it is visible.[57] The written form attempts to take control over the uniqueness of the voice and makes the voice visible. De Certeau argues that there is power, control, and it creates a staple in society once one can claim their space in the social fabric through writing. Therefore, this accented lexicon that La Coacha encourages and circulates is a tool to carve out spaces where bilingual speakers can be playful, creative in the transformation of words and provide a different form of a visual representation of culture. For example, her fans on her Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram platforms inquire and comment "a la coacha" style. You becomes "joo," bitch is written "bish" and videos transforms into "bideos." The change in the letter "v" to "b" in the word "videos" indicates the diegetic strategy La Coacha engages to change the sound and visual look of the word highlighting her SIE "accent." Her fans engage in this linguistic strategy precisely because they recognize La Coacha's style of speaking. The circulation of an accented visual representation contributes to its power

online. The circulation of her lexicon online by her fans is significant of her popularity and influence. When her fans use her "a la coacha" style of visual "accent" they make the word play their own, acknowledge her influence, and add their unique take on the accented phrases.

As argued by Joanne R. Gilbert in her research on humor and performing one's own marginality she argues that, "Mockers may 'deauthenticate' the voice of an other, but they simultaneously present it as if it were their own, at least within the temporary, and often playful, frame of its presentation."[58] Because of the polysemiotic format of her videos La Coacha makes her presence visually and sonically. As viewers we hear her "accent," see her "accent," and read her "accent." She gives Spanish-English bilingual speakers the privileged of using accented language online to make a presence on the Internet. She inhabits online spaces and media venues with her unapologetic Mexicanness and ruptures monolingual white U.S. citizenship by choosing not to silence or erase a stereotypical sound that has been used against English learners but instead to use the sound to claim public space. La Coacha circulates her vocal body online, making clear that her sonic and visual "accent" are not leaving the U.S. as much as English-Only legislations wish she would.

Bilingual speakers are not the only ones who have access to her online videos, her performances are open to the public by default to different interpretations. La Coacha's material is available online and accessible to various people with diverse linguistic abilities. Spanish-English bilingual speakers read her "accent" and body, however, not everyone understands the popularity of La Coacha. La Coacha, a Mexican woman within the genre of comedy translates her gendered, racialized, and classed body and artistic performances through media. Even though her comedy stems from parody videos, theories of female

comedians, in the traditional format of stand-up, can be applied to discuss the various forms her performances balance between tonic and toxic power relations. La Coacha's performances refuse to distinguish the lines between good and bad because her performances cannot be classified as simply "female clown" or "spitfire." Her accented language use offers productive forms of analyzing historical stereotypical sounds through a performer of the same ethnic group who engages with their own stereotype.

E. Gendered and Racial Self-Mockings

Joanne R. Gilbert's "Performing Marginality: Comedy, Identity, and Cultural Critique," analyzes the form of standup comedy as a powerful performance. Gilbert argues that the autobiographical element of the comedy of Phyllis Diller and Rosanne Barr explores the subversive element of self-deprecation jokes.[59] She concludes that because female comedians are on the margins, the comedy they construct represents both themselves and their culture resulting in victimization, "embodying the potential power of powerlessness."[60] While La Coacha in her parody videos does not perform autobiographical stories as one routinely sees in stand-up, her accented language and rasquache video creations emphasize "autobiographical" stories that highlight her linguistic, racialized, and communal experiences. Her linguistic choice of using humor with Spanglish and Spanish Inflected English (SIE) subtitles in a humorous setting some might argue are degrading because she mocks and makes fun of her own community. Nancy Walker argues that "(s)elf-deprecation is ingratiating then aggressive; it acknowledges the opinion of the dominant culture—even appears to confirm it—and allows the speaker or writer to participate in the humorous process without alienating the members of the majority."[61] While La Coacha's humor is classed and contains racialized comedic material by indirectly poking fun of the way

English-language learners might speak, out-group members can find comedic resonance because of popular and historical images that circulate around how a "Mexican" supposedly looks and sounds. Nevertheless some would consider the way La Coacha performs a subversive act. For example, Lawrence Levine in *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*, argues:

> Marginal groups often embraced the stereotype of themselves in a manner designed not to assimilate it but to smother it…To tell jokes containing the stereotype was not invariably to accept it but frequently to laugh at it, to strip it naked, to expose to scrutiny.[62]

Levine highlights that in-group performers who performed stereotypes of their communities were not necessarily an act of passive acceptance but these particular performances encourage people to analyze, think critically, and understand the potential work that they can do. When La Coacha speaks online the way that Latin@s have traditional been stereotyped in the mainstream media, she "strips" the stereotype by focalizing the bilingual speaker as performer and privileging bilingual viewers. The replacement of power is altered because her intention is not to laugh at her but to laugh at the form mainstream representation has linguistically caricatured Latin@s within the media. La Coacha transfers power by moving the laughing target. The performance of La Coacha's visual "accent" borders a line between reinforcing and collapsing stereotypes. Her ability to bring her SIE to the public unapologetically adds to her transgressive character in Hollywood and online.[63]

In Elaine W. Chun's article "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery: Margaret Cho's Revoicings of Mock Asian,"[64] she analyzes the beliefs that validate a Korean American comedian's self-racializing style. Her argument is useful when discussing how in-group members are perceived when they embody stereotypes of their own community. In Chun's study, she highlights that the comedic Asian American, performer, Margaret Cho, mocks the

way her Korean immigrant parents speak. Chun argues that according to mainstream ideologies, it is not seen as racist when the joke teller is mocking one's own. On the contrary, the performance is considered an "authentic" and true representation of their own community.[65] An element of performativity in mocking places the speaker socially distant from the style they speak.[66] In Chun's other research on mocking the speech of Asian immigrants by non-immigrant Asian high school students, she discovers that when one mocks another's "accent" there is no notion of generation or diversity of "accents."[67] She also argues that the relationship between non-immigrant and immigrant identities is complicated because it goes beyond non-immigrant students wanting to separate themselves from immigrant students.[68] She discovers that students engaged with the two linguistic practices of mocking and accommodation in order to negotiate their relationships with other students.[69] Likewise, La Coacha, an immigrant, performs an exaggerated "accent" making her an authentic speaker. A communicative and performative burden that in-group people of color face when speaking about their respective communities presents dangers of an authentic self. Yet Chun argues that these performances also signify discourses that de-center whiteness.[70] Chun's insightful studies of race, linguistics and media provides a useful lens of analysis when approaching linguistic performances by people of color for people of color in media spaces.

Chun argues that when the joke teller mock one's own the representations are not racists but seen as "authentic" representations of that community. I argue that the performativity of the accented sound is more than a stereotype and is indicative of mainstream media's investment in constructing an "authentic" being therefore creating an insider's relationships to images of their own stereotypes.[71] Hence, this belief complicates and adds a layer of

performativity for La Coacha. She performs elements of the female clown through body and voice, similar to Black performers, described as a "mode of survival" by Joseph Boskin and Joseph Dorinson. In "Ethnic Humor: Subversion and Survival," Boskin and Dorinson argue that humor has served as a survival mechanism,

> Black artists had to participate in self-caricature…Blacks, therefore, developed a gaming stance stoically laughing on the outside to cope with their pain inside. Black humor served many important functions including group survival, escape into pride and dignity, self-criticism, and the resolution of conflict.[72]

La Coacha's mocking performance of how Mexican immigrants speak English decenters whiteness because her embodiment is of a community of color.[73] For La Coacha her sonic "authenticity" and mode of distancing herself from whiteness is marked by "accents."[74] Whiteness is both resisted and maintained through systems of everyday talk.[75] However her performances can be read as "authentic" forms of the way Mexicans, regardless of citizenship and generation, speak English. Because she is an in-group member her "accent" grants her status of expert, but the function of her performances for in-group viewers serves more than filling a stereotype. Her racialized and classed linguistic body challenges "white public space."[76]

"Accents" are perceived in relational interactions and provide listeners with a perception of the person based on their linguistic "accent," thus "accents" do not "name sound pattern[s] alone, but a sound pattern linked to a framework of social identities."[77] "Accents" therefore are recognized in only certain people and function in an all or nothing form; people have accents or they do not.[78] In this era of "post-racial" discourse, where race is insignificant, ridicule and mocking of linguistic differences play an important role. Language becomes a "new" form of discrimination with out asserting the word "racist:" "Language signifies historical and social boundaries that are less arbitrary than territory and

more discriminating (but less exclusive) than race or ethnicity."[79] Ana Celia Zentella argues in "The 'Chiquitification' of U.S. Latinos and Their Languages OR Why we need an Anthropolitical Linguistics," that the focus on identity or language has become a substitute to justify difficult civil rights and political issues.[80] Therefore, the association of La Coacha as an "authentic" speaker, even though it is a character she has invented, comes to represent what English-language learners, especially what Mexican women, sound like when they speak English, garnering her sonic "authenticity."

Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz argue for an analysis of "authenticity effects" which asserts that "authenticity" consistently is accomplished rather than given, although this attainment is usually rendered invisible.[81] This "authenticity" is created and accompanies "tactics of intersubjectivity" which states that identity is adapted to its context, hence "identities emerge from temporary and mutable interactional conditions, in negotiation and often in contestation with other social actors and in relation to larger and often unyielding structures of power."[82] La Coacha's role as an "authentic" Mexican is established because of her performance of sound. The process of considering one as "authentically" ethnic reinforces certain stereotypes. Bucholtz's work on "authentic" identity argues to not focus solely on the authentic speaker, but instead offers an approach to consider how some people are treated as authentic speakers of a language form.[83] In the historical case of media representations of Latinas, their bodies and voice are not only stereotyped on screen but off screen as well.

La Coacha, a character and personality online is considered an "authentic" speaker. Through accumulation theory, as outlined in chapter one, where hegemonic systems of social control are set in place with persistent forms of stereotyping materialize in various

media platforms, the vocal body in the fictitious media setting is indistinguishable from the off screen. The confusion stems from the similar and stereotypical ways Latinas are portrayed to the same audiences.[84] Consequently, La Coacha's comedic representation is seen as "real" speech to outside viewers and she is considered an authentic speaker of the scripted dialogue and subtitles. La Coacha's Spanish Inflected English (SIE), heard before in mainstream U.S. representations of Latinas, signals Mexican and by default foreigner. This SIE was showcased in comedies and dramatic film when Latin@ characters were cast, however La Coacha's sound is not taken seriously because it is encased in humor and holds long standing class and racial connotations.[85]

The space of humor provides a unique space for performers to tackle taboo topics in popular culture.[86] Ethnic humor relies on the use of exaggerated stereotypes and self-deprecating jokes.[87] David Gillota in *Ethnic Humor in Multiethnic America* argues that Latino humor is still in the realm of standup comedy and has not been given center stage in popular culture.[88] While I agree that Latin@ humor's history in mainstream media has been ignored, Latin@ humor does have a long history of theories that explain the unique sense of humor of specific ethnic joking and cultural practices by Chicanos in the U.S. For example, Américo Paredes' in "The Anglo-American in Mexican Folkore," argues that two themes arise in the Mexican American tradition of ethnic joking and that humor is embedded in traditions of storytelling.[89] The first, he categorizes as the "Stupid American" joke where a Mexican American takes advantage of a white person. The punch line results in a play on language, and secondly "the self-satirical" joke where Mexican Americans make fun of themselves and the punch line results in the misunderstanding of U.S. culture.[90] Paredes concludes that the "Stupid American" joke is a release of bottled-up antagonistic feelings of

the Mexican American telling the joke and the "self-satirical" joke uncovers ambivalent emotions about the self.[91] These examples of ethnic humor, similar to psychological approaches, are seen in La Coacha's mode of humor. She engages with both these practices with the performance of her accented voice. La Coacha's use of humor functions as bottled-up antagonistic feelings of being Mexican, and telling of what she and the linguistic community she represents experience as Spanish-English bilinguals living in the U.S.

La Coacha's comedic practices are important because of the signification of her gendered and classed body. Her body, as a woman has been discouraged by mainstream media and Mexican traditional gendered cultural expectations from engaging in humor.[92] The discouragement is embedded in the "proper" and respectable ways a woman should act because the realm of humor has allowed access to men only. Therefore, a humorous female body carries connotations of masculinity and a body out of control. Kathleen Rowe in *The Unruly Woman: Gender and the Genres of Laughter* argues women engaged in humor are seen as productive forms of expressing anger about patriarchy. To not allow women the "active participation in the mechanisms of the joke as well as in those of spectatorship is to replicate our culture's historical denial of women's anger as an available and legitimate response to the injustices they experience."[93] La Coacha's parodic gender performances can be read not only as social commentary on the political location of Latin@s and their language politics in the U.S., but also as expressions of anger because of their political location. Consequently, La Coacha's visible presences of her body and "accent" online and in Hollywood are examples of her power.[94] La Coacha's gendered and racialized visual power exposes the systematic form Latin@s have been discriminated against because of their language use. Guisela LaTorre's "Humor and Hemispheric Consciousness: Chicana/o

and Native American Contemporary Art" states that mainstream spaces are solely masculine but most importantly whiteness is privileged. Chican@s therefore appropriate their own strategies of humor "not only to empower themselves but [to] also expose the seams of institutionalized racism and discrimination."[95] The same form of code-switching provides membership and survival for speech communities where humor provides "strategies of cultural survival as well as a means to expose racial, social and gender hierarchies in U.S. dominant culture."[96] La Coacha not only comments through parody her gendered position but also her racialized position in humor and in mainstream white spaces. Her second video under analysis deals more explicitly with issues of gendered, classed, and racialized bodies (figure 24).

La Coacha's second parody video, created and dedicated for Hollywood heartthrob Ryan Gosling's thirty-second birthday, under analysis titled, "Selena 'Amor Prohibido' Music Video for Ryan Gosling's Birthday!" of the late Chicana Tejana singer Selena Quintanilla's song. La Coacha created this video for the actor's thirty-second birthday. This video is of interest because it remains the only parody of a Spanish speaking song to date. Her signature subtitles are present at the bottom of the screen in Spanish Inflected English (SIE). In this video her subtitles are intended for English only speakers but they are not in American Standard English (ASE). Her video begins with instrumentals of Selena's song. La Coacha adorns her body and the set with fewer props, a wooden chair and red door panels, to flag similarities in the original aesthetic of Selena's video. La Coacha wears several outfit combinations in the video, a red oversized collared long sleeve shirt, a white oversized collared long sleeve shirt by itself or sometimes combined with a black leather vest and in some scenes only the black leather vest. These top combinations are accompanied with light

blue jeans and black boots. Her hair is straight, she wears hoop earrings and fake white long plastic square nails. Her backdrop for the video is a dirt hillside. She dances and sings and we notice a short cement wall with graffiti holding up a dirt hillside, trees, and agaves in the background. She begins singing Selena's iconic song in Spanish and her oversized, big, "loud," excessively queer accented English subtitles in bright bold yellow font outlined in black. La Coacha's subtitles are not subtle at all. The formatting of her subtitles in the videos add to her excessive rasquache aesthetic.

While the viewer is forced to read the subtitles we hear La Coacha's remake of "Amor Prohibido." The subtitles are not a direct translation of the original song but the general sentiment is made "a la Coacha" style. The original song is about a working class woman who is in love with a man from a higher socio economic background. He has mutual love for her but his parents and society disapproves, hence the song's title name "Forbidden Love." The melodramatic storyline, indicative of her queer aesthetic, is also a familiar story line in Mexican telenovelas. La Coacha is true to Selena's original lyrics except for three lines that she changes verbally that were changed to fit her crush with Ryan Gosling. For English only speakers who must follow the accented story they read different information from the subtitles not found in the original song. Bilingual viewers listen to the original Spanish-language song and read the accented subtitles that tell the forbidden love between La Coacha and Gosling. Lines 39 to 55 not in the original song, adds La Coacha flavor to the parody (figure 25). For example, how she lives on YouTube and Gosling in Hollywood, her use of profanity, and humorous play on words like "cum." Also, the 55 lines are her complete use of her subtitles in the two minutes and thirty-four second video.

Figure 24.- Stills of La Coacha's "Selena 'Amor Prohibido' Music Video for Ryan Gosling's Birthday!"

[0:12]		[0:50]		[1:29]	
(1)	With crazy anxieteez	(20)	"Prohibited Lub"	(39)	Or Drunkie EVA!!!
(2)	Juan 2 see joo 2day!	(21)	they says	(40)	All that matter…
(3)	Waiting 4 the moment	(22)	Eberybody	(41)	IS OUR LUB!
(4)	When…	(23)	Money dozen matter	(42)	QUIERO
(5)	I hear jur BOICE	(24)	to joo or to me	(43)	GOSLINGO!
(6)	When finally together	(25)	Or to the Corazoooon	(44)	Forbidden Fruta!
(7)	the 2 of us	(26)	Oh-Woah!	(45)	Peench my neeples!
(8)	Hoo cares what	(27)	SCORPIO!	(46)	Take me 2 ectsasy!
(9)	they say?	(28)	Although I'm Poor	(47)	Want some
(10)	Jur Seester and…	(29)	All of diss	(48)	carne asada?
(11)	MAMA!	(30)	I gib joo!	(49)	Or SkinnyPendejas?
(12)	All that matter…	(31)	Is worth more	(50)	Cum to my…
(13)	is Our Lub!	(32)	than money	(51)	WETBACK
(14)	I LUB JOO!	(33)	Cuz diss is the	(52)	MOUNTAIN!
(15)	"Prohibited Lub"	(34)	REAL CHIT!	(53)	Condoms don matter
(16)	They talk chit	(35)	When we're	(54)	Or birth control peels
(17)	on the streetz	(36)	finally together	(55)	I still get pregnant!
(18)	Cuz we're from	(37)	Us dos		
(19)	Different Societeez	(38)	Fock what they say!		

Figure 25.- Subtitles from La Coacha's "Amor Prohibido" video parody.

La Coacha mentions that Ryan Gosling is forbidden fruit not only because they are from different media worlds (Hollywood and YouTube) but because he is in a romantic mixed race relationship with Cuban American actress Eve Mendes. La Coacha wants Gosling to pinch (peench) her nipples (neeples) to make her have an orgasm, wants him to ejaculate on her Mexican back and states that she will get pregnant regardless if they use contraceptives. This overt reading of her sexuality is linked to Mexican women's sexuality, the stereotype of the hyper fertile Mexican woman.[97] I cannot argue against the notion that exaggerated imitations of a Spanish "accents" are racist toward Latin@s in the U.S. However, her performances are more critical than solely labeling them as stereotypical because she is part of the parody. Also, her creative use of language and pervasive attitude brings to the surface a public discussion of an accented racialized sound through humor.

La Coacha's queer aesthetic can be heard and read throughout the entire Spanglish subtitles but specifically in lines 23 and 50-51. Her use of "money dozen matter" is a bilingual homophone. Her use of the correct spelling of "dozen" to mean "doesn't" is a lesson in humor through SIE. In La Coacha's use of "Cum to my…WETBACK MOUNTAIN" is not only queer in the original plot of the film *Brokeback Mountain* (2005) but also her use of sexual innuendos. La Coacha's use of "cum" instead of "come" serves as an expression of wanting Gosling to come to La Coacha's Mexican lifestyle but also for him to ejaculate on her Mexican body. La Coacha's dedication to Gosling of all heartthrobs in Hollywood is significant because he has gained popularity not only through his film work as an actor but in humorous memes that represent him as a sensitive and caring man when comforting women.[98] But it is not just her Mexican body but her immigrant "wetback" body. Her use of a self-deprecating joke to describe herself showcases her brash sense of humor.

Even though Gosling is in a mixed race relationship, La Coacha reminds us of the historical differences between intra ethnic groups like Cubans and Mexicans, and their differences in entering the U.S. This parodic gender performance expresses political and social values by La Coacha through language play and "at the heart of their [Latin@s] defense against their marginalization, exploitation, and stigmatization."[99] Her creative way to make her audience laugh is a collective power to begin to address issues of immigration, patriarchy, race, gender and language politics of Latin@s in the U.S.

La Coacha is a complicated text. Her parody work uplifts the same historical tropes that have been used against Latin@ communities in the U.S. Her linguistic representation online and physical presence in media industry events borders reinforcing stereotypes because she uses linguistic stereotypes to adorn her body and exposes her to people who might not understand the comedic jab to Hollywood, the setting she works out of. However, her parody work and aesthetic are examples of her creative freedom and agency she has over her own image. La Coacha's excessive visual Spanish Inflected English (SIE) "accent" serves as a subversive humorous tool that adds a different dimension to the sonic legacy inherited by Latin@s in mainstream media. Renato Rosaldo, argues that Latin@ cultural citizenship claims the right to belong and to be different.[100] This claim to space, as stated by Deborah Paredez, "through cultural and everyday practices is fundamental to the consolidation of community and articulation of rights among many Latinas/os to whom actual citizenship privileges are often denied or circumscribed."[101] La Coacha's visual "accent" provides a unique form of expressing ones gendered, classed, and racialized identity online to create a form of belonging in cyberspace.

Notes to Chapter Five

[1] Video on La Coacha's YouTube channel, "How Eva Mendes TRAPPED Ryan Gosling," Youtube video, 2:17. Posted by "La Coacha," July 15, 2014, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zz6-IZ_-uyI.

[2] "About La Coacha," *Chismetime.com*, accessed October 15, 2012, http://chismetime.com/about-la-coacha/.

[3] See Horacio N. Roque Ramírez, "Sharing Queer Authorities: Collaborating for Transgender Latina and Gay Latino Historical Meanings," in *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History*, ed. by Nan Alamilla Boyd and Horacio N. Roque Ramírez, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Lawrence Martin La Fountain-Stokes, "La Política Queer Del Espanglish," *Debate Feminista* 17, no.33 (2006), for more information on Spanglish representing a queer aesthetic.

[4] "Accent" is encased in quotes emphasizes the socially constructed notion that only certain people are seen and heard as having an "accent" or marked difference in their speech. "Accents" as heard and represented are relational to standard or dominant language. "'Accent' is a social construct, it serves as an important racializing factor that significantly impacts the lives not only of Latina/os in the USA, but of racialized individuals more broadly," Lauren Mason Carris, "La vox gringa: Latino Stylization of Linguistic (in)authenticity as Social Critique," *Discourse Society* 22 (2011): 475. 475), and Asif Agha states that "accents" are relational, "accents" do not name sound patterns but social identities, and "accents" only become recognizable in certain individuals, Asif Agha, *Language and Social Relations* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 191-2.

[5] Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19 (1990): 73. Chun studies the performances of Asian American students and their mocking of Asian immigrants. In their performance of mocking she states, "puts the act of speaking on display-objectifies it, lifts it to a degree from its interactional setting and opens it to scrutiny by an audience," Elaine Chun, "Speaking Like Asian Immigrants: Intersections of Accommodation and Mocking at a U.S. High School," *Pragmatics* 19, no. 1 (2009): 34.

[6] David Gillota, *Ethnic Humor in Multiethnic America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 9 and 132.

[7] I use the "@" symbol as a means of flagging gender but also, as Sandra Soto succinctly states, "I mean for it to catch our attention with its blend of letters from the alphabet on the one hand and a curly symbol on the other hand, a rasquachismo that at first sight looks perhaps like a typo and seems unpronounceable," Sandra K. Soto, *Reading Chican@ like a Queer: The De-Mastery of Desire* (Austin,TX: University of Texas Press, 2010), 2.

[8] Ruth Wodak, "What CDA is about—a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments" In *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* ed. by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London, UK: SAGE, 2001), 2-3.

[9] I capitalize the term "Women of Color" because it is a proper noun and to recognize the political work of Women of Color feminisms.

[10] Elaine W. Chun, "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery: Margaret Cho's Revoicings of Mock Asian," *Pragmatics* 14, no.2 (2004): 285.

[11] La Coacha's queer sensibility is evident in the theoretical concept of "queer time." Queer time is a way of existence beyond institutions of reproduction, family, and heterosexuality and allows for reinterpretation for inclusion. Queer time also emerges in time of struggle. For detailed information see Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

[12] Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "The Chicano Movement/ The Movement of Chicano Art," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. by Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1991), 133.

[13] Ybarra-Frauto, "The Chicano Movement/The Movement of Chicano Art," 133.

[14] Isabel Molina Guzmán, and Angharad N. Valdivia, "Brain, Brow and Booty: Latina Iconicity in U.S. Popular Culture," *The Communication Review* 7 (2004).

[15] Amalia Mesa-Bains, "Domesticana: The Sensibility of Chicana Rasquachismo," in *Chicana Feminisms: A Critical Reader*, ed. by Gabriela F. Arredondo, Aida Hurtado, Norma Klahn, Olga Najera-Ramirez, and Patricia Zavella (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 299.

[16] Mesa-Bains, "Domesticana," 302.

[17] The word accent is used not in the linguistic sense "accent" but in the form an accent is used in fashion to highlight a look. For a more detailed analysis of a linguistic "accent" and accent in terms of fashion, see Shilpa S. Davé, *Indian Accents: Brown Voice and Racial Performance in American Television and Film* (Urbana-Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

[18] See Priscilla Peña Ovalle, *Dance and the Hollywood Latina: Race, Sex, and Stardom* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011) for more detailed information.

[19] Glenda Carpio, *Laughing Fit to Kill: Black Humor in the Fictions of Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 27.

[20] Wes D. Gehring, *Parody as film genre:* "*Never Give a Saga an Even Break*" (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 3; in Alessandro Portelli, "Typology of Industrial Folk Song," In *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992), "To parody a song is to criticize it," he writes, "but also to recognize its power. At the least, it is an acknowledgment of its popularity," 172-3.

[21] Moe Meyer, *The Politics and Poetics of Camp* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 1.

[22] Meyer, *The Politics and Poetics of Camp*, 5.

[23] Ibid., 11.

[24] Jill Dolan, "Introduction," in *The Queerest Art: Essays on Lesbian and Gay Theater*, ed. by Alisa Solomon and Framji Minwalla (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 5.

[25] Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 75.

[26] Carol O'Sullivan, *Translating Popular Film* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 15.

[27] Elaine W. Chun, "The Construction of White, Black, and Korean American Identities Through African American Vernacular English," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 11, no.1 (2001): 54.

[28] Ari Y. Kelman, "Funny, You Don't Sound Jewish: Three Stories About Sound," *Sh'ma: A Journal of Jewish Ideas* 41, no. 674 (2010): 1.

[29] Kelman discusses his retention of his Hebrew accent when speaking English, "Funny, You Don't Sound Jewish," 1.

[30] Kun, *Audiotopia*, 71 & 60.

[31] Kun, *Audiotopia*, 56.

[32] Amresh Sinha, "The Use and Abuse of Subtitles," in *Subtitles: On the Foreignness of Film*, ed. by Atom Egoyan and Ian Balfour (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004), 172.

[33] B. Ruby Rich, "To Read or Not to Read: Subtitles, Trailers, and Monoligualism," in *Subtitles: On the Foreignness of Film*, ed. by Atom Egoyan and Ian Balfour (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004), 164.

[34] O'Sullivan, *Translating Popular Film*, 143.

[35] Rosaura Sánchez, *Chicano Discourse: Socio-historic Perspectives* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1983), 16.

[36] O'Sullivan, *Translating Popular Film*, 5.

[37] Atom Egoyan and Ian Balfour, eds. *Subtitles: On the Foreignness of Film* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004), 30.

[38] Ana Celia Zentella, "'Jose Can You See?': Latin@ Responses to Racist Discouse," in *Bilingual Games: Some Literary Investigations*, ed by Doris Sommer (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[39] Amado M. Padilla, Kathryn J. Lindholm, Andrew Chen, Richard Durán, Kenji Hakuta, Wallace Lambert, and G. Richard Tucker, "The English-Only Movement: Myths, Reality, and Implications for Psychology" *American Psychologist* 46 (1991).

[40] Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen,* ed. and trans. by Claudia Gorbman (New York: Colombia University Press, 1994).

[41] Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 24-30.

[42] Ibid., 29.

[43] O'Sullivan, *Translating Popular Film*, 72.

[44] Kun, *Audiotopia*, mentioned Katz persona/image as an Aural costume, 52.

[45] Zentella, "Jose Can You See?," 61.

[46] Egoyan and Balfour, *Subtitles*, 30.

[47] O'Sullivan, *Translating Popular Film*, 104.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ari Y. Kelman, "The Acoustic Culture of Yiddish," *Shofar* 25, no.1 (2006).

[50] I capitalize the term "Brown" as a reference to Latino groups in the U.S. While not all Latinos have brown or dark skin the mainstream media categorizes Latinos as Mexicans but most mostly as dark skinned Mexicans. I also use the term "Brown" because Latinos with darker skin do not have the privilege of passing as white and therefore are visual targets of discrimination. Finally, the term "Brown" in used in reference to the Chicano Civil Rights Movement that declared, "Brown is beautiful" and "Brown Power" to unite and embrace indigeneity.

[51] Jennifer Stoever, "The Noise of SB 1070: Or Do I Sound Illegal to You?" *SoundStudiesBlog.com*, August 19, 2010, http://soundstudiesblog.com/2010/08/19/the-noise-of-sb-1070/, accessed June 29, 2015.

[52] Ari Y. Kelman, "Rethinking the Soundscape a Critical Genealogy of a Key Term in Sound Studies." *Senses and Society* 5, no.2 (2010).

[53] Kelman, "The Acoustic Culture of Yiddish," 129.

[54] Sánchez, *Chicano Discourse*, 176.

[55] See D. Inés Casillas, "Speaking 'Mexican' and the use of 'Mock Spanish' in Children's Books (or Do Not Read Skippyjon Jones)," *SoundStudiesBlog.com*, May 5, 2004, http://soundstudiesblog.com/2014/05/05/speaking-mexican-and-the-use-of-mock-spanish-in-childrens-books-or-do-not-read-skippyjon-jones/, accessed June 29th 2015; and Kelman, "The Acoustic Culture of Yiddish," 140.

[56] Herman Gray, *Cultural Moves: African Americans and the Politics of Representation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, Press, 2005), 137.

[57] Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).

[58] Chun, "Speaking Like Asian Immigrants," 20.

[59] Joanne R. Gilbert, *Performing Marginality: Humor, Gender, and Cultural Critique* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2004), 317.

[60] Gilbert, *Performing Marginality*, 317.

[61] Nancy A. Walker, *A Very Serious Thing: Women's Humor and American Culture* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 123.

[62] Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 336.

[63] La Coacha's ability to change the laughing target contributes to the power of laughing and laughter. For more information on laughter and power see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. by Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968); Kathleen Rowe, *The Unruly Woman: Gender and the Genres of Laughter* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1995); Guisela M. Latorre, "Humor and Hemispheric Consciousness: Chicana/o and Native American Contemporary Art" *Journal of American Studies of Turkey* 18 (2003); Gillota, *Ethnic Humor in Multiethnic America*; and Joseph Boskin and Joseph Dorinson, "Ethnic Humor: Subversion and Survival" *American Quarterly* 37, no.1 (1985).

[64] Chun, "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery."

[65] Chun, "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery," 278.

[66] Chun, "Speaking Like Asian Immigrants," 18.

[67] Ibid.,17.

[68] Ibid., 18.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Chun, "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery," 285.

[71] In Eric Lott's canonical work he argues that minstrel shows are more complex than representations/performances of racism. These blackface embodiments by white actors was because they both feared and had a fascination with African Americans a "dialectical flickering of racial insult and envy," *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 18.

[72] Boskin and Dorinson, "Ethnic Humor," 93; Joseph Boskin, *Humor and Social Change in Twentieth-Century America* (Boston, MA: Trustees of the Public Library, 1979), 57; and Robert Brake, "The Lion Act is Over: Passive/Aggressive Patterns of Communication in American Negro Humor," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 9, no.3 (1975).

[73] Chun, "Ideologies of Legitimate Mockery," 285.

[74] Angharad N. Valdivia, "Rosie Goes to Hollywood: The Politics of Representations," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 18, no.2 (1996).

[75] Chun, "The Construction of White, Black, and Korean American Identities through African American Vernacular English," 62.

[76] The term "White public space" refers to "a morally significant set of contexts that are the most important sites of the practices of a racializing hegemony, in which whites are invisibly normal, and in which racialized populations are visibly marginal and the objects of monitoring ranging from individual judgment to Official English legislation,"
in Hélan E. Page and Brooke Thomas, "White Public Space and the Construction of White Privilege in U.S. Health Care: Fresh Concepts and a New Model of Analysis," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 8 (1994), 109.

[77] Agha, *Language and Social Relations*, 191.

[78] Ibid., 192.

[79] Mark Warschauer, "Language, Identity, and the Internet," in *Race in Cyberspace*, ed by Beth E. Kolko, Lisa Nakamura, and Gilber B. Rodman (New York: Routledge, 2000), 155.

[80] Ana Celia Zentella, "The 'Chiquitafication' of U.S. Latinos and Their Language, (OR: Why We Need an Anthropolitical Linguistics)," *Texas Linguistic Forum* 36 (1996): 10.

[81] Mary Bucholtz, "Sociolinguistic Nostalgia and the Authentication of Identity," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7, no.3 (2003): 408.

[82] Bucholtz, , "Sociolinguistic Nostalgia and the Authentication of Identity," 408.

[83] Ibid., 407.

[84] Dana E. Mastro and Riva Tukachinsky, "The influence of media exposure on the formation, activation, and application of racial/ethnic stereotypes," in *Media Effects/Media Psychology*, *Vo 5*, ed. by Erica Scharrer (Boston, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

[85] Zentella, "Jose Can You See?"

[86] Gillota, *Ethnic Humor in Multiethnic America*, 15.

[87] Boskin and Dorinson, "Ethnic Humor."

[88] Gillota, *Ethnic Humor in Multiethnic America, 157.*

[89] Américo Paredes, *The Anglo-American in Mexican Folklore*, (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1966).

[90] Paredes, *The Anglo-American in Mexican Folklore.*

[91] Ibid.

[92] Lisa Merrill, "Feminist Humor: Rebellious and Self-Affirming," in *Last Laughs: Perspectives on Women and Comedy*, ed. by Regina Barreca (New York: Gordon and Breach, Science Publishers, Inc., 1988), 272.

[93] Rowe, *The Unruly Woman*, 7.

[94] Ibid., 11.

[95] Latorre, "Humor and Hemispheric Consciousness," 3.

[96] Ibid., 2.

[97] See Elena R. Gutíerrez, *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's Reproduction* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008), to inquire how Mexican origin women's reproduction is demonized and stereotyped in the U.S.

[98] See Danielle Henderson, *Feminist Ryan Gosling: Feminist Theory as Imagined From Your Favorite Sensitive Movie Dude* (Philadelphia, PA: Running Press, 2012), for specific memes.

[99] Bakhtin views parody as having social and political value, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. by Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981); Zentella, "Jose Can you See?," 62.

[100] Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 402.

[101] Deborah Paredez, "'Queer for Uncle Sam': Anita's Latina diva citizenship in West Side Story," *Latino Studies* 12, no. 3 (2014): 335.

VI. Postscript

> We are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic mestizaje, the subject of your burla. Because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified. Racially, culturally and linguistically somos huérfanos—we speak an orphan tongue.[1]

For Chican@s and Latin@s both Spanish and English languages hold an important role in daily life. If one is dark skinned, you are stereotyped to speak Spanish and the level of English proficiency is questioned from mainstream white monolingual listening ears.[2] For fair skinned Chican@s and Latin@s they are not anticipated to speak Spanish, because they "pass" and read as white, and if there is a hint of a Spanish inflected English (SIE) "accent" there is confusion from white monolingual listeners because fair skinned Chican@s and Latin@s are envisioned to speak without an "accent" in English.[3] As Gloria Anzaldua's argument illustrates, in the epigraph, the linguistic terrorism that Chican@s and Latin@s tongues experience is one of ridicule. Chican@s and Latin@s are seen as not speaking Spanish or English "correctly" and the use of Spanglish as a bastard or unofficial tongue. However, this mestiz@ tongue is one of pride, creativity, and a language of the borderlands.[4] Mainstream expectations of how Chican@s and Latin@s should speak are reflected in the production of media images in the voices of fictional characters on screen to mock and laugh at. The dissertation analyzed this static representation of Chican@ and Latin@ voices in various media formats across distinct decades.

The tension between reality or presumed reality via media representation was analyzed. Vocal representations of Chican@ and Latin@ actors in mainstream English media, in various media formats across several different decades, illustrates how little change has occurred despite media technologies. For example, in 1920s-1940s fan magazines published the visual "accent" in SIE of female Mexican film actor Lupe Vélez. The use of her visual

"accent" for words like "you" for "joo" or "it" for "eet" makes political and social commentary on Spanish-English bilingual speakers. The visual tactics of deleting constants and adding double vowels infantilizes the speaker and constantly places English Latin@ speakers as forever foreigners. Lupe Vélez's agency in visually being quoted with an "accent" in fan magazines is questionable. Vélez's visual "accent" left readers an archive of her presumed voice, garnered her sense of "authenticity," and a sonic legacy for Chican@s and Latin@s in and out of media to inherent. Chican@s and Latin@s are expected to speak with a SIE "accent."

In the second example, the use of a Spanish inflected English (SIE), Chicano slang, and African American Vernacular English (AAVE) functions similarly, yet there are differences based on media, time, and the role of agency. In 1970s television sitcom series *Chico and the Man* (1974), actor Freddie Prinze on screen and in his standup comedy routine, consciously uses a SIE "accent" for a humorous punch. His use of ethnic humor via an "accent" surfaced public discourses of his "authentic" performance of a Chicano role because of his Puerto Rican and Hungarian heritage and his gendered representation of racialized masculinity. The role of agency and creative control is more apparent because his linguistic performances on screen were different than what was written in the official script for selected episodes. This chapter also gave light to Black and Chican@ Latin@ race and gendered relations in 1970s television.

In the following chapter I center the linguistic reproduction of the Mexican bandito, or the Anglicized pronounciation bandido, in animated film. I analyze the contemporary luchador villain "El Macho/Eduardo Perez" voiced by Peruvian and German actor Benjamin Bratt in the animated film *Despicable Me: 2* (2013). El Macho's forced Spanish inflected

English (SIE) "accent" surfaces racialized linguistic performances of Mexican villains, for example 1940s Speedy Gonzales and 1960s Frito Lay's Frito Bandito. These linguistic representations place Mexican bodies, specifically Mexican masculinity, as dangerous, comical, and effeminate. Despite technological advances in the creation of animated film little progress has been made in the voicing of Mexican animated characters. Although there are moments of symbolic rupture in Bratt's vocal performance because he purposely exaggerates and uses incorrect forms of English in order to mock English monolingual speakers use of the Spanish language, his ethnic background and voicing of a Mexican character complicate racial vocal performances.

The final analysis of visual Spanish inflected English (SIE) "accents" is in the subtitles of online parody videos of Internet celebrity "La Coacha." La Coacha creates music parody videos of popular songs. She stands out from the parody genre on YouTube because she places accented subtitles at the bottom of her videos. The subtitles are in a SIE "accent." La Coacha intentionally places accented subtitles, not very subtly because of the bright colored and bold font of the text, in order to poke fun of historical racial linguistic vocal performances of previous Chican@ and Latin@ actors in Hollywood. Because the videos are created and uploaded by La Coacha on her YouTube website, and other social media platforms, she has complete creative control. The accented subtitles and visual "accent" not only make social and political commentary on historical vocal representations (outlined in previous chapters) but also provide a visual representation of an online Spanish-English bilingual lexicon. There is a trend between Chican@ and Latin@ online users to post status updates and memes with accented words. This form of linguistic representation is a technique of ethnic humor that stems from a personal experience of being made fun of

because of Chican@s and Latin@s pronunciation of English words. This form of subversive humor is not one of ridicule, however some may read it as such, but stems from a survival tactic of mainstream mockery.[5] Visual "accents" call attention to the linguistic creativity of Spanish-English bilingual speakers and function as a racial linguistic relationship online in a media space that is known for is anonymity.

This study of language, gender, race, and media seeks to place media voices at the center of viewers' experiences. To center the ear but also consider how voice, body and aesthetics work together to create long lasting images of how Chican@s and Latin@s should speak and look like in mainstream media. Therefore, the visual linguistic "accent" of performers was central to each chapter and argument for the given medium and time period. An interesting additional link between chapters is in the visual representation of the word "you" for "joo" pronounced "Jew." In the first chapter, the word "joo" is used to mock and publish Vélez's "accent" in 1930s-1940s fan magazines, it appears in the sitcom *Chico and the Man* (1974) and followed by a laugh track when it's vocalized by Freddie Prinze, in the animated film *Despicable Me: 2* (2013) it occurs in the speech of the super villain "El Macho/Eduardo Perez" voiced by Benjamin Bratt masked as humorous family entertainment, and finally in the subtitles of parody online videos as political commentary on the form Chican@s and Latin@s are represented in media but also as form of insider ethnic humor reflected in user participation online. The sonic and visual representation of "joo" signifies a form of mocking, ridicule, creativity, and symbolic rupture in media. The combination of Linguistics, Chican@, and Media Studies provides an interdisciplinary lens to analyze the various meanings of Spanish inflected English (SIE) in the U.S.

The various approaches from different academic traditions highlights the importance of conducting research that can speak to more than one field. For Chican@ Studies my focus of language, outside of the framework of education and studies concerning K-12 classrooms, refocuses the importance of language in communities that continue to experience the effects of linguistic colonization and innovative techniques of being bilingual. In addition to how Spanish-English bilingualism has been represented in mainstream English language media. This dissertation is in conversation with media scholars who study race and gender representation and stereotypes in film, television, and online. My analysis of linguistic representation as a marker to racialize and engender certain bodies emphasizes the relationship of how stereotypes are not only constructed visually but through sound. Centering a stereotypical imagined sound represented in various media formats adds language as a marker of investigation when studying representation. Finally, for the field of linguistics, specifically sociolinguistics, the dissertation pushes the limits of where to conduct research. While sociolinguists research authentic speakers, meaning people from interesting linguistic communities where speech is not scripted, their interest lies on speech in everyday context. I applied sociolinguistic theories to scripted encounters in media adds to growing literature of how ideologies of race are associated with certain bodies because they are perceived as speaking differently regardless if the context is fictional, viewers associate the fictional character on screen as authentic speakers. While there are various contributions that the dissertation makes there are also spaces for growth and future research topics.

In the following phases of this dissertation a stronger focus on audience reception will demonstrate various techniques of visual linguistic ethnic humor online in order to show

forms of symbolic rupture by Chican@s and Latin@s millennials. Another portion of audience studies can focus on feedback of Spanish dominant Chican@ and Latin@ speakers concerning the representation of Spanish inflected English (SIE) in mainstream media. This research can shine light on the presence of Spanish dominant speakers online and the language politics of multigenerational Spanish-English bilingual speakers. Finally, an analysis of terms like "broken English," "backward speaking," and "proper" forms of speaking English and Spanish among Chican@ and Latin@ communities would be conversation with interethnic language politics and perceptions of "accents."

Ultimately, the dissertation seeks to bring together three academic fields in order to deconstruct the sonic and visual representation of linguistic "accents." Representations in media are part of a matrix of culture and meaning making that give viewers images and sounds that create a person in a mediascape.[6] While some viewers can read beyond stereotypical intents of the content every viewer is still exposed to racist visual and sonic representations that everyone is familiar with. Chican@s and Latin@s have made sense of themselves in mainstream English dominant spaces and actively read against fictional representations of themselves or as Frances Aparicio argues we create our own sub-versive signifiers.[7] As Gloria Anzaldúa states about ability of Chican@s to survive in a nation that visually and sonically produces acts of linguistic terrorism, "Humildes yet proud, quietos yet wild, nosotros los [Chican@s] will walk by the crumbling ashes as we go about our business. Stubborn, persevering, impenetrable as stone, yet possessing a malleability that renders us unbreakable as stone, yet possessing a malleability that renders us breakable, we, the mestizas and mestizos, will remain."[8] As the U.S. continues to receive a color and language change, because of the constant flow of immigration from Spanish speaking

countries, the country will be forced to answer linguistic, racial, social, and political needs of bilingual and bicultural Chican@s and Latin@s, in and out of media spaces.

Notes to Postscript

[1] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: CA: Aunt Lute Books, 1999), 80.

[2] Ana Celia Zentella, "Latin@ Languages and Identities," in *Latinos: Remaking America*, ed. by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Mariela M. Páez, 321-338 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009).

[3] See Margaret Hunter, "The Persistent Problem of Colorism: Skin Tone, Status, and Inequality," *Sociology Compass* (2007): 237-54, for a discussion on colorism and the perceived notion that dark skinned people are seen as more "authentic" than fair skinned people.

[4] Ed Morales, *Living in Spanglish: The Search for Latino Identity in America* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2002); and Jason Rothman and Amy Beth Rell, "A linguistic analysis of Spanglish: Relating language to identity," *Linguistics and the Human Sciences* (2005): 515-36.

[5] Guisela M. Latorre, "Humor and Hemispheric Consciousness: Chicana/o and Native American Contemporary Art," *Journal of American Studies of Turkey* 18 (2003): 1-13.

[6] Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. (New York: SAGE Publications, 1997).

[7] The full quote reads, "Both transcreation and tropicalization propose multidirectional modes of engaging in the politics of representation by examining the shifting semantics of cultural signifiers, the flux of appropriations and re-appropriations that characterizes cultural identity and cross-cultural dynamics, and by allowing the voices and signifiers of Latinos and Latinas to reclaim our always already tropicalized "tropics" as a cultural site of our own. In the process, we are rewriting and transforming 'American' culture with our own sub-versive signifiers," Frances R. Aparicio, "On Sub-Versive Signifiers: U.S. Latina/o Writers Tropicalize English," American Literature 66, no. 4 (1994): 795-801 (quote from 796).

[8] Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, 86.

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