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Abstract:
The pragmatic consequences of code-switching in the field of literary translation, especially in the case of Chicano novels that are written in English but code-switches to Spanish for pragmatic, narrative and stylistic purposes have barely been studied so far. The aim of this paper is to analyze how code-switching has been dealt with in the translation into Spanish of these novels that, although written in English, use Spanish to convey specific pragmatic functions and certain stylistic effects. Our corpus will consist of three novels by Sandra Cisneros (*The House on Mango Street, Woman Hollering Creek* and *Caramelo*) and their translations into Spanish. Preliminary results point out that most code-switching values, which in the source texts are signaled by the alternation between two different languages, sometimes are lost in translation. We propose here two techniques to translate these pragmatic values: explicitation and compensation. One of the most important consequences of the study is the need for a through pragmalinguistic analysis of the source text, especially when the main linguistic feature of the text is the intentional shifting of languages for strategic reasons.
Key words: code-switching, translation, stylistic equivalence, pragmatic equivalence, explicitation, compensation.

Resumen:
Las consecuencias pragmáticas de la alternancia de código en el campo de la traducción literaria han sido poco estudiadas, especialmente en el caso de las novelas chicanas escritas en inglés, pero que alternan al español por razones estilísticas, narrativas y pragmáticas. El objetivo de este artículo consiste en analizar cómo se ha tratado la alternancia de código en la traducción al español de estas novelas que, a pesar de estar escritas en inglés, utilizan el español para transmitir funciones pragmáticas específicas y efectos estilísticos concretos. Nuestro corpus está compuesto por tres novelas de Sandra Cisneros (*The House on Mango Street, Woman Hollering Creek* y *Caramelo*) y sus correspondientes traducciones al español. Los resultados preliminares del estudio apuntan que la mayoría de los valores transmitidos en la alternancia de código, marcados en el texto fuente por el cambio entre dos lenguas diferentes, algunas veces se pierden en la traducción. Proponemos aquí dos técnicas para traducir esos valores pragmáticos: la explicitación y la compensación. Una de las consecuencias más importantes del estudio es la necesidad de un análisis pragmalingüístico exhaustivo del texto fuente, especialmente cuando la principal característica lingüística del texto es el cambio intencional de idioma por razones estratégicas.
Palabras clave: alternancia de código, traducción, equivalencia estilística, equivalencia pragmática, explicitación, compensación.

Résumé:
Les conséquences pragmatiques de l'alternance du code dans le domaine de la traduction littéraire ont été très peu étudiées, particulièrement dans le cas des romans Chicanos écrits en anglais, mais qui alternent en espagnol pour des raisons stylistiques, narratives et pragmatiques. Le but de cet article consiste dans l'analyse du traitement de l'alternance du code dans la traduction en espagnol des romans écrits en anglais qui utilisent l'espagnol pour transmettre les fonctions pragmatiques spécifiques et des effets stylistiques concrets. Notre corpus est composé de trois romans de Sandra Cisneros (*The House on Mango Street, Woman Hollering Creek* y *Caramelo*) et de leurs traductions en espagnol. Les premiers résultats de cette étude montrent que la plupart des valeurs transmises dans l'alternance du code, marquées dans le texte source par le changement entre deux langues différentes, quelquefois se perdent dans la traduction. Nous proposons ici deux techniques pour traduire ces valeurs pragmatiques: l'explicitation et la compensation. Une des principales conséquences de cette étude est la nécessité d'une analyse pragmalinguisique exhaustive du texte source, spécialement lorsque la principale caractéristique linguistique du texte est le changement intentionnel de langue pour des raisons stratégiques.
Mots clés: alternance de code, traduction, équivalence stylistique, équivalence pragmatique, explicitation, compensation.

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1. Introduction

One of the many definitions of code-switching is "the alternate use of two languages or linguistic varieties within the same utterance or during the same conversation" (Hoffmann 1991: 110). The phenomenon of code-switching (hereinafter, CS) has been widely studied since the 70s from different perspectives namely, pedagogical, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, and linguistic and almost always using oral speech as data. However, CS in written discourse has only been studied by a few scholars (Azevedo 1991, Bürki 2003, Callahan 2002, 2004, Keller 1979, Lipski 1982, Mendieta-Lombardo and Cintrón 1995, Nuessel 2000, Rudin 1996, Valdés Fallis 1977) and even fewer have analyzed the phenomenon of CS in Translation (Bandia 1996, Coates 2000, Mezei 1998).

The aim of this paper is to explore the implications of the phenomenon of CS in translation. In particular, I will study the challenges that literary code-switched texts pose for the translator and the possible techniques that can be used to address them. I chose a corpus of novels written in English but with a constant alternation to Spanish. The corpus consisted of three novels by Sandra Cisneros: *The House on Mango Street* (1984) (hereinafter, HMS) *Woman Hollering Creek* (1991) (hereinafter, WHC) and *Caramelo* (2002) and their translations into Spanish: *La casa en Mango Street* (1994) (hereinafter, CMS), *El arroyo de la llorona* (1996) (hereinafter, ADL) and *Caramelo* (2003).

2. Main Challenges of Translating Code-Switched Fiction

The translation of code-switched literary texts poses two main challenges for translators. First, apart from conveying the meaning of the source text and thus, achieving semantic equivalence, the translator dealing with literary texts should maintain the style of the source text created by the alternation to Spanish in the narrative since the aesthetic function here is predominant over the informative function of the language. In other words, translators should maintain the aesthetic effects triggered by the use of CS in Cisneros's novels and hence, try to obtain the stylistic equivalence in the target text. This challenge is related to the question of contrast. It is precisely the fact that the target language is one of the languages used in the CS that makes it hard for the translator to convey the same pragmatic effects triggered by the contrast between English and Spanish.

This leads us to the second challenge: to convey in the Spanish translation the same pragmatic functions that the CS performs in the original English text. In other words, translators of all types of texts, but especially literary code-switched texts should always try to achieve 'pragmatic equivalence' or what is called by Valentín García Yebra (1997) "equivalencia funcional" (functional equivalence). By pragmatic equivalence, it is meant that the target text should 'do' the same thing as the source text: produce the same reactions and effects on the target audience as the source text produced on the source readership[i]. For that purpose, before embarking in the task of translating a code-mixed literary text, translators should analyze the pragmatic functions of the source text.

3. Pragmatic Functions of CS in Cisneros's Novels

There are two main pragmatic functions in Cisneros's fiction that occasionally are performed at the same time: reinforcement of speech acts and comical effect mechanism.

The function of reinforcement or emphasis of a speech act is produced by the contrast between English as the 'default' language of the story and Spanish as the language used to foreground some aspects of the novel. The idea of the switch of languages as 'foregrounding' has been pointed out by authors such as Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez (1975), Lipski (1982) or Koike (1987). According to Koike (1987), English would be the 'background' language in Chicano oral narratives and Spanish would act as a language 'to foreground' material, achieving a more dramatic effect. This same dramatic effect is evident in written examples found in Cisneros's novels where the switch of languages functions to foreground or reinforce the speech act.

Although this emphatic or foregrounding function of CS has been pointed out by those authors, there are two distinct objects of emphasis that have not been specified: reinforcement of the illocutionary force of the speech act and emphasis on its propositional content (Searle 1969). In the first case, the alternation of Spanish takes place normally among sentences (intersentential). However, when the CS is used as a device to reinforce the propositional content of an act, the switch usually occurs within a single sentence or phrase (intrasentential and interphrasal CS).

On the one hand, intersentential CS functioning as an emphatic mark has been found in four of the five main illocutionary acts distinguished by Searle (1976): directives, commissives, expressives, and representatives. In all these types the switch to Spanish functions as reinforcement of the illocutionary force of those acts or of the main speech act in the utterance. Consider the following examples:

a) Directives:
In *Caramelo*, Zoila, fights with her husband a lot. When they have an argument, she uses CS or even just Spanish to intensify and reinforce her anger as in example (1) where the command is given in Spanish to emphasize the illocutionary act of the directive.

(1)   I don't ever want to see you again. *¡Lárgate!* You disgust me, *me das asco*, you *cochino*! You're not fit to be the father of my children.
(p.11, *Caramelo*)

b) Commissives:
In *Caramelo*, The Awful Grandmother promises Lala, the main character in the novel who is writing a book about her grandmother's life, that she won't interrupt her story anymore and asks her to let her stay there listening to how she finishes the novel (example 2). Therefore, the commissive in Spanish ("*Te lo juro*") is used to reinforce her promise but is oriented towards the illocutionary force of the implicit request: "Let me stay". So, CS here is used strategically as a reinforcement of the secondary illocutionary act (the commissive) in order to perform the primary illocutionary act (the request).

(2)   Not even if God commanded it! You won't even know I'm here. *Te lo juro.*
(p. 201, *Caramelo*)

c) Expressives:
In this category, different types of expressive speech acts can be found: expressions of gratitude (example 3) or greeting someone and wishing good luck (example 4) although in an

ironical sense. Here, the challenge for the translator would be to convey the same emphatic effect on the illocutionary force of the expressive at the same time as the irony.

(3)   —Wait, Aunty. I'll get us a box of Kleenex.
          —*Gracias, mija*. But I was telling you, I went to live with my husband, right? (…)

                                                                    (p.271, *Caramelo*)

(4)   I'd say yes to an art director's job at a community cultural center in San Antonio. Eduardo and I had split. For good. *C'est finis*. End of the road, buddy. *Adiós y suerte*. (. . .) I was terrified of confronting "*la otra*". My nemesis, in other words. A financial consultant for Merrill Lynch. A blonde.

                                                                    (p. 142, WHC)

Second, in addition to standard expressives, there are hundreds of examples of CS in *Caramelo* to reinforce affective appellations or insults to the addressee. For example, in (5), Lala's cousin Antonieta Araceli switches to Spanish to insult Lala ("*mentirosa*" and "*mocosa*"). The change of languages serves to foreground the illocutionary force of the expressive act. On the other hand, Inocencio, Lala's father, very often switches to Spanish to appeal affectively to his daughter Lala (example 6).

(5)   —*¡Mentirosa!* It wasn't me! You just like to invent stories, *mocosa*. You believe me, don't you, Mami?

                                                                    (p.61, *Caramelo*)

(6)   (…) Don't you cry, *corazón*.

                                                                    (p.81, *Caramelo*)

d) Representatives:
Most of the switching of languages in representatives is due to a strategic reason on the part of the speaker, that is, the speaker uses Spanish in order to get something from the addressee. For example, in (7), Lala uses Spanish because she is talking to her grandmother and, although the grandma can understand English, using Spanish is a good strategy to get closer to her and convince her not to punish her for not eating her *mole*. The challenge for the translator is to convey that communicative intention of getting closer to the interlocutor by any linguistic means at his or her disposal.

(7)   —Celaya, you didn't even touch your *mole*.
          —I can't eat it, Grandmother. *Pica*. It makes little needles on my tongue.
                                                                    (p. 55, *Caramelo*)

Apart from this intersentential CS used as reinforcement of the illocutionary force of the speech act, the inclusion of Spanish can also function to reinforce the propositional content of the speech act. Characters in Cisneros's novels usually switch to Spanish when dealing with topics such as family or religion which are such important values in Mexican culture and society (example 8). The translator should also reinforce these topics by any linguistic mechanism that

allows reinforcing the contrast between ideas. In the next section it will be shown how this can be done.

(8)   —Because we're *raza*, Mars says, shrugging. —Know what I'm talking about? Because we're *familia*. And *familia*, like it or not, for richer or poorer, *familia* always gots to stick together, bro'.

(p.281, *Caramelo*)

The other main pragmatic function of CS in Cisneros's fiction consists of producing a humorous effect. CS here can function as a trigger for the funny situation performed by the characters or as a comical element introduced in the description of the events by the narrator (examples 9-11). In all the cases, the challenge for the translator is to convey that comical effect produced by the contrast between English and Spanish and also the contrast between registers (common language expressions with very colloquial words) that the readership does not expect.

(9)   I'm to blame. Flavio Murguía was just ordinary Flavio until he met me. I filled up his head with a million and one *cariñitos*. Then he was ruined forever. Walked differently. Looked people in the eye when he talked. Ran his eyes across every pair of *nalgas* and *chichis* he saw. I am sorry.

(p.137, WHC)

(10)   —Sister, I'm not lying to you. So there I was, it was my word against the government's . . . You don't have to believe me, brother, but this happened . . . What a barbarity

(p. 378, *Caramelo*)

(11)   —So, I said to the boss, I quit. This job is like *el calzón de una puta*. A prostitute's underwear. You heard me!

(p. 11, *Caramelo*)

4. Translation Strategies for Code-Switched Novels

As it was said before, the main objective for translators of these types of texts is to convey the same pragmatic effects in the target text at the same time that they preserve the stylistics of the source text. Since most of these pragmatic effects are triggered by the contrast between the two different languages that the CS provokes, it seems that the ideal solution for the translator of code-switched texts would also be to use CS in the target text in order to reproduce the contrast and hence, the same pragmatic functions. However, this is not always possible, mainly due to the fact that the audience of the Spanish translations of Cisneros's narrative is not the same as the normally bilingual audience of the original novels, which is normally able to understand most of the cases of CS. Therefore, the translator has to resort to other translation techniques in order to achieve functional equivalence in the translation.

There are mainly three translation techniques that can be applied to the translation of Cisneros's code-switched texts to convey the pragmatic functions achieved by the source texts. These are explicitation, compensation and the phenomenon of CS itself not only by switching from Spanish into English, that is, introducing English words or expressions in the Spanish

translation, but also by the alternation of different dialects or registers within Spanish language. Next, I will present each translation technique with examples of how these can be applied in our corpus. Sometimes these techniques are applied separately and other times, two or three techniques are used at the same time.

First, the explicitation technique consists of adding some information to the translation that is not in the source text for several reasons and purposes. In some of the examples showed above, explicitation can be applied in order to achieve pragmatic equivalence. In (7), it was seen that the main character of *Caramelo* uses Spanish when talking to her grandmother for a strategic reason: to get closer to her and avoid punishment for not having eaten her *mole*. The translation (12) does not convey the emphatic function of the representative triggered by the alternation to Spanish, *Pica*, 'It's spicy', and the persuasive effect that the use of Spanish produces on the Grandma:

(12)   —Celaya, ni siquiera tocaste tu mole.
       —No me lo puedo comer, abuela. Pica. Hace agujitas en mi lengua.

(p. 76, trad. *Caramelo*)

By applying an explicitation technique to this example and adding a quantity complement such as *un montón*, 'a lot', more emphasis is placed on the representative speech act as it can be seen in (13) below. Also, by saying *abuelita*, 'dear grandma', instead of *abuela*, 'grandmother', the diminutive –*ita* helps to convey the persuasive effect on the grandmother since this suffix functions as a positive politeness strategy in Spanish (García Vizcaíno 2001) to get closer to the addressee.

(13)   —Celaya, ni siquiera tocaste tu mole.
       —Abuelita, no me lo puedo comer. ¡Pica un montón! Hace agujitas en mi lengua

The pragmatic function of the CS is not conveyed in the translation of (9) either. In this case, the inclusion of two very colloquial words in Spanish, *nalgas*, 'buttocks', and *chichis*, 'teats', creates a humorous effect since the reader does not expect those references and the fact that they are uttered in another language adds a comical touch to the situation. In the translation (see 14 below), the effect produced on the narration is more dramatic (in a sort of grotesque sense) than comical because there is no contrast in languages nor even in registers and also due to the expression "*acariciaba con los ojos*" 'was caressing her with his eyes'. The verb *acariciar*, 'to caress', by itself is very positive since it denotes a sensitive act. However, this verb accompanied by the noun phrase *con los ojos*, 'with the eyes', and having as direct object sexual references (*nalgas* and *chichis*) implies a secret action and somewhat gruesome in this case. So, the connotation raised by the translation is more repugnancy than humor.

(14)   Yo tengo la culpa. Flavio Munguía era Flavio común y corriente hasta que
       me conoció. Le llené la cabeza de mil y un cariñitos. Entonces se echó a
       perder para siempre. Caminaba diferente. Miraba a la gente a los ojos
       cuando hablaba. Acariciaba con los ojos a cada par de nalgas y chichas
       que veía. Cuánto lo siento.

(p. 151, ADL)

A possible way to convey the comical effect of the narration could be by adding another colloquialism to the situation. For example, the translator could use a more explicit and vulgar expression to explain the way Flavio was looking at women such as "*se le saltaban los ojos*" or "*se le salían los ojos de las órbitas*", 'his eyes popped out of his head', o "*se ponía baboso*", 'he would salivate after every ass that walked by' such as in (15):

(15) Yo tengo la culpa. Flavio Munguía era Flavio común y corriente hasta que me conoció. Le llené la cabeza de mil y un cariñitos. Entonces se echó a perder para siempre. Caminaba diferente. Miraba a la gente a los ojos cuando hablaba. Se le saltaban los ojos y se ponía baboso a cada par de nalgas y chichas que veía. Cuánto lo siento.

The second technique that can be used to translate code-switched literary texts is compensation. Compensation occurs "when loss of meaning, sound-effect, metaphor or pragmatic effect in one part of a sentence is compensated in another part, or in a contiguous sentence" (Newmark 1988:90). In example (16) below, the inclusion of *lárgate*, 'go away', in Spanish is very powerful since it reinforces the directive[ii] and also gives emphasis to the quotation said by "the real women", the women whom the narrator admires because they have the guts to dump men when they deserve it.

(16) But women. Real women. The ones I've loved all my life. *If you don't like it lárgate, honey*. Those women. The ones I've known everywhere except on TV, in books and magazines. *Las* girlfriends. *Las comadres*. Our mamas and *tías*. Passionate *and* powerful, tender and volatile, brave. And, above all, fierce.

(p. 161, WHC)

In the translation (see 17 below), the emphasis has been conveyed yet in a different part of the sentence. The translator has kept *lárgate* in Spanish and *honey* in English. This way the contrast is maintained and the effect triggered is reinforcement on the vocative (*honey*), that is, the expressive illocutionary act instead of the directive (*lárgate*). Although the emphasis on the vocative conveys irony on the part of the women ("honey" when they really mean "idiot") more than fierceness (*lárgate*), the important thing in the translation is to create for the readership the effect of contrast and the idea of dominance and strong personality of these women that Cisneros describes.

(17) Sino mujeres. Mujeres de verdad. A las que he querido toda mi vida. Si no te gusta, lárgate, *honey*. Esas mujeres. A las que he encontrado en todas partes menos en la televisión, en los libros y en las revistas. Las *girlfriends*. Las comadres. Nuestras mamás y tías. Apasionadas y poderosas, tiernas y volubles, valientes. Y sobre todo feroces.

(p. 179, ADL)

Finally, the third technique that translators can use to convey the pragmatic effects produced by the contrast generated by the CS in the source text is CS itself. There are at least three possible ways to use CS in the Spanish translation: switching between languages (Spanish-English), within Spanish varieties (Mexican and Peninsular), and within registers (low and

standard). The first one, including English words in the Spanish text, presents a problem for the mostly monolingual audience of the target text. So, the words and expressions included in English should be familiar enough to be recognized by the Spanish readership.

For example, in the translation of (18) into Spanish (19) the inclusion of an English word can be done because 'library' is a term that could be understood by the Spanish reader who will make the association with *librería*:

(18)   They mumbled in their atrocious *pocho* Spanish with English words minced in. She suspected they were hiding from her. —¿*Y* la Amor? —Amor *se fue a la . . .* library. Like that.

<div align="right">(p. 290, *Caramelo*)</div>

(19)   Murmuraban en su español pocho atroz revuelto con palabras en inglés hechas picadillo. Sospechaba que se escondían de ella. "¿Y la Amor?" "Amor se fue a la *library*." Así.

<div align="right">(p. 355, trad. *Caramelo*)</div>

The problem here is that 'library' is a false cognate in Spanish since it does not mean *librería*, 'bookstore', but *biblioteca*. Yet, this is not terribly relevant in this context: the main goal for the translator here is to convey the idea that the grandchildren mixed English and Spanish. That fact is more important than where Amor went. In other words, this is a case where the translator gives priority to the form and stylistics of the source text in order to convey a pragmatic function. In literary translation, most of the times form should be prioritized over content since the aesthetic function of the language is as (or even more) important as the informative function.

Another example of including English words in the Spanish translation is (4) above. In this example, we encountered an expressive act *Adiós y suerte*, 'Goodbye and good luck', uttered in Spanish. The pragmatic function of the Spanish expressive in the original text is that of emphasis as it was explained above. As it happens in example (16), the idea of women dumping men who betray them is reinforced by the contrast not only in Spanish, but also in French (*C'est finis*) as it is shown in (20). This repetition of the same idea in different languages (English, French and Spanish) emphasizes the act of leaving this man for good.

In the Spanish translation (20), the emphasis is also conveyed through CS, but in a reverse way: from Spanish into English. The translator used English to express the act of saying goodbye and that creates a contrast in languages and emphasis on the illocutionary force of the speech act. In this particular case, the possibility of using an English expression is feasible since "goodbye" is a word that the Spanish reader is likely to know. Furthermore, the emphasis on the idea of "the other woman" (*la otra*) that is expressed in Spanish in the source text, is compensated later, in the last sentence, when instead of *una rubia*, 'a blonde', the translator chooses a typical Mexican expression for blondes —*una güera*.

(20)   Había dicho que sí a un puesto como directora de arte en un centro cultural comunitario de San Antonio. Eduardo y yo habíamos terminado. Definitivamente. *C'est finis*. Aquí te bajas, amigo. *Goodbye* y suerte. (. . .) Me daba terror enfrentarme a "la otra". Mi rival, en otras palabras. Una asesora financiera de Merrill Lynch. Una güera.

<div align="right">(p. 157, ADL)</div>

This mechanism of using Mexican expressions in the Spanish translation is precisely the second technique to convey the pragmatic effects of the CS in the original text since the contrast is maintained, although this time not between two different languages but between two linguistic varieties of Spanish: Mexican and Peninsular. For example, in (21) below, the emphasis in the representative act "*You are a llorona*", 'You are a whiner', is conveyed through the contrast of English and the Spanish word *llorona*. In the translation (22), that emphasis is conveyed through a contrast between Peninsular and Mexican Spanish, not exactly in *chillona* (a quasi-synonym of *llorona*, also very much used in Mexico), but in another part: "¡*Ya párale*!", 'Quit it!', where also the exclamation marks in Spanish (much less often used than in English) contribute to the emphatic tone of Lala's mother.

(21)   —Cripes, Mother says, —You were a *llorona* when you were a baby, and you're still a *llorona* now. Quit it! What this place needs is some Pine-Sol.
                                                                (p. 306, *Caramelo*)

(22)   —Chinelas —dice mamá—. Fuiste chillona de bebé y sigues chillona. ¡Ya párale! Lo que este lugar necesita es un poco de Pine-Sol.
                                                                (p. 375, trad. *Caramelo*)

So, compensation and CS techniques are used simultaneously when translating code-switched texts. Another very interesting example is (23), a case in which it can be perceived how different types of CS in the source text are compensated in the Spanish translation through CS, too. In (23), Lala starts talking to her father in English. When she realizes he does not pay attention to her, she code-switches to Spanish even when her Spanish is not good (lack of prepositions, etc.). So, the CS used by Lala here "*La pared arriba, es que se cayó. Ven, Papá, ven*", 'The wall upstairs. It fell down. Come, Dad, come', is used to reinforce the speech act with a strategic reason behind it: getting her father to come to see the fallen wall. Also, it can be seen an example of covert CS used by a Mexican immigrant character, Lala's father, to emphasize the expressive vocatives.

(23)   I scramble downstairs to tell everyone, only I don't have the words for what I want to say. Not in English. Not in Spanish.
            —The wall has fallen, I keep saying in English.
            —What?
            —Upstairs. In the big dining room. The wall fell. Come and see.
            —What does this kid want? Go see your mother.
            —It's that the wall has fallen.
            —Later, sweetie, not now, I'm busy.
            —The wall in the dining room, it came down like snow.
            —How this child loves to be a pest!
            —What is it, my queen? Tell me, my heaven.
            —*La pared arriba, es que se cayó. Ven, Papá, ven.*
            —You go, Zoila, You're the mother.
            —¡*Ay!* Always, always I'm the mother when you can't be bothered. All right, all right already. Quit pulling at me, Lala, you're going to rip my dress.

(p. 60, *Caramelo*)

The Spanish translation (24) conveys the same pragmatic effects as the original text by using two types of CS, but in different parts of the text. On the one hand, English is used at the beginning of the dialogue when Lala is talking to her father, that is, CS is used in the opposite direction than in the source text. Then, Lala's father talks in English to his daughter and in Spanish to his friends. On the other hand, CS between Mexican and Peninsular Spanish is used by Lala's mother in a part of the text where there is not CS in the original except for the interjection *¡Ay!* This use of CS between different linguistic varieties used by the translator makes the reader realize that the characters of the novel use different languages for different purposes and at the same time that technique helps to preserve the stylistics of the narrative.

(24)   Bajo las escaleras como puedo para decirles a todos, sólo que no tengo las palabras para lo que quiero decir. Ni en inglés, ni en español.
  —*The wall has fallen* —sigo diciendo en inglés.
  —*What?*
  —Arriba. En el comedor grande. *The wall fell. Come and see*.
  —¿Qué quiere esta niña? *Go see your mother*.
  —Es que se cayó la pared.
  —*Later, sweetie, not now, I'm busy.*
  —*The wall in the dining room, it came down like snow*.
  —!Qué latosa es esta niña!
  —¿Qué es, mi reina? Dime, mi cielo.
  —La pared arriba, es que se cayó. Ven, Papá, ven.
  —Ve tú, Zoila, Tú eres la mamá.
  —¡Ay! Siempre soy la mamá cuando no quieres que te frieguen. *All right, all right already*. Ya para de jalarme, Lala, vas a echar a perder mi vestido.

(p. 82-83, trad. *Caramelo*)

The third way of using CS in the Spanish translation of Cisneros's narrative is to use CS between registers to mark the contrast of two different codes and convey the pragmatic effect of reinforcement of the propositional content of the speech act. For example, in (8) above, the topic of the family, which is so important in Mexican culture, is reinforced by the switch of languages in the source text. In the translation (25), this emphasis is linguistically marked by a switch to low register ('*semos*'), which is parallel to the ungrammatical use of 'gots' in the original, and by using very colloquial expressions such as '*jalar parejo*' or '*bróder*'

(25)   —Porque semos raza —dice Mars, encogiéndose de hombros—. ¿Sabes qué estoy diciendo? Porque semos familia. Y la familia, nos guste o no nos guste, en la riqueza y en la pobreza, la familia siempre tiene que jalar parejo, *bróder*.

(p. 344, trad. *Caramelo*)

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown some of the challenges that literary translators face when dealing with code-switched texts and some of the translation techniques that can be used to tackle these difficulties. The main conclusion that can be drawn from this study is the importance of achieving not only semantic equivalence, but also stylistic and pragmatic equivalences in the literary translation, especially in the translation of texts that use CS as a powerful linguistic mechanism to convey a whole array of functions and aesthetic effects. In order to achieve these three types of equivalences in the target text, translators need to undertake a through and comprehensive pragmalinguistic and pragmastylistic analysis of the source text to be able to understand and recognize all the aesthetic and pragmatic functions of the CS in the original work.

It is only by doing a deep pragmalinguistic analysis of the source text that translators can find equivalent mechanisms in form and function to be rendered in the target text. Some of these mechanisms have been pointed out in this paper. In particular, I have suggested the techniques of explicitation and compensation to be used mainly when dealing with the reinforcement and comical functions performed by CS. However, there is still research to be done regarding how translators will deal with specific types of covert CS such as calquing from Spanish into English or the use of English to translate literally Spanish idioms or sayings: "Not even if God commanded it!" for *Ni que Dios lo* mande, in example (2) above. The 'strangement' effect triggered by this covert CS in the source text is an area of research not covered here due to space constraints. Thus, future research studies could be done to explore the linguistic strategies that translators could use to render that 'strangement' effect and be able to let the target readership have the same reading experience as the source readership had.

Also, another future research study related to this topic would be the implications that this study has not only for Translation Studies and more specifically, for Literary Translation, but also for Teaching Spanish at advanced levels. As Lunn and Lunsford (2003) have noted, Translation requires attention to detail and makes students aware of the stylistics and pragmatic subtleties of a text. Therefore, this pragmalinguistic approach to the study of CS in translation could help improve the overall language proficiency of advanced students of Spanish.

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[i] See Hickey (1998) for more information about the relationship of Pragmatics and Translation and the importance of the former to the latter.

[ii] There is a comma missing in the source text right before *lárgate*, which is included correctly in the translation. However, in the translation, there should be a comma right before the adjective *feroces* since the verb is missing in the source text.

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