THE STEREOTYPING OF SPANISH CHARACTERS AND THEIR SPEECH PATTERNS IN ANGLO-AMERICAN FILMS[1]

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Abstract

Allport (1954: 191) defines *stereotype* as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category". Labov (1972:314) establishes stereotypes as a type of linguistic variable which can be heavily stigmatised and is therefore avoided. *Cinema*, with its diversity of situations, scenarios, settings and characters, is an ideal means of dissemination of ethnic and linguistic stereotypes. As Lippi-Green (1997: 81) notes, films often exploit language variation and the viewers' "preconceived notions" to draw characters, and may discriminate against linguistic minorities whose speech becomes *stigmatised*. This paper reports on the analysis of a corpus of 40 films, released both in the United Kingdom and in the United States, in order to find out how Spain and *Spanish characters* are portrayed and to what extend stereotyping affects such a portrayal. This study covers three basic issues: plot, setting and characters, with a particular emphasis on the *linguistic traits* that, according to Anglo-American cinema, characterise Spaniards and their speech.

Keywords: *cinema, cultural stereotypes, sociolinguistic analysis*

1. Introduction

Cinema is probably one of America's most successful exports and is consumed world-wide. It deals with all kinds of situations, scenarios, genres, settings and characters, American or not. However, it cannot be said that it has always portrayed foreigners in a faithful and realistic way; in fact, cinema has been an able and powerful disseminator of stereotypes and clichés. The purpose of this paper is to offer a general analysis of the way Spaniards (their physique, behaviour and accent) and Spain are depicted in American and also British cinema to find out if such a portrayal is realistic or if it just complies with well-established clichés.

The study draws on a corpus of 40 films. Choice was fundamentally determined by availability on DVD format, but I tried to make my selection as comprehensive as possible, so that it would include both old and modern films as well as a variety of plots and characters. Then I based my analysis on the following issues:

- Why Spanish characters appear in American/British films.
- How Spain is depicted (the country, the villages, the houses, etc.).
- How Spaniards are described psychologically, physically and linguistically.

As far as I know, no similar studies have previously been carried out. There are isolated Spanish articles and papers on the way Anglo-American films deal with very specific issues and topics (for instance, the Spanish Civil War), but most of the bibliographic material that is available both on the Internet and in libraries deals only with Latinos and the stereotypes associated with them (for example, Chon Noriega's writings on this topic; Rangil 2002; Kim 1999; Lippi-Green 1997; Fregoso 1995).

This paper is structured as follows:

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[1] . This paper is based on a presentation given at the 16 Sociolinguist Symposium that took place in Limerick (Ireland) in July, 2006. The presentation was part of a workshop called "Hollywood's Accommodation of Accented English and Spurious Foreign Characters" in which the different panellists discussed the way Anglo-American cinema portrayed foreigners and their accents.

- A brief review of the concept of stereotype; Spain and the Spaniards in the eyes of foreigners.
- A description of the contents of the films studied.
- A description of the settings where the plots of the films take place.
- A description of the characters: physical appearance, customs, way of speaking.
- Conclusions.

It is not my primary aim to denounce stereotyping but to describe practices which are common in films and to offer a preliminary analysis that can be used as a basis for more in-depth, detailed and critical studies.

2. Visions of Spain

In the 1933 film *Queen Christina*, Pimentel, a thoroughly romantic character, goes through every cliché in the book to describe Spain and its inhabitants:

(1) Spaniards are "less hearty" and "more graceful" than the Swedes due to the weather: Spain is a country that "quivers in the heat of the sun"; "everything is possible in the still languorous nights when every breeze caresses with amour"; love is "a technique that must be developed in hot countries". Additionally, Spaniards are people of leisure, keen on serenading, dancing and bullfighting.

(2) Spain is the land of oranges and vines: "Pushing through the snowdrift is not like strolling under the orange trees at home". He says of the grapes Christina eats: "They warmed and ripened in the Spanish sun. My hacienda is overrun with them. In the season of the grape harvest, the air smells purple, purple grape".

When I asked my non-Spanish students what they knew about Spain, their answers closely corresponded to Pimentel's description, and usually contained the words "fiesta, sangria, bullfighting, sun, flamenco, paella". When further inquired about Spaniards, the overall vision was that of a friendly, anarchic, hot-blooded and proud people who love partying, eating late and having siesta. In fact, my students' answers and Pimentel's words reflect some of the stereotypes about Spain that have been commonplace since the late 16th century, perpetuated by writers and travellers. Although such clichés have changed slightly throughout the centuries, they can be summarized (García de Cortázar 2003; García Naranjo 2004) as follows:

(3) 16th C. - 18th C.: Spain was considered a backward country, ruled by bigoted priests and absolutist kings. Spaniards were an illiterate people, cruel dominators of the New World and staunch supporters of the Inquisition. For philosophers like Voltaire or Diderot, Spain was a symbol of obscurantism and opposition to progress.

(4) With the advent of the Peninsular Wars and Romanticism, a new vision emerged, that of a hot and picturesque country, inhabited by passionate, fiery and proud men and women, a land of poets, bandits, warriors and gypsies, castles and monasteries, greatly influenced by its rich Arab heritage. Spain was the country of Don Quixote, Goya, Carmen, El Cid and Don Juan, and Andalusia became the epitome of "Spanishness".

The writers and travellers who, in the 19th century, went to Spain, either as missionaries or in search of exoticism (Mérimée, Irving, Bolton, Borrow, Ford), exploited these contradictory visions. In the 20th century many wrote about a Spain which oftentimes coincided with the stereotypes: a land of proud, lawless and highly individualistic people (Hemingway, Orwell), although others did contribute to a more balanced and realistic

account of Spain (Brennan). However, and in spite of the attention given by these writers, Spain has never enjoyed the popularity of other European countries, such as France or Italy, in the Anglo-Saxon psyche. As a matter of fact, wide areas of the rich Spanish culture, such as gastronomy, art or literature (with the exception of Don Quixote), as well as of the geography have remained unknown to the wider public until very recent times.

3. Stereotypes

Stereotype is defined by Allport (1954: 191) as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category". Stereotypes are frequently frowned upon, since they restrict the complexities of the world to a few traits or patterns that are applied to any representative of a given group; moreover, they tend to perpetuate erroneous ideas about a group. However, according to Allport (1954: 191) not all stereotypes are negative or false, since they can have positive overtones or be based on factual data. Stereotypes are not the same as categories, but they can exist as a "fixed mark upon the category" (Allport 1954: 192) – for instance, if we say that all Spaniards like dancing flamenco – and be used to justify categorical acceptance or rejection of a group, or to simplify perception or thought by being used as a filter or selective device. Finally, stereotypes are subject to change throughout time.

Triandis (1994: 138) defines stereotypes as "comparative judgments that people *experience* as absolute". Some aspects of stereotypes may be accurate – in such cases we are dealing with sociotypes, which are usually based on facts.

According to Hewstone and Giles (1997: 271), the three essential aspects of stereotyping are (i) the categorization of individuals usually on the basis of identifiable characteristics, (ii) the attribution of specific traits, roles, emotions, etc., to all or most members of a category, (iii) the attribution of said characteristics to any individual member of the category. Additionally, there are ingroup and outgroup stereotypes, the former usually conceiving the group as varied and complex, the latter viewing the group as homogeneous and invariable. Stereotypes generate expectancies to such an extent that they may influence and bias perceivers, who want to see their expectancies fulfilled. Moreover, behaviours that do not conform to the stereotype are then attributed to or justified by external causes (Hewstone and Giles 1997: 276). Similarly, when prejudiced people meet a member of the outgroup whose behaviour is atypical, that particular case is excluded from the category and the stereotype is left intact.

Authors such as Bennett and Bennett (1994: 156) differentiate between stereotypes and generalisations. According to them, "nearly all forms of behaviour and value orientation can be found in every culture, but it is possible to generalize about the 'preponderance of belief' represented in one culture". Thus, generalisations are based on research and can be used as hypotheses when approaching members of a specific culture. Stereotypes, on the other hand, refer "to a rigid 'picture' that supposedly matches every person in a group. Cultural stereotypes can be generated by applying generalisations (…) to every single member of a culture". For example, the Japanese are more group-oriented than Americans are, but this does not mean that every Japanese person is group-oriented. Hall (1997: 257 ff.) quotes Richard Dyer when distinguishing between "typing" and "stereotyping", the former being a necessary device to make sense of the world, the latter being the reduction of a person to a few traits, exaggerating and simplifying them and fixing them without change or development.

In the field of sociolinguistics, Labov (1972: 314; 2001: 196) studies a number of variants which are involved in linguistic change and call them indicators, markers and stereotypes. Indicators are features which give us information about age, region or social group. Markers show stylistic and social stratification, and may acquire some sort of social stigma. Finally, stereotypes are socially marked forms which can become heavily stigmatised: in such cases, they may end up being avoided and eventually disappear. Labov quotes, as examples of stereotypes, "Brooklynese", the Southern drawl and "Parigot". Although he studies stereotypes within linguistic communities (for example, American English or New York English) and not between linguistic communities (stereotypes characterising the Spanish accent as opposed to American accents), his distinction may be of interest for this study.

The two visions of Spain described in section 1 are the main sources of ethnic stereotyping of this country and its inhabitants. It is indeed true that some may have a historical basis – factors such as history, religion or geography conform to the idiosyncrasy of a people or nation. However, the rigid application of such traits to every Spaniard leads to the gross generalisations discussed in the introduction.

4. Analysis of the corpus

4.1. The contents of films

As outlined in the introduction, in this section I will briefly discuss the topics covered in the films. The corpus is organised in three groups, but these categories can overlap: a) historical films, b) non-historical films set in Spain with foreign and native characters, c) films about Spaniards abroad.

4.1.1. Historical films
The films included in this group deal with very specific periods of the Spanish history. The medieval period is limited to two films about the "Reconquista" – the expansion of the Christian northern kingdoms towards the Muslim south –, one of which, El Cid, was used as a propaganda vehicle for Franco's regime (Roquemore 1991).

The conquest of America takes the lion's share, with fifteen films that depict the discovery and colonisation of the New World, piracy in the Caribbean and the independence movements in the American colonies.

The times of the Habsburg Kings, in particular Philip II, the Inquisition and the Armada also receive a good deal of attention: ten films.

In spite of the importance of the British intervention, the Peninsular War in the early 19th century is the topic of just one film, The Pride and the Passion, filmmakers being more interested in the stereotypes of Carmen, Goya and bullfighting.

Finally, the Spanish Civil War, in which so many American and British volunteers fought, is the main topic or an important element of seven films which analyse the conflict from different ideological points of view.

4.1.2. Non-historical films set in Spain
In these films, Spain is the background to the main characters' story, but Spanish characters usually play a secondary role. All these films were made in the late 1950s and early 1960s with the help of Franco's regime (as was El Cid and blockbusters unconnected to Spanish history, such as Doctor Zhivago or Lawrence of Arabia) which offered natural locations and

cheap labour in return for the promotion of foreign tourism. In most cases, there are recurring images: beaches, flamenco/guitar music, bullfighting, and fiesta.

4.1.3. Spanish characters abroad

Spanish characters appear in a number of films, although in most cases the character in question could have been of any nationality – maybe Spaniards were felt to be more exotic. In *The Princess Bride*, Iñigo de Mendoza is the personification of the Spanish romantic cliché: courteous, vengeful and swarthy skinned. The same can be said of Ava Gardner in *The Barefoot Comtessa*, the beautiful and mysterious flamenco dancer who becomes an international star. *55 Days in Peking* was filmed in Spain, which might explain the presence of the Spanish ambassador (also proud, courteous and elegant), and the fact that *Vanilla Sky* is a remake of a Spanish hit explains the appearance of a Spanish character. *Confidential Agent* and *The Head in the Clouds* are films about the Spanish Civil War.

4.2. The setting: Spain

As seen in the previous section, some films were made on location in Spain. Our film typology shows that they were usually set in two areas: the Catalan coast and the plateau. The preference for these very "typical" landscapes probably responds to the image that foreigners have of Spain.

Additionally, *Land and Freedom* was filmed on location in Barcelona and in the province of Teruel. *The Sun Also Rises* was filmed in Pamplona and *El Cid* was partly filmed in Peniscola (Mediterranean coast).

4.2.1. The Catalan coast (*Pandora*, *Chase a Crooked Shadow*, *Suddenly Last Summer*)

The landscape is usually genuine for the time when the films were done: fishing villages, deserted beaches and whitewashed houses. The flora is typical: olive, pine and palm trees. Notices or posters are in Spanish. In *Pandora*, villagers speak Catalan, with the exception of the bullfighter and his *cuadrilla* (assistants) The only discordant detail is the pervading flamenco music, played in all the bars. Indoor shots are not so genuine, since the decoration is more Castilian than Mediterranean (heavy wood furniture rather than wicker, ironwork in windows and banisters). In most cases, indoor shots were filmed on English or American sets.

The less genuine location is found in *Around the World in Eighty Days*, since the Castilian village of Chinchon, close to Madrid, is made to pass for a Catalan fishing village; the cliché is reinforced with bullfighting, flamenco dancing and the villagers' Andalusian attire.

4.2.2. The plateau (*El Cid*, *The Royal Hunt for the Sun*, *The Black Swan*, *The Pride and the Passion*, *The Pleasure Seekers*, *Around the World in Eighty Days* and *The Mark of Zorro*)

The Pride and the Passion covers most of the eastern and central areas of Spanish geography, even though the main character, an English officer, is supposed to travel from the Cantabrian coast (Santander, northern Spain) in a straight line down to Avila (west of Madrid). The film shows, however, Segovia (central plateau), Santiago (north-west coast), the *Ciudad Encantada* in Cuenca, La Mancha, El Escorial and Avila. Cary Grant's journey in a straight-line is actually a zigzag along and across Spain. A similar incongruity is found in *The Royal Hunt for the Sun*, where Avila is supposed to be Toledo. It is obvious, though, that foreign

audiences would not be aware of this, unless they were uncommonly acquainted with Spanish geography.

4.3. Spanish characters

In the following pages I analyse the way Spaniards are characterised: their social backgrounds and roles, their physical appearance and their speech patterns.

4.3.1. The characterization of Spaniards

Generally speaking, Spanish characters play the following roles (henceforth, films will be referred to by means of abbreviations as explained in Appendix 2):

- (5) Sovereigns, aristocrats, gentry (eighteen films): ATD, H, PB, QC, A, CB, CfC, CC, EC, FE, MoZ, MZ, MkZ, M, PaP, RHS, SH, SM.
- (6) Military (soldiers, sailors, *guerrilleros*) (twenty films): A, BS, CB, CfC, CCS, CP, CC, EC, FE, FWBT, LF, LC, MoZ, MZ, MkZ, M, PaP, RHS, SH, SM.
- (7) Dignitaries (ambassadors, governors, viceroys) (thirteen films): E, FDP, A, BS, CP, FE, MkZ, MoZ, MZ, M, QC, SH, SM.
- (8) Clergy (inquisitors) (thirteen films): PP, CfC, CC, EC, FE, MZ, RHS, MkZ, MoZ, MZ, M, SH, SM.
- (9) Bullfighters (eight films): BaS (x2), SAR, AWED, P, LC, PaP, SK.
- (10) Attendants (maids, waiters) (eight films): SK, BC, CCS, CP, P, QC, SH, SM.
- (11) Gypsies (five films): FWBT, Carmen (x2), LC, P.
- (12) Others (three films): AS, Ph, Vs.

This list shows how the roles assigned to Spaniards comply with the clichés discussed in the introduction: most Spanish characters are members of the aristocracy/clergy, soldiers and sailors (for instance, in films about the discovery of America). The role of attendant is common for two reasons: first, because aristocrats in period films are accompanied by their retinue; second, because films set in Spain often include scenes in bars, taverns or restaurants. Finally, flamenco dancers and bullfighters are also recurring characters in films about the Hispanic world.

As far as physical appearance is concerned, Spaniards are usually dark-skinned and dark-haired – even those who were not (Catalina of Aragon was red-haired and fair-skinned, but she is played by Greek actress Irene Papas as a dark-haired, sombre and solemn queen). In most films, nearly all non-Spanish actors conform to this cliché: for example Errol Flynn, Ralf Vallone, Rudolph Valentino, Gregory Peck, Tyrone Power or Ava Gardner (just to name a few). There are only a few exceptions: Genevieve Page, Maureen O'Hara, Charlton Heston and Rita Hayworth.

Women are usually beautiful, temperamental, proud and devout. They are always ready to fight and defend themselves, but also able to show passionate love and affection for their men. As well as being uniformly dark-haired, men tend to sport a moustache, goatee or beard. They are usually gallant and courteous (FDP, QC, SH, PB, MZ), even when they are the agents of the evil Spanish kings (SM, SH). Spanish villains are manipulative, deceitful and greedy: for instance, the Spanish ambassadors in SH or E, the viceroys/governors in SM, CP, MkZ, MZ, SH or M, most of the *conquistadores* in RHS or Philip II himself in SH and FE. However, some kings and queens are portrayed in a rather positive or neutral light: for example Isabella and Ferdinand in CC or Charles V in RHS.

Apart from being manipulative and greedy, Spanish dignitaries (mainly in pirate films) are usually fat, presumptuous and dim-witted, keener on wine, siesta and dancing than on actually exerting power. There are few exceptions, such as the astute Basil Rathbone in MZ, the Panamanian governor in SH or Christopher Lee and Leslie Bradley in CP.

4.3.2. The attire. Customs

In period films, men usually dress according to the time, whereas women (with the exception of CC) tend to wear mantillas and crosses around their necks (the latter probably responds to the cliché that all Spaniards are devout Catholics). The use of the mantilla as early as the 16th and 17th centuries (CP, SH, SM) does not correspond to reality, since until the early 17th century mantillas were only worn by peasant women – they only started to attract a more refined public in the 18th century when they became an accessory of the upper class.

Flamenco music and dancing are, in the eyes of Hollywood, the most beloved forms of entertainment both in Spain (CC, PaP, AWED, SK, LC, BC, P) and in the New World (CP). Likewise, the guitar seems to be the only instrument known of or played in Spain – in fact, flamenco-inspired music (or guitar with castanets) is used as background music in most films. This "flamenco" cliché has no historical basis, since the arrival of gypsies in the peninsula is relatively recent (15th century); moreover, they were quickly labelled thieves and smugglers and their forms of entertainment considered base. It is, therefore, difficult to believe that flamenco would have been popular in the Peninsula or would have crossed the ocean with the *conquistadores*, given the geographical origin of most of them (Extremadura, Castile and Galicia). In addition, aristocrats anywhere in the Hispanic world would probably find flamenco too common to consider it a proper form of entertainment (which it became only in the early 20th century). The only exceptions to the pervasiveness of flamenco are MZ, MkZ (although tango is not a Mexican dance and did not yet exist in the early 19th century) and M, where the music and dances are typical of the territories where the films take place.

Bullfighting is present in only a few films: BaS, P, SK, SAR, AWED, LC.

4.4. The "Spanish dialect". The accent

An "accent" refers to pronunciation (vowels, diphthongs and consonants) and prosody (the stress patterns of the word or the sentence and the intonation). Every native speaker of a language uses some regional variety and displays phonological features that may establish their social and/or ethnic origin. A non-native speaker who speaks a second language also has an accent, which is normally influenced, to a larger or lesser extent, by the phonology of their mother tongue.

Additionally, there are also grammatical features that characterise foreign speech: Spaniards tend to make typical mistakes which conform to the Spanish interlanguage – the use of double negatives, the dropping of auxiliaries, the misuse of articles or the lack of a subject in sentences. However, in most of the films analysed, the Spanish characters' grammar is perfect, although in relatively modern films Spaniards do tend to make mistakes (for instance, BC, PB or AS). Overall, Spanish characters are usually characterised by pronunciation (a foreign accent, Spanish or not) and code switching as defined by Gardner-Chloros (1997: 361): "…the use of two or more languages in the same conversation or utterance."

Most of the speech traits of Spanish characters correspond to what manuals such as Herman and Herman (1997) describe as the "Spanish dialect". In former editions of this manual, there were comments on "national characters" which were later removed, maybe

because they relied heavily on stereotyping. However, some remain: "The pitch of such emotional people would naturally be much higher than in American [sic]. And because of the Spaniard's emotional volatility, his pitch-range varies considerably…" (Herman and Herman 1997: 170).

Stereotyping aside, the description of the Spanish accent in films is fairly accurate and includes features such as sounding vowels clearly (which results in the inexistence of weak vowels), lack of accent shift depending on emphasis, rolled "r's", the velar pronunciation [x] of the aspirated [h], or the devoicing of the voiced alveolar fricative [z].

Before discussing the Spanish accent in more detail, we should consider the linguistic environment of the films studied:

(13) In some films, Spanish characters speak English, but the audience must assume that they are speaking Spanish. The actual presence of this language is reduced to names, titles, token words, and the background noise made by crowds or secondary actors. The protagonists have a foreign accent in only a few cases (EC, PaP, FWBT, MkZ), unlike secondary actors (PP, SH, FE, CC, RHS, SM, M, CP, MoZ, LC).

(14) In films about Spanish characters abroad, these Spaniards have to speak English (or any other language) due to their personal circumstances, and they do so, usually with a foreign accent. Secondary characters (usually members of the retinue) may speak Spanish (ATD, E, PB, SH, QC, BS, CB, A, FDP, SK, LF, P, BC, Ph, AS, VS).

(15) In a few films some Spanish characters actually speak Spanish (short sentences) with or without the right accent (SH, QC, M, RHS, BS, A, MkZ, MoZ, AWED, SK, LF, FWBT, BC, P).

4.4.1. Pronunciation

American actors play 80% of the main characters (heroes and villains), and they keep their accent (BC, CC, EC, LC, MkZ, M, QC, SH,). For the heroes, only 38% of the actors speak English with a contrived or real Spanish accent (the latter, usually the case of actual Hispanic actors), whereas 62% do so with an American or British accent.

On the other hand, for the villains, 47% of the actors present a contrived or real Spanish accent, and 53% have an American or British accent. British actors seem to be favourites to play villains (Vincent Price, Basil Rathbone, Alan Tilvern, Montagu Love, Claude Rains, Christopher Lee, etc.), followed by European actors of different nationalities.

When British/American actors attempt to imitate the Spanish accent – for example, Mandy Patinkin (PB), James Frain (E), Anna Paquin (A), Catherine Z. Jones (MkZ), Frank Sinatra (PaP), Hank Azaria (AS) -, they try to reproduce the traits mentioned in 4.4, such as the full pronunciation of vowels, irrespective of word/sentence stress (for example, James Frain, Mandy Patinkin). For more details on specific traits of the Spanish accent, see Appendix 1.

Eastern and Southern European actors keep their original accents (e.g., the mainly Slavic cast of FWBT). Spanish actors present varying degrees of Spanish accent: for example, Mario Cabré in P speaks heavily accented English, whereas Alfredo Mayo in FDP has a rather neutral foreign accent; although in both cases sentence stress is clearly Spanish.

4.4.2. Lexis and Code-Switching

Spanish terms are used in films as cultural terms in translations to "add local colour to any description of the countries of origin" (Newmark 1982: 82). These terms can be classified in the following categories (for further examples, see Appendix 1):

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(16) Appellatives: *papá*: BC, *chiquita*: MZ
(17) Titles and forms of address: for example, *don* and *doña* followed by the first name, and *señor/a/ita* followed by either first name and surname or just the surname. However, in several films *don* and *doña* are incorrectly followed by a surname: M, MZ, PP, SH
(18) Greetings: *hola*: FWBT, MZ; *con Dios*: BC; *adiós*: FWBT, MoZ, MZ, MkZ, P; *buenos días*: MZ
(19) Interjections: *ay*: AS; *olé*: AWED, PaP, P
(20) First names and surnames: in all films Spanish names and surnames are used with varying degrees of accuracy in pronunciation and use of diminutives (MZ: *Lolita*; LC: *Carmencita*, **Carloscito*, **Joseíto*)
(21) Cultural terms: *mantilla*: MZ, MoZ; *hacienda*: MoZ, MkZ; *siesta*: MoZ, SM
(22) Entire sentences in Spanish can sometimes be used, even if throughout the film English has been the language spoken by all main characters: A, AWED, BS, BC, CB, MkZ, MZ, PaP, QC, SK, SH-

4.4.3. Syntax and Grammar Generally speaking, even if accented, Spanish characters display a remarkable command of syntax and grammar, probably because in most cases they are supposed to be speaking Spanish: the accent is used to remind the audience of this. The only exceptions are outlined below – most of the examples are found in films where Spaniards, due to their personal circumstances, must speak English.

(23) Syntax (a) Lack of subject ("Is Maria Vargas"): BC
          (b) Double subject ("My cousin he plays in the orchestra"): BC
          (c) Transfers from Spanish: AS ("for why" instead of "why/what for")

(24) Grammar (a) Lack of auxiliaries ("It's good you not understand"): BC, P
          (b) 3rd person "–s" absence ("That leave 20 for me"): BC, FWBT, PB, PaP, SK
          (c) Lack of articles ("Is liar"): BC
          (d) Lack of inversion in questions ("She is new?", "You have seen the jungle orchid?"): ATD, P, SH
          (e) No marking for regular past ("refuse" instead of "refused"): PB
          (f) Use of full forms of the verb rather than contractions: BC, PB, FDP

5. Conclusions

Generally speaking, the presence of ethnic and social stereotypes about Spaniards seems pervading in Anglo-American films. However, their speech is not so heavily characterised, since, as we saw in the previous discussion, it is only a minority of actors who try to speak with an accent.

The majority of the films in the corpus, particularly those dealing with the history of Spain, reflect the clichés described in the introduction: either a backward, tyrannical, repressive and fanatical Spain (films about Philip II/Elizabeth I and the New World) or a romantic, passionate and picturesque one. Films set in the 15th and 16th centuries tend to present Spain as a menace to world peace, perhaps because they were made during World War II, and it was convenient to compare the fight against Spanish imperialism with the struggle against Hitler. Non-historical films (even those made on location with Spanish actors) also present considerable stereotyping: BC, P, AWED.

Films made on location show the expected views of Spain: the coast (sun, sand and sea), Castile (hot and dry), flamenco music, bullfighting.

The physical and social characterisation of Spaniards is also cliché-laden: both men are women are usually dark-haired, and men always sport moustaches and beards. The choice of actors (Spanish or otherwise) seems to be influenced by stereotyping[2]. Spaniards also display a rather annoying tendency to gesticulate when speaking. The social roles given to Spanish characters comply overwhelmingly with stereotyping: they are mainly aristocrats, *conquistadores*, *guerrilleros*, soldiers, sailors and priests/inquisitors[3].

When there is an attempt to reproduce the traits of the Spanish accent, they agree with the expectations of Anglo-American audiences: rolled "r" pronounced in all environments, velar [X] for [h], clearly articulated vowels. Such traits act as markers, rather than stereotypes (in Labov's terminology) since they characterise a way of speaking as Spanish but, with the exception of Hank Azaria, a social climber, in AS, do not seem to stigmatise the speakers (although it could be argued that the traits chosen to characterise the Spanish dialect have become stereotyped, since they are recurrent in several films). In fact, many of the characters displaying accented speech belong to the upper classes – who often speak in a slow and dignified manner – or are heroic *guerrilleros* or soldiers; and, even though they may be villains, they are elegant, cultivated and refined. In other words, there is obvious stereotyping in the ethnic and social characterisation of Spaniards, but their accent does not seem to be associated with negative social or ethnic stereotypes. As Lippi-Green (1997: 236) puts it: "Stereotypes about Chicano and Latino Americans are almost exclusively negative (…). Penfield and Ornstein-Galicia identify the exception to this, the Californian *Don* or the New Mexican *Rico* who 'as symbols of the aristocratic class…were both linked more to Spain than Mexico' (1985:78)".

Regarding the question of accented speech, it would be interesting to find out if Anglo-American audiences really know what a peninsular Spanish accent is like – in other words, how many spectators might have had exposure to that particular way of talking and are capable of establishing whether the accent is real or not. I am afraid that the answer would be very few, and that in most cases, the accent does not seem to matter, as long as there is one. This would be in accordance with Lippi-Green (1997: 88): "…a contrived foreign accent is often used to signal that the typical or logical language of the setting would not be English". Thus, foreign actors (mainly Greek, Italian or Russian) keep their "foreign" accent, which is probably deemed enough for characterisation; after all, few would be able to pick out the differences as long as some typical traits are reproduced. Additionally, several British actors play Spaniards with their own British accents (and some non British actors imitate this accent: Genevieve Page), following the convention that foreign characters, especially villains, tend to have either a British or a foreign accent (Lippi-Green 1997: 91-92).

Grammar, with very few exceptions, is good. Mistakes are mostly made by Spaniards who belong to low or working classes (waiters, villagers, *guerrilleros*) and due to the circumstances have to speak English; this is probably the only case where social stigmatising is associated to speech: the humbler the social origin, the worse the English. The mistakes made by the main Spanish characters in films like FWBT or PaP might point towards their low social origin and ethnic background. Again, a certain amount of stereotyping is shown in

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[2] . It is not surprising that the most internationally known Spanish actors at the moment are Antonio Banderas, Javier Bardem and Penélope Cruz – dark-haired and attractive.

[3] . Michener (1968: 20) describes his disappointment with the reality of Spain in the 1930s with these words: "…it was filled with human beings of a kind I had not met in my college textbooks on Spain. Here there were no grandees, no industrial giants. There were no caballeros in leather, no beautiful women in mantillas. There was only a jostling crowd of extremely poor people, dressed in the oldest of clothes…".

the recurrent nature of some grammatical mistakes, even though such mistakes are not necessarily the monopoly of Spanish speakers.

Finally, given that English is the universal language of communication in all the films studied, the audience must suspend disbelief and accept that Spanish is spoken, even if it sounds like English. To add some credibility, actors use highly-connotated Spanish words that usually belong to specific lexical fields: greetings, appellatives and a few universally known "cultural terms" such as *siesta, fiesta, torero, matador* and the like. Contrary to the tendency in other films (for instance, war films where German and French characters actually speak their respective languages), Spanish has rarely any real presence in Anglo-American films and is little more than an anecdote that may lead to odd situations: e.g. in MoZ, MkZ, BS or FWBT the background noise and the interventions of some secondary actors are in Spanish but the main dialogue is always in English.

The analysis of the films shows that the way Spain and the Spaniards are portrayed closely corresponds to the stereotypes described in the introduction. Moreover, the use of stereotypes reminds us of two semiotic processes which are described by Irvine and Gal (2000) when explaining linguistic differentiation: iconisation and erasure.

Iconisation is the "transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked. Linguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 37).

Erasure is the process "in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some person or activities (or sociolinguist phenomena) invisible. Facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38).

I think that the explanation given for these two phenomena is a valid description of stereotyping: iconisation is evident when Spanishness is linked to specific traits that are applied to Spaniards and Spain and become recurrent – thus becoming established stereotypes: cruelty in the New World, vicious imperialism in Europe, aristocrats, priests, gypsies/dancers/bandits and bullfighters. Erasure, in turn, involves the disappearance of those traits that do not comply with the stereotypes, so that characters, objects, scenarios, etc., that differ from the clichés are secondary and lack any relevance. These two processes are particularly clear in older films. Modern films, especially those made in the late 1980s and 1990s present Spanish characters which are slightly less clichéd (and who are often played by Spanish actors), although they still meet some of the audience's expectations, particularly those concerning the physique and the accent (swarthy-skinned, dark haired, rolled "r's"). However, in spite of this slightly more accurate portrayal of Spaniards and Spain, clichés remain strong as shown in Viggo Mortensen's description of Spaniards as "orgullosos y grandes"[4] (proud and great) and the topics of Milos Forman's and Adrian Brody's latest films: Goya and the Inquisition, and the bullfighter Manolete.

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[4] . *La Vanguardia*, 30 August 2006, p. 28.

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Appendix 1

Phonology

(25) Vowels, diphthongs and liquids (listed by frequency of occurrence)
    (a) Rolled [r] in all environments (<u>r</u>ead, neve<u>r</u>): A, ATD, BS, CB, FDP, FWBT, MZ, MkZ, P, PB, PaP, QC, SH, SM
    (b) Pronunciation of [r] in all environments, including non-prevocalic [r] (mo<u>re</u>): AS, A, BC, BS, E, FWBT, MZ, MkZ P, PB, PaP, QC
    (c) Shortening of long vowels (str<u>ee</u>t) and monophthongisation of diphthongs (<u>o</u>ld): AS, A, BC, BS, E, PB
    (d) Pronunciation of an intrusive [e] before [s] or [l] ([es-] Spain, [-el] possible): BC, E, FWBT, QC
    (e) Lack of weak vowels: AS, BS, E, FDP, MZ, MkZ, P, PaP
    (f) [a] for [æ], [Q] (h<u>a</u>nd, wh<u>a</u>t): BS, PB

(26) Consonants (listed in order of frequency):
    (a) [X] for [h] (<u>h</u>ere, <u>h</u>ave): A, AS, BS, E, FWBT, MZ, MkZ, P, PB, QC, SM, SP
    (b) [X] for [w] (<u>w</u>hy): AS, P, PB
    (c) [d] for [D] (<u>th</u>at): BS, PB
    (d) Dental [t] and [d] (<u>t</u>rue): ATD, FWBT, PB
    (e) Lisping: AS
    (f) [X] for [Ù] (<u>j</u>unket): AS
    (g) [t] for [T] (<u>Th</u>orpe): SH
    (h) [s] for [S] (<u>s</u>urely): FDP
    (i) [Í] for [S] (ma<u>ch</u>ine): AS
    (j) [g] for [w] (<u>w</u>ell): P
    (k) [b] for [v] (in<u>v</u>ited): AS
    (l) clear [l] instead of dark (we<u>ll</u>): MkZ

Lexis

(27) Appellatives, terms of endearment, insults:
    (a) *querida:* P
    (b) *inglés/americano*: FWBT
    (c) *payo*: LC
    (d) *estúpido*: LC
    (e) *amigo*: LC

(28) Titles and forms of address:
    (a) *Don/Doña*: BS, CB, CC, EL, FWBT, M, PP, SH, MZ (Doña de la Vega), MkZ, PP
    (b) *Dueña/duenna*: MoZ, MZ, SM
    (c) *Señor/Señora/Señorita*: BC, FDP, FWBT, LC, MoZ, MZ, MkZ, M, P, SM, SK, SH
    (d) *(Señor) Obispo*: SM
    (e) *Caballeros*: LC, MoZ, MZ
    (f) *Alcalde*: MZ

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        (g)   *Hidalgo*: MZ
        (h)   *Padre*: MZ
        (i)   *Grande*: SM
        (j)   *Capitán*: SM, MZ
        (k)   *Magistrado*: MoZ
(29) Interjections
        (a)   *Nombre de Dios*: SH
        (b)   *Madre de Dios*: MZ
        (c)   *Santa María*: MZ
        (d)   *¡Adelante¡*: RHS
        (e)   *¡Venga!*: LC
        (f)   *Sí*: BC, MZ
        (g)   *¡Pronto!*: MoZ
(30) Cultural terms/Others
        (a)   *corrida*: P
        (b)   *toro, banderillas*: LC
        (c)   *guerrilleros*: PP
        (d)   *peso/céntimo*: MZ
        (e)   *peseta, duro*: LC
        (f)   *niñera*: MkZ
        (g)   *matadors* [sic]: FWBT
        (h)   *fiesta*: SK
        (i)   *plaza*: MoZ, MkZ
        (j)   *pueblo*: MoZ
        (k)   *yemas*: LC
        (l)   *caballería*: LC
        (m)   *calabaza*: BC

Appendix 2

Historical films

The Middle Ages

El Cid (1961)   EC

The Habsburg Kings (Charles I to Philip IV)

Anne of the Thousand Days (1969)   ATD
The Pit and the Pendulum (1962)   PP
Elizabeth (1998)   E
The Sea Hawk (1940)   SH
Fire Over England (1939)   FOE
Queen Christina   QC

The New World (conquest, colonisation, independence of colonies)

Christopher Columbus(1949)   CC
The Royal Hunt for the Sun (1969)   RHS
Captain from Castile (1947)   CfC
The Mission (1986)   M

The Spanish Main (1945)	SM
Captain Blood (1935)	CB
The Black Swan (1942)	BS
The Crimson Pirate (1952)	CP
The Mark of Zorro (1920, mute)	MoZ
The Mark of Zorro (1949)	MZ
The Mask of Zorro (1998)	MkZ
Amistad (1997)	A

Goya, the Peninsular Wars and the early 19th century

The Pride and the Passion (1957)	PaP
The Loves of Carmen (1948)	LC

The 20th century. The Spanish Civil War

Blood and Sand (1908, silent film)	BaS
Blood and Sand (1941)	BaS
For Whom the Bells Toll (1943)	FWBT
The Snows of Kilimanjaro (1952)	SK
The Head in the Clouds (2004)	HiC
Land and Freedom	LF

Spanish setting, foreign characters

Around the World in 80 Days (1956)	AWED
The Sun Also Rises (1957)	SAR
Pandora (1951)	P
The Pride and the Passion (1957)	PaP
Chase a Crooked Shadow (1957)	CCS
Suddenly Last Summer (1958)	SLS

Spaniards abroad

The Princess Bride (1987)	PB
55 Days in Peking (1963)	FPD
The Barefoot Comtessa (1954)	BC
Highlander (1985)	H
Philadelphia (1993)	Ph
America's Sweetheart (2001)	AS
Vanilla Sky (2002)	VS