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Intertextuality as Source and Evidence for Indirect Indexical Meanings

A Google search conducted on a single Mock Spanish lexical item, "mañana," produces an intertextual series comparable to the kind of exposure to multiple tokens of Mock Spanish that English speakers might encounter over a much longer period of time. Tokens of "mañana" are consciously associated with Spanish speakers and exhibit a narrow range of "keys," ranging from the jocular to the pejorative. The pejorative senses of /man'yanə/ are sometimes accompanied by overtly negative stereotyping of Spanish speakers. The properties of the intertextual series support hypotheses previously developed about the indexical functions of Mock Spanish, a set of lexical items that can be used to create a particular colloquial tone in most varieties of English. [Mock Spanish, intertextuality, indexicality, pejoration, stereotyping]

Introduction

In this article I use evidence from an "intertextual series" (Hanks 1986) to explore the source of interpretations of indirect indexicals. Substantial components of such intertextual series are presumably available to speakers. Their knowledge that some strip of text resembles/parodies/plagiarizes/comments on/answers/abstracts, et cetera, other strips plays a role in the "regimentation" of indexicals (Silverstein 1987, 1996), the processes that constrain inferences within a range of potentially available possibilities. That is, intertextual relations should be added to the various other dimensions of "context" and "cotextuality" that Silverstein has identified as sources of regimentation. I develop these points using an artificially produced intertextual series: all texts found in a search of 56 pages of the Internet search engine Google.com, which all share a single property, the use of the word *mañana*. This English word, which I write here as /man'yanə/ except in direct quotes, to avoid confusion with the Spanish word from which it is derived, is a part of the lexicon of Mock Spanish (Hill 1993, 1995, 1998). Mock Spanish uses elements that English speakers believe to be Spanish to create a subregister of colloquial English used in jocular or humorously insulting interaction. Mock Spanish keys an easygoing, humorous, yet cosmopolitan persona and positioning. Mock Spanish also reproduces racist stereotypes of Spanish speakers. Although this latter function can easily be demonstrated, English speakers generally deny that it exists. My goals in the present article are twofold. First, the Google search provides additional confirmation of claims I have made in other papers, working on other lexical items and expressions, about the range of inferences available from Mock Spanish items and, indeed,

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Spanish loan words in English more broadly. Not a single item among the many hundreds of English-language uses of /man'yanə/ retrieved in the search lies outside this set of potential range of meanings. My second goal is to explore how the kinds of experiences with intertextual relations that an ordinary speaker might have with such a word—which we can imagine the Google search as replicating, although in a very short span of space and time—facilitate their denial that it reproduces a racist stereotype.

Mock Spanish: An Introduction

I have outlined a basic understanding of Mock Spanish in several previous papers (Hill 1993, 1995, 1998, 2001). Mock Spanish appears primarily in the speech of monolingual English speakers who are not of Latino descent. It is quite old—ancestral forms are attested as early as 1609 ("peon," from Spanish *pe(d)ón*, a rough peasant). It appears all over the English-speaking world, and it is attested not only in everyday talk but also very widely in mass media and at the highest levels of public discourse. A significant example of the last case was the use of "cojones" by Madeleine Albright, then U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, in an insult to Cuba delivered in an address to the UN Security Council.

Speakers use four strategies to produce Mock Spanish utterances. Briefly, these are (1) to use phonologically anglicized Spanish loans that are not inherently funny in Spanish, like *adiós*, in jocular, parodic, or insulting senses (/man'yanə/ is an example); (2) to use phonologically anglicized Spanish loans of inherently negative meaning, like loco or caca, as substitutes for their supposed English translations; (3) to embed English words in Spanish-derived morphological frames like *el…-o* or *mucho…os* to create jocular or insulting meanings; and (4) to use "hyperanglicized" parodies of Spanish words, like "Hasty banana" or "Hasta la pasta," to create a jocular tone.

To use Mock Spanish is to make a claim to possess what I have called a "positive colloquial persona," which includes dimensions such as an easygoing and relaxed attitude, a sense of humor, cosmopolitanism, and regional authenticity. This I claim is the "direct indexicality" (Ochs 1993) of Mock Spanish. Speakers are fully aware of this direct indexicality and in fact can easily characterize it with the same, or almost the same, metapragmatic expressions that I have used in the preceding paragraphs. In fact, Mock Spanish is probably fully "enregistered" (Silverstein 1996) in this function, in that Mock Spanish words are not only heard as expressive of a certain kind of persona, who possesses an easygoing approach to life, but also invariably heard as "light," as jokes, or as humorous insults. Indeed, the weight of Mock Spanish for English speakers makes it very difficult to use Spanish loans to key any other effect.

I have argued (Hill 1993, 1995, 1998) that Mock Spanish also has an indirect indexical force in the sense of Ochs (1990:295), who observes that in indirect indexicality "a feature of the communicative event is evoked indirectly through the indexing of some *other* feature of the communicative event." The evoking feature, in this case the use of lexical elements recognizable as Spanish in jocular and pejorative contexts, not only conveys the easygoing colloquial persona of the speaker but also carries a presupposition, a "deep background," a fully naturalized set of understandings of persons in Spanish-speaking populations that is required to appreciate the humor of Mock Spanish. And Mock Spanish is not only presupposing. It projects entailments as well, which may be worked out by novices to retrieve those inferences that are required to make its tokens intelligible. This indirect indexical function is the reproduction and production of negative racist stereotypes of Spanish speakers and, more broadly, of all members of historically Spanish-speaking populations as lazy, dirty, unintelligent, sexually loose, and politically corrupt, as persons who speak a language that is not only disorderly and somewhat primitive but also "easy" and well suited to insincerity, and to talk suited to sloth, filth, licentiousness, and the like. Most non-Latino native speakers of English to whom I have presented this argument

do not accept it and indeed deny it vociferously. Thus the indirect indexicality operates, for them, covertly—although, as I pointed out, it is overt enough to permit the surprising surfacing of racist images and occasionally of overtly racist language along with Mock Spanish tokens. Indirect indexicality need not, in my understanding of Ochs' definition, necessarily be covert. However, it seems to be well suited to the production and reproduction of deeply naturalized and presupposed elements of context, as with Ochs' famous example of Japanese gender.

Latinos who are familiar with Mock Spanish, in contrast to their Anglo fellow citizens, often agree with my metapragmatic characterization of it as projecting racist stereotypes. At the very least, they are likely to find that it shows a lack of respect (Hill and Goldstein 2001). Therefore, the apparent opacity indirect indexicality has is not inherent in its semiosis but resides in the particular context of ideological commitments and understandings of the world held by speakers. For its Anglo users, the racist presuppositions of Mock Spanish are opaque, because they are fully naturalized within the contemporary system of White racism that combines denigration of color with elevation of Whiteness, all expressed indirectly in a context where to be called "racist" is a fighting insult. For its Latino targets, for obvious reasons, these presuppositions are not opaque.

Mock Spanish as a Source of Intertextual Series

Mock Spanish includes a relatively small and fixed set of lexical items. Because the vast majority of speakers who use this register are monolingual speakers of English, new items are added to it only when their meaning possibilities are somewhat overdetermined. One way that new items can be added is that they resemble English words. For instance, the bumper sticker "Caca Pasa" is often seen in Tucson, as a second-strategy Mock Spanish substitute for "Shit happens." Here, the widespread use of the nursery word /ˈkakə/ in American English and the close resemblance of Spanish *pasa* (it happens) to English *pass* facilitate the incorporation of the form. Appearance in mass media is also a source for new items. For instance, the singer Ricky Martin's anthem "Livin' la vida loca" added that expression to the Mock Spanish repertoire.

Each new addition is likely to begin to generate its own intertextual series, as speakers ring slight changes on the models. People with a slight knowledge of Spanish are important agents in this project, which means that college students are heavily involved. For instance, someone who had had at least first-year Spanish was probably responsible for the sign I observed two years ago on a tip jar in a pizza parlor near the University of California at Santa Barbara, which read "Livin' la propina loca." The fact that the sign was taped to the tip jar, appropriately baited with dollar bills, made the meaning of *propina* clear in this context, and the "Livin' la ... loca" frame added to its intelligibility. A closely resemblant example drew on a series of billboards for Camel cigarettes, aimed at Spanish speakers, where Joe Camel appeared with the legend *Un tipo suave* (A cool guy). A tip jar appeared in a University of Arizona–area coffee shop with the sign "Un tip-o suave." The coffee shop in question is an entirely Anglo ("white," English-speaking) site, where even the service personnel are Anglo college students or university hangers-on. The tip jar sign obviously exploits the similarity between Spanish *suave* and English *suave*. But to create the tip jar sign, someone had to know enough Spanish to notice and remember the Camel billboards.

Sometimes these mass-media-inspired intertextual series grow to enormous size. For instance, the notorious Taco Bell commercials of the late 1990s, featuring a Spanish-speaking Chihuahua dog who said, "Yo quiero Taco Bell," constitute such a subseries in their own right. The commercials started with the basic sentence but added more and more Mock Spanish strategies ranging from a parody of a "Mexican" accent to forms like "loco grande" (the name for a particular kind of taco, ungrammatical in Spanish, unlike "yo quiero Taco Bell"). The advertisements for

Taco Bell itself were in their turn parodied in other commercials and in all sorts of knockoff items, such as t-shirts, dog dishes, and the like, that covered a full range of materials from stuffed toys for children to obscene and scatological "adult" materials. Most of these are inappropriate to the present context; I note only one of the broader knockoffs, a t-shirt where the Chihuahua, poured into a beer bottle, says, "I don't want no stinking tacos, aiee! Yehaa!, cerveza!" Mock Spanish "cerveza" (beer) is firmly established. The t-shirt links this element intertextually not only to the Taco Bell commercials but also to the famous scene in the 1948 John Huston film *Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, where the filthy, hideous Mexican bandit leader tells Humphrey Bogart, "We don't need no stinking badges." This capacity for intertextual elements derived from mass media to endure for at least half a century, serving as hardy perennials in a variety of new contexts, is also apparent with /man'yanə/, as we will see shortly.

Of interest in intertextual series of this type is the surprising consistency of the range of tones that the Mock Spanish expressions evoke, from merely light and entertaining to intentionally offensive. While the lower end reaches the absolute bottom of the English-language register barrel (in the 1991 film *Terminator II: Judgment Day*, Arnold Schwarzenegger, playing an alien, is taught "Hasta la vista, baby" and "No problemo" in the same lesson with "dickwad" [Hill 1995]), of great interest is that there seems to be no avenue of escape at the top end of the range. This is in sharp contrast to, for instance, Mock Yiddish. English speakers who know very little Yiddish will usually know a few of its jocular and insulting expressions such as "schmuck" or "tchotchkes." But they will also know "mensch," with its highly positive meaning of a straight-talking, fair-minded, and supportive (and prototypically masculine) person. No comparable expression is available in Mock Spanish.[1]

The range of keys characteristic of Mock Spanish is continually reproduced by the social production of series of this type. Speakers who encounter these intertextual series experience a dynamic context whereby seemingly benign usages taste slightly of the offensive ones, permitting a subtly implicated encoding of what may be, at some particular moment, unsayable. The reverse is also true: obscenity, by being intertextually linked to apparently inoffensive humor, becomes acceptable. In the following discussion of /man'yanə/ I want to point out that a similar point can be made about the association of Mock Spanish with kinds of speakers, who represent themselves through their use of Mock Spanish as occupying a certain "characterological" space (Agha 2003), from "cool" English speakers to variously pejorated Spanish speakers. However, in addition to the characterological figures projected by the use of Mock Spanish, speakers retain their "animating" status, as ambassadors, presidents, pastors, and famous entertainers on the one hand and as ordinary and even disreputable everyday people on the other.

Forms of Evidence for the Reproduction of Racist Stereotypes in Mock Spanish

My claim that Mock Spanish evokes and reproduces racist stereotypes is often vigorously rejected by American English-speaking audiences. I have taken this rejection seriously and have tried to improve the kinds of evidence and data that I use to support and test this hypothesis. I review briefly here the approaches I have used so far. First, I have shown that patently racist nonlinguistic semiotic elements often cooccur with Mock Spanish linguistic tokens. Examples I have discussed include a performance by the actor Pauly Shore in the 1992 film *Encino Man*, in which he utters the statement "Spanish is guacamole, chips, and salsa" and accompanies this statement with a simulated fart, complete with lifted leg. Another example is the use of the offensive "Pancho" image of a tiny barefoot Mexican under an enormous sombrero accompanying the word *Adiós* on a greeting card in the Hallmark "Shoebox" line (Hill 1995). Second, following the suggestion by van Dijk (1993) that "knowledgeable minority group members" provide reliable testimony on what is racist and what is not, Dan Goldstein and I interviewed 20 Spanish-speaking adults in Tucson, exposing

them in a nondirective context to about 50 examples of Mock Spanish. Hill and Goldstein (2001) presented detailed transcripts of interviews with two college-educated adult Latino/a informants where these speakers testify explicitly that they find Mock Spanish offensive. The remaining 18 interviews have not yet been analyzed in detail, but none of them contradicts the initial conclusion.

In this article, I explore how an intertextual series linked by Mock Spanish tokens can constitute another source of evidence. I have reviewed examples of intertextual series such as "la ... loca" and the Taco Bell series on which I have only anecdotal information. Here, I look at 56 pages of texts accessed on the Internet search engine Google.com that include Mock Spanish /man'yanə/. This search technique allowed me to reproduce in a very short span of time the experience that an ordinary English speaker might have over several months or even years, of being exposed to multiple contexts for /man'yanə/. I do not present here a statistical analysis. However, such analysis is hardly required, because of the hundreds of examples of /man'yanə/ in English-language contexts found by using this method,[2] not one strayed outside the range of keys that I have previously outlined. Of special interest were several cases, including one very recent example from a Web log, where /man'yanə/ was associated with negative stereotypes of Spanish speakers in an explicit rather than in an indirect way.

/man'yanə/, from Spanish *mañana* (morning, tomorrow), is a very old and important word in Mock Spanish. The Oxford English Dictionary lists the first attestation at 1845. The attestation is in the introduction to the section on Andalucia in Richard Ford's *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, an extremely popular guidebook that went through many editions during the 19th century. The full citation, which I take from the fourth edition, is given below. Note that it is bracketed by paragraphs praising Andalucia and its people. Ford comments

> Nowhere will the stranger hear more frequently those talismanic words which mark the national ignoramus character—*No se sabe, no se puede*, "I don't know," "I can't do it;" the *Mañana, pasado mañana*, the "To-morrow and day after tomorrow." Their *Sabe Dios*, the "God knows," is the "Salem Allah" of the Moors. Here remain the Bakalum or *Veremos*, "We will see about it;" the Pek-éyi or *muy bien*, "Very well;" and the *Ojala*, or wishing that God would do their work for them, the Moslem's *Inxo-Allah*, the old appeal to Hercules. In a word, here are to be found the besetting sins of the Oriental—his indifference, procrastination, and religious resignation. [Ford 1869 [1845]:267]

In this attestation of /man'yanə/ both the "direct" and "indirect" indexicality of what became Mock Spanish are already present, at least in germinal form. The direct indexicality of Mock Spanish forms that is available today, the keying of a desirable colloquial persona, is already present. Richard Ford writes as a cosmopolitan citizen of the world, shown not only by his very authoritative treatment of what the traveler will find in Spain but also by his command of a good deal of Spanish, deployed as part of his obvious mastery of the lighthearted turn of phrase that tempts the traveler to emulate his adventures in what was then an exotic land, off the main routes of the "Grand Tour" undertaken by well-to-do British and American tourists. In 1845, of course, there was no need for the accusation that "Manaña" marked the "national ignoramus character" of Spain to go underground; such stereotyping was not likely to be condemned—and, as noted below, even some Spaniards themselves apparently believed in this stereotype. So the condemnation of Spanish speakers as "lazy," which today is usually (although not always) a covert entailment of Mock Spanish tokens, is here overt and is not conveyed by an entailment or presupposition of "indirect indexicality."

Kathryn Woolard (personal communication) has raised the very interesting point that Ford echoes slogans that Spaniards were already repeating about themselves by the time he wrote his *Handbook*. One of the most famous satirical essays in the history of Spanish is *Vuelva usted mañana*, published in Madrid on January 14, 1833, by Mariano José de Larra in his short-lived journal of humorous and satirical pieces, *El*

Pobrecito Hablador. In *Vuelva usted mañana*, Larra conjures up an imaginary foreigner, "monsieur Sans-Delai," who has come to Spain for two weeks to undertake a business venture. In encounter after hilarious encounter with bureaucratic officials, monsieur Sans-Delai hears again and again the refrain "Vuelva usted mañana" [Come back tomorrow]. After six months, his business is still not done. Larra claims *nuestra pereza* (our sloth, laziness) that thwarts monsieur Sans-Delai as his own and that of his fellow citizens, concluding the essay with a hilarious riff on his own procrastination precisely in finishing the essay itself and on the likelihood that the reader has dozed off or been distracted while reading. Woolard thinks it highly likely that Ford knew the essay. However, even if he did not, obviously *nuestra pereza* (our laziness), and its association with *mañana* (tomorrow), was a Spanish byword by the time that he was composing his *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*.[3]

Asif Agha (personal communication, June 9, 2003) points out that in semiotic terms the pejoration of things Spanish, the iconic association of qualities labeled in Spanish with qualities of Spanish persons, must constitute the first-order indexicality (Silverstein 1996) with reference to the development of the Mock Spanish register. The use of Spanish to create Mock Spanish, a jocular register of English, functions as a second-order indexical: By using Mock Spanish, earnest, clean-living, hardworking, and incorruptible English speakers (I write here, of course, in the voice of stereotype) take on just enough south-of-the-border ease to index the "laid-back" and colloquial English-speaking persona. Merely by using language thought to be Spanish, speakers distance themselves from their own rigid stereotypes of themselves. Although a historical account of Mock Spanish is not the point of this article, this second-order indexicality is very old. It may not date back as far as "peon," but it is very well established by the 19th century, clear not only in the Ford citation of /man'yanə/ from 1845 but also in 19th-century American usage of "adios" as a "light" farewell and in many other early tokens. While Silverstein (1996) points out that in the dialectic of indexical orders a heavily ideologized second-order indexicality may compete with and suppress a first-order indexicality, in this case, the entailments of the jokes of the second-order indexicality constantly reproduce the stereotypical presuppositions and entailments of the first order. This reproduction, the feedback from the second order to the first, is "indirect" in Ochs' sense, and it is usually also covert, rarely rising to the level of metapragmatic explicitness, in contrast to the direct indexical evocation of the English-speaker's "sense of humor." From this, it should be clear that the distinction between nth-order indexicals and "n+1"-order indexicals is not identical to the semiotic distinction between direct and indirect indexicality, which labels a different dimensional angle.

Note that in Spanish itself *mañana*, although it can be used lightly, can be as well a perfectly serious word. It is used, for instance, as the name of a number of daily newspapers in the Spanish-speaking world. Below is the definition from the new 21st edition (1992) of the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* issued by the Spanish Royal Academy in Madrid:

> **mañana**...f. Tiempo que transcurre desde que amanece hasta mediodia. 2. Espacio de tiempo desde la medianoche hasta el mediodia...3. m. Tiempo futuro más o menos próximo a nosotros. 4. adv. En el dia que seguirá inmediatamente al de hoy. 5. fig. En tiempo venidero. 6. fig. Presto, o antes de mucho tiempo.
>
> [morning…f(eminine-gender). The time that passes between dawn and midday. 2. The span of time between midnight and midday. 3. m(asculine gender). A future time more or less close to our own. 4. adv(erb). On the day that will immediately follow today's date. 5. fig(urative). In a time to come. 6. fig(urative). Soon, or before much time.]

However, in English, where /man'yanə/ is an element of Mock Spanish, the word has a much more restricted meaning. Here is the definition from the on-line version of the fourth edition of the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*[4]:

mañana:...ADVERB: 1. Tomorrow. 2. At an unspecified future time.

NOUN: An indefinite time in the future.

First, "morning," the main sense of the Spanish word according to the Royal Academy's definition, is lost, and only the sense of "tomorrow," the fourth, adverbial sense in the Royal Academy's definition, survives. Thus, an English speaker cannot say, "I'm going to get to it *in the /man'yanə/." Only "I'm going to get to it /man'yanə/" is possible.

Googling /man'yanə/

Although the OED lists most attestations of /man'yanə/ as "depreciative," the *American Heritage Dictionary* definition of /man'yanə/ given above gives no hint as to the special enregisterment of the word as jocular or pejorative with a specialized presupposition of "Spanishness." However, by exploring the Google series, we can make this clear. First, I will show that /man'yanə/ strongly retains a conscious sense of "Spanishness," in contrast, for instance, to another old Mock Spanish lexical item, ['piyan] from Spanish *peon*. Second, I show that /man'yanə/ is consciously associated with Spanish speakers as well as the Spanish language. Third, I show that its direct indexical function, of signaling a claim of a "desirable colloquial persona," is overtly recognized. Fourth, I show that /man'yanə/ is found only in a narrow range of "keys," ranging from the jocular to the pejorative, and that the pejorative senses of /man'yanə/ will constitute in some cases overt negative "characterizations" of Spanish speakers.

It was easy to find evidence for the active association of /man'yanə/ with "Spanishness." In the Google search, the word turned up frequently in on-line sites for shops and restaurants that specialize in Spanish or Mexican food and other products. For instance, a Mexican restaurant in Little Rock, Arkansas, is called "Casa Mañana."[5] "Mañana" in London[6] is a Spanish restaurant. There is even a "Mañana Restaurant and Cactus Club," specializing in Mexican food, in Lausanne and Geneva, Switzerland.[7]

Second, the Google search shows that the word is indeed associated with Spanish speakers, not just with Spanish or Mexican language and food.[8] Exemplary is the following headline, from *Time* magazine, where the theme song of the Clinton-era Democratic Party in the United States, "Don't Stop Thinking about Tomorrow," is parodied:

June 11, 2001

Don't Stop Thinking About Mañana

As more Mexicans have moved north, their politics have gained a feisty independence.[9]

I turn now to examples that attest to the overt metapragmatic characterization of the direct indexical function of /man'yanə/, the claim to a "desirable colloquial persona." The Google search leads to many sites that treat a particular movement in contemporary institutional Christianity in the United States based on Leonard Sweet's book *CARPE MAÑANA: Is Your Church Ready to Seize Tomorrow*? (Zondervan Press 2001). This is a best-selling manual for church leaders that urges them to adopt the future-oriented attitudes of their youngest generation of adult parishioners. The slogan in the title of the book is intended to convey this goal not only through its literal advice to look to the future but also by the choice of language that the author considered "youthful" and "cool." Not surprisingly, the book title has generated an intertextual series where the slogan appears on other items. One can purchase a t-shirt with the slogan "Seize *mañana*"[10]—or "*Carpé* (sic) *mañana*," for intellectuals. When I first saw the ad for the t-shirt, I thought that it was a joke. However, the t-shirt is in fact a rather dignified-looking affair and links

its wearer with the goals of that part of the Christian community who know about the Sweet book.

The title of the Sweet book is itself in intertextual relation not only with Mock Spanish /man'yanə/ but also with the Latin tag *Carpe diem* (Seize the day)—a tag that has the opposite connotation of the usual English usage of /man'yanə/, which is usually encountered in humorously self-effacing confessions of an intention to procrastinate. Member consciousness of these intertextual links, and of the "laid-back" key of the slogan, is made explicit in the text of a sermon entitled "Grab Hold of Your Life" published on the Web by Pastor Wes Johnson of the Bethel Baptist Church (of unknown location; as of this revision their website is down).

> Bethel Baptist Church Sermon Series. "GRAB HOLD OF YOUR LIFE"
>
> Sermon #2. "Carpe Mañana—Seize Tomorrow"
>
> Selected Scriptures. January 6, 2002. Pastor Wes Johnson
>
> "Seize the Day" was the rallying cry of the Robin Williams' movie, Dead Poets Society.
>
> Carpe diem! Seize the Day!
>
> Grab the moment! Live in the now! Today I want to challenge you to go one step further. Seize tomorrow. Grab hold of the future.
>
> The title of this talk is "Carpe Mañana...Seize Tomorrow!" In our laid-back culture, mañana means, "Maybe later." It means, "I'll get around to it when I get around to it." "Don't push me." When we say "mañana," we don't plan to actually come through. We just want someone to get off our backs. "Mañana...". Later. Meaning, some indefinite time in the mystical future. When I get around to it.[11]

Note that in this example Pastor Johnson advances the high-minded goals that we would expect from a Christian minister but does it in a way that shows that he is in no way isolated from the "laid-back" culture around him. The use of "Carpe Mañana," with its cunning combination of esoteric Latin and down-to-earth Mock Spanish, permits him to adopt simultaneously a characterological enfigurement of "distinction" and "down-to-earth-ness."

A second example of /man'yanə/ used to soften a potentially pompous persona at the upper levels of public discourse appeared on a website announcing a series of lectures at the Department of Defense.[12] CIM stands for "Corporate Information Management":

> Does CIM Stand for Consider It Mañana?
>
> Paul A. Strassmann
>
> Department of Defense; 9/22/92
>
> Topic(s): CIM: Strategy
>
> Abstract: Presentation to the Federal Sources Executive Breakfast, on the advantages of the CIM efforts. Contains detailed slides on the philosophical direction and approaches of the CIM initiative. Projects, goals, and integration strategies are presented.

Why is the Spanish word appropriate in these examples? Why not *demain* (French) or *morgens* (German)? Why not just *tomorrow*? The Spanish word works here because Mock Spanish is thoroughly enregistered in the function that Pastor Johnson called a "laid-back" style. The word is light and playful. Just as its use constitutes the Christians who use *Carpe mañana* as regular folks, youth-oriented and hip, not strait-laced Bible-beaters, Paul A. Strassmann's title attempts to make a similar claim for his persona and presentation, to suggest that his talk in the Defense Department will perhaps be less boring than is suggested by the abstract.

We turn now to the last set of claims: that /man'yanə/ will occur only in a narrow range of keys, where it can accomplish its indirect indexical function of reproducing negative and racist stereotypes of Spanish speakers. The word works only because of a well-established stereotype of Spanish speakers as "lazy," in contrast to the hard-working, goal-oriented stereotype for speakers of English. By saying /man'yanə/, the English speaker can convey, "In relation to this goal, I'm behaving more like a Latino person than like an Anglo person." The American English speaker gets credit for control of colloquial language, for being "laid-back"—that is, not being too serious or uptight (a transformed loan from African-American English) about work—and, oddly enough, for cosmopolitanism (people often say that they use Mock Spanish because they have lived among Spanish speakers). However, at the same time that they acquire this credit, they ineluctably reproduce the "lazy" stereotype.

Pursuing our Google.com search using /man'yanə/, we encounter clearer and clearer evidence for the "lazy" reading. One line of evidence for this meaning is the appearance of the word all over the English-speaking world in names for resorts and bed-and-breakfasts that offer a relaxing getaway. A good example appears in an Internet ad for a "casita" (not really a Mock Spanish word, but one that I associate with tourism and real estate, cf. Hill 1993) at the Cayo Espanto (Belize) resort. Interestingly, the first line of the ad incorporates an oblique reference to the Latin *Carpe diem* tag that is the source for *Carpe mañana*:

> CASA MAÑANA - one bedroom (1500 + square feet) Seize the day in this majestic ocean front villa, complete with private dock, personal plunge pool, and refreshing alfresco showers. Bask in the royal treatment you deserve. Casa Mañana's king size bed and lavish Egyptian sheets, positioned in the center of the villa, is surrounded by romantic mosquito netting and a 360 degree wrap-around view of the Caribbean. Other indulgent features include granite counter tops and exotic hardwood cabinets.[13]

Such references of course do not prove that there is anything very negative about the meaning of /man'yanə/. Indeed, the resorts surely intend the word to signal that their guests will have a wonderful time. However, given the rich intertextual evidence for the association of /man'yanə/ with Spanish and Spanish speakers, it is clear that in taking a few days off from work and "indulging themselves" these guests will be behaving in a "Spanish" way, departing from English-speaking virtues to take on a different type of persona.

The Google search turned up a number of examples of /man'yanə/ with obviously pejorative and racist implications. A very good example occurs in the famous Peggy Lee hit, "Mañana" (also recorded by Dean Martin and others), which spent 21 weeks on the Hit Parade in 1949 and is still widely known. The complete lyrics, which cannot be quoted in full here without obtaining a copyright release, can be found on a useful website.[14]

In each verse, the song parodies outrageous examples of shiftless laziness: broken windows with the rain coming in, falling-down fences, sleeping in the yard, imprudent gambling, and general incompetence, punctuated by the famous chorus, "Mañana, Mañana, Mañana is soon enough for me"—that is, the singer intends to ignore these problems in the hopes that they will go away by themselves. The syntax of the song makes clear that the singer is supposed to be a native speaker of Spanish, as in lines like "The window she is open," "The faucet she is dripping," "The car she needs a motor," "Why he give the horse my money is something I don't know." Furthermore, Peggy Lee sang the song in a parodic "Spanish" accent. The song contains explicit references to "Mexicanness"—in one verse, the singer reports burning the house down while making "chili." Thus, the entire joke of the song is an extreme representation of a lazy, shiftless, "Mexican" persona. The racism is sufficiently obvious that it is very unlikely that the song could be produced today. However, the extraordinary popularity of Peggy Lee and the catchy samba rhythm of the song have made it well-known to nearly all Americans. References to it continue to appear in

the most contemporary materials. For instance, "Mañana is good enough for me" appeared in my Google.com search as the headline of a blog entry from March 20, 2002.[15]

Note that an important fact about the song was that it was originally recorded by Peggy Lee. Lee was a major popular artist for at least fifty years, famous for her special combination of humor and sexiness, and was seen as having a uniquely "American" style. With this well-established persona, she was able to make a huge hit out of a set of lyrics that must have been offensive to many people even in 1949 and thus lend them legitimacy. It is also not surprising that the song appears in the discography of Dean Martin, the quintessentially "cool" singer of late-20th-century pop songs. Martin's stage persona was more than merely "laid-back"; it flirted with disreputability (he often pretended to be—and perhaps really was—drunk onstage, and with his close friend Frank Sinatra was known to be a favorite of members of the Mafia). Thus the song was in many ways resonant with this artist's public image.

Although a characterization of shiftless "Mexicanness" as bald as that in the Peggy Lee song is unlikely today, /man'yanə/ continues to be a semiotic resource for lyricists. My Google.com search turned up a 1998 song lyric by Mark Mulligan, a "tropical folk" singer from Phoenix, Arizona, which includes a full array of negative stereotypes of "south-of-the-border" behavior under the title "There's Always Mañana." The complete lyrics, which can be found on a website,[16] involve a gringo drinking himself into oblivion "somewhere south of somewhere on a Saturday night." The Mock Spanish lexicon for irresponsible boozing is skillfully deployed, rhyming "señorita" and "margaritas," "*arriba…tequila," otra cerveza por favor*, etc. The chorus goes, "There's always mañana for me to go home." In this lyric, the reference is to a gringo protagonist—but one who is behaving in a way that is made possible by the supposed absence of rules for proper behavior found "somewhere south of somewhere."

A final example illustrating an unquestionable association of /man'yanə/ with very negative stereotypes of Spanish speakers is also thoroughly up-to-the-minute. A weblog or "blog," nerdgirl.com,[17] includes the following text in a posting entitled "manana manana hoy," reproduced here exactly, which is an uncanny echo of Richard Ford's complaint about Andalucia in 1845.

> If I have to hear the word manana one more time from a Spaniard I may go loca in the cabeza. Now I realize why these people drink so much. Getting anything done in Spain is like pulling teeth. Take the worst customer service that you can possibly imagine in the states and times that by 10 and you aren't even scratching the surface" (the entry continues in this vein for two paragraphs).

"Nerdgirl's" blog contains other Mock Spanish usages—the Ricky Martin tagline appears, rendered here not as "livin' la vida loca" but as "mi vida loca," along with other Mock Spanish fixed phrases, like "loca in the cabeza." The blog is full of casual allusions to sex, drinking, dancing, and good times with other cool people all over the world and is a virtual encyclopedia of stereotypical "Generation Y" posturing. The identity conveyed is hardly captured by my slogan "desirable colloquial persona"—"nerdgirl.com" aspires to truly world-class cool. Not surprisingly, a freewheeling use of Mock Spanish, including /man'yanə/, is a component of nerdgirl's web persona.

Conclusion

The preceding exercise records an especially dense experience of intertextuality, the experience of looking at 56 pages of Google citations linked by the entry "manana" in a very few hours. Nonetheless, the ability of speakers to use /man'yanə/ in various subkeys of Mock Spanish, and even to overtly cite some of the most famous popular texts that use the word as they do so, attests to the fact that an experience of intertextuality is part of their knowledge and competence. That is, usages of /man'yanə/ are linked for speakers in an intertextual series. Knowledge of this se-

ries can be drawn on as a source for presuppositions and conventional implicatures and, as well, for overt discursive purposes. Knowledge of the series also constrains usage; the Google search revealed no examples of uses of /man'yanə/ outside the range of keys predicted by the initial hypothesis, and it is almost unthinkable that /man'yanə/ could be stretched into new keys that would express an earnest, unhip, eager-beaver orientation toward the future.

Speakers can depend on all of the meanings made available through the intertextual series in their uses of Mock Spanish. We are, I believe, forced to conclude that the model available to nerdgirl, complaining about how long it is taking her to get a telephone in Spain, or to Mark Mulligan's gringo dropout, falling-down drunk on "cervezas" and "tequila" "somewhere south of somewhere," is also the model available to Pastor Wes Johnson, urging his congregation to look to the future. Pastor Johnson's sermon becomes "listenable" to his audience because his usage borrows from the lexicon of jokey younger-generation coolness to mitigate its earnestness. And nerdgirl and Mulligan can use /man'yanə/ in the full confidence that perfectly respectable people like Pastor Johnson are using it too. Furthermore, /man'yanə/, along with many other Mock Spanish words and phrases, is licensed by and associated with the personae of popular celebrities like Peggy Lee. Thus the intertextual series constitutes not only a linguistic process, the enregisterment of Mock Spanish as a way of conveying a certain key, but also a social process as well, binding users of Mock Spanish into a community of mutual comprehension and permitting them to assume a particular range of characterological figurations (Agha 2003), in which the definition of a desirable white self against a stigmatized darker other can be reproduced again and again, indeed, by using symbolic resources appropriated precisely from that darker other, yet remain fully naturalized and even deniable. Although it is imaginable that somewhere very young or very naive speakers of English are using elements of Mock Spanish that are innocent of these implications and outside these processes,[18] the Google search, which encompassed hundreds of tokens of /man'yanə/, did not reveal any cases. Every example is interpretable within—and, I believe, only interpretable or meaningful within—that system. Google technology provides a powerful new avenue for exploring dimensions of indexicality and for modeling intertextual series, especially where indirect or covert presuppositions and entailments are involved. Explorations of Google intertexts more exacting and carefully designed than the present preliminary exercise should be very useful for linguistic anthropologists.

Notes

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1. The Spanish word *macho*, which in Spanish encompasses a range that is not that far from *mensch*, of course underwent pejoration as a Mock Spanish word. One of Hill and Goldstein's (2001) Spanish-speaking consultants pointed this out in reaction to a use of *machismo* in an English-language newspaper headline:

1 "That whole word in itself was totally bastardized.
2 Machismo was a very comprehensive person;
3 once it crossed the border it changed its whole definition."

Spanish *viva*, used in the 2004 Bush campaign in *Viva Bush* bumper stickers and banners, might be an exception. However, I suggest that it is not really Mock Spanish, since the expression was used first to market the candidate to Latinos and was only later picked up by other supporters.

2. On October 24, 2004, Google returned 177,000 citations for the cue "manana." My text editor does not have orthographic n-tilde. This return includes many Spanish-language sources and also many sources for the spelling without the tilde, such as the names of at least two popular musicians.

3. Lourdes de León (personal communication, November 22, 2002) has informed me that in Mexican Spanish the word can be used "lightly" to signal that the speaker intends to procrastinate.

4. http://www.bartleby.com/61/13/M0071300.html, accessed Nov. 2, 2002.

5. http://www.casamananamexicanfood.com, accessed Feb. 17, 2002.

6. http://www.netribution.co.uk/features/whining_dining/79.html

7. http://www.manana.ch, accessed November 2, 2002.

8. A really peculiar example of the tightness of this association is that, very high in my Google search for "manana" (sic—there are no tildes on Google), I ran into a link to a Richard Rodriguez essay on Hispanic identity—http://www.pbs.org/newshour/essays/june97/rodriguez-6-18.html—that does not even contain the word!

9. http://www.time.com/time/archive/preview/0,10987,11010106112893 1,00.html, accessed Nov. 2, 2002.

10. http://www.nowandzen.com, accessed Nov. 2, 2002.

11. http://www.betheleverett.org/Sermons2002/020106SeizeTomorrow.htm, accessed Nov. 2, 2002.

12. http://www.c3i.osd.mil, accessed Feb. 17, 2002.

13. http://www.ladatco.com/EspntoRmMan.htm, accessed Nov. 2, 2002.

14. http://www.leoslyrics.com/listlyrics.php?sid=%93h%B8c%IB%D9%06%FD

15. http://www.anadandy.com/weblog/archives/000004.html, accessed Nov. 2, 2002.

16. http://www.markmulligan.net/lyrics/coastal/manana.htm, accessed Nov. 2, 2002.

17. http://www.nerdgirl.com, accessed Nov. 2, 2002.

18. An example of probable innocence comes from a colleague. Many years ago, one of her sons, then four years old, required stitches for a cut at a clinic near her field site in southern Mexico. As the doctor approached with the necessary equipment, the little boy began to cry out, "No way, José! No way, José! No way, José!" My colleague, of course, was acutely embarrassed.

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