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## A commented translation of the text 'Setenta años: muerte y vida del exilio' by Federico Álvarez

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## **Abstract**

This project consists of a translation of the text *Setenta Años: muerte y vida del exilio*, by Federico Álvarez, together with an analysis of the most relevant elements of the source text and of the proposed translation. The text is based on a speech given by Federico Álvarez at the Fourth International Congress on the Republican Exile of 1939 and the Second Generation, which took place in 2009 at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. The text itself presents a number of interesting translation problems, particularly noteworthy is its use of specialized vocabulary and neologisms, colloquial and typically spoken language, and its numerous references to literary works, organizations, institutions and historic events. These are all considered within the context of the translation process, using translation theory to explain the technique chosen.

## **Contents**

Introduction .....	2
Context.....	2
Motivation.....	2
Source text analysis.....	3
The author and the text .....	4
Translation Assignment: priorities and restrictions .....	4
Translation Assignment .....	4
Priorities .....	5
Restrictions .....	5
Commentary .....	6
1. Textual considerations.....	6
The title of the text .....	6
Register .....	6
Punctuation.....	6
Footnotes.....	8
Poetry .....	8
2. Specific language considerations .....	9
Terminology related to nationality and national identity .....	9
Terminology related to exile and migration.....	11
Artistic references .....	13
Latin Americanisms.....	14
Elements of spoken discourse .....	15
Expressive language and colloquialisms.....	17
3. Cultural references .....	19
Literary references .....	19
Names of organizations and institutions.....	23
Political references specific to time and place .....	24
Historic references .....	25
References to people .....	25
Proposed translation .....	27
Final Comments.....	58
References .....	59

## **Introduction**

### **Context**

The following project consists of a translation of the text *Setenta Años: muerte y vida del exilio*, by Federico Álvarez, together with an analysis of the most relevant elements of the source text and of the translation. The text was published in the book *El exilio republicano de 1939 y la segunda generación* ('The Republican exile of 1939 and the Second Generation') by the GEXEL literary exile study group of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) in 2011. The book, edited by Manuel Aznar Soler and José Ramón López García, is a collection of conference proceedings and essays taken from the Fourth International Congress on the Republican Exile of 1939 and the Second Generation, which took place in 2009 at the UAB with the intention of marking the seventieth anniversary of the start of the Republican exile and paying homage to the so-called 'Second Generation' of the exile.

During and after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), more than 500,000 people were forced to leave Spain in exile and around 200,000 would stay overseas for many years, or even the rest of their lives (Rickett, 2014, p.12-13). A great deal of these refugees, or exiles, emigrated to Latin America, particularly Mexico. Many of these exiles were members of the former Republican government and were liberal sympathisers, including intellectuals and artists, of all generations. The exiles can be divided into several groups: those who arrived in exile as adults were the 'First Generation', those who arrived as children were the 'Second Generation', and those who were born in exile were the 'Third Generation'. Many of these exiles developed their skills and styles, evolving as they mixed their Spanish upbringing with their new socio-cultural environment. One of the most significant results of this integration is the literary movement of the Republican exile which has been the subject of many academic studies and texts. Although the text is presented in essay format, it has several elements which belong to spoken discourse of a somewhat informal nature. This is because the text is based on conference proceedings taken from Federico Álvarez's speech at the 2009 congress.

### **Motivation**

I chose to do a commented translation of this text for my final project for a variety of reasons. First of all, since I plan to work as a translator in the future, I felt it would be beneficial to gain experience by carrying out a longer translation, and thus decided to take the opportunity to work with a more academic text. Furthermore, I wished to deal with a text that responds to my personal

interests and experience. Having lived in Mexico, I was keen to take on the challenge of dealing with cultural and linguistic elements specific to the region. I have also studied modern history and international politics, therefore I found the elements of historic events, political figures and movements, as well as literary references, included in the text to be particularly interesting. Another interesting characteristic of the text is its clearly academic and specialized content which is expressed through various elements of spoken discourse and colloquialisms. Therefore, the cultural, historic, and linguistic elements of the source text have made it both an interesting and challenging translation project.

## **Source text analysis**

**Source text title:** *Setenta años: muerte y vida del exilio*

**Genre:** Academic

### **Discursive Situation**

**Author:** Federico Álvarez

**Audience:** Speech: Academics and members of the exile who were attending the 2009 congress, and who therefore had a reasonable degree of specialist knowledge – of a personal and/or academic nature – on the subject matter.

Publication: Academics and those interested and/or specialized in the Republican exile.

**Tone:** Academic, with elements of semi-formal language, yet also using rather expressive and colloquial language typical of oral speech to express complex ideas.

**Mode:** Originally given as a speech and then written to be included in the collection of conference proceedings. It is unclear whether it was the speaker who converted it to written form or the publisher.

**Purpose:** A text based on the author's personal experience with the intention of informing and paying homage to both important and lesser-known figures from the exile.

## **The author and the text**

Federico Álvarez Arregui (1927-2018) experienced the Republican exile first-hand. He was born in Spain in 1927 and went into exile as a child in 1940, travelling to Cuba with his sister to be reunited with their parents. In 1947, he travelled to Mexico City, where he continued his studies, married his wife Elena Aub (daughter of Max Aub), taught literature at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), wrote for several publications and took part in various Spanish political organizations, including the *Movimiento Español* ('Spanish Movement') of 1959. He returned to Spain in 1971, staying there until his return to Mexico in 1982 where he became a professor at UNAM's School of Philosophy and Literature. As well as writing various academic texts, such as *El debate del Nuevo Mundo* (1994) and *Vida y Regreso del Exilio* (2000), he carried out research in Mexico, Spain and the USA, and was also a noteworthy translator ("Muere el catedrático", 2018).

The text is therefore based on the author's personal experience as a member of the Second Generation of the Republican exile and bears certain similarities to a memoir, clearly presenting Álvarez's opinions with a feeling of nostalgia. The text was written based on Álvarez's speech at the congress and was therefore originally directed at an academic audience with knowledge of the subject matter.

## **Translation Assignment: priorities and restrictions**

A hypothetical translation assignment has been created in order to produce an authentic translation by taking into account the specific priorities and restrictions which are at play in the translation process.

### **Translation Assignment**

Target language: English (UK)

The text is to be translated for publication in an English language translation of the book in which it appears. The target audience is thus expected to be of an academic nature, to have some knowledge of and interest in the subject matter, as well as the historic and cultural references included in the text.

In the translation process, the following have been considered priorities and restrictions, based on Zabalbeascoa's (2001) model.

## Priorities

- Communicate the core information to the greatest extent possible and appropriate for such academic work.
- Maintain the informal, colloquial nature of the text, using contractions and expressions where appropriate.
- Respect spoken elements, such as discourse markers, as much as possible, provided this does not disrupt the flow of the text.
- Use sentence structures that are clear to the target audience, changing punctuation where appropriate to suit British style, as prescribed in *New Hart's Rules* (2014).
- Give sufficient clarification (in-text or in annexes and footnotes) of Spanish references as required by the target audience, without weighing the text down or cluttering the page with parentheses and footnotes, for example.

## Restrictions

- The author uses specialist vocabulary (including Spanish neologisms) to refer to the topic. This vocabulary is inevitably not as developed in English since the topic has not been studied in as much detail or volume in English.
- Cultural references create gaps in translation due to the difficulty of communicating some of these references in English.
- Sentence structures are somewhat disorganised due to the text's origins as a speech. The lack of video records of the speech mean that it is difficult to interpret some elements which remain ambiguous, such as long lists, word stress, and the use of parentheses.
- Having spent most of his life in Latin America, the author's vocabulary includes certain elements that are more frequent in Latin American Spanish – particularly of the Mexican variant – which are difficult to replicate in English and are not considered necessary to the communication of the core meaning.

## **Commentary**

Although the source text is generally accessible to the target audience, it contains various elements which complicate the process of translation. In this section, I will consider the main issues that persist throughout the text, as well as the linguistic and lexical issues, and the cultural references which complicate the translation of the text. Where appropriate, the general approaches and techniques that have been applied will be discussed.

### **1. Textual considerations**

The main considerations which persist throughout the text relate to the title of the text, the register used, punctuation, and in-text poetry quotations, all of which will be discussed below.

#### *The title of the text*

Since the title of the text has been translated somewhat literally, on the surface it might appear to pose little problem to the translator. However, it should be noted that the order of the words ‘muerte y vida’ is unusual and that the more typical collocation would be ‘vida y muerte’. It is clear that this has been a conscious decision by Álvarez and therefore the translator must consider the possible purpose of this word order. One possible explanation is that the author wishes to place greater emphasis on the ‘death’, or rather the end, of the exile. Furthermore, this word order can be found in the titles of texts such as obituaries which firstly present the facts surrounding a person’s death, followed by information about their life. It can be considered that these effects are somewhat similar in both English and Spanish, and therefore the proposed translation maintains the same word order.

#### *Register*

The text is of an academic nature and content, but uses an informal tone coupled with colloquial vocabulary and expressions. This type of language and style has been replicated in the proposed translation, including contractions and informal expressions which would not typically be found in an academic text.

#### *Punctuation*

Since the text originates from a conference speech which has been converted to written form, its structure is at times disorganized; containing long sentences and lists, which are often difficult to interpret, and punctuation such as parentheses and bold type to express the tone of the speaker. Unfortunately, there is no video or recording of this conference and therefore, taking this into



consideration, the translator must use the punctuation available to interpret the way in which something was expressed in order to identify its purpose and decide how to best translate each element.

The target language is British English of an academic nature, therefore British spelling and punctuation have been respected. This has generally been based on the *New Hart's Rules* (2014) style guide, rather than style guides for press publishing (such as guides from *The Economist* or *The Guardian*), because the intended use of the translation is within the academic sphere. This section will only discuss those instances in which there is a peculiarity in the source, no exact rule exists, or a major deviation from source and/or norms has occurred. All other instances should be understood to coincide with the prescriptions given in the *New Hart's Rules* (2014) style guide.

### Source text punctuation

Due to the fact that the source text is taken from a speech, there are several characteristics that would not typically be found in this type of text. First of all, the text consists of numerous long lists of names or literary works and people, for example, which are difficult for the reader to follow. Where possible, punctuation, such as full stops and en dashes, has been added to assist the reader in their understanding. Several of these lists also end in ellipses, which are less common in written English than in written Spanish and, nevertheless, not typical of academic Spanish. These ellipses have been interpreted as a trailing off in the original speech and a suggested continuation of the sequence, which are both admissible uses in English, and have therefore generally been maintained in the proposed translation. Although alternatives such as 'etcetera', 'and so on', or 'to name a few' might have also worked well, and would perhaps be more common in academic writing, they would take away from this characteristic element of Álvarez's speech.

Secondly, the writer has used bold text on two occasions, firstly in the case of 'un problema de identidad, digamos, nacional' and also in the case of 'peculiaridades'; both of these examples have been interpreted as an emphasis that was placed by Álvarez when giving the speech. Although English often prefers the less obtrusive italic type where possible (*New Hart's Rules*, 2014, p133), italics are already used throughout the text in the titles of literary works, therefore a distinction must be made; bold type is used in the proposed translation for these particular instances.

Finally, there are a number of parentheses used in the text, including several entire sentences enclosed within parentheses. This has also been understood as an indicator of the way in which the speech was given (such as giving a secondary or additional point) and has therefore been mirrored

in the proposed translation. In the cases of entire sentences enclosed in parentheses, punctuation has been included within the brackets, as prescribed in *New Hart's Rules* (2014, p.89).

### **Target text punctuation**

Varying from the source text, capitalization has been used with terms such as 'First Generation', 'Middle Generation' and 'Second Generation' in the proposed translation as they are considered proper names. Quotation marks have only been used in the first instance as they are new or introduced terms, but in subsequent uses they are capitalized and do not have quotation marks.

Furthermore, italics have been used in the proposed translation to place word stress in the following sentence in order to highlight a contrast which is more evident in Spanish due to repetition of the word 'otra' preceded in its second instance by the definite article 'la':

Spanish: 'México había dado nacimiento a otra pintura, la otra pintura.'

English: 'Mexico had given birth to another way of painting, *the* other way of painting.'

Therefore, punctuation has been approached with the intention of transmitting a message which still resembles that of the original speech as closely as possible, but at the same time following the norms of British academic punctuation. Any more specific points related to punctuation will be discussed, where appropriate, in the relevant sections.

### ***Footnotes***

Due to the academic and specialized nature of the text, footnotes have been used where required to offer clarification. Since the target audience is expected to have some knowledge of the topic, footnotes have only been included when necessary for the fundamental understanding of the text. In other instances, there has been a general preference for translation techniques such as linguistic amplification (Hurtado, 2001, p.269) to enhance the general readability of the text. Depending on the publisher's preference these footnotes may be included at the end of the text in order to avoid too many in-text notes.

### ***Poetry***

Álvarez gives several quotes taken from poems by Juan Rejano and Luis Rius which do not have an official English translation. While there are countless elements to consider and approaches that may be taken in the translation of poetry, the main priority in the proposed translation has been to transmit the core meaning of the poetry. This is because Álvarez quoted each of the poems in order to refer to the content rather than the literary value.

## 2. Specific language considerations

A variety of language-based considerations are present throughout the text, relating to specific and specialist terminology, expressions and spoken language, which will all be discussed in the following sections.

### *Terminology related to nationality and national identity*

#### 'Patria'

The Spanish term 'patria' (from the Latin term 'patria', meaning family or clan) is used to refer to an individual's native or adoptive land; it has frequently been employed in Latin American discourse to suggest feelings of patriotism, national identity and a strong connection to one's country ("El patriotismo, definido", 2014). Possible translations are 'fatherland', 'motherland' or 'homeland'. The first two options are marked by gender: 'Father' carries connotations of strength and power, while 'Mother' is often linked to love, nurturing and fertility (James, 2015). Based on the gender association of *patria* with 'father', 'fatherland' could be considered the most faithful translation, yet in Spanish it is a feminine noun and therefore can also be translated as 'motherland'. Furthermore, 'motherland' perhaps better reflects the author's suggestion of love for one's country or place of birth (Maddox, 2010). Nevertheless, both terms have historic connotations in English – to Nazi Germany and Russia respectively – adding to the markedness of these translations. 'Homeland' is in more current use and is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* as 'a person's home country or native land; the land of one's ancestors. Also in extended use: a place regarded as the home of something.' Even though it carries certain modern-day connotations to the US and US organizations such as the Department of Homeland Security, it is still less historically marked in English and is thus considered to be preferable to both 'fatherland' and 'motherland' in this context.

An alternative option would be to use the term 'patria' in the English translation, which appears in the *OED* as a borrowing from Latin, but this is not in frequent use and could be considered an overuse of foreign terms in a text which already contains many Spanish references. Another option would be to use a more general word such as 'country' or 'home', but these do not sufficiently transmit the idea of patriotism in English. 'Homeland' was therefore considered the best option available for the English translation as it is the least politically and historically marked, while still transmitting the connotation of patriotism given in Spanish by *patria*.

### Words based on adjectives related to nationality

There are many references to nationality and the acquisition of traits relating to Spanish or Mexican culture which are derived from the adjectives *mexicano* and *español* to create the words in Table 1, below. However, in English many of these terms do not have a direct translation, or one that is in frequent use, and therefore the translator must choose from a variety of suffixes to create an acceptable term. Key translation considerations in these cases are maintaining symmetry between the Mexican and Spanish terms, while also considering the appropriate suffix use, cross-referencing with word frequency online and in resource texts.

Table 1.

<b>Words derived from the adjective ‘mexicano’ and their proposed English translation</b>	<b>Words derived from the adjective ‘español’ and their proposed English translation</b>
mexicanización > Mexicanization	españolización > Spanishization
mexicanizante > Mexicanizing	españolizante > Spanishizing
mexicanizado > Mexicanized	españolizado > Spanishized
mexicanidad > Mexicanness	españolidad > Spanishness

The term with the simplest translation is *mexicanización* because a term already exists in English: Mexicanization. According to *Oxford Living Dictionaries*, this refers to ‘the action or process of making or becoming Mexican in character, appearance, etc.; specifically subject to the influence or domination of (some aspect of) Mexican culture’. The term can also be found in several academic articles in journals, including an article about the Mexicanization of American politics which appears in *The American Historical Review* (Downs, 2012). This leads to the translation of *españolización* for Spanishization in order to maintain the same logic by applying the suffix ‘-ization’, which describes the process of becoming, making or making like, and is commonly used in words such as ‘Americanization’. From these words, we can understand that the verbs of origin are *mexicanizar* and *españolizar*; these verbs can be formed in English by adding the suffix -ize (meaning to become or make something become something) to the adjectives ‘Mexican’ and ‘Spanish’, creating ‘Mexicanize’ (accepted in the *OED*) and ‘Spanishize’. It should be noted that ‘Spaniolize’ and ‘Spanishify’ are both mentioned in the *OED*, but they are so rare in modern English that their use in this translation could potentially make the terms less transparent. For example, ‘Spaniolization’ only gives 6 results in a Google Search, many of which are largely associated with the Spanish ties of Charles I in the 17th century (Corns, 1999, p.142), making it a

rather antiquated term. Whereas ‘Spanishization’ can be clearly understood from the context and its Mexican equivalent, making it the preferable term.

Using these terms as a base, the derivative forms can be selected: ‘Mexicanizing’ (*mexicanizante*), ‘Spanishizing’ (*españolizante*), ‘Mexicanized’ (*mexicanizado*) and ‘Spanishized’ (*españolizado*). It is also worth mentioning here that suffixes with the root -ize can also be spelt -ise in British English, however the spelling with ‘z’ has been used because this better reflects the Greek root -izo and is recommended by *New Hart’s Rules* (2014, p.49).

Finally, when translating the terms *mexicanidad* and *españolidad* (both accepted by the RAE as describing the quality of being Mexican or Spanish, respectively), the addition of either the suffix -ity or -ness to the English adjectives was considered, as both can be added to adjectives to form nouns which describe the quality or condition of being said adjective. The term ‘Spanishness’ is accepted in both the *Collins Dictionary* and *OED* as the quality of being Spanish, but no mention is made of ‘Mexicanness’ or ‘Mexicanity’ in major English dictionaries. A Google search offers both the term ‘Mexicanness’ (24,900 results in 0.29 seconds) and ‘Mexicanity’ (10,100 results in 0.39 seconds), the former being the most commonly used and also appearing in academic texts such as the article ‘Mexicanness and Social Order in Digital Spaces’ in the *Hispanic Journal of Behavioural Sciences* (Christiansen, 2015). Consideration was also given to the term ‘Mexicanism’, however this is principally used to describe linguistic features related to Mexican Spanish and could cause confusion. ‘Mexicanness’ was therefore considered the best choice to match ‘Spanishness’.

Finally, all of the above terms are capitalized in English because, as per the *New Hart’s Rules* (2014, p.105), ‘adjectives based on nationality tend to be capitalized where they are closely linked with the nationality or a proper noun’.

### ***Terminology related to exile and migration***

A lot of the terminology used in the source text is somewhat specialist to the topic of exile and migration, and in some cases it is specifically used in the context of the Republican exile. For example, Álvarez uses the terms *exiliado*, *desterrado* and *transterrado* all with slightly different meanings but with a certain parallelism between them.

First of all, it is necessary to consider the most general terms used to speak of exile. The author uses both the terms *exilio* and *destierro* in Spanish, yet in English both may be translated as ‘exile’ to refer to the state of being in exile, and in a similar way *exiliado* and *desterrado* could be translated as ‘exile’ when used as a noun, or ‘exiled’ when used as an adjective to describe a person who is in exile. Nevertheless, the term *desterrar* may also be translated as ‘banish’ and therefore gives a

slightly stronger image of someone being forced into exile against their will. In the present translation, *destierro* has generally been translated as ‘exile’, unless a distinction is required, as the noun (‘banishment’) and adjective (‘banished’) forms are rather marked in English and do not fit with the text. In the case of ‘la condición de desterrado expulsado contra su voluntad de su tierra’, an exception has been made: ‘exile’ has been used to replace the noun *desterrado* but has been complemented with ‘banished’ in order to compensate (Hurtado, 2001, p.270) for the lost term.

The three terms *exiliados*, *desterrados* and *transterrados* appear together early in the text. While the first two words are recognised by the *RAE*, the third term is a neologism coined by the philosopher José Gaos (an exile himself) to refer to the feeling of finding a certain continuity between one’s country of asylum and the country left behind. He used this term to describe the feeling he had from the first moment, when he arrived in Mexico as an exile, of not having left his homeland for a foreign land, but rather having been transferred from one homeland to another (Valero Pie, 2013, p.72). Since it is a Spanish neologism, the term lacks a clear English translation. Some translation options which have been found in English texts are ‘transplanted’ (*transterrado*) and ‘transplantation’ (*transtierro*). According to Faber (2002, p. 247), both the terms are in somewhat widespread use in Spanish, and he even ventures to use them in his text, indicating their foreign origin using italics, while also using the term ‘transplantation’ alongside. Another possible option would be to create a neologism in English which is perhaps more faithful to Gaos’ term, such as ‘translanded’ - as referred to in the *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Latin American and Caribbean Cultures* (2000, p.615). Since there is no official translation of this term, the latter option has been proposed in the present translation in order to more faithfully express the original neologism. The participle and adjective *transterrado* is given in the first instance in italics with a somewhat literal English translation in parentheses (‘translanded’); following mentions proceed to use the English translation. In the case of the noun *transtierro*, it is difficult to form a noun based on ‘transland’ in English and therefore a description is given – the fact of being translanded – and in following instances the Spanish term is used in italics. Therefore, where possible this English term has been used, only resorting to the Spanish where necessary.

The terms *empatriarse* and *empatriado* were also coined by Gaos and refer to the final step of this cultural *transtierro* and assimilation. They may be considered the opposite of ‘expatriation’ or ‘emigration’. In English the term ‘inpatriate’ exists, however it is used largely to refer to the field of business; according to *Oxford Reference* (2018) ‘inpatriation’ is used to describe the process of moving employees who are host-country nationals to corporate head office in the parent country for a fixed period of work. To avoid confusion, a different term is required to refer to this state of emigration and assimilation. In the *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Latin American and Caribbean*

*Cultures* (2000, p.216), the translation of *empatriado* is given as ‘empatriated’, which uses the prefix em- to contrast with the terms ‘expatriation’ and ‘repatriation’ and suggest that the direction of this activity is towards or into the new country’s culture. Therefore, the term ‘empatriate’ has been proposed as a direct translation of *empatriar*; it is considered to transmit the same meaning as the original neologism, while avoiding possible confusion with the business term ‘inpatriate’.

Therefore, a variety of techniques have been applied on a case-by-case basis in order to transmit the author’s message; in the case of words which are not usual in English, they have been initially presented alongside the Spanish to give further context.

### *Artistic references*

The content of the text also calls for the use of specific vocabulary which refers to different artistic movements, techniques and individuals. Some of these references do not have a direct translation in English for various reasons.

There are a number of terms which incorporate the Spanish *-ista* suffix in the text: *teatrlista*, *atrilista*, and *vanguardista*. This suffix is used to create nouns which name professions and interests, as well as adjectives that describe someone who supports or is addicted to something. Both *teatrlista* and *atrilista* are nouns which describe a profession or interest and are predominantly found in texts originating in Latin America. The former refers to theatre professionals, people who make theatre and those who are addicted to it (*UDEP*, n.d.), and the latter is a specific term used to refer to members of the orchestra, who read music from the *atril* (music stand). Both terms have been translated using description (Hurtado, 2001) as ‘theatre people’ and ‘members of the orchestra’ because English lacks these specific terms. Furthermore, the term *vanguardista* describes those belonging to the *vanguardismo* (avant-garde) art forms, and therefore poses less problems for the translator as in this context it can be directly translated as ‘avant-garde’, which can be used as both an adjective and a noun.

Another art form which requires special consideration when translating is *grabado* because it can be translated as both ‘engraving’ and ‘print’ / ‘printmaking’. These art forms are interrelated and have both been present in Mexico for many years, therefore the context must be used to reduce the options. The decisive clue is the reference in the text to El Taller de Gráfica Popular (known in English as The People’s Print Workshop), which was founded in Mexico in 1937 as a collective centre for the creation of socio-political art. According to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Katzew, 2008), the Taller de Gráfica Popular ‘aimed to reach a broad audience, primarily through the dissemination of inexpensive wood- and linoleum-block prints. [...] The workshop’s output,

which included posters, prints, portfolios, and other illustrations, was enormous.’ Furthermore, the reference to artists such as Leopoldo Méndez gives a further clue as many of them are well-known printmakers from the era (Krantz, 2015). Therefore, the preferred translation is ‘printmaking’.

Another term which has proven difficult to translate is *virreinal*, used in reference to the Spanish colonial style of architecture. Literally translated, *virreinal* may be taken to mean ‘vice-royal’ in English, however this term is not particularly transparent to an English audience and therefore must be clarified within the context. The full term is *arquitectura virreinal* which describes architecture from the colonial era of the Americas – known as *América Virreinal* (due to the vice-royal ruling system) or ‘Colonial America’ in English. The term has therefore been translated as ‘colonial’ in this context in order to give more information about the era to which it refers.

The final term which must be discussed here is *picaresca*, which in Spanish refers both to the quality of being a ‘rogue’ or ‘rascal’ (*un pícaro*), as well as to the picaresque (*picaresca*) genre of fiction. English uses two unrelated words to describe the genre and the personal trait, the former being based on its Spanish roots and the latter being translated as ‘guile’ or ‘wiliness’. In the text, the term is used as an adjective to describe certain Spanish characteristics such as inventiveness and anguish, and therefore the term has been translated as ‘guile’.

### *Latin Americanisms*

Although the writer was born in Spain, he spent the overwhelming majority of his life living in Latin America, particularly Mexico, and therefore uses a number of Latin American expressions and Mexicanisms. These elements have been taken into consideration but maintaining them has not been a priority in the proposed translation; although if it were a literary text, then perhaps an equivalent term from, for example, American English could be used.

One example of a Mexican Spanish variant is the use of *primera planta* (first floor) to refer the ground floor, this is also used in the same way in some other Latin American countries such as Argentina (Word Reference, 2011), but would be called *planta baja* in peninsular Spanish. This resembles the difference in use between British English (ground floor) and US English (first floor) but has been translated to correspond to British English as this is the target language variant.

Another example is the reference to a *tesis de maestría* (Master’s thesis), which is generally known as a *Trabajo Fin de Máster* or, less commonly, as a *Tesis de Máster* in peninsular Spanish – both of which use the term *Máster* in the place of *maestría*. In British English, furthermore, ‘dissertations’ are more common at Master’s level, with ‘theses’ largely being associated with Doctorates, although ‘thesis’ may be used in the case of a research Master’s. Since there is little context in the text and it



could be understood that the text in question was of a research nature, ‘Master’s thesis’ has been chosen.

Therefore, while adding an interesting element when translating, Latin American terms have been translated into British English based on their core meaning in order to produce a clear and transparent text.

### *Elements of spoken discourse*

Since the text is a written version of Álvarez’s speech, it contains a variety of elements associated with oral speech, such as pragmatic markers and colloquial expressions, which present the academic content in a less formal register.

#### Pragmatic markers

Due to its spoken origins, there are various elements of oral discourse in the text which would not usually appear in an academic text. One of the most significant elements for the translator is the use of pragmatic markers, which are used by the speaker to display the way in which the message has to be understood, while indicating how the message or the conversational turns are to be segmented and processed (Gonzalez, 2011, p.3). The two markers that are most frequently used in this text are *pues* and *digamos*, which will therefore be discussed below.

The Spanish conjunction *pues* has a variety of functions, including to express a consecutive idea, to give emphatic value to an expression, to express doubt, and to express cause, motive or reason. Álvarez uses *pues* throughout the text, predominantly as a connector to express a consequence or give clarification of what has previously been said. Since the text is taken somewhat directly from the speech, it may be assumed that due to its relatively spontaneous nature, the use of *pues* is not as loaded as in narrative texts, for example, although it certainly carries a value which helps the audience interpret the meaning of the text. Possible translation solutions in this case would be ‘so’ (informal), ‘thus’ (formal), ‘therefore’, ‘then’ and zero marking. Table 2 shows the source text sentences that use *pues* and their proposed translation.

Table 2.

	Source text	Proposed translation
1	‘Parecía, <u>pues</u> , que se llegaba a un mundo ideal para cualquier pintor [...]’	‘It seemed, <u>then</u> , like arriving in an ideal world for any painter [...]’
2	‘Había, <u>pues</u> , una paradójica españolización, [...] motivada por el recuerdo, por la nostalgia [...]’	<u>So</u> , there was a paradoxical ‘Spanishization’, [...] motivated by memory, by nostalgia [...]’

3	'Empezamos, <u>pues</u> , a ver que [...] los españoles exiliados de todas las generaciones se han mexicanizado enteramente [...]'	' <u>So</u> , we begin to see that [...] every generation of Spanish exiles has become entirely Mexicanized [...]'
4	Sólo en literatura y en la pintura existe, <u>pues</u> , la eventual ambigüedad.	Only in literature and painting, <u>therefore</u> , is there an eventual ambiguity.
5	'El exilio ha terminado, <u>pues</u> , derrotado por enésima vez.'	'The exile has ended, <u>therefore</u> , defeated for the umpteenth time.'
6	'[...] el único divorciado totalmente de la sensibilidad política exiliada fue Gerardo Deniz, nacido en 1934, uno, <u>pues</u> , de los más jóvenes [...]'	'[...] the only one completely divorced from the exiled political sensibilities was Gerardo Deniz, born in 1934, one of the youngest [...]'
7	<u>Así pues</u> , es difícil etiquetar, definir.	<u>So</u> , it is difficult to label, to define.

In examples one to five, a variety of translation options have been used: 'then', 'so', and 'therefore'. All of the markers are somewhat more conspicuous in English than *pues* in the Spanish text, therefore a variety was used to give a more natural effect. 'Thus' was not used as it was considered too formal given the text's general tendency towards less formal vocabulary and expressions. In the sixth example, zero marking was chosen as the preferred translation option. Although it is possible to use most of the options here, the addition of a connector of consequence in English is rather marked and interrupts the flow of the sentence, possibly even resulting in excessive *pragmatic enrichment* (Gonzalez, 2011, p.5). Zero marking was considered preferable as it is clear from the sequence of statements that the fact that Deniz was born in 1934 makes him one of the youngest exiles. In the seventh and last example, the expression *así pues* is used at the start of the sentence to introduce a consequence of the previous paragraph. Possible options are 'thus' and 'therefore', but these could be considered excessively formal, hence 'so' has been used to give the sentence a more spontaneous oral tone.

*Digamos* is used twice in the text before making a statement which may be understood as debatable or controversial. According to the *Diccionario de partículas discursivas del español* (DPDE), *digamos* 'should be interpreted in an approximate, non-literal way, often with the purpose of mitigating what has been said and thus avoiding responsibility.' Possible English translations are:

- '(let's / shall we) say': used to introduce a suggestion or possible example of something
- 'so to speak': used to explain that what you are saying is not to be understood exactly as stated
- Zero marking.

Table 3 gives the source text examples of *digamos* and the proposed translation.

Table 3.

	Source text	Proposed translation
1	‘[...] llegar a México siendo pintor español [...] era un desafío traumático; una experiencia, <u>digamos</u> , desmovilizadora.’	‘[...] arriving in Mexico as a Spanish painter [...] was a traumatic challenge; a demotivating experience, <u>so to speak</u> .’
2	‘Hay, además, al paso de los años, <b>un problema de identidad, digamos, nacional</b> [...]’	‘There is also, as the years go by, <b>a national identity problem</b> [...]’

Both of the above uses of *digamos* pose a certain difficulty to the translator due to the Spanish sentence structure: noun, + *digamos*, + adjective. Thus, the location of *digamos* mitigates the adjective but not the noun. English word order cannot follow this structure and therefore the translator must consider which translation to use along with its location in the text. ‘Let us say’ is the closest translation to *digamos*, yet it does not fit well in either sentence due to the structure. Therefore, in the first sentence a similar but not exact translation has been chosen, using ‘so to speak’ to mitigate the previous utterance. In the second example, zero marking was considered preferable as a structure such as ‘let’s say, a national identity problem’ mitigates both ‘identity’ and ‘problem’, and structures such as ‘an identity problem, let’s say, a national one’ sound rather forced in English.

The text is somewhat unusual in its combination of academic language and oral markers, and therefore the translator must choose which marker to use on a case-by-case basis.

### *Expressive language and colloquialisms*

Throughout the text there is a great deal of expressive language which does not match the language usually expected in texts of an academic nature. This includes colloquialisms, expressive language and metaphors. Álvarez sets the tone in the first paragraph with the phrase ‘no sin antes traerlos al proscenio, iluminarlos y aplaudirlos largamente’, which has been translated literally in order to maintain a similar expressive value. However, a literal translation has not been possible in all cases.

Colloquial expressions used by Álvarez, such as *rifirrafes* and *jovenzuelos*, have been translated with terms that have an equivalent informal and colloquial nature: ‘squabbles’ and ‘youngsters’ respectively. These are perhaps easier to translate because they are a single lexical unit, yet the same could be said of *desperdigamiento* which has proven slightly more difficult to translate. *Desperdigamiento* (dispersion or scattering) is another colloquial word which would not typically be found in a conference article; taken from the verb *desperdigar* (to scatter or disperse), the noun form is less frequently used in peninsular Spanish. ‘Dispersion’ is more commonly used in English but is somewhat less colloquial and could be considered equivalent to *dispersión* in Spanish.

Therefore, the less common and more colloquial ‘scattering’ has been used in order to respect Álvarez’s choice of words.

The use of informal and colourful phraseology and expressions has proven more difficult in the process of translation; Table 4 shows some of the more problematic expressions, their proposed translation, and the technique applied – based on Toury’s (1995) categorization.

Table 4.

	Source text	Proposed translation	Technique
1	‘[...] y todos, con raras excepciones e independientemente de edades y generaciones, tenían <u>a la postre</u> [...] una sola voz.’	‘And <u>at the end of the day</u> , with very few exceptions and independent of age and generation, they all had a single voice [...].’	Metaphor into different (more general) metaphor
2	‘[...] estaban <u>de hoz y coz</u> metidos en la vida profesional mexicana [...].’	‘[They] were <u>completely and utterly</u> involved in Mexican professional life [...].’	Metaphor into non-metaphor
3	‘Y si se fue de México [...] fue por los premios que obtuvo y por los contratos que le <u>llovieron</u> .’	‘And if he left Mexico[...] it was for the awards that he won and the contracts that <u>flooded through his door</u> .’	Metaphor into different metaphor
4	‘Para no hablar de los productores y directores <u>pane lucrando</u> .’	‘To say nothing of the producers and directors simply <u>earning a living</u> .’	Metaphor into non-metaphor
5	‘Podría dar aquí <u>un rosario de nombres</u> muy conocidos en México[...].’	‘I could give a <u>long string of names</u> here that are very well-known in Mexico [...].’	Metaphor into different (more general) metaphor
6	‘[...] la poesía lírica de Luis Rius, que iba a <u>tardar en granar</u> [...].’	‘[...] Luis Rius’s lyric poetry, which was going to take time to <u>catch on</u> [...].’	Metaphor into different (more general) metaphor

As can be seen in the above table, the most frequent translation techniques used were metaphor into non-metaphor and metaphor into different metaphor. The different metaphors furthermore tend to be more general, except in the case of example 3 which uses a stronger metaphor to describe the fact that Buñuel received a great number of contracts. To a degree, this could be considered a form of compensation (Hurtado, 2001, p.270) for the tendency to generalization in the other examples. Wherever possible, preference has been given to the use of a metaphor rather than non-metaphor in the proposed translation.

Finally, it is necessary to give special consideration to the expressions which appear in the final paragraph and their proposed translations in English, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5.

Source text	Proposed translation
'[...] decía temblándole la voz: «Veo ahí gente con la que <u>no se puede ir ni a la esquina...</u> ». Y lo mismo Jesús Hernández: « <u>No sabéis con quien andáis...</u> ».	'[...] "I see people here <u>who I wouldn't trust as far as I can throw them...</u> ". And Jesús Hernández, " <u>you don't know who you're dealing with</u> ".

Both of the above expressions have been translated using a different expression in English with a similar meaning, and in the case of 'no ir ni a la esquina', the reference to trust has been made explicit. Although use of a non-metaphor is possible, it is considered important in these instances to at least match the strength and tone of the language used in the original, particularly since it appears in the last paragraph of the text and is used to express the passion of the speaker. Therefore, priority has been given to using a metaphor in the proposed translation where possible, rather than weakening the message with a non-metaphor.

### 3. Cultural references

Since the text is focused on the Republican exile and the literary and political movement which resulted from it, the text is full of political, artistic and sociocultural references which present the translator with varying degrees of difficulty when selecting an English equivalent. There are few cases where the reference is completely shared and can be directly translated, as is the case with 'the quarrel of the "ancients" and the "moderns"', and therefore each reference must be carefully and individually considered. These references are categorized using Laura Santamaria's (2000) categorization for cultural referents, and, where applicable, the proposed translation techniques will be analysed using those set out by Hurtado (2001).

#### *Literary references*

The numerous references to literature throughout the text must be thoughtfully approached by the translator because the volume of such references could make many translation techniques appear overly conspicuous. The general approach that has been employed for these references in the proposed translation has been based on the following categories: titles of literary works and names of publications.

#### Titles of literary works

This category includes the numerous references to literature, plays, poems and songs which are originally, and in some cases exclusively available, in the Spanish language. Throughout the text, reference is made to a variety of these works and, due to the specialist nature of the text, it is necessary to maintain these references. In some cases, the titles have an official English translation,

while others do not, and some are by writers who are well-known internationally, while many remain in the specific literary domain of the Republican exile.

In cases where an official English translation exists, as in the case of *La vida es sueño* (*Life is a Dream*) by Calderón de la Barca and *Ligazón* (*Blood Pact*) by Valle-Inclán, the official translation has been given directly in place of the Spanish title. *Blood Pact* was translated into English by Robert Lima and published for the *Modern International Drama* journal in 1991 (Lima, 1999, p.238). This was also the case with Aguinaga's *Un tiempo tuyo* (*A Time of Your Own*), whereas his *Carretera de Cuernavaca* has not been translated.

In the cases where no official English translation exists, a standard translation technique would involve giving the Spanish title in italics followed by a parenthesized English translation in quotation marks. However, due to the sheer quantity of references in the source text and a need to avoid cluttering the target text, it has been considered preferable to only use this technique where absolutely necessary, and thus several techniques have been applied on a case-by-case basis.

A parenthesized literal translation has been given only when the title itself is of relevance to the text, such as is the case with the reference to the poem 'Acta de extranjería' by Luis Rius:

Su nostalgia española, [...] se trocó en desconcierto y desamparo: en extranjería definitiva. En julio de 1982 [...] decía Luis Rius en un poema titulado precisamente «Acta de extranjería»:

The initial reference to 'extranjería definitiva' is reflected in the name of the poem and, without translation of the title, this reference would be lost, therefore a translation has been offered. To maintain this reference, the translation also takes into account the need to be consistent with the translation of the first mention of *extranjería*, which implies the quality and condition of being foreign, rather than the translating the term for a more frequent legal term such as 'immigration'. Another untranslated work which is given with an English translation is Rejano's poem 'Los dos indios' ('The Two Indians'). This is because reference is made in the following paragraph to the 'Indians' mentioned in the title of the poem.

In some cases, the reference to the title of the work itself was not considered to be particularly relevant, but rather the writer was. This is the case in the reference to Cervantes' *El Retablo de las Maravillas*, where there is no mention of the author in the source text. Several English translations may be found of this play, ranging from *The Marvellous Puppet Show* to *The Altarpiece of Wonders*, but it lacks an official version and has therefore been mentioned by its Spanish title. It was however considered beneficial to make the reference to Cervantes explicit by amplifying it with the author's name, because even if the reader does not recognise the title of the play, they should at

least recognise the author. Amplification with the writer's name was also considered beneficial in the case of the aforementioned *La vida es sueño*, and in the case of *La Celestina* by Fernando de Rojas; the Spanish reader would be expected to know who wrote these plays, whereas the target audience of the translation may not. Interestingly, *La Celestina* does not require translation as this title is used in the English translation of the play, sometimes known by its full title: *La Celestina: Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea* ("La Celestina: Tragicomedy", n.d.).

In the case of the songs which are referred to in the penultimate paragraph (*L'Ampurdá*, *Agur Agur*, *Goico Mendiyan*, *Si la nieve resbala*, *Asturias patria querida*), it is clear that they are referred to because they are all regional songs from Spain (Catalonia, the Basque Country and Asturias) – something which would be evident to the Spanish audience, but less so to the target audience of the translation. Therefore, a footnote is proposed to clarify the fact that they are all traditional songs from various regions of Spain. Furthermore, in the case of *L'Ampurdá* and *Goico Mendiyan*, the writer has used the Spanish translation of the original Catalan and Basque titles, whereas in the proposed translation the original Catalan and Basque language titles have been used: *L'Empordà* and *Goiko Mendian*, respectively. It is also worth mentioning that the punctuation of songs in English are single quotation marks, rather than italics (*New Hart's Rules*, 2014, p.136-9).

Finally, literary titles which have not been translated include *Ciudad asediada*, *Ultimo oasis*, *Carretera de Cuernavaca* and *Vienen rojos y azules*. These titles are usually referred to along with their author in both the source text and target text, and the titles themselves are not of great significance for understanding the text.

Therefore, titles have only been directly translated if an official translation exists, an unofficial translation has been given in the instances where the title itself was considered relevant, and some works have been amplified by adding the writer's name to assist the reader in identifying the reference.

### **Names of publications**

In addition to the references to literary works, there are many references to publications and other Spanish and Mexican cultural institutions which also pose a problem for the translator as they have no exact direct translation in English. These cultural references would fit into Santamaria's (2000, p7) category 'Cultural Institutions: mass media'.

Reference is frequently made to a number of both Spanish and Mexican publications such as *Clavileño*, *presencia*, *Revista de la Universidad*, *Boletín de Información de la UIE*, *El Mono Azul* and *Romancero de la guerra civil*. Since these references are proper names, it has not been

considered advantageous to offer a translation in the text. However, they are considered to have an amount of geographic, political and temporal relevance to the reader, which a Spanish speaking reader would possibly be more likely to recognise than a non-Spanish speaker. Therefore, further clarification has been given in the proposed translation. The most frequent technique used in these cases was amplification (Hurtado, 2001, p.269) via footnote or information added directly to the text.

It is worth considering that this type of translated text tends to be published in journals and other academic publications, and often uses footnotes to give further clarification. Due to the volume of references in the source text, it has not been considered practical to provide a footnote for each reference as this would clutter the page and hinder the reader. Therefore, footnotes have only been employed where considered absolutely necessary. This was the case in the first paragraph where references to several publications are used to show the literary progression of the ‘youths of war’ from Spanish Republican wartime publications such as *Hora de España* and *Mono Azul*, to Mexican literary publications such as *Taller* and *El Hijo Pródigo*. As regards the three magazines that are repeatedly mentioned later in the text, *Clavileño*, *Hoja* and *Presencia*, footnotes have also been used in the first references in order to make the references more transparent as regards the time and place of publication.

In some cases, amplification has been used by offering details about the text type and/or genre. This is the case with the *Romancero de la guerra civil* poetry, where the word ‘poetry’ has been added to the text in order to assist the reader as regards the type of reference; this was not considered necessary with the aforementioned magazines as the verb which accompanies them (‘write in’ in the case of *Hora de España* and the others mentioned in the first paragraph) leads the reader to understand the reference. Nor was it considered necessary in the case of *Clavileño*, which in the original already contains clarification (‘la revista *Clavileño*’), or of *presencia* and *Hoja*, which follow in a logical sequence from *Clavileño*.

Finally, the two *Boletín* format publications have been literally translated into English as ‘bulletin’. This is because their titles contain core information about the publication which can be expressed in the same way in English using a literal translation. The *Boletín de Información de la UIE* has been translated for ‘UIE Information Bulletin’, and the *Boletín del Movimiento* has been translated for ‘Bulletin of the Movement’. In both cases the term ‘bulletin’ has been preferred over ‘newsletter’ in order to more closely reflect the original. In the second case, a slight calque (Hurtado, 2001) in word order was preferable to a solution such as ‘the Movement(s) Bulletin’, in order to maintain the transparency of the reference to the Spanish Movement.



Therefore, amplification by either footnote or added information has been the preferred translation technique for publications due to their geographical, political and temporal significance.

### *Names of organizations and institutions*

Álvarez frequently mentions a wide variety of cultural institutions and organizations, which could be placed in Santamaria's (2000, p.7) fourth category: Cultural institutions. The names of these institutions are in Roman type, as per the *New Hart's Rules* (2014, p.122-3).

### **Arts Institutions**

Throughout the text several arts institutions are mentioned which formed a part of Mexican cultural and literary life at the time. The Spanish name has been maintained, where possible, and amplification has been used in the cases which would have otherwise remained unclear. Some of these references already contained an explanation in the source text (El Tinglado and El Buhó are both clearly described as theatre groups), and therefore the Spanish proper name has been maintained and the explanation translated. In other instances, the reference is less transparent, this is particularly the case with the Ateneo Español and Casa del Lago cultural centres which were introduced simply as the 'Ateneo' and the 'Casa del Lago'. In these cases, amplification has been used by firstly using the full name of the 'Ateneo Español', and by adding the in-text information that they are 'cultural centres' to the first use of each term. Finally, the 'Federación de Fútbol de la Juventud Española' has been directly translated using its literal meaning ('Football Federation of the Spanish Youth') to directly reflect the function of the organization.

### **Educational Institutions**

Several educational institutions are also referred to in the text: el Instituto Luis Vives, la Academia Hispano Mexicana, el Colegio Nacional de México. These references have been directly translated into English as they involve generic terms – 'instituto', 'academia' and 'colegio' – which can be literally translated into English, and furthermore have been found as the accepted translations in a number of English language resource texts (Ai Camp, 1985; Rodríguez, Francisco and Balmer, 2016). Footnotes have also been included when further clarification is required.

### **Organization Acronyms**

The text refers to many organizations and political groups using their acronyms. While these political organizations may be considered under Santamaria's previously mentioned category of 'Cultural Institutions' (2000, p.7), they may also be considered within the category of 'Social Structure: politics'. Some of these references would be recognised by the original Spanish-speaking audience because they also exist in Spain (e.g. the PSOE and CNT). Although English speakers

specialising in the topic may recognise some organizations, it cannot be assumed that all of these references will be familiar to the English-speaking reader. Therefore, it is necessary to give clarification, at least in some cases. One option would be to include the definition or English translation of the acronym within the text, for example using amplification with parentheses or footnotes. However, if these techniques are applied too frequently, they may hinder the reader's understanding. Therefore, an alphabetised list would be included with the final translation in an annexe for quick reference, as per Table 6 shown below. This table would be preferably included at the end of the text, depending on the publisher's preference.

Table 6.

Spanish Acronym	Full Spanish Name	English translation and/or explanation
ASU	Agrupación Socialista Universitaria	'University Socialist Group'
CNT	Confederación Nacional de Trabajo	An anarcho-syndicalist labour union
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna	Basque nationalist and separatist organization.
FEU	Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios	'Federation of University Students'
FLP	Frente de Liberación Popular	'Popular Liberation Front'
FUDE	Fundación Universitaria Democrática Española	'Spanish Democratic University Foundation'
FUE / FUEDEM	Fundación Universitaria Española	'Spanish University Foundation'
JC	Juventud Comunista	'Communist Youths'
JSU	Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas	'United Youth Movement'
ME	Movimiento Español	Spanish Movement
MSC	Movimiento Socialista de Cataluña	'Catalan Socialist Movement'
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Española	Spanish socialist party
UIE	Unión de Intelectuales Españoles	Union of Spanish Intellectuals

### *Political references specific to time and place*

The text refers to various political phenomena, some of which are historic, while others are still present today. These references could therefore be categorized in either Santamaria's (2000, P.7) 'Social Structure' category, within the subcategory of 'Politics', or as 'History'.

The terms *negrinista* and *prietista* are used to describe an individual's views and political affiliations with regards the historic political figures Juan Negrín and Indalecio Prieto, respectively. These terms have no direct equivalent in English and therefore, rather than offer a generalization or

description which would weaken the reference, the two words have been borrowed from Spanish in the proposed English translation. In order to clarify the borrowed terms, a footnote has been added to each term in order to give more information about the associated political figure, should the reader not recognize the reference. In the case of *negrinista*, an in-text amplification has also been used to demonstrate that it refers to ‘*negrinista* socialists’. The terms are italicized in the translation because these words remain foreign and are not normalized in the English language (*New Hart’s Rules*, 2014, p.129-131).

On the other hand, *galleguista* and *catalanista* are both terms which remain actively used to refer to Spain today and which are reported on in Spanish as well as English, particularly in the case of the latter. The equivalent terms in English are ‘Galicianist’ and ‘Catalanist’; using the English names of the regions to create these terms gives greater transparency to the English-speaking reader. The terms are also accompanied by a footnote for clarification; they are capitalized because they refer to regions but are not italicised as they are not foreign words.

### *Historic references*

Due to the academic and political nature of the text, several references to historic events are made which fit Santamaria’s category ‘History’ (2000, p.7). Some of these references are directly related to the subject matter, as in the case of the ‘ME 59’ (‘Movimiento Español’), whereas others, such as the reference to the Battle of Villalar, are less directly and temporally related. The ME 59 has been literally translated as the ‘Spanish Movement of 1959’, expanding the acronym because no acronym exists in English. A footnote is not considered necessary in this case as the meaning is somewhat transparent. On the other hand, the reference to the ‘comuneros of Villalar’ has been reformulated and amplified to refer specifically to the Battle of Villalar; a footnote is also given to offer information such as the time period. This was considered necessary because the target audience, depending on their areas of expertise, is not likely to be educated in Spanish history of the 16th century and thus the reference was not considered transparent. Therefore, further information has only been given where absolutely necessary.

### *References to people*

In general, the use of proper nouns in the text to refer to writers, artists, politicians, and so on, does not cause any great problem for the translator. In fact, many of the references are to people who also spoke at the 2009 congress and who therefore also have texts published in the same book (Aznar and López, 2011). However, there are two particular cases in which the translator must consider the name’s function in order to proceed with the translation as they reflect the social structure of the source culture (Santamaria, 2000, p.7).

Firstly, Álvarez introduces José Gaos using the title *Don* in order to show respect to Gaos. According to the RAE, *Don* is used as a respectful form of address which precedes first names, and which used to be only used for specific people of a high social status. The term functions semantically much like the title ‘Sir’ in English, yet in English this title is still specifically reserved for use before the names of knights and baronets. The term ‘Mister’ or ‘Mr’ would also be unsuitable as it does not communicate the equivalent level of respect and sounds unusual in the context of speaking about someone who is not present. Another option would be to borrow the term *Don* from Spanish as it is somewhat recognized in the English language due to common cultural references such as Don Quixote and Don Juan, however this is not a suitable option as the term is now also associated with members of the Mafia. It has therefore been considered most prudent to omit the title in the proposed translation.

Secondly, in the case of Manuel Durán, Manuel Bonilla and Manuel Aznar, the author also uses the colloquial nickname ‘Manolo’ as a show of affection. Since neither the name nor the nickname are common in English, the target audience might not recognize this as the same person unless they have some knowledge of Spanish. Although the use of this nickname gives an indication of Álvarez’s feelings towards Durán, Bonilla and Aznar, it is not of sufficient value to the core ideas of the text to justify using an addition of information. Therefore, the nickname has been adjusted back to Manuel, the name which is used in all other references to the writer, in order to avoid confusion.

## Proposed translation

Federico Álvarez	Federico Álvarez
<b>SETENTA AÑOS: MUERTE Y VIDA DEL EXILIO</b>	<b>SEVENTY YEARS: THE DEATH AND LIFE OF EXILE</b>
<p>HABLAMOS de «segunda generación» partiendo de criterios solamente genealógicos: generación de los padres (primera, la de los que hicieron la guerra, que coincide aproximadamente con la generación del 27 o «de la República») y «generación de los hijos» (la de los que la vivieron con menos de 14 o 15 años). Pero, como en la vieja querrela de «antiguos» y modernos», también aquí nos encontramos una «edad media», una generación «intermedia», que algunos han denominado «perdida» o «rota» y que forman los jóvenes de la guerra, los del 36, la de los que empezaron a escribir en <i>Hora de España</i>, colaboraron en el <i>Romancero de la guerra civil</i> y escribieron para <i>El Mono Azul</i> y para otros periódicos del frente y de la retaguardia; los que participaron de manera notoria en el Congreso de intelectuales de Valencia del 37, como organizadores en gran medida, y los que, ya en el exilio, colaboraron en <i>Taller</i>, en <i>El Hijo Pródigo</i> e hicieron <i>Romance</i>, siempre en variable contacto con la «primera generación», negándose de hecho a ser</p>	<p>We speak of a ‘Second Generation’ based purely on genealogical criteria: the generation of the parents (firstly, the generation of those involved in the civil war, which roughly coincides with the Generation of ‘27 or the generation ‘of the Republic’) and the ‘generation of the children’ (those who were younger than 14 or 15 at the time). However, like in the old quarrel between the ‘ancients’ and the ‘moderns’, we also find here a ‘middle age’, an ‘intermediate’ generation, which some have called ‘lost’ or ‘broken’. This generation is made up of the youths of war, those of 1936, the generation of those who began to write in <i>Hora de España</i><sup>1</sup>, contributed to the <i>Romancero de la guerra civil</i><sup>2</sup> poetry and wrote for the <i>Mono Azul</i><sup>3</sup> and other newspapers at the front and rearguard. The generation that notoriously participated in the 1937 Congress of Intellectuals in Valencia, largely as organizers, and those who, already in exile, contributed to <i>Taller</i>, to <i>El Hijo Pródigo</i><sup>4</sup>, and made <i>Romance</i> poetry, all in varying contact with the ‘First Generation’, in fact</p>

<sup>1</sup> A monthly cultural magazine published by Republicans in Spain between 1937 and 1938, during the Spanish Civil War.

<sup>2</sup> Poetry or *romances* written during the Spanish Civil War were published in the *Mono Azul* magazine, and later in magazines and books that were published in the post-war era (Bertrand, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> A magazine published by Republicans during the Spanish Civil War.

<sup>4</sup> *Taller* (1931-1941) and *El Hijo Pródigo* (1943-1946) were literary magazines published in Mexico, led by prominent Mexicans such as Octavio Paz and with contributions from both Mexicans and Spanish exiles.

<p>considerados como sus epígonos. Y, sin embargo, no hubo aquí ruptura generacional, salvo pequeños rifirrafes personales. La guerra impidió la concreción de esa ruptura, pero la historia sabrá poner las cosas en su lugar. Son, antes que nadie, los que encabeza Miguel Hernández, los Sánchez Barbudo, Lorenzo Varela, Juan Gil-Albert, Rafael Dieste, Herrera Petere, Serrano Plaja, Ramón Gaya, Quiroga Plá, Miguel Prieto, Sánchez Vázquez hasta los más jóvenes, Joaquín Díez-Canedo, Francisco Giner y Juan Marichal (nacido en 1922). Luego venimos nosotros, «los hijos» de la primera generación que, llegados niños al exilio, se nos denomina en México (y, por lo que veo, también aquí) con generalización apresurada, los hispano-mexicanos o la «segunda generación». Sólo por no contradecir el rótulo de nuestro Congreso, adoptaré esta denominación en lo que sigue, y a los que acabo de enumerar, los llamaré «generación intermedia», no sin antes traerlos al proscenio, iluminarlos y aplaudirlos largamente. Merecen sin duda un Congreso muy importante.</p>	<p>refusing to be considered epigones. And, nevertheless, there was no generational divide, except small personal squabbles. The war prevented such a divide from materialising, but history will put these things in their place. They are, before anyone else, those led by Miguel Hernández, the Sánchez Barbudoes, Lorenzo Varela, Juan Gil-Albert, Rafael Dieste, Herrera Petere, Serrano Plaja, Ramón Gaya, Quiroga Plá, Miguel Prieto, Sánchez Vázquez, to the youngest, Joaquín Díez-Canedo, Francisco Giner and Juan Marichal (born in 1922). Then came us, ‘the children’ of the First Generation who, after arriving in exile as children, are referred to in Mexico (and, as far as I can see, here too) with a rash generalization, as the Spanish-Mexicans or the Second Generation. Simply not to contradict the name of our congress, I will adopt this term in the following, and I will refer to those who I have just listed as the ‘Middle Generation’, but not without first bringing them to the stage, illuminating them and giving them a lengthy round of applause. They without a doubt deserve a very noteworthy Congress.</p>
<p>A estas alturas de nuestra vida política e intelectual, cuando la primera generación y la generación intermedia del exilio han prácticamente desaparecido, nosotros, que estamos también a punto de hacerlo, empezamos a verlo todo —como empezaron ya a verlo nuestros mayores— con una mirada de síntesis, de interpretación general</p>	<p>At this point in our political and intellectual life, when the First Generation and the Middle Generation of the exile have practically disappeared, we, who will soon do the same, begin to see everything – as our elders already began to see it – from a point of view of synthesis, a general interpretation (in academic research, analysis always</p>

<p>(en la investigación académica predomina siempre más el análisis), pretendiendo ver el bosque más que los árboles. Y por eso, empezamos por distinguir esas dos generaciones que siguieron a la de la República, y hemos de tratar de distinguir los problemas que, con muy relativo afán común, las animaron. En realidad, todo respondió a un gran desperdigamiento que desfiguró y desfigura sus valores.</p>	<p>prevails), attempting to see the forest rather than the trees. And for this reason, we begin by distinguishing these two generations which came after that of the Republic, and we must try to distinguish the problems that, with a very relative common ambition, inspired them. In reality, everything resulted from a great dispersion which disfigured and still disfigures their values.</p>
<p>Porque hay primero (y suele con mucha frecuencia pasarse por alto) un problema político: el exilio es, antes que nada, un fenómeno político: Aub era negrinista, Rodríguez Luna comunista, Ángel María de Lera anarquista, Gaos socialista, Castelao galleguista, Arteta nacionalista vasco, Bosch Gimpera catalanista, Ernestina Champourcín y Joaquín y Ramón Xirau, republicanos católicos, etc., y todos, con raras excepciones e independientemente de edades y generaciones, tenían a la postre, entre contradicciones a veces violentas, una sola voz. En México, en particular, y no obstante el carácter tempestuoso de cierta asamblea original, a partir de la fundación del Ateneo en 1949, se saludaban todos ellos cordialmente en sus salones, incluyendo muy pronto a los de la «segunda generación». (Tal vez la fracción prietista del PSOE sea, políticamente, la única excepción: con alguna</p>	<p>Because first of all there is a political problem (and it is very often overlooked): Aub was a <i>negrinista</i><sup>5</sup> socialist, Rodríguez Luna was a communist, Ángel María de Lera was an anarchist, Gaos was a socialist, Castelao was a Galicianist<sup>6</sup>, Arteta was a Basque nationalist, Bosch Gimpera was a Catalanist<sup>7</sup>, Ernestina Champourcín and Joaquín and Ramón Xirau were Catholic Republicans, etc. And at the end of the day, with very few exceptions and independent of age and generation, they all had a single voice among sometimes violent contradictions. Particularly in Mexico, and despite the tempestuous nature of a certain initial assembly, since the founding of the Ateneo Español cultural centre in 1949, everybody greeted each other cordially in its parlours, including very early on those of the Second Generation. Perhaps the <i>prietista</i><sup>8</sup> faction of the PSOE is, politically, the only</p>

<sup>5</sup> *Negrinista*: follower of Juan Negrín, president of the Spanish Republic from 1937 to 1939.

<sup>6</sup> Galicianist: in favour of Galician nationalism.

<sup>7</sup> Catalanist: in favour of Catalan nationalism.

<sup>8</sup> *Prietista*: follower of Indalecio Prieto, minister in the government of the Spanish Republic and president of the PSOE in exile.

<p>otra facción disidente «prietista» de los republicanos o de la CNT se reunían aparte en el Centro Republicano Español. Es, creo, la única división política persistente en la primera generación del exilio; y aun así, en el terreno intelectual y académico, no absolutamente general. ¿Cuántos fieles pacientes comunistas tenía el doctor Somolinos?)</p>	<p>exception: they would meet separately in the Spanish Republican Centre with some other dissident <i>prietista</i> faction of the Republicans or the CNT labour union. I believe it was the only persistent political divide in the first generation of the exile; and even so, in the intellectual and academic field, it wasn't entirely general. How many loyal Communist patients did Doctor Solominos have?</p>
<p>Hay, además, al paso de los años, <b>un problema de identidad, digamos, nacional:</b> ¿españoles, mexicanos, exiliados, desterrados, transterrados, hispano-mexicanos? Es fácil ver lo mucho que importa en este aspecto la actividad cultural o artística de cada quien, si pintores, si académicos, si poetas o narradores, si médicos, etc., y los lugares de destino, si en el D. F., si en Coatzacoalcos, y cómo, en las tres generaciones, hay diversa intensidad de lo que Gaos llamó transtierro, desde la negación irremediable de la pérdida de lo español hasta el transtierro total, y ello, aunque en diferente medida, en todas las generaciones de las que hablamos.</p>	<p>There is also, as the years go by, <b>a national identity problem:</b> Spanish, Mexican, exiled, <i>desterrados</i> (banished), <i>transterrados</i> ('translanted') or Spanish-Mexicans? It is easy to see how important each person's cultural or artistic activity is in this regard – be they painters, academics, poets, storytellers or doctors, etc. – as well as their destinations, if it was Mexico City or Coatzacoalcos. And how, in the three generations, there is a varying intensity of what Gaos called <i>transtierro</i> (the fact of being translanted), from the irremediable denial of the loss of everything Spanish, to a complete <i>transtierro</i>, and this – although to varying extents – was present in all of the generations which we are talking about.</p>
<p>Hay, por último, la necesidad, no obstante, de establecer las <b>peculiaridades</b> que, inevitablemente las distinguen por la edad (no es lo mismo llegar a México con sesenta años que con diez) y que las asemejan y las unen, sin embargo, de manera muchas veces entrañable. Quién que lo haya conocido no ha sentido cariño profundo y discipularidad</p>	<p>Finally, there is nevertheless a need to establish the <b>peculiarities</b> which, inevitably, distinguish them by age (arriving in Mexico at sixty years old is not the same as arriving at ten) and yet which make them similar and unite them, often in a moving way. Who has met Emilio Prados or León Felipe and not felt deep affection and faithful discipleship for</p>



fiel por Emilio Prados o por León Felipe, aunque fuéramos todavía unos jovencitos?	him, even if we were still youngsters?
Así pues, es difícil etiquetar, definir.	So, it is difficult to label, to define.
Al hablar, por ejemplo, en nuestro caso, de la generación «hispano-mexicana», los problemas que surgen a debate no son los políticos, aunque los hubo, sino los de la identidad nacional ambivalente que define su adscripción mixta, y los de su peculiaridad en tanto que jóvenes (mientras lo fuimos) respecto de nuestros mayores.	When speaking – in our case, for example – of the Spanish-Mexican generation, the problems that come up for debate are not political ones, even though they existed, but rather those about ambivalent national identity which define its mixed membership, and those of its peculiarity of young people (while we were young) with respect to our elders.
Don José Gaos, en su amargura transnada o en su satisfacción empatriada, fundamentó muy bien la posibilidad americana del exilio. En carta a Juan David García Bacca en 1957 decía:	José Gaos, in his transnaded bitterness or in his empatriated satisfaction, laid a very solid foundation for the American prospect of exile. In a letter to Juan David García Bacca in 1957, he said:
La vuelta a España sería vuelta en el espacio, en la geografía, no en el tiempo, en la historia: a la España de la que partimos no podemos volver, porque ella misma ha dejado de existir, y para siempre... [...]. Pienso que nuestro destino, al que debemos ser obedientes, ha sido, sigue siendo, el de cooperar a la historia de esta vida ultramarina de la misma España.	A return to Spain would be a return in space, in geography, not in time, or history: we cannot return to the Spain that we left behind, because that Spain has ceased to exist, forever... [...]. I believe that our destiny, the one we must obey, has been, still is, that of cooperating in the story of this same Spain's overseas life.
Tal podría ser el final del exilio: su supervivencia española y ultramarina a un tiempo. A tanta constancia y fe, durante tantos años, esta desembocadura no es un premio pequeño.	Such may be the end of the exile: both its Spanish and overseas survival at the same time. With so much perseverance and faith, for so many years, this outcome is not a small prize.
Y tuvo éxito. Pero hubo muchos que la rechazaron. Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez dijo claramente que prefería mantener enhiesta la condición de exiliado político, la de	And it was successful. But there were many who rejected it. Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez clearly said that he would prefer to keep up the condition of political exile – of the exile

<p>desterrado expulsado contra su voluntad de su tierra, y el sostenimiento, por lo tanto, de las diversas organizaciones políticas y sociales del exilio.</p>	<p>banished against his will from his country – and, therefore, the support of the various political and social organizations of the exile.</p>
<p>En realidad, así fue. En 1950, de seiscientos sesenta libros publicados por exiliados, sólo veinte tenían asunto mexicano. En 1989, cincuenta años después del comienzo del exilio, en la Exposición de Obra Plástica del Ateneo, sólo el diez por ciento de los cuadros tenían temática mexicana.</p>	<p>In reality, that’s how it was. In 1950, of the six hundred and sixty books published by exiles, only twenty were on Mexican subjects. In 1989, fifty years after the exile began, at the Ateneo Español’s Fine Art Exhibition, only ten percent of the paintings had a Mexican theme.</p>
<p>Y aquí viene a cuento lo que ya he señalado más arriba: la importancia de la especificidad de la ocupación artística o literaria. En esos mismos años, arquitectos, músicos, teatristas, cineastas exiliados de no importa qué generación (con algunos excepciones que bien conocemos), estaban de hoz y coz metidos en la vida profesional mexicana, y eran tratados como mexicanos por sus respectivos colegas (para no hablar de médicos, ingenieros, investigadores o catedráticos universitarios, o de antropólogos dedicados a investigaciones de campo).</p>	<p>And here comes what I pointed out earlier: the importance of belonging to the artistic or literary profession. In these same years, exiled architects, musicians, theatre people, filmmakers from no-matter what generation (with a few exceptions, who we well know), were completely and utterly involved in Mexican professional life, and were treated as Mexican by their respective colleagues (not to mention doctors, engineers, university researchers or scholars, or anthropologists dedicated to field research).</p>
<p>Los músicos, por ejemplo. A excepción de las figuras que llegaron ya formadas profesionalmente y con gran prestigio (Rodolfo Halffter, Adolfo Salazar, Gustavo Pittaluga) y teóricos o historiadores de la música tan notables como Jesús Bal y Gay y Otto Mayer-Serra, todos tuvieron que compartir las naturales dificultades que ofrece la música para su profesionalización creativa, con el trabajo en conservatorios</p>	<p>Musicians, for example. With the exception of the individuals who arrived having already received professional training and achieved great prestige (Rodolfo Halffter, Adolfo Salazar, Gustavo Pittaluga) and music theorists or historians as noteworthy as Jesús Bal y Gay and Otto Mayer-Serra, they all had to share the natural difficulties offered by music for their creative professionalization; working in conservatories as highly esteemed</p>

<p>como profesores muy apreciados, también como atrilistas, organizando coros (en este aspecto su significación ha sido muy notable) y, sobre todo, musicalizando cientos de películas mexicanas. Su mexicanización fue flagrante.</p>	<p>teachers, and also as members of the orchestra, organizing choirs (in this aspect their significance has been very remarkable) and, above all, setting music to hundreds of Mexican films. Their Mexicanization was flagrant.</p>
<p>Incluso en el cine. ¿Qué hizo Buñuel sino películas mexicanas? Y si se fue de México —no nos engañemos— fue por los premios que obtuvo y por los contratos que le llovieron. La casa que tenía en el D. F. jamás la abandonó. Alcoriza, su talentoso ayudante, también exiliado, es autor de muy buenas películas mexicanas. Lo mismo Velo. Para no hablar de los productores y directores pane lucrando. Nos equivocáramos si pensáramos que <i>Los siete niños de Écija</i>, <i>El último amor de Goya</i>, <i>La Barraca</i>, <i>Sierra Morena</i>, <i>El verdugo de Sevilla</i>, <i>En un burro tres baturros</i> y cien más de parecido título, son películas españolas. Son una de las partes más discutibles del llamado «siglo de oro» del cine mexicano, según opinión de Emilio García Riera, amigo que fue dirigente de la JSU, es decir, de la segunda generación, uno de los principales críticos e historiadores del cine mexicano.</p>	<p>Even in cinema. What did Buñuel make if not Mexican films? And if he left Mexico – let us not deceive ourselves – it was for the awards that he won and the contracts that flooded through his door. He never gave up his house in Mexico City. Alcoriza, his talented assistant who was also in exile, wrote very good Mexican films. Velo too. To say nothing of the producers and directors simply earning a living. We would be mistaken if we thought <i>Los siete niños de Écija</i>, <i>El último amor de Goya</i>, <i>La Barraca</i>, <i>Sierra Morena</i>, <i>El verdugo de Sevilla</i>, <i>En un burro tres baturros</i> and a hundred more with similar titles, were Spanish films. They are one of the most contentious parts of the so-called ‘Golden Age’ of Mexican cinema, according to the opinion of Emilio García Riera, a friend who was leader of the JSU – that is to say, one of the main critics and historians of Mexican cinema from the Second Generation.</p>
<p>Es verdad que, en el teatro, Cipriano de Rivas Cherif montaba excelentemente <i>La vida es sueño</i>; es verdad que Álvaro Custodio dirigía con gran éxito su compañía de Teatro Clásico Español y montaba inolvidablemente <i>La Celestina</i>, pero las tres</p>	<p>It is true that, in theatre, Cipriano de Rivas Cherif put on an excellent production of <i>Life is a Dream</i> by Pedro Calderón de la Barca; it is true that Álvaro Custodio very successfully directed his Classic Spanish Theatre company and put on an unforgettable production of <i>La</i></p>

<p>generaciones del exilio dieron muchos y muy notables autores, actores, actrices y escenógrafos al teatro nacional mexicano y no hay la menor duda de su clara vocación mexicana. Maruxa Vilalta, de la «segunda generación hispano-mexicana», tres veces ganadora del premio a «la mejor obra del año», es un ejemplo impar de mexicanidad confesada. Como el excelente director Rafael López Miarnau. Podría dar aquí un rosario de nombres muy conocidos en México y, con algunas excepciones, perfectamente desconocidos en España.</p>	<p><i>Celestina</i> by Fernando de Rojas. But the three generations of exile also gave national Mexican theatre a lot of very noteworthy writers, actors, actresses and stage designers, and there is no doubt about their clear Mexican vocation. Maruxa Vilalta, of the ‘Second Spanish-Mexican Generation’, three-time winner of the award for Best Play of the Year, is an odd example of confessed Mexicanness. As is the excellent director Rafael López Miarnau. I could give a long string of names here that are very well-known in Mexico and, with a few exceptions, perfectly unknown in Spain.</p>
<p>A diferencia de la música, del teatro, del cine y de la poesía, llegar a México siendo pintor español (por muy reconocido que lo fuera durante la República, con exposiciones hechas ya con éxito en España), era un desafío traumático; una experiencia, digamos, desmovilizadora. México había dado nacimiento a otra pintura, la otra pintura. Y era tal vez el país americano de mayor desarrollo imaginable en las artes plásticas. Los pintores españoles llegaban en los momentos de mayor eclosión de la llamada escuela mexicana de pintura, en primer lugar el muralismo (Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros, Tamayo, Chávez Morado, González Camarena, O’Gorman), también el grabado, el Taller de la Gráfica Popular (Leopoldo Méndez, O’Higgins, Zalce, Arenal, Guerrero, Angelina Belof, Mariana Yampolsky).</p>	<p>In contrast to music, theatre, cinema and poetry, arriving in Mexico as a Spanish painter (no matter how highly regarded during the time of the Republic, having already held successful exhibitions in Spain), was a traumatic challenge; a demotivating experience, so to speak. Mexico had given birth to another way of painting, <i>the</i> other way of painting. And it was perhaps the American country with the highest imaginable development in the fine arts. Spanish painters arrived at the time of greatest emergence for the so-called Mexican school of painting, primarily muralism (Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros, Tamayo, Chávez Morado, González Camarena, O’Gorman), as well as printmaking, the Taller de la Gráfica Popular (‘The People’s Graphic Workshop’): Leopoldo Méndez, O’Higgins, Zalce, Arenal, Guerrero, Angelina Belof, Mariana</p>

	Ya'mpolsky.
<p>Todos los muros de los edificios oficiales, ministerios, universidades, edificios coloniales y del XIX en la capital del país y en los estados, estaban y están cubiertos por grandes murales: miles y miles de metros cuadrados, de excelente pintura la mayoría de las veces; los museos proliferaban, y decenas de galerías abrían sus puertas en las principales ciudades del país con muestras importantes y frecuentes. Y había también una serie de eminentes críticos de arte: Cardoza y Aragón, Justino Fernández, Margarita Nelken, Raquel Tibol, Fernando Gamboa, Antonio Rodrigues, Enrique F. Gual, Fernández Márquez, etc. (españoles, mexicanos y latinoamericanos mezclados).</p>	<p>In official buildings, ministries, universities, colonial and 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings in the country's capital and in the states, every wall was and is covered with large murals: thousands and thousands of metres squared, excellently painted most of the time; museums were multiplying, and dozens of galleries were opening their doors in the country's major cities with regular noteworthy exhibits. And there was also a series of eminent art critics: Cardoza y Aragón, Justino Fernández, Margarita Nelken, Raquel Tibol, Fernando Gamboa, Antonio Rodrigues, Enrique F. Gual, Fernández Márquez, etc. (A mix of Spaniards, Mexicans and Latin Americans.)</p>
<p>Y la mayoría de toda esta pintura, la más influyente, tenía una clara y propositiva impronta de carácter social avanzado que dejaba incluso atrás a la mayoría de los pintores republicanos, de izquierda por supuesto, que llegaban a México. Parecía, pues, que se llegaba a un mundo ideal para cualquier pintor, a un país que estaba lleno de pintores, grabadores, escultores, un país que sabía mucho de pintura y que, por lo tanto, era terreno fértil para disponerse a la creación desde el día mismo de la llegada.</p>	<p>And the majority of all this painting, the most influential part, had a clear and propositional imprint with an advanced social nature which even left behind most of the Republican painters, left-wing of course, who were arriving in Mexico. It seemed, then, like they were arriving in an ideal world for any painter, in a country full of painters, printmakers, and sculptors, a country which knew a lot about painting and which, for that reason, was fertile ground to get on with creation from the very same day of arrival.</p>
<p>No obstante, para los pintores españoles fue casi un choque frontal. Fueron recibidos con plena cordialidad, ayudados en su asentamiento y estabilidad social, pero indudablemente, después de algún tiempo,</p>	<p>Nevertheless, for the Spanish painters it was nearly a head-on collision. They were welcomed with full cordiality, helped to settle and with social stability but, undoubtedly, after a time, disregarded (not scorned, but</p>

<p>menospreciados (no despreciados, sino tratados como seguidores de una pintura ya vieja, un cierto conservatismo y, si vanguardistas, de un vanguardismo decadente).</p>	<p>rather treated as followers of a form of painting which was already old, a certain conservatism and, if avant-garde, belonging to a decadent avant-garde).</p>
<p>Y eran muchos y muy buenos: Aurelio Arteta, Arturo Souto, Remedios Varo, Gerardo Lizárraga, Ceferino Palencia, José Moreno Villa, Eduardo Vicente, Fernández Balbuena, Elvira Gascón, García Maroto, Enrique Climent, José Renau, Rodríguez Luna, Miguel Prieto, Ramón Gaya, Bartolí, Camps Rivera, José Bardasano, Cristóbal Ruiz, Ruano Llopis, Bartolozzi, Francisco Tortosa, Germán Horacio...</p>	<p>And they were very good and many in number: Aurelio Arteta, Arturo Souto, Remedios Varo, Gerardo Lizárraga, Ceferino Palencia, José Moreno Villa, Eduardo Vicente, Fernández Balbuena, Elvira Gascón, García Maroto, Enrique Climent, José Renau, Rodríguez Luna, Miguel Prieto, Ramón Gaya, Bartolí, Camps Rivera, José Bardasano, Cristóbal Ruiz, Ruano Llopis, Bartolozzi, Francisco Tortosa, Germán Horacio...</p>
<p>No sólo no hubo en las dos primeras generaciones una tendencia mexicanizante (aunque casi todos la abordaron en algún momento) sino que, según Juan de la Encina (Ricardo Gutiérrez Abascal), se produjo un fenómeno curioso:</p>	<p>Not only was there no Mexicanizing trend in the first two generations (although almost everyone addressed it at some point), but rather – according to Juan de la Encina (Ricardo Gutiérrez Abascal) – the following curious phenomenon occurred:</p>
<p>Un grupo de pintores españoles, cierto, no muy nutrido, se ha «españolizado» en México, quiero decir, que se han desprendido de las musarañas del arte parisiense de los últimos decenios que, en ocasiones, eran productos de la inventiva, el desgarró. y hasta la picaresca española, y este México, señero y heteróclito, hirviente crisol de sustancias afines y dispares, les ha fortalecido sobremanera, volviéndoles al genio artístico fundamental de su origen. Ha sido una acción indirecta de México que algún día habrá que estudiar y agradecer.</p>	<p>A group of Spanish painters, true, not very many, has become ‘Spanishized’ in Mexico, I mean to say, they have broken away from the distractions of the Parisian art of the last decades which, on occasion, were products of Spanish inventiveness, anguish and even guile. And this Mexico, solitary and unusual, a melting pot of similar and different substances, has strengthened them greatly, returning them to the fundamental artistic genius of their roots. It has been an indirect action of Mexico that one day we will have to study and be thankful for.</p>
<p>Había, pues, una paradójica españolización, como dice Juan de la Encina, motivada por el recuerdo, por la nostalgia, por la fidelidad,</p>	<p>So, there was a paradoxical ‘Spanishization’, as Juan de la Encina says, motivated by memory, by nostalgia, by loyalty, above all.</p>

<p>sobre todo. La invasión visual mexicana, poderosa y siempre a la vista, hizo a algunos unirse a ella eventualmente; pero la mayoría se refugió en la memoria.</p>	<p>The Mexican visual invasion, powerful and always in sight, made some join it eventually; but most took refuge in memories.</p>
<p>Entrar en el campo de lo mexicano no era fácil; se podía caer en un pintoresquismo falso o, peor, en un hispano-americanismo que se suponía fraternal, solidario, incluso binacional (antipático para los ojos mexicanos, sobre todo si el artista extranjero llevaba ya años en el país).</p>	<p>Entering the Mexican sphere was not easy; one could fall into a false picturesqueness or, worse, into a Spanish-Americanism that was supposedly fraternal, united, even binational (disagreeable to Mexican eyes, particularly if the foreign artist had already been in the country for years).</p>
<p>La mexicanización arribó luego en casi todos con desigual fortuna y —en su mayoría, en mi opinión— con poca disposición.</p>	<p>Mexicanization came later for almost everyone with irregular levels of success, and largely – in my opinion – unwillingly.</p>
<p>Por eso, el arte de la primera generación del exilio pertenece a la historia del arte español, vasco, gallego, catalán o andaluz. Souto es un pintor gallego, Moreno Villa un pintor andaluz, Miguel Prieto un pintor manchego, Camps Rivera un pintor catalán, Arteta un pintor vasco, aunque cada uno de ellos tengan una obra «mexicana». Comprometidos de lleno en la vida del país que los acogía con tanta generosidad, murieron, sin embargo, españoles, con pasaporte mexicano. Igual sucede con los escritores: Ayala, Aub, Sender, Emilio Prados, Altolaguirre, Gil-Albert, Herrera Petere, y hasta Tomás Segovia y Luis Rius, ya de la «segunda generación», son escritores españoles y empieza a contárseles en la literatura española, cada vez menos en la mexicana, donde forman un capítulo específico, lateral e inevitable (desde el</p>	<p>For this reason, the art of the First Generation of exile belongs to Spanish, Basque, Galician, Catalan or Andalusian art history. Souto is a Galician painter, Moreno Villa an Andalusian painter, Miguel Prieto a painter from La Mancha, Camps Rivera a Catalan painter, Arteta a Basque painter, even though each of them has ‘Mexican’ work. Fully committed to the life of the country that so generously welcomed them, yet they died Spaniards, with a Mexican passport. The same happens with the writers: Ayala, Aub, Sender, Emilio Prados, Altolaguirre, Gil-Albert, Herrera Petere, and even Tomás Segovia and Luis Rius, already in the Second Generation, are Spanish writers who are beginning to be mentioned in Spanish literature, and decreasingly in Mexican literature, where they form a specific, lateral and inevitable chapter (from the Mexican</p>

<p>punto de vista mexicano): «escritores del exilio español».</p>	<p>point of view): ‘writers of the Spanish exile’.</p>
<p>Pero, para apreciar las diferencias en cuanto al oficio, la situación en la pintura es la contraria. Entre los pintores de la «generación hispano-mexicana» se deshacía esta tendencia españolizante. La nostalgia prevalecía en los «viejos», las nuevas tendencias en los jóvenes: Vicente Rojo, García Narezo, Mary Martín, Moreno Capdevila, Vicente Gandía, Messeguer, Javier Oteyza...</p>	<p>But, to appreciate the differences between crafts, the situation in painting is the opposite. Among the painters of the Spanish-Mexican Generation this Spanishizing trend was disintegrating. Nostalgia prevailed among the ‘old’, the new tendencies in young: Vicente Rojo, García Narezo, Mary Martín, Moreno Capdevila, Vicente Gandía, Messeguer, Javier Oteyza...</p>
<p>Cuando Vicente Rojo ingresó en El Colegio Nacional de México, contestó su discurso de ingreso el ilustre astrónomo Manuel Peimbert. Y nada más empezar dijo: «Vicente Rojo nace en España en 1932 y en México en 1949». Y luego cita a Dionisio Hernández Gil, autor del prólogo al libro homenaje que el Ministerio de Cultura de España dedicó a Vicente Rojo:</p>	<p>When Vicente Rojo joined Mexico’s National College, the illustrious astronomer Manuel Peimbert responded to his inaugural speech. And right at the beginning he said, ‘Vicente Rojo was born in Spain in 1932 and in Mexico in 1949’. And then he quoted Dionisio Hernández Gil, who wrote the prologue to the tribute book dedicated to Vicente Rojo by the Spanish Ministry of Culture:</p>
<p>Este pintor nacido en Barcelona ha querido y logrado ser mexicano a parte entera, responder a la hospitalidad con la inserción a fondo y sin dobleces, dejándose impregnar por un paisaje —físico y mental— del que pronto supo extraer la intensidad vital y el colorido.</p>	<p>This painter, who was born in Barcelona, has tried and managed to be completely Mexican, to respond to the hospitality by inserting himself in depth and without false pretensions, to allow himself to soak up a landscape – physical and mental – from which he soon learnt to extract the colourfulness and intensity of life.</p>
<p>Sencillamente, nos hicimos en México (yo primero, hasta los veinte años, en Cuba). Nuestros amigos eran la llamada generación de la ruptura (que Rojo prefiere llamar de la</p>	<p>Simply, we made ourselves in Mexico (I first did this in Cuba until I was twenty). Our friends were the so-called breakaway generation (which Rojo prefers to call the</p>



<p>apertura): José Emilio Pacheco, Carlos Monsiváis, Juan García Ponce, José Luis Cuevas, Esther Seligson, Manuel Felguérez, Lilia Carrillo, Melo, Gurrola, Huberto Batis, Lavista, Gortázar, van Gunten, en la <i>Revista de la Universidad</i>, en la Casa del Lago y en los suplementos dominicales que dirigió Fernando Benítez. Alguna vez se nos dijo la mafia (teníamos un cierto concepto común de la cultura y... estábamos en todos lados).</p>	<p>opening generation): José Emilio Pacheco, Carlos Monsiváis, Juan García Ponce, José Luis Cuevas, Esther Seligson, Manuel Felguérez, Lilia Carrillo, Melo, Gurrola, Huberto Batis, Lavista, Gortázar, van Gunten, in the <i>Revista de la Universidad</i>, in the Casa del Lago cultural centre and in the Sunday supplements run by Fernando Benítez. We were once called the Mafia (we had a certain common conception of culture and... we were everywhere).</p>
<p>En la poesía la situación es distinta. Cuando murió Rejano, Andrés Henestrosa dijo: «Llegó español, Se nos fue un poco mexicano». Eso podría decirse de todos los poetas exiliados de su generación; de la generación de los que hicieron la guerra.</p>	<p>In poetry the situation is different. When Rejano died, Andrés Henestrosa said, ‘He arrived Spanish, but he left us a little bit Mexican’. The same could be said of all the exiled poets from his generation; from the generation of those involved in the war.</p>
<p>Decía Rejano en un poema de los últimos que escribió:</p>	<p>In one of the last poems that he wrote, Rejano said:</p>
<p><i>No, no olvidé tu luz: la llevo adentro/ [...] Con ella en carne viva caminé por el viento [...] Yo conservo el tesoro. Yo lo robé a tu frente y he de volverlo a ella una mañana para...</i></p>	<p><i>No, I didn't forget your light: I carry it inside me/ [...] I walked with it in flesh and blood through the wind [...] I keep the treasure. I stole it right in front of you and I must return it to her one morning for...</i></p>
<p>Pero: también, leamos «Los dos indios», el último de sus poemas:</p>	<p>But, we also read ‘Los dos indios’ (‘The Two Indians’), the last of his poems:</p>
<p><i>Lo dos indios mirábanse sobre el campo en barbecho [...] y yo pensé: Lo mismo que aquellos que supieron del himno y de la herida, también éstos esconden sus angustias, su rabia contenida. Aquellos sucumbieron, Éstos irán un día a la victoria.</i></p>	<p><i>The two Indians looked at each other in the fallow field [...] and I thought: The same as those who knew of the hymn and the wound, those who also hide their anguish, their contained anger. They succumbed, These will go one day to victory.</i></p>

<p>No, no es todavía una mirada mexicana. Ve a los dos indios desde fuera, en un paisaje visto también desde fuera, pero con una intención política que estaba, sí, pensada desde dentro. Es lo más que se les podía pedir.</p>	<p>No, it is not yet a Mexican outlook. He sees the two Indians from outside, in a landscape also seen from the outside, but with a political intention that was, indeed, thought of from within. It's the most that could be expected of them.</p>
<p>Pero era sensible al dictum sabio de Federico de Onís que deberíamos recordar siempre, especialmente en estos próximos temibles centenarios: «Si el español quiere conocer a América, debe ver en ella lo que no hicieron los españoles». Decía el también presidente de la Spanish Society de Nueva York: «Creo que España y los pueblos hispanoamericanos deben tratar, cada uno a su modo, de alejarse cuando más puedan de su pasado común». Observación inteligente y precavida, difícilísima de cumplir hoy, en España, en la víspera del segundo centenario de las independencias de las ex-colonias españolas. Pero no tan difícil si hacemos caso a algo más que decía de Onís: «La permanencia de España en América tendremos que buscarla [...] no en lo que España hizo y dejó en América, sino en lo que los americanos crearon por sí mismos diferenciándose de los españoles».</p>	<p>But he was sensitive to the wise dictum of Federico de Onís which we should always remember, especially in these coming dreaded centenaries: 'If the Spaniard wants to get to know America, he must see in it the things that were not done by the Spaniards'. The president of the Spanish Society of New York said, 'I believe that Spain and the Spanish-American people should try, each in their own way, to get away from their common past as much as possible'. An intelligent and prudent observation, which is highly difficult to understand today, in Spain, on the eve of the second centenary of the independence of the Spanish ex-colonies. But it's not so difficult if we pay attention to another thing that Onís said: 'Spain's permanence in America will have to be sought [...] not in what Spain did and left behind in America, but in what the Americans created for themselves, differentiating themselves from the Spaniards'.</p>
<p>Pero eso estaba ya, históricamente, entre las tareas de la «segunda generación».</p>	<p>But this was already, historically, among the tasks of the Second Generation.</p>
<p>Creo que el año de arranque, de emergencia, de la «segunda generación» fue 1948. Coincidió en ser el año en que yo viajé a</p>	<p>I think the year the Second Generation got going, the year it emerged, was 1948. It also happened to be the year that I travelled to</p>

<p>México con mi familia después de haber vivido siete años en Cuba, primer país de exilio de mis padres. Max Aub era amigo de mi padre, y la primera familia a la que visitamos en México fue la de Max. Allí me encontré, en mis primeros días mexicanos, con los que iban a hacer la revista <i>Clavileño</i>: Luis Rius, Arturo Souto, Víctor y Fernando Rico Galán, Eduardo Ugarte, Alberto Oliart, Manuel Bonilla, Inocencio Burgos, y algún otro que no recuerdo. Con dibujos de Gaya y Carlos Marichal. Aunque yo estudiaba entonces ingeniería, pronto establecimos estrecha amistad.</p>	<p>Mexico with my family after having spent seven years living in Cuba, my parents' first country of exile. Max Aub was one of my father's friends, and his family was the first that we visited in Mexico. There, in my first days in Mexico, I met those who were going to make the magazine <i>Clavileño</i><sup>9</sup>: Luis Rius, Arturo Souto, Víctor and Fernando Rico Galán, Eduardo Ugarte, Alberto Oliart, Manuel Bonilla, Inocencio Burgos, and another who I don't remember. With drawings by Gaya and Carlos Marichal. Although I was studying engineering at the time, we soon established a close friendship.</p>
<p><i>presencia</i> (con minúscula) apareció muy poco después, antecedida por <i>Hoja</i>, la hoja que Tomás Segovia dedicó en cinco número a la poesía suya y a la de los que él más valoraba: Durán, Gironella, Salvador Moreno (mexicano) y Michèle Alban. Allí mismo, en casa de Max, conocí, a los que, a las pocas semanas después, lanzarían el primer número (julio-agosto del 48) de <i>presencia</i>: Jomí García Ascot, Manuel Durán, Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, Tomás Segovia, Ramón Xirau, Michèle Alban, González Aramburu. (En el número 5 del <i>Boletín de Información de la UIE</i> pueden verse todos los datos que yo mismo publiqué allí anónimamente como era costumbre en el Boletín cuando se trataba de «noticias»). A Palerm lo conocí más tarde en el patio de Mascarones. Me lo presentó Odón</p>	<p><i>presencia</i><sup>10</sup> (with a small 'p') appeared not long after, preceded by <i>Hoja</i><sup>11</sup>, the magazine of which Tomás Segovia dedicated five issues to his poetry and to that of the people he valued the most: Durán, Gironella, Salvador Moreno (a Mexican) and Michèle Alban. There, in Max's house, I met the people who, a few weeks later would release the first issue (July-August '48) of <i>presencia</i>: Jomí García Ascot, Manuel Durán, Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, Tomás Segovia, Ramón Xirau, Michèle Alban and González Aramburu. (In the fifth issue of the <i>UIE Information Bulletin</i> you can see all the information that I posted there myself anonymously, as was customary in the <i>Bulletin</i> when it was about 'news'.) I met Palerm later, on the patio of the Casa de los</p>

<sup>9</sup> A Spanish-Mexican literary magazine published in Mexico in 1948, in only two issues.

<sup>10</sup> A Spanish-Mexican literary magazine published in Mexico in 1948, in eight issues.

<sup>11</sup> A Spanish-Mexican literary magazine published in Mexico in 1948.

<p>de Buen. Habrá que añadir que, en las dos revistas, había algunos jóvenes colaboradores mexicanos, llevados a sus páginas por amistades universitarias y por aprecio intelectual bien justificado. Luis Villoro, por ejemplo, en <i>presencia</i>. En <i>Clavileño</i>, Gironella.</p>	<p>Mascarones. Odón de Buen introduced me to him. It should be added that both magazines had some young Mexican contributors, brought to their pages by university friendships and by well-justified intellectual appreciation. Luis Villoro, for example, in <i>presencia</i>. Gironella in <i>Clavileño</i>.</p>
<p>Eran, en verdad, dos grupos distintos. <i>Clavileño</i> era, acaso, más ingenuo, más lírico, más joven (un par de años, a lo sumo, los diferenciaba de los de <i>presencia</i>), menos intelectual. (En aquella nota de la UIE yo hablaba del intento como «un balbuceo», pero nadie se quejó, aunque todos sabían que yo era su autor). <i>Presencia</i>, por el contrario, estaba más al día, había entre sus colaboradores más madurez, más lecturas, y una expresión política de izquierda más abierta (aunque en aquella nota yo decía «un poco superficial», como en efecto lo era. Estábamos en el inicio de la guerra fría, y en el campo intelectual predominaba, como es natural, cierta prudencia que huía del enfrentamiento).</p>	<p>They were, in truth, two different groups. <i>Clavileño</i> was, perhaps, more naive, more lyrical, younger (separated from those of <i>presencia</i> by a couple of years, at most) and less intellectual. (In that note from the UIE I spoke of the attempt as ‘a babble’, but nobody complained, even though everyone knew that I was the author.) On the other hand, <i>presencia</i> was more up-to-date, there was more maturity among its contributors, more readings, and a more open left-wing political expression (although in that note I called it ‘a little superficial’, as indeed it was. We were at the beginning of the Cold War, and in the intellectual field, naturally, a certain prudence prevailed that shrunk back from confrontation).</p>
<p>Lo mejor que se originó en <i>Clavileño</i> fue un importante libro de cuentos de Arturo Souto, <i>La plaga del crisantemo</i>, y su brillante carrera académica en la UNAM, que lo alejó lastimosamente de la creación literaria; y los inicios de la poesía lírica de Luis Rius, que iba a tardar en granar, de la manera exitosa en que lo hizo, desde los años setenta. Su nostalgia española, nacida de la herencia y de</p>	<p>The best thing to come out of <i>Clavileño</i> was an important book of stories by Arturo Souto, <i>La plaga del crisantemo</i>, and his brilliant academic career at UNAM<sup>12</sup>, which unfortunately took him away from literary creation; and the beginnings of Luis Rius’s lyric poetry, which was going to take time to catch on, in the successful way it did, from the seventies onwards. His Spanish nostalgia,</p>

<sup>12</sup> Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM): National Autonomous University of Mexico.

<p>los libros, se trocó en desconcierto y desamparo: en extranjería definitiva. En julio de 1982 (después de cuarenta y tres años de exilio) decía Luis Rius en un poema titulado precisamente «Acta de extranjería»:</p>	<p>resulting from the legacy and books, changed into bewilderment and helplessness: into a definitive foreignness. In July 1982 (after forty-three years of exile), in a poem which was in fact named <i>Acta de extranjería</i> ('Certificate of Foreignness'), Luis Rius said:</p>
<p><i>Mi origen se hizo pronto algo sombrío, y cuando a él vuelvo no lo vuelvo a hallar. Cada vez que me pongo a caminar hacia mí, pierdo el rumbo, me desvío. No hay aire, río, mar, tierra, sol mío. Con lo que no soy yo voy siempre a dar.</i></p>	<p><i>My origin soon became something sombre, and when I come back to it, I don't find it again. Every time I start walking towards myself, I lose my way, I change course. No air, river, sea, land, sun is mine. With what I am not I am always going to give.</i></p>
<p>Expresaba el sentir de Inocencio Burgos, Angelina Muñiz, de Federico Patán (de Federico Patán hay un bello poema dedicado a Rius a los pocos días de su muerte), es decir, de los más jóvenes, de los que habían salido de España a los dos o tres años de edad y sentían sin embargo una españolidad familiarmente heredada muy visible; y hacía causa común con Nuria Parés exaltando la herencia de León Felipe. Los más jóvenes eran, paradójicamente, los que con más desazón heredaban el espíritu nostálgico de sus padres: un intimismo que venía de afuera. Era un exilio ya asumido como condición. Creo que, dentro de la joven generación exiliada que empezaba a hacer poesía, Rius fue al principio más influyente que Tomás Segovia (ésos eran los dos polos). Pero en <i>presencia</i> había más seguridad, más autonomía lírica o narrativa; España era, sí,</p>	<p>He expressed the feeling of Inocencio Burgos, Angelina Muñiz, and of Federico Patán (there's a beautiful poem by Federico Patán dedicated to Rius a few days after his death), that is, of the youngest exiles, of those who had left Spain at two or three years old and yet felt a very visible Spanishness that had been passed down through their family; and towards a common cause, with Nuria Parés praising the legacy of León Felipe. The youngest were, paradoxically, those who inherited the nostalgic spirit of their parents the most uneasily: an intimacy which came from outside. It was an exile that was already accepted as a condition. I think that, within the young generation of exiles who began to make poetry, Rius was initially more influential than Tomás Segovia (they were the two poles). But in <i>presencia</i> there was more certainty, more lyrical or narrative</p>

<p>un dato insoslayable, pero (incluso en Jomi García Ascot) con una emoción más pensada, más reflexiva. Tal vez el único divorciado totalmente de la sensibilidad política exiliada fue Gerardo Deniz, nacido en 1934, uno, pues, de los más jóvenes, y que, con extraña firmeza, renuncia a lo que él llama la retórica republicana, y hace una poesía de gran originalidad, de gran calidad, alejada de todo sentimentalismo, huraña, dura, tesonera en sus matices menos cálidos, que lo convierte, paradójicamente, en uno de los más brillantes poetas del destierro... y de la poesía mexicana actual. «Nada importa —escribe— permanecer o no donde uno nace». El exilio, «me da igual», salvo que sea, «como creo, una virtud inherente al hombre».</p>	<p>independence; yes, Spain was an unavoidable fact, but (even in the case of Jomi García Ascot) with more thoughtful and reflective emotions. Perhaps the only one completely divorced from the exiled political sensibilities was Gerardo Deniz, born in 1934, one of the youngest, and who, with unusual firmness, renounces what he calls the Republican rhetoric, and makes poetry of great originality, of high quality, distanced from all sentimentality, sullen, hard, tenacious in its less warm nuances, which makes him, paradoxically, one of the most brilliant poets of the exile... and of current Mexican poetry. ‘It doesn’t matter at all’, he writes, ‘whether one stays where one is born or not’. ‘I don’t care’ about exile, unless it is, ‘as I believe, an inherent virtue of man’.</p>
<p>En 1985 aparece la famosa antología de la poesía mexicana elegida por Aridjis, Chumacero, Pacheco y Paz: <i>Poesía en movimiento</i> (1915-1966). Hay sólo dos poetas jóvenes españoles exiliados: Tomás Segovia y Manuel Durán. En el largo y famoso prólogo de Octavio Paz ni siquiera se menciona su españolidad. Dice de Tomás Segovia lo que Peimbert dijo de Vicente Rojo: «Nació dos veces: una en España, donde lo parieron; otra en México, donde escribió sus primeros versos». Y en seguida: «Estoy seguro de que le espera un tercer nacimiento». Esto me hace sonreír: ¿Octavio Paz adivinó la vuelta (en gran medida triunfante) de Tomás Segovia a España? Para</p>	<p>In 1985, the famous anthology of Mexican poetry appeared, selected by Aridjis, Chumacero, Pacheco and Paz: <i>Poesía en movimiento</i> (1915-1966). There are only two young Spanish exiled poets: Tomás Segovia and Manuel Durán. In Octavio Paz’s long and famous prologue, his Spanishness isn’t even mentioned. He says the same about Tomás Segovia as what Peimbert said about Vicente Rojo: ‘He was born twice: once in Spain, where he was given birth to; another in Mexico, where he wrote his verses’. And immediately after, he said ‘I am sure that a third birth awaits him’. This makes me smile: did Octavio Paz guess at the (largely triumphant) return of Tomás Segovia to</p>

<p>mí, ese tercer nacimiento fue el de la publicación de sus <i>Poesías completas</i> en México: coronación y vuelta a empezar. Y es lo que le falta a Manuel Durán: la edición de sus poesías completas. De él decía Paz en la antología mencionada: «En <i>Ciudad asediada</i> (su primer libro de 1953, que Paz prefiere a los posteriores) había descubrimientos y “observaciones”, en el sentido de Eliot; en los últimos, comentarios. Antes veía, ahora juzga. Pero en sus mejores poemas aún perdura la limpidez de su visión. Además, la obra de Durán ofrece otro interés... [el de] la poesía de la ciudad moderna, la vida anónima y la vida íntima». No creo yo, en modo alguno, que la poesía de Manolo Durán vaya a menos desde <i>Ciudad asediada</i>, al contrario. Pero esta última indicación: «ciudad moderna, la vida anónima y la vida íntima», no es una ciudad española (aunque podría serlo). (Gerardo Deniz no está en esta antología porque su obra aparece inmediatamente después. Si no, sospecho que sería el tercero incorporado).</p>	<p>Spain? In my opinion, this third birth was that of the publication of his <i>Poesías completas</i> ('Complete Poetry') in Mexico: a peak and back to the start. And this is what Manuel Durán is lacking: the publishing of his complete poetry. Referring to Durán in the previously mentioned anthology, Paz said that '<i>Ciudad asediada</i> (his first book from 1953, which Paz prefers to those that followed) there were discoveries and “observations”, in the sense of Eliot; in his last books, comments. He used to see, now he judges. But in his best poems, the clarity of his vision still persists. Furthermore, Durán's work is interesting for another reason... [it is] the poetry of a modern city, the anonymous and intimate life'. I don't think, in any way, that Manuel Durán's poetry has lost importance since <i>Ciudad asediada</i>, quite the contrary. But this last statement, 'modern city, the anonymous and intimate life', is not about a Spanish city (although it could be). (Gerardo Deniz doesn't appear in this anthology because his work appears immediately afterwards. If not, I suspect that he would be the third inclusion.)</p>
<p>Hay más poetas en esta «segunda» generación. A los ya mencionados, en un campo temático distinto, hay que añadir a Luis Rius, a Jomí García Ascot y a Francisca Perujo en un nivel inmediatamente inferior al de Durán y Segovia pero de indudable dignidad. En una muy reciente tesis de maestría que acabo de leer, el autor cuenta</p>	<p>There are more poets in this 'Second' Generation. To those who have already been mentioned, in a different subject area, Luis Rius, Jomí García Ascot and Francisca Perujo should be added in a level immediately below that of Durán and Segovia, but one of undoubted dignity. In a very recent Master's thesis which I have just</p>

<p>trece poetas de la generación «hispano-mexicana» (por orden alfabético): Carlos Blanco Aguinaga (que alguna vez afirmó que él no era poeta), Gerardo Deniz, Manuel Durán, Jomí García Ascot, Angelina Muñiz-Huberman, Nuria Parés, José Pascual Buxó, Federico Patán, Francisca Perujo, Luis Rius, Enrique de Rivas, César Rodríguez Chicharro y Tomás Segovia. (Añade «cinco aves de paso» que publicaron alguna vez poesía pero no insistieron en ello: Inocencio Burgos, Alberto Gironella, Francisco González Aramburu, Víctor Rico Galán y Roberto Ruiz). Todos ellos tienen por lo menos un buen poema, o varios poemas excelentes; otros tienen incluso algún buen libro, y los más jóvenes, aunque forzosamente septuagenarios hoy, todavía están en activo.</p>	<p>read, the author counts thirteen poets from the Spanish-Mexican generation (in alphabetical order): Carlos Blanco Aguinaga (who once claimed he wasn't a poet), Gerardo Deniz, Manuel Durán, Jomí García Ascot, Angelina Muñiz-Huberman, Nuria Parés, José Pascual Buxó, Federico Patán, Francisca Perujo, Luis Rius, Enrique de Rivas, César Rodríguez Chicharro and Tomás Segovia. (He adds 'five migratory birds' who published poetry at some point but didn't make a point of doing so: Inocencio Burgos, Alberto Gironella, Francisco González Aramburu, Víctor Rico Galán and Roberto Ruiz.) All of them have at least one good poem, or several excellent poems, others even have a good book; the youngest are still active, although they're inevitably in their seventies today.</p>
<p>Los mejores novelistas de esta generación me parece que son Roberto Ruiz (<i>Ultimo oasis</i>), Carlos Blanco Aguinaga (<i>Carretera de Cuernavaca</i>) y Pedro Miret (<i>Vienen rojos y azules</i>). Roberto Ruiz es un novelista que hubiera ganado cualquiera de los buenos premios de novela españoles si no fuera tan modesto, siempre metido en su rincón universitario estadounidense; Carlos Blanco Aguinaga está en <i>nepantla</i>, según termina su bello libro <i>Un tiempo tuyo</i>, pero ya en México (siempre discutiendo, pero en México) en su excelente <i>Camino de Cuernavaca</i>; y un casi desconocido Pedro</p>	<p>I think the best novelists of this generation are Roberto Ruiz (<i>Ultimo oasis</i>), Carlos Blanco Aguinaga (<i>Carretera de Cuernavaca</i>), and Pedro Miret (<i>Vienen rojos y azules</i>). Roberto Ruiz is a novelist who would have won any of the good Spanish novel awards if he hadn't been so modest, always hidden in the corner of his American university. Carlos Blanco Aguinaga is in <i>nepantla</i><sup>13</sup>, according to the ending of his beautiful book <i>A Time of Your Own</i>, but then in Mexico (still arguing, but in Mexico) in his excellent <i>Camino de Cuernavaca</i>. And an almost unknown Pedro Miret (known as Peret</p>

<sup>13</sup> *Nepantla*: Nahuatl for 'in-between'.



<p>Miret (Peret desde pequeño) escribe un asombroso libro que Buñuel sacramentó con mirada experta y certera, convirtiéndolo en una figura admirada. El mejor cuentista del exilio «juvenil» ha sido y es sin duda José de la Colina, maestro muy querido y admirado en México. Y con él Arturo Souto Alabarce, hijo del pintor, al que desgraciadamente la carrera académica (es eminente profesor en la Escuela de Filosofía de la UNAM) lo apartó de su sorprendente inicio como cuentista en la época primeriza de <i>Clavileño</i>, cuando apenas contaba veinte años. Cuentos muy buenos han escrito también Carlos Blanco, Tomás Segovia, María Luisa Elfo, Federico Patán y Angelina Muñiz-Huberman y habría que hacer una antología con los más recientes de todos ellos.</p>	<p>since he was a child) writes an incredible book which Buñuel consecrated with his accurate and expert view, making Miret an admired figure. José de la Colina has been the best storyteller of the ‘young’ exile, a beloved and admired master in Mexico. And with him, Arturo Souto Alabarce, son of the painter, whose academic career (he is an eminent professor at the UNAM School of Philosophy) unfortunately pulled him away from his surprising beginnings as a storyteller in the early period of <i>Clavileño</i>, when he was just twenty years old. Very good stories have also been written by Carlos Blanco, Tomás Segovia, María Luisa Elfo, Federico Patán and Angelina Muñiz-Huberman, and an anthology ought to be made with all of their most recent work.</p>
<p>El ensayismo y la crítica es siempre una ocupación muy bien atendida en las tres generaciones del exilio. En esta «segunda generación» basta enumerar los nombres de Tomás Segovia, Carlos Blanco, Manuel Durán y Ramón Xirau como figuras indiscutibles e indistinguibles de los grandes ensayistas mexicanos. Ensayos de mérito han escrito también Federico Patán, Jomí García Ascot, Arturo Souto, Angelina Muñiz-Huberman y algunos más. Traductores de primer orden, González Aramburu y Gustavo Deniz («Juan Almela»).</p>	<p>Writing essays and critiques has always been a well-tended occupation across the three generations of exile. In this Second Generation it is enough to list the names of Tomás Segovia, Carlos Blanco, Manuel Durán and Ramón Xirau as undeniable and indistinguishable figures from the great Mexican essayists. Merit-worthy essays have also been written by Federico Patán, Jomí García Ascot, Arturo Souto, Angelina Muñiz-Huberman, and several others. González Aramburu and Gustavo Deniz (‘Juan Almela’) are first-rate translators.</p>
<p>Ya he dicho hasta qué punto, en la arquitectura y en la antropología, los jóvenes exiliados se incorporaron inmediatamente a</p>	<p>I have already said to what extent, in architecture and anthropology, the young exiles immediately joined the Mexican</p>

<p>las corrientes mexicanas en lo que Arturo Souto Alabarce ha llamado verdadera «aculturación». En arquitectura, como sobresalientes catedráticos en la UNAM y también como constructores hay que mencionar en primer lugar a José Luis Benlliure y a Antonio Peyrí, y a José Benito Artigas como sobresaliente estudioso de la arquitectura virreinal. Entre los antropólogos, Santiago Genovés y José Luis Lorenzo son, como los arquitectos mencionados, intelectuales, ensayistas y creadores enteramente mexicanos.</p>	<p>tendencies in what Arturo Souto Alabarce has called true ‘acculturation’. In architecture, José Luis Benlliure, Antonio Peyrí and José Benito Artigas must firstly be mentioned as outstanding UNAM scholars and as constructors, as well as José Benito Artigas as an outstanding scholar in the field of colonial architecture. Among the anthropologists, Santiago Genovés and José Luis Lorenzo are, like the architects mentioned above, entirely Mexican intellectuals, essayists and creators.</p>
<p>Empezamos, pues, a ver que, salvo en las disciplinas literarias, y, en cierta medida, también en las artes plásticas, los españoles exiliados de todas las generaciones se han mexicanizado enteramente: ingenieros, médicos, juristas, antropólogos, investigadores científicos, incluso historiadores, cobraron conciencia al cabo de pocos o muchos años, de su ubicación mexicana. Como en todas las emigraciones en todas partes del mundo se mantenían recuerdos nostálgicos, costumbres, amistades, fotos o mapas en las paredes de la casa, discos, pero estas remembranzas se iban mezclando con el gusto por las comidas, la música, la pintura, la historia y la geografía del país que nos recibía como un nuevo y valioso enriquecimiento.</p>	<p>So, we begin to see that, apart from in the literary disciplines, and also – to an extent – in the fine arts, every generation of Spanish exiles has become entirely Mexicanized: engineers, doctors, lawyers, anthropologists, scientific researchers, and even historians, became aware – after a few or many years – of their Mexican setting. As with all the emigrations across the world, people have kept nostalgic memories, customs, friendships, records, and photos or maps on the walls of their home. But these memories were mixing with an appreciation of the new and valuable enrichment of the food, music, painting, history and geography of the country which had received them.</p>
<p>Sólo en literatura y en la pintura existe, pues, la eventual ambigüedad. Ya anotó Vicente Llorens la diferente posición del técnico y</p>	<p>Only in literature and painting, therefore, is there an eventual ambiguity. Vicente Llorens has already noted ‘the different position of</p>

del escritor» (y yo añadiría la del artista, músico o pintor). En la primera generación, la generación de los padres, la exigencia exiliada fue muy grande entre escritores y artistas, y su mexicanización espiritual, intelectual, fue prácticamente nula, aunque acudieran a veces a temas mexicanos en su quehacer profesional. En la siguiente generación, que he llamado «perdida», todavía es difícil encontrar una incorporación espiritual plena a la vida mexicana. Y en la tercera, la calificación de «hispano-mexicana» funciona de manera muy ambivalente. No encuentro verdadera mexicanización espiritual en Roberto Ruiz, Enrique de Rivas, Paquita Perujo (se fueron a otros países que tampoco convirtieron en sus patrias), ni en Luis Rius o Nuria Parés; y, sin embargo, son muy pronto plenamente mexicanos Gerardo Deniz, Víctor y Fernando Rico Galán, Vicente Rojo, Mary Martín, y otros muchos; y, si se les puede decir «hispanos», es porque nacieron en España y sintieron el exilio fielmente, pero de manera heredada o de manera política. Rodríguez Luna decía (y con él muchos): «mitad y mitad». Otros: «En España me siento mexicano y en México español». La otra alternativa sería la de «ni una cosa ni otra»: en medio, *nepantla*, como repetía Carlos Blanco con sabia palabra náhuatl: no encontrar ya la «casa del padre» (tan importante para Chillida o Said) en ningún lugar. Lo que repite Steiner: ni patria, ni

the technician and the writer' (and I would add, of the artist, musician or painter). In the first generation, the generation of the parents, the pressure of exile was significant among writers and artists, and their spiritual and intellectual Mexicanization was practically null, even if they sometimes turned to Mexican topics in their professional activity. In the next generation, which I have called 'lost', it is difficult to find a full spiritual incorporation into Mexican life. And in the Third Generation, the description 'Spanish-Mexican' works in an ambivalent way. I don't see true spiritual Mexicanization in Roberto Ruiz, Enrique de Rivas, Paquita Perujo (they went to other countries which they did not make their homeland either), or in Luis Rius and Nuria Parés. Nevertheless, Gerardo Deniz, Víctor and Fernando Rico Galán, Vicente Rojo, Mary Martín, and many others quickly became fully Mexican; and, if they can be called 'Spanish', it's because they were born in Spain and loyally felt the exile, but in an inherited or political way. Rodríguez Luna (and many others with him) used to say, 'half and half'. Others, 'in Spain I feel Mexican and in Mexico I feel Spanish'. The other alternative would be that of 'neither one nor the other', in-between, *nepantla*, as Carlos Blanco repeated with the wise Nahuatl word; no longer finding the 'family home' (so important to Chillida or Said) anywhere. Something that Steiner repeats: no homeland, no flag, no anthem. An

<p>bandera, ni himno. Un exilio interno, para siempre. Y Gaos, como si fuera ingeniero o médico o antropólogo, centrarse en México para siempre, transterrarse. Y después de transterrarse, «empatriarse» decía el propio Gaos, porque si no, nos quedábamos sin espiritualidad. Creo que, en el campo del pensamiento y del espíritu, nadie en el exilio se «empatrió» (incluso pudo crecer su identidad española o catalana o vasca, hasta la irrisión). Se puede perder la patria pero no es tan fácil asumir otra. No se puede escoger la «casa del padre»; pero sí se la puede perder. Ése es, en el campo del espíritu, el drama del exilio: no tener casa. Ni el propio Gaos se «empatrió». Bien dice Vicente Llorens que ningún historiador de la filosofía mexicana considerará, «en su día», a Gaos como un filósofo mexicano. Estará —ya está— en la historia del pensamiento mexicano como parte del exilio cultural español. Pero, de manera natural, lo estará en la del español.</p>	<p>inner exile, forever. And Gaos, as though he were an engineer or doctor or anthropologist, focusing on Mexico forever, becoming translanded. And after being translanded, becoming empatriated, Gaos himself said, because if not, we would end up with no spirituality. I think that, in the field of thought and spirit, nobody in exile became ‘empatriated’ (their Spanish, Catalan or Basque identity could even grow, to the point of derision). The homeland can be lost but it is not so easy to take on a new one. The ‘family home’ cannot be chosen; but it <i>can</i> be lost. As regards the spirit, this is the drama of exile: not having a home. Even Gaos himself didn’t become ‘empatriated’. Vicente Llorens quite correctly says that no Mexican philosophy historian will consider Gaos, ‘in his day’, to be a Mexican philosopher. He will be – he already is – in the history of Mexican thought as part of the Spanish cultural exile. But, in a natural way, he will be in that of Spain.</p>
<p>La «segunda generación» se «empatrió» naturalmente: en México vivieron desde niños, allí estudiaron, allí se casaron, allí trabajaron y escribieron y pintaron y tuvieron hijos. Podría suponerse que los que nacieron en esa patria natural y única, serían los más jóvenes, los que llegaron sin recordar nada de España. No obstante, ya se ha observado que eso no siempre fue así, que los más jóvenes pudieron muy bien ser los más nostálgicos de una patria imaginada o literaria. Hay casos,</p>	<p>The Second Generation became naturally ‘empatriated’: they lived in Mexico from being children, they studied there, they got married there, they worked, wrote and painted there, and they had children there. It could be assumed that those who were born in this natural and unique homeland, would be the youngest, those who arrived with no memory of Spain. However, it has already been noted that it wasn’t always like this, that the youngest could very well feel more</p>

<p>incluso, que aprendieron a hablar con la c y la s castellanas. Podría aducirse que ello les vino de estudiar en el Vives o en la Academia con profesores españoles refugiados y con condiscípulos hijos de exiliados. Pero fueron una minoría.</p>	<p>nostalgic about an imagined or literary homeland. There are instances, even, where they learnt to speak with the Spanish pronunciation of ‘c’ and ‘s’. It could be claimed that this came from studying in the Luis Vives Institute or the Spanish-Mexican Academy<sup>14</sup>, with Spanish refugee teachers and with classmates who were children of exiles. But they were a minority.</p>
<p>Para colmo, el sentido de los viajes cambió. Los padres regresaron, algunos, a España tras la muerte de Franco y la mayoría de ellos volvieron a México, tierra fuera de la cual ya no era posible vivir. Ahora sus hijos y nietos nacidos en México se hacen españoles aprovechando las nuevas leyes de ciudadanía españolas, pero no pasan de ser mexicanos satisfechos de tener un pasaporte europeo. Por su parte, los escritores y artistas saben que venir a España es la ansiada posibilidad de encontrar nuevos editores y nuevas galerías. El exilio ha terminado, pues, derrotado por enésima vez. El exilio republicano debería estar tal vez satisfecho de la continua derrota de su causa que tantos hombres y mujeres, en todo el mundo, consideraron y consideran justa. Y la derecha española (desde el vencedor de los comuneros en Villalar hasta la transición negadora y enmudecedora) debiera estar avergonzada de su continua victoria.</p>	<p>On top of that, the direction of the journeys changed. Some of the parents returned to Spain following the death of Franco and the majority of them returned to Mexico, a land outside which it was no longer possible to live. Today their Mexican-born children and grandchildren become Spanish by taking advantage of the new Spanish citizenship laws, but they are no more than Mexicans who are satisfied with having a European passport. For their part, writers and artists know that coming to Spain offers the long-desired possibility of finding new editors and new galleries. The exile has ended, therefore, defeated for the umpteenth time. The Republican exile should perhaps be satisfied with the permanent defeat of the cause for which so many men and women, around the world, considered and consider to be just. And the Spanish right-wing (from its defeat of the comuneros at the Battle of Villalar<sup>15</sup>, to the negationist and silencing transition) ought</p>

<sup>14</sup> The Luis Vives Institute (‘Instituto Luis Vives’) and the Spanish-Mexican Academy (‘Academia Hispano Mexicana’) were educational institutions founded to help the newly arrived Spanish refugees integrate into Mexican life (Rodríguez, Francisco and Balmer, 2016).

<sup>15</sup> The Battle of Villalar: the final battle in the Revolt of the Comuneros (1520-1521); an uprising of the citizens of Castille against the rule of Charles V.

<p>He asistido a numerosos Congresos, conferencias y mesas redondas sobre la cultura del exilio y nunca, que yo recuerde, se ha puesto de relieve la labor cultural, no sólo de personas sino de organizaciones o instituciones, precisamente, de la «segunda generación», la de los hijos. Quiero referirme, para terminar, a alguna de ellas. La FUE, por ejemplo, o FUEDEM, que refundamos en México en torno a 1950, y que presidió hasta su disolución, el ingeniero Odón de Buen. Sobre la base de alumnos y, sobre todo, ex-alumnos del Instituto Luis Vives y de la Academia celebramos algunas asambleas intensas, polémicas a veces. Si estuviera aquí Tomás Segovia se acordaría seguramente de alguna de ellas, en que discutíamos, por ejemplo, si podían o no afiliarse a la FUE amigos mexicanos que estudiaban en aquellos colegios. Organizamos algunos mítines conmemorativos, participamos en otros colectivos, teníamos un equipo de fútbol en la Federación de Fútbol de la Juventud Española (se llamaba el «Madrid», yo era uno de sus peores jugadores). Surgió, en realidad, del grupo de teatro El Tinglado, formado por estudiantes del Vives y de la Academia, cuya acta de nacimiento no puede fijarse sino en la casa de Max Aub y en 1948, cuando nació también <i>Clavileño</i>. Desde los tiempos en que dirigía el teatro universitario El Búho de Valencia, Max Aub no dejó</p>	<p>to be ashamed of its continuous victory.</p> <p>I have attended numerous congresses, conferences and round table discussions about the culture of the exile and, as far as I remember, emphasis has never been placed on the cultural work, not only of people but also of organizations or institutions, specifically, of the Second Generation, that of the children. To finish, I would like to mention some of them. The FUE, for example, or FUEDEM, which we refounded in Mexico around 1950, and which was chaired by the engineer Odón de Buen until its dissolution. On the basis of students and, above all, alumni from the Luis Vives Institute and the Spanish-Mexican Academy, we have put on some intense, and sometimes controversial, assemblies. If Tomás Segovia were here, he would certainly remember one of them, where we discussed whether Mexican friends studying in those schools could join the FUE or not. We organized commemorative rallies, we participated in other groups, we had a football team in the Football Federation of the Spanish Youth – it was called ‘Madrid’, and I was one of its worst players. In reality it stemmed from the El Tinglado theatre group, made up of students from the Luis Vives Institute and the Spanish-Mexican Academy, whose date and place of birth can be no other than Max Aub’s house in 1948, when <i>Clavileño</i> was also created. From the days when he ran the El Buhó university theatre in Valencia, Max</p>
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jamás de pensar en volver al escenario, en estrenar sus obras. Se encontró, de repente, con un grupo de amigas y amigos de sus hijas —Manolo Durán se acordará, porque él, su hermano Odón y su hermana Rosa María estaban allí todos los fines de semana y también mi hermana y mi hermano, y los hermanos De Buen, Antonio Rizo (Passy), y Manolo Bonilla, y Pin Crespo, y los hermanos Ugarte, Beatriz y Eduardo, y otros que no recuerdo. Jugábamos a juegos muy «intelectuales»: en medio de un corro de chicos y chicas sentados en el suelo en la amplia sala de la casa de Max, cada uno por turno tenía que expresar con mímica el título de una obra de teatro o de alguna novela, para ver quién era del corro el primero o la primera en traducir esos gestos; y cuando nos poníamos a bailar, echábamos en un sombrero papelillos doblados con los nombres de grandes amantes y éramos tan listos que si a uno le tocaba «Romeo» tenía que buscar, con el papel en la mano, a la que le había tocado el de «Julietta». Se forjaron allí no pocos noviazgos fugaces. Por allí recalaban los de *presencia*, los de *Clavileño*. De allí surgió El Tinglado. Representamos no sé cuántos entremeses (los hermanos De Buen eran realmente geniales en *El Retablo de las Maravillas*), varias de las obras de Max en un acto (y no mal) y nada menos que *Ligazón* de Valle-Inclán (las viejas eran Paz de Buen y Beatriz Ugarte, Eduardo Ugarte era el malo, Mimín era ella y yo era el

Aub never stopped thinking about returning to the stage, about staging his plays. All of a sudden, he found himself with a group of his daughters' friends – Manolo Durán would remember, because he, his brother Odón and his sister Rosa María were there every weekend, along with my brother and sister, and the brothers and sisters of De Buen, Antonio Rizo (Passy), and Manuel Bonilla, Pin Crespo, the Ugarte siblings (Beatriz and Eduardo), and others that I don't remember. We used to play very 'intellectual' games: in the middle of a circle of girls and boys sat on the floor at Max's house, everyone would, in turn, have to mime the title of a play or a novel, to see who would be the first of the group to translate these gestures; and when we started dancing, we threw folded bits of paper in a hat with the names of great lovers and we were so clever that if someone got Romeo he had to find – with the piece of paper in hand – the girl who had got Juliet. More than a few fleeting romances were forged there. That's where those of *presencia* and of *Clavileño* came from. That's where El Tinglado came from. We put on countless short plays (the De Buens were truly brilliant in Cervantes' *El Retablo de las Maravillas*), several of Max's plays in one act (and not badly) and no less than *Blood Pact* by Valle-Inclán (Paz de Buen and Beatriz Ugarte were the old women, Eduardo Ugarte the baddy, Mimín was herself and I was the woodsman). The stage designer or decorator was always

<p>leñador). El escenógrafo o decorador era siempre Carlos Marichal, hermano de Juan, magnífico dibujante, que habría de morir muy joven en Puerto Rico. El teatro era el del Sindicato de Electricistas, foro simpático, no pequeño, y que siempre llenábamos. Y Max Aub era el felicísimo director, al que sustituía a veces el propio Odón. De allí surgió la FUEDEM.</p>	<p>Carlos Marichal, the brother of Juan, magnificent at drawing, who died at a very young age in Puerto Rico. The theatre belonged to the Electrician's Union, a forum that was nice, not small, and which we always filled. And Max Aub was the happy director, who we sometimes substituted for Odón. That's where the FUEDEM came from.</p>
<p>También tenía un grupo de teatro la JSU, el Teatro de la Juventud. Teníamos un Club, el Club Eugenio Mesón, en un primer piso amplio y un poco destartalado junto al Monumento a la Revolución. Llegamos a contar con trescientos afiliados. También en el Teatro de los Electricistas, siempre lleno, hicimos muchos sainetes de Arniches, entremeses, obras políticas en un acto que escribía para el grupo algún amigo ansioso de la gloria de la tablas; y en la JSU había también un coro que actuaba con mucho éxito en los mítines (cantando, ya se sabe, <i>L'Ampurdá</i>, <i>Agur Agur</i>, <i>Goiko Mendian</i>, <i>Si la nieve resbala</i> y, por supuesto, <i>Asturias patria querida...</i>) y varios equipos de fútbol, y bailes frecuentes en los centros regionales o en el propio Club. Y círculos de estudios, claro. ¿Quiénes éramos? Como en la FEU, los «hijos» de los «padres»: Niurka Rocés, Vicente Rojo, Mary Martín, Augusto Fernández Guardiola, Luis y Eduardo Claudín, Libertad Castellote, Aida Salvadores, Aurora García (hija de García</p>	<p>The JSU also had a theatre group, the Teatro de la Juventud ('The Youth Theatre'). We had a club, the Eugenio Mesón Club, on a large and slightly shabby ground floor next to the Monument to the Revolution. We eventually had three hundred members. In the Theatre of the Electricians we also put on many farces by Arniches, short plays, political pieces in an act written for the group by some friend eager for the glory of the stage; and in the JSU there was also a choir which performed very successfully in the rallies (singing, of course, 'L'Empordà', 'Agur Agur', 'Goiko Mendian', 'Si la nieve resbala' and, of course, 'Asturias patria querida'<sup>16</sup>...) and several football teams, and regular dances in the regional centres or in the club itself. And study circles, of course. Who were we? Like in the FEU, the 'children' and the 'parents': Niurka Rocés, Vicente Rojo, Mary Martín, Augusto Fernández Guardiola, Luis and Eduardo Claudín, Libertad Castellote, Aida Salvadores, Aurora García (daughter of</p>

<sup>16</sup> Traditional songs from various regions of Spain. *L'Empordà* from Catalonia, *Agur Agur* and *Goiko Mendian* from the Basque Country, and *Si la nieve resbala* and *Asturias patria querida* from Asturias.



<p>Rozas, el guerrillero muerto en combate en Asturias), Ruy Renau, Maleni Rodríguez Mata, Ramón Miquelajáuregui, Enrique Lerma (que luego vino a la clandestinidad y cayó con Grimau), José Farreras, varios de los «niños (y niñas) de Morelia» (Miguel Ortega, Pepín Carbó y otros más cuyos nombres no recuerdo).</p>	<p>García Rozas, the guerrilla fighter killed in action in Asturias), Ruy Renau, Maleni Rodríguez Mata, Ramón Miquelajáuregui, Enrique Lerma (who later joined the clandestine movement and fell with Grimau), José Farreras, several of the ‘children of Morelia’ (Miguel Ortega, Pepín Carbó and many others whose names I don’t recall).</p>
<p>Y en muchos de los de la «segunda generación» que se habían forjado en la FUEDEM, en El Tinglado, en <i>Clavileño</i> y <i>presencia</i>, en las actividades cotidianas de la JSU, en la vida pública con los compañeros mexicanos, en otras revistas y en los suplementos culturales que dirigió Fernando Benítez, en los bailes, en las exposiciones de pintura, en las excursiones, se mantenía un cierto fervor «joven». Los adultos nos veían con afecto, con indulgencia y con ciertas esperanzas. Y en la ocasión inesperada que nos brindó el embajador oficioso franquista al convocar a un banquete para celebrar el levantamiento de Franco, todo aquello se despertó quintuplicado: y eso fue el Movimiento Español 59. Elena Aub ha escrito un buen libro sobre el movimiento. Tal vez demasiado cálido para mi gusto, demasiado subjetivo y nostálgico, de lo que hicimos en aquellos tres años vertiginosos. Creo que Manolo Aznar nos va a hablar de ello. Entre muchas cosas importantes e interesantes, Elena cuenta, a través de la voz de sus muchos entrevistados, tres sucesos</p>	<p>And a certain ‘young’ fervour was held by many of the Second Generation who had been shaped by the FUEDEM, by El Tinglado, by <i>Clavileño</i> and <i>presencia</i>, and by the everyday activities of the JSU, by the public life of their Mexican peers, by other magazines and by the cultural supplements run by Fernando Benítez, by the dances, by the painting exhibitions, by the trips. Adults looked upon us fondly, indulgently and with certain hopes. And on the unexpected opportunity presented to us by the unofficial Francoist ambassador when he organised a banquet to celebrate Franco's uprising, all of this awoke fivefold: and this was the Spanish Movement of ‘59. Elena Aub has written a good book about this movement. Perhaps too warm for my taste, too subjective and nostalgic, about what we did in those three dizzying years. I think that Manuel Aznar is going to talk to us about it. Among many important and interesting things, through the voice of her many interviewees, Elena relates three defining events: our interviews with Prieto and with Jesús Hernández, and our</p>

muy definidores: nuestras entrevistas con Prieto y con Jesús Hernández y nuestro debate con los anarquistas. Poco le faltó a Prieto para señalarme con el dedo (aunque con la mirada sí lo hizo) cuando nos dijo que la unidad no era posible si en la unidad cabían los comunistas. Lo mismo que aquel apasionado anarquista, obrero carpintero, que señalándome, entonces sí, con el dedo, decía temblándole la voz: «Veo ahí gente con la que no se puede ir ni a la esquina...». Y lo mismo Jesús Hernández: «No sabéis con quien andáis...». El ME 59 logró cosas que los miembros de las otras dos generaciones del exilio —Max, León, Paco Giner, Granados (en el mitin por la libertad de Luis Goytisolo), Antonio María Sbert, Daniel Tapia (y Jomí, felicitándonos desde Cuba, en una hermosa carta) y, al final, claro, también Rejano y Rocés—, reunidos gracias al movimiento, no imaginaban. (Manolo Durán estaba en Yale, pero nos mandó un artículo que no olvido para el primer número del *Boletín del Movimiento*, en que se mofaba con mucho ingenio de la «voluntad de destino» de Jimeno Caballérez). Y pareció que era posible la unidad del exilio, que era posible la unidad también con nuestros coetáneos del interior de España. Decíamos «Los hijos de los vencedores y de los vencidos somos hermanos». Pero ya pocos meses después de nuestra Conferencia de París con la ASU, el FLP, el MSC, la FUDE, ETA, la JC (Bustelo, la Girbau, Ruiz, Palau,

debate with the anarchists. Prieto was not far from pointing at me (although he did so with his look) when he told us that unity was not possible if the communists fit in that unity. The same as that passionate anarchist, carpenter, who pointing at me, this time with his finger, said with a trembling voice ‘I see people here who I wouldn’t trust as far as I can throw them...’. And Jesús Hernández, ‘you don’t know who you’re dealing with...’. The Spanish Movement of ‘59 achieved things never imagined by the members of the other two generations of the exile – Max, León, Paco Giner, Granados (in the rally for Luis Goytisolo’s freedom), Antonio María Sbert, Daniel Tapia (and Jomí, congratulating us from Cuba, in a beautiful letter) and, finally, of course, also Rejano and Rocés – who were united thanks to the movement. (Manuel Durán was in Yale, but he sent us an article that I’ll never forget for the first issue of the *Bulletin of the Movement*, in which he very wittily made fun of Jimeno Caballérez’s ‘will of destiny’.) And it seemed like the unity of the exile was possible, like unity was also possible with our contemporaries in Spain. We said ‘the children of the winners and the losers are brothers’. But just a few months after our Paris Conference with the ASU, FLP, MSC, FUDE, ETA, JC (Bustelo, Girbau, Palau, Tortella, Federico Sánchez, Txillardegui), the Munich Conference took place, and they did play it safe. We advocated the breakaway, and they made a pact for the

<p>Tortella, Federico Sánchez, Txillardegui) se celebraba la reunión de Munich, y ellos sí iban a lo seguro. Nosotros propugnábamos la ruptura, y ellos, sin ruptura, la transición pactada. Fue la última y definitiva derrota del exilio. Se dice que la historia la escriben los vencedores. Tal vez empezamos, como hoy, los vencidos.</p>	<p>transition to democracy without a breakaway. It was the final definitive defeat of the exile. It is said that history is written by the winners. Perhaps like today we, the losers, are beginning to write it.</p>
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## **Final Comments**

As can be seen in the analysis and proposed translation of *Seventy Years: The Death and Life of Exile* by Federico Álvarez, the key translation priorities have been respected: the core information has been transmitted in an appropriate academic way, while also maintaining the informal and colloquial language used by Álvarez – spoken elements have been maintained where possible using English equivalents and the structure of sentences is clear to an English-speaking audience. When there has been a translation problem requiring the application of a translation technique, such techniques have been considered on a case-by-case basis, with a tendency towards amplification in elements which would otherwise not be transparent. Furthermore, in the case of metaphors and expressive language which lack an exact equivalent in English, a different metaphor with the same or similar meaning has been applied. The largest potential problem was posed by the many of the literary references included in the source which lack an official English translation, nevertheless, by considering the purpose of each of these references before selecting the correct technique, a reader-friendly academic text has been achieved.

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