

Routledge Advances in Translation and Interpreting Studies

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL REPRESENTATION IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

Edited by

Irene Ranzato and Serenella Zanotti

ROUTLEDGE



Linguistic and Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation

This collection of essays offers a multifaceted exploration of audiovisual translation, both as a means of intercultural exchange and as a lens through which linguistic and cultural representations are negotiated and shaped. Examining case studies from a variety of media, including film, television, and video games, the volume focuses on different modes of audiovisual translation, including subtitling and dubbing, and the representations of linguistic and stylistic features, cultural mores, gender, and the translation process itself embedded within them. The book also meditates on issues regarding accessibility—a growing concern in audiovisual translation research. Rooted in the most up-to-date issues in both audiovisual translation and media culture today, this volume is essential reading for students and scholars in translation studies, film studies, television studies, video game studies, and media studies.

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and Serenella Zanotti

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Preface

With 13 chapters across a range of topics, modalities, and languages, this volume provides an unprecedented overview of aspects and issues of linguistic and cultural representation in audiovisual translation (AVT)—a theme that has become increasingly prominent in research over the last few years and increasingly topical in its societal ramifications.

With the Rome 2016 conference from which the volume arises, the theme has come into its own for AVT. From more humble but already robust beginnings elsewhere,¹ it has matured into a fully blown domain of enquiry. The breadth of approaches and concerns represented here bears witness to the urgency of addressing them and to the research now being vitally invested in doing so.

Together, contributions across the six complementary sections of the volume establish further tendencies now documented with mounting frequency and methodological dependability in AVT research: the indexing of pragmatic, linguacultural, or other values internally and the capacity of audiences to respond to representational conventions set from within, overtly (e.g. with authorial titling, as discussed in Katan) or covertly (e.g. with translational routines in dubbing, probed in Pavesi). Individually, they are equally absorbing in the range of questions of representation they draw to attention in a kaleidoscopic set of strokes that each in its own way illuminates the overall picture and collective debate—from the challenges of metaphor (Pedersen); of politeness in period film (Woźniak and Hołobut) or humour and gender as cultural or identity markers (Al-Adwan and Yahiaoui, Pettini); of foreign, regionalized, or marked voices in screen fiction (Iaia, Ranzato, Bruti and Zanotti) or of the voices of people from elsewhere in the news (Aragrande); to the demands of multilingual films (Zabalbeascoa) and invented languages (Iberg); and the vital yet neglected aspect of the framing of AVT in paratext (O’Sullivan).

The theme of linguistic and cultural representation is critical for AVT and research in AVT. It has been a key agent in recognising AVT modalities as meaning-making resources and language varieties in their own right, and challenging legitimate but disproportionate preoccupations with limitations and loss in approaching AVT modalities, at the expense of their unique

expressive potential. The shift of emphasis has not displaced fundamental medium-specific concerns that modulate representation in AVT, which is in evidence in these pages as they have been elsewhere. However, it has set new parameters for research and new priorities. Their collective richness is in full evidence in this volume.

What comes through overwhelmingly from the studies showcased, and is a distinguishing feature of the volume as a whole, is a sense of creativity: the creativity and skilfulness of AVT professionals in giving AVT its voices, the creativity of the AVT modalities scrutinized in generating meaning to be (re-)(co-)constructed, and the creativity of research itself, now well on its way to developing essential critical mass and methodological robustness as regards questions of linguistic and cultural representation, and the confidence to make a difference in AVT.

Marie-Noëlle Guillot, 30 October 2017

Note

- 1 As one of several main topics at CCP II, for example, the second *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics at a Crossroads Conference* on the theme of *Linguistic and Cultural Representation Across Media* (UEA 2011).



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Introduction

If You Can't See It, You Can't Be It: Linguistic and Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation

Irene Ranzato and Serenella Zanotti

If you can't see it, you can't be it. The introduction to this edited collection of essays on representation in audiovisual translation (AVT) may very well take the cue from the feminist slogan which crops up in the media time and time again. The power that characterisations, stories and even stereotypes take on once they are acted out and amplified by films, TV series and video games is so strong that, as weaker parties very well know, if you are not represented, you are out of the social arena.

This collection of essays aims to explore the representational potential of the interplay of words, images, sounds and silences on screen, focusing on the role translation can and does play in mediating between the original multimodal creations and their non-native viewers. The main assumption underlying this volume is that telecinematic texts have been and still are chief players in the construction of linguistic and cultural identities (Kozloff 2000; Bleichenbacher 2008; Jaeckle 2013). As suggested by Hall (1988: 29), “how things are represented and the ‘machineries’ and regimes of representation in a culture do play a *constitutive* and not merely reflexive, after-the-event role”, which gives “the scenarios of representation [. . .] a formative, not merely an expressive, place in the constitution of social and political life”.

Representation is always the result of an act of selection of traits and features, both visual and verbal. As Kozloff (2000: 26) pointed out in her groundbreaking work on film dialogue, this process of selection may result in stereotypical representations:

What is often overlooked is how much the speech patterns of the stereotyped character contribute to the viewer's conception of his or her worth; the ways in which dialect, mispronunciation, and inarticulateness have been used to ridicule and stigmatise characters has often been neglected.

While the critical role film and television have in reinforcing negative stereotypes has not been overlooked by scholars (Lippi-Green 1997), nor has the role of technical and ideological manipulation in shaping audiovisual

texts and their translations (Díaz-Cintas 2012; Díaz-Cintas et al. 2016), the creative, positive role of films in constructing images of other languages and cultures has been comparatively neglected by research (see Ramière 2010; Guillot 2016a; but see also the *Films in Translation* project and directory at www.filmsintranslation.org/, initiated by Guillot [2016b]). The chapters in this volume, therefore, seek to investigate “the active participation of translation in this process of construction/representation” (Franco 2000: 235), aiming to highlight the agency of the translator in the construction of telecinematic representations, both fictional and non-fictional.

One of the central themes of the volume is the negotiation of identity in audiovisual texts, which points to the key role of AVT as a mode of intercultural exchange. As Venuti (1998: 67) argues, “Translation wields enormous power in constructing representations of foreign cultures”. This seems particularly true of translated films and television, since these media provide rich visual and acoustic imagery to viewers, whereas readers need to create mental images for themselves. For this reason, translated audiovisuals have the power not only “to produce insights into the cultures and languages represented” as suggested by Guillot (2012b: 479) but also to add further layers of meanings and to create new webs of associations only alluded to, if not altogether missing, in the original texts.

According to Pérez-González (2014), AVT has been traditionally articulated as “a site of representational practice” by the film industry. The adoption of “synchronized sound and narrative transparency as a fundamental means of cinematographic expression” resulted in what Pérez-González terms “the traditional or representational approach to audiovisual translation” (2014: 33), which prioritizes maximum synchrony between dialogue and screen images and sound. With the advent of sound, the “default conventions” of cinematic representation favoured editing practices aiming at a self-effacing presentational style with the goal to create an illusionistic effect of realism in order to keep viewers absorbed in the on-screen narrative. Much of the linguistic make-up of filmic dialogue is strictly dependent on this principle.

As Kozloff (2000: 47) points out, “adherence to expectations concerning realism” is one of the main functions of film dialogue, or at least this seems to be the norm in classic Hollywood films. Kozloff clarifies that in order for a text to be considered “realistic”, it must “[adhere] to a complex code of what a culture at a given time agrees to accept as plausible, everyday, authentic”. Much of current research into linguistic representation in AVT does in fact focus on how linguistic realism is achieved and more recently on the way in which the staging of spokenness is enacted (Pavesi 2005, 2009, 2016). As “a distinct mental process”, “transportation into narrative worlds” in audiovisual media is made possible thanks to “the formal properties of film, particularly the way in which it focuses viewers’ attention” (Green et al. 2004: 312–313). Plausibility in terms of characters, settings

and ideas is a necessary ingredient in order for viewers of fictional programmes to experience immersion:

Media enjoyment, in fact, is strictly bound to plausibility as audiences become immersed in the fictional representation through realistic characters and settings, but also, we may add, credible dialogues [. . .]. The question then becomes: what exactly do we mean by plausible or credible?
(Pavesi et al. 2014: 11)

As Pavesi's work has shown, it is through a process of "selective mimesis" tied to (culturally specific) conventions that spokenness is constructed in fictional dialogue. Pavesi has called attention to the mimetic capacity of some linguistic features to convey pragmatic meaning and sociolinguistic variation in both source and target languages (Pavesi 2009). As Guillot (2012b: 106) puts it, telecinematic dialogue is representational in that it is "fabricated discourse and make-believe speech [. . .] in which structural and narrative considerations, and considerations of efficiency, loom large and have little place for features integral to live verbal negotiations".

The linguistic resources employed by translators in the representation of language varieties and communicative practices are another area of increased scholarly interest (Brumme and Espunya 2012; Ellender 2015). For example, Delabastita points to the way foreign accents "take part in the process of characterization and they fulfil a mimetic (historical, representational) function by adding ingredients such as authenticity and *couleur locale*, thus giving substance and credibility to individual character" (2010: 205). As "vococentric"/"verbocentric" phenomena (Chion 1999: 5), film and television privilege voice over other auditory elements. The power of the voice in shaping representation is an aspect that has received much attention in recent publications (see O'Sullivan 2011 on multilingual films and Bosseaux 2015 on voice and performance in dubbing). The translational construction of voice in terms of third language (L3), accents and marked speech in general also features quite prominently in this volume, probably because it is from this angle that the medium-specific potential and transformative power of AVT can be brought into greater focus. It is important to stress, as does Guillot, that the representations that translated audiovisuals convey have an enormous effect on collective imagination because of their serving as "a locus for (re)-negotiations of individual and group identities", "as a vehicle promoting crosscultural and cross-linguistic sensitivity" and "as agents of hybridisation of communicative practices" (Guillot 2012a: 277).

Linguistic and cultural representation can be investigated from various viewpoints. One of the aspects most worthy of attention is the power of script writers and translators to create, reinforce or undermine assumptions about the foreign language and culture represented, but also the power of

audiences who negotiate the representations and meanings conveyed by audiovisual texts (Gambier and Di Giovanni 2018). The role of stylistic and generic conventions, which contribute to shaping cultural and linguistic representation via established features and topoi in both source and target texts, is yet another interesting area of research. Filmmakers experimenting with text on screen are paving the way to innovation in terms of representational conventions (McClarty 2012; Dwyer 2015), which are being radically challenged also by emerging translation practices. If “the use of audiovisual translation as a core representational resource in cinematic texts has remained unchanged since the 1930s”, as suggested by Pérez-González (2014: 49), the emergence of digital cultures and of participatory translation practices is nevertheless playing an important role in challenging and reshaping established representational schemas and conventions (Pérez-González 2013; Massidda 2015; Dwyer 2017).

The creative role of on-screen narratives conceived as sites of representational practice (Pérez-González 2014) is at the centre of this collection of contributions, which are all at the crossroads between cultural, linguistic and translational preoccupations. By recognising that translation is one of the most efficient tools in the process of shaping representation(s), the authors present in this collection tackle the general theme in different and sometimes counter-intuitive ways.

The intersection between language and culture is clearly foregrounded in the first part of the volume, where Maria Pavesi’s chapter titled “Translational Routines in Dubbing: Taking Stock and Moving Forwards” serves as an opener. By foregrounding the centrality of dialogue in films, the author focuses on formulaicity and translational routines in dubbing with a strong reference to the creativity of the dubbed versions of films, finding that if creativity starts where routinisation ends, “the opposite can also be true, whereby creativity gives way to routinization”. The creative and often unexpected outcomes of the AVT process, described by Pavesi, are also emphasised in the second contribution of the section, *Representing Linguacultures: “Transcultural Images: Subtitling Culture-Specific Audiovisual Metaphors”* by Jan Pedersen. In this chapter, the author carries out an analysis of metaphors as handled in subtitling by translators who are aware of transculturality and may “create new, and sometimes perplexing, target language metaphors”. In the same linguacultural section, Monika Woźniak and Agata Hołobut, in “Politeness Goes to the Scaffold: Interpersonal Pragmatics in Translated Tudor Films”, consider the challenges that Polish and Italian translators face in their rendition of English forms of address, verifying how difficult it is for the latter to interpret the hierarchical relations portrayed in historical films and how even more difficult it is for the Polish translators to handle systems of address which are diachronically incompatible.

The decision-making process of translators, at the origin of representational practices, is delved into in the second part of the book through different translational modalities. In “‘Free Free . . . Set them Free’: What

Deconstraining Subtitles Can Do for AVT”, David Katan questions the utility of constraining subtitles into a single semiotic mode and explores the feasibility of transcreating a comedy sketch into Italian by using speech bubbles as a way to convey at least part of the culture-bound associations available to the source audience. If the emphasis here is still on creativity, the following contribution by Amer Al-Adwan and Rashid Yahiaoui (“Comedy Under Fire: Subtitling *Two and a Half Men* Into Arabic”) is more focused on ideological manipulation, dealing as it does with the translation of taboo humour in a popular US sitcom as transferred into Arabic by translators who resort to strategies aimed at neutralising the potential offensiveness of some sexual contents, even if this implies distorting or eliminating the intended humour.

In her chapter titled “Gender in Game Localization: The Case of *Mass Effect 3*’s FemShep”, Silvia Pettini focuses on yet another aspect of representation through AVT by analysing the linguistic and textual dimension of gender-related issues in a science fiction role-playing game. The results of the author’s corpus-driven case study show that gender ultimately determines the form of target texts, thus providing video game players with a gender-specific gaming experience thanks to localisation.

In the following section on Representing Otherness, Gaia Aragrande, in “Migrants in Translation: A Corpus-Based Approach to the Representation of Migrants by Four News Broadcasting Channels”, uses a corpus-based study approach to the representation of the immigration crisis across various TV channels and hypothesises that reinstating the role of creativity in the translation process, even in the realm of journalism, would make the process of translation and the role of the translator more acceptable to the eyes of the operators in the news industry. If Aragrande’s contribution deals with the representation of “real” others in news translation, the chapter by Pietro Luigi Iaia titled “The Representation of Foreign Speakers in TV Series: Ideological Influence of the Linguacultural Background on Source and Target Scripts” tackles fictional ones. Iaia explores the levels of linguistic and functional equivalence achieved in the reformulations of socio-cultural and linguistic aspects of foreign characters as represented in three different audiovisual shows with humorous ends. By focusing especially on the influence of the translators’ linguacultural background and cognitive schemata on the interpretation and translation of source texts, the author questions the appropriateness of the choice of some translation strategies in the representation of the “other”, especially in ideological terms.

In the following section, centred on the representation of multilingualism in audiovisual texts, Patrick Zabalbeascoa applies a binary branching analysis to audiovisual texts and their translations in his chapter titled “Solution-Types for Representing Dubbed Film and TV Multilingual Humour”, with the purpose of enabling both researchers and translators to experiment with different typologies for challenging problems such as the translation of multilingualism. Sofia Iberg tackles the latter issue from another perspective in

her contribution, “A Game of Languages: The Use of Subtitles for Invented Languages in *Game of Thrones*”, in which the author analyses the popular TV series in its use of part-subtitles as a narrative strategy in the scenes where invented languages are employed. By referring, more generally, to characterisation through the use of invented languages, the author reflects on this type of narrative representation and on the way L3 languages are used for multiple purposes such as anchoring the narrative to a given place, increasing suspense and developing characters.

The two contributions of the following section tackle representation of voice in audiovisual characterisation and translation. In the chapter by Irene Ranzato, “The British Upper Classes: Phonological Fact and Screen Fiction”, the under-researched British upper class speakers are investigated from a linguistic and socio-cultural point of view in their realisation on cinema and TV screens. The mixture of accurate phonological facts and stereotyped features of relevant characters from significant films and TV series of different periods are analysed by the author in terms of their function in the original text and their translation into Italian. A similar approach to the analysis of representation, based on the function that a given linguistic feature plays in a text, is applied by Silvia Bruti and Serenella Zanotti in their chapter titled “Representations of Stuttering in Subtitling: A View From a Corpus of English Language Films”. After an introduction on the reality of stuttering, the authors investigate both films and novel excerpts featuring characters with this physical disability, establishing the role that this type of characterisation plays in the text and the way stuttering is represented in the written and oral mode, as well as the way it is performed and then translated.

The last chapter of this collection wraps up the discourse on representation by offering a reflection on the way translation itself is represented in film paratexts. More precisely, in her contribution, “‘New and Improved Subtitle Translation’: Representing Translation in Film Paratexts”, Carol O’Sullivan discusses the paratextual visibility of subtitling and dubbing re-translations in promotional materials, DVD extras and packaging. The author argues that such paratexts have the potential to increase awareness of translation issues among audiences.

It is perhaps apt to conclude this introductory chapter by citing two events, taking place in the fateful year 2016, which both linked the linguistic and translating codes with the act and concept of representation. The first is the conference on Linguistic and Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation organised in Rome in February of that year, and from which the concept and many of the contents of this book stemmed from. The second is the release of the 2016 film *Arrival* by Denis Villeneuve. Considered one of the best films of the year, this Academy Award-nominated science-fiction story features a linguist, Louise Banks, taking centre stage and finding a way to decipher cryptic symbols and in turn to devise a linguistic code to communicate with extraterrestrial intelligence, no less. Borrowing heavily—if

rather elementarily—from Sapir and Whorf, Louise demonstrates not only how translation can save the world from alien annihilation but also, more to the point of our collection, how being creative in representing thoughts and concepts to alien cultures is the only way for effective—and at times of war of the worlds—life-saving communication.

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Part I

Representing Linguacultures



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1 Translational Routines in Dubbing

Taking Stock and Moving Forwards

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1. Formulaicity in Audiovisual Dialogue

The film *Locke* (Steven Knight 2013) is an archetypical representation of the centrality of dialogue in film. The film is a car journey, and the story is narrated through the only visible protagonist's telephone conversations and monologues. By switching to the Italian translation, one is struck by the profusion of formulas that have come to be associated with the language of dubbing from English into Italian, such as *tutto qui* 'that's all', *buona fortuna* 'good luck', *va tutto bene?* 'are you okay?', *voglio fare la cosa giusta* 'I want to do the right thing', *non posso crederci* 'I can't believe it'. Formulas, however, are not only restricted to the translated version of the film but also characterize the original English version where fixed expressions such as *something's come up*, *I can't get out of it*, *do you want a word?*, *guess what?* intersperse the whole dialogue.

Formulaicity, a universal feature of language, in audiovisual (AV) dialogue arises from several motivations. First, as fictive orality in films and television programmes is meant to represent and evoke the language of face-to-face communication, scripting conventions draw on ritualized and reiterated conversational routines. These perform a mimetic function, both as illocutionary speech acts and discourse-organizing formulas (Quaglio 2009; Bednarek 2010; Pavesi 2016a). Second, conventions of scriptwriting also include reliance on recurrent patterns, key words and repetitions deployed to create cohesion within the film, differentiate characters and reinforce a leitmotif (Kozloff 2000: 84–85). The fixed expression *forget about it*, for example, is immortalized in the film *Donnie Brasco* (Mike Newell 1997), where it functions as an in-group, polyfunctional conversational routine typifying the mafiosi's speech. More recently, research has also highlighted the frequency of phraseological clusters that perform a specific role diegetically (Freddi 2011). Expressions such as *what do you mean* and *what are you doing* repeatedly convey antagonism and challenge, working as powerful engines of narrative advancement in films as well as in television series (Bednarek 2010). Finally, from a telecinematic point of view, the conventional and predictable linguistic patterns found in AV dialogue mirror the repetitiveness

and predictability of the situations represented on screen (Taylor 2008; Quaglio 2009): formulas of greeting and leave-taking, for example, pervade Anglophone films and television series as a result of the frequency with which characters meet and take leave from each other in the fictional multimodal world (Bonsignori et al. 2012, 2014).

But formulaicity has also been recognized as a key feature of translated AV texts (e.g. Maraschio 1982; Pavesi 1994, 2005, 2008; Chaume 2001; Bucaria and Chiaro 2007; Bucaria 2008). *Mutatis mutandis* and *pace* Herbst (1995),¹ there is no reason to exclude the language of dubbing from reliance on the idiom principle posited by Sinclair for language production (1991). Given the repeated communicative events represented on screen, translators are expected to make their selections out of a pre-determined set of “semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices” (Sinclair 1991: 110), thus relying on less costly automatic or semi-automatic behaviour. Audiovisual translation (AVT), moreover, is supposed to mimic the formulaic nature of both conversation and AV speech, inheriting this dimension from the source text and the target language. From the original scripts, dubbed dialogues take over the ritualized sequences that characterize verbal exchange on screen, as with formulas of greetings, leave takings, introductions and good wishes that in the target texts mirror those found in the original versions (cf. Bonsignori et al. 2012; Bonsignori and Bruti 2016). AVT, at the same time, recreates patterns of prefabricated orality drawing on the repetitive units typical of spontaneous conversation. Such transfer is exemplified by formulaic questions and formulaic clefts, borrowed into Italian dubbing from Italian conversation (Ghia 2014; Pavesi 2005, 2016a).

From a procedural point of view, the repetitiveness of dubbing may be further amplified by routinization processes that invest the different phases of the translation process. The results of such routinization procedures have been called translational routines and defined as “recurrent solutions to translation problems which tend to become overextended” in time (Pavesi 2008: 94, also 1994: 136–138). Their similarity to routines in language use and language acquisition have also been stressed, pointing out that what distinguishes translational routines from other formulas in language production is their cross-linguistic import. Translational routines do not primarily apply to the correspondence between communicative situations and holistic expressions in a specific language, but rather pertain to the systematic correspondences between two languages once a similarity has been identified in the form, meaning or use of given linguistic expressions across lingua-cultural divides.

In the remainder of this chapter, attention will be paid to such repeated and intertextual discourse in translated AV dialogue, concentrating on features of orality. After introducing routinization in translation, in the following sections, translational routines will be examined with a view to clarifying their nature, bringing to light the mechanisms that guide their evolution and placing them within the context of AV dialogue as a representation of

conversational language. The exemplification will draw both on published literature and the Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (PCFD)—a unidirectional parallel and comparable corpus at present comprising 24 American and British films dubbed into Italian and 15 original Italian films. We will argue that although many translational routines are straightforward calques that through reiteration become endemic in the language of dubbing, the phenomenon is much wider and includes overextensions that depart from one-to-one, source-language and target-language correspondences. In the conclusion, the collocation of routinization within the space of dubbing and its implications for both dubbing agents and audiences will be discussed.

2. Routinization in Translation

The hypothesis of routinization advanced for AVT is in line with observations made about translation in general. Gusmani (1983: 14–15) noticed that, once translators have established a given correspondence between expressions in the two languages, they find it natural to reproduce it every time they encounter the same expressions. Similarly, both Toury (1995/2012) and Gellerstam (2005) argued that one translation solution may come to be preferred over other available options when transferring texts from one language into another. Talking of stock equivalents (1995: 97–101), Toury defines them as automatic responses repeatedly produced when translators encounter the same source-language item or sequence.

[T]he connection established between source- and target-language segments during an act of translation does not necessarily dissolve when the act is over [. . .]. Rather, it often leaves *more or less permanent imprints in the translator's mind.*

(Toury 1995: 99, emphasis added)

The pairings of source-language and target-language items with time become entrenched in the translator's memory, and if other translators start reproducing these individually created pairs, the replacement of a segment in the source language with another equivalent segment in the target language will take on a shared and social dimension, developing into a translational norm.² In a similar vein, Gellerstam (2005) has conceptualized repeated transfer solutions as leaving “fingerprints in translations”, with many recurrent equivalents setting translated language aside, since translators' choices often fall on unusual language items of the target language.³

Importantly, routinization in translation can converge with the intrinsic formulaicity of given text types as with technical texts calling for greater use of ready-made units.

Translators, like monolingual communicators under conditions of stress (e.g. football commentators), will inevitably and necessarily rely

on automatic strategies and use ready-made units, helping them to cope with time constraints (and meet deadlines) and, at the same time, *to achieve the expected degree of routinization in the target text.*

(Heltai 2004: 59, emphasis added)

As hinted earlier, AV language is a specialized genre, characterized by a high degree of formulaicity related to both the mimetic and diegetic import of fictive orality.⁴ At the same time dubbing is affected by synchronization constraints that severely limit translators' choices and trigger the influence of the source language/source text on the final output (Pavese 2016b). The construct of dubbese—or translationese more generally—is indeed rooted in the relationship between routinization and interference, which supposedly gives way to unnatural and artificial translation outcomes (cf. Antonini 2008; Bucaria 2008 among many).

3. Translational Routines as Calques

With reference to their association with source-language influence, in the literature on dubbing, translational routines are often made to overlap with calques—i.e. literal translations of individual expressions. Illustrating various calques, Herbst (1995: 263–264) pointed out that “[t]hese examples are of course not in any way significant in themselves as single instances of mistranslations but only important as being *relatively typical of dubbed language*” (emphasis added). Alfieri et al. (2010: 157, 160) similarly observed the influx of “expressive stereotypes” as syntactic and phraseological calques deriving from “immediate equivalences” between English and Italian in the translation of American television series, especially in the 1980s. Pavese (1994, 2005, 2008, 2016a) suggested that translational routines originate from reiterated translational solutions modelled on the source language, whilst Bucaria (2008: 154) spoke of them as “words and phrases heavily influenced by the source language”.

Lists and inventories of such conventional and norm-creating calques have been put forward for various dubbed languages. German was initially investigated by Herbst (1994, 1995) and Whitman-Linsen (1992), who were among the first scholars to provide in-depth and extended treatments of the phenomenon. As for Italian, we move from Menarini's pioneering work in the 1950s, to find Rossi's contribution (e.g. 2007), together with those of several other authors (Bollettieri Bosinelli 2002; Pavese 2005; Bucaria 2008; Minutella 2015; Motta 2015). Spanish dubbing language has been widely investigated, with Gómez Capuz (2001) having produced the most thorough description and account of Anglicisms in one single language of dubbing from English (cf. also Chaume and García de Toro 2001; Duro Moreno 2001, among others). Calques, like loans, offer ready-made solutions to isochrony problems, especially when speaking time must be covered up whether or not a functional or pragmatic equivalent is available in the

target language (Pavesi and Perego 2006). Synchronization, however, does not explain all cases in which these routines are used. Romero Fresco (2009) showed that in Spanish, such reiterated translation solutions are often free from articulatory constraints, an empirical observation that Minutella (2015) confirmed for Italian.

3.1 Types of Calques in Dubbing

Calques in dubbing comprise indirect borrowings with different degrees of internal complexity—that is, individual monomorphemic words, such as *bene/be* < *well* used to preface an utterance, along with multimorphemic words or phraseological units—e.g. Spanish *olvidalo* < *forget it*, Italian *l'hai detto* < *you said it*, German *hier sind Sie* < *here you are*. Repeated calques pertain to different language levels, going from morphology, to semantics, syntax and pragmatics. An instance of the morphological level is the adverbial suffix *-mente* from the English *-ly* reported for Spanish to apply to a selection of style and attitudinal disjuncts such as *definitivamente* and *decididamente* (Gómez Capuz 2001: 48–51).⁵ Semantic calques include those words that develop new meanings on the model of similar polysemic words in the source language, such as Spanish *excitante*/Italian *eccitante* ‘exciting’ < *exciting*, instead of *emocionante/divertente* in the two languages, respectively, and Spanish *ignorar* < *to ignore* instead of *no acer caso* or *ningunear*. Syntactic calques, in turn, refer to those instances in which word order, grammatical morphemes or whole constructions are copied from the source language into the target language, such as the use of the possessive with inalienable possessions in Romance languages: *descubre tu cuello* < ‘uncover your neck’ for *descúbrete el cuello* (Duro Moreno 2001: 173), or unusual prepositions as in *grazie per averla accompagnata* ‘thanks for having brought her’ instead of the expected *grazie di averla accompagnata* (Motta 2015: 967).

Yet pragmatic calques are the most relevant category to dubbing translation because the representation of face-to-face communication on screen calls for the pervasive expression of interpersonal meanings. According to Andersen (2014: 17–18), pragmatic calques pertain to those phenomena “whose common feature is that they do not contribute to the propositional content of utterances, but act as constraints on the interpretation process due to their subjective, textual, and interpersonal pragmatic functions”. They include discourse markers, interjections, conversational formulas, politeness markers, address and deixis (Gómez Capuz 2001).

Pragmatic phenomena are particularly likely to be subject to literal or semi-literal translations because their meaning tends to be both elusive and culturally embedded, and is therefore more difficult to match cross-linguistically. Among the many pragmatic features, interjections and dysphemisms have been reported to flag the mediated nature of dubbed texts through overrepresentation (e.g. Bruti and Pavesi 2008; Rodríguez-Medina 2015).

In the PCFD, English-triggered *oh* is more than three times as frequent in the dubbed component as in the original Italian component, with 621 versus 171 tokens per 100,000 words, respectively, and only 30 occurrences in the 100-word conversational section of the Italian reference corpus LIP (Lessico Italiano Parlato). Similarly, the calqued interjection *ehilhey* is repeated 106 times in the dubbed subcorpus vis-à-vis only 13 times in the original Italian component and 4 times in the LIP corpus (cf. Bruti and Pavesi 2008; Antonini and Chiaro 2009). Despite the several omissions, the routinized translations of the pervasive English *f*-words, dysphemistic and racial expletives are reported to intersperse dubbing in several languages (e.g. Mereu Keating 2014). The intensifying formula *fucking* + *noun*, for example, generates routinized translations not only in Spanish but also in Italian (Rodríguez-Medina 2015; Formentelli and Monti 2014), where the intensifier *fucking* is paralleled by the Italian equivalent term *fottut-*, like in *Ho tre di queste fottute macchine da riparare, oggi* translating into *I've got three of these fucking machines down today*. Here the English word order ADJ + NOUN used instead of the unmarked Italian NOUN + ADJ is also a clear instance of a frequent syntactic calque.

Owing to the cultural dimension of many pragmatic formulas, there is broad cross-linguistic variation, with different interpretative schemata of the same situation being prevalent in different socio-cultural systems (cf. Coulmas 1979: 243). Literal translations of the English conversational routines *are you okay?*, *are you alright?* are pervasive in more than one European dubbing language and are used to enquire about someone's well-being in a situation of distress, illness or trauma (Herbst 1996: 97–100; Duro Moreno 2001: 185; Bollettieri Bosinelli 2002: 82). There they replace the considerate 'how do you feel?', 'are you hurt?' and 'nothing serious has happened' appropriate to the same situations in those cultures (Wray 2002: 90). The translational routine *stali bene?* 'are you well', with both formal and informal second person pronouns, occurs 32 times in the dubbed component of the PCFD, as opposed to two times only in the original Italian films in analogous situations of distress.

Since a given social situation may only exist in the source culture, calqued formulas that do not have equivalents in the target culture can also be generated (cf. Ranzato 2016), as with the loan translations of *happy thanksgiving* and *trick or treat* in various European languages. Moreover, only one culture may resort to routine formulas to codify what in the same situation does not require the use of a conventional expression in another culture. Pragmatic mismatches may, therefore, lead translators to opt for literal or almost literal renderings of the original pragmatic expressions. *We need to talk* used to announce a serious, thorny problem and to ask for a private conversation to discuss it is often literally translated into Italian as *dobbiamo parlare* when in a similar situation Italians would not need to resort to such preambles.⁶

In general, the pragmatic level is liable to be affected by calquing, even when appropriate and functionally equivalent expressions are easily available in the target language, as with the Spanish formula of agreement or positive reply *correcto* ‘correct’, systematically prompted by English *right/all right* and replacing the long-standing *de acuerdo, está bien, vale*, etc. (Gómez Capuz 2001: 30–31). Such propagation of pragmatic calques indexes the relevance of extra-linguistic motivations in dubbing, such as the ideologically perpetuated dependence on the hegemonic and prestigious models rooted in the Anglophone lingua-culture. This is particularly noticeable with frequency calques, reiterated forms and expressions that, while possible in the target language, are not as frequent or as natural and idiomatic in spontaneous conversation (cf. Lorenzo 1996). If frequency calques commonly involve the morphological and syntactic levels, like with the English-motivated over-translation of future and past tenses in dubbed languages (Whitman-Linsen 1992; Pavesi 2005), they can also account for the pragmatic specificity of dubbed dialogue because of the excessive reiteration of pragmatic routines available in the target lingua-culture but to a more limited extent than in translation. This is the case of the politeness formula *por favor* in dubbed Spanish translating the English *please* of which it retains the initial labial consonant (Gómez Capuz 2001: 42–44).

4. Beyond Translational Routines as Calques

Despite the obvious link between calques and translational routines, a few limitations can be envisaged in a strict interference-bound treatment of the phenomenon. Three main issues can be identified that will be addressed in the following sections: translational routines may include expressions that, strictly speaking, are not calques, although they are inspired by the source language/source text; translational routines may originate from the same trigger and yet show a degree of patterned variability; translational routines may translate different source language/source text units and evolve over time.

4.1 Closeness to the Original Model

The first issue pertains to how close to the source language translation needs to be in order to be considered a calque. Whereas Andersen (2014) includes among pragmatic borrowing only loan words and literal or near-literal translations of source-language expressions, the literature on borrowings traditionally distinguishes loan translations from loan renditions depending on the degree of similarity between the items in the donor and recipient languages (Weinreich 1953/1968). With loan translations, we have an exact reproduction of the structure and the meaning of the original model: in Italian dubbing, for instance, the expression *non saltare alle conclusioni* calqued over *do not jump to conclusions* is frequently found instead of the

appropriate, although formal, *non trarre conclusioni affrettate* ‘don’t draw hasty conclusions’. With loan renditions, on the other hand, we only have a partial reproduction as in *non c’è problema* ‘there is no problem’ from the formally similar but not identical *no problem*.

In AVT research, however, different degrees of proximity of the translated expression to the donor language have been reported. Many reiterated translation solutions can be described as calques only very loosely—if at all—in that they diverge considerably from the original expression that has started them, with their dependence on the source-language model being often restricted to a vague semantic or pragmatic similarity and the sharing of one or a few phonological features. In such cases, translational routines may be interpreted as loan creations—that is, lexical units or phraseological sequences that, although structurally independent from their modelling language counterparts, are prompted “by the need to match designations available in a language in contact” (Weinreich 1953/1968: 51). As already pointed out by Haugen (1950: 220), however, loan creations are “terms whose existence may ultimately be due to contact with a second culture and its language, but which are not strictly loans at all.” In most cases, these established equivalences are motivated by synchronization constraints in terms of either similarity in oral articulation or same length of utterance. Examples of loan creations in dubbing that, because of their repetitiveness, qualify as translational routines but not prototypically as calques include, in Italian, *vacci piano* ‘go slowly’ < *take it easy*, *amico* ‘friend’ < *man/dude*, *insomma* ‘in conclusion/so/hey’ < *I mean*, *si può sapere . . . ?* ‘can one know. . . ?’ < *what on earth/the hell/the fuck . . .* (Pavesi 1996, 2005, 2016b; Bollettieri Bosinelli 2002; Bucaria and Chiaro 2007; Minutella 2015; Motta 2015; Freddi 2012: 399, among others).

4.2 *Translational Routines as Patterns and Prototype Categories*

When analyzing the transfer into the target texts of the same or similar source-language phraseological units, we may find an array of different rather than identical translation solutions. At closer look, however, these expressions, although not identical, may fall within the same pattern. These related solutions prompted by the same source-language material can in fact be seen as making up a prototype category, including central members, more frequent or closer to the modelling source-language unit, and more peripheral members, less frequent or further removed from the original prompt (Rosch 1977). The examination of the phraseological cluster *what is it?* and its translations in the PCFD (cf. Freddi 2009) brings to the fore instances of such repetitive translation routines that offer some room for variation. Table 1.1 reports a sample of the 47 bilingual concordances of the cluster in the parallel component of the Pavia corpus. From those concordances, the following pattern has been extracted, which is made up of an interrogative word plus a present tense third-person singular copula:

Che/cosa/che cosa/cos ‘what’ + *c’è* ‘there is/’è ‘is’?

The pattern accounts for 30 translational formulations in the PCFD, including the similar but not identical *che c’è?*, *che cos’è?*, *cosa c’è?*, *che cosa c’è?*, *cos’è?*—all meaning ‘what is it’.

Within the same perspective of translational routines as prototype categories, various realizations may be seen as interconnected by a chain of overlapping similarities. No one feature, however, is common to all the translations of the same or similar original expressions, but these variable realizations are related one to the other by family resemblances—that is, features crisscrossing the different members of the same group of translations (Wittgenstein 1978). Serenella Zanotti’s (2014: 123–125) findings on the “direct translation” of general extenders in dubbing provide clear evidence of routinization emerging from relationships of family resemblance. General extenders are short, invariable pragmatic expressions “used to refer vaguely to categories by evoking some larger set” (Zanotti 2014: 114). They are typically found at the end of clauses—a structural fact that contributes

Table 1.1 A sample of the cluster *what is it* and its translations in the PCFD

English Turns	Italian Translations
Jamin, thanks very much. <i>What is it?</i>	Grazie, ma <i>che cos’è?</i>
<i>What is it?</i>	<i>Cosa c’è?</i>
<i>What is it</i> , Charlotte? Something with Charlotte or what?	Ma <i>cos’è</i> , Charlotte? Qualcosa con Charlotte? <i>Cosa?</i>
<i>What is it?</i> What happened?	<i>Che c’è</i> , che è successo?
What, Matt? <i>What is it?</i>	Vuoi parlare. <i>Che cosa c’è?</i>
There’s no baby in here. <i>What is it?</i>	Non c’è un bambino qui dentro. <i>Che cos’è?</i>
<i>What is it?</i>	<i>Che cos’è?</i>
<i>What is it</i> then?	<i>Che cosa c’è</i> , allora?
So there is something wrong. <i>What is it?</i>	Allora c’è qualcosa che non va. <i>Che cosa?</i>
You know that. . . <i>What is it?</i> Is it something to do with those phone calls you kept getting?	Questo lo sai. . . <i>Cosa c’è?</i> Ha a che fare con quelle telefonate che continui a ricevere?
Maybe it’s congratulations. <i>What is it?</i>	Ti avrà mandato gli auguri. <i>Che cosa c’è?</i>
What? <i>What is it?</i>	Chi è? <i>Cosa c’è?</i>
Blimey, <i>what is it?</i>	Perbacco! <i>Cos’è?</i>
<i>What is it?</i>	<i>Che cos’è?</i>
<i>What is it</i> , Yoshi? You can’t just leave your station unmanned down there.	<i>Che c’è</i> , Yoshi? Lo sai che non puoi lasciare il laboratorio.
So. <i>What is it</i> , Maggie? You’re in business?	Allora, <i>che c’è</i> Maggie? Sei qui per lavoro?
<i>What is it?</i>	<i>Cos’è?</i>
Yes, <i>what is it</i> you want, darling? Hello?	Sì, <i>che c’è gioia?</i> Pronto?

Table 1.2 Translational routines of English general extenders in Italian (Zanotti 2014: 123–124)

<i>General Extender Forms</i>	<i>Italian Translations</i>
Or something	<i>o cose del genere (1), o qualcosa del genere (6), o qualcosa di simile (1), o una cosa del genere (1), o roba simile (4), roba del genere (3), o altro (1), qualcos'altro (2), o chissà che (1), o cosa (1), o tipo (1), o peggio (2), gente del genere (1)</i>
Or anything	<i>o roba del genere (1), o qualcos'altro (1), o altro (1)</i>
Or whatever	<i>o quello che ti pare (1), o quello che è (1), qualsiasi cosa (1), come si chiama (1)</i>
Or stuff	<i>o roba simile (1)</i>
And everything	<i>e tutto il resto (2), e il resto (1), e tutto (1)</i>
And stuff	<i>e tutto il resto (2), e altre cose (1), cose così (1)</i>
And stuff like that	<i>e cose varie (1)</i>
And all that	<i>e tutto il resto (1)</i>
And that	<i>e cose così (1), roba simile (1), e quelle cose lì (1)</i>
And all	<i>e tutto il resto (1)</i>
And shit	<i>e cazzate varie (2), e cagate simili (1)</i>
Stuff like that	<i>e cose varie (1)</i>
That kind of thing	<i>e cose così (1)</i>
And blah	<i>e bla (1)</i>

Different typographical realizations etc.

to their formulaicity. Table 1.2 shows the set of general extenders in English retrieved from the researcher's corpus of television dialogue together with their Italian direct translations (Zanotti 2014: 123–124). It can be seen that these target language equivalent renderings are organized in chains of expressions that are linked by repetitive items activated by the same source-language category, such as *o qualcosa* 'or something' *o/e cose* 'or/and things', *del genere* 'of the kind', *e tutto* 'and all'. These chains generate clusters of similar translation solutions that exhibit a degree of constrained variation and are built around recurrent items. In sum, despite the variation exhibited by both renderings of *what is it?* and English general extenders, the similarity and reiteration of the adopted solutions in Italian testify to routinization in translation.

Different typographical realizations identify the same or similar features in the translations.

4.3 Translation Routines as Register Peculiarities

In other instances, translational routines may start as calques of individual source-language units but evolve into overused choices unrelated to the original English prompt. These instances detract from an all-encompassing treatment of translational routines as indirect borrowing, while emphasizing the productivity of the phenomenon in dubbing. We may indeed posit that a target expression copied from English is later extended to the translation of source units different from the original trigger (cf. Heltai 2004). In these, like in other instances, the formulaic nature of the translation solution is flagged by deviations from the target-language norms in terms of form, use or frequency.

In the PCFD, there are 23 instances of *fantastic*. Of these, 17 are translated with the Italian *fantastic-olalilhe*, a translational routine employed as a phatic expression, hyperbolic qualifier or interjection to express enthusiasm or, ironically, disappointment and disapproval (Table 1.3). The querying of the corpus in the opposite direction reveals that *fantastico* and its morphological variants are overrepresented in dubbing: they occur 82 times in the whole dubbed component (34 per 100,000 words) as opposed to 9 times in the comparable Italian one (7 per 100,000 words) and 8 times in the 100,000-word conversational section of the LIP corpus. As shown by

Table 1.3 A sample of *fantastic* and its translations in the PCFD

English Turns	Italian Translations
That's <i>fantastic</i> !	È <i>fantastico</i> !
Now, I do not doubt for a second that you are a wonderful teacher; in fact, I've got letters from the school saying how <i>fantastic</i> you are, but I have to listen to my conscience.	Non ho mai dubitato che tu sia un'ottima insegnante, ho delle lettere da parte della scuola che confermano quanto tu sia <i>brava</i> , ma io devo dare ascolto alla mia coscienza.
Right, what a room we've got here! What a <i>fantastic</i> room! Sammy Davis Junior.	Però . . . ! Che compagnia abbiamo qui. Che compagnia <i>straordinaria</i> , Sammy Davis Junior.
<i>Fantastic</i> .	<i>Fantastico</i> .
Oh. Well, great. <i>Fantastic</i> . That's er . . . Oh. Shittity brickitty. It's my sister's birthday. Shit! We're meant to be having dinner.	Oh . . . ma è magnifico, <i>fantastico</i> ! È-è . . . Oh! Ladraccia di una miseriaccia. È il compleanno di mia sorella. Accidenti! Dobbiamo fare una cena.
Oh, Christ alive! Brilliant. <i>Fantastic</i> . Magnificent.	Oh, cunegonda vergine. Splendida. <i>Fantastica</i> . Magnifica.
<i>Fantastic</i> . Here's what you do.	<i>Fantastico</i> . Le spiego come fare:
Yeah! It's <i>fantastic</i> ! She's doing it as compensation for having to lay me off. It's not nice?	Sì! È <i>fantastica</i> ! Lo fa perché si sente in colpa d'avermi licenziato. Non è gentile?

the bilingual concordances in Table 1.4, the word form *fantastico* is actually overextended to translate a variety of interjections and intensifying expressions. These include *great*, *brilliant*, *amazing*, *wonderful* and *excellent*. There is thus a shift from one-to-one translations—*fantastic* → *fantastico*—to many-to-one translations—*fantastic/great/brilliant*, etc. → *fantastico*—resulting in the noticeable overuse of a single translation solution.

Along similar lines, Romero Fresco (2009) identifies three discourse markers used to buy time while planning further talk and to alert the hearer about upcoming information in Spanish: *vamos a ver*, *a ver* and *veamos*. The three discourse markers, however, do not have the same relevance in dubbing translations. In Romero Fresco's *Friends* corpus, *veamos* by itself translates 66% of all the occurrences of *let's see*, of which it is a literal translation. *Veamos* moreover is restricted to dubbing, as it does not occur in the domestic *Siete vidas* or in the conversational section of the Spanish reference corpus CREA. Such a peculiar translational and register-specific distribution reinforces the status of the discourse marker as a translational routine. Most interestingly, *veamos* is documented to have been diachronically extended to translate other discourse markers, such as *okay*, *alright*, *well*, *ah*, *no*, with evidence of the process being provided for the same series *Friends*: “[V]*veamos* seems to be motivated by *let's see* in the first episodes and by the other markers in subsequent episodes” (Romero Fresco 2009: 65).

Finally, the same mechanism of extension from one to many source-language triggers underlying the same translational routine applies to units

Table 1.4 A sample of *fantastico* and its source language triggers in the PCFD

<i>Italian Translations</i>	<i>English Turns</i>
<i>Fantastico!</i>	<i>Excellent!</i>
Caspita! Bè, eh, prima di tutto, hai un ottimo gusto. Quel vestito era <i>fantastico</i> .	Wow! Well, first of all, you have great taste, because that dress was <i>amazing</i> .
Ah è <i>fantastico!</i> Una squadra vera e il mister è un fenomeno.	It's <i>brilliant</i> . They're a top team, and the coach is ace, man.
È <i>fantastico</i> , Joe!	That's <i>great</i> , Joe!
Saddam. Si-si chiama Saddam! Ah, questo è <i>fantastico</i> , Bruce! Certo, appunterò una medaglia su un iracheno che si chiama Saddam! Datti un aumento di stipendio!	Saddam? His-his name's Saddam? Oh that's-that's-that's <i>real good</i> , Bruce. I'm gonna pin a medal on an Iraqi named Saddam. Give yourself a raise, will you?
<i>Fantastico</i> , rapido e indolore. ((overlap)) Molto giapponese, mi piace.	<i>Great</i> , short and sweet. Very Japanese. ((overlap)) I like that.
<i>Fantastico</i> . Fila dentro casa e cammina!	That's <i>wonderful</i> . Get in the goddamn house!
Fish and chips, <i>fantastico!</i>	Fish and chips, <i>fantastic!</i>
<i>Fantastico</i> .	<i>Excellent</i> .
È stato un pomeriggio <i>fantastico</i> .	This was <i>such a great</i> afternoon.

that are phraseological both in the source and target language. The stereotypical *dacci un taglio* ‘give it a cut’, a fixed expression in Italian dubbing, has been traditionally linked by loan rendition to *cut it out* (e.g. Pavesi 2005: 49). It has, however, come to translate different, if structurally related, fixed expressions, such as *get it straight*, *give it a break*, as recently reported in Minutella (2015). The parallel component of the PCFD contains one instance of the translational routine rendering *knock it off*, while unsurprisingly *dacci un taglio* occurs neither in the LIP nor in the comparable Italian subcorpus of the PCFD.

4.4 Translational Routines as Dynamic Phenomena

If the extension of the same translational routines to different prompts in the source language already testifies to their dynamicity, there is enough evidence in dubbing research to suggest that the vitality of translational routines changes in time. As a type of operational norms (Toury 1995/2012), translational routines not only extend to novel source language contexts but also lose vigour, die out and may be superseded by new routines. As for Spanish, Gómez Capuz (2001: 23) reported that the ‘grotesque’, highly unnatural calques typical of Central American dubbing of the years 1960–1975 were a vestige of the past in Spanish already at the turn of the twenty-first century. In a similar vein, a recent investigation on Italian dubbed language has shown that well-attested semantic calques may be on the decline. Whereas the long-established *eccitante* from *exciting* is still alive, its related form *eccitato* from *excited* is now decreasing, superseded by other solutions, as pointed out by Minutella and Pulcini (2014: 344). The 46 instances of *excited* in their corpus of American television series were translated with a variety of adjectives and verbs, most frequently the past participle and the infinitive of *emozionare* ‘excite’, ‘thrill’, ‘move’. Also the prototypical translational routine *amico* ‘friend,’ translating the English familiarizers *man*, *mate*, *pal*, etc., has been shown to lose ground in recent dubbing translations in favour of the vocative *bello* ‘handsome’ (Forchini 2013; Minutella 2015). In the PCFD—comprising films from 1996 to 2009—we find 26 instances of *amico* used to address the interlocutor versus 37 *bello* with the same function. Both translational routines typify Italian dubbing as the two vocatives occur very rarely in the LIP and in the Italian component of the PCFD.⁷ It should be further noticed that if, on the one hand, the wear and tear of one stereotyped solution may bring in another translational routine that maintains the same level of routinization, on the other hand, the overall level of routinization may also change in time. As a result, fewer translational routines will occur on the whole in dubbing (cf. on this trend Minutella 2015).

As dynamic phenomena, translational routines have a life of their own and can travel outside the translational context that generated them. The dubbing routine *amico* is now found in other AVT modalities as well as with other source languages, as observed in Italian funsubbing (Bruti and

Zanotti 2012) and in subtitling from Portuguese (De Rosa 2014: 133, 136). Finally, as hypothesized for several European languages, including German, Italian and Spanish, with time, translational routines can lose their register- and translation-specificity and exert their influence over national languages, starting with the language of domestic television series but possibly filtering through into everyday usage (Gómez Capuz 2001; Bucaria and Chiaro 2007; Bucaria 2008; Antonini and Chiaro 2009, among others).

5. Towards a Summary: A Checklist for Translational Routines

On the basis of the previous appraisal, we can view translational routines as a wide category of reiterated translation phenomena including both indirect borrowing and solutions that are not easily traceable to specific features of the source language. That is, translational routines are often straightforward calques, but not uncommonly, their source-language motivation is too weak to justify their inclusion in the category of indirect borrowing; in other cases, the translation solutions reveal a degree of variation and do not display a one-to-one relationship with the source language; in other instances again, translational routines may originate from calques but have extended to match different, unrelated triggers in the source texts. Despite their variability in origin, form and use, translational routines can be described to exhibit a series of features that help us identify a unitary category. These can be understood as criteria with which translational routines in dubbing are likely to comply, although not always totally and to different degrees. The criteria proposed can hence be used as a checklist to detect repeated patterns that may qualify as translational routines, provided a number of criteria are met:

1. Translational routines are reiterated translation solutions which occur across different translated texts.
2. They are calqued over or triggered by the same or similar source-language expressions, whose function they share.
3. They are identical or similar, their variation in shape being constrained and patterned.
4. They are register-specific and hence may show a degree of deviation from the reference register of spontaneous spoken language.
5. They are translation-specific and hence characterize dubbed dialogue as opposed to non-translated dialogue in the same language.
6. They are subject to overextensions, so the source-language/source-text triggers can include different expressions from the ones which presumably initiated the routines. Such shifts account for the occurrence of translational routines in the absence of a specific prompt in the source text or for the seemingly unmotivated additions of a translational routine to the target text.

6. Concluding Remarks

Routinization in translation is the process by which systematic and repetitive correspondences are established between source and target language. In the present contribution, a series of criteria have been put forward that can be relied on to detect translational routines, including reiteration across different texts, similarity between source and target lingua-cultural units, sameness or similarity of form between translation solutions, register- and translation-specificity. Translational routines are also open to overextensions since, once established for given source lingua-cultural expressions, they can be made to render different lexical and phraseological units.

Translational routines are useful in both text production and text reception. They constitute pre-determined options that speed up dubbing professionals' translation process, while the highly repetitive and predictable language that derives from their systematic use helps viewers follow the storyline and understand characters' turns at talk. Similar to formulaic sequences in everyday talk, translational routines may be hypothesized to have the additional effect of sparking off viewers' feelings of shared identity and belonging to the same lingua-cultural community (cf. Wray 2002). Routinization is in fact posited to be a major variable in the characterization of the variety of the translated language spoken on screen (Pavesi 2016b). Here naturalness not only stems from the alignment of translators' choices with those of spontaneous conversation but also derives from audiences' habits and expectations (cf. Romero Fresco 2009). Hence if natural is what is idiomatic or conventionally approved by audiences, including what viewers *qua* native speakers recognize as fitting in everyday socio-pragmatic situations (Romero Fresco 2009), it also applies to what viewers *qua* consumers of AV products identify as typical of the language of the screen. The socio-historical dimension of the language of AVT that started with sound films in the 1930s and the establishment of communities of translation professionals in different countries are powerful forces in creating, spreading and changing these norms of dubbing. It is indeed probable that the domineering (past) oligopoly in AVT professional communities facilitated the introduction and the diffusion of translational routines, which relatively few dubbing professionals have contributed to establishing by means of their working practice made available to other professionals through AV products themselves (Pavesi and Perego 2006).

Although the influence of the source language is a most important propellant of routinization in dubbing translation, creativity is the variable with which routinization has the strongest relationship. Romero Fresco (2006: 143) observed, "One of the recurrent features in the Spanish text is that the translator seems to strive for variation when dealing with frequent [source text] [phraseological units] in spite of possible audiovisual constraints". Translators-adaptors do in fact voice their discomfort with translational routines, considered the main culprit for dubbese, while striving

for inventive solutions to translation hurdles. If creativity can be viewed as starting where routinization ends, the opposite can also be true, whereby creativity gives way to routinization. One translator finds a clever solution for a frequent source-language feature; the solution is picked up by other translators, reiterated and sometimes creatively extended. One may wonder who was the inventive professional who produced the translation of English *yeah* [jeə]/[jæə] into the articulatorily similar Italian *già* [dʒa] ‘indeed/right’. At the time, it was certainly an act of creativity that, by bending the target language norms, provided an answer to a very frequent and major synchronization problem. An individual and innovative solution has become a quintessential marker of the Italian language of dubbing—one of the many that contribute to defining its specificity and recognizability.

Notes

- 1 Talking of repeated Anglicized expressions, Herbst (1995: 263–264) observes, “Irrespective of whether they are noticed consciously by the viewers—and there is a lot of evidence that they are not—they do contribute to the unnaturalness of the text and must be seen as violations of the idiom principle.”
- 2 Toury reports the case of *u-vexen*, which in the 1970s became habitual to translate the discourse marker *well* into Hebrew, while being very rare both in original Hebrew and in translations from languages other than English. Later on, the Hebrew stock translation of the English discourse marker became confined to audiovisual translation.
- 3 Cf. *anlända* being used to translate English *arrive* instead of the more natural *komma* in target Swedish.
- 4 In addition, AV language as a constellation of genres and subgenres needs to represent or invent professional jargon and subgroups’ slang through sociolinguistically marked choices.
- 5 The calque is extended to other target languages as with *frankly* in ‘Frankly, my dear, I don’t give a damn’, pronounced by Rhett Butler in *Gone with the Wind* (Victor Fleming, 1939), dubbed with *francamente* not only in Spanish, *Francaamente, querida, me importa un bledo*, but also in Italian: *Francaamente me ne infischio*, and correspondingly with *franchement* in French: *Franchement, ma chère, c’est le cadet de mes soucis*.
- 6 Cf. the recent Italian film *Dobbiamo parlare* (Sergio Rubini 2015), which clearly mimics the translational routine found in Italian dubbing.
- 7 In the comparable Italian subcorpus of the PCFD, *amico* is used twice in foreigner’s speech: *Tuo problema, amico*, whereas *bello* occurs twice in leave-takings: *Ciao bello*.

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2 Transcultural Images

Subtitling Culture-Specific Audiovisual Metaphors

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1. Introduction

Metaphors, similes, and other figures of speech abound in all forms of spoken and written communication, as explained by Lakoff and Johnson in their monograph *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). Apart from the more striking uses of making a text more illustrative or poetic, metaphors can be used for any number of purposes, or none at all, apart from just the ways in which languages work. Regardless of why a figure of speech is used, for it to be used felicitously, the source that the vehicle the figure of speech is based on must be understood. That can be problematic when it comes to conventionalized metaphors in an intercultural setting, such as a subtitled film or television programme. This is because some images are used in some ways in some cultures, and in other ways (or not at all) in other cultures. It can easily be shown that even cultures that share the same language, such as the Anglophone cultures, may not share the same stock metaphors because of differences in culture. Thus there are British metaphors, such as ‘grasping the nettle’, that are not used, and sometimes not even understood, in the United States. If there are conventionalized metaphors that are not even understood by people who share a language, it is hardly surprising that metaphors are considered a classic problem in translation. As such, it has been investigated very thoroughly ever since translation studies came of age in the 1970s (cf. e.g. Dagut 1976; Van den Broeck 1981; Lindqvist 2002, 2005; Dickins 2005; Samaniego Fernández *et al* 2003; Schäffner 2004; Monti 2006; Mohanty 2010). Still, it remains underexplored in the relatively new (sub-)field of audiovisual translation (AVT) studies. To my knowledge, there exists to date only two articles that deal with the problem of metaphors in subtitling, both as a result of the current project (Pedersen 2015; Pedersen 2017). This project seeks to explore how metaphors are rendered in subtitling, with its many special conditions and circumstances. The present article focusses on what is sometimes called the transculturality appraisal (Pedersen 2010), which is the process whereby a translator tries to gauge how well known a language feature is in the source culture (SC) and the target culture (TC).

The project uses the British sitcom *Yes, Prime Minister* (1986–1988) and its Swedish subtitles as material. This very British cult TV series is centered on the struggle between Prime Minister Jim Hacker, and his ambition to build a new and better Britain (and win more votes), and his cabinet secretary, Sir Humphrey Appleby, and his ambition to change as little as possible. Both the politician and the civil servant use highly metaphoric language in their relatively elaborate speech, which makes the series very suitable for studying the complexities of trying to render metaphoric language in AVT. The present study thus uses this material to illustrate the importance of transculturality appraisal when translating culturally embedded metaphors in an audiovisual setting.

2. Defining Metaphors

The metaphor concept is very complex and has given birth to a fairly extensive field of research, aptly named ‘Metaphor Studies’, which tends to straddle the fence of linguistic and literary studies. The field has come of age and has its own scholarly journals (e.g. *Metaphor and Symbol*) and conference series (e.g. *the Metaphor Festival*). This means that there is much more to be said about metaphors than can be fitted here. We will thus try to keep it simple and just address the more basic aspects of the concept.

Aristotle said that metaphor involves “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (quoted by Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5). Thus you talk about one thing, but you actually mean another thing, and taken at face value, a metaphor is a lie. The “lie criterion” has also been used by scholars (e.g. Lindqvist 2005: 117–118) to identify metaphors: if the literal meaning cannot be true, then the truth must be that we are dealing with a metaphor in which you describe or identify one thing in terms of another thing. The thing described is often more abstract or complex, and the thing used to describe it is often more concrete or simple. In this way, metaphors assist in accessing reality. For a metaphor to work, there must be a similarity, or at least a perceived similarity (Dickins 2005: 233), between the thing described and the thing or image used to describe it. A similarity is enough, as metaphors do not map all the sense of the vehicle onto the topic. If they did, they would arguably not be metaphors.

According to Lakoff and Johnson, a metaphor is not only a feature of language production but also a way of conceptualizing the world. Conceptual or cognitive metaphors are often described formulaically, as *x* is *y*—for instance, ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 124) or the slightly milder version ARGUMENT IS FIGHT, which itself gives rise to many text-level metaphors such as ‘to receive a blow’, ‘throwing in the towel’, or to use an example from the material of the present study, where the Prime Minister is about to have an unpleasant meeting with the French ambassador and asks Sir Humphrey to join him for support. Sir Humphrey asks whether he will need any papers, and the PM replies,

- (1) Just a sponge and towel.
(YPM 2:3, 10.29¹)

In example (1), there is no actual need for a sponge and towels; if there were, the utterance would not have been metaphorical, but a prelude to an actual boxing match. Instead, we regard it as a manifestation of the ARGUMENT IS FIGHT conceptual metaphor, which could be explicitated as THIS MEETING IS A BOXING MATCH, whereby the Prime Minister communicates that the meeting will have similarities to a bout of pugilistic performance, such as verbal blows similar to the physical blows of the boxing match. I will not delve deeper into the metaphor concept here. Suffice it to say that we will call the thing that is described ‘topic’ (THIS MEETING in our earlier example); the image used to describe it will be called ‘vehicle’ (BOXING MATCH), and the similarities (e.g. the verbal/physical blows) between them will be called ‘grounds’, in accordance with Goatly’s (1997) terminology.

3. Translating Metaphors

For translation and other purposes, it is common to classify metaphors according to their degree of entrenchment in language. It has been said (by e.g. Dagut 1976; Van den Broeck 1981 and Dickins 2005) that there is a continuum or scale of metaphors from completely dead to completely original ones, and various ways of slicing up this continuum have been suggested. We will not go into any great detail about how this has been done in the past (for a further discussion on that, the reader is referred to Pedersen 2017). Suffice it to say that in this chapter, we will use a model based on Dickins (2005: 232–242), who bases his categories on an adaptation of Newmark’s (1988) list of metaphors. Dickins distinguishes between lexicalized and non-lexicalized metaphors. Lexicalized metaphors are those that language users do not always think of as metaphorical, whereas non-lexicalized ones are obvious metaphors and thus have a greater degree of what Dagut (1976: 23–24) calls “metaphor force”. Dickins’s ‘lexicalized’ metaphors are those that have entered language users’ mental lexicon and may be found in dictionaries; thus, they are part of language. He has three categories of these: dead metaphors, which in everyday use are not considered metaphorical (such as *the leg of a chair*); stock metaphors, which are the hackneyed phrases with which characters such as Jim Hacker or Sir Humphrey like to sprinkle their conversations; and, finally, recent metaphors, which have been very quickly accepted into the language, but which have not made it into the dictionaries yet. Dickins has two categories of non-lexicalized metaphors: original ones, which are produced on the spot, so to speak, and adapted metaphors, which are adaptations of lexicalized metaphors.

The main focus of this chapter will be on stock metaphors, those well-known and time-worn images that are sometimes scorned as clichés. These

are the ones that have the highest potential for causing translation problems. Previous research in the current project has shown that dead metaphors do not normally cause translation problems, as they are regarded as fully integrated language features with hardly any metaphor force. It has been argued that original metaphors do not cause translation problems (cf. e.g. Reiss 1971: 62–63), as they have no prefabricated meaning or connotations and can thus be translated more or less word for word. However, Dagut (1976: 33) points out that “the translatability of metaphor fluctuates according to the complex of cultural and linguistic factors involved in each particular case”. Thus even original metaphors may cause translation problems because of lexical and connotational differences between cultures. This is highly relevant here, as the cultural situation of a source text (ST) audience and a target text (TT) audience may differ in various degrees depending on their cultural distance. Even so, as original metaphors are brand new, they tend not to cause as many translation problems as stock metaphors, but as they can also be highly cultural, they will be briefly taken into consideration in the present study as well. Recent metaphors are very similar to stock metaphors in that they are lexicalized and would probably cause as many (or possibly even more) translation problems as stock metaphors. The problem with recent metaphors in the current investigation is that the material itself is not recent, so even though recent metaphors may have been used, they would be hard to disentangle from stock metaphors now, 30 years later. Adapted metaphors may also cause translation problems if they are based on stock metaphors, which is very often the case, so they will also be taken into consideration here. They are a fairly small category of linguistic invention, however.

4. Transculturality and Metaphors

I developed the transculturality concept for my study of extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs cf. Pedersen 2011), but the concept is also relevant for intralinguistic features, such as metaphors, as long as they are culture-specific. As Dagut indicates (1976: 33), metaphors are not only language-specific but also, to a degree, culture-specific. This can easily be verified by browsing Internet sites devoted to teaching foreigners British (e.g. at www.usingenglish.com) or American English (e.g. www.learnenglishfeelgood.com), where the lists of idioms are very long indeed. It is striking that, even though there is a great deal of overlap, there are also many that exist only in one of the cultures, such as the British idiom ‘grasp the nettle’ from the material of this project (YPM 2:7, 10.08). Granted, idioms are not the same as metaphors, but most idioms are metaphor based, and the metaphors they are based on are exactly the sort of stock metaphors we are discussing here.

To illustrate how culture-specific metaphors can be, example (2) shows off a multitude of (original) metaphors. In example (2), Sir Humphrey describes the new nuclear arms system Trident like this:

- (2) Very well, if you walked into a nuclear missile showroom you would buy Trident. It's lovely; it's elegant; it's beautiful. It is quite simply the best. And Britain should have the best. In the world of the nuclear missile, it is the Saville Row suit, the Rolls Royce Corniche, the Château Lafitte 1945. It is the nuclear missile Harrods would sell you. What more can I say?

(YPM 1:1 22.35)

It can easily be seen that all the images in Sir Humphrey's metaphors (apart from 'the Château Lafitte 1945') are very British indeed. The references that make up these images may in turn cause translation problems, which illustrates that Dagut may have been right in his opposition to Reiss's claim about the ease of translation of original metaphors. However, it should perhaps be stressed here that the translation problems stem more from the cultural references involved than from the metaphoric use of them; had the references been used denotatively, the translation problem would arguably remain.

Thus if metaphors can cause intercultural communication problems for people who speak the same language (if one is willing to accept that American and British (or rather English) English are indeed the same language), it is hardly surprising that stock metaphors may cause translation problems. This can be illustrated by the following figure (Figure 2.1):

Figure 2.1 illustrates that for each language pair, there are metaphors that only exist in the SC, which I call monocultural SC metaphors, and those that exist only in the TC, which I call monocultural TC metaphors. When I discuss monocultural metaphors, I am only referring to the cultures that are involved in a language pair that is relevant for a specific translation situation. Monocultural SC metaphors may well be shared by a host of other

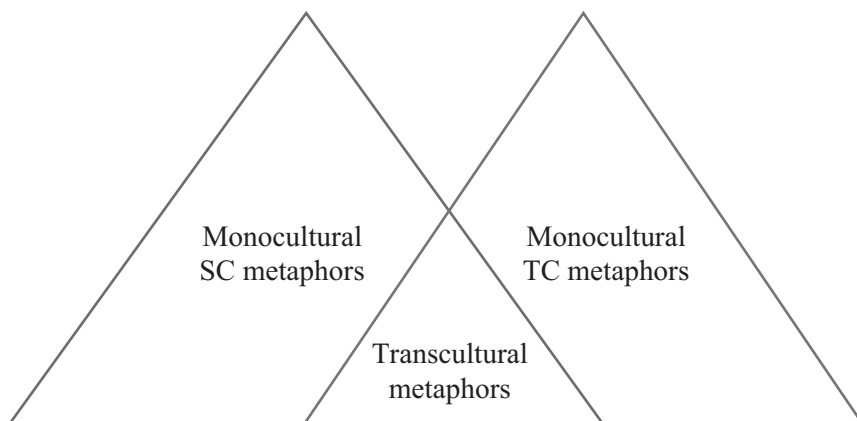


Figure 2.1 Mono- and transcultural metaphors

cultures as well, but as long as they are not shared by the TC, this is of no importance to the translation situation. In most cultures, there is a degree of overlap in what images are used for metaphors, and that is illustrated by the small triangle formed by the two bigger ones. I call these transcultural metaphors, in that they are shared by the SC and the TC (and probably by other cultures as well, but, again, that is irrelevant).

The size of the triangle of transcultural metaphors varies with cultural distance. For British and American English, this triangle would, of course, be very much larger than for, say, Swedish and Swahili. The transcultural metaphor triangle consists partly of metaphors that are of common cultural origin, such as those that stem from a common religious heritage—e.g. biblical metaphors. It also consists of metaphors that are imported from one culture to another, which means that the size of the transcultural metaphor triangle also varies over time. As Swedish, along with many other languages, tend to import much linguistic (and other) material from the Anglophone world—particularly the United States—the American/Swedish transcultural triangle has increased greatly ever since World War II and particularly in the last few decades (cf., e.g., Graedler and Kvaran 2010). For instance, it is becoming acceptable to use a metaphor such as ‘vad det kokar ner till [what it boils down to]’ in Swedish, whereas that would have been seen as complete gibberish only ten years ago. It should be pointed out, perhaps, that translation direction is all-important here: there are very few, if any, metaphors of Swedish origin in English.

5. Subtitling Metaphors

Subtitling has been described as “constrained translation” (cf. Titford 1982), but it is safe to say that all forms of translation have their constraints, at the very least those stipulated by deadlines and remuneration. There is wide consensus, however, that AVT translation constraints are more severe than those for more ‘traditional’ forms of translation, and that is particularly true for subtitling. There are three main forms of constraints, or should we say medium-specific conditions, for subtitling:

- i) Most famously, there are the time and space constraints. A subtitle normally only consists of two lines of text of a certain length, and it has to be displayed for a certain period of time. The common 12 characters per second rule (cf. Ivarsson and Carroll 1998: 64f), which stipulated that 2 lines of 36 characters (including punctuation and blank spaces) is to be exposed for 6 seconds, is now being increasingly challenged by higher reading speeds and shorter exposure times. The constraint remains, however, and it normally leads to various forms of condensation of the original verbal message.
- ii) The shift from spoken to written language. Granted, plot-bearing captions, signs, and other forms of text on screen are also normally

subtitled, but most of the verbal material in audiovisual texts is oral. This has prompted Gottlieb to call subtitling “diagonal translation”, as it “jaywalks from spoken source language to written target language” (2001: 16).

- iii) Polysemiotics (cf. Pedersen 2011: 109). In subtitling, the translation has to coexist (and ideally harmonize, cf. Pedersen 2015) with other channels of information: two verbal (spoken and written text) and two nonverbal (music and sound effects, and all the images on screen (cf. Gottlieb 1997: 143). This also means that the TT has to coexist with the ST, which is why Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 55) have dubbed (no pun intended) subtitling “vulnerable translation”.

When it comes to subtitling metaphors, the aforementioned medium-specific conditions come into play in several ways. i) The time and space constraints make it a great deal harder to explain or expand metaphors used in the ST for the benefit of the viewers, compared to many other forms of translation. There simply is not enough time or space. ii) The shift from spoken to written language can be problematic, as these two language forms follow different norms to some extent. Metaphor subtitling does not seem to suffer in particular from this shift, however, unlike other language features, such as discourse markers (cf. Mattsson 2009), false starts, and hesitations, which are all markers of orality, which metaphors are not. iii) The polysemiotics come into play in several ways. One rather severely complicating way is when there is a clash between the metaphoric image used in language and the actual images on screen. When a ST speaker uses a metaphoric image and this image is visualized in the actual images of the polysemiotic text, these can be very hard to reconcile if the metaphor is not transcultural. I have investigated this rather thoroughly elsewhere (Pedersen 2015), so suffice it to say that it is not a very common phenomenon, and most of the time, the clash can be solved by using traditional translation strategies. The subtitling of metaphors is also affected by the vulnerable translation problem, as the feedback effect of the original in certain language pairs, such as Swedish and English, can be quite severe. Many Swedes understand enough English to criticize any translation solution that is markedly different from the ST.

The strategies that are at the subtitlers’ disposal for rendering metaphors are chiefly a) image transfer—i.e. to translate the ST metaphor and to retain the image used in the vehicle; b) image substitution, where the image in the vehicle is replaced by a different one; c) reduction to sense, where the ST vehicle image is deleted and the topic is instead expanded upon; c) omission, where both the topic and the vehicle in the ST is deleted and replaced by nothing; and d) compensation, where a new image is introduced to compensate for an omission elsewhere. Which of these strategies a subtitler uses depends partly on how entrenched the ST metaphor is and partly on how transcultural it is. I have shown elsewhere (Pedersen 2017) that transcultural metaphors tend to be rendered mainly through image transfer, as this

is in line with ideas of fidelity to the ST and because of the polysemiotics. If the image is used in more or less the same way in the SC and the TC, there is no real need for not transferring it. What is more complicated, and thus more interesting, is how monocultural metaphors are rendered, and particularly monocultural stock metaphors; that is what the rest of this chapter will discuss.

6. Subtitling Monocultural Metaphors

Yes, Prime Minister is ideal as material for the present study, as the cultural distance is increased by its distance in time as well as in space. The Swedish subtitlers not only have to deal with a foreign culture, British, but also British culture in the 1980s. Unfortunately, I have not been able to procure the Swedish subtitles from when the series was aired in the 1980s, but only when they were aired again on a different channel in the 2000s.² This is a pity, as it would otherwise have been possible to see how translation solutions have changed over time and that is highly relevant in metaphor translation, as discussed earlier. The subtitlers thus had a choice of whether they would render the ST metaphors in a slightly old-fashioned way to mirror the fact that nearly three decades had gone by. Nothing seems to point at their having chosen to do so; instead, the subtitles very much reflect contemporary language use.

So how do subtitlers deal with ST metaphors? The data from the present project (Pedersen 2017) suggests that it is a three-step process. First, subtitlers identify that metaphorical language has been used. It seems likely that they apply, consciously or unconsciously, the lie criterion for this. Thus they react to something in the text that seems unlikely to be a literal use of language and then identify it as metaphorical. Second, they carry out a transculturality appraisal—i.e. they work out whether the image used as the vehicle in the ST metaphor is used in the same way in the TC. And, finally, they apply translation strategies to render the ST metaphor accessible to the TC viewers. Most of the time, there is also a step in between one and two, where subtitlers also work out the metaphor type—i.e. whether they are, for example, stock or original.

When discussing how subtitlers help viewers access ECRs—i.e. how to make sense of an utterance that contains a ST ECR—I argued that it was very important to carry out a transculturality appraisal (Pedersen 2010: 70). I claimed that there are three ways in which a viewer could access an ECR. These were i) through previous knowledge of the ECR (i.e. through intertextual or encyclopaedic knowledge), ii) from the text itself (i.e. through deixis of the verbal or nonverbal kind), or iii) through intervention by the subtitler. The transculturality appraisal was then the process of finding out if i) or ii) applied, and if not, to activate iii)—i.e. to use some form of interventional strategy to assist the viewer. This also applies to the subtitling of metaphors, albeit in a modified form, as metaphors are cultural

elements of an intralinguistic kind—i.e. they may be culture-specific—but they are always integrated in language, as opposed to ECRs. Metaphors can be either mono- or transcultural, just like ECRs, and the viewers may need help in accessing them—i.e. understand and make sense of an utterance of which they are a part. Just like in i), viewers may have previous knowledge of them—i.e. they can be part of their linguistic knowledge. Unlike the situation for ECRs in ii), however, deixis does not necessarily assist the viewer in accessing a metaphor. This is because visualizing metaphors may cause, rather than alleviate, translation problems, which I go into in detail in Pedersen (2015). They could, however, be explained through the rest of the dialogue, which is also deictic. This would mainly be the case for original metaphors and not stock metaphors, however, as there would be little need to explain a conventionalized metaphor in a ST.

The crucial question of the transculturality appraisal is how a subtitler would ascertain whether a stock metaphor is transcultural, i.e. an image shared by the SC and the TC, or monocultural, i.e. one that does not exist in the TC, at least not as a conventionalized metaphor. No doubt, the subtitler begins by introspection, as being part of the TC him- or herself. However, a good subtitler is probably aware of the fact that s/he is not representative of the average TC member, as s/he has the role of cultural mediator and is thus more knowledgeable about the SC than the average TC person (cf. Pedersen 2010: 75). Thus external sources, such as the views of more representative TC members, newspaper corpora, or, more likely, Internet searches, may be used to ascertain the transculturality status of a metaphor. After all, there are many useful idiom lists on the web as well as chat forums where people vent their pet peeves about Anglicisms and the like, which can be used to ascertain how acceptable an image is in the TC.

So how did the subtitlers of *Yes, Prime Minister* perform when it came to the transculturality appraisal of metaphors? To investigate this, I extracted and classified all the metaphors that were used in the series, both as to their degree of lexicalization and to their transculturality status. I used highly reliable reference sources as yardsticks for this in the form of a very large text corpus (*Korp*, at www.spraakbanken.gu.se/korp), and dictionaries (*The Oxford English Dictionary* at www.oed.com). The reader is referred to Pedersen (2017) for a more detailed description of this. What is of interest to us here is how they translated the stock metaphors, and particularly the monocultural stock metaphors, as that would be the best indicator of how they carried out their transculturality appraisal. I thus carried out a transculturality appraisal based on scientifically reliable reference works, and the subtitlers presumably carried out a transculturality appraisal using their tools, the result of which could be indicated by what strategies they had used. I then matched and compared the results. Granted, I have a huge advantage over the subtitlers as I had vastly more time and resources at my disposal for inquiring into individual translation decisions than they had. The results are thus not meant as criticism or quality assessment of their

work, but rather to get an insight into how this works, which in turn can tell us something about how important subtitlers consider metaphors to be.

As was found in the main investigation that the present study draws from (Pedersen 2017), the Swedish subtitlers and my appraisal matched very well. Out of the 210 stock metaphors found in the ST, I found 171 to be transcultural. Almost 70% of these were rendered using the same image by the subtitlers, and the other 30% were omitted, reduced to sense, or rendered using a different image. As explained before, there is no translational reason for rendering a transcultural stock metaphor using a different image. However, there may be subtitling reasons for doing so. The time and space constraints in particular account for most of the cases where utterances were simplified by reducing a metaphor to sense or omitted, as in example (3) where Sir Humphrey is given some ‘good’ advice in the best tradition of the civil service:

- (3) Well, I advise you consider your position carefully, perhaps adopting a more flexible posture, while keeping your ear to the ground, covering your retreat and watching your rear.

Subtitle: Tänk noga över din ställning och inta en mer flexibel hållning. Och se upp med vem du har där bak.

Back translation: Consider your position carefully and adopt a more flexible position. And beware of whom you have in your rear.

(YPM 1:5 15.10)

In example (3), we see how two transcultural stock metaphors (‘keeping your ear to the ground’ and ‘covering your retreat’) have been omitted for time and space reasons. The dialogue is rather fast-paced here, and the subtitler apparently wanted to focus on the dual entendre that could arguably be read into the final metaphor.

What is more interesting here are the slightly more than 8% of the cases that were rendered using a different image. Why would a subtitler use a different image if that ST image is used in the same way in the TC? The explanation could be that a subtitler has misjudged a transcultural metaphor as a monocultural one that needed exchanging. However, in most of these cases (and they are numerically few, only 15), it seems to be the case that even though the same vehicle can be used in the TC, the subtitler has opted for an alternative TC vehicle that was more common, or could do the job more efficiently in terms of time and space. A good example of this is example (4), where the PM has had his personal secretary, Bernard Wooley, change the locks to the communicating doors between Sir Humphrey’s office and Number Ten, to stop him from coming in unannounced. Sir Humphrey is very upset by this infringement of his unlimited access to the PM and extorts under his breath,

(4) You'll pay for this!

Subtitle: Du ska allt få!
 Back translation: I'll get you for this!
 (YPM 1:4, 23.29)

The subtitler in (4) could have opted for the same image in Swedish and rendered Sir Humphrey's utterance literally as 'Det här ska du få betala för!', which would have been perfectly idiomatic and would also have used a stock metaphor in Swedish. However, the stock metaphor she did use is also perfectly idiomatic and almost 50% shorter. Most of the 15 cases of transcultural stock metaphors rendered using different images can be explained in this way.

Monocultural stock metaphors are more problematic than transcultural ones, of course, as the subtitler will have to come up with some way of rendering them that makes sense to the viewers. Choosing the same image should thus arguably not be seen as a felicitous option here. In the material, there were 139 monocultural stock metaphors. Of these, 51 (or 36.7%) were rendered using a different image, 54 (or 38.8%) were reduced to sense, and 17 (or 12.2%) were omitted. It is interesting to note that the percentage of omitted monocultural stock metaphors were greater than the percentage of transcultural ones (which were only omitted in 8.2% of the cases). This indicates that subtitlers have a significantly higher propensity for omitting the more problematic monocultural metaphors. So strategies that could be described as interventional (using a different image, reduction to sense, and omission) account for almost nine-tenths of the monocultural metaphors. However, there were 17 instances (or 12.2%) where the same image had been used. An example of this is (5), where Sir Humphrey and the chief of defense staff are plotting to block a proposal from a minister to relocate defense units to the north. Sir Humphrey muses,

(5) I wonder whether we might not do better to play the man instead of the ball.

Subtitle: Men vore det inte bättre att gå på spelaren i stället för bollen?
 Back translation: But would it not be better to go for the player instead of the ball?

(YPM 2:1, 3.04)

In example (5), the subtitler has carried out some minor syntactical and semantic modulations, but the football-inspired image is retained. Football is a very common sport in Sweden as well as in the United Kingdom, but that particular image for the topic of attacking a person rather than her or his ideas is not used in Swedish. The image is rather transparent, and it is quite possible that the viewers will understand what Sir Humphrey means

to convey, particularly since he continues to develop his idea, meaning that the co-text helps the viewer access the image. There is a clear shift in metaphor force, however, as a Swedish viewer is bound to see the metaphor as an original one. This may alter the characterization of the privately educated, upper-middle-class civil servant as being keen on football, a traditional working-class pastime, when he is in fact only making use of a conventionalized metaphor. It seems likely that the subtitler of (5) has made a misjudgment in his transculturality appraisal and thus thought of the metaphor as, in fact, being original.

In some cases, there are other explanations, however. In example (6), Sir Humphrey is dining at his old *alma mater*, Baillie College, Oxford. They are at the brandy stage of the dinner, and the old dons are discussing the horrific traditions of the (fictitious) Middle Eastern country Qumran:

(6) MASTER OF BAILLIE: It's such an awful country. They cut people's hands off, and women get stoned when they commit adultery.

SIR HUMPHREY: Unlike Britain, where they commit adultery when they get stoned. (Canned laughter.)

Subtitle: Det är ett hemskt land.
De hugger händerna av folk.
Kvinnor stenas för äktenskapsbrott.
Här begår de äktenskapsbrott när de är stenade.

Back translation: It is an awful country.
They cut the hands off people.
Women are stoned for adultery.
Here they commit adultery when they are stoned.
(YPM 1:7, 7.13)

The metaphoric meaning of 'stoned' has just a short history in Swedish. A corpus search reveals that the vast majority of uses of 'stenad' is non-metaphoric, and those that refer to the metaphoric meaning tend to be more recent and/or from blog texts, which tend to be rather avant-garde in their language use. When this subtitle was produced, the metaphor must thus have been seen as an original one by the viewers, and an opaque one at that (if you discount the possibility that they have encountered it in English, which is not completely unlikely). Given the context of the co-text, which builds up this pun based on antimetabole and the canned laughter, there is reason to suspect that the subtitler thought he had no choice but to retain the image, even at the risk of being opaque and altering the metaphor force of the text.

Apart from the co-text in the dialogue and the polysemiotic input from the canned laughter, the nonverbal visuals may be used to explain what at first seems to be an erroneous transculturality appraisal that leads to increased metaphor force. In example (7), Sir Humphrey sits at a table with a flower arrangement as centerpiece, pontificating about the prominence of the upper echelons of the civil service:

(7) SIR HUMPHREY (Looks at floral decoration on table): We are the flower of government, Bernard. (Holds hands over flower)

Subtitle: Vi är styrets blomma, Bernard.

Back translation: We are the flower of the reign, Bernard.

(YPM 2:5, 2.5)

The solution chosen in (7) is rather strikingly original in Swedish. However, the presence of the floral centerpiece and Sir Humphrey's focus on it leads one to the conclusion that it was the attention to polysemiotic interplay, rather than a faulty transculturality appraisal, that led the subtitler to choose that particular solution.

All in all, there were many cases in which the image of a monocultural stock metaphor had been retained in the subtitles that can be explained by influences from the verbal context (as in (6)) or the nonverbal context (as in (7)). Only seven of the cases were of the kind of (5), where an image was retained for no discernible reason other than a less felicitous transculturality appraisal.

7. Conclusions

A close inspection of the stock metaphors employed in the TV series *Yes, Prime Minister* and the Swedish subtitled solutions to this rather complex translation problem shows quite conclusively that subtitlers are aware of transculturality and adapt their solutions to aid the viewers in making sense of it. Subtitlers not only treat metaphors of different kinds (dead, stock, original, etc.) in different ways but also treat them differently depending on whether they are trans- or monocultural, as indicated by their choice of translation solution.

There are only a few cases where the metaphor force of a stock metaphor has been changed so that a stock metaphor is perceived as original, and in most of these cases, it seems clear that the subtitler prioritized polysemiotic interplay over metaphor force. It also seems clear that subtitlers consider metaphors to be an important language feature, considering the effort they put into rendering them in a felicitous way. Methodologically, it has, hopefully, been shown that the choice of strategy is indicative of the process of transculturality appraisal. This appraisal is only one factor in the decision-making process, however, and others, such as polysemiotic interplay, have to be taken into account as well.

Notes

- 1 In the present chapter, reference to the audiovisual text will be given by YPM for the name of the series (*Yes, Prime Minister*), followed by series number: episode number and time in minutes and seconds.
- 2 I am grateful to BTI Studios Sweden for their cooperation in supplying the subtitling files.

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3 Politeness Goes to the Scaffold

Forms of Address in Polish and Italian Translations of Tudor Films and Television Series

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1. Introduction

Forms of address, defined as “performative utterances which by means of pronominal, nominal, verbal and attributive expressions create a particular socially defined degree and character of distance between interlocutors in a direct act of verbal communication” (Szarkowska 2013: 23), constitute a fascinating yet complex area of research, which evades simple categorisation. Explored within the frameworks of descriptive grammar, contrastive linguistics, sociology of culture and, above all, sociolinguistics, they pose a considerable analytical challenge.¹ Used in dialogue exchanges to shape interpersonal dynamics on screen, they have also made their way into audiovisual translation (AVT) studies.²

Traditional approaches divide pronominal address into familiar T (an abbreviation of the Latin *tu*) and polite V (an abbreviation of the Latin *vos*) forms, and interpret them in terms of power and solidarity semantics (Brown and Gilman 1960: 252–282; for more recent applications, see for instance Clyne et al. 2009). It is, however, the nominal address with its shades of cultural and emotional meaning that is far more difficult to explain: similar forms, such as first name, second-person address, may serve different functions in different languages. Since one of the main roles of film dialogue is to determine and shape the nature of relationships between the characters, it is not so much the ambiguous second-person pronominal address *you* (which demands either polite or familiar interpretation), but nominal address forms that create problems in AVT from English into other languages.

In our chapter, we consider the challenges that Polish and Italian screen translators face in their rendition of English forms of address.³ We adopt a descriptive framework proposed by Szarkowska (2013) in her insightful study of address patterns in subtitling. The author distinguishes between appellative and clausal forms of address. The former category comprises pronominal and noun phrases (first names, last names, titles and attributes), which are syntactically and prosodically apart from the main body of the

sentence and take frontal, middle or final position (Szarkowska 2013: 64). It subsumes two subcategories: *calls*, which capture the interlocutor's attention and identify him/her as an addressee ("Your Grace, the queen is with child", from *Elizabeth*, Shekhar Kapur 1998), and *addresses*, which identify the addressee and serve to maintain contact ("I am in agreement, Your Grace", *ibid.*) (Szarkowska 2013: 66–67). The latter category are forms integrated into the clause ("He has a repugnance for it, as lately Your Grace has for mine", *ibid.*). They often combine pronominal and verbal forms of address, although they can also subsume verbless clauses (Szarkowska 2013: 72).

Although Szarkowska's excellent monograph offers a comprehensive overview of different approaches and problems related to forms of address, it cannot possibly exhaust all the potential aspects of this complex field and invites further inter-cultural and genre-specific analyses. One of the less explored problems is the use of address forms in historical productions. In Poland, Szarkowska's monograph has touched upon the problem in passing, while in Italy, a number of papers have acknowledged the issue, focusing especially on nineteenth-century representations, such as Ulrych's (1996) classical analysis of Italian dubbing for *The French Lieutenant's Woman* or Bruti's (2013) reflection on forms of address in *Sense and Sensibility*.

In our study, however, we decided to inspect instead British and American films and television series set in the Elizabethan era. We believe that they are especially attractive for an analysis of forms of address in translation, because, regardless of their production date, they constitute a compact and highly conventionalised material: they portray almost exclusively the royal court, populated by the same figures: Elizabeth, Queen of England; Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester; Francis Walsingham; Mary, Queen of Scots; Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex; and a relatively small group of supporting characters, who are predominantly historical and hence recurrent. This implies that the types of interactions between the interlocutors and the situations in which they hold conversations are also analogous and recurrent, and can reveal potential regularities in the Polish and Italian translation of these productions.

In our analysis, we studied address strategies used by Anglophone screenwriters as well as Italian and Polish translators. We wished to answer the following questions:

- Do the original English dialogues mirror the historical norms of address in the Tudor era?
- Are Polish and Italian strategies of translating historical forms of address similar or divergent? What are the reasons for potential discrepancies?
- Do alternative translation modes (subtitling, dubbing, voice-over) significantly differ in their treatment of historical forms of address?

We analysed a number of Elizabethan productions spanning over seven decades of American and British filmmaking, starting from the Hollywood

Table 3.1 Film and television productions and the number of available translations included in the corpus

<i>Production Title</i>	<i>Polish Voice-Over</i>	<i>Polish Subtitles</i>	<i>Italian Dubbing</i>	<i>Italian Subtitles</i>
<i>The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex</i> 1939	0	1	2	1
<i>The Virgin Queen</i> 1955	0	0	1	1
<i>Elizabeth R</i> 1971	1 (voice-over/ dubbing)	0	0	0
<i>Elizabeth</i> 1998	1	1	1	1
<i>Elizabeth I</i> 2005	2	1	1	1
<i>Elizabeth: The Golden Age</i> 2007	1	1	1	1

romantic drama *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (Michael Curtiz 1939), with Bette Davis and Erroll Flynn, and finishing with an international coproduction *Elizabeth: The Golden Age* (Shekhar Kapur 2007), with Australian actress Cate Blanchett in the leading role. We examined the transcriptions of original dialogues and all the available translations into Italian (dubbing and subtitles) and Polish (voice-over and subtitles, with selected episodes of the *Elizabeth R* BBC miniseries, 1971, available in dubbing). Wherever possible, we compared alternative dubbed and voiced-over versions of the same film. A detailed list of productions included in our corpus is presented in Table 3.1.⁴

2. Preliminary Remarks

Diachronic changes in systems of address are propelled by two main factors: the evolution of the language system and the social transformations that affect a given speech community. In our case, forms of address in the original dialogues should reflect the norms and conventions of the Early Modern English (that is the stage of language development coinciding with the accession of the Tudor dynasty to the throne at the end of the fifteenth century and lasting roughly until the end of the seventeenth century), and the social hierarchy which regulated interpersonal relations at the Elizabethan Court. Numerous written testimonies, letters, documents and literary texts allow for a credible reconstruction of the historical forms of address and their appropriate use. Film dialogue, however, is not meant to be a faithful replica of the past. The real addressees of screen conversations are not the interlocutors, but contemporary viewers. Hence irrespective of the enthusiasm with which marketing departments emphasise the authenticity of period detail, the main ambition of historical productions is to engage with the audience and create a product that meets their needs and expectations. Thus the stylistic strategies used by original screenwriters naturally oscillate between two contradictory necessities: (1) to maintain and strengthen the

impression of historical authenticity conjured up by visual and nonverbal auditory means and (2) to adapt the language to the perceptual abilities of the viewers, who need dialogues to explain those on-screen aspects of the past which are hard to interpret.

3. The English Versions

As far as the originals are concerned, British and American screenwriters proved consistent in their portrayal of the Elizabethan system of address. They unanimously ignored the T/V distinction between singular (*thou/thee*) and plural (*ye/you*) second-person pronouns, which started to fade during Queen Elizabeth's reign. The form *thou* was perceived as marked (Walker 2007), but it was still used in William Shakespeare's plays. Thus, theoretically, the filmic queen could have used the pronoun *thou* towards a subject of hers to express intimacy or resentment, but the screenwriters preferred *you* instead in singular and plural address. The only exceptions are those rare occasions in which ritualized forms of language, such as prayers, songs or marriage vows, are being quoted. For instance, in Henry Koster's *The Virgin Queen* (1955), we did come across this pronominal form in a religious hymn: "*Thou* knowest the dreadful dangers of the deep, the storms that rise, the whirlpools that engulf".

Generally, however, the task of emphasising the unfamiliarity of the past and conveying the social and emotional dynamics falls mainly on appellative forms of address, especially titles and ranks. They additionally help the viewers find their way in the complex labyrinth of dependencies that connect Elizabethan characters populating the screen. The rules of address in English have been for years regulated by a set of precise sociolinguistic conventions, specifying the possible combinations of titles and names. For instance, Sir Walter Raleigh, the famous Elizabethan writer and explorer, who often appears on big and small screens, could be officially addressed as *Sir Walter*, *Master Raleigh* or *Captain Raleigh*, but never *Sir Raleigh*. Another photogenic historical figure, Sir William Cecil, could be addressed as *Baron Burghley*, the *Lord Treasurer*, *Lord Burghley*, *My Lord Treasurer* or *Sir William*, but not *Sir Cecil*. These conventions facilitate the screenwriters' task, but at the same time, they expose all the potential errors or anachronisms. In the analysed corpus, such situations have not been observed since the authors followed closely the Elizabethan titular conventions.

Thus the queen is being addressed as *Your Majesty*, *Majesty*, *Madam*, *Ma'am Your Grace*. Nobles and members of the gentry are addressed with their respective titles, names and, optionally, attributes. The filmic nobles are thus correctly addressed as *Your Grace*, *My Lord/Lady* or with their honorific title lord preceding the first or last name (*Lord Essex*, *Lord Robert*, *My Lady Essex*). Members of the gentry are addressed with an honorific title such as *Sir* or *Master/Mistress*, optionally followed by an appropriate selection of first names or surnames (*sir*, *Sir Walter*, *Master Bacon*, *Schoolmaster*

Bacon, Bacon, Mistress Margaret). Lovers and friends, regardless of their social positions, address each other with their first names (*Robert, Bess*) or terms of endearment (*my darling, my sweet*).

All these nominative forms of address can either function as calls or addresses. They can also be integrated into the structure of the clause triggering third-person address, which connotes additional power distance (*“Your Grace will find some proof of her treachery”*) (*Elizabeth*). In general, dialogues in British and American productions, both classical and contemporary, use similar address strategies.

4. The Italian Versions

The Italian system of address forms has been long based on the tripartition of the second-person singular address *tu*, third-person singular address *lei* and second-person plural address *voi* (Serianni 2000: 7). In the twentieth century, the system has undergone transformation, but it still displays strong regional variations. In sixteenth-century Italian, *voi* was considered a neutral form, *tu* was a familiar address used towards servants and children and third-person singular *lei* was very formal and conveyed deference and respect towards the speaker’s superiors (Niculescu 1974).

However, both in original and translated historical productions, Italians avoid formal address *lei* in favour of the overgeneralised form *voi*, which apparently gives the filmic world an air of historicity. Thus an audiovisual norm prevails over historical uses, as *lei* would have been preferred by Italian contemporaries of Elizabethans.

Although the stiff hierarchical structure of the royal court facilitates formal interactions, some scenes pose a well-known problem of interpreting the level of familiarity between the characters who address each other with the second-person singular *you*. This concerns the dialogues which convey intimacy transcending the protagonists’ hierarchical positions. While Italian subtitles tend to use the official form *voi* automatically in all contexts, dubbing proves more adventurous and occasionally introduces the familiar address *tu*. We find some interesting examples of this tendency, for instance, in *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex*, when Sir Francis Bacon instructs his friend, Lord Essex, how to regain the queen’s favour, or in *The Virgin Queen*, where Elizabeth’s lady-in-waiting, Elizabeth Throckmorton, gradually warms towards Sir Walter Raleigh.

Interestingly, a comparison between the two dubbed versions of *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* shows that particular scenes differ in terms of register, and these differences do not stem from a diachronic evolution of norms (one version is much older than the other). For instance, in the older dubbing, Francis Bacon uses familiar address towards Lord Essex, but the queen uses polite address *voi* towards her ladies-in-waiting. In the more recent dubbing, the strategy is reversed. This demonstrates how arbitrary the translators’ decisions are and how difficult it is to interpret the

social and hierarchical relations in a foreign historical reality. The matter is more important than expected, because the degree of politeness that the queen, known for her impetuous, domineering temper, displays towards her courtiers, certainly affects the way in which her personality and behaviour are perceived.

We also observed that appellative forms are consistently retained in Italian dubbing and subtitles. They are either transferred, calqued or simplified, but they are hardly ever omitted. When it comes to particular forms, certain inconsistencies can be found in the translation of the form *Sir*, depending on its function. Used as a title combined with the first name and the family name (e.g., *Sir Francis*, *Sir Walter Raleigh*), it is often transferred in the original form. Used in the sentence-final position as an honorific (with no proper name attached), it is either transferred (*sir*) or translated (*signore*).⁵ The dialogue adapters are consistent in their individual choices, but significant differences can be noticed between alternative renditions of the same film, such as the dubbed (*Era mio padre, signore*) and subtitled versions (*Era mio padre, sir*) of *The Virgin Queen*. These discrepancies are not related to the translation mode, but to their authors' personal preferences. The title *Mister* is always rendered as *signor* (*Signor Raleigh*), both in dubbing and in subtitles.

Although many of the English borrowings have not been conventionalised in Italian, they are easy to accept, because nominal expressions are widely used by Italians, even though they are optional. In English, by contrast, they are obligatory, because the language lacks other grammatical signals of deference. Thus even though such English calques as the use of last-name address in sentence-final position (*In questo voi e io ci differenziamo, Walsingham* in *Elizabeth: The Golden Age*) do not sound natural in Italian, they may be accepted as unobtrusive signals of the "exoticism" of the past.

Among masculine titles, it is *Master* that poses the greatest difficulty in translation. It was used in Elizabethan times towards one's superiors, instructors and all men of respect and learning, transforming gradually into the contemporary form *Mister* (Nevalainen 2006: 138). As an address form, it is both antiquated and comprehensible, so it often appears in the analysed dialogues contributing to their archaic stylisation. In Italian, the first equivalent that comes to mind is the form *signore*, yet in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it would not have been used by a sovereign towards a person of lower rank, and it does not collocate with the last name, with the only acceptable combination being that with a rank, as in *signor conte*.

On the other hand, Italians have at their disposal the archaic form *mastro*, which is etymologically related to the English *Master* (from Latin, *magister*) and is also considered obsolete, hence a temptation to perceive them as equivalent (*Dizionario Treccani on-line*). Unfortunately, the Italian word was historically used in the southern regions of Italy towards burghers and skilled craftsmen, and it immediately evokes associations with either the title of Giovanni Verga's popular novel *Mastro don Gesualdo* about a parvenu

(*mastro*) who dreams of social advancement (*don*) or, still worse, with the name of the famous detergent brand *Mastro Lindo* (Mr Clean).

In result, the English address form *Master* triggers a variety of translation solutions. An analysis of the entire corpus demonstrates that *Master* is most often rendered as *mastro*. The other strategies include the omission of the honorary title (*Walsingham* instead of *Master Walsingham*) and its replacement with an equivalent *maestro* (*Maestro Bacon* instead of *Master Bacon*), with a different title (*Capitano Raleigh* instead of *Master Raleigh*) or with the first name (*Francis Bacon* instead of *Master Bacon*). Only occasionally do the translators choose atypical or even veritably bizarre solutions, such as *Monsignor Bacon*.

As concerns forms of address directed towards women, the appellative *Mistress* has proved even more unwieldy than its masculine equivalent. Rendering it as *signorina* or *signora* would border on anachronism, while the historical equivalent *domna* sounds out of place at the Elizabethan court because of its strong culture-specific connotation. Since honorific titles cannot be omitted if they precede the names of female protagonists (to address a lady-in-waiting simply by her Christian name would be excessively rude), Italian translators take desperate measures to solve the problem. Hence one and the same *Mistress Margaret* can turn into *Madamigella Margaret*, *Donna Margaret*, *Lady Margaret* or *Madama Margaret*, with the latter two grossly misrepresenting the social status of the character in question, *madama* being a title reserved for married women and *lady + first name* appellative used only towards daughters of an earl.

Overall, the translation of Elizabethan forms of address into Italian demonstrates that despite the established norm of polite pronominal address (the historicising *voi*) and despite the similar distribution of nominal structures in the source and target languages, the interpretation of hierarchical relations at the English court is not an easy task for the translators, while a lack of equivalent titles and honorifics may deform the image of social relations presented on-screen.

5. The Polish Versions

Polish translators, by contrast, are faced with a serious difficulty, because the source and target address systems are diachronically incompatible. Contemporary standard Polish makes a distinction between familiar second-person pronominal address (*ty* in singular and *wy* in plural) and non-familiar, third-person pronominal address (*pan/pani* in singular and *panie/panowie/państwo* in plural). Hence it expresses deference by pronominal and verbal means, and makes a relatively sparser use of nominal address. Polite third-person address, however, has evolved only in the second half of the eighteenth century (Łoś 1916: 9). Earlier, second-person address was used in all interactions, combined—as in English of today—with a complex network of nominal address forms. Although these parallels may seem handy

in rendering historical dialogues from English, they are in fact the reverse, because the titles and honorifics coined in Old Polish reflected the ideals of the Polish Noble Democracy (Davies 1979/2005: 246), and the social and hierarchical relations of an ostensibly self-governing community dominated by the land-owning gentry. These relations were culture-specific and had no equivalents in other European countries. Even the pronominal forms used in Poland at least until the end of the eighteenth century (Chmielowiec 1924: 17–22; Rachwał 1992: 41–49; Wojtan 1996: 81–87) were unique, because they blended complex nominal phrases. For instance, *waćpan* was derived from an attributive nominal form *wasza miłość pan* and *waszmość* from another attributive phrase, *wasza miłość* (Gloger 1985: 420; for further discussion, see Szarkowska 2013: 76). This puts the Polish translators of historical films in a particularly difficult position while transferring forms of address: Polish nominal address system is historically non-equivalent to the Elizabethan system, and, furthermore, it has a strong cultural connotation and maps a radically different social and hierarchical order. Hence the Polish translators are faced with an arduous task of inventing their own representation of Tudor power relations, combining some aspects of the Polish historical patterns of social interaction with those borrowed from the English original.

A relatively simple (but by no means easy) issue was finding a way to address the queen. The Polish Noble Democracy was after all a form of elective monarchy, so certain formal conventions acknowledged the hierarchical position of the sovereign. As mentioned earlier, the original dialogues contain such titles and honorifics as *Your Majesty*, *Majesty*, *Your Grace*, *Ma'am*, *Madam*. None of these has an exact equivalent in the target language. Although the noun *majestat* ('majesty'), which pertains to the dignity and power of a monarch, exists in Polish, it has never been used in direct address. Consequently, the queen is being addressed with nominative forms conventionalised in Polish: *Wasza Wysokość*, *Wasza Królewska Mość*, *Wasza Miłość*, *pani*. These are either used as appellatives, combined with second-person singular address or integrated into the clause structure and combined with third-person verbal forms.

The modes of addressing the nobility and gentry in translation are by contrast much more experimental. Selected West European titles, such as *hrabia* ('count') or *książe* ('earl') (but not *baron* or *duke*, for example), were imported from abroad, because they were granted to certain Polish families by foreign monarchs in the sixteenth century and to certain foreign families by the Polish monarchs in the seventeenth century (Doroszewski 1958–1969), yet they did not have any legal power (Gloger 1985: 391–402). Other titles have been documented in foreign literature and historiography. That is why the Polish translators transfer such titles as *Lord* and *Lady* in their original form. While rendering forms of address towards the members of nobility, for instance *Your Grace*, they resort to such creative solutions as *Wasza Miłość* (literally, 'your mercy'), *Wasza Wysokość* ('your highness')

or simply *panie*, a vocative with a wide semantic scope subsuming various relations of subjection towards the addressee (roughly equivalent to such English honorifics as *My Lord*, *Sir* or *Master*). *Sir* used as an honorific is transferred in its original shape, translated into a vocative form *panie* or omitted. When it is used as a title preceding the name, it is transferred in its original form.

Still, the most problematic issue in translation is the juxtaposition of titles and proper names in nominal address. Translators often transfer the English structures, adapting them morphologically to the Polish requirements of the vocative case. Hence, English appellatives such as *Lord Robert*, *My Lord Essex*, *Sir Francis*, *Master Bacon* are addressed in Polish as *lordzie Robercie* (vocative + vocative), *lordzie Essex* (vocative + uninflected form), *Hrabio Essex* (vocative + uninflected form), *sir Francisie* (uninflected form + vocative) and *panie Bacon* (vocative + uninflected form). An obvious advantage of this solution is its simplicity and an obvious disadvantage—everything else. Firstly, it violates a strict Polish rule prohibiting the combination of honorary titles with first names and last names in direct address (Jakubowska 1999: 44–48; Huszcza 2005: 218–233). The only exception could be the vocative nominal structure *panie* + title + last name (e.g. *panie pułkowniku Wołodyjowski*). Secondly, such borrowed nominal addresses should be inflected and marked for vocative case. This poses a morphological difficulty, because inflection of foreign names is not always conventionalised in Polish (such vocative combinations as *sir Francisie Walsinghamie* or *sir Walterze Raleighu* would be barely pronounceable, not to mention their awkwardness in voice-over performance). Hence they are often used in nominative, which sounds either foreign or informal to the Polish audience.⁶ In *Elizabeth*, for instance, Mary of Guise addresses Walsingham: “*Sir Francis*, you and I must be honest with each other.” In Polish, the translation reads, *Sir Francis* (nominative forms), *ty i ja możemy pozwolić sobie na szczerłość*. The most natural solution for the Poles would involve complex polite address composed of honorification title *pan* + professional title or rank, such as *panie hrabio* (‘my lord’), *panie kanclerzu* (‘my lord chancellor’), *panie namiestniku* (‘my lord governor’). That, however, would impoverish the semantic content of the English expressions, which often remind the viewer who the characters are. Besides, the structure could not be correctly used with some noble ranks (for instance, it would be impossible to say *panie lordzie*).

As in Italian, the feminine forms of address test the translators’ imagination. Historical varieties of Polish did not practice addressing women with their ranks and titles. Although it allowed respectful forms of reference, which reflected the social status of a woman’s husband (for instance, the magistrate’s wife was referred to as *pani sędzina* and lord chamberlain’s wife *pani podkomorzyna*), these polite forms were not used in direct address. The only customary expressions would be pronominal forms *panna* (for unmarried women) and *pani* (for married women), which gave rise to

such blends as *waćpanna* (*wasza miłość panna*), *waćpani*, *acani*, *pani* or *jejmość*.

Interactions between family members were dominated by informal address. Thus a husband (even in aristocratic families) turned to his wife with her first name, often modifying it to hypocorisms (*Zosieńku*, *Marysieńko*). This radically departs from both English and Italian customs. A woman could also be addressed by means of *panno/pani* + first name form (*panno Anno*), but the collocations combining the pronominal *pani* with foreign titles, such as *pani hrabino* ('my lady countess') have only appeared in Poland at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the combination of *panno/pani* + last name was also accepted. However, the latter structures, used very rarely, sound pejorative, disrespectful and emphasise the superiority of the speaker.

As with masculine forms of address, the Polish translators transfer the title *lady* combined with first name or last name (*lady Knollys*, *lady Elżbieto*), which sounds notably foreign to the target audience (for example, "You blush, *Lady Knollys*" turns into *Rumienisz się, lady Knollys*, in *Elizabeth*). Since difficulties faced by the Polish translators are legion, it is no surprise that they either replace direct address with impersonal constructions or willingly eliminate nominal forms of address. This tendency stems from at least two reasons. Firstly, the Polish language uses them more sparsely than English and Italian, so their omission is not only natural but also necessary to make the utterances flow. Secondly, both voice-over, which is the dominant mode of AVT on Polish television, and subtitling require condensation and reduction, with the former being even more concise than the latter. Hence, calls and addresses are often omitted, while clausal forms of address in the second person singular are retained. Thus in *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex*, the queen addresses her ladies-in-waiting with astounding familiarity: *Penelopo* or *Margaret*, instead of *Mistress Margaret*, and appellatives often disappear from translation. For instance, a piece of advice directed at the queen ("Madam, we must with all haste raise an army to march upon Scotland. . . . There is no time for that") transforms into familiar address in Polish (*Musimy utworzyć wojsko i ruszyć na Szkocję. . . . Nie ma czasu! Działaj!*). The queen's remark directed at her noble interlocutor ("I do not say I will not marry, *Lord Burghley*") suffers the loss of address form: *Nie odmawiam wyjścia za mąż* (*Elizabeth I*, Tom Hooper 2005).

Although such a decrease in nominal forms of address complies with the Polish language norm and helps avoid awkward and unnatural forms, it undermines the precise hierarchy of social relations at Elizabethan court and may impede the viewers' orientation in power distance relations, which were part of a historical reality less familiar to the Polish viewers than to British or American recipients. Since the removed titles and honorifics cannot be replaced—for the reasons explained earlier—with analogous Polish forms, the relationships between characters in the Polish version become more familiar and—in a way—egalitarian. The queen is approached with less

reverence, and she approaches her subjects, above all her ladies-in-waiting, with rough straightforwardness. The question to what extent this apparent modification of language etiquette affects the perception of the film remains to be answered, yet it certainly deserves deeper reflection.

6. Conclusions

In our research, we observed that the Anglophone scripts follow consistently the conventions of nominal address preserved in the English language. This lends credibility to the historical representations and constitutes an important element of the verbal costume.

In Italian subtitles and dubbing, the audiovisual norms seem to prevail over strict historical accuracy. Namely, the second person plural form *voi* is predominantly used to signal temporal distance and denote evident social asymmetry. However, some interactions, for example those of greater symmetry or familiarity, appear ambiguous to translators. It is therefore not unusual to find differences in the use of *tu* or *voi* forms in different translations of similar verbal exchanges. Secondly, both Italian dubbers and subtitlers retain almost all appellatives that appear in the original, using the strategies of transfer or loan translation of English courtesy titles, although the range of appellatives used in Italian translation is more limited. Also, the comparison of Italian dubbings from different periods revealed that they are in fact quite similar in their treatment of forms of address. This seems to suggest that the norms of presenting social interactions in historical films are well established in Italian AVT and have not undergone significant changes over time.

In contrast, strategies in Polish are much more flexible and individual. Wherever possible, the translators use established Polish nominal addresses, such as *Miłościwy Panie* or *Wasza Miłość*, but they also resort to improvised solutions based on calque and direct transfer, such as *milordzie* or *lordzie Burgbley*. In the latter case, they arbitrarily choose between vocative and nominative forms (*Williamie* vs. *Sir William, Bacon, Walsingham*), which influences the stylistic value of dialogue exchanges. Furthermore, the translators often omit appellatives, yet retain second-person singular address, which radically lowers the degree of politeness and makes power relations less transparent and more contemporary in tone. These inconsistencies may be due to several factors. Firstly, they contribute to the necessary condensation and reduction. Secondly, the Polish address system has undergone a significant diachronic change and the historical forms, now obsolete, carry a culture-specific connotation with the “egalitarianism” of the Polish Noble Democracy, which renders them unsuitable for Elizabethan productions.

Finally, while in our research we took into consideration all translation techniques—that is, dubbing, voice-over and subtitles in Polish versions, and dubbing and subtitles in Italian versions—we did not observe any significant influence of a given audiovisual mode on the strategies of translating forms of address. Indeed, Italian dubbing and subtitling use similar

strategies regardless of technique, and the same tendency can be observed in Polish. Hence they seem more dependent on linguistic and cultural constraints than technical requirements of respective AVT modes.

Notes

- 1 The body of work on forms of address is so extensive that its detailed description exceeds the scope of this chapter. For an exhaustive list of references, see Szarkowska (2013).
- 2 Forms of address have attracted the attention of numerous AVT scholars. Among those who share our interest in historical forms of address in screen translation, one can mention, for instance, Ulrych 1996: 139–60; Bruti and Perego 2008: 11–51; Bruti and Zanotti 2012: 167–92; Szarkowska 2013. For the most recent lists of references, see Bruti 2013 and Szarkowska 2013.
- 3 Research financed by Poland’s National Science Centre as part of the 2013/11/B/HS2/02890 grant, “Film Genre and Audiovisual Translation Strategies. A Case Study in Historical Film.”
- 4 For detailed information on DVD editions and translations analysed, see the filmography. The Italian dubbing and subtitles have neither been credited with author names nor production dates.
- 5 Italians use *signore* as a stand-alone form and *signor* as an honorific title preceding a professional title or a name.
- 6 For the discussion of nominative and vocative nominal address in Polish, see Szarkowska 2013: 70–71.

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Part II

Representational Practices Across Different AVT Modes



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4 “Free Free . . . Set them Free”

What Deconstraining Subtitles Can Do for AVT

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1. Introduction

This chapter focusses on audiovisual translation (AVT) as a site of representational practice and sets out, following Guillot (2012: 489–490), the capacity of audiences “to respond to otherness in form and language [. . .] that challenge the traditional ideals of readability and invisibility”. AVT, as is well known, is characterised by a series of constraints. The most obvious is the deletion of text itself. Eugeni (2016: 55) estimates that between 22% and 75% of the actual language uttered in film is not reproduced in subtitles because of space constraints. Also, as Assis Rosa (2001: 216) points out, “Subtitles ignore expressive and phatic functions; leave out interpersonal involvement and informative signals; prosody and paralinguistic signs, omit overlaps, repetitions, hesitations, expletives, interjections and forms of address, among others; omit expressive illocutionary acts” and more. Thirdly, and equally important, subtitles redirect the viewer’s gaze away from the film director’s directed viewing of the film and, in particular, away from the actors on screen. Indeed, as Danny Boyle points out, when you add subtitles, “you don’t watch the film—you read the film and you scan occasionally to the actors” (Beckman 2008).

Finally, subtitling, like all forms of translation, suffers from its focus on the text and not on the context; or rather subtitling rarely if at all takes account of what the viewer brings to the text. Yet, in reality, the meaning of any sign, whether it be verbal or visual, will depend on how it is contextualised (Hall 1959, 1976), and this contextualisation includes the context of culture (Malinowski 1923/1994), which has to be shared ‘enough’ for communication to function as intended.

Assuming that the subtitler is attempting to go beyond a textcentric focus towards a mindful translation (Katan 2014), she will need to provide a new set of signs for her target viewers so that they (presuming that this is the *skopos*) can access, appreciate and enjoy the film in a way that the original audience would. This means not only providing the language but also, more than anything else, accounting for what is implicit or tacit for the original audience, such as extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs) (Pedersen 2011).

As Polanyi (1966: 4) stated, when we are insiders, we have tacit knowledge, which allows us to “know more than we can tell”, which logically is often lost in a textcentric translation, creating what Antonini and Chiaro (2005) call “lingua-cultural drop[s] in translational voltage”. The subtitler’s task, then, is to intervene when the cultural distance between the two realities is such that the voltage is perceptively reduced and the references are distorted or lost. This suggests that the subtitler must take on the role of a ‘transcreator’ (Katan 2016), or even learn from the fansubbers and be a ‘co-creator’ (Pérez-González 2014: 78–85).

Much comedy thrives on what is not said but on what is alluded to. Allusions, of course, only work when there is intertextuality and a culturally shared model of representation. The comic effect is achieved through successfully communicating at a meta-level, one which binds ‘us’ together in what Booth (1974: 41) calls “a superior dwelling place”. He explains, “Often the predominant emotion [. . .] is that of joining, of finding and communing with kindred spirits”. An example from *The Catherine Tate Show* (Tate 2004), a popular BBC comedy series that will be referred to later, is the following. Two female office workers are talking:

CATHERINE TATE: Guess where my hairdresser is from.
 COLLEAGUE: Norfolk!
 [Studio audience laughter]
 CATHERINE TATE: Norfolk! Norfolk! They don’t have hairdressers in Norfolk!
 [Studio audience laughter]

For this particular gag, the audience needs to share some relevant knowledge, or common cognitive ground (Holden and von Kortzfleisch 2004: 128–129), about Norfolk that makes it logical to presume that the place is an extremely unlikely location for an outstanding hairdresser to be from. Outside of the United Kingdom it is unlikely that an audience, whether English speaking or not, has much idea about Norfolk.¹

Now the UK audience does not ‘know’ what explicitly makes Norfolk an unlikely place for hairdressers. They will be relying on what Desilla (2014) calls presumed or preferred communicative meaning or implicature. What will be suggested here is that the subtitler must also imagine the preferred communicative meaning and hence take on a much more authorial role, intervening with her or his own mental projection and second-guessing the implicature.

In translation studies, the idea of ‘thick translation’ has been suggested as a way forward for translators to account for tacit knowledge. This concept was developed by Appiah (1993) and Hermans (2003) and has been touched on in AVT (Perego 2010: 48; Katan 2014; Pérez-González 2014: 78). Simply put, full communicative meanings are complex and are rooted in culture rather than in the text itself. Geertz (1973: 5–6) explains that these meanings can be made explicit through a “thick description”, which includes not

only the level of information but also includes meta-levels, which include commentary and interpretation. The more levels of interpretation, the thicker the description. What Appiah and Hermans suggest is that the translator should intervene and add explications and glosses in the text, commentaries in footnotes and so on. Traditional subtitling, of course, constrained as it is, cannot entertain any form of thick translation given that accepted practice allows an absolute maximum of 3 lines and 32–34 characters per line (Williams 1998). Indeed, ‘reduction’ (along with diamesic variation and translation) is one of the three characterising features of subtitling (Perego 2005). As to explicit intervention, the BBC guidelines, for example, do allow a subtitler some creativity. Subtitlers may, for instance, “give a flavour by spelling a few words phonetically or include unusual vocabulary” or alternatively by adding “a label” before the translated text to indicate a change in the language variety, such as “[AMERICAN ACCENT]” (Williams 1998). Further additions and interventions are more acceptable when guidelines refer to subtitling for children or for the deaf and the hard of hearing, such as the use of emoticons (Civera and Orero 2010).

Overall, though, official guidelines for professional subtitles do not digress from “one of the golden rules [which] has always been that the best subtitles are those that pass unnoticed to the viewer” (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006: 47).

2. Abusive Subtitling

Abé Mark Nornes coined the term ‘abusive subtitling’ in his landmark article (1999) in which he vehemently criticised the political will that has determined the placing of subtitles (and metaphorically ‘translation’ itself) in “a position of obscurity” at the bottom of the screen. He called for subtitlers to abuse this political system and free it from its spatial and visual constraints:

The abusive subtitler uses textual and graphic abuse—that is, experimentation with language and its grammatical, morphological, and visual qualities—to bring the fact of translation from its position of obscurity, to critique the imperial politics that ground corrupt practices while ultimately leading the viewer to the foreign original being reproduced in the darkness of the theatre.

(Nornes 1999: 18)

At this point, we should no longer talk of *subtitlers*, and I will use the more generic term: audiovisual translators (AVTers). What we can see is that AVTers, and not just *anime* fansubbers, have already shifted their attention away from being exclusively *sub* to being intervenient on the whole screen. The terminology for this new form of titling is still fluid. Though Nornes talked of *anime* subtitlers who “freely insert their ‘subtitles’ all over the screen” (1999: 32), he did not introduce any terminology; though

in passing, he does mention the MTV Pop-Up Video channel (32). Those (few) who have talked of the emerging subtitling practices use a variety of adjectives to preface “subtitles” such as “hybrid” (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006), “creative” (Foerster 2010) or “transformative” and “innovative” (Pérez-González 2012).

To date, there are few who have eliminated the *sub*. Fox, though, who is developing these innovative practices, suggests “integrated titles” (2012), whereas Kofoed (2011), focussing on the aesthetics, takes the first part of ‘decorative’ and has proposed “decotitles”. Pérez-González (2012: 16), instead, takes his cue from the industry and talks of “kinetic titling”, which comes from “kinetic typography”, the art of animating text (SFU California 2008). Dwyer (2015), noting the difficulties in describing the various ways in which AVT can now appear on the screen, opts for the more generic “titling” and “on-screen text” to capture all the options available.

Caffrey (2009) directly took up Nornes’s discussion of *anime* and ‘pop-up video’ in his discussion of how AVTers compensate for the “culturally marked visual nonverbal cues” that were lost for English-speaking audiences. He called these “pop-up glosses” and “pop-up notes that explain culturally marked items” (ibid.: x). The term ‘pop-up’ originated with the Pop-Up Video channel mentioned by Nornes, an MTV spin-off developed by Woody Thompson and Tad Low (Mackie 2015). Thompson explains how the ‘pop-up’ idea of adding an extradiegetic commentary to music videos was ‘sold’ to the MTV bosses:

So we came back the next week and said, “We’ve got it. We’ll string together music videos—five in an hour—and we will tell the story of Madonna losing her virginity while she is singing ‘Like a Virgin.’ We’ll tell you everything you need to know about the making of that music video in the moment.” And they were like, “Wait, you’re going to have people read TV?”

(Ibid.)

These written ‘pop-ups’ became a central feature so that the series was actually named *Pop-Up Video*. Its characterising feature is that the programme “shares graphical factoids that ‘pop’ onto the screen with amusing facts about today’s most popular music videos each episode, including behind-the-scenes stories from actual video shoots and salacious info-nuggets about your favourite celebs” (Viacom International Inc; see, for example, the Madonna “Like a Virgin” pop-up video, Gladstone Girl4 2016).

Thompson has since used the same ‘pop-up video’ concept to launch a more serious programme dedicated to house buying. His *House Hunters Pop’d* is a 2014 spin-off from *House Hunters*, which itself has now become one of the most popular shows on American TV (Harwell 2016). Thompson (2014) writes on his Eyeboogie site,

Just when you thought you couldn't bare [sic] watching another episode of *House Hunters* comes *House Hunters Pop'd*. Pop-Up Video has finally gone home as we fill in the gaps with amazing facts and tidbits of information during America's favorite real estate show.

In AVT, Pérez-González (2014: 154) has defined pop-ups as a sub-type of headnotes “placed anywhere in the frame to complement the content of standard or dialogue subtitles located at the bottom of the screen”, whereas Perego (2010: 53) explains in more detail that they are “generally enclosed in small windows on a white background explaining or glossing culturally-marked elements audible or visible in the original”.² Caffrey (2009: 19) specifies that pop-ups are not only verbal titles, and classifies them into four groups: verbal/nonverbal and visual/audio. The two types that we will focus on here are

- visual verbal: the traditional (sub)titles, but also any other written inserts, banners, letters
- visual nonverbal: images, pictures, gestures

The Wikipedia (2017) entry for “pop-up video” actually suggests that “info nuggets” is the official name for pop-ups, though there is extremely little use of the term in practice. For example, on IMDB's site regarding a pop-up video DVD compilation (Cormier 1997), there is no mention of ‘info nuggets’, but rather of “‘information bubbles’ [which] ‘pop up’ with facts about the production of the video, things contained in the video, and things vaguely connected to the video”. Indeed, it appears to still be pending investigation (as of 2017) since its insertion in 2013 in the “new word suggestion” section of the online *Collins English Dictionary* (*Collins English Dictionary*, 2013).

2.1 Authorial Titling

The concept of authorial titling (Pérez-González 2012) is extremely interesting and brings us back to Nornes's concern with the subservient nature of the subtitle's role and the paradox of being obliged to produce text in the *paratextual* footnote area of the screen. ‘Creators’, such as film directors, on the other hand, have a much freer and more authorial hand in deciding how much of the screen to invade with diegetic and extradiegetic additions. This freedom awarded to the creative part of filmmaking has recently been given much impetus through the increasing awareness and acceptance of a multilingual community, requiring a more authorial and filmic approach when considering the need for a translation on-screen. As a consequence, “[t]he phenomenon of polyglot movies” (Wahl 2008) can now be considered a genre in its own right.

The film director Danny Boyle, for example, decided to allow some of the actors (especially the children) in *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008) not only to

speak (and be heard) in their native Hindi but also to title the translation into English authorially. His decision to free the titles from their traditional sub-position created the same type of questioning worries that the MTV bosses had upon hearing about the pop-up video concept. Boyle promised his backers that “the film would be even more exciting because of the subtitles” (Beckman 2008). Furthermore, “[t]o make good on his word, he came up with the idea to have the subtitles look more like the dialogue in comic books, which float depending on where the characters are positioned” (ibid).

AVT scholars have commented positively on the *Slumdog* approach. Kofoed (2011), for example, states, “Subtitles have been redirected from their customarily subsidiary, external position to become a central aspect of the filmic *mise-en-scène*”. McClarty (2012: 143) also notes the new “positioning in the heart of the on-screen action”, suggesting also that the subtitling discipline should capitalise on what filmmakers are doing and intervene. AVTers should become ‘translator-title designers’ who become part author, working alongside the film editors and title designers (ibid.: 149).

What is particularly important is that freeing the subtitles was given extremely positive reviews by influential critics, such as Beckman, staff writer for *The Washington Post*, who commented, “They’re stylish and splashy and original. They’re liberated” (Beckman 2008).

A number of AVT scholars are experimenting with this form of freedom. In particular, Fox’s (2014) use of integrated titles demonstrates that conscious placement and aesthetic considerations can have positive impact on the reception and information gain, and re-create the natural focus of a native audience (Fox 2012).

2.2 *Diegetic Intervention*

Apart from the freeing of translated titles, filmmakers have also begun to allow the viewer into the more private world of the characters, in particular allowing viewers to read personal text and Facebook messages in real time with the characters themselves as part of the *mise en scène* (Johnston 2014). Early use of this, at least since 2010, was by the UK TV series *Hollyoaks* (Biedenharn 2014) and its use of on-screen text messages, which Biedenharn actually calls ‘bubbles’. Tepper (2011), an ‘interaction designer’, notes that technology, and our routine use of texting, have resulted in audiences now being primed to accept titles “capturing the viewer’s screen as part of the narrative itself”.

Filmmaker Paul McGuigan has taken the idea of text on screen much further. As director of a number of episodes of the BBC’s *Sherlock* series “he is credited with coming up with the visualisation of Sherlock Holmes’ thoughts onscreen as he examines evidence” (Sherlockology 2016). This on-screen visualisation of inner thoughts has been lauded as “really groundbreaking” experimentation with diegesis (Tepper 2011; see Dwyer 2015 for an overview). What is particularly interesting about this form of authorial intervention is not the freed titling now filling the screen, but that these new

titles are diegetic nuggets that “advance the narrative by telling us something about the character of Sherlock Holmes” (Tepper 2011).

Significantly for this chapter, and to which we will return, Dwyer (2015) notes that this form of interdiegetic titling “highlight[s] clues and literally spell[s] out their significance”. Pérez-González picks up on the same point. He uses Genette’s term, ‘narrative metalepsis’ (2012: 15) and in a later work points out that this form of AVT “act[s] as a projection of the detective’s actions and mental processes complementing the semiotic value of the scenes” (2014: 274), hence making explicitly available for the viewer what would have been confined to the character.

Apart from freeing the titles themselves, TV filmmakers can be seen to be experimenting with diegetic visual nonverbal glosses. We have already mentioned *House Hunters Pop’d*, which makes as much use of the visual nonverbal as it does of the verbal. *Sherlock*, of course, also makes much use of icons as we see Sherlock’s mind taking in images of articles of clothing, stains, places and faces. There are also examples in mainstream cinema. Italian box office success, directed by Paolo Genovese, *Tutta Colpa di Freud* (2014) has just one pop-up in the whole film. Completely unannounced, yet absolutely effective within the scene, is a stopwatch, which pops up towards the right-hand bottom corner of the screen at 10 seconds and counts down to zero. This extradiegetic countdown reminds the audience that the character, Sara, should allow at least 10 seconds before replying to a question if she is to make a good impression on a potential suitor.

2.3 Creative Titling

So far, we have focussed on just one of Caffrey’s four pop-up gloss classifications, the visual verbal, which can now float on screen either as (translated) dialogue or as diegetic messages and thoughts. What has not been focussed on so much in the literature is that the creativity seen in fansubbing and in mainstream filmmaking is the use not only of text positioning but also of turning the text itself into art. Boyle’s decision, for example, to become creative with his titling, according to Beckman (2008), was influenced by the 2004 Russian sci-fi film *Night Watch* (Timur Bekmambetov) where “the subtitles turned red, dripped like blood, vaporized and jumped across the screen”. Surreptitiously, here and there, film-makers are beginning to experiment more boldly with this more kinetic use of titling, such as in the BBC (2011) *Human Planet* (2011) documentaries (as noted by Guillot [2012: 489]). In one particular scene, indigenous Piaroa-speaking children from the Amazon see a giant tarantula and start shrieking. At the same time, animated floating (translated) text expands with the words in capitals “CATCH IT!!!” taking up a significant part of the screen.

These kinetic titles are part of a (re)turn to the comic book era, where text and image were much more closely related. This comic strip approach has been noticed in particular in *Slumdog Millionaire*. Kofoed (2011) notes how the titles “look more like the dialogue in comic books”. The two

‘traditional’ forms of integrating the verbal with the visual are the use of speech and thought balloons (Cohn 2013: 35). The origins of the balloon date much further back to medieval art where angels and saints had their speech reported on canvas in speech scrolls known as *banderoles*. Today, these *banderoles* appear cumbersome and almost illegible, but with the rise of the American comic strip at the turn of the twentieth century, words once again are becoming part of the action (Marsden 2013).

Lefèvre (2006) explains that balloons became popular in comics because “[t]he use of balloons encourages intensive dialogue writing more than text captions do. Balloons not only integrated text within the frames of the pictures themselves, but they also directly indicated the speaker”. Cohn (2013) takes integration one stage further towards what Mitchell (1994) called “image-text”, denoting the single category of relations that unite the visual and the verbal. As Cohn points out, comics combine the use of speech and thought balloons with the visual image to create a “meaningful whole”. To describe this particular image-text combination, Cohn borrows the Italian term *fumetto*, which can refer either to the (speech and thought) balloons or indeed to the comic itself.

With digital technology already available for non-professionals, we can develop new forms of what Pérez-González (2014: 62) calls “intersemiotic assistive mediation”. By employing these image-text possibilities in AVT, we may well have the possibility of allowing new viewers to follow not only the explicit language through speech balloons and gain an insight into the implicit but also to follow thought processes *as if* they were diegetic. The freeing of the subtitles profoundly affects the possible relationships between text and image. Following Cohn’s classification, subtitles would be part of ‘adjoined’ relations “where text and image are integrated but not interfaced directly”. He gives the example of captions and “proximity alone” as the defining characteristic. Freeing them from their fixed proximate position would give us the possibility of creating ‘emergent’ or even ‘inherent’ relations. Emergent relations enclose the text in a carrier (as in a speech or thought balloon), which also has a tail pointing to the root (the character’s mouth or head). Inherent relations, on the other hand, totally integrate the visual and the textual. This would be the case of the blood-red titling in *Night*, or (as we shall see) the use of place names on a map.

2.4 ‘Pop-Ups’ and Subtitling Experiments

The experiments that follow were conducted to gauge the extent that AVT could usefully move from the exclusive use of traditional adjoined titling (subtitles) to emergent or inherent. Both an audience perception study and an eye-tracking experiment were used. For the perception study, a comic sketch was shown and questionnaires and subjective self-report scales were used to gauge the extent to which viewers enjoyed the comic strip devices and the use of visual nonverbal pop-ups. Theoretical discussion of ‘enjoyment’, or ‘psychological presence’ was outside the scope of this chapter, as were theories of humour.

The aim of the eye-tracking experiment was to gauge what happens when the titles are moved closer to the action rather than being constrained to the confined space below. The results of a previous ‘pop-up’ titling experiment,³ using the same comedy sketch, provided the premise for this particular experiment. In the first experiment (described in Katan 2014), pop-up glosses and other devices were added using *Pinnacle Studio 16*, but the titling in Italian remained *sub* throughout. Also, in Cohn’s terms, the pop-ups remained adjoined rather than emergent, as it was proximity alone, rather than the use of any tail, which indicated the text/image relationship. The main focus was on the effect, and the comedic effect, of intervening on the text with images, which popped up on the top-left or right-hand corner to make an explicit link between the words uttered. Three groups of 16 university students watched the Catherine Tate comedy sketch (adapted from Koolmook 2009) presented in three ways. The first group were shown the sketch with standard subtitling into Italian. The other two groups were shown two variants:

1. Standard subtitling preceded by a 30 second, ‘thick translation’ style introduction explaining (in Italian) the ECRs in the sketch, including a short explanatory text which explains that Norfolk is a largely rural farming area—famous for its marshes, riverways and production of Christmas turkeys;
2. Standard subtitling and visual nonverbal pop-ups, which included a pop-up of a fisherman with a large fish in his hands (see Figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1 Fish pop up (adapted from Koolmook 2009)

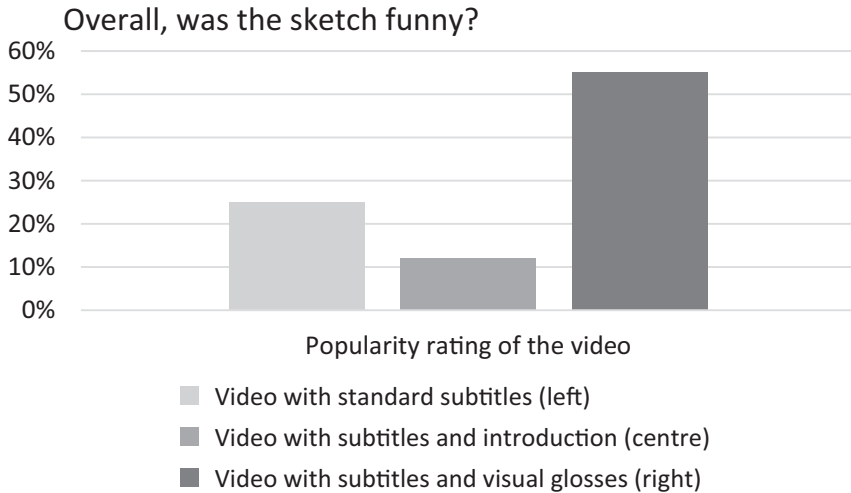


Figure 4.2 Overall, was the sketch funny?

After watching the three sketches, students were asked to compile a questionnaire, which included the question, “Overall, was the sketch funny?” (see Figure 4.2).

As can be seen, the didactic introduction decreased enjoyment of the sketch, while the visual glosses were perceived to add to the enjoyment. However, there were detractors. The three negative comments focussed on the same point (own translation):

“Extra work”

“Excellent strategy but takes you away from watching the actors’ gestures”

“Difficulty in reading subtitles and pop-up information together”

These types of responses are hardly surprising and were also noted by Cafrey (2008: 165) himself: “The presence of subtitles seems to be a factor in distracting visual attention from the VNC (visual nonverbal cue) area”. So the next experiment used the same sketch but freed the subtitles, allowing them to directly interface with their roots.

2.5 Comic Titling

For this experiment, the sketch was revisited in a number of ways, and all content (both the nonverbal visual pop-up glosses and the subtitles) was revised. *Adobe Premiere* was used for the video editing, while *Photoshop*⁴ was used to provide the transparency overlays (in png.), such as for the UK map (see Figure 4.3).

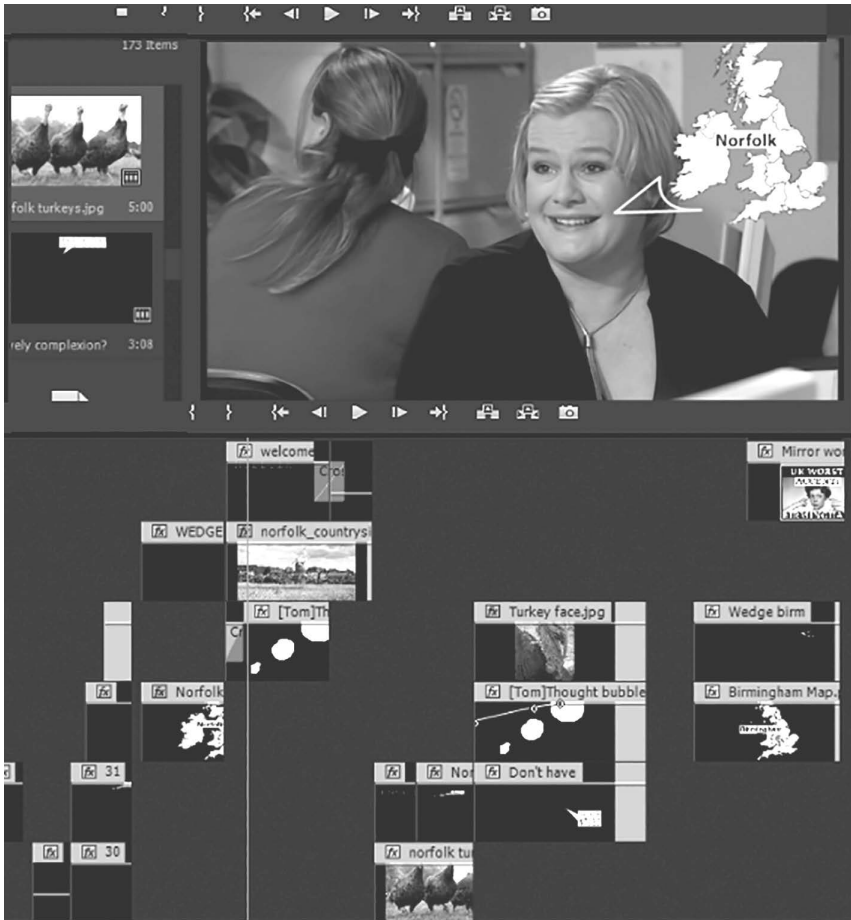


Figure 4.3 Adobe Premiere layering of the Norfolk map

After some experimentation, three standard, but resizable, templates were created.

1. Speech balloons: The translated titles were enclosed in rectangular white carriers, no border, using Adobe Arabic regular font, size 29 (Figures 4.4 and 4.5).
2. Image/speech wedges: Where iconic representations were used with speech, a wedge tail was added between the images pointing towards the character’s mouth (see Figure 4.3). The image itself was always a transparent cut-out with a solid border, while photographs were usually blurred at the edges to give the impression of a diegetic operation rather than an add-on.

- Thought bubbles: The carrier was created as a cloud with a three or four smoke-ring transparent tail leading from the character's head. Inside was usually an image (Figure 4.5) and at times text, which was in a larger font compared to the speech font size.

The Italian subtitles were now repositioned in comic-like speech balloons, though it appeared both more aesthetic and more efficient for the carrier to be a burred rectangular box rather than the more classic comic-style oval balloons. In general, the carriers were placed in the centre of the screen close to the speaker's head with tails directing to the mouth. This was possible because much of the time, both characters were in view, one on either side of the screen, leaving the central area free of significant action. The bubbles appeared synchronously with the sound and remained on the screen for as long as possible, and at least until the next utterance or scene change. Clearly, both positioning and timing was an issue. The main rule followed was never to cover a significant part of the action and always to avoid covering the face. It began to be clear that comic strip titling needs to follow dubbing timing norms to retain the synchronicity of the utterance. The screenshot that follows (Figure 4.4) is a rare example of a static scene, which allowed for the possibility of adding balloons to the developing quick-fire exchange in real time, thus allowing the viewer much more time to read.

Importantly, given the number of culture-bound places in Britain that were mentioned (such as Liverpool, Eastbourne, 'the North'), the same white map of Britain popped up synchronously on each mention, with the locality highlighted in a bright red dot, or if a region, a bright red area (Figure 4.3). The name of the location, which then transformed into the speech bubble text (or took the place of the subtitle) uttered by the character was also clearly marked. This visualisation of the location was designed to



Figure 4.4 The quick-fire exchange comic stripped (adapted from Koolmook 2009)

firstly allow the new viewers to localise the place in the United Kingdom and secondly to contribute to the comedic effect, as we have the colleague pronouncing places at random as if sticking a pin blindly on a blank map. The map popped up as a diegetic image in that although the land mass and the title solidly overlaid the original film, all non-land-mass areas were transparent, integrating with the film. Given the fact that the land mass was already delimited with a solid black line, it seemed anti-aesthetic to add a further carrier.

Classic thought balloon carriers were instead used for pure thought. Use, in particular, of the non-speech balloons allowed the AVTer to make the character's thoughts explicit and consequently help the outsider viewers to access what was assumed to be shared. The hypothesis was that, through this form of thicker translation, outside viewers would now also be able to inhabit 'that superior dwelling place'. Returning specifically to the Norfolk gag, I replaced the original pop-up of the fisherman with one of a turkey, given the fact that Norfolk is famous for its turkey farms and also because an image of a turkey's head has its own comic attractiveness, especially given the fact that the running leitmotif is about hairstyles. However, before arriving at the image of the turkey, I wanted to second-guess Tate's logical thought processes, to allow the outside viewers to 'see' how Tate had (more than probably) arrived at her conclusion. This was possible time-wise because she repeats, with incredulity, "Norfolk?" twice before pronouncing her verdict.

The presumed implicature unfolds as follows. As Tate's colleague mentions 'Norfolk', the map of Britain appears with Norfolk highlighted in red and with a wedge tail pointing to the colleague's mouth. Tate's incredulous repetition of the place now synchronises with an emerging thought bubble carrying a classic picture postcard of a field of wheat with a traditional Norfolk windmill and the title (in red and in Italian) "Welcome to Norfolk", which then transforms into a speech bubble with only the word "Norfolk" (now in black and with a question mark) synchronised with her utterance. Just before her second incredulous "Norfolk", a second thought bubble appears with three turkeys and the words (in Italian) "the famous Norfolk turkeys", giving the idea that Tate is homing in on the details of what is characteristic to Norfolk. Finally, a new thought bubble appears with a close-up of an alarmingly red-and-blue turkey head just before she pronounces, "There aren't any hairdressers in Norfolk" (Figure 4.5).

The viewer now has access to Catherine Tate's world and is able to share her (presumed) logical working through of 'why' Norfolk cannot possibly be an area known for good hairdressers. The AVTer here is clearly now fully an (abusive) co-creator of the scene. As such, the AVTer not only takes responsibility for second-guessing the hidden context and logical connections but also must supply example visual and/or verbal representations, which seamlessly add diegetically to what was implicit or tacit. Naturally, the AVTer will never 'know' the inner world of any of the characters, but as a hypercritical and bicultural viewer, she is in the best position possible to make a link and to predict the presumed communicative meaning. The

AVTer in this particular case must also balance overloading the viewer with cultural knowledge with the need to recreate comedy.

2.5.1. *The Experiment*⁵

The sketch was artificially divided into two sections, which were watched without a break. The first section (2 minutes) was given the full *fumetti* treatment. During the last 30 seconds of this first section, the colleague begins guessing the location of the hairdresser and emergent pop-ups appear (as thought bubbles) to let the viewer know what culture-bound aspects of the location Catherine Tate is herself accessing. The colleague continues to guess where the hairdresser is from, but for the last minute of the sketch, the emergent *fumetti* disappear and the titles reverted to being *sub*. There are still a number of pop-ups, but they are now adjoined, no longer framed in thought bubbles. Where Tate has no stereotypic reaction to the location guessed, there are no pop-ups at all. Hence test-image relations are emergent in the first part and then become adjoined in the second part.

Each participant's eye-tracking movements were then recorded using an ASL 6000 Eye Tracker. Immediately after watching the sketch, the participants answered a questionnaire based on Pegoli's (2014) questionnaire discussed earlier, with additional questions regarding opinions on titling and pop-ups. None of the participants had any specific UK cultural knowledge and so would (even at the C2 level) still need the pop-up information to enjoy fully the references (and subsequent stereotypicised connotations) to the various UK locations mentioned. Most of the group had never heard of Catherine Tate (11/15), though two had watched other Catherine Tate shows. The group was fairly evenly distributed between an A1 to a C1 level of English, and participants were aged from 20 to 50. The group members were specifically asked to decide which titling option they preferred: the first emergent titled section or the second adjacent titled section.

Because the look zone positions change with every scene, for the analysis, only one (14 second) scene was chosen from the first section (emergent titles) and one (14 seconds) from the second, more traditional (adjoined), section. Both scenes included pop-ups on screen. The look zones were organised as follows:

Norfolk scene (emergent relations):

Two look zones for the pop-ups (left and right)

Two look zones for the speech bubbles (left and right)

Hastings/Eastbourne scene (adjoined relations):

One large look zone for the pop-ups (right)

One look zone for the subtitles (bottom)

As can be seen from Table 4.1 below, the actual dialogue is limited in both cases, and well within guidelines⁶ for maximum characters per second in the



Figure 4.5 Norfolk thought bubble (adapted from Koolmook 2009)

14 seconds. In the first case, the dialogue is captioned into speech bubbles, while in the second we have traditional subtitles. Both scenes also include the same pop-up map format. However, the Norfolk scene not only has speech bubbles emerging from the speaker but also the pop-ups emerge, much more *mise-en-scène*, in that they are inside thought bubbles emanating from the speaker.

The pop-ups in the Hasting/Eastbourne clip are more ‘traditional’ in that they simply appear, and like the subtitles themselves, there is no visible link to the speaker:

Norfolk scene (emergent relations): from min 1:30 to 1:44 (14 second approx.)

Character	Diegetic dialog transformed into	Extradiegetic additions	
		Pop-up: Inherent relations	Pop-up: Emerging relations
	Speech bubble: Emergent relations Italian [Original English] Norfolk! [Norfolk!]		
Colleague	Norfolk! [Norfolk!]	UK map with ‘Norfolk’	
Tate	Norfolk! [Norfolk!]	UK map with ‘Norfolk’	Postcard: “Welcome to Norfolk”: windmill and field
Tate	Norfolk! [Norfolk!]	UK map with ‘Norfolk’	Three turkeys with “The famous Norfolk Turkeys”
Tate	Non hanno parrucchieri a Norfolk! [They don’t have hairdressers in Norfolk!]	UK map with ‘Norfolk’	Turkey head close-up

Hastings/Eastbourne scene (adjoined relations): from min 2:00 to 2:14 (14sec approx)

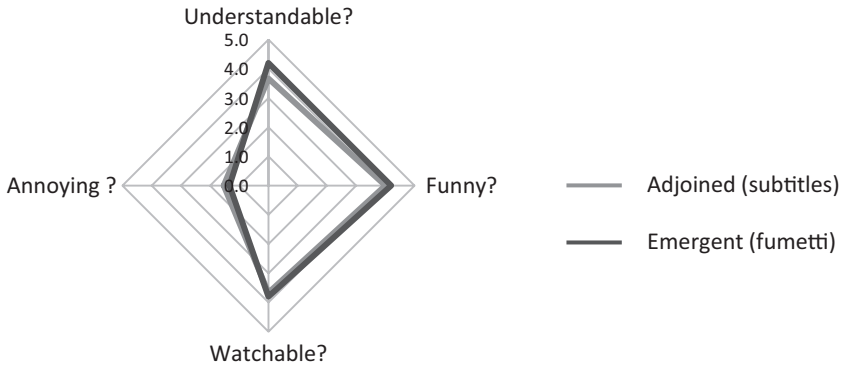
Table 4.1 Norfolk and Hastings scenes: dialogue and additions

<i>Character</i>	<i>Diegetic dialogue transformed into</i>	<i>Extradiegetic additions</i>	
	Subtitles: Adjoined relations Italian [Original English]	Pop-up: Inherent relations	Pop-up: Adjoined relations
Colleague	Hastings! [Hastings!]	UK map with 'Hastings'	
Tate	Mica è un assassino o travestito! [He is not a murderer or a transvestite]	UK map with 'Hastings'	Pop-up advert for "True Crime Museum Hastings" + visual of long haired man smoking in a pink dress
Colleague	Eastbourne! [Eastbourne!]	UK map with 'Eastbourne'	Postcard: "Welcome to Eastbourne" with old people sitting in the sun
Tate	Mica è incontinente. [He's not incontinent]	UK map with 'Eastbourne'	Postcard: "Welcome to Eastbourne" with old people sitting in the sun
Tate	Andiamo! [Come on!]		

Though the scenes are different, what is of relevance here is the attractiveness and effectiveness of the speech bubble over the subtitle. This was calculated in the first instance through the questionnaire, which was given individually to the 15 participants immediately after watching the sketch. Further information came through the analysis of the shortstops in the look-zone areas (the combination of the number of times the eyes remained fixed in the look zone and time spent on fixating).

With regard to audience response, the most important question is, did this new style of 'translating' upset or attract the viewer, and was the sketch deemed more enjoyable as a result? The spider chart (Figure 4.6) that follows illustrates the difference in response between the two sections.

What transpires is that in both segments, the pop-ups were appreciated and added to the humour of the sketch. The positioning (usually on the top-right corner) was deemed appropriate and importantly helped a great deal in making the ECRs understandable. In general, there is also a slight increase in appreciation when full *fumetti* speech and bubbles are used. Only 3 out of the 15 participants agreed with the "*fumetti* are distracting" statement, and even then the weighting average was 3 out of a maximum of 5, equal to "somewhat distracting". The reasons given were "font" (referring to the Gothic 'Parchment' font used for one speech bubble); "position" (referring to the general positioning of the speech bubbles) and, finally, that this was an "unknown and new technique" (personal translation, from Covone 2015).



The various interventions made the sketch more ...

Figure 4.6 Overall opinion regarding subtitles compared to fumetti

Regarding the question, “Which scene can you remember best?”, 12 out of the 15 had no problem in mentioning a scene. Altogether, five of the ten locations were mentioned, and in each case, it was a popped location with map. The most popular was the Norfolk turkeys, with two who specifically remembered the image (specific comments, translated):

- The scene with turkeys
- The one with the turkeys
- The Norfolk one

The second most popularly remembered location was Cardiff with the following two comments, which also focused on the image:

- The Welsh sheep
- The picture of the sheep

The most memorable non-location scene was the ‘quick-fire’ scene (see Figure 4.4), which had been given a highly visual comic strip speech balloon treatment.

Altogether, comparing the viewers’ ability to recall against text-image relations (Figure 4.7), what transpires is that the scenes with the *fumetti* titling impressed themselves on the viewers much more than those scenes with only the pop-ups. And particularly apparent is the fact that the scenes with no pop-ups at all were also not mentioned. Though the number of viewers is extremely limited, this study certainly does show that the effect of *fumetti* on viewers is positive.

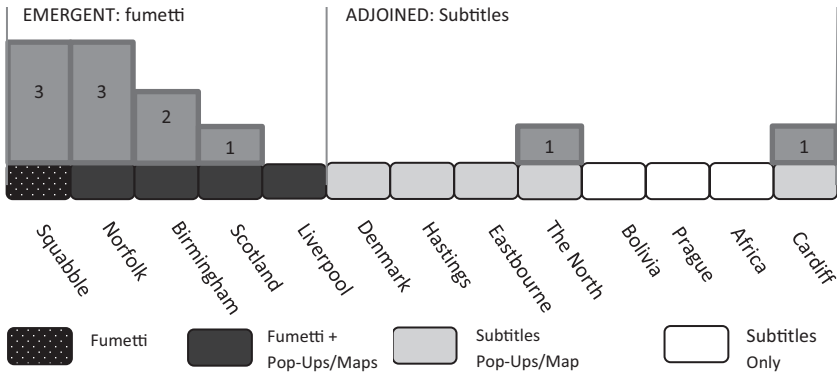


Figure 4.7 Best remembered scenes

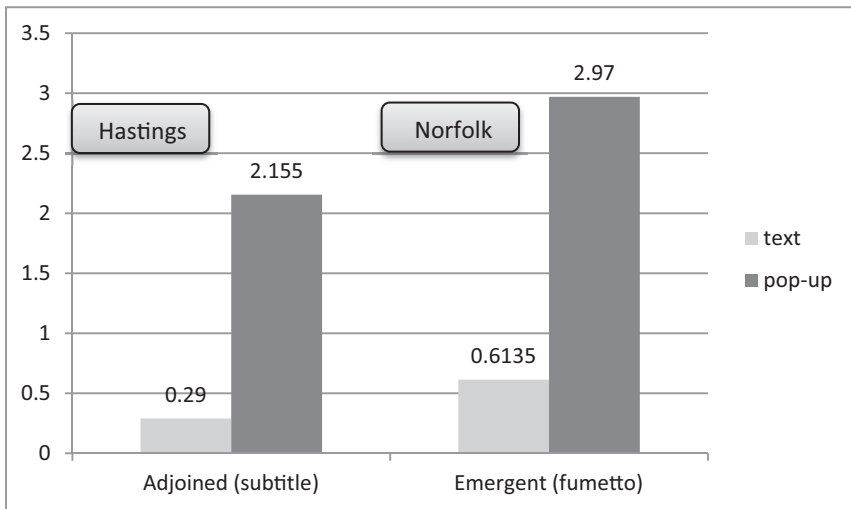


Figure 4.8 Text/pop up fixation time

The results from the eye tracker are not so obviously positive, and much more research is needed. Clearly, as we would expect, the gaze trail shows us that when subtitles are used, fixation points are also below the screen, while in *fumetti* mode, the eye is firmly on the screen, which can only be advantageous for the viewer. However, the fixation comparisons (relating to the Norfolk and Hastings scenes) seem to show that more time is spent fixating the text captioned in *fumetti* rather than in subtitling mode (Figure 4.8).

Yet, as can be seen from Table 4.1, the amount of actual dialogue to read is 25% less than what is subtitled. This result was certainly unexpected and appears to contradict Fox’s (2012: n.p.) results, which found that

“[t]he viewer seemed to re-read integrated titles less often and was more motivated to return to the focal points in the image”. It could be that once the text becomes *mise en scène*, it then attracts the attention much more than subtitles or even integrated titles. The results also show that there are more fixation points on the pop-ups in *fumetti* mode. So, possibly, the *mise en scène* hypothesis can then be extended to the pop-ups, which in the Norfolk sketch are captioned in thought bubbles and at times caption the dialogue. The term ‘Norfolk’, for example, begins as a speech bubble to then become part of the pop-up postcard of Norfolk. To an extent, the fact that the Norfolk scene was specifically remembered while the Hastings scene was not does lend some support to this. Ideally, though, future research should compare the same scene titled differently rather than basing results on different scenes, which clearly have their own ideal and real impact on the viewer.

If we look at the questionnaire results (Figure 4.9), the averaged weightings of replies regarding further extended use of the *fumetti* style are also muted. Clearly, participants accepted that the *fumetti* version helped understanding (87%), but the approval rate was not so high, with one particular comment: “How can this new technique be used if the visual time frame is so short?”. This helps explain the lower approval of the time that the *fumetti* were on screen. This is certainly an issue, and in the future, research could investigate the effect of extending film time to allow the bubbles to remain on the screen for longer. As things stand, three-quarters (75%) of this particular group of respondents would use the *fumetti* option if available, even though a large minority (44%) did not find that the *fumetti* actually helped readability/watchability.

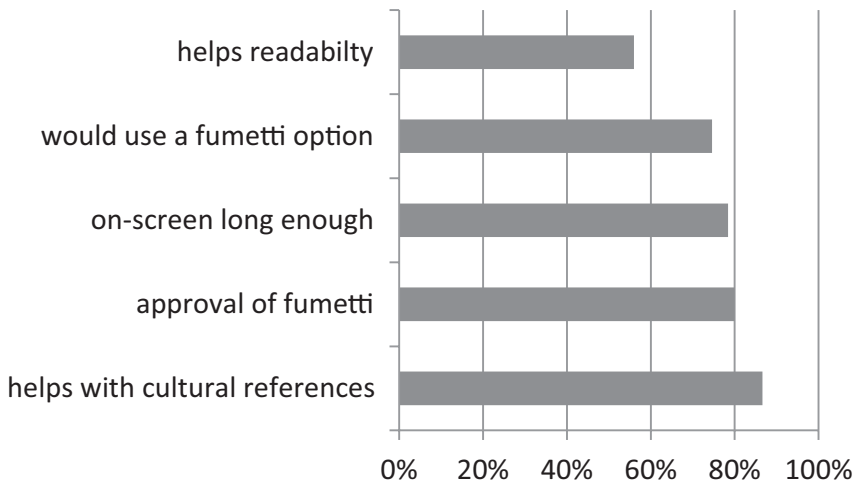


Figure 4.9 Opinions on extended use of fumetti

Two points should be made here in defence of *fumetti*. First, this was the very first time that this group had seen this form of ‘titling’, and clearly, just as with traditional subtitling, it takes a while to get used to a new form of viewing. One respondent actually mentioned this: “I’m used to subtitles and happy with them”. Second, even though every effort was made to make the *fumetti* aesthetic, readable and diegetic, it is clear that the style could be more professional and hence less obviously an intrusive or at least amateurish ‘add-on’.

The ‘any other comments’ provided some of the most useful feedback. Every participant specifically mentioned the break between the two sections and the ‘loss’ of the *fumetti*, and 14/15 specifically added that they preferred the speech bubbles over the subtitles. The same 14 also specifically appreciated the use of the pop-up maps of the United Kingdom; 3 of the 15 wrote that they appreciated the retention of the speech bubbles on screen (see the ‘quick-fire’ scene, Figure 4.4), making it look more like a comic strip page.

Though timing was certainly an issue, only 2 of the 15 actually commented that the speech bubbles popped up for too short a time. However, font style did affect satisfaction. More or less the whole group (14/15) did not appreciate the attempt to historicise Catherine Tate’s high-register archaic use of English (“From whence does he hail”) using the Gothic style, ‘Parchment’, font. I had presumed that as Tate was simply repeating the same question (“Where does my hairdresser come from?”) in an archaic English, a visual recreation of the verbal style totally integrating text and image using an archaic script (and a higher register Italian) would have been appreciated.

Also, two participants mentioned that the picture of the authentic *Daily Mirror* report referring to Birmingham as having “the worst accent” should have been modified so that the British newspaper reported the headline in Italian. Both of these cases would suggest that accessibility, understood here as readability and understanding of what is written, may actually be more important than authenticity or creating a general aesthetic effect or impression.

3. Conclusions

Studies on abusive subtitling have progressively shown that more creative translation strategies, which we may call ‘transcreation’ (Katan 2016), not only free subtitles from their ‘off-scene’ subservient position but also actually improve access, enjoyment and understanding of film for those either without access to the language or to the cultural referents implicit in the original text. The experiments discussed here, though not created by professional graphic designers, strongly suggest that not only freeing subtitles but also allowing the AVTer to co-create and develop text/image relations, making them much more emergent and even inherent, is certainly a potentially extremely valuable resource. In professional hands, the experience may be enriched even more. Clearly though, as Pérez-González points out, it is still

the “control of the industry [that] keeps a firm lid on the potential spread of innovative subtitling” (2012: 13).

Notes

- 1 I am clearly simplifying and essentialising viewing realities in imaging a discrete original set of (British or American) viewers and a new (let’s say Italian) set, each of which will inhabit a shared cognitive environment and will interpret and respond to the film in culturally dependent ways. This “strategic essentialism” (Danisus et al. 1993) is necessary if we are to improve accessibility in general. I agree with Eco (1985), rather than Benjamin (1993/2000), that though the model reader/viewer does not exist in the way an empirical reader/views does, in all cases, the film director/writer and translator will necessarily imagine and write or translate for an ideal reader/viewer.
- 2 Personal translation from the original Italian.
- 3 The experiment was carried out by Pegoli as part of an MA thesis (2014).
- 4 I would like to thank Alessandro Bongiorno and Thomas Katan for their valuable technical assistance regarding all aspects of the video editing.
- 5 I would like to thank Cristina Covone for her organisation of the experiment. A number of the results were written up in her MA thesis (Covone 2015).
- 6 Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) explain the difficulties in laying down guidelines and how they have changed from recommendations during the 1980s and 1990s of 140–150 words per minute to more recent recommendations of up to 180. In fact, the 1998 BBC Guide (Williams) recommends a maximum of 140 words per minute, while a more recent BBC study (Sandford 2016) found 175 words per minute to be the optimum speed. So the recommendation today is around 3 (English words) a second, which would allow for around 40 words in 14 seconds. The Norfolk scene has only eight words in Italian (with one word repeated four times).

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5 Comedy Under Fire

Subtitling *Two and a Half Men* Into Arabic

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and Rashid Yahiaoui (Hamad Bin Khalifa
University)*

1. Introduction

Audiovisual translation (AVT) in the Arab World is developing dramatically, as can be clearly observed in the number of translated foreign audiovisual materials, mainly American products, which are widely circulated on many TV channels, DVDs, cinemas and online websites. Technology has been playing a significant role in making many cultures more accessible to people across the globe and in promoting cross-cultural communication through various audiovisual modes, including subtitling and dubbing, the most dominant modes in the Arab World. However, comprehensive studies on how these two modes are run and regulated, the training of Arab translators and the translation norms that are adopted are still missing despite the industry's long history, which goes back to the 1930s.

Subtitling is a complex multimodal process that is always governed by specific temporal and spatial constraints that have direct effect on the quality of subtitles. Among other aspects that undoubtedly affect the quality of subtitles, censorship could be considered a leading perpetrator. In this regard, Lefevre (1983: 25) argues, “[Nobody] ever speaks or writes in complete freedom, at least if they want to be listened to, read and understood”. Censorship, as Scandura (2004: 126) states, happens for “political reasons [. . .] political correctness [. . .] religious parameters [. . .] self-censorship”, and as Yahiaoui (2014: 81) affirms, “Censorship in AVT encompasses the deletion or replacement of utterances and scenes classified as vulgar, erotic or presenting unacceptable references or allusions”. The intervention of government censorship bodies and audiovisual material distributing networks are not the only culprits in the act of censorship. Translators are also involved in the process through their conscious or unconscious filtering mechanisms, as their own ideology, culture and political stance have a considerable effect on the target text production. In this regard, Darwish (1999) argues that self-censorship is often due to cognitive and psychological pressures exerted consciously on the self.

Censoring bodies in the Arab World are known for their strict monitoring and filtering of the contents of various audiovisual material distributed on TV, DVD, cinema, etc. In Egypt, for instance, as Gamal (2008: 3)

argues, the AVT industry is closely linked to the censorship office; thus, it is compelled to apply the rules imposed on foreign films: “No explicit sexual language, no blasphemous reference to the Almighty, prophets or revealed Books, and no swear words were allowed. Thus the language of subtitling appearing on screens emerged as a genre *sui generis*” (ibid.). One of the most successful American series, *Sex and the City* (Darren Star 1998–2004), had undergone major ‘moral facelifting’ by UAE’s censors to ‘strip it of’ its sex scenes and then was never broadcast in the Middle East. Rumours had it that “The popular franchise would have been renamed ‘Shoes and the City’ had it been released” (*The Guardian* 2011). On many occasions, voices of the characters are lowered or even muted if they utter something inappropriate. On other occasions, whole scenes are cut if the content, whether visual or verbal, cannot be toned down and therefore would most probably clash with the social and religious values of the target audience. This is quite a common practice adopted by the Middle East Broadcasting Center (MBC) and other conservative channels. In this regard, Khatib (2012: 83) argues that:

Certain topics and words were not translated with precision, or were not translated at all. These consisted mainly of those with liberal connotations, atheist allusions or those that denied the existence of God, were drug or alcohol related, or that made sexual references or expressed sexual preferences. Such topics and words were substituted, muted, or dismissed within the translations.

On a slightly more hard-line censorial stance, a number of films were banned from being screened, as their contents violate the standards set by the states—cases in point were *The Passion of the Christ* (Mel Gibson 2004) and *Noah* (Darren Aronofsky 2014), which violate the ‘no bodily depiction of prophets’ rule; *The Kingdom* (Peter Berg 2007) for ‘depicting lies’; *The Danish Girl* (Tom Hooper 2015), which portrays the life of a transgender woman; and *Persepolis* (Marjane Satrapi 2007), whose depiction of God was criticised by religious figures as blasphemous and disrespectful.

In Jordan, the Audiovisual Commission takes on the task of censoring the contents of foreign and local films, and determines whether they can be screened or not. For instance, the sexual scenes in *The Hateful Eight* (Quentin Tarantino 2015) were cut prior to its screening in cinema. Equally, in *Fast & Furious 7* (James Wan 2015), the scene in which the actor Vin Diesel mentions that a billionaire Jordanian prince has invited them for dinner in his luxurious penthouse in Etihad Towers was deleted, as reference to the private life of royal members in Jordan is not acceptable. Moreover, the opening scene of the film *The American Sniper* (Clint Eastwood 2014) has also been deleted, as the voice calling for prayer is heard right before showing the American tanks entering the streets of Baghdad, which is enough to insult the religious feelings of Arab viewers (Masri 2016).

Sometimes, distributors and cinema owners voluntarily apply self-censorship by not showing certain films, as cutting a few scenes would affect the storyline of the film and would make it extremely difficult for the audience to follow the plot. A good example of this is the film *Borat* (Larry Charles 2006) which, according to a report in the *Guardian* (2006), “a censor at Dubai’s Ministry of Information called ‘vile, gross and extremely ridiculous’, adding that if all the offensive scenes were cut out, only 30 minutes would remain”. Traboulsi (2016) also accounts that “*Spotlight* . . . [which] exposed priest sexual abuse in the United States, will not be shown in Lebanon”. He further argues, “While the film itself was not banned outright by Lebanon’s government censors, many suspect it is a case of self-censorship on the part of the distributors due to the ‘sensitive’ topic of the film”. Another clear example of self-imposed censorship is when Shahin, the director of Grand Cinema in Amman, quoted in Masri (2016), preferred not to screen the film *By the Sea* (Angelina Jolie 2015), starring Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie, rather than cutting the sexual scenes, as they are many and very significant to the progress of the plot. On the other hand, the film was shown in cinemas in Egypt after omitting seven strong scenes that are deemed to be inappropriate to the values of the Egyptian society. The film industry in Egypt is not that different from the one in Jordan. Gamal (2008) argues that the standards imposed on AVT have been stringent when dealing with taboo references. Shahin also states that the British film *The Danish Girl*, which was nominated for many Oscar and BAFTA awards, has been banned because it depicts the story of the first people who underwent sex reassignment surgeries in Denmark in the 1930s—a topic which is considered taboo and immoral in most Arab societies (Masri 2016).

It is worth mentioning here that the Arab World, which consists of 22 states, is very diverse, encompassing different cultures, dialects and values. Therefore, the extent to which a certain film is censored might vary from one state to another. In this regard, Díaz Cintas (2001: 65) asserts that there are “differences between the levels of acceptance of bad language and sexual references in audiences that belong to different countries and to different social and ethnic groups within the same country”. This is also true when it comes to the English and the Arabic languages, which are culturally and linguistically distant, and what might be accepted in the West might not be tolerated in the Arab World. Interestingly, Mahasnah, quoted in Masri, argues, “We do not accept the classification that comes with the film. The Jordanian society is different from its neighbours, the Lebanese or the Saudi societies”, elaborating that “what suits the European or the American society does not suit the conservative Jordanian society” (Masri 2016).

A recent study carried out by Northwestern University in Qatar with the collaboration and support of Doha Film Institute, which involved more than 6,000 people from 6 different Arab countries, shows that participants expressed their desire to have more censorship on audiovisual products that include violent or sexual scenes. The study states:

A vast majority believe entertainment content should be regulated for romantic content (69%) that presumably offends Islamic cultural traditions, while 74% want more regulation of violent content. Some 68% opine that offensive films and other entertainment should be banned altogether.

(Dennis et al. 2014: 9)

It goes without saying that modifying or cutting parts of the original contents of foreign films would affect the experience of the Arab audience and present to them an altered representation of the original plot and characters. As Alfaro de Carvalho (2012: 465) points out:

Language control often frustrates both translators and viewers who sometimes complain in informal circles such as internet blogs or forums. While viewers may consider the translations too conservative, patronising or simply wrong, translators usually justify the final results by claiming that the channels or broadcasters censor their translations.

In the Arab World, American sitcoms have been attracting millions of viewers across the region. Several satellite channels, such as MBC group channels, Dubai One and OSN channels, are forced to fill their busy schedules with interesting imported material that would attract as many viewers as possible. Most of the channels, which operate 24 hours a day, tend to repeat some shows twice a day. The challenging nature of these subtitled materials have certainly triggered very interesting discussions on various social platforms, and several linguistic aspects have been introduced and investigated by academics (see Al-Adwan 2015; Thawabteh 2012; Yahiaoui 2016). For instance, Okyayuz (2016) studied the censorship of the Turkish subtitles of season 12 of *Two and Half Men* (Chuck Lorre and Lee Aronsohn 2003–2015) by comparing the Turkish subtitles generated by professional translators versus those published by social translators (fansubbers).

In the realm of dubbing, Yahiaoui (2016) also investigated the problematic issues that Arab translators encounter in translating some sensitive topics in *The Simpsons* (Matt Groening 1989-in production) into Arabic. He argues that there are certain ideological and socio-cultural factors that influence the choices of Arab translators in their final translation. He points out that “people follow, and abide by, certain sociocultural norms”, which “[encompass], for example, habits like food and drink (why certain people do not eat or drink certain items), the use of rude language, nudity, taboos and the like” (Yahiaoui 2016: 183).

Although various foreign audiovisual materials are constantly manipulated and filtered in the Arab World, censorship has not received adequate academic attention. This could be due to the sensitive nature of taboo references, which are rarely discussed in public. It is self-evident that the cultural and religious background of Arab subtitlers, and even their viewers, determines what to expect to watch on screen and what kind of content

they can be exposed to. This results in constantly, and often spontaneously, modifying and toning down various taboo references. In this regard, Scandura (2004: 125) argues:

The most interesting aspect of censorship is perhaps the fact that it occurs not only when external sources like governments, distribution companies or networks force a show or movie to change something or translators to replace certain parts of their translations in order to adhere to what they consider “politically correct,” but also when translators become self-censors by being unaware of sexual connotations, puns on words, taboo elements, etc. or when, in spite of being aware of them, they still decide to modify them to “protect the audience”.

In addition to shedding light on how taboo sexual references might be censored, this chapter also identifies the types of topics that could cause Arab subtitlers discomfort or potential challenges. Censorship is mainly associated with sensitive or insulting areas related to human communication, where participants tend to hide the offensive or embarrassing value of certain utterances, and thus make them less disturbing (Al-Adwan 2009). In media translation, Scandura (2004: 125) points out that “censorship is sometimes present when dubbing and subtitling mask the deletion or replacement of erotic, vulgar or inconvenient sentences, allusions or references”. This suggests that subtitlers tend to adopt a set of strategies to deal with certain delicate issues that vary in strength, including omission, which represents the extreme end of these strategies.

Discussing sex is one of the most sensitive yet often one of the most common subjects in human communication, despite the embarrassment it might cause to parties involved in the interaction. As a result, a large number of euphemisms have been generated in this area to redress the threat or damage triggered by sexual taboo words and consequently allow communication to proceed more smoothly (Al-Adwan 2009). In this regard, Linfoot-Ham argues, “If the size of the euphemism collection indicates the size of the taboo, as suggested by Rawson (1981), the area of sexual taboo is greater than any other” (2005: 229). This claim appears to be sustainable in view of the evidence presented in this study, as the data analysis of sexual references shows that these taboo utterances are the most pervasive topic that is censored in *Two and a Half Men*.

Despite the fact that talking about sexuality is a universal phenomenon that exists in all cultures and societies, there are often religious and moral norms that govern sexual behaviour and how blunt people can be when referring to sexual activities or sex organs in each society. In the Arab World, Islamic teachings, primarily the Quran and Sunna, are the main source of rules that regulate all constituents of life, including sexual practices. Islam, for instance, prohibits premarital sex, extramarital sex, prostitution and homosexuality for the sake of organising society and preventing or controlling sexual diseases.

In addition to religion, habits and traditions in the Arab World play a significant role in determining how to deal with sexuality. Most Arab

societies tend to be conservative, since Arabs pay special attention to their positive face, striving to maintain, enhance or protect their public self-image. In this regard, Shehab et al. (2014: 192) point out, “In the Arab culture, people pay enormous attention to their social roles while interacting and communicating with each other and by using euphemism, they protect their faces”. This will, consequently, result in mitigating the strength of any offensive sexual references or even avoid mentioning them in public. In investigating how various sexual topics are dealt with in Arabic, Habib (2005: 202) points out, “In the Middle East, discussion of sexuality in general has become heavily laden with secrecy and reticence, and depictions of homosexuality necessarily suffer from such rising conservatism”.

In the course of explaining how references to sensitive topics, especially sex, pose serious problems to translators, Baker (1992) discusses the difficulty of handling differences in expressive meaning between English and Arabic in relation to homosexuality. In many Western societies, homosexuality is widely accepted to the extent that gay relationships are increasingly recognised either in the form of civil partnership, as in the United Kingdom, or institutionalised as an actual marriage, as in Belgium, the Netherlands and Spain. On the other hand, Baker (1992: 24) notes that the equivalent expression for this word in Arabic is “*shithuth jinsi* (literally: ‘sexual perversion’)”, which is “inherently more pejorative and would be quite difficult to use in a neutral context without suggesting strong disapproval”. It is interesting that some Arab writers and translators now reject this term in favour of a more neutral neologism—namely, مثليون (based on مثل for ‘alike’). Baker’s account of the linguistic treatment of homosexuality in Arabic indicates that it is a particularly sensitive topic and suggests that a blunt reference to any aspect of homosexual behaviour would be perceived as a serious threat to face in the Arabic context.

Sexual utterances cover a wide range of sexual references and activities: these include the act of sex itself, the body organs associated with the act of sex, types of clothes that cover relevant areas of the body, sexual practices or orientations and sexual disease. Sexual references seem to pose more serious threats to the public self-image of Arab viewers than other types of sensitive topics, leading them to mitigate this threat by adopting a specific set of strategies. Linfoot-Ham, thus, stresses, “The subject of sex, being a major concern in human life and one that is likely to elicit embarrassment, is a potent source of euphemism for western people of most ages and walks of life” (2005: 229). The episodes from *Two and a Half Men*, which constitute the data for this study, are particularly rich in potentially face-threatening sexual references.

2. Case Study

The corpus analysed in this chapter consists of the first nine episodes of the twelfth season of *Two and a Half Men*, created by Chuck Lorre and Lee

Aronsohn. This American sitcom achieved great success during its 12-year broadcast on CBS (2003–2015), attracting millions of viewers across the world, including the Arab World, where different seasons of the sitcom have been shown on a few prominent Arabic satellite channels, such as MBC 4 and OSN. The show has been selected as a case study mainly because of the nature of the language used by the characters and the kind of topics that are dealt with. It is seen as a true depiction of the relationships between young people in modern American society. The finale season revolves around the life of a young millionaire, Walden, who bought a beach house in Malibu; Alan, who is divorced; and his son, Jack, who then move in to live with him as one family. Walden and Alan are known for being womanisers who have several sexual relationships with various women. Later in this season, Walden and Alan decide to fake a gay marriage so that they could be considered for adopting a child—a venture that caused them many problems later on.

3. Data Analysis

Chaume (2004: 1) argues that the main objective of AVT is “To produce a similar effect on the target culture audience as the source text produced on the source culture audience”. In the same vein, Gottlieb (1994: 106), argues that in order to achieve a successful message transmission in subtitling, “one must examine the degree to which the subtitled version as a whole manages to convey the semantic gestalt of the original”. To achieve this similar effect, a few taxonomies of strategies have been proposed to communicate the meanings of cultural and taboo references in the available literature on various types of translation, including AVT. It is worth noting that some of these strategies are commonly used by various taxonomies under the same exact names, while others are labelled differently.

After carrying out a comparative linguistic analysis between the original script and the Arabic subtitles of the episodes, a total number of 113 taboo sexual references were identified. These references, which tend to evoke a sense of embarrassment or effrontery in the Arabic context, fall under three main categories: sexual acts, sexual insults and sexual organs. The data analysis also shows that Arab subtitlers consistently resort to four strategies in subtitling sexual utterances into Arabic—namely, *semantic misrepresentation*, *implication*, *reversed metonymy* and *omission*. These strategies, which are derived from taxonomies proposed by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007), Gottlieb (1992) and Al-Adwan (2015), are mainly adopted in order to minimise any potential threat or apprehension attached to the identified sexual utterances in the original text.

Table 5.1 shows the number of strategies identified and their frequency in translating sexual references in the Arabic subtitles of *Two and a Half Men*.

Table 5.1 Strategies for translating sexual references and their frequency

Identified Strategy	Number of Instances	Percentage
Semantic Misrepresentation	42	37.2
Implication	40	35.4
Reversed Metonymy	18	15.9
Omission	13	11.5

3.1 Semantic Misrepresentation

This linguistic process is the most frequently employed strategy by Arab subtitlers in the corpus, constituting 37.2%. The employment of this strategy resulted in a distorted translation that does not capture the essence of the original dialogue and will consequently mislead the target viewers and often puzzle them with what is written on screen. The following extract from episode 4, which features a dialogue between Alan and Walden, illustrates this strategy:

English Script	Arabic Subtitles	Back Translation
Alan: God, you smell good.	يا الهي، رائحتك جيدة.	Oh my God. Your smell is good.
Walden: Alan, you want to come up for some air?	هل تريد استنشاق بعض الهواء؟	Do you want to have some air?
Alan: Oh, sorry. Just got excited (chuckles).	انا اسف. لقد تحمست بعض الشيء	I am sorry. I got a bit excited.
Walden: About the baby?	تحمست بشأن الطفل؟	Excited about the baby.
Alan: Sure.	بالتأكيد	Of course.

In the earlier example, it appears that the subtitler opted for a literal translation of the phrase *got excited*, and by doing so, he/she fails to recapture the intended meaning of the utterance. In this dialogue, Alan, who puts his head on the mother's belly, took advantage of the fact that the utterance *excited* could mean enthusiastic to do something or sexually aroused—i.e. attracted to the mother in this context. Not unexpectedly, this literal translation of the original utterance sacrificed the original meaning and deprived the Arab audience from fully grasping Alan's real intentions, as *تحمست* 'excited' does not carry a sexual connotation in Arabic.

Another example that can clearly illustrate the use of this strategy is the following dialogue from the second episode:

English Script	Arabic Subtitles	Back Translation
Walden: You are . . . always there for me.	لقد ساندتني في جميع الاوقات	You have always supported me.
Alan: Yeah, and-and you're always there for me. We're best friends.	نعم، و انت كذلك. نحن افضل الاصدقاء	Yes, and you are the same. We are friends.
Walden: What if we were more than friends?	ماذا لو كنا اكثر من مجرد صديقين؟	What if we were more than friends?
Alan: Like . . . super friends?	هل تعني اصدقاء مميزين؟	Do you have special friends?
Walden: Alan Harper, will you marry me?	هل تود المكوث معي يا (البن هاربر)	Do you want to stay with me, Alan Harper?
Alan: Are you seriously asking me to marry you?	هل انت جاد بهذا الخصوص؟	Are you serious about this issue?

In this exchange, Walden is proposing to Alan after realising that it is almost impossible to adopt a child if they are not married. The notion of same-sex marriage is condemned in Islam and other monotheist faiths, and not tolerated in the Arab World, as it deviates from the religious and social norms. Despite the fact that Arab translators have started using the word *مثلي*, 'same sex' to refer to gay people, the Arab subtitler perceived it as a source of threat that cannot be communicated to the target audience. Therefore, the question "will you marry me?" has been manipulated to an extent that it was inaccurately rendered into Arabic as 'هل تود المكوث معي يا (البن هاربر)؟', 'do you want to stay with me, Alan Harper?' By employing *semantic misrepresentation*, the subtitler managed to mask the disagreeable meaning of the original dialogue and offered viewers a subtler rendering that makes sense in this given context. Consequently, the audience may not notice that they have been offered a distorted representation of the original.

3.2 Implication

This strategy is the second-most commonly used technique, constituting 35.4% of the overall adopted strategies. This linguistic process "involves two propositions, where the second is usually a logical consequence of the first" (Al-Adwan 2015). Therefore, the meaning is communicated indirectly, since interlocutors realise that there is an antecedent to a consequent relationship between a certain word and the intended meaning (Warren 1992). The following extract from episode 8 clearly illustrates the use of this strategy:

English Script	Arabic Subtitles	Back Translation
Alan: Oh my God!	يا الهي	Oh my God!
Walden: What happened?	ماذا حدث؟	What happened?
Alan: I saw Mommy banging Santa Claus.	لقد رأيت امي تنام مع بابا نويل	I saw my mum sleeping with Santa Claus.

This scene takes place in Walden's house, where he asks an actor to play the role of Santa Claus so that his adopted son Louis believes that he is real. During the preparation, Alan's mother, Evelyn, and the hired actor got drunk and end up having sex. Alan sees them and rushes hysterically to Walden to tell him about what he saw. In this dialogue, the Arab subtitler identified the slang word *banging* as a direct threat to an Arab audience and consequently decided to transfer it indirectly as *sleeping with* (تنام مع). Despite the subtitler's unwillingness to communicate the literal meaning in the Arabic subtitles, the target viewers would easily infer the implied meaning, especially when they hear Evelyn and the actor moaning in one of the rooms. Moreover, the fact that Evelyn is an alcoholic and is also known for having strong sexual desires will certainly strengthen this assumption.

Another instance in which the Arab subtitler opted for *implication* can be observed in the following dialogue from the third episode:

English Script	Arabic Subtitles	Back Translation
Alan: Oh, hey, uh, what should I put down for, uh. . . "Why do you want to adopt a child?"	ماذا يجب ان اكتب هنا؟ لماذا ترغب بتبني طفلا؟	What should I write here? Why do you want to adopt a child?
Walden: 'Cause we're dudes, and we don't have baby holes?	لانتنا رجال و لا نستطيع انجاب الاطفال	Because we are men and cannot give birth to babies?

In this excerpt, Alan and Walden visit an adoption agency after they got married. They are asked to fill in an application form in which they are asked about the reason for adopting a child. Being very ironic, Walden answers "it is because they simply do not have *baby holes*." Despite the fact that *baby holes* figuratively refers to the vagina, the Arab subtitler euphemised the phrase to allow the audience to infer the intended meaning of this pejorative expression. Therefore, *implication* is implemented to communicate the intended message without using Walden's exact words. Needless to say, Arab viewers would be confused when they hear canned laughter in the background after reading the translation of Walden's utterances, as the Arabic equivalent 'men cannot give birth to babies' is not that humorous.

3.3 Reversed Metonymy

Reversed metonymy was frequently adopted by Arab subtitlers, with 15.9% of occurrences. This linguistic process involves substituting “an attribute or an aspect of an entity [. . .] for the entity or in which a part substitutes for the whole” (Tymoczko 1999: 42). However, Al-Adwan (2015) argues that the direction of metonymy is reversed in euphemising taboo words in subtitling, where a specific attribute or part is replaced with a more general entity, or, as Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) call it, “generalization by hypernym” in their taxonomy of translating cultural references. The analysis of the corpus reveals that Arab subtitlers often adopt this strategy in translating references related to sexual organs, replacing them with more general parts, or the body as a whole. The following extract from episode 7 is a good illustration of this manipulation process:

<i>English Script</i>	<i>Arabic Subtitles</i>	<i>Back Translation</i>
Laurel: You think you're scared? I have a daughter. I worry about all the same things you do, plus penises .	هل انت خائف؟ لدي طفلة و اهتم بجميع هذه الامور بالاضافة الى الرجال	Are you scared? I have a daughter and care about all these things, plus men .
Walden: And with you, you have to worry about animated penises .	و بالنسبة لك يجب ان تهتمى بالرجال الاليين؟	And with you, you have to care about animated men .
Laurel: I should have never told you that.	ما كان يجب علي ان اخبرك بذلك	I should have never told you that.

Laurel, an attractive single mother, buys a bottle of wine and visits Walden in his apartment. In this dialogue, Walden and Laurel discuss how difficult it is to raise a child. In an attempt to offer some support to Walden, Laurel tells him that she carries a huge burden on her shoulders as she looks after her daughter, as well as looking for men to satisfy her sexual desires. The subtitler recognised the word *penises* as a source of threat that would most probably offend Arab viewers. Consequently, the subtitler opted for *reversed metonymy* to defuse the strength of this utterance by translating it into Arabic as الرجال ‘men’. The employment of this strategy has clearly generated a translation that is not humorous in this particular context compared to the original English dialogue. Moreover, the canned laughter following Laurel’s turn adds an extra level of difficulty, as viewers would expect to see or read something funny when they hear laughter in the background.

Another instance that illustrates the use of this strategy can be seen in the following extract from the first episode:

<i>English Script</i>	<i>Arabic Subtitles</i>	<i>Back Translation</i>
Alan: Oh, ladies. I'm sorry, you just got here during a bit of a . . . Ooh, I can see your nipples , officer.	اهلا ايتهما الفتيات، انا متاسف لقد . . . وصلتن في وقت أستطيع ان ارى صدرك ايتهما الضابط	Hi girls, I am sorry you got here during a . . . I can see your chest , officer.
Girl: Anything you see will be held against you.	اي شيء تراه سوف يستخدم ضدك	Anything you see will be held against you.

In this scene, Alan and Walden are preparing for a Halloween party in their house. Walden has invited his friend Stacy, who is supposed to bring with her a 'cute' friend for Alan to celebrate the occasion. While waiting for the girls to arrive, Walden has a minor heart attack. Alan opens the door for the girls, who are wearing 'hot costumes'; one of them is dressed as a police officer and the other as Harry Potter. In Alan's turn, the word *nipples* depicts part of an organ which could at times have a sexual connotation. In this context, bearing in mind the revealing nature of the girls' costume, *nipples* has been identified as a potential source of embarrassment for the Arab audience. Thus the Arabic subtitler opted for *reversed metonymy*, translating it as صدرك 'your chest'. Despite the attempt of the Arab subtitler to soften the strength of the original word through this strategy, the Arab viewers would most probably infer the sexual intentions of Alan. It is clear that the subtitler's main priority is not to communicate the exact sexual reference into Arabic, even if he or she realises that the visual channel will most probably compromise this mission.

3.4 Omission

Omission, which is featured in Gottlieb's taxonomy (1992) as *deletion*, is the least employed strategy by Arab subtitlers, constituting 11.5%. It is often used when English words cannot be toned down in Arabic without impinging on the face of the target viewers. It is also used when the original utterance refers to an offensive sexual act that does not exist in the target culture. A good example that illustrates this case is the following extract from the first episode, which features a dialogue between Walden and Alan:

<i>English Script</i>	<i>Arabic Subtitles</i>	<i>Back Translation</i>
Walden: Apparently, the whole system is geared towards married couples. And single guys are not welcome.	يبدو ان النظام يستقبل المتزوجين فقط. الاشخاص العزب غير مرحب بهم	Alden: The system seems to accept married people only. Single guys are not welcome.
Alan: Like a Studio City swingers' party.	كما هو الحال في حفلات المدينة	Like what happens in city parties.

In the earlier exchange, Alan explains that the adoption agency does not receive any applications from single guys, and, therefore, his chances to adopt a baby are practically nil. At this moment, Alan cracks a joke, saying that this situation is very similar to *swingers' parties* where only married couples are welcomed. Arab subtitlers identified *swingers' party* as an utterance that would offend Arab viewers, especially since such parties are legally banned and religiously prohibited in the Arab World. In order not to refer to this practice, the subtitler decided to delete the word *swingers* and thus avoided communicating the sensitive sexual meaning of the word. It is evident that Arab translators find it difficult to retain the humorous effect of this sex-related utterance in the Arabic subtitles.

Another example which illustrates the use of *omission* is the following segment from the fourth episode:

English Script	Arabic Subtitles	Back Translation
<p>Walden: Okay, listen. If we want this girl to give us her baby, she has to think that we're a well-adjusted couple. And I'm only saying this cause I'm getting a creepy vibe off of you.</p>	<p>استمع الان. اذا اردنا ان تعطينا الفتاة طفلها فيجب ان ترانى كشخصين متفاهمين. انا اقول هذا لانه يرتابني شعور غريب تجاهك</p>	<p>Listen now. If you want the girl to give us her baby, she has to see us as understanding guys. I am saying this because I get a weird feeling about you.</p>
<p>Alan: Says the guy who Googled Helen Mirren <i>nip slip</i>.</p>	<p>تقول هذا و انت تبحث عن صور (هيلين مايرن) في الانترنت</p>	<p>You say this and you search for Helen Mirren's pictures on the Internet.</p>
<p>Walden: Helen is timeless.</p>	<p>(هيلين) حالة استثنائية</p>	<p>Helen is an exceptional case.</p>

In this scene, Walden and Alan are waiting for a nine-month pregnant lady who is visiting them to make sure that her baby will be raised in a healthy environment. After Alan's question about whether the mom is hot or not, Walden lectures him on the importance of this meeting in adopting a child and requests from him to behave properly. Being very cynical, Alan is not happy with the reaction of Walden, who often searches for nude pictures on Google. The phrase *nip slip*, which refers to an accidental exposure of a female's nipple in public, is identified as a source of embarrassment by the Arab subtitler. Therefore, this phrase was forfeited in the Arabic translation, offering the target viewers a sanitised version of Alan's turn. Undoubtedly, the employment of *omission* in this example resulted in a clash between what is written on the screen and canned laughter. Viewers would most probably be confused and wonder why Alan's turn is humorous in this particular instance.

4. Conclusions

Subtitling audiovisual content of a humorous or taboo nature is a challenge for most Arab translators. What makes the task even more cumbersome is the fact that Western and Arabic cultures are quite divergent. Arab subtitlers operate under pressures of state patronage and self-censorship to produce adequate and acceptable content for their target audience. This is mainly due to the religious and cultural background of most Arab viewers, which compels them to behave and speak in certain ways in public.

This study shows that Arab subtitlers resort to four strategies in translating sexual references in *Two and a Half Men* into Arabic: *semantic misrepresentation, implication, reversed metonymy* and *omission*. The analysis also shows that Arab subtitlers have often failed to recapture the intended meanings of various humorous taboo utterances of the source text and consequently constructed a distorted representation of the characters of the show. Moreover, it is noted that the major bulk of the intended humour triggered by various sexual utterances in *Two and a Half Men* is not accessible to Arab viewers, as it “requires insight and creativity, but it is also a matter of establishing priorities” (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007: 214). Arab subtitlers tend to protect the face of their viewers by modifying and filtering potentially offensive utterances that are mainly related to sexuality. It is also evident that there is often a clash between the Arabic subtitles displayed on-screen and canned laughter in the background, as well as the facial expressions of the characters that are usually used to trigger and signal humorous instances.

Finally, it is concluded that sex-related words constitute another area of lexis that explicitly threatens the public image of Arab interlocutors. However, like other types of taboo words, whether a sexual expression is offensive, and the extent to which it may be considered offensive, is culturally and linguistically specific.

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6 Gender in Game Localization

The Case of *Mass Effect 3*'s FemShep

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1. Introduction

“Every field has its own distinct vocabulary, used to shape a language for dialogue. Talking about gender is no different” (Bolich 2007: 7), and before discussing the linguistic and textual representation of gender in *Mass Effect 3* (Electronic Arts 2012) Italian localization this chapter aims to scrutinize, it is worth briefly explaining what gender refers to in gaming-related research.

According to Consalvo (2012: 245–246), great attention has been paid to gender issues in video games over the past decades, especially as regards the representation of female characters, interests and experiences of female players and the game industry composition in terms of demographic representation. In other words, when dealing with gender and video games, many aspects of their relationship may be considered, and, as Consalvo (2012: 246) remarks, most of them concern female gender and particularly its role, which, given the mass media status of video games, in a basic communication model may be investigated as sender (female developers in the game industry), receiver (female players and girl games) and message (women’s physical and role representation in game content). Video games have been described as gendered play spaces in a hypermasculine arena, with most products being designed by men for boys and men (Corrado 2009: 363). In particular, with respect to content, most video games overwhelmingly portray stereotypical gender roles: women, when featured, are negatively represented as highly sexualized, with overly exaggerated feminine features, often provocatively dressed or undressed; they play passive roles as subordinate and submissive characters; victims of violence, especially as prostitutes and strippers; or damsels in distress (Corrado 2009: 363; Cunningham 2012: 407). As Cunningham (2012: 407) points out, “Video games are important symbolic sites for conveying messages about appropriate gender roles and perceptions of social reality”, which, from a linguistic and translational perspective proper, have attracted little academic attention so far.

Indeed, gender is still an underexplored area in game localization, probably because of the infancy of this translational subdomain as a scholarly field in its own right. Apart from the seminal works of Maxwell-Chandler and O'Malley-Deming (2012), O'Hagan and Mangiron (2013) and Bernal-Merino (2015), very few, yet meaningful, contributions have been offered on the topic. For example, Maxwell-Chandler and O'Malley-Deming (2012: 315–326) offer an interesting case study of the localization of *Fable II* (Microsoft Game Studios 2008) and underline that “one of the main text challenges in this project was gender control” because, since this title “can be played as a male or female hero” (2012: 321), when translating into languages with a grammatical gender system, all lines had to be duplicated unless “a good neutral sentence was applicable” (2012: 322). Czech (2013) demonstrates that the lack of situational context in game localization can lead to several complications related to sociolinguistic aspects such as proper gender marking in Polish. In particular, according to Czech (2013: 15), the “unnatural sounding expressions” in *Mass Effect 2* (Electronic Arts 2010) localization from English into Polish result from translators' arbitrary decisions owing to the absence of contextual information regarding the characters' gender. Šiaučiūnė and Liubinienė (2011: 51) go even further and show how the incorrect translation of the English third-person singular pronoun “it” into the feminine-marked equivalent pronoun in Lithuanian turns out to be a potential “linguistic plot-stopper” (Dietz 2006: 125), which creates an impasse in the gameplay of *Magic Encyclopedia: The First Story* (Alawar Entertainment 2008). In fact, the original English pronoun refers to a semantically masculine object, but the Lithuanian translation “induces the player to search for female gender objects and after fruitless efforts to identify them, the player is forced to move on trying to identify an object of masculine gender” (Šiaučiūnė and Liubinienė 2011: 51). Gender seems to be a variable that deserves special attention in game localization, and research may prove essential to shed some light on the linguistic and translational nature of the topic.

Given the complexity of the issue in video games, this chapter does not aspire to offer an exhaustive analysis of all its facets, but rather aims to offer a preliminary overview of the gender-related issues that are specific to game localization and to examine how the challenges they pose are dealt with by language professionals in the transfer from English into Italian. Moreover, this chapter aims to show how video games' software nature affects translation as far as gender is concerned, thus highlighting the role technology plays in this field, and to offer new insights on the subject from the perspective of game localization proper, still within the wider framework of “audiovisual translation (AVT) studies” (Bassnett 2014: 142), of which the former is considered “the periphery” (Bogucki 2013: 30).

Moreover, given the market-driven nature of the game industry, it is possible to speculate that the increasing number of female players, which amounts to 41% according to the Entertainment Software Association (2016: 3), will have direct consequences on female representation in video games, at least to promote their identification with avatars. This is evident, for example, in the titles casting either male and female lead playable characters, which have increased to 46% of the games presented at the Electronic Entertainment Expo 2015 (Feminist Frequency 2015: online). Consequently, as Blüml remarks (2014: 37), the *Mass Effect* (*ME* hereafter) series exemplifies how the game industry's way of addressing gender issues has evolved over time. This chapter deals with a game whose protagonist's gender biology and identity may be customized: players may select either a male or female avatar and romance options include both heterosexual and homosexual relationships. However, for the purposes of this chapter, the analysis focuses on womanhood and femininity, and examines how the female protagonist is textually and linguistically represented in the Italian version of *Mass Effect 3* (*ME3* hereafter).

Section 2 briefly presents *ME3* and discusses its most relevant features as a gender-customizable video game, with special attention to the playable character's female version. Background information about the game as a very demanding localization project is provided in Section 3. One gender-related translational issue in game localization—namely, variables—is explored in Section 4 to outline the theoretical framework for the following analysis in Section 5. Findings present two different translational phenomena concerning gender representation in *ME3* Italian localization—namely, grammar and style—which are illustrated in Subsections 5.1 and 5.2, respectively. On the one hand, this chapter shows the unavoidable grammatical gender issues emerging in the transfer from English into Italian; on the other hand, the findings show a gender-specific approach to audio localization that finally contributes to the linguistic customization of *ME3* gender-variable gaming experience.

2. Gender in *Mass Effect 3*: FemShep

ME3 is a science fiction, action, role-playing game (RPG) that was developed by BioWare and published by Electronic Arts in 2012 as a multiplatform title. It marks the final chapter in the trilogy “*Mass Effect*”, which was first released in 2007, and it completes the story of Commander Shepard, a human elite soldier who must save the Galaxy from the invasion of the Reapers, a synthetic-machine race dedicated to wiping out all organic life.

As already mentioned, Commander Shepard is the game's playable protagonist, and, as usually happens in RPGs, *ME* titles allow players

to either select a default character or completely customize their own Shepard in terms of class, thus determining a consistent set of weapons and powers, preservice history, psychological profile, physical appearance, etc. More relevantly for this study, *ME* titles allow players to choose their avatar's gender and therefore to play Commander Shepard as either male or female, in the latter case, the commander is commonly referred to as "FemShep"—i.e. the protagonist's version this study focuses on.

According to BioWare statistics (Petitte 2013: online), 18% of all players who finished *ME3* selected the female character, meaning nearly one player in five. Since "there aren't enough female heroes in games in general", "it's something that people can rally around and celebrate" (Purchase 2011: online). However, to understand this figure fully, it seems worth considering that, although FemShep was a fully developed character in both *ME* (Electronic Arts 2007) and *ME2* (Electronic Arts 2010), she only made her first public international appearance in the final chapter of the saga. Indeed, it was during *ME3* international marketing campaign in June 2011 that BioWare announced a trailer featuring FemShep and her appearance on packaging for the game collector's edition, which is actually a "one side male, one side female" cover (McWhertor 2011: online). Moreover, in July 2011, for the purpose of boosting players' engagement, BioWare decided to run a competition on their Facebook fan page and invited players to vote for their favorite female Commander Shepard design option. In other words, fans' votes determined how FemShep looks in-game and on the box art of *ME3* collector's edition.

When asked the reasons why marketing did not include FemShep before, BioWare Marketing Director David Silverman said that they wanted to keep a certain level of consistency to help people unfamiliar with the franchise to identify the hero of *ME* universe clearly (Hillier 2011: online). However, if we consider *ME* prospective players, it is also true that, as some reviewers remark (Usher 2011: online), marketing a male hero to other males is easier than marketing a fully clothed and non-over-sexualized heroine to young males. After all, as Blüml (2014: 35) underlines, with freckles, red-brown hair, green eyes and a well-proportioned body, FemShep is never presented as a sex object, and she does not fit the damsel in distress cliché, but instead displays self-assurance and independence. Interestingly, this seems the reason why FemShep is considered to be one of the most popular heroines in gaming history (Cobbett 2012: online), or even one of gaming's first true feminist and feminine protagonists (Hillier 2011). Based on this premise, FemShep turns out to be a case in point for the purposes of this study, which aims to show how gender affects game translation in order to immerse players in a FemShep-led experience.

3. *Mass Effect 3*: Localization

ME3 was distributed internationally in seven languages—namely, French, Italian, German and Spanish plus Polish, Russian and Japanese, though with different levels of localization (Maxwell-Chandler and O'Malley-Deming 2012: 8–10): while it was fully localized into Italian and French, it was only partially localized into German, Spanish, Polish, Russian and Japanese.

As usually happens in RPGs, *ME3* is a very text-heavy project. The US English original version contains more than 800,000 words and nearly 97,000 text strings of 35 different string types while the Italian target text (TT), quite unexpectedly, presents “only” about 770,000 words. In fact, the overall series stands out for being very text heavy, as Christou et al. disclose (2011: 40–41).

Moreover, given the story-driven nature of this title, it comes as no surprise that 59,509 (61%) of all strings are dialogue, since this is “one of the most powerful tools available to writers for narrative purposes” (Christou et al. 2011: 40), and this is particularly true in RPGs, which is one of the most text-intensive game genres containing countless dialogue lines. This is the reason why the analysis will focus on this text type—i.e. in-game dialogues during both interactive sequences and cut-scenes. More in details, *ME3* text strings which fall into the type labeled “dialog” are divided into voice-over lines and paraphrase strings of the so-called dialogue tree: this is BioWare’s narrative device, which allows players to intervene in the storytelling process and consists “of a list of all dialogue options which branch off into further options” (O’Hagan and Mangiron 2013: 144). Expectedly enough, voice-over lines outnumber paraphrase strings, representing 86% of all dialogue strings.

With regard to conversation roles, on the basis of the *ME3* localization database, characters may be either speaker or listener. Since the focus of this study is on Commander Shepard, it seems worth mentioning that dialogue strings casting him/her as speaker or listener represent 97%, more precisely 24% as speaker and 74% as listener. Quantitatively speaking, if we consider that there are more than 500 characters in *ME3*, these figures turn out to be very relevant, and, more importantly, they testify to Commander Shepard’s leading role in the game storyline. Accordingly, it seems worth investigating how his/her gender affects the translation from English into Italian.

4. Gender in Game Localization: Variables

Commonly referred to as a type of specialized translation area that combines elements of AVT and software localization, game localization seems to exemplify the constant erosion and the increasing convergence these two disciplines are currently facing because of technological advances, with clear implications for translation as both a professional practice and as an area

of academic research (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013: 1). Indeed, the translation of multimedia interactive entertainment software requires language professionals to deal with medium-specific challenges and constraints that remarkably affect their transfer and that represent clear indicators of the uniqueness of this translation realm. In games that allow players to customize their avatar's gender, such as *ME3*, this option poses one of these unique challenges—namely, variables.

Also known as “placeholders”, variables “are values that hold the space for different text or numerical strings—such as proper nouns, numerals, and objects—and they change depending on certain conditions specific to the player action” (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013: 132). They are directly relevant to the interactivity in games because they allow displaying a wide number of attributes for players' characters such as name, gender, profession, nationality, etc. (Bernal-Merino 2015: 147). In other words, as far as language and translation are concerned, variables are video games' textual devices, which allow the game engine to display gender-specific strings properly.

From the perspective of game translation, given the lack of co-textual and contextual information owing to textual non-linearity, this phenomenon may give rise to several linguistic issues, because it can lead to inconsistencies and incorrect sentences across different languages. For example, grammatical errors may result from different word orders, while special attention must be paid to gender and number agreement between different parts of speech in the transfer from English into Romance languages (Díaz-Montón 2007: online; O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013: 132–133; Bernal-Merino 2015: 147–152). As Heimburg (2006: 142) also underlines, “A common problem with games that were originally coded in English is that the developers did not consider the possibility that items might have gender”. After all, it is common knowledge that “English has no grammatical gender at all” and that gender in English is mainly “a semantic category” (Hellinger and Bußmann 2001: 107). Since translators cannot know whether the variable will be replaced by an item of masculine or feminine gender, for the sake of game writing quality, this type of linguistic information must be, one might say, “translated” into computing instructions to the game engine (Heimburg 2006). As O'Hagan and Mangiron (2013: 133) highlight, “Due to the increasing importance granted by the game industry to internationalization and localization”, in order to cope with the challenges posed by variables, developers started to create their own set of computing instructions. Square Enix, for example, use a system based on grammatical branching macros (Honeywood 2007: online). Other developers use a metalanguage, which is a simple set of codes and characters used to mark variables with tags indicating language-specific grammatical data (Heimburg 2006: 142).

The meta-language works by embedding data into the noun strings, so that the sentence and paragraph strings can use that data. For the meta-language to work, each noun string must be properly marked

with tags indicating which grammatical rules apply to that item. This is accomplished by appending a few special letters to the end of the noun. (These special characters are removed before the string is displayed to the player).

(Heimburg 2006: 142–143)

Regarding gender in particular, according to Heimburg (2006: 143), gender-specific tags which are embedded in nouns and names appear as follows: [m] for male and [f] for female. Moreover, tags may be used for more than just articles, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, etc.; in fact, the entire meaning of the sentence may change depending on the gender of the person (Heimburg 2006: 151), as findings discussed in Section 5.2 will show. Since BioWare use their own metalanguage to handle issues of gender variables, the following section explores how this computing code appears in the dialogue lines of *ME3* Italian localization.

5. Gender in *Mass Effect 3*: Italian Localization

As already discussed, *ME3* players' gender choice remarkably affects in-game texts since, as a result, all linguistic items used to address or refer to the playable character vary, thanks to the game engine that displays gender-specific strings. In an e-mail message to the author on August 4, 2015, Irene Panzeri, content and staff manager at Synthesis International, the latter being the vendor that performed *ME3* localization into Italian, explains that *ME3* localization team differentiated, as indicated by BioWare, male Shepard's dialogues from female Shepard's ones by means of a metalanguage based on the tags "{M}" and "{F}". This system was originally created by Synthesis and then developed with BioWare, with the aim of combining the project's technical requirements with the linguistic needs of the localization process. As BioWare's translation conventions indicate, as reported in Electronic Arts' *ME3* glossary, since "there is no need to translate the strings twice for male and female", translators must use "a hybrid system where only the word or part of the sentence that needs to be feminized is changed", in which "anything inside the M-tagged portion belongs to the masculine translation only" and "anything inside the F-tagged portion belongs to the feminine translation only". It means that all gender-variable strings are tagged with either "{M}" for male Shepard or "{F}" for female Shepard and these tags are embedded in gender-specific portions within square brackets in text strings, which are displayed accordingly on the basis of the player's gender choice. Once all the strings have been tagged, they become variables in sentences and paragraphs that use the metalanguage to enable several different alternate wordings and, more importantly, the generation of correct sentences (Heimburg 2006: 144). As a result, {M} and {F} allow the game engine to detect either male or female Shepard-related texts and appropriately trigger them in the Italian version. In other words, if the player selects

female gender, all texts in dialogue strings presenting this variable will be selected because they are tagged with {F}, and therefore the player will hear those gender-specific, voiced-over lines and will read those gender-specific subtitles.

In *ME3* localization from English into Italian, the male/female gender option has produced 1,976 gender-tagged dialogue lines, 99.5% of all instances in all string types. Regarding their nature, the qualitative analysis of their variation shows two different translational phenomena—i.e. differences fall into two linguistic categories: grammar and style. However, the aforementioned tag system is the operating principle at the base of both gender-specific string categories: those resulting from grammatical concord and those deriving from voice-over professionals' stylistic choices.

As concerns the second category, in an e-mail message to the author on August 4, 2015, Irene Panzeri explains that voice-over actors occasionally changed the translated game script during recording sessions, still within the limits of game characters' personas as envisioned by the writers, with the aim of making dialogues sound more natural. Therefore, most of the differences are the result of audio localization professionals' personal tastes. In more detail, as synthesis audio manager Ambra Ravaglia clarifies in an e-mail message to the author on February 5, 2016, recording sessions for male and female Shepard dialogues took place separately, and, more importantly, actors were not pressured by voice-over constraints thanks to the automatic synchronization performed by the game engine. Accordingly, male and female Shepard's performers—namely, Claudio Moneta and Cinzia

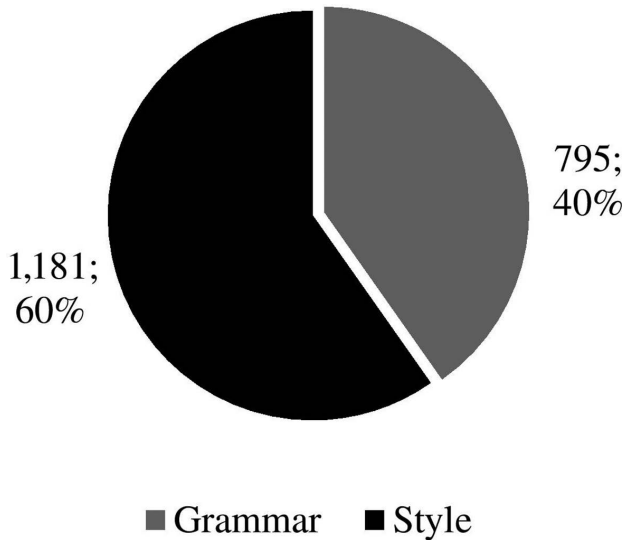


Figure 6.1 Linguistic categories of gender-tagged strings in *ME3* Italian localization

Massironi—could freely voice the translated dialogue strings and adjust wording to their personal interpretation of Commander Shepard’s language.

This form of translators’ agency is generally uncommon in the industry, because voice-over recording is one of the final steps of the localization process and changes in this phase are very expensive and time consuming. Nevertheless, according to Christou et al. (2011: 43), “It is possible for source text to be modified for the purposes of in-studio edits” but “subtitled text has to match the VO [voice-over] recorded by an actor”. “If an EN [English] VO actor is more comfortable saying “the earth” instead of “the world”, for example, the EN source text will have to be changed to reflect this altered phrasing” (Christou et al. 2011: 43).

BioWare’s approach to voice-over professionals’ agency, or, better said, their willingness to modify texts according to in-studio edits, testifies to their commitment to quality localization. This is especially true for full localization projects such as *ME3*, because, since they include both audio and subtitles in the target language (TL), if voiced-over dialogues do not match with subtitles, as occasionally happens, TL native-speaker players will immediately perceive the project’s inconsistency and classify the quality as poor.

Going back to the linguistic representation of gender in *ME3*, the following subsections present examples of the two categories of gender-specific strings in dialogues.

5.1 *The Grammatical Representation of Gender*

The first group of gender-specific strings depends, expectedly enough, on the TL grammar and, specifically, on the TL mandatory gender agreement. In the transfer from languages with only a semantic gender system, such as English, into languages with a formal gender system, such as Italian, translators must deal with gender as a “grammatical category” (Corbett 1991: 1), which is reflected in the behavior of all associated words. Gender is marked morphologically on all linguistic elements that are syntactically associated with one (gendered) referent. On a formal level, agreement, or concord, establishes a morpho-syntactic relationship between satellite elements and the referent’s gender through grammatical marking or inflection.

The “grammatical” representation of gender in *ME3* dialogues includes 795 instances (40%) of gender-specific strings: this means that all linguistic items syntactically associated with male or female Commander Shepard inflect to agree with his/her gender, and thus they are gender-marked. For instance, when Commander Shepard (the player) is the speaker character, in example (1) in the original “I’m sure”, the adjective “sure” becomes either “certo” if male or “certa” if female; in (2), “I was there” is translated into either “ci sono andato” if male or “ci sono andata” if female; in (3) in “a transhuman”, the indefinite article and the noun are rendered into either “un transumano” if male or “una transumana” if female; and in (4),

“this one” becomes either “il sottoscritto” or “la sottocritta”, and “hero” is translated into either “eroe” or “eroina” if male or female, respectively.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (1) | I'm sure you did everything you could, Mordin. | Sono [[M]certo][F]certa che tu abbia fatto tutto il possibile, Mordin. |
| (2) | I was there. So was the Illusive Man. | Ci sono [[M]andato][F]andata . E anche l'Uomo Misterioso. |
| (3) | Do my implants make me a transhuman ? | I miei impianti mi rendono [[M]un transumano][F]una transumana ? |
| (4) | Uh, this one is the hero of the Citadel. | Uh, [[M]il sottoscritto è l'eroe][F]la sottocritta è l'eroina della Cittadella. |

When Commander Shepard (the player) is the listener character, in example (5), the verb “look out” in the original warning becomes a gender-variable adjective—namely, “attento” if male or “attenta” if female; the response to an order “aye-aye” is transferred into either “sissignore” or “sissignora” (yes, sir/madam), as in (6); the definite article “the” articulates with the preposition “from” and they become either “dal” or “dalla”, while “migliore” is alike due to its gender-neutral word ending letter “e” in example (7); in (8), the past participle of the reflexive verb becomes either “dimostrato” or “dimostrata” and the noun phrase “a capable warrior” is translated into either “un abile guerriero” or “un’abile guerriera”, where the apostrophe signals the absence of the vowel “a” in the feminine indefinite article “una” because of the following word initial vowel.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (5) | Shepard! Look out! | Shepard! [[M]Attento][F]Attenta! |
| (6) | Aye-aye , Commander. | [[M]Sissignore][F]Sissignora ,
comandante. |
| (7) | Well, he learned from the best , Commander. | Beh, ha imparato [[M]dal][F]dalla]
migliore, comandante. |
| (8) | Shepard, you proved yourself a capable warrior on Sur’Kesh. | Shepard, su Sur’Kesh ti sei
[[M]dimostrato un abile guerriero]
[[F]dimostrata un’abile guerriera] . |

For the purposes of comprehensiveness, as far as conversation roles are concerned, it seems worth mentioning that grammatical gender agreement is also mandatory when Commander Shepard is not the speaker or the listener, but only the referent—namely, the person referred to by two non-playable characters. However, this group presents a very small number of occurrences that do not deserve special attention.

An in-depth discussion of Italian gender agreement, its rules and its influence on all parts of speech, would be very interesting but outside the scope

of this study. Roughly speaking, those who are not familiar with Italian language may understand this phenomenon by paying attention to the general one-to-one correspondence between gender-tagged strings and the words ending in “o” or “a”, which are enclosed in square brackets. These letters are the morphological suffixes Italian grammar uses to mark masculine or feminine gender agreement.

Remarkably enough, as shown in Figure 6.1, in Italian, only 40% of all instances belong to the grammatical representation of gender, because the second and larger group of gender-specific dialogue strings fall into the linguistic category of “style”.

5.2 The Stylistic Representation of Gender

As the outcome of choices made by voice-over professionals during audio localization, the “stylistic” representation of gender includes 1,181 instances (60%) in dialogue strings, which cast Commander Shepard as only a speaker. More interestingly, with regard to this second category, the arbitrary change in wording when recording the two characters’ lines has produced gendered differences in ways of speaking that may be observed in terms of recurring translational tendencies.

As shown in Figure 6.2, the Italian TT variation resulting from the behavior of voice actors during audio localization can be found in punctuation (3%), word order and information structure (12%); vocabulary (27%); and, above all, verbosity (58%): the latter refers to the number of words used by

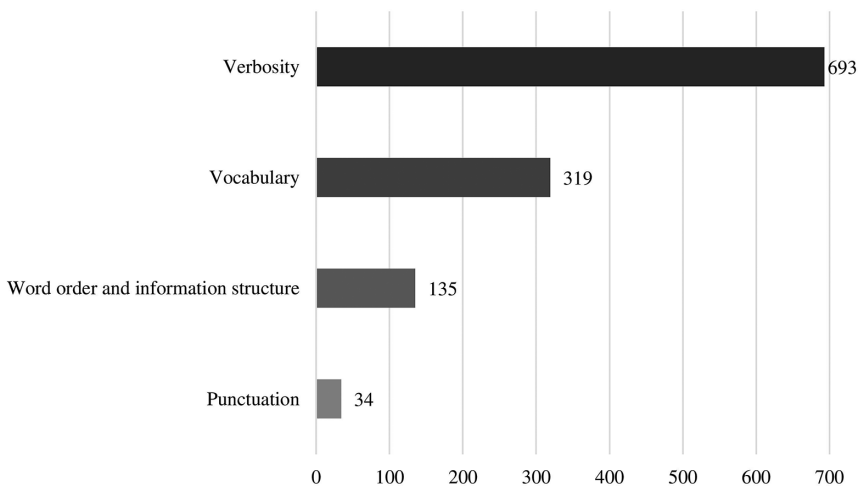


Figure 6.2 Tendencies in the stylistic representation of gender in *ME3* Italian audio localization

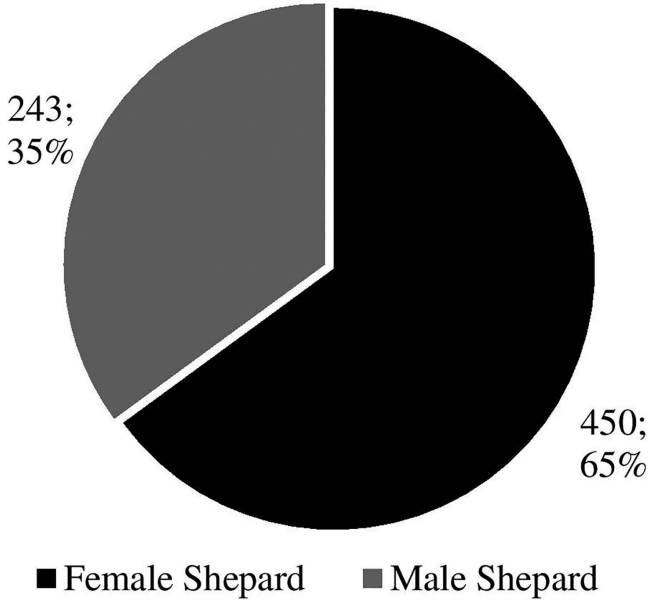


Figure 6.3 Gendered verbosity in *ME3* Italian audio localization

male and female Shepard, respectively. In terms of vocabulary, differences depend on the use of synonyms, verb tenses, prepositions and variant spellings, amongst others, but variation concerns single items. As quantitative data clearly shows, the main difference lies in the number of word-size units male and female Commander Shepard utter to speak Italian. For this reason, verbosity is paid special attention hereafter.

As Figure 6.3 illustrates, FemShep's dialogues turn out to be longer than her male counterpart's: female verbosity represents 65% (450 instances) of all strings presenting this type of variation. In this regard, it seems worth mentioning that gender-specific strings have been first compared to each other and then to the source text for the following purposes: (a) assess verbosity, (b) analyze the relationship between the three texts involved (English ST, male Italian TT and female Italian TT) and, finally, (c) investigate the nature of such type of variation. This threefold comparison showed that female verbosity mostly depends on the higher degree of literalness in the translation of FemShep-specific dialogue strings. Indeed, 67% of her dialogue strings (297 out of 450) are longer because they are closer and more faithful to the original, and they convey the same pieces of information.

As the following examples show, as opposed to male Shepard, FemShep dialogues transfer exactly the same components of the original lines,

translating both single and multiple items male Shepard omits. It includes both whole sentences, as in examples (9) and (10), where “take us into the tower” and “what’s in the case?” are not uttered by male Shepard, and single words such as the addressee name “Joker” in (11) or the time specification in (12).

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (9) | Looks like we’re on our own.
Take us into the tower. | Dovremo cavarcela da
soli.{{M}}[F]Ci porti alla
torre.] |
| (10) | What about the two volus? The
ones whispering? What’s in
the case? | E quei due Volus? Quelli che
bisbigliano? {{M}}[F]Cosa c’è
nella valigetta? |
| (11) | Take us in, Joker. | Portaci dentro{{M}}[F],
Joker]. |
| (12) | I’ll be going now. | Devo andare{{M}}[F], ora]. |

FemShep uses more words because she makes explicit pieces of information of the original dialogues, which are conversely left implicit in male Shepard’s lines. All pieces of information contained in female-tagged variables in examples (13)–(16) are implied in male Shepard’s dialogues: for instance, in (16) “posizionare” is the translation of “set down”, which makes explicit what the listener character is expected to do with his/her platoon.

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (13) | The Reapers did this to you? | Sono stati i Razziatori{{M}}[F]a
farti questo? |
| (14) | Are the krogan ready to fight
the Reapers? | I Krogan sono pronti {{M}}
per[[F]a combattere] i
Razziatori? |
| (15) | What did you do after you
left the Normandy? | Cos’hai fatto dopo {{M}}
[[F]aver lasciato] la
Normandy? |
| (16) | Look for somewhere to set
your platoon down. | Cerca un punto per {{M}}
[[F]posizionare] il tuo
plotone. |

Italian FemShep is more verbose because she tends to follow a word-for-word pattern, which faithfully reproduces the original structure: for instance, “non siete migliori dell’ammiraglio Gerrel!” is more literal than male Shepard’s “siete come l’ammiraglio Gerrel!” (You are like Admiral Gerrel!) in example (17); “sentire la tua voce” is the word-for-word rendition of “hear your voice”, which, in male Shepard’s line, simply becomes “sentirti” (hear from you).

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (17) | You're no better than
Admiral Gerrel! (. . .) | [[M]Siete comel][F]Non siete migliori dell]'ammiraglio Gerrel! (. . .) |
| (18) | EDI, it's good to hear your voice . You flying us? | [[M]Che][F]IDA, è bello [[M]sentirti, IDA][F]sentire la tua voce]. Sei tu ai comandi? |
| (19) | I need your help against the Reapers. | Mi serve [[M]][F]il suo] aiuto contro i Razziatori. |
| (20) | I'd like to avoid a diplomatic incident. | [[M]Evitiamo][F]Preferirei evitare] un incidente diplomatico. |

In other words, Italian FemShep's verbosity is the result of a different relationship between the English ST and the female gender-specific TT. Or, one might say from the opposite perspective, female Shepard's verbosity depends on the fact that voice actress Cinzia Massironi did not change translated dialogue lines wording during audio localization. On the contrary, it seems that male Shepard's voice actor Claudio Moneta allegedly felt free to modify, or even omit text items, to make dialogues fit into his personal interpretation of Commander Shepard's way of speaking.

6. Conclusions and Further Research

Although within the limits of a case study, this preliminary research seems to confirm that gender may turn into a translational issue in game localization. The use of computing codes to deal with linguistic requirements and the textual representation of gender exemplified by variables testify to how technology affects language professionals' work in this emerging realm, and the medium-specific nature of such issues underlines the need for translational specialization, since variables are one of the unique challenges translators are presented with because of video games' interactivity. As Heimburg remarks (2006: 151), the complexity of computing metalanguage may intimidate language professionals, especially if they are less technically-minded. Nevertheless, if good grammar and high-quality writing and translation are the objectives, as they should be, metalanguage knowledge is paramount and definitely worth learning because poor text quality looks "buggy" to players and game reviewers, and eventually affects reception and sales (Heimburg 2006: 151).

As concerns *ME3* specifically, which seems to perfectly represent the potential gender issues translators may encounter in gender-customizable video games, first findings show two different translational phenomena that require further investigation. On the one hand, the transfer of grammatical gender-tagged strings is worthy of special attention when translating from English into Romance languages, such as Italian, in order to avoid errors and inconsistencies that may stop players' suspension of disbelief. For this reason, a multilingual contrastive approach may prove very useful to investigate whether and how grammatical gender is transferred across TLs,

while exploring how TCs deal with linguistic gender equality in translation. On the other hand, the amount of stylistic gender-specific strings that result from voice-over professionals' choices seems to call for further research on agency in this emerging subdomain because, although within the limits of a corpus-driven case study, quantitative data shows that gender ultimately determines the form of the TT, thus providing players with a gender-specific gaming experience thanks to localization.

Finally, in light of aspects that are not of a linguistic nature but which may also contribute to the analysis of the overall portrayal of the character, such as the bottom-up approach to FemShep's design aimed at favoring players' identification and fan engagement, this study seems to suggest methodology-related directions for further research. With a view to understand the multidimensional nature of video games as technological artifacts and cultural media, an interdisciplinary approach based on different perspectives seems to be desirable, if not essential. This is particularly true for the analysis of gender issues, since the increasing number of titles casting female or male/female playable characters opens up new vistas and directions for future research in different fields, such as game studies, media studies, cultural studies, gender studies, linguistics and translation studies, which may benefit from mutual influence.

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Part III

Representing Otherness



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7 Migrants in Translation

A Corpus-Based Approach to the Representation of Migrants by Four News Broadcasting Channels

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1. Context and Contingencies: Migrants in Europe in 2015

As Valdeón (2005: 196) suggests that the analysis of the socio-cultural context contributes to build “a framework accounting for the linguistic elements involved and flexible enough to allow us to articulate an explanation for social, ideological and political implications”, we purport here to analyze the contingencies and the social and media context of the 2015 European migration crisis. Compared to previous years, 2015 was particularly dramatic and intense both in terms of the number of people transiting from Middle Eastern and African countries to Europe, and in terms of deaths of migrants at sea (3,735 people according to the UNHCR and IOM¹), generating deep reverberations among international media outlets. A study taking into account the coverage of six Italian newspapers and seven broadcasting channels reveals that the discourse on migration was particularly visible in Italian media in 2015 (Berretta 2015: 9–52). With reference to the television channels, Berretta reports that news coverage concerning migrants in 2015 almost quadrupled when compared to 2014 (3,437 news reports in 2015 and 901 in 2014). In the UK context, a study by the Reuters Observatory on Migration took into consideration the frequency of migration-related words (MRWs) in a corpus of 11 British newspapers from 2006 to 2015 and observed a gradual increase in the presence of the discourse on migrants starting from 2012 and spiking between 2014 and 2015, noting a decisive increase in the frequency of MRWs within the discourse on European Union (EU) migration to the United Kingdom from 2012 and a progressively frequent focus on Syrian refugees (Allen 2016: 2–4).

Given the large number of people who, according to the UNHCR,² migrated to Europe during that year, it is not surprising that topics centred on migrants were so prevalent in the media across Europe (Table 7.1). From this data, it emerges that Greece and Italy are the two countries generally most affected by migration flows towards Europe. Table 7.2 shows a displacement of the epicentre of migratory flows from Italy to Greece (mainly to the islands of Kos, Lesbos and Chios), where the number of migrants arriving from the nearby Turkish coast increased dramatically during the summer of 2015.

Table 7.1 Refugee arrivals in Europe in 2014 and 2015, 2016 based on UNHCR annual reports

	2014	2015	2016
Italy	170,100 (78.73%)	153,842 (15.15%)	181,436 (50.04%)
Greece	41,038 (18.99%)	856,723 (84.39%)	173,450 (47.86%)
Other (Spain, Malta, etc.)	4,916 (2.27%)	4,513 (0.41%)	7,490 (2.06%)
Total	216,054 (100%)	1,015,078 (100%)	362,376 (100%)

Table 7.2 Refugee arrivals in Europe in February and August 2015, based on UNHCR monthly reports

	Feb 2015	Aug 2015
Italy	4,354 (59.88%)	22,609 (17.28%)
Greece	2,873 (39.51%)	107,843 (82.42%)
Other (Spain, Malta, etc.)	44 (0.6%)	387 (0.29%)
Total	7,271 (100%)	130,839 (100%)

The UNHCR reports that in 2015, Italy was the preferred destination for migrants from African countries (Eritrea 25%, Nigeria 22%) departing from Libya, Egypt and Tunisia, and undertaking the journey across the Mediterranean on unsafe vessels. The journey from Turkey to the Greek Islands is shorter and therefore presents fewer risks, even though migrants usually travel on overloaded rubber dinghies at night-time. Greece became in fact the main European outpost in 2015 for migrants coming from Syria (55.98%), Afghanistan (24.43%) and Iraq (10.24%) via Turkey. As the political situation in Middle Eastern countries (the Syrian civil war in particular) as well as in northern and central African countries in 2015 became progressively unstable, migratory flows towards the EU increased, and the European countries facing the Mediterranean Sea were the closest destinations for people seeking refuge and fleeing life-threatening environments.

This increase in migratory flows to the EU brought the issue of migrants to the centre of the political and media agendas, often resulting in harsh political debates over migration in the United Kingdom (Allen 2016) as well as in Italy (Berretta 2015). With reference to Italy, an increase in hate- and race-related crimes (Lunaria report 2015) were observed concurrently with the spreading of a rhetoric towards migrants that one could characterize as hateful and xenophobic (Berretta 2015), thus indicating how these discourses actually have repercussions within society.

Having considered migratory flows to the EU in 2015, it is now reasonable to review how migration emergencies are handled in EU countries,

focusing on Italy, whose rules apply, albeit with some differences, to other EU countries, since migratory emergencies are regulated by the Dublin III Regulation (Regulation EU 604/2016). During the sea journey, human traffickers often leave migrants adrift and launch an SOS call to the local Coast Guard, which activates the protocols pertinent to *Triton* operation. *Triton* (EU Memo 2014) is a joint operation between EU member states and Frontex (the EU institution entrusted with patrolling the European borders) agreed upon on 31 October 2014. It was designed to replace the Italy-coordinated operation *Mare Nostrum*, which was suspended for lack of funds. In fact, whereas *Mare Nostrum* envisaged a monthly budget of 9.5 million euros,³ *Triton*'s budget was, at its launch, 2.9 million euros.⁴ This budget mismatch resulted in serious consequences on the effectiveness of the search and rescue missions carried out by the institutions involved in the operations.

After being rescued from the sea and secured by the authorities involved in *Triton*, migrants are transported to the nearest harbour (in Italy, Sicily or Calabria). Once landed in these locations, migrants are assisted by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Catholic organizations and local health services that organize their temporary accommodation in tents and/or allocate them to the nearest centre for first assistance and reception, where they receive medical assistance, are registered in the system and can apply for international protection (which includes the refugee status and subsidiary protection). Then their cases are assessed by the competent authorities, who will allocate them to facilities operating within SPRAR (*Refugees and Asylum Seekers Protection System*), which is a reception system including different types of facilities for refugees in the Italian territory. SPRAR is promoted by the Ministry of the Interior and sustained by public funding, but developed and managed by local authorities. The latter are in charge of setting up Asylum Seekers Reception Centers (CARA), which are often run by private enterprises on public contracts.

If migrants are eligible for international protection, they can apply and wait for a government response in CARA facilities. If not, they are transferred to detention and repatriation centres (CIE), waiting to be repatriated.⁵ Eligibility for international protection does not guarantee that the application will be successful, but if it is, migrants obtain permission to stay in the EU; if the application is unsuccessful, migrants are sent to CIE and thereafter repatriated.

Following the guidelines of the Dublin Convention, once migrants apply for international protection, they can stay only in the European country which first gave them assistance, but they cannot, at least not legally, circulate in Europe, unless they apply for a specific permit. As a consequence, the European countries facing the Mediterranean are under a lot of pressure, and the arrival of migrants is often seen as causing social unrest among

citizens, often fomented by harsh political debates focusing in particular on the cost, allegedly sustained by the taxpayers, of providing aid to migrants.⁶

2. Building an Audiovisual Corpus

The use of corpora for analyzing journalistic language is not new to the field of corpus linguistics (CL) and corpus-assisted discourse studies (Partington et al. 2013; P. Baker et al. 2008), and some studies have focused on broadcast journalism (Haarman and Lombardo 2009; Morley and Bayley 2009). In particular, P. Baker et al., drawing on the discourse-historical approach and on methodological triangulation (Reisigl and Wodak 2009), refer to the cooperation between CL and critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a “useful methodological synergy” (P. Baker et al. 2008: 1), pointing out the strengths of a combined methodological approach in which CL benefits from the CDA analytical tools, and CDA benefits from the quantitative soundness CL gives to the results (P. Baker et al. 2008: 297).

We believe that the benefits of a mixed CL-CDA approach hold true also if the field translation studies (TS) and thus news translation are added to this framework. Applying CL methods to TS has been an established practice for several years (M. Baker 1995; Laviosa 2002; Mikhailov and Cooper 2016), and the same can be said for CDA approaches analyzing translational features of language closely related to power and ideology, especially in the field of political discourse analysis (Schäffner 2004, 2005; Caimotto 2009; Bani and Caimotto 2010; Sidiropoulou 2004; M. Baker 2007). Calzada Pérez (2010) exploits the combination of CDA and CL in yet another way by using corpora of individual linguistic production, such as political speeches, as pedagogical tools in second language classrooms. In the field of broadcast news, Conway (2006, 2011) combines TS and cultural studies to analyze translation in bilingual public broadcast services in Canada. Finally, Valdeón (2015) reports how contributions by neighbouring fields of studies can actually benefit “Journalistic Translation Research”, relieving it from the source text (ST)–target text (TT) dichotomy (Van Doorslaer 2012) and opening up to wide-ranging analyses of the discursive and ideological component of the news and its translation.

This case study employs a small audiovisual corpus as the main evidence-providing tool for the analysis of broadcast journalism in multiple lingua-cultural settings (Valdeón 2009; Conway 2011; Katan 2016). The corpus was designed as part of a doctoral project investigating translational and discursive features of international journalism. Table 7.3 summarizes the main features of this corpus, which is divided into three (micro) sub-corpora (Calzada Pérez 2010: 191)—namely, two monolingual comparable sub-corpora and one bilingual comparable sub-corpus. The Italian monolingual component consists of *Rai Uno* and *Rainews24* newscasts, the British component comprises *BBC One* newscasts, and the bilingual component contains

Euronews news videos in Italian and English downloaded from the *Euronews* website. *Euronews* sub-corpora are not aligned, and they are considered comparable sub-corpora, as *Euronews* declared that its videos are not translated from ST to TT, despite broadcasting in 13 different languages.⁷ All audiovisual texts were recorded during two separate fortnights (9–22 February and 6–16 August 2015) following a four-day-per-week schedule (Monday through Wednesday and Sunday, or Thursday through Sunday).

All videos were transcribed disregarding phonetics, but trying to restore some audiovisual features, such as background noises, voice-over translations and visual elements projected on the screen (i.e. images, slides). These audiovisual features were included in the annotation scheme, and were, therefore, signalled in the corpus, which was also annotated for speakers, structure of newscasts, news main topic, geographical area of interest and sub-topic, allowing for the creation of on-the-fly thematic sub-corpora. Following Niemants (2012) and Zanettin (2013), we are aware of the interpretative value of transcribing and encoding; however, these were necessary operations in order to make texts machine-readable and to perform searches on segments of newscasts and/or create sub-corpora.

Before carrying out the analysis of the corpus, we would like to offer a few words about the broadcasters included in this study. Two of the broadcasters selected for this case study, *Rai Uno* and *BBC One*, are both general television channels broadcasting news according to a fixed schedule and aiming at a national audience. The other two, *Rainews24* and *Euronews*, are rolling news channels, with the first envisaging a national audience and the latter a supra-national (European) one (Euronews 2016: 20–21). There is a necessary and unavoidable shift of focus when dealing with an international audience: as the target audience becomes wider and more varied, the newscaster provides this composite audience with information that is relevant to all of them, disregarding their national identities

Table 7.3 Corpus information

<i>Channels</i>	<i>Newscasts</i>	<i>No. of Recordings</i>	<i>Corpus Type</i>
<i>Rai Uno</i>	8:00 p.m., av. length 35 min.	43	Monolingual, comparable (IT)
<i>Rainews24</i>	1:00 p.m., 3:00 p.m., av. length 22.5 min.		
<i>Euronews</i> (EN, IT)	Online video news, av. length 70 sec.	624 (IT+EN)	Bilingual, comparable (IT, EN)
<i>BBC One</i>	6:00 p.m., 10:00 p.m., av. length 27.5 min.	29	Monolingual, comparable (EN)

(Valdeón 2009; Baisnée and Marchetti 2006). *Euronews* is described as a “just-in-time” broadcaster (Baisnée and Marchetti 2006) and this aspect, alongside its limited budget, renders its journalism less sensational if compared to the other channels. *Euronews*’ “language journalists” are required to de-sensationalize and denationalize news events, drafting their reports for a “transnational audience” (Baisnée and Marchetti 2006: 108–109). Moreover, the length of its online videos calls for a condensed mode of information delivery, which sometimes might result in a less entertaining way of presenting the news. *Euronews* broadcasts the same videos in all its 13 languages, and its “language journalists” re-voice each video in their respective languages, maintaining “roughly the same” content (Baisnée and Marchetti 2006: 110).

2.1 *Audiovisual Aspects of the Corpus*

Having established the sources chosen for study in this chapter, it is now worthwhile to focus on a number of concrete examples taken from each. If we start by considering *Euronews*, we notice that the original language of production remains visible even once removed from the original context of diffusion. Indeed, the written text that appears on the screen in videos cannot be modified, therefore the source language remains in all other versions of that video, and its translation has to be included in the voice-over. This is the case with the slides shown in Figures 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3, taken from *Euronews* video “Migrants’ Deaths in the Mediterranean Show Triton Inadequate” (11/02/2015).



Figure 7.1 *Euronews*, 11/02/2015 (00:00:69–00:01:15)

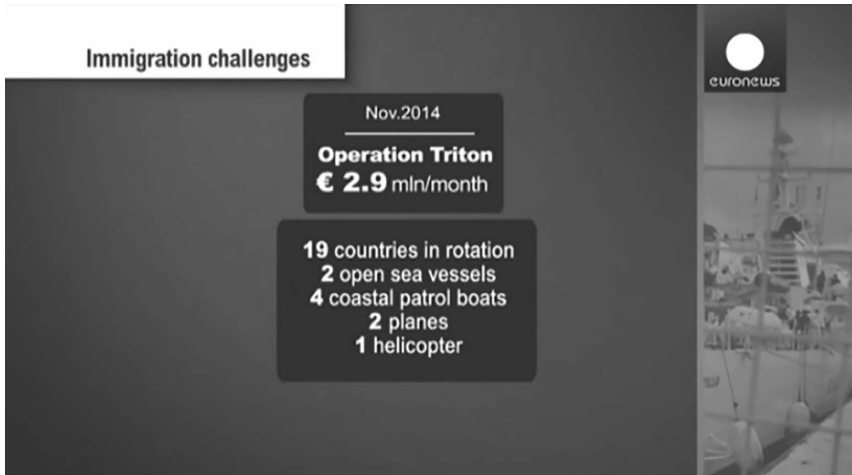


Figure 7.2 Euronews, 11/02/2015 (00:01:48–00:02:08)



Figure 7.3 Euronews, 11/02/2015 (00:00:17–00:00:29)

The Italian title is “Il cimitero Mediterraneo e il fallimento dell’operazione Triton” (*The Mediterranean Graveyard and the Failure of Triton Operation*). Following are the texts accompanying these slides.

The English text of Figure 7.1 mentions criticism towards *Mare Nostrum*, and this negative focus is maintained throughout the text with the negative sentence “Italy couldn’t afford it”. The Italian text, however,

<i>English</i>	<i>Italian</i>
<p>Figure 7.1 Critics said it encouraged more people to attempt the Mediterranean crossing. In the end, Italy couldn't afford it. It had spent around nine million euros per month, or a total of 114 million euros by the time it abandoned Mare Nostrum last October.</p>	<p>Mare Nostrum è costata al governo di Roma 9 milioni di euro al mese, pari a circa 114 milioni in un anno. L'operazione è stata sospesa dopo 12 mesi, nell'ottobre del 2014, con il passaggio di consegne all'Unione europea.</p> <p><i>(Mare Nostrum costed Rome's Government 9 million euro a month, approximately 114 million in one year. The operation was suspended after 12 months, in October 2014, handing it over to the European Union).</i></p>
<p>Figure 7.2 Then the plan with only a third of the budget of the Italian operation was re-dubbed operation Triton. Its 2.9-million-euro monthly budget since last November has gone towards two open sea vessels, four patrol boats, two planes and a helicopter, used in rotation by personnel from 19 participating EU countries.</p>	<p>Da allora la missione ha cambiato solo nome, quando è stata ribattezzata Triton. Costa 2,9 milioni di euro al mese e i suoi limiti sono evidenti. I 19 Paesi coinvolti operano a rotazione, due al mese con a disposizione due navi d'altura, quattro motovedette, due aerei e un elicottero.</p> <p><i>[Since then, the mission just changed its name, when it was renamed Triton. It costs 2.9 million euro a month and its limitations are obvious. The 19 countries involved (in the operation) operate in rotation on a monthly roster of 2 countries at the time, and they have 2 open sea vessels, 4 patrol boats, 2 planes and a helicopter.]</i></p>
<p>Figure 7.3 Last year broke records with 170,000 arrivals on Italy's shores. 2015 is forecasted to exceed that. There were 3,200 deaths at sea. The Italian Interior Minister reports that more than 3,500 immigrants who arrived last month represented a 40% year on year increase.</p>	<p>Il 2014 è stato un anno record con 170.000 arrivi sulle coste italiane e 3.200 morti. Nel 2015 l'emergenza peggiora, secondo il ministero degli Interni italiano, sono 3.528 i migranti sbarcati a gennaio, il 40% in più rispetto allo stesso mese del 2014.</p> <p><i>[2014 was a record year with 170,000 arrivals on Italian shores and 3,200 dead (migrants). In 2015, the emergency worsens, according to the Italian Interior Ministry, 3,528 migrants landed in January, 40% more than the same month in 2014]</i></p>

leaves out this criticism, highlighting instead the costs of *Mare Nostrum* for the Italian government (represented through the metonymy “il governo di Roma”). Both texts provide specific information about the end date of *Mare Nostrum*, but the Italian text also specifies the number of months it lasted: a redundant piece of information that probably functions as a means to avoid misunderstandings coming from the slide. In Figure 7.2, the Italian text presents a broken syntax, as there are two temporal expressions “da allora” (*since then*) and “quando” (*when*) clashing with one another (a simple conjunction would be correct). The content of the first sentence is not consistent with the following one: the first one implies that *Triton* is like *Mare Nostrum* but with a different name, and the second one introduces the budgetary limitations of *Triton*, thus contradicting the previous sentence. Finally, the Italian text of Figure 7.3 reports dates instead of resorting to time expressions (e.g. “last year” or “year on year”) like the English text. It also removes the “forecast” perspective on the 2015 migrants’ situation and gives exact figures of deaths (also reported on the slide), thus insisting on the inadequacies of *Triton*. Overall, the texts accompanying Figures 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 in English and Italian are similar in length with the Italian texts being slightly longer, probably because the “language journalist” had to provide extra information for a non-Anglophone audience.

In contrast, Figures 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6 show how the other broadcasters present budgetary information about *Triton* and *Mare Nostrum*. Both *Rai Uno* and *Euronews* inform their viewers about the difference between the two operations by resorting to exact figures. *Rai Uno* condenses figures about budget and fleet in a comparison slide with the aid of icons representing money and fleet members; *Euronews* provides more detailed information about *Triton* than about *Mare Nostrum*, specifying the end date of

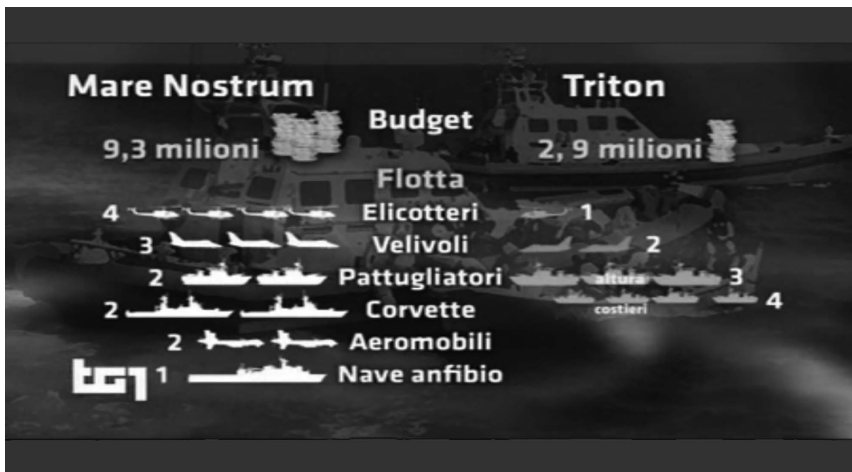


Figure 7.4 *Rai Uno*, TG 1, 11/02/2015 (00:04:07)



Figure 7.5 BBC One, News at 10, 11/02/2015 (00:20:03)



Figure 7.6 BBC One, News at 10, 11/02/2015 (00:20:08)

Mare Nostrum. BBC One (Figures 7.5 and 7.6) chooses a more visual and stylized strategy, as the two slides do not provide the audience with a precise idea of the budget needed to run the two operations or of the areas involved.

Figures 7.7, 7.8 and 7.9 show that *Euronews*, *Rainews24* and *BBC One* use the same footage taken by the Italian Coast Guard during search-and-rescue operations (see logo on the top of the screen). In Figures 7.11, 7.12

and 7.13 *Euronews*, *Rai Uno* and *BBC One* broadcast the same footage about migrants turmoil in Kos; in this case the source remains unknown (arguably they were purchased from the same news agency). *Rai* and the *BBC* seem to put emphasis on a kind of representation which gives viewers a sense of extreme reality and emergency with images showing migrants agitated and in distress, frequently making use of close-ups and screenshots during the headlines.



Figure 7.7 Euronews, 11/02/2015, “Hundreds of Migrants Feared Dead in Mediterranean” (00:00:35)



Figure 7.8 RaiNews24 h. 15, 11/02/2015 (00:06:04)



Figure 7.9 BBC One, News at 10, 11/02/2015 (00:19:05)



Figure 7.10 Euronews, 11/08/2015, “Migrant Crisis Pushing Greek Island of Kos to the Limit” (00:00:10)



Figure 7.11 Rai Uno, Tg 1, 11/08/2015 (00:00:18)



Figure 7.12 *BBC One, News at 10* (00:14:27)

Figures 7.13, 7.14 and 7.15 represent migrants as groups of people with long de-personalizing shots, where migrants seem either grateful but exhausted, or potentially dangerous and agitated. In both cases, it is clear that they are not represented in a positive light. The only reports in the corpus representing migrants in a less negative way are those about the institution of a floating migrants reception center in Kos (Figures 7.16 and 7.17), which relieved the island of some pressure. This event is not covered by any of *BBC One* newscasts in the corpus.



Figure 7.13 *Euronews, 11/02/2015, "Migrants' Deaths in the Mediterranean Show Triton Inadequate"* (00:00:52)



Figure 7.14 Rainews24 h. 15,16/08/2015, (00:04:18)



Figure 7.15 BBC One, News at 10, 11/08/2016 (00:15:49)



Figure 7.16 Euronews,16/08/2015, "Kos Greece Brings in a Ferry to Process Migrant" (00:00:01)



Figure 7.17 Rainews24 h. 15, 16/08/2015 (00:08:28)

2.2 Corpus Analysis

The corpus is split into Italian and English sub-corpora in order to compare the data within the same languages. Using AntConc (Anthony 2014), *Rai* and *Euronews*, Italian sub-corpora were searched for MRWs (Table 7.4); then their frequencies were normalized to 1,000 words. The two Italian sub-corpora show similar frequencies of MRWs. *Euronews* shows a higher overall frequency, probably because “sfollat*”⁸ was not considered, as it was too frequent in *Rai* sub-corpus and in the majority of cases did not refer to migrants, and thus would have skewed the results.

Table 7.5 shows normalized frequencies for English MRWs in the English sub-corpora. *Euronews* English sub-corpus shows slightly higher frequencies

Table 7.4 MRWs p1000w f in Italian sub-corpora

Search Terms	RAI (Tokens 204,369)	EURONEWS (Tokens 50,651)
migr	1.16	1.04
rifug*	0.04	0.35
asil*-	0.07	0.06
richie*	0.04	0.04
permess*	0.01	0
politic*	0.01	0
profug*	0.16	0.18
clandestin*	0.05	0.04
Tot. MRW fp1000w	1.46	1.67

than its Italian counterpart, but it is nevertheless consistent with the latter, whereas frequencies in the *BBC* sub-corpus are considerably lower than in the other sub-corpora.

The results in Tables 7.4 and 7.5 were divided into three categories: “People”, “Abstract Words”, “Procedures” (Table 7.6). “People” comprises nouns, adjectives and verbs, referring to MRWs embedded in contexts portraying migrants collectively (describing what they do, where they live, where they come from, etc.). “Abstract Words” refers to immigration/migration as an issue, involving national and international institutions and NGOs. Lastly, “Procedures” refers to the bureaucratic steps migrants have to undertake when they arrive to the EU (e.g. registration papers) and to the procedures that might cause them to be denied asylum and subsequently repatriated.

A concordance analysis (P. Baker et al. 2008: 278; P. Baker 2006; McEnery and Hardie 2012: 240) was carried out for MRWs in each category. Table 7.7 reports the top-five collocates (MI association score) in a +/- 5 words span in

Table 7.5 MRWs p1000w f in English sub-corpora

<i>Search Terms</i>	<i>BBC (Tokens 115,614)</i>	<i>EURONEWS (Tokens 48,513)</i>
migr	0.67	1.19
refug*	0.09	0.56
Asylum -	0.03	0.12
seek*	0.03	0
appl*,	0	0.12
claim*,		
search*,		
gain*		
Tot. MRW fp1000w	0.79	1.87

Table 7.6 Subdivision of findings in three categories

<i>Category</i>	<i>Search Words</i>	
	<i>IT</i>	<i>EN</i>
PEOPLE	migrante/i, immigrato/a/i/e, clandestino/a/i/e, rifugiato/a/i/e, richiedente/i asilo	migrant/s, immigrant/s, refugee/s, asylum seeker/s or applicant/s
ABSTRACT WORDS	immigrazione/i, migrazione/i, clandestinit�, UNHCR and other NGOs	immigration/s, migration/s, UNHCR and other NGOs
PROCEDURES	richiesta/e (asilo, aiuto), permesso/i (asilo, soggiorno, transito, umanitario), rimpatrio	asylum, papers (transit), refuge (seeking, claiming), repatriation

Table 7.7 Top-five collocates and their node words in the four sub-corpora

	People	Abstract Words	Procedures
	<p><i>Migrant*</i> vescovile, 313, 373, tenevano, spenti</p> <p><i>Immigrat*</i> spariamo, seppelliamo, richiedente, provocazione, ospitano</p> <p><i>Profug*</i> temporanee, sbarcano, siriani, birmania, baracca</p> <p><i>Richiedent*</i> immigrato, agitate, rifugiato, asilo, sbarco</p> <p><i>Clandestin*</i> 800, sbarcati, altri, crimine, respingere</p> <p><i>Migrant*</i> vari, tweet, 34,500, 373, trasferire</p> <p><i>Immigrat*</i> dimenticare, accoglienza, poche, impossibile, identità</p> <p><i>Profug*</i> stuprate, 800,000, distribuzione, 110,000, carretta</p> <p><i>Richiedent*</i> serbo, Pedio Areos, afghani, adattato, asilo</p> <p><i>Clandestin*</i> corpi, sicilia, bordo, erano, dei</p> <p><i>Migrant*</i> patrolled, mile, Kerpen-Manheim, frontlines, docked</p> <p><i>Immigrant*</i> sentiments, represented, involving, fuels, desperate</p> <p><i>Refugee*</i> stream, relocate, registering, quarters, housing</p> <p><i>Applicant*</i> processed, Berlin, asylum, wait, heat</p> <p><i>Migrant*</i> walks, uninvited, transported, temporary, soared</p> <p><i>Immigrant*</i> flow, beyond, what, is, of</p> <p><i>Refugee*</i> arrivals, staging, agency, post, Mediterranean</p> <p><i>Seeker*</i> delight, asylum, allowance, job, homeless</p>	<p><i>Migrazion*</i> stilato, classifica, organizzazione, ultima, internazionale</p> <p><i>Immigrazione*</i> temporanee, strumentalizzazione, specula, emergenza, controlli</p> <p><i>Clandestinità</i> sconfessò, sorpresa, reato, quello, come</p> <p><i>Migrazion*</i> credibili, climatici, cambiamenti, principali, commissione</p> <p><i>Immigrazione*</i> vergognosa, straordinaria, preparando, plurimo, favoreggiamento</p> <p><i>Clandestinità</i></p> <p><i>Migrazione*</i> resourced, alternative, initiative, commissioner, affairs</p> <p><i>Immigration*</i> multiculturalism, exploit, embrace, tighten, mass</p> <p><i>Migration*</i> distant, net, tens, prospects, getting</p> <p><i>Immigration*</i> surging, stance, uncontrolled, trafficking, promptly</p>	<p><i>Richiest*</i> di stralcio, ripescaggio, pesare, improvvisati, Chiacchio</p> <p><i>Permess*</i> di mostrare, soggiorno, drastico, autorizzazioni, tarda</p> <p><i>Rimpatr*</i> soggiorni, seriamente, 15,726, 8,497, forzati</p> <p><i>Document*</i> ridarle, purtroppo, provvisori, guardami, gentilmente</p> <p><i>Registrazion*</i> vdi, tasto, 49,550, depositata, costituite</p> <p><i>Richiest*</i> di aiuto, stimolare, archiviato, estrazione, avanzata</p> <p><i>Permess*</i> di quarantacinquesima, raccogliere, competizione, edizione, milioni</p> <p><i>Rimpatr*/Document*</i> rivelano, metodo, fasulli, approvazione, correnti</p> <p><i>Registrazion*</i> galleggiante, accoglienza, ruolo, centro, nuovo</p> <p><i>Asylum</i> obtaining, Eurotunnel, Ecuadorian, chances, slim</p> <p><i>Repatr*</i> /</p> <p><i>Paper*</i> trampling, renowned, ballot, applying, sell</p> <p><i>Registration*</i> voter, procedure, drives, Obama, protests</p> <p><i>Asylum</i> homeless, seekers, makeshift, teenagers, mental</p> <p><i>Repatr*/Paper*</i> Syrians, migrate, Gulliver, ballot, registration</p> <p><i>Registration*</i> obtain, papers, daily, demanding, authorities</p>
RAI			
IT			
EURONEWS			
EURONEWS			
EN			
BBC			

each category alongside their respective node word (numbers were considered as collocates).

“People” shows “migrant*” as the most frequent MRW in *Rai* sub-corpus, and MRWs describing the legal status of migrants (“rifugiat*”, “richiedent* asilo”) are used as near synonyms, except for “profug*”, which shows a preference for a specific nationality (i.e. Syrian); there are also some loaded words which are often found in the debating area around migrants. *Euronews* sub-corpus results are richer in numbers, favouring thus a factual exposition of the events. In both Italian sub-corpora, we find loaded words describing the tragic circumstances surrounding migrants (“emergenza migranti”—*migrant emergency*, “tragedia/trage/ecatombe dei migranti/del mare”—*migrants/sea slaughter/massacre/tragedy*) frequently occurring with verbs/nouns which refer to their means of transportation and housing situations (“carretta del mare”—*tramper*, “sbarcare”—*to unload/land*, “barconi/gommoni”—*pontoon/dinghies*, “tendopoli/baracca”—*makeshift camp/shack*).

Within “People”, there is a strong tendency in the *BBC* sub-corpus to surround migrants with collocates bearing a negative value, either accompanying them with other underprivileged social categories (e.g. “homeless”) or describing them as unwanted (e.g. “uninvited”). In this regard, the *BBC* states that “migrant” “is used as a neutral term by many media organizations—including the *BBC*”;⁹ however, the collocation with pre-modifiers carrying a negative value causes “migrant” to lose its (much debated) neutrality.¹⁰ The *Euronews* English sub-corpus lacks the steady reference to numbers of its Italian counterpart, but still preserves its focus on the journey of migrants to the EU. Interestingly, “asylum seeker*” is absent in the *Euronews* sub-corpus, which employs other expressions such as “asylum applicant*”.

Though a legitimate expression, “asylum applicant*” is not commonly used. It is therefore worthwhile considering the frequency of its use as compared with “asylum seeker*” in other larger corpora, in this case within a general corpus of English (*EnTenTen2013*) and a specialized corpus of British and American newspapers (the *SiBol/Port*). As shown in Table 7.8, in both cases, “asylum seeker*” is considerably more frequent than “asylum applicant*”, with “applicant*” being used frequently in job-related contexts. We could argue that “applicant” in The *Euronews* English sub-corpus is a calque, signalling that this text is a translation from another language (e.g. Italian “richiedente asilo”, German “Asylbewerber”—both literally *asylum applicant*). Another possibility is that the noun-phrase “asylum applicant*” is characterized by a less negative semantic prosody than “asylum seeker*” (Partington 2004; Xiao and McEnery 2006: 250): being a rather unusual combination, it does not carry the socio-cultural negative connotation of “asylum seeker*”, providing a more neutral form of reference. However, further investigation into other journalistic outlets is needed in order to confirm or reject these hypotheses and determine whether this is a conscious choice made by the journalist or rather a fortuitous event.

Table 7.8 “Asylum (applicant*/seeker*)” pmw f in EnTenTen2013 and SiBol/Port corpora accessed via SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al. 2004)

Search Words	EN TenTen2013—f pmw	SiBol/Port—f pmw
“Asylum”	4.5	14.90
“Asylum applicant*”	0.03	0.07
“Asylum seeker*”	1.3	4.10

A closer look at the “Abstract Words” in the *Rai* sub-corpus reveals “immigrazione” as a buzzword used to introduce a debated topic among political groups, whereas “migrazione” is found in contexts expressing official views or information about immigration; the noun “clandestinità” (literally *clandestinity*, here *undocumented migration*), the adverb “clandestinamente” and the noun/adjective “clandestin*” (literally *clandestine/s*, here *undocumented migrant/s*) refer mainly to the legal status of migrants. A number of loaded words can be found in *Euroneus* Italian sub-corpus that appear frequently in reported speeches, whereas “migrazione” and “immigrazione” refer to official organizations, and “clandestin*” is a collocate within “People”, but does not strictly refer to the legal sphere of discourse. There is no evidence for “clandestine” in the English sub-corpora. However, the *BBC News* website reports about this adjective as one of the possible, although contentious, attributes of undocumented migrants. In *EnTenTen2013* this adjective rarely collocates with MRWs, but in *SiBol/Port* “clandestine” collocates slightly more frequently with MRWs. Expanding the concordance lines of “clandestine” in *Sibol/Port*, we can observe that “MRWs + clandestine” occurs in reported speeches about Italian and French migratory flows; hence, it may be a calque (Italian “immigrazione clandestine”, French “immigration clandestine”). The collocates in *Euroneus* English sub-corpus in “Abstract Words” are consistent with the Italian one, whereas the *BBC* sub-corpus shows some collocates referring to the prospects of an “uncontrolled” immigration with “surging” numbers of refugees, showing anxiety towards an “invasion” of migrants.

In “Procedures”, “permesso” (*permit*) and “rimpatrio” (*repatriation*) are the most frequent procedural MRWs in *Rai* sub-corpus, whereas in *Euroneus* Italian sub-corpus, “registrazione” (*registration*) refers to migrants more than other procedural words. The two English sub-corpora seem to agree with each other with reference to procedural words, as “registration” and “papers” both strongly collocate with MRWs.

The concordance and collocational analyses of MRWs according to the aforementioned categorization brought to the individuation of general and recurrent themes in the discourse on migrants across the sub-corpora. These themes were systematized into five partially overlapping categories (Table 7.9):

1. **Quantity**—numbers, quantity expressions and metaphors;
2. **Journey**—immigration routes/journey, provenience, death expressions;
3. **Difficulty**—international and national hurdles of hosting and providing humanitarian and bureaucratic help to migrants by institutions and NGOs;
4. **Security**—law enforcement, crime and security issues;
5. **Debate**—politics/media buzz around migrants.

The most overlapping themes were predictably “quantity” and “journey”, as headlines frequently summarize events by stating the number of the people involved in it, thus clarifying the relevance of the event to the audience.

In *Rai*, the debate around migrants is a constant feature; the political focus is evident in the reporting of aggressive speech (e.g. “spariamo ai migranti”—*let’s shoot migrants down*, “(migranti che) rompono le scatole”—*trouble-making migrants*, etc.) usually enunciated by populist parties (mainly *Northern League* and *Five Star Movement*—M5S). *Euronews* sub-corpora seem well balanced with few differences in the treatment of the categories of “People” and “Procedures”, as security seems more problematic in the Italian component. In “People”, both *Rai* and *Euronews* focus on the journey of migrants, whereas the *BBC* in “People” and “Procedures” focuses on the disruption migrants cause to everyday life with special reference to Kos. In particular, *BBC One* reported about migrants in Kos referring to them as the “unwanted guests” of the island as opposed to its welcomed ones—i.e. tourists (*BBC One*, 11–12/08/2015). This fact is quite relevant in terms of the consequences of the message being passed onto viewers, especially considering that the United Kingdom ranks as the second market for Greek

Table 7.9 Most popular themes per MRWs category

	<i>Rai</i>	<i>Euronews</i>		<i>BBC</i>
		<i>IT</i>	<i>EN</i>	
People	Journey 44% Difficulty 18%	Journey 37.5% Difficulty 22.9%	Journey 39.9% Difficulty 27.7%	Journey 26.2% Difficulty 40.2%
Procedures	Debate 26% Difficulty 69.2% Security 7.4%	Security 16.4% Difficulty 50% Security 50%	Quantity 16.9% Journey 33.2% Difficulty 16.7% Debate 16.7% Security 16.7%	Security 18.2% Difficulty 100%
Abstract Words	Debate 18.5% Journey 7.7% Difficulty 15.7% Debate 71.9%	Security 21.3% Difficulty 21.4% Debate 50%	Security 26.3% Difficulty 15.8% Debate 47.4%	Journey 16.6% Quantity 16.6% Debate 50%

tourism.¹¹ Finally, it is worth mentioning that part of the political debate around immigration in the *BBC* sub-corpus concerns European citizens working in the United Kingdom and the actions taken by Cameron's government to tackle this issue.

3. Conclusions

As shown by the results of the analysis, the *BBC* sub-corpus reflects the United Kingdom's international attitude and position towards the issue of migrants.¹² According to a poll carried out by the *BBC* in January 2016, 41% of the interviewees thought "Britain should accept fewer refugees from Syria and Libya", confirming the anxiety towards an invasion of migrants found in Table 7.7.¹³ The insistence by the *BBC* on EU migration to the United Kingdom found in the corpus is consistent with Allen's (2016: 2) claims that

the significant increase in the profile of EU migration within recent UK media coverage [. . .] predates the EU referendum debate [. . .] and shows that the media was already playing an important role in discussions of the EU and migration in the years leading up to 2016 [and in] the decision of many people to vote for the UK to leave the EU.

The debate about migrants in the *Rai* sub-corpus points to a disjunction between politics and the reality faced by both migrants and Italian citizens; this debate then becomes a political competition for media attention, involving a screaming opposition (Lega Nord and M5S) and an apparently benevolent government led by the democratic party, whose stance is replicated in the *Rai* sub-corpus. Moreover, the use by *Rai* of "migrant*", "rifugiati*" and "richiedenti* asilo" as near synonyms together with a tendency to use emergency tones in reporting about migrants is confirmed by Berretta (2015: 35–36), who also signals alarmism and terminological imprecision as examples of journalistic malpractice, leading in turn to misinformed audiences, especially in consideration of the high penetration of television among Italian households (Newmann et al. 2016: 41).

Euronews' focus on migration seems supra-national, as the findings for *Euronews* sub-corpora rarely showed reports about migration involving stances of a single country. We would cautiously define *Euronews* as the least biased voice in the corpus, even though objectivity in journalism, as well as in translation, is not an achievable goal, as it is not possible to assume "a privileged position from which we can claim 'objectivity' or 'neutrality' in relation to the narratives we are involved in translating, interpreting or indeed analyzing" (M. Baker 2007: 154). As shown earlier, *Euronews* provides the same videos to all its audiences, and both of its sub-corpora present similar MRWs frequencies, making it hard to believe that interlingual

translation is not part of *Euronews* journalistic routine. Moreover, results such as “asylum applicant” and the slide analysis in Section 2.1 show that translation is indeed part and parcel of the job of *Euronews* “language journalists” (Baisnée and Marchetti 2006).

However, *Euronews* denial of translational intervention raises the issue of the status of translation in journalism as something to be concealed and not openly admitted. This, in turn, opens up to the hypothesis that the issue with translation in journalistic contexts is more about labelling the activity than the translational activity itself, as reported by Gambier (in Valdeón 2015: 643); in fact, the term translation in the newsroom almost becomes “taboo”. Therefore, it seems reasonable to purport that Katan’s (2016: 377) suggestion to professional translators and interpreters “to step into the role of transcreator” is valuable also for “journalators” (Van Doorslaer 2012). Provided that “translation” is understood as a form of intercultural mediation (Katan 2016: 375) and *transcreation* as involving “neither a strict translation nor creation of a message from scratch” (Schriver 2011, in Katan 2016: 376), the term “transcreator” would remove the misconception of translation as a word-by-word transposition from language A to language B, and reinstate the role of creativity in translational processes, thus making the process of translation in the news more accepted and acceptable in the eyes of journalists and, in general, the news industry.

Notes

- 1 Jonathan Clayton/Hereward Holland, “Over one million sea arrivals reach Europe in 2015”, December 30, 2015, online at www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2015/12/5683d0b56/million-sea-arrivals-reach-europe-2015.html and International Organization for Migration, “IOM Counts 3,771 Migrant Fatalities in Mediterranean in 2015”, May 1, 2016, online at www.iom.int/news/iom-counts-3771-migrant-fatalities-mediterranean-2015 (last accessed January 29, 2017).
- 2 The UN Refugee Agency, Refugees Operational Data Portal, “Mediterranean Situation”, online at http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean#_ga=1.123568651.1260437840.1484640489 (last accessed January 29, 2017).
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8 The Representation of Foreign Speakers in TV Series

Ideological Influence of the Linguacultural Background on Source and Target Scripts

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1. Introduction and Rationale

Research on audiovisual translation (AVT) is undergoing constant development as concerns the theoretical and practical viewpoints: the increase in the number of TV channels and the success of streaming services are modifying the standard distribution between the main realizations, whereas the literature is also dealing with the importance of AVT from the educational perspective, enquiring into the extent to which it is possible to adopt new strategies to train the specific professional figures. Despite the several areas of interest, though, AVT studies are still characterized by the fragmentation of research background and method (Bogucki 2011). In fact, translations are usually examined in contrastive terms (Williams and Chesterman 2002) without exploring “the relationships between senders, translators and recipients in the process of translation” (Bogucki 2011: 8), or the cognitive dimension by which translators infer their interpretation of the original semantic and communicative levels.

This study will look into the influence of the source and target linguacultural contexts on the production, interpretation and adaptation of audiovisual texts, focusing in particular on the animated sitcoms and the shows where humorous and popularization discourses coexist. The analyses are also meant to cover the role of multimodality in the conveyance of the authors’ discourse and in the addition of an extralinguistic backup to the adaptations of the source-language versions, which are tailored to the expectations of their implied receivers. As a background to the analytical part, the following section will delineate AVT as a communicative, cognitive and multimodal process, which may be subject to ideological modifications associated with the inclusion of specific target-language diatopic and diastratic varieties in the target dialogues later examined.

2. Theoretical Background: The Multidimensional Nature of Audiovisual Translation

Translation is no longer defined as a merely linguistic event, and it is widely claimed that new abilities and challenges are awaiting translators, who should know how “to negotiate, to edit and to rewrite texts” (Taviano 2010: 14). Basically, all forms of translation can be seen as the output of the main processes of source-text reception and reformulation, which are embedded in a communicative framework composed by the presence of senders, messages and receivers. In this light, translators constantly shift from the status of recipients to that of senders and are engaged in an “interpretive performance” (Grossman 2010: 11) aimed at identifying and reformulating the original “illocutionary force” (Austin 1962), which is meant to prompt a desired “perlocutionary effect” (*ibid.*) on receivers. When acting as source-script recipients, translators may activate two main cognitive processes—labelled as “bottom-up” and “top-down” (Guido 2004)—to construct their mental interpretation of the intended semantic dimensions. As for the former, they mainly rely on verbal evidence to infer the denotative and connotative dimensions, and the activation of specific effects. On the other hand, when the examination of texts is undermined by schematic gaps, translators may resort to their world knowledge to fill these gaps, eventually inferring the intended meanings. These two approaches may interact nonetheless in the form of “Elaborative/Evaluative inferencing”, when the receivers’ knowledge of the topic of the text is used to “achieve clarifications [. . .] for what is stated” in the source-language versions (Guido 2004: 303). As regards audiovisual translators, they have to mediate between the verbal and non-linguistic features, and between the cultural contexts of production and reception so as to get a cognitive-semantic representation of the author’s discourse, as well as to achieve an appropriate rendering of and response to the message for both source and target audience. Indeed, the definition of the audience is also a construct informed by authors’ and translators’ linguacultural backgrounds and cognitive schemata. Since “all kinds of translations are done with the target receiver in mind” (Bogucki 2011: 12), source-text interpretation and reformulation have to comply with the notion of “imagined readers” (Fish 1970)—or the implied audience of multimodal texts—which “exists merely in the imagination of the author” and represents “an abstract ideal construction” (Schmid 2013) to which translators resort in order to guide the audience’s reaction (Guido 1999).

By means of critical analyses of audiovisual texts, translators can evaluate the connotative and symbolic meanings associated with the multimodal representations (van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001), or those semiotic constructs characterized by different “signifying codes” (Chaume 2004: 16) that are combined “to determine their communicative intent” (van Leeuwen 2005: 21). The adjective “critical” is not only connected here with the discipline

of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2010, 2015) but also has to be seen as a synonym of “detailed” (Iaia 2015a), entailing that a careful investigation of the interrelation between words, images and sounds may allow translators to avoid imposing culture-bound interpretations of the original multimodal construction. As for the object of this study, a dedicated examination of the audiovisual construction helps to infer the role of foreign or non-native speakers in the construction and transmission of the semantic and pragmatic dimensions of the senders’ discourse, for example, by appraising the traits of their objective or disparaging characterizations. The identification of the degree of power distance between speakers can enable the production of equivalent adaptations of the original messages from the denotative and connotative levels, thus pursuing pragmatic and linguistic types of equivalence. The search for markers of the senders’ intentionality in the association between linguistic and extralinguistic features is a direct consequence of the theorization of AVT as a cognitive, communicative and multimodal process. Insofar as audiovisual translators are aware of the multidimensional nature of their work, they can perform critical analyses of the source texts, thus producing equivalent target scripts that maintain the originally planned communicative value and are not characterized by “ideological modifications” (Iaia 2015a; Díaz Cintas et al. 2016) to the desired intention and functions. The diffusion of a critical approach can eventually limit the current ideological exploitation of the multimodal composition, which is sometimes manipulated to serve alternative reformulations of the original semantic and communicative levels. Although one may contend that this facilitates a more comfortable reception on the part of local viewers, the inclusion of ideological modifications can actually lead to “non-natural”, “pragmatically inappropriate” representations (Yule 1996: 4–6) that display something unexpected within the contexts of production and reception. A relevant instance is represented by the inclusion of Italian diatopic and diastratic varieties in the foreign speakers’ utterances, as proved by the following linguistic and extralinguistic analyses. Finally, by being trained to decode how the visual composition carries the author’s intended message, translators can also select the most appropriate AVT mode in relation to the levels of objectivity or factuality associated with the scripts.

It is in this light that the educational role of language and translation courses is essential, and a multifaceted approach can foster the development of AVT studies. A case in point is represented by the practical and pedagogic models that foreground the consideration of the acoustic and visual features to infer the communicative value of scripts (Guido 2012; Perego and Taylor 2012; Iaia 2015a). A more structured consideration of the audiovisual dimension, in fact, would help to devise particular practices by which translators can mediate from the source and target linguistic, social and cultural backgrounds in order to overcome the conventional use of translation strategies such as the cultural adaption of the original humorous discourse in ideological ways in the selected corpus of scenes.

3. Research Objectives and Method

This chapter shall enquire into the influence of the translators' linguacultural background and cognitive schemata on the interpretation and retextualization of source scripts. The selected corpus of extracts comes from the animated humorous series *The Simpsons* (*I Simpson*) (Matt Groening 1989-in production) and *Family Guy* (*I Griffin*) (Seth MacFarlane 1999-in production), and from the TV show *Outrageous Acts of Psych* (*Incredibilmente*, also indicated in this chapter as *OAoP*) (Allison Bills et al. 2015), all prevalently addressed at young male viewers. *The Simpsons* and *Family Guy* propose satirical and sometimes grotesque and exaggerated representations of American middle-class families, whereas in *OAoP*, experts such as psychologists and sociologists try to provide scientific justifications for a number of viral videos that display experiments or hidden-camera jokes.

The animated series rely on the more common patterns of humorous discourse (Chiaro 1992) such as the creation of an unexpected cognitive and social progression (Attardo 2001) of a situation, as well as on black-and-shock humour (Bucaria 2008); *OAoP*, on the other hand, resorts to what is here defined as a “hybrid” form of popularization. The adjective “hybrid” is not intended in a negative sense, but is meant to exemplify that different communicative strategies are intertwined from the linguistic and audiovisual perspectives, following what is already happening in the case of more “standard” TV series, with their “webridization” process, or “the gradual hybridization of the language of television texts with the language (and practices) of the web” (Moschini 2014: 293). In particular, two main groups of segments can be identified in each episode. One adheres to the non-fiction genre, showing images that prove the authentic nature of the viral videos—for example, by preserving their lower resolution and adding subtitles to transcribe what the participants utter when the original soundtrack is not clear. When the experts take the floor, instead, the audiovisual construction reminds one of the conventional setting of documentaries since the speakers are presented by means of descriptions and captions, and seem to talk directly to the audience, according to the structure of “demand images” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006), which attract the recipients' attention in order to explain what is behind the experiment or the social reactions that are being commented on. The experts' exposition in these segments can also be integrated by schema and tables to improve their accessibility.

As for the Italian versions, *The Simpsons* and *Family Guy* are broadcast on free and paid channels, and their dubbing translations are mainly characterized by domesticated reformulations that include diatopic and diastratic varieties (Ferrari 2010; Iaia 2015a), or by softening some taboo or adult jokes because of their being aired on daytime TV (Iaia 2015b). *OAoP* is instead aired on the pay TV channel Discovery Science in a voiced-over form. This choice follows the conventional Italian translation of documentaries

and non-fiction shows (Chiaro 2009), but is also a consequence of the budget restraints of some digital channels. Anyway, the ideological modifications in the target scripts (partially presented in the analytical sections) can undermine the higher level of “credibility” that this AVT mode insinuates (Espasa 2004), eventually raising discussion about the appropriateness of the conventional AVT realizations for the adaptation of these particular text genres.

The examinations of the selected corpus of extracts will account for the rendering of the source-script humorous discourse from the verbal and structural viewpoints, but they will also focus on the importance of the critical analysis of the multimodal construction. The latter, in fact, can facilitate an equivalent reproduction of the illocutionary and perlocutionary levels, in opposition to the standard generation of non-natural representations caused by the ideological changes.

4. Analysis

The following sections will focus on one episode from *The Simpsons*, two from *Family Guy* and one from *OAoP* to pinpoint how the extralinguistic features interact with the verbal characteristics of the utterances so as to convey the characterization of foreign speakers. Whereas the original scripts resort to foreign accents and deviating uses of English at the lexical and syntactic levels, the target versions rely on the insertion of diatopic/diastratic language varieties to adapt the original humorous discourse. Paradoxically, the only attempt at respecting the presence of foreign accents (Section 4.3) will reveal the ideological nature of the translation choices.

4.1. Analysis of Extracts (1) and (2)

In “Kiss Kiss Bang Bangalore” from *The Simpsons*, Homer is sent to India by Mr. Burns to run a new nuclear plant. Mr. Burns actually aims to exploit the local workers, but his plan is ruined by Homer, who informs the Indian employees of their rights. The foreign speakers’ otherness is conveyed by means of the interaction between the visual frame,¹ the acoustic dimension (an Indian accent) and the verbal features (characterized by the absence of lexical and structural deviations), as illustrated in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Acoustic dimension and verbal features of the Indian people’s otherness in the source version of *The Simpsons* (© 20th Century Fox Television/Film Roman Productions/Gracie Films)

<i>Acoustic Dimension</i>	<i>Verbal Features</i>
Indian accent	Absence of lexical and structural deviations

The English and Italian scripts are reproduced next:

(1)	English Script	Italian Script	Backtranslation
Burns:	“YOU'RE ALL FIRED! YOU'RE ALL FIRED! FIRED! FIRED! FIRED!”	“SIETE LICENZIATI! SIETE LICENZIATI! LICENZIATI! LICENZIATI! LICENZIATI!”	“YOU'RE FIRED! YOU'RE FIRED! FIRED! FIRED! FIRED!”
Woman 1:	“Two-month severance!”	“Due mesi di liquidazione!”	“Two-month severance!”
Woman 2:	“Early retirement!”	“Pensionamento anticipato!”	“Early retirement!”
Man:	“Golden parachutes for all!”	“Scivoli d'oro per tutti!”	“Golden parachutes for all!”

The source-version multimodal examination helps to uncover the pragmatically inappropriate strategy for its Italian dubbing translation. As Table 8.2 and the earlier scripts clarify, the acoustic level changes, so the local workers are not revoiced with an Indian accent, but by adding the *Calabrese* diatopic variety, which is typical of the southern Italian region of Calabria.

The comparison between the English and Italian dialogues reveals that the lexical and structural types of equivalence are nonetheless respected, since in both versions, the participants describe their benefits after being fired by Mr. Burns. In multimodal terms, though, the inclusion of the Italian diatopic/diastratic variety does not lead to a pragmatic equivalent, and the association between Indian people and *Calabrese* delivers non-natural representations. Notwithstanding the cartoon's tendency to produce exaggerated, and sometimes counterfactual portrayals of human behaviour, the episode under discussion needs the presence of credible foreign speakers to transfer its satire on the outsourcing practice used by the Springfield Nuclear Power Plant. Hence the Italian adaptation may be incompatible with this satirical intent and eventually gives a nonsensical connotation since a higher degree of suspension of disbelief is required to accept that people who live in India—but

Table 8.2 Acoustic dimension and verbal features of the Indian people's otherness in the target version of *The Simpsons* (©20th Century Fox Television/Film Roman Productions/Gracie Films)

<i>Acoustic Dimension</i>	<i>Verbal Feature</i>
<i>Calabrese</i> variety	Absence of lexical and structural deviations

speak like someone from Southern Italy—are not acquainted with the basic aspects of social welfare. The logical link between Homer staying in India and living with people who speak a specific language variety is in fact not straightforward, as exemplified by the following schema:

- (1a) Homer is sent to India
- (1b) (1a) >> local people mostly have an Indian accent
- (1c) ?(1a) >> local people mostly speak *Calabrese*

Whereas one can presuppose (>>) that Homer is likely to meet someone with an Indian accent because of the setting of the episode, the same cannot be said when it comes to the Italian translation strategy. Furthermore, the pragmatic, non-natural consequences of this choice (highlighted by a question mark in (1c)) are confirmed by other cultural references, from the joke about the employment of foreigners in the support call centres of American companies, to the next dialogue, by which Homer learns that there is a specific “system of beliefs”:

(2)	English Script	Italian Script	Backtranslation
Man:	“Actually, in our system of belief, there are many Gods.”	“Veramente, secondo la nostra tradizione, esistono molti dèi.”	“Actually, according to our customs, there are many Gods.”

Also in this case, the selection of *Calabrese* is non-natural since the association between people from Calabria (presumably mostly monotheistic!) and the reference to “many Gods” creates a cognitive, nonsensical contrast that does not comply with the truthful representation of the local workers, as in the original version. It follows that two main types of humorous discourse can, therefore, be identified. In the source text, a relation of power distance (Hofstede 1983) is activated, and Mr. Burns embodies American cultural superiority, aiming at exploiting the foreign employees. This cultural contrast is not rendered in the target script, which rather draws upon an “expected/unexpected” opposition between north and south, which seems inappropriate in relation to the original plot. It is for these reasons that this adaptation is defined as ideological. It replicates one of the conventional domestication strategies of humorous films and TV series (Dickie 1999; Ferrari 2010), even though the recourse to regionalisms (Rossi 2007a) is being received with mixed results on the part of younger receivers (Iaia 2015a: 187), who opt for watching American shows with subtitles to appreciate the original illocutionary force.

The following section will examine the use of another southern diatopic and diastratic variety to render two foreigners in the second animated series under consideration.

Table 8.3 Acoustic dimension and verbal features of Tomik and Bellgarde's otherness in the source and target scripts of *Family Guy* (© 20th Century Fox/Fuzzy Door Productions)

<i>Acoustic Dimension</i>	<i>Verbal Features</i>
– <i>Source script</i> : Generic accent – <i>Target script</i> : <i>Barese</i> variety	– <i>Source script</i> : Lexical and structural deviations – <i>Target script</i> : Lexical and structural deviations

4.2. Analysis of Extracts (3) and (4)

The excerpts that follow deal with Tomik and Bellgarde, two minor characters in *Family Guy*, usually the butt of jokes that play on the language varieties and variations spoken by foreign people, as Stewie Griffin says in (3). Tomik and Bellgarde's multimodal characterization (Table 8.3) contributes to the activation of the humorous reaction: their otherness is represented by the integration between their visual representation, as they have long blond hair and tanned bodies,² and the lexical and syntactic deviations and mispronunciations in their utterances.

Their nationality has not been communicated yet, and fans tend to speculate online about their origins. At this stage, it therefore seems safe to claim that they serve to propose a disparaging depiction of foreign speakers in general who try—sometimes without succeeding—to integrate themselves in the communities they live in.

In extract (3), the two men are in a coffee shop, talking about what they did the night before; in (4), they react to Quahog citizens who thanked them for finding a lost baby. The Italian scripts again contain a southern diatopic and diastratic variety, *Barese*, spoken in Bari (Apulia) and its surrounding area:

(3)	“The Former Life of Brian”		
	English Script	Italian Script	Backtranslation
Stewie:	“Brian, this is painful! It's like listening to those two foreign guys down at the coffee shop who've been living in the US almost long enough to sound American.”	“Brian, trovo tutto questo penoso. È come ascoltare quei due stranieri al bar che siccome vivono negli Stati Uniti da un po' di tempo, credono di sapersela cavare con la lingua.”	“Brian, I find all this painful. It's like listening to those two foreign guys at the coffee shop, who since they've been living in the US for a while, think that they can handle the language.”

Tomik:	“Oh, man! What a good bunch of partying at that discotheque! They played one of my audience requests!”	“Oh, chevolo! Una serata da stallo in quella discoteca! Hanno suonat’ anghe una cos’ che avev’ richiestol!”	“Oh, damn! What a great night at that discotheque! They also played a thin’ I requested!”
Bellgarde:	“Way awesome! I myself drank like five litres of beer— anymore and I would have ended up in hospital, man!”	“Dai, chevolo! Io mi sono fatto cinque talloni di birra. Angora un altro e sarei finito allo speciale, amico!”	“Come on, man! I had five heels of beer! One more and I would have ended up in hospital, man!”
(4)	Extra-Large Medium		
	English Script	Italian Script	Backtranslation
Bellgarde:	“Oh, we should phone Gaspar!”	“Ah, mo chiamiamo assolutamente Gaspargo!”	“Ah, we’ll absolutely phone Gaspargo!”
Tomik:	“Oh, he would love to hear this tale!”	“Gli piacereste questa favola!”	“He would like this fairy tale!”

The analysis of the two earlier conversations helps to reveal the ideological nature of the modifications and the consequences on the equivalence types that are pursued. In fact, as in the translations of extracts (1) and (2), the changes do not affect the surface meaning of the utterances. In the case of the Indian employees, the denouncing of the unfair working conditions is preserved, even though they speak *Calabrese*, whereas Tomik and Bellgarde still remember the experience that they lived, or want to share their joy with one of their friends. Yet the acoustic reformulation affects the functional level of the scripts since non-natural representations are again produced— one should hence wonder whether the depiction of two *Barese*-speaking men conforms to Stewie’s description. A possible justification could be that what the child says at the beginning of (3) entails (||-) that Tomik and Bellgarde do not come from America. In turn, this may enable the presupposition that the two characters could be rendered as two migrants from Southern Italy who are looking for better life conditions abroad.

- (3a) Stewie: “Those two foreign guys [. . .] who’ve been living in the US almost long enough to sound American.”
 (3b) (3a) ||- the guys are not American
 (3c) (3a) >> the guys can be from Southern Italy

- (3d) Because of (3c), the two foreign guys can be from the surrounding area of Bari, in Apulia, and can therefore speak *Barese*

Even though the presupposition in (3c) is legitimate, the deriving explanation (3d) seems too elaborate, partially because the inclusion of dialects and accents is an established custom in Italy to produce a more “expected” type of humorous discourse (Rossi 2007a; Ferrari 2010; Iaia 2015a, 2015b), but also because (3c) is also contradicted by the men’s names, which do not sound Italian.

The ideological modifications in extracts (3) and (4), therefore, affect the grounds of the specific type of humorous discourse, which originally conveys a disparaging representation (Zillman 1983) of non-native speakers, mainly by means of a comedic reproduction of their English variation. Because of the selection of the *Barese* variety, instead, the target text misses this connotative dimension and seems again to stem from the translators’ (and perhaps, the commissioners’) interpretation and domestication of the original intentionality. Furthermore, the adaptation strategy here presented is not supported by the foreign speakers’ visual construction, so it does not definitely originate from the consideration of the various semantic levels that arise from the multimodal construction of humorous discourse.

The extracts examined so far have explored the conventional approaches to the adaptation of the original characterizations and humour for the Italian viewers of two animated sitcoms. Now this chapter will look into the rendering of the exchangers’ otherness in a recent series of “hybrid” documentaries, partially to enquire into the extent to which non-conventional text types urge translators to find non-conventional paths in AVT.

4.3. *Analysis of Extract (5)*

The last extract is taken from a new TV series that tries to mix the registers of popularization and factual entertainment to explain the reactions of the victims of experiments or jokes that are uploaded online. The interaction between the two communicative styles is conveyed starting from the multimodal composition, since the segments where the expert participants take the floor have an audiovisual construction that reminds one of the conventional documentary formats, whereas the objects of their explanation—namely, the selected online videos—keep their lower resolution and the inclusion of common people (cf. Section 3). Finally, this show does not always resort to humorous discourse to attain its entertainment aim, and the general audience’s interest is likely to be stimulated by the choice of hidden camera jokes or viral videos. Instead, the Italian translation tends to permeate the scripts with a culture-bound comedic tone, as revealed by the following example (Table 8.4), where a group of men in a Russian gym tries to help a girl. She cannot open her bottled water, but the men do not know that the girl herself had previously glued the cap.³

Table 8.4 Acoustic dimension and verbal features of the source and target versions of OAoP (© Mike Mathis Productions Inc./Science Channel)

<i>Acoustic Dimension</i>	<i>Verbal Features</i>
– <i>Source script</i> : Standard English for the expert participants; Russian for the protagonists of the viral video	– <i>Source script</i> : Russian language
– <i>Target script</i> : Standard Italian for the expert participants; Standard Italian and foreign accents for the protagonists of the viral video	– <i>Target script</i> : Diatopically marked pronunciation of some consonant sounds

Since the video is left in Russian in the original version, only the Italian script is reported.

(5)	Italian Script	Backtranslation
Woman:	“Escusa, potreste aiutarme con la bottiglietta? [. . .] Me sembravi così pompato! [. . .] Proviamo con qualcuno de più fuerte.”	“Excuse me, could you help me with my bottle? [. . .] You looked so pumped up! [. . .] Let’s try with someone stronger.”
Man 1:	“Tlanquilla che adesso io aple.”	“Don’t wolly, I’m opening this.”
Expert:	“Non riuscire ad aprire la bottiglietta è come ammettere di non essere all’altezza. È come dire: ‘Guarda, provaci pure con qualcun altro.’”	“If you can’t open a bottle, it’s as if you acknowledged that you aren’t on top of it. It’s as if you were saying, ‘You know, you should try with someone else.’”
Man 1:	“Tappo inizia a muovele.”	“The cap’s stalling to move.”
Man 2:	“Forse sono tutti finti i miei muscoli.”	“My muscles must be fake.”
Woman:	“Eh, mi sa di sì.”	“Er, I think so.”
Man 2:	“Tieni, mi dispiace.”	“Here you are, I’m sorry.”

The original dialogues that the girl has with the victims of the joke are reconstructed for target receivers according to the translators’ “mediated-cognitive semantic representation” (Iaia 2015a: 63–64) of the possible content of their utterances. This label entails that the Italian versions depend on what meaning the translators think that the original turns have as well as on

how the translators think that the protagonists would speak. What makes this excerpt an interesting case study is the fact that such interpretation also originates from the mediation of the visual frame. In fact, male participants in the original version generally complain about the impossibility of opening the bottle, or suggest that she drink from theirs, whereas in the Italian script, everyone (including the girl) comments on the guys' muscles, or on their virility. What is more, the mono-cultural basis of people's otherness in the source text—where only Russian is heard—is replaced by a multicultural, not authentic geographic distribution of the protagonists. Precisely, the girl has a Spanish accent, and the boys use both Standard Italian and diatopically marked varieties and accents. With regard to the assignment of the participants' languages, an aspect that clearly highlights the ideological exploitation of the images is the association between the linguistic dimension and the speakers' physical characteristics. In fact, the Asian accent is given to a man with an epicanthic fold, which in the translators' opinion justifies the reformulation process. Besides the ideological implications, the fake accents respect the stereotypical, and disparaging, lexical and acoustic rules of representations. For example, the imperative "*scusa*", "excuse me", is uttered as "*escusa*", by means of "es", which is a conventional way (within the Italian linguacultural context) to indicate the Spanish accent. The same can be said about the double consonant "s" in intervocalic position, as "*così*", which is uttered as /ko's:i/. At the same time, the man with an epicanthic fold is given a stereotypical Chinese accent characterized by the omission of the vibrant /r/, replaced by the lateral /l/. This is exemplified by words such as "*Tlanquilla*" and "*muovele*", respectively, substituting "*tranquilla*", "don't worry" and "*muovere*", "to move", and whose effect is reproduced in the backtranslation next to the transcription of the Italian conversation. As a result, the original humorous discourse based on the "arousal/safety" contrast (Rothbart 1973) triggered by the action of witnessing a hidden camera joke, is accompanied by a power distance relationship between Italian and foreign speakers, and by a gender-based connotation of sensuality, since the action of giving a Spanish accent to the girl draws upon its stereotypical perception in Italy as a "erogenous language" (Rossi 2007b, my translation).

In the end, the adaptation of extract (5) seems to follow current transcreative trends (Di Giovanni 2008; Pedersen 2014) when the original semantic and communicative dimensions are usually completely recreated by means of accents, dialects or diatopic/diastratic varieties that are not included in the original versions (Iaia 2016: 123). Even though one could contend that this specific TV series integrates the entertainment and popularization aspects, it is claimed that a limit should be set nonetheless to preserve the balance between the non-fiction and entertaining styles, and not to affect the conventional description and perception of AVT modes by means of ideological modifications. The Italian version of *OAO*P is voiced over because of its lower cost and time requirements, which have contributed to its increased

use in digital channels. Yet the inclusion of fake accents and the changes to the participants' nationalities undermine the degree of credibility that is generally associated with voice-over (Espasa 2004), which carries "a faithful, literal, authentic and complete version of the original audio" (Franco et al. 2010: 26). Actually, changes like the ones pinpointed can actually depend on the need to create fast target texts, which may prevent translators from dedicating more time to the critical and multimodal analysis of source ones. If this is the case, though, a different approach on the part of commissioners and broadcasters should be preferred, because these types of ideological re-textualizations eventually weaken the estimation of the translators' role and even seem to nullify the academic discussions on the ethical implications of the translation process and the types of equivalence to pursue.

5. Further Remarks and Conclusions

The target versions here analyzed do not originate from a critical, multimodal analysis of the source-text communicative and cognitive dimensions, but the original conversations are subject to ideological re-textualizations. The "interpretive performance" (Grossman 2010: 11) of the original semantic levels is informed by the target linguacultural background, thus leading to the associations between foreign people and southern Italian language varieties (as in extracts (1)–(4)), or between foreign people and specific accents, as inferred from the speakers' visual representation (extract (5)), even though these connections do not reflect the original counterparts.

Table 8.5 Types of humorous discourse in the source and target versions of the analyzed extracts

<i>Title of the Show</i>	<i>Humorous Discourse— Source Script</i>	<i>Humorous Discourse— Target Script</i>
<i>The Simpsons</i>	Power distance between American and Indian characters	Expected/unexpected north-south opposition
<i>Family Guy</i>	Disparaging representation of non-native speakers' English	Disparaging representation of the <i>Barese</i> diatopic/diastratic variety
OAoP	Arousal/safety clash prompted by hidden camera jokes	Arousal/safety clash prompted by hidden camera jokes + Power distance between Italian and foreigners + Stereotypical, gender-based characterizations of Spaniards/Asians

In fact, this has consequences on the equivalence levels, since although the denotative meaning of the utterances may be respected, scripts are mostly rewritten, in particular when humorous effects have to be prompted through strategies that are embedded in the socio-cultural shared knowledge of the imagined audience (Table 8.5) (Denton 2007; Ferrari 2010; Guido 2012; Iaia 2015a, 2015b).

The need to make source scripts accessible to target receivers should not justify the alteration of the protagonists' utterances or the alternative characterizations that do not comply with the intended illocutionary force. It is contended that such practices clash with the translators' mediating function, whose awareness is one of the achievements of the current, multicultural communicative scenario. The standard domestication strategies should be hence rethought, probably by limiting the amount of culture-bound features and references, because the constant adoption of target-culture-oriented strategies does not contribute to the evolution of AVT, which has to keep up with the transformation of TV shows and genres. For example, it is believed that programs such as *OAoP* (Section 4.3) may benefit from the parallel use of voice-over and dubbing, or of voice-over and subtitling, if one wants to convey the different objectives of the "popularization" and "entertainment" segments also by means of AVT realizations. It is true, anyway, that the technical and economic feasibility of such integration should be investigated, but this can also prompt a profitable debate between translators, commissioners and broadcasters to find a solution that respects the translators' work and copes with the financial and temporal constraints of media companies.

Hence the identification of new text types and translation approaches is another of the challenges that translators and scholars are facing. Actually, this may represent a fertile opportunity to enquire into the existing skills of translation students and to highlight the educational value of language and translation courses, which should encourage the activation of reformulation strategies arising from a critical stance on the analysis of multimodal texts, in opposition to mono-cultural script adaptations. Finally, since this chapter has also questioned the recent use of voice-over for hybridized text types, further research could help to shed more light on current receivers' perception of this AVT mode, for example, by proposing a recipient-based investigation—also by means of surveys—of expectations in terms of target versions' adherence to the original ones when voiced over. The results may confirm the inappropriateness of the ideological modifications in relation to that particular AVT realization, or they could contribute to a new map of the distribution and perception of multimodal retextualizations.

Notes

- 1 A video excerpt that allows readers to infer the visual representation of Indian people's otherness in the examined episode is available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=zIBh2r100Vw (last accessed October 7, 2017).
- 2 A portion of extract (3) is available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=lCRuqpcIIhY (last accessed October 7, 2017).

- 3 The viral video that is commented on by the expert participants entitled “Мышцы vs. Бутылка / Bottle Gym Prank” is available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=sAUUDn53QKk (last accessed October 7, 2017).

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Part IV

Representing Multilingual Soundscapes



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9 Solution-Types for Representing Dubbed Film and TV Multilingual Humour

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1. Introduction¹

A seemingly ever-increasing number of texts, written or audiovisual, are not restricted to a single language or a single standard variety. Multilingual films pose certain challenges for audiovisual translation (AVT), given that language variation can take on different functions (stylistic, pragmatic, discursive, etc.), just like other textual constituents. The concept of third language (L3) as a necessary part of translation studies (referred to as “not-L2” in Zabalbeascoa 2004) makes it possible to include in theoretical and practical translation studies languages or linguistic varieties other than the main language (first language (L1)) of the source text (ST) or the main language (second language (L2)) of the translated text (TT). The language make-up of any multilingual text, then is [main language + L3]. L3 should not be mistaken for any sort of “translationese” (Frawley 1984; Newmark 1988; Duff 1981), sometimes also referred to as “third language”—i.e. interference or translational discourse or style. L3 is the defining feature of multilingual source texts as well as translations, and it is either a distinct, independent language or an instance of relevant language variation to highlight the presence of more than one speech community being portrayed or represented within a text (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2011: 115).

L3 is distinct and distinguishable from the main language of any text, L1 in the ST and L2 in the TT, solely on the basis of word count. Thus there can be cases where a certain L3 is so important and recurrent in its text that it might be convenient to consider that there are actually two main languages within a given text: a film (or other type of text) might have two or more main languages (L1a + L1b + . . .) and/or one or more “token” languages (L3a + L3b + . . .). In any case, the property of textual multilingualism is expressed here as L3, even for cases of multiple main languages (L1b, L1c. . .).

Traditional approaches to translation have tended to propose that translation involves applying certain techniques to L1 words or phrases in order to achieve equivalence in L2 (Jakobson 1959, among many others). This view requires two assumptions that are challenged herein. One is that translation is an operation performed on one language pair at a time (L1→L2).

The other is that a translator works (or should work) from a menu of possible techniques (e.g. Vinay and Darbelnet 1957; Newmark 1988) that are established in relation to how closely they resemble or distance themselves from the “default” option of word-for-word translation. Taking the concept of L3 as the focal point, this chapter aims to apply the original proposal of binary branching (Zabalbeascoa 2004) to L3 translation and, more specifically, for the case of when L3ST happens to coincide with L2, the main language of the translation. A convincing account of binary branching and L3, combined, makes it possible to consider the following:

- (i) Translation as an operation that is not performed so much on languages (or monolingual verbal messages) as on (potentially multilingual) texts, including AV: ST→TT.
- (ii) An alternative to a predefined list of techniques mostly worried about justifying the presence of non-literal translation while still being “faithful” is a binary-branching mapping of translation problems and solutions as they actually appear in the process of analysing a ST to be translated (i.e. ST metaphor, irony, humour, politeness, language variation, etc.).

Given that L3ST is a textual element and feature, it can be approached as a translation problem. A textual problem² for translation must first be established in the ST and then solved in some manner in the TT (by substitution, addition, omission, adaptation, permutation or some other textual operation within the translation—e.g. Delabastita 1993: 35–39). Solutions may be better or worse, depending on the evaluation criteria, but the point of the present study is not to criticise translations but to offer a theoretical/descriptive tool to help establish a certain type of problem and the rich variety of ways (real and speculated) in which to address the problem and solve it (solutions S1 and S2, Figure 9.2), partly by placing each solution in the context of all other potential solutions, discarded at some point for one reason or another. This model can be applied to evaluating translations when combined with an ad hoc set of criteria (the specific priorities and restrictions of each commission or project).

2. Translation Proper: Interlingual or Intertextual?

According to Roman Jakobson (1959: 232), *translation proper* is interlingual translation, changing a message from one language (L1) to another (L2): L1→L2. This approach is problematic if it implies that translation is limited to the verbal dimension (words only) and if it also implies that all texts and translations are necessarily monolingual. A complex sociolinguistic, translational and audiovisual reality calls for a critical study of any such implications, or even an entirely new approach that is more sensitive to the rich range of language and semiotic combinations to be found in audiovisual

texts and the various professional branches of AVT—for example, all of the films that portray a character acting as an (interlingual) interpreter (examples 2 and 3). It might seem, therefore, that this sort of scene would be a manifestation of Jakobson’s definition of *translation proper*. However, two essential ingredients are missing: the presence of a “real” translator (human, machine, or some combined effort) and the rendering of a full ST (the film) to produce a TT, the dubbed or subtitled version (just to mention two of the most popular ways of translating films).

Translation proper, if such a label is to be used for real-world translation, is actually *intertextual translation* (Figure 9.1), involving an ST, a translating process, and a product known as the TT, which can be written, oral, audiovisual or multimodal. The depiction of interlingual communication within a film (or written literature) is more accurately called *intratextual translation*. Intratextual translation, in works of fiction, seems quite different to translation proper because the whole process and its outcome are controlled by the author or scriptwriter of the text where this kind of scene appears. The writer decides exactly what each part of the scene is like—i.e. the “scripted” ST and the resulting translated words, all part of the real-world ST. In fiction, it is a scripted instance of translation (written by the scriptwriter or novelist). In other words, a more accurate label is *intratextual translation*. From this point of view, *intratextual translation* is a textual element pertaining to a ST in the first instance, and therefore it can be properly regarded as a translation problem (i.e. something to be solved somehow in its TT rendering), not unlike many other elements that have received a lot more attention in the scholarly and professional field of translation (metaphors, proper nouns, discourse markers, idioms and so on).

L3 is a concept (not a particular language) that accounts for the presence of linguistic variation in a text and its translation. Intratextual interlingual translation is a part of the L3 phenomenon because it involves more than one language in the same text (Figure 9.1); there are, of course, other instances of L3 that do not involve intratextual translation.

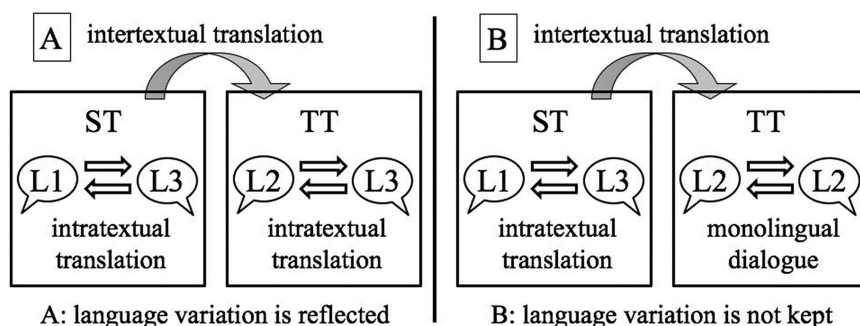


Figure 9.1 Intratextual and intertextual translation

3. Binary Branching Theory

The initial model of analysis, following a binary branching tree structure, was designed for studying metaphor translation (metaphor as the translation problem, see example 1). The article (Zabalbeascoa 2004) already states that the intention is for binary branching to be theoretically valid beyond the case of metaphor translation analysis. What is meant by this is that the same kind of tree used to analyse the problem of metaphor translation could be adapted for other textual items as translational problems, such as humour, irony, allusion, etc., including both segmental elements and suprasegmental features (e.g. solutions for translating accents, intonation, or tone). The model is based on the idea of researchers or translators having to search for the most adequate typology (tree) for each individual case: a meaningful account of the problem and its potential solutions according to types and subtypes of a textual feature or item. The analysis might be part of an effort to explain or justify a translator's choices or the researcher's own account of the problem, either as an alternative or a criticism of the translator's work. This is especially important when existing typologies (e.g. from linguistics or literary studies) do not apply directly to the case of translation, or when there are simply none available. For example, in the case of the metaphor, it involves establishing a structure of types and subtypes of metaphors specifically designed for translation, including larger categories that any metaphor would belong to as a type within that category (e.g. rhetorical devices) with a view to sorting all imaginable solutions according to that particular textual problem.

Example 1 *The Bonfire of the Vanities*

Fallow (. . .) made his way across the room toward his cubicle. Out in the middle of the field of computer terminals, he stopped and (. . .) picked up a copy of the second edition. *The Bonfire of the Vanities*.

(Tom Wolfe 1987: 169)

<i>Solutions (Published or Possible)</i>	<i>Types of TT Solutions for Field</i>	<i>Fig. 9.2</i>
a. <i>campo</i> (field)	Same metaphor	T1
b. <i>sembrado</i> (sown field)	Same (countryside) type of metaphor	T2
c. <i>mar</i> (sea)	All non-countryside types of metaphor	T3
d. <i>inacabables</i> (never-ending)	All non-metaphorical rhetorical devices, e.g. hyperbole	T4
e. <i>todos aquellos</i> (all those [terminals])	Non-rhetorical solutions; e.g. literal description	R4

In example 1, the problem requiring a TT solution is *feld*: a metaphor for a large open newspaper office. Plausible TT solutions for Spanish are listed in a–e.³ Solution b (*sembrado*) is the published version. Solutions a–e (left column) are ordered to correspond with the types T1–R4 (right column) they belong to, to show how example 1 can be mapped onto Figure 9.2.

Each category is a subtype belonging to a larger category that is more general. In Tree A (Figure 9.2), as the five shaded areas (T1, T2, T3, T4 and R4) get darker, the type—category—becomes broader, more general. As one goes along the nodes of the tree, from T1 to R4, the translation solutions that belong to each type gradually lose a property at each stage moving along to more general solutions—the ones that have fewer of the traits that define the initial subtype. The first set (T1) has all the properties of the “ST problem” (e.g. a specific type of metaphor). The broadest set (the number can vary depending on the number of subtypes) encompasses solutions that are not metaphors and (depending on the tree) not even rhetorical devices. The smallest subtype (T1) is always defined as “the same metaphor” (when analysing the problem of metaphor translation)—i.e. with all its properties. The first node, or binary branching, is to decide if a solution belongs to T1 or not, R1, whereby R1 includes all the remaining solutions. If the problem is to translate L3 as it appears in a ST (L3ST), see Figures 9.3A and 9.5B, binary branching begins with “the same L3” for T1 and any other solution belongs to the whole R1 area (R for the rest, or remaining solutions). The next node splits R1 between “the same (sub)type of L3” (T2) and “all the rest” (R2). R2, in this case, includes all remaining potential TT solutions for L3ST once we have set aside the ones that are of the same (sub)type category (T2). The third split could be, for example, to distinguish “any type of L3” from all the other remaining solutions—i.e. T3 versus R3. The next split (within R3) is T4 versus R4, where T4 is “any rhetorical device that L3 is considered to belong to as a type”, and R4 (following the pattern of R1, R2 and R3) is the set of all “remaining” solutions that cannot be included in any of types T1–T4. Figure 9.2 illustrates these binary splits as a tree structure, seen upside down with the trunk at the first node branching off to the T1/R1 split. In case it is easier to visualise solutions as distributed according to boxes within boxes or areas that are located within larger areas, Figure 9.2 reinforces the illustration of branching by also showing a shaded area or box for each split that is seen to fit into a larger one which in turn fits into a larger one, and so on, each one containing all of the solutions (S) that share common properties (belong to a certain type). Figure 9.2 only illustrates the case of a four-branch tree of four sets of types and smaller subtypes within them and then “R4” to contain all of the remaining solutions, so $n = 4$ for Figure 9.2, but according to the model, “ n ” could be any number for T_n and R_n depending on the analysis that best seems to account for the case under study in each case.

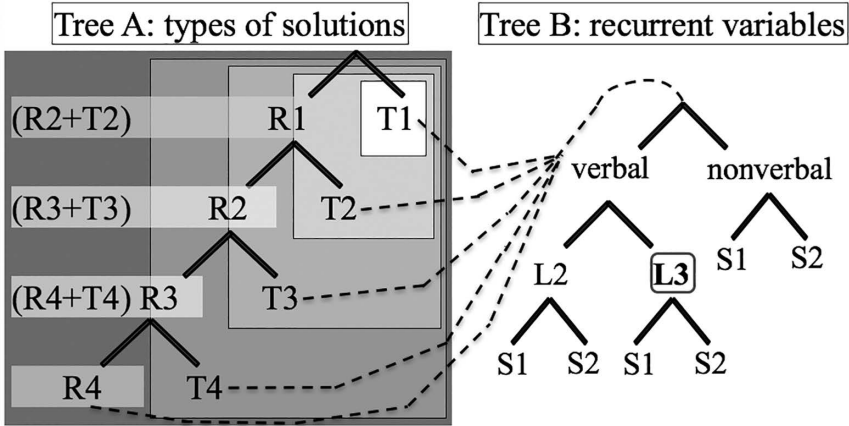


Figure 9.2 The TT solutions for a ST element that is identified as a translation problem

Although Figure 9.2 may seem “mathematical”, the model allows for personal interpretations of problems and solutions, the researcher’s perspective of the ST and how it might have been translated, or the researcher’s analysis of the translator’s criteria and behaviour, and certain distributions of solutions and how their belonging to one type or another depends a lot on the criteria and opinion of whoever is doing the analysis and designing the tree typology. The diagrams may also look “poor” because they do not actually display a typology of metaphors, or one for L3, or types of humour, but this is so precisely to allow for many different typologies and a certain amount of subjectivity in the design of specific type-within-type categories and the distribution of their real and alternative solutions. One could surely think of a better type than “countryside metaphors” (example 1) or borrow one from metaphor studies for a general typology of metaphors, but what really matters is the one that provides the best insight or the best argument for the point that is trying to be made about the TT, about *sembrado*, and all the other metaphors in the same text or corpus. A critic might unfairly criticise the translator’s solution (S = *sembrado*) for *field* (example 1) if the critic is unable or unwilling to appreciate the translator’s personal “binary tree” approach,⁴ given that *field* may not be seen as a “countryside” type of metaphor, or as no metaphor at all or that the word ‘field’ merits a different tree because it holds other features (a different problem) as well as the *field* metaphor. During analysis or research of the translation of metaphor, for instance, researchers may get carried away by their enthusiasm for metaphors and may end up giving them greater importance than they had in the translator’s original (coherent) project. Binary branching, then, is about warning researchers (or critics or theoreticians) to make an extra effort to discover

the process and product of translation as it was initially intended and carried out in order to gain insight into its own merits and shortcomings by looking at each solution in the context of other solutions that were/are also available (real, hypothetical or prescribed). This will enable us to analyse as consciously as possible the causes and effects of apparent inconsistencies within a translation by trying different tree typologies for different analytical criteria or by shedding light on alternative solutions that could be drawn into the discussion (depending on the typology chosen) as belonging to the same types (T1, T2, T3, etc.).

The system of binary divisions highlights the importance of identifying a problem and its nature, and then the range of its possible solutions, depending on the typology chosen for the analysis. By applying a descriptive approach, real examples from existing translations may be collected and classified as either opposed to or in combination with speculative possibilities. Typologies will arise by collecting and classifying real examples taken from existing translations. From a speculative approach, it is possible to introduce alternative solutions regarded as “theoretically possible” until one can come up with a binary branching typology that is strong enough in its logic and explanatory power (for example, Toury’s (1995) norm theory in connection with his study of metaphor translation, which is a forerunner of the present proposal for binary branching). What all of this means is that a given textual element can be analysed through different binary branching structures and typologies, and each tree accounts for the sets of solutions in a different way. If used prescriptively, it is possible to draw conclusions such as “quality criteria for a given translation will establish that solutions within T1 are preferable to those within T2”, or “solutions beyond T3 are considered erroneous” and so on.

Zabalbeascoa (2004) allows for certain variables (Figure 9.2, tree B) to stem from any one of the types or subtypes of the main branching structure (Figure 9.2, T1–T4 and R4). The “leaves” or ends of these variables are the closest category to the actual solutions (Figure 9.2, S1 and S2). Tree A, then, is arranged by types of solutions, whereas Tree B arranges solutions by other features that might appear in any type. In example 1, options a–e are the solutions, they are all S1 and they are all in L2 (Spanish) and, hence, verbal. However, each one of them belongs to a different T type; therefore, Tree B must be replicated as additional branching within each T type. For example, consider the “technique” of omission as a possible solution to *field* (example 1) or any other problem of any other ST. Potentially, the absence of a textual segment might belong to T1, T2, T3, T4 or R4; no one can know the metaphorical value of omission a priori; there is no guarantee that deleting the word “field” also has the effect of deleting any sort of metaphorical interpretation of ellipsis or some other effect omission might have at a particular point of the TT. If this is true, omission can never belong to Tree A; it must belong to Tree B; Tree B is made up of such cases, including L3 (what metaphorical effect would the appearance of “field”, in English,

have, untranslated, in the Spanish TT?). What this shows, then, is that a traditional translational shift or technique, like literal translation, is a concrete verbal solution (Figure 9.2, S1) whereby a word or phrase in one language (L1) is substituted for a word or words with the same meaning in another language (L2). More crucially, it shows us that this “concrete” information tells us nothing about the significance or coherence of the solution in terms of whether or not it retains its metaphorical properties (if metaphor is established as the problem), which can only be reflected in Tree A. Placing different instances of literal translation from the same TT into different types (T1, T2, T3. . .) would simply reflect the fact that translating literally can produce very different results at different points in a text, especially for different types of problems, but even for the same problem. This can be seen in example 1, where the metaphor could be translated literally quite well, which is not to say that all metaphors in the novel can be translated literally just as well, or that non-literal translations for the same case might also work very well.

When a concrete solution (S) involves the use of any language other than L2, it can be labelled as L3^{TT} within Tree B, including the transcription of L1 words from the ST in TT (assuming L1 ≠ L2). The concrete instance of L3 still has to be categorised as a “type” and, depending on the case under study, it could be a type of metaphor, a type of joke, a type of stereotype, a type of discourse, etc., or a type of reformulation (Figure 9.4) or a type of unintelligible message (Figure 9.5A). One might be interested, however, in establishing L3 as the problem itself rather than some other value it might embody. This is the usefulness of a Tree A of types and subtypes of L3 in order to define the precise nature of T1, T2, T3. . . and R1, R2, R3. . . (Figure 9.3A and 9.5B) by proposing an *ad hoc* typology for L3 or language variation. L3 will belong to Tree B if the problem is established as a humorous device, a stereotype, a coded message or something else, and then see where L3 appears (or not) as a concrete solution to the problem thus defined, as an instance of T1, T2. . . in a typology of jokes or stereotypes or metaphors or whatever is considered relevant for gaining insight into how (a) translation works.

Tree B (Figure 9.2) allows for the following variables. Any solution of any T type is verbal or nonverbal (especially, but not exclusively, for the case of AVT). Any verbal solution is either L2 or L3. Finally, a solution may have a single component (S1) or might involve a single component plus additional features or items (S2)—i.e. for the sake of disambiguation, ease of comprehension or clearer membership to a certain type of solution, or for greater impact or effectiveness, such as the use of a footnote, paraphrase, definition, alliteration, special punctuation, tone, redundancy and so on.

All solutions of any type are either S1 or S2; the choice of S1 or S2 is the last binary branch at the end of every branch in Tree B, just as the Tree B structure repeats the choices to be made within every Tree A branch. For the

case of L3, one could distinguish between S1, which would just be word(s) in L3, as opposed to S2, which would require L3 accompanied by some other feature or item, such as L3 in the audio track plus a translated subtitle, in the case of L3 in a dubbed version, or L3 plus an inclusion in the dialogue of an explanation in L2 or a character acting as interpreter, also for the case of dubbing.

4. Typologies Depend on How the Problem is Defined

Example 2 *Inglourious Basterds*

	<i>L1 English</i>	<i>L2 German</i>	<i>L2 Spanish</i>
Raine	English?	Hast du Schiss?	¿Me entiendes?
Butz	Nein.	Ja.	Nein.
Raine	Wicki! Ask him if he wants to live.	Wicki! Ich brauch dich zum Händchenhalten.	¡Wicki! Pregúntale si quiere vivir.
Wicki	Willst du am Leben bleiben?	Willst du am Leben bleiben?	Willst du am Leben bleiben?
Butz	Ja, Sir.	Ja, Sir.	Ja, Sir.
Raine	Tell him to point out on this map the German position.	Da will sich wohl einer um das Baseballmatch drücken.	¡Que señale en el mapa dónde está el otro grupo!
Wicki	Dann zeig uns auf der Karte, wo die deutsche Stellung ist.	Dann zeig uns auf der Karte, wo die deutsche Stellung ist.	Dann zeig uns auf der Karte, wo die deutsche Stellung ist.
Raine	Ask him how many Germans.	Wir können ihm aber auch die Eier abschneiden.	Pregúntale cuántos alemanes hay.
Wicki	Wie viele Deutsche?	Wie viele Deutsche?	Wie viele Deutsche?
Butz	Es könnten zwölf sein.	Es könnten zwölf sein.	Es könnten zwölf sein.
Wicki	Around about 12.	Er will seine Eier behalten.	Dice que unos doce.
Raine	What kind of artillery?	Und ich hab' mich schon so gefreut.	¿Qué clase de artillería?

Example 2 illustrates the case of a scene with an interpreter in *Inglourious Basterds* (Quentin Tarantino 2009) with German as L3ST. Wicki's bilingualism enables him to mediate between a German soldier and an American one. The analysis will be different depending on whether the approach establishes the problem as L3-German (Figure 9.3A), or if the whole scene is taken as a problem of intratextual translation (Figure 9.1). In a different, funny scene,

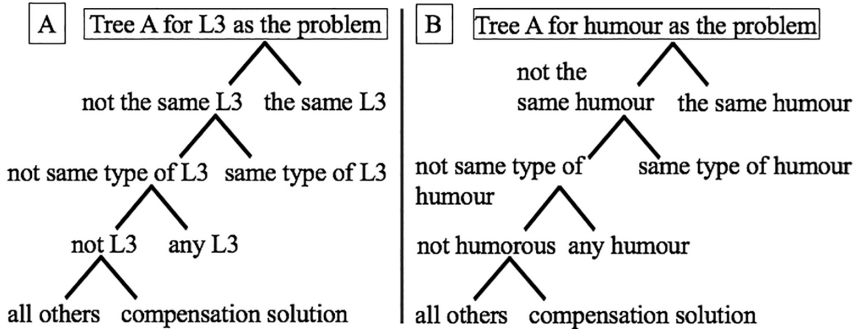


Figure 9.3 Distribution of solutions by L3 types and subtrees or by humour

when the film’s polyglot colonel displays his fluency in L3 Italian, a third approach is also possible—i.e. the problem is the funniness of the scene (Figure 9.3B). It may not be so straightforward to decide which tree will be more fruitful in terms of translational insight, or in terms of producing a fair account of the translator’s consistency and performance to design a binary branching typology according to (i) types of L3 (Figure 9.3A), (ii) types of audiovisual humour (Figure 9.3B) or (iii) types of intratextual translation as a case of reporting someone else’s speech (Figure 9.4). For the case of rendering the L3ST-German (example 2) unchanged for the German-dubbed version, the following situation arises: L3ST = L2, and L3 disappears as such in the TT because it is impossible to distinguish it from L2; therefore, it no longer makes sense to analyse it in terms of “the same (type of) L3”, even though, technically, it is the same language. There are two ways out of this theoretical dilemma. One is to accept that binary branching structured by types within types (Tree A) cannot apply to the case of L3, or at least it cannot when L3 = L2. The other way is to explore other Tree A designs based on L3’s function or other relevant features associated with it, like humour, and establish one of those as “the ST problem”.

The following are some of the L3 variables proposed by Zabalbeascoa and Corrius (2012) illustrated with examples from this study:

- constructed language (based to a greater or lesser extent on L1) or a real one (now or in the past), such as German or Spanish;
- represented, farcically or faithfully (example 2);
- L3ST happens to be the same as language as L2 (examples 2, 3, 4 and 5 for German and example 5 and 6 for Spanish), or not (examples 2, 4 and 5 for L3-German dubbed into TT-Spanish and example 5, and 6 for L3-Spanish dubbed into TT German);

- familiar or unfamiliar/exotic language for the intended audience (Spanish, for part of the ST viewers in example 5);
- intelligibility of the message (example 4 and Figure 9.5);
- provides information, accompanied by an intratextual translation or through subtitles or not (example 2);
- no linguistic decoding required because nonverbal elements are understandable (like waving a hand from a distance);
- conspicuous versus easily overlooked.

5. Analysing Dubbed Examples in Spanish and German

In example 2, L3ST is rendered as L2 for the German-dubbed version, and the TT dialogue can no longer plausibly include an interlingual interpreter. Therefore, the solution for this case is analysed as T5 (a different dialogue) if the tree structure of Figure 9.4 is used. The translator rewrites the dialogue to be entirely monolingual while retaining the two most important elements of the dialogue for the plot (the enemy's location and size). Furthermore, the situation of ST intratextual translation, as a serious dialogue, is rendered in the TT with more humour, showing two characters making fun of the German soldier and joking about what has happened previously.

However, the Spanish-dubbed version is not confronted with the L3 = L2 coincidence, so it has solved the problem in the T1 area (Figure 9.4) with “the same words/explanation” rendered in L2-Spanish for the L1 English part and kept unchanged L3ST = L3^{TT} for the German keeping the whole exchange as the same “reformulation of someone else's words” from German into a language the audience can understand.

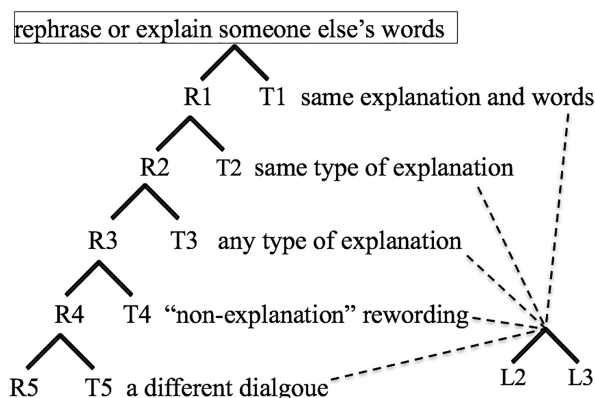


Figure 9.4 Monolingual (L2 only) or multilingual (L3) reformulation in each type

Figure 9.4 illustrates a problem established as “reformulation or explanation of someone else’s words”, one of its cases being intratextual interlingual interpreting. If the L3ST happens to be the same language as L2, and it is left unchanged, it may lose its visibility and L3 quality. When L3 is always kept unchanged in translation as the norm, then scenes depicting interpreting from one language into another (with L3ST = L2) seem to require changes in the script; otherwise, the audience has to know that their suspension of disbelief is being called upon to appreciate that the interlocutors are meant to be speaking different languages when actually only one can be heard (this is the L2 solution (Figure 9.4) wherever it may appear) as a type of “rephrasing or explaining somebody else’s words” either interlingually or by some alternative means. Figure 9.4 shows how this problem can be defined and its actual and potential solutions analysed, which including various options for “explaining something” more or less accurately, in different ways or by a wholesale change of script for this scene, by inserting a different set of utterances. Of course, when all the characters are portrayed as speaking the same language, there is no longer any call for representing intratextual translation. When the TT problem is defined as having to render ST reformulation, rewording, paraphrase or explanation within fictional dialogue, nothing need be specified initially as to whether such types of reformulating involve only L2 (with or without the illusion of language variation) or some sort of L2/L3 combination. Reformulation involving L3 may include instances of intratextual translation.

Example 3, a case of intratextual interlingual translation, illustrates a more frequent, traditional case of a faithful rendering of someone else’s words by one of the fictional characters. The German-dubbed version in example 2 seems to fit into “a different dialogue” (Figure 9.4 T5), whereas example 3 from *Unknown* (Collet-Serra 2011) belongs to T3 (any type of explanation), because it uses the intratextual translator of the dubbed version to carry on “explaining” what another character is saying. The interpreter, Biko, speaks English with a foreign accent in the ST; this non-native feature is kept in the German version as non-native (German) accent. As there is no need to translate intratextually in the dubbed fictional dialogue, there is, as for the second example, a change of dialogue, whereby Biko acknowledges his foreignness (“wir Ausländer”, i.e. us foreigners). There is an omission of “he says”, which is typically identified with a more explicit situation of interlingual translation.

Example 3 *Unknown*

	<i>L1 English</i>	<i>L2 German</i>
Biko	He says he doesn't care if she saved your life.	Es ist ihm egal, ob sie Ihnen das Leben gerettet hat.
Boss	Die Schlampe schuldet mir 20.000 Euro.	Die Schlampe schuldet mir 20.000 Euro.

	<i>L1 English</i>	<i>L2 German</i>
Biko	The bitch cost (sic.) him 20,000 Euros.	Die Bergungskosten, um den Wagen aus der Spree zu ziehen, sind da noch nicht drin.
Boss	Von der Versicherung gibt's keinen Pfennig, weil kein P-Schein.	Von der Versicherung gibt's keinen Pfennig, weil kein P-Schein.
Biko	The insurance won't cover the cab as she had no license.	Das wusste hier keiner, dass sie überhaupt keinen P-Schein hat.
Boss	Dieses verfluchte illegale Gesindel macht bereits Deutschland kaputt.	Dieses verfluchte illegale Gesindel macht bereits Deutschland kaputt.
Biko	He says illegal immigrants are destroying German society.	Ist natürlich klar, dass wir Ausländer jedes Mal die Schuld an allem kriegen.

In example 4, from *Django Unchained* (Quentin Tarantino 2012), Dr Schultz and Brunhilde, a slave, are both fluent in German. The German-dubbed TT presents the L3ST = L2 situation. The translation changes the dialogue, which no longer has the ST language variation L3ST + L1, so the topic of conversation shifts from German to Germany. Apart from this, there is also a change in register to make Brunhilde speak more formally, more in line with the norm of speaking to someone in a position of authority with a sign of respect (*Sie/Ihnen*). Figure 9.5 shows two approaches to this case of L3 as part of a translation problem that might be called “unintelligible”, meaning that the audience cannot understand the contents of what is being said and sometimes neither can other fictional characters.

Example 4 *Django Unchained*

	<i>L1 English</i>	<i>L2 German</i>
Lara	The doctor here speaks German.	Der Doktor hier stammt aus Deutschland.
Schultz	And I've been informed you do as well?	Und ich habe gehört, du bist bei Deutschen aufgewachsen?
Lara	Go ahead, girl. Speak a little German.	Trau dich, du darfst dem Doktor antworten!
Hilde	Es wäre mir ein Vergnügen mit dir auf Deutsch zu sprechen.	Es wäre mir ein Vergnügen, mit Ihnen über Deutschland zu sprechen.
Schultz	Astonishing.	Das Land der Dichter und Denker!
[...]		

(Continued)

(Continued)

<i>L1 English</i>	<i>L2 German</i>
Ich bin mir dessen bewusst, dass Sie lange kein Deutsch mehr gesprochen haben.	Ich bin mir dessen bewusst, dass Sie das Alles sehr verwirren muss.
Also werde ich langsam reden.	Aber ich werde es Ihnen erklären.
Ich spreche jetzt nur für den Fall mit Ihnen Deutsch, dass Candies Leute uns zuhören.	Das mit Deutschland habe ich nur vorgeschoben, damit Candie nicht Verdacht schöpft.

This analysis is further justified because the text actually includes the phrase “I’m only speaking German in case people are listening”. In this case, L3 is used as a coded (unintelligible) message. The property of comprehensibility for the audience and/or another character is precisely one of the ways to characterise any instance of L3. Coded messages can be considered a case of L3 that is deliberately meant to be unintelligible. This does not rule out other alternatives to be used as a (type of) solution. The most general type of solution would be any message of any sign system or language that is unintelligible for whatever reason. A translator may be restricted by having to search for a solution within the confines of L2 to conform to a nationwide convention. From this point of view, a “coded message” type of solution might even include such things as (almost) inaudible mumbling or whispering; (almost) illegible handwriting, if it is a note; or resorting to strange metaphors, syntactic inversion, riddles, etc.

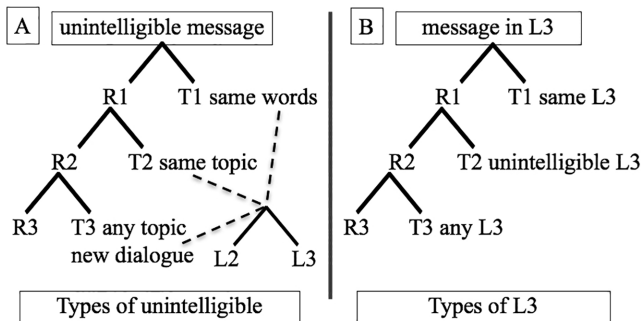


Figure 9.5 Tree A typology: unintelligible or L3

Example 5 *Frasier*

	<i>L1 English</i>	<i>L2 German</i>	<i>L2 Spanish</i>
Niles	Marta! You speak German?	Marta! Sie sprechen Dänisch?	Marta! ¿Habla alemán?
Marta Frasier	¿Qué? Uh, ¿habla alemán?	¿Qué? Äh, äh. . . ¿habla danmarca? (sic.)	Quoi? Um . . . vous parlez allemand?
Marta	<i>Sí! Yo trabajo para una familia alemana que llegó a Guatemala después de la Guerra.</i>	<i>Sí, sí, yo trabajo para una familia dinmerquesa (sic.) que culte (sic.) cáñamo a Guatemala.</i>	<i>Oui. J'ai travaillé pour une famille allemande à Paris qu'il est arrivé après la guerre.</i>
Frasier	Apparently she worked for a German family that turned up in Guatemala . . . just after the war.	Marta hat für einen dänischen Einwanderer gearbeitet, der in Guatemala . . . Hanf angebaut hat.	Trabajó para una familia alemana que llegó a París . . . después de la guerra.

Rendering L3ST-German as L3^{TT}-Danish for the German-dubbed version of *Frasier* (David Angell et al. 1993–2004) (example 5) provides another interesting real-life, non-speculative case of the variety of ways in which L3 might be defined as a translation problem and solution (important functional aspects and quality not considered here). It is somewhat similar to the use of French in the Spanish-dubbed version of *Butch Cassidy* (George Roy Hill 1969) (example 6). In both of these cases, L3ST = L2 (German and Spanish, respectively), and in both cases, L3^{TT} is a completely different language from L3ST so that language variation (L2 + L3) can be kept in the TT as an important feature where necessary. Binary branching analysis can consider the problem to be either L3 or an unintelligible message (regardless of its language or mode of expression).

Example 6 *Butch Cassidy*

	<i>L1 English</i>	<i>L2 German</i>	<i>L2 Spanish</i>
Butch	Raise your hands. ¡Manos arriba!	<i>Manos . . . ähm. . .</i> <i>¡manos arriba!</i>	—
Sundance	They got'em up. Skip on down!	Na, die haben sie ja oben, lies weiter!	¡Vamos! ¿Dónde está la caja fuerte?

(Continued)

(Continued)

	<i>L1 English</i>	<i>L2 German</i>	<i>L2 Spanish</i>
Butch	Raise them! (to himself) <i>¡Arriba!</i> (out loud)	<i>¡Arriba!</i>	<i>Donnez-moi.</i>
Sundance Butch	Skip-on-down! ' <i>Arrísmense</i> ' a la pared (sic.)	Na, Mensch, das nächste! Todos ustedes, ' <i>arrísmense</i> ' a la pared. (sic.)	¡Rápido! Señores, <i>donnez-moi l'argent.</i>
Sundance	They are against the wall already!	Die stehen doch schon an der Wand, du Idiot!	Si no lo entienden, ¡háblales más claro!
Butch	Don't you know enough to criticise someone who's doing his best?	<i>¿Dónde . . . ?</i> Ähh . . . ach, lies du doch weiter, wenn du so schlau bist!	<i>Donnez-moi . . .</i> estoy harto de hacerme pasar por francés.

The tree in Figure 9.5B shows L3 as the problem with the possible solutions structured according to types of L3 by using an *ad hoc* typology that classifies L3 languages by how intelligible each one is to the TT audience and/or diegetically. This tree manages to account for the use of Danish (T2) in *Frasier*, and it constitutes an example of what can be found in dubbing for German-speaking countries when L3ST-German needs to be rendered as something other than L3^{TT}-German that is indistinguishable from L2-German. In the case of *Frasier*, Danish works in the dubbed version as an unintelligible L3^{TT}. This case is quite different from example 4, where the ST states quite clearly that German is spoken deliberately to avoid being understood, but that has not deterred the dubbed version from keeping L3ST-German unchanged, and this can be accounted for by the tree design in Figure 9.5A. L3ST-German is dubbed into L2-German. The solution involves a new dialogue (R3 in Figure 9.5A) which is not even unintelligible (this would have been the case of T3), thus the solution falls in the R3 category of all remaining solutions—the ones which are not unintelligible. One could claim from a theoretical-speculative position that alternative solutions are possible within the other types (T2 and T3), and there is a real-life example resulting from a descriptive studies position (example 5), with German changing to Danish, but also L3ST-Spanish changing to French in the Spanish-dubbed version for basically the same reason. The findings of descriptive studies, of course, lend greater strength to the theoretical model. Additional restrictions have to be taken into account in any full analysis, such as characters wearing army uniforms or costumes to show their background. In *Butch Cassidy*, the ST characters learn and use Spanish to get around Bolivia, and there are scenes where interpreting is necessary and the problem can be defined as “L3 must be explained or reformulated”. The solution found in the Spanish-dubbed version in some scenes is striking

because it changes L3ST-Spanish to L3^{TT}-French, even though the action is still set in Bolivia. As they are bank robbers, they justify this by saying that they must learn and speak French to disguise their real national identities. Indeed, the function of L3 changes in this case from one of trying to bridge a linguistic distance to one of using language to create further distance between different characters.

6. Conclusions

This chapter has shown the flexibility of binary branching as an alternative account for translational procedures and for the solutions that translators find or could use for a wide variety of translation problems, including metaphors and humour, among others. One of the biggest challenges for this model is the case of L3, for two main reasons. One is that L3 was initially conceived as a variable—i.e. an alternative to L2 for each type or subtype—rather than being restricted to a single type within any typology; that is, L3 first appeared in Tree B rather than Tree A, and Tree B is replicated within each branch of Tree A. The other reason is the particular case of when L3ST happens to coincide with L2 because that tends to entail that L3's presence can no longer be perceived as language variation as it becomes indistinguishable from the main language of the translation. Therefore, it seems almost impossible to keep the first type (T1) of a prototypical binary branching Tree A, “the same L3”, and to skip directly to “the same type of L3”. However, a study like this one, with just a few relevant examples of L3 dubbed into German and Spanish, helps us to see that there is no reason to be restricted to a single way of approaching the problem of L3 for translation, which can also validate and justify the binary trees as a model of analysis. One approach consists in establishing the problem as one of intratextual translation, which is a slightly larger textual item than simply the instance of L3. The other approach is a functionalist one, whereby the types of solutions (T1, T2, T3. . .) are defined by a typology which reflects the relevant function(s) for each case. Along these lines, L3 often takes on a comical function, and what is called for is Tree A based on types of humour, which could include bilingual or multilingual humour. Another frequently important function for L3 is character portrayal, and it is just as important (for translators and researchers) to explore alternatives to L3 as character-portrayal traits. Lastly, we have seen (examples 2, 3 and 4) that dubbing practices in certain places (German-speaking countries) may prioritise keeping each and every L3ST unchanged in the TT regardless of how the impact might be different in each case.

The purpose of the binary tree model is to enable researchers (and even translators) to experiment with different typologies for challenging problems until a tree structure can be found that seems to provide a satisfactory account or a clear pattern of regularities over a number of instances of the

same problem throughout a TT, where the first impression might be one of haphazardness, or when for a given case there seems to be a number of problems instead of a single one which only comes into focus after careful thinking. Examples 5 and 6 showing Spanish-dubbed solutions seem to approach each case of L3 differently. However, if the problem is defined as one of intratextual translation, then there are times when the textual item (intratextual translation taken as a unit) is kept even when the L3 instance is changed quite considerably and for no apparent reason.

Notes

- 1 This chapter was written as part of Trafilm, funded by the Spanish Government ref. FFI2014–55952-P.
- 2 Of course, not all textual translation problems are established in the ST. Others might include specifications for the TT regardless of the ST—e.g. to comply with TT stylesheet obligations, censorship and fashions. See Zabalbeascoa 2000.
- 3 My personal preference would be, in this order: c, d, a, e, b.
- 4 I am fully aware that translators do not (not yet!) translate consciously according to a binary tree. However, a binary tree might still be able to unveil their strategy or criteria, even if they are unaware of it, if regular patterns can be found in recurrent trees convincingly.

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10 A Game of Languages

The Use of Subtitles for Invented Languages in *Game of Thrones*

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1. Multilingualism and Invented Languages in Television Series

Game of Thrones (*GoT*) (David Benioff and Weiss 2011-in production) is a television series adapted from a series of fantasy novels by G.R.R. Martin and produced and aired by HBO. It narrates the political and military developments in a mediaevalsque but fantastic world, where a yearlong winter is nearing and an army of undead beings threatens the civilization from the icy north. Meanwhile in the south, and on another continent, various families fight for the throne and for supremacy. The series depicts these power struggles and open military actions from the points of view of some of the 96 major and minor characters listed on the HBO official site.¹ During the series, some of the characters meet or fight one another, their storylines cross to be separated again, new point-of-view characters are added, and the storylines take place in different and changing locations. And it is in some of these locations that invented languages are used.

Current research on television series suggests that complexity is symptomatic for development in the genre. Rothmund (2013: 226f.) argues that recent television series such as *Heroes* (Tim Kring 2006–2010), *Lost* (J.J. Abrams et al. 2004–2010) and *Dexter* (James Manos, Jr., 2006–2013) stand out because of their narrative complexity—a complexity that comprises a multitude of equally important characters and storylines, and is increased by divergent moral and ideological standpoints as well as by multilingualism.

The number of accessible stories has increased since the advent of television, and as a consequence, the audience has become more and more familiar with a wide array of narrative styles, all of which seems to point to a greater demand for complex stories: “Such familiarity may account for the increase in multistory television series, as well as the development of the multimedia saga [. . .] told in television, print, and the Internet” (Thompson 2003: 79).

Television series have evolved from being shown on television in a “flow” (Kompore 2006) to being “published” on DVD and distributed directly to the viewers (Mittell 2010) to now being available on video-on-demand

platforms (Schröter 2012). As mentioned in the earlier quote, some series are developed into multimedia or transmedia sagas, with both producers and audiences contributing additional stories and information on websites, with films or comic books (see Rothemund 2013: 202ff.). In the case of *GoT*, there are wiki websites for the television series,² the novels,³ and the languages;⁴ the official website by the producer, HBO; and blogs, such as the blog of language developer David J. Peterson.⁵

2. Translating Multilingual Series

In film, dialogue is often used to link the images to a certain time and space, and to explain the chain of events (Kozloff 2000: 34ff.). In addition, dialogue also functions as a connector between scenes when a place or an action in the following scene is mentioned in the dialogue of the preceding scene (see “dialogue hook” in Thompson 1999: 20; see also “narrative causality” in Kozloff 2000: 37ff.). Although these are the main functions of dialogue, Kozloff (*ibid.*) identifies several other functions such as characterization through language, realism, and creative use of language.

Considering the multiple uses of dialogue in monolingual films and series, it is only reasonable to assume that the use of more than one language in a film or a series serves similar purposes. For the description of multilingual films, I use Corrius and Zabalbeascoa’s terminology of one main language (L1) with one or several additional languages (L3ST) in the source text and one main language (L2) with one or several additional languages (L3^{TT}) in the target text (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2011).

The different languages serve as pivots for some of the dialogue functions mentioned earlier. Multilingualism has been used to anchor the story in a given time and place, and to adhere to a certain amount of realism (Wahl 2005; Bleichenbacher 2008), to elicit an emotional response from the audience and to portray the characters (Bleichenbacher 2008), to create suspense (De Bonis 2015; Delabastita 2015), and to induce humour (Delabastita 2002; Zabalbeascoa 2012).

The practice of using L3 in films and series makes the language variety audible and sets it apart. In many films, important L3 segments are subtitled in the main language so that the relevant content can be communicated to the audience. This practice has been described as “part-subtitling” (O’Sullivan 2007), as the original piece features subtitles that have already been planned during the production. Zabalbeascoa and Corrius (2012: 258) argue that sometimes L3 segments may not communicate relevant information, which would make part-subtitling superfluous. For the purposes of this study, I start from the assumption that the untranslated L3 segments might not carry any relevant information, but are a signal that there is no mutual comprehension among the characters, which is in fact relevant information for the audience.

The practice of making multilingual films with some L3 lines sprinkled throughout has been criticized because English remains the predominant language transporting the story and “ventriloquizing the world” (Shohat and Stam 2006: 191f.), especially when the dialogue is scripted in English, translated into the foreign language, and then subtitled again in English (O’Sullivan 2007: 90f.).

When subtitling multilingual films and series with or without part-subtitles, there are two possibilities: 1) subtitling all lines in the same fashion, without making any visible distinction between the languages, and 2) subtitling the main language only (de Higes-Andino 2014; Bartoll 2006). In the first case, the viewers of the translated film may not be able to perceive the language diversity. In the latter case, the viewers may not have access to information that the viewers of the original have, because the L3 segments remain untranslated and thus the information is not transported. Bartoll (2006: 5) proposes to mark the subtitles so that one single different language would appear in italics or several different languages in different colours in the same manner as different characters are marked in subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing, and in this regard, de Higes-Andino (2014: 218) lists a set of typographical signs such as italics, brackets, or tags.

Another area where the subtitles have distinctive features is in fansubbing. In this case, the subtitles diverge from the conventions of professional subtitling in several aspects such as the use of different colours and different fonts in the same series, the addition of background information, and the placement of the subtitles in an area other than at the bottom or top of the screen (Ferrer Simó 2005; Díaz Cintas and Muñoz-Sánchez 2006).

Some of these possibilities have been picked up by Szarkowska et al. (2014: 277) in their reception study among a deaf and hard of hearing audience. They have presented five possibilities for conveying multilingualism in subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH): 1) using the original L3 in the subtitles (“vehicular matching”), 2) using the original L3 and naming it as such (“explicit attribution”), 3) translating and naming the language in the subtitle (“translation and explicit attribution”), 4) translating and marking the language with colour (“translation and color coding”), or 5) translating without marking the L3 language (“linguistic homogenisation”). This study clearly reveals that there is a need to mark the languages in the subtitles, at least among an SDH audience.

3. *Game of Thrones* and Subtitled L3

GoT is a fantasy series that is divided into several storylines with different points of view. Most of the storylines take place on the continent *Westeros*, where the vehicular language is referred to as the “Common Tongue” and is in fact English (L1). On the second continent, *Essos*, there are city states and tribes with distinctive cultures. To set them apart from the culture in *Westeros*, they do not speak the “Common Tongue” but a series of other

languages. To render those languages, the producers opted for an invented language: “We actually thought it would be much more believable, if we heard them speaking their own language, rather than have them speak in heavily accented English” (Benioff, in *Creating the Dothraki Language*). So the producers decided to use invented languages that were fully developed by the linguist David J. Peterson (ibid.).

The fact that HBO decided to hire a language developer points to the importance of the use of languages in *GoT*. With this, the series follows the tradition of other audiovisual products in the fantasy or science fiction genre such as the various products from the *Star Trek* universe (Gene Roddenberry 1966-in production), with Klingon as an invented language; the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy (Peter Jackson 2001–2003) and *The Hobbit* trilogy (Peter Jackson, 2012–2014), with the Elvish languages; and the series *Firefly* (Joss Whedon 2002), where the use of English and Mandarin shows a language hierarchy that is different from the one familiar to the viewers (for a detailed analysis of the languages in *Firefly*, see Mandala 2012: 39–42).

In seasons 01–03, the invented languages are Dothraki (L3D), Valyrian (L3V), and Old Ghiscari/Meereenese Valyrian (L3M). According to Peterson’s blog,⁶ he also developed Astapori Valyrian as a fourth language to be used. However, this language is never named in the series, making it impossible to identify it just by viewing the story. As such, I have disregarded it in this study and only taken into consideration the languages that are mentioned in the series. I have also disregarded the instances of accented English.

The original version uses part-subtitles, but not for all the lines in the L3 languages. These languages are part of the series’ dialogue, and as such, they primarily serve to convey information to the viewers and not necessarily between the characters present on screen (Kozloff 2000: 19).

The goal of this study is as follows:

1. to determine the functions of L3 dialogue and of the part-subtitles;
2. to determine if the German subtitles fulfil the same functions.

As source material, I have used the subtitles from the DVDs published in German for the PAL 2 region. For the L3 dialogue, I have also used Peterson’s blog and the Dothraki and Valyrian language wiki page as background material and reference for language development and structure.

In order to determine the use of L3 in *GoT* S01–03, I analyzed the scenes that showed L3 in the dialogue: the number of scenes with L3, the number of L3 per scene, and the lines in L3 with or without subtitles. L3 languages were taken into consideration only when they were used in a line and named at some point in the dialogue, as there is no way to otherwise identify an exotic language (cf. “signalization”, Bleichenbacher 2008: 59). Then the instances with L3 languages were compared with the possible functions they can have in the dialogue (Kozloff 2000: 34ff.).

Subsequently, I compared the German subtitles of the English dialogue and the German subtitles that appeared when one of the invented languages was spoken to establish a point of reference for the subtitles. I used Corrius's and Zabalbeascoa's (2011) model of analysis for L3 as a basis for an adapted model to determine the operations used in the subtitling of the target text, and, finally, I examined if the dialogue functions followed similar patterns to those in the original.

Regarding the translation of multilingual films, Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2011) identified four operations for translating segments in L1 and five operations for dealing with segments in L3, starting from the idea that the translated segments will effectively substitute the source text. This is the case with dubbing, but taking into consideration that subtitled films are diasemiotic (Gottlieb 2005), subtitles do not substitute the source languages (L1 or L3ST), but rather add another layer of languages. This changes the effects of the operations proposed by Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2011). In accordance with their model, I propose the following operations for subtitling L1 (operations 1–4) and L3ST (5–9#):

1. No subtitles: L1 remains in the aural channel with no subtitles in L2, which leads to information loss for the L2 audience. L1 in the aural channel audibly becomes L3.
2. Subtitles in L2: traditional subtitling, adding subtitles in L2 (visual channel) to the audio in L1 (aural channel).
- 2# Subtitles in L2, with markings: translation of the dialogue into L2 subtitles (visual channel), marking the subtitles through colour, font, or naming the language.
3. Subtitles in L1: L1 is both audible and visible. L1 becomes L3^{TT} in the subtitles (see “vehicular matching” in Szarkowska et al. 2014: 287).
- 3# Subtitles in L1, with markings: like operation 3, additionally marking the subtitles through colour, font, or naming the language.
4. Subtitles in a L3 that are not L1 or L2: L3^{TT} in the subtitles with L1 still in the aural channel.
5. No subtitles for L3 (≠ L2): as in operation 1, the dialogue remains in the aural channel with no subtitles in L2. The L2 audience does not receive any information on the content. This does not mean any information loss for the L2 audience, unless there were part-subtitles in the source text communicating the content to the L1 audience.
6. Subtitles in L3 (≠ L2): as in operation 3, L3ST appears both in the aural as well as in the visual channel. L3ST remains L3 in the target text.
- 6# Subtitles in L3 (≠ L2), with markings: as in operation 6, but marking the subtitles through colour, font, or naming the language.
7. Subtitles in L2: traditional subtitling. L3 is present in the aural channel and L2 in the visual channel. The audience receives the content of the lines, but no information about the language.

- 7# Subtitles in L2 with markings: translation of the dialogue into L2 (visual channel), marking the subtitles through colour, font, or naming the subtitle, and emphasizing the L3 status in the source text.
8. No subtitles of L3ST(= L2): since L2 is the main language of the subtitles, no interlingual subtitles are needed for the L2 segments. In this operation, the L3 status is only maintained because it is *not* present in the visual channel, which sets it apart from the other dialogue segments that have been subtitled. If the original film has no subtitles, the L2 audience has more information than the L1 audience.
9. Subtitles in L3^{TT} (\neq L3ST): subtitles in L3^{TT} while L3ST is still present in the aural channel. This can be the case when L3ST is strongly based on L1, as in the film *Bienvenu chez les Ch'tis* (Boon 2009).
- 9# Subtitles in L3^{TT} (\neq L3ST), with markings: as in operation 9, additionally marking the subtitles through colour, font, or naming the language.

Unlike in dubbed versions, in subtitled versions the L3 status is maintained at least in the aural channel. Even when L1 is subtitled into L2, two languages are present simultaneously, which adds an L3 status to any subtitled film. The only instance where the L3 status is lost is if L3ST = L2.

The L3 status can be emphasized or clarified through the markings proposed earlier. Without markings in the subtitles, it can be difficult for the L2 audience to distinguish L1 from L3 or several different L3 languages just from the audio. So if L3ST has been used for suspense, humour, or characterization rather than content, the L2 audience will lose out on these aspects of the film.

4. Results

In seasons 01–03, the L3 languages appeared in 22 out of 30 episodes (8 in season 01, 5 in season 02, 9 in season 03).

In season 01 (Table 10.1), only Dothraki (L3D) can be identified as L3, although L1 (English) is referred to as the “Common Tongue”. Both L3D and L1 (as the Common Tongue) are named only in the second L3 scene (in episode 02), leaving L3D without subtitles in the first scene (in episode 01). In the original, 175 lines have subtitles and 59 lines have no subtitles.

In season 02 (Table 10.2), L3 languages are used less frequently, but a new language is introduced: in episode 10, two characters use the formulaic expression “Valar morghulis” (“All men must die”) in Valyrian (L3V). This expression is used from here on throughout the series by various characters in different storylines. It is also used as the title of episode 10 in season 02 and is picked up again in the title of episode 01 in season 03 with the reply “Valar dohaeris” (“All men must serve”). Nevertheless, L3V is not named until season 03 episode 04, leaving the audience in the dark about the language, unless they gain that knowledge from the books or any of the

Table 10.1 L3 languages in season 01

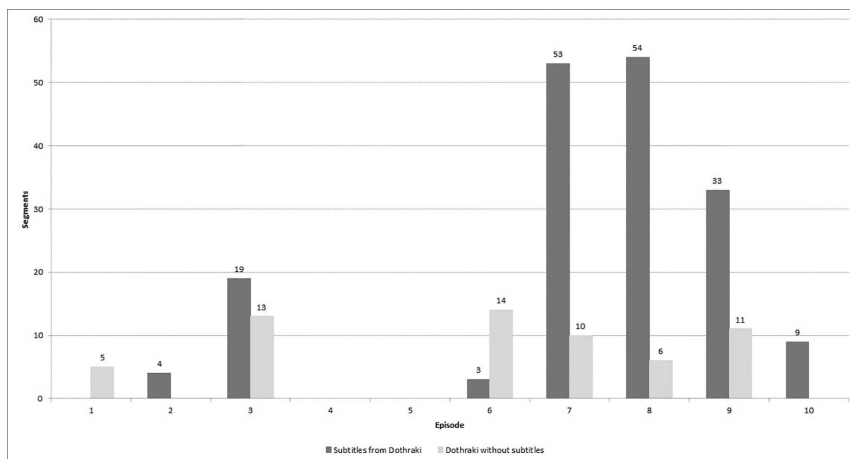
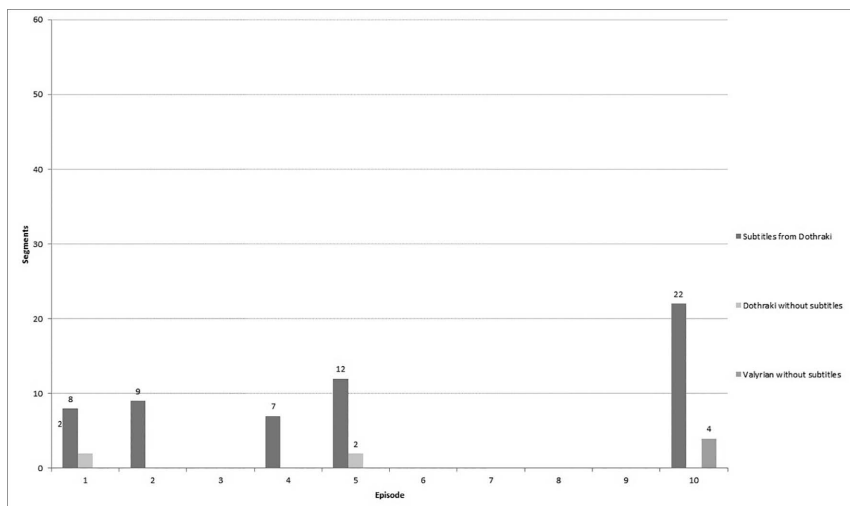


Table 10.2 L3 languages in season 02



paratextual sources available, such as blogs, Internet forums, and interviews with the producers.

As for L3D, it is used less in season 02: only 5 out of 10 episodes have scenes with L3D, with 58 subtitled segments and 4 segments without subtitles.

In season 03 (Table 10.3), L3D loses all of its significance and appears only in one scene with two subtitled segments and four segments without subtitles. L3V appears in 9 episodes with 125 subtitled segments and 33

segments without subtitles. In the last episode, a new language is introduced and named “Old Ghiscari”, but Peterson⁷ indicates in his blog that the language used in that area is in fact “Meereenese Valyrian” (L3M).

Compared to the total number of subtitles, the subtitles from L3 appear to be insignificant: there are between 452 and 782 subtitles per episode. But comparing the amount of L3V with subtitles with the segments without subtitles, it appears that the use of part-subtitles is rather deliberate (see Table 10.4).

Table 10.3 L3 languages in season 03

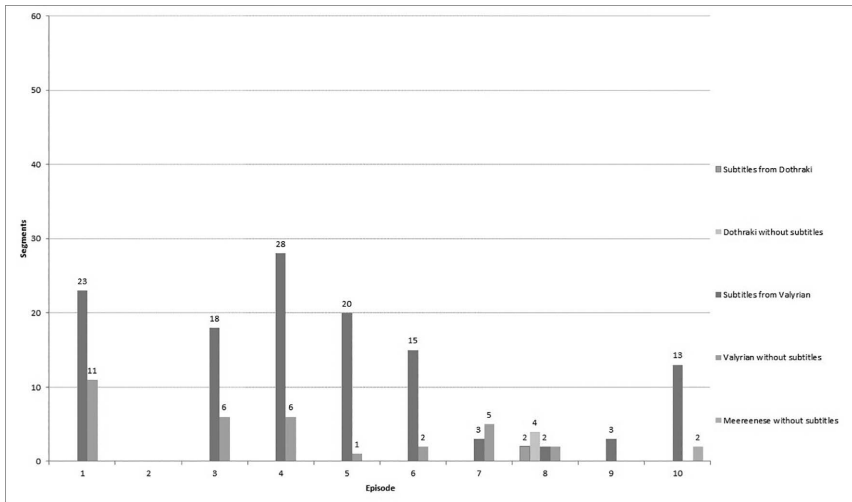
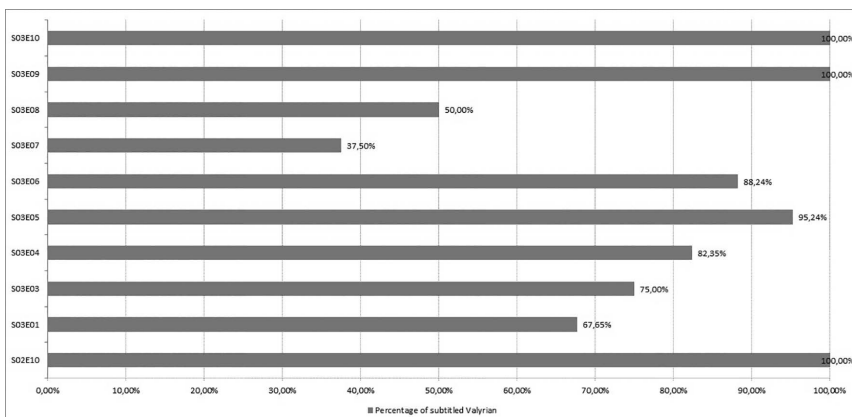


Table 10.4 Proportion of subtitled L3V in the total of L3V use



At the beginning of season 03, only about two thirds of the L3V dialogue is subtitled, but moving forward to episode 05, the subtitles for L3V increase (95% of L3V lines are subtitled in E05). This indicates that the use of part-subtitles in the original version is deliberate. The German subtitles follow the same pattern.

The subtitles from L3D do not follow a discernible pattern: in five episodes, all the lines have subtitles (S01 E02; S01 E10; S02 E02; S02 E04; S02 E10); in another five episodes, 75% of the lines have subtitles (S01 E07; S01 E08; S01 E09; S02 E01; S02 E05); the remaining episodes do not show any regularity (S01 E01 0%; S01 E03 59%; S01E06 18%; S03 E08 33%). I will discuss the episodes with less than 75% of the lines subtitled in Section 5.

5. A Varied Use of L3

5.1 *The Introduction of New L3*

As mentioned in Section 4, the series introduces L3V in season 02 episode 10 and L3M in season 03 episode 10, both in the dialogue and in the episode title. L3V is used extensively from season 03 onwards, as is L3M from season 04, although I have not included the latter in this study. Example 1 shows how L3M is introduced and named in the same short conversation:

Example 1, Game of Thrones, S03 E10 “Mhysa”, 56:36

	<i>ST dialogue</i>	<i>German subtitles</i>
Crowd:	Mhysa! Mhysa!	[No subtitles]
Daenerys:	What does it mean?	Was bedeutet das?
Missandei:	It is Old Ghiscari, Khaleesi. It means “mother”.	Es ist Alt-Ghiscari, Khaleesi. Es bedeutet “Mutter”.

The fact that the languages are introduced at the end of one season to be used later on indicates that they are used, among other things, as devices to hold the different seasons together, akin to a “dangling cause” as described by Thompson:

Hollywood favors unified narrative, which means most fundamentally that a cause should follow an effect and that effect should in turn become a cause, for another effect, in an unbroken chain across the film. That is not to say that an effect follows immediately from its cause. On the contrary, one of the main sources of clarity and forward impetus in a plot is the “dangling cause”, information or action which leads to no effect or resolution until later in the film.

(Thompson 1999: 12)

In the case of L3V, this effect is intensified by the use of L3V in the episode titles of season 02 episode 10 (“Valar morghulis”) and season 03 episode 01 (“Valar dohaeris”), and by the repetition of the phrase “Valar morghulis” in the dialogue and the subtitles (example 2):

**Example 2, *Game of Thrones*, S02 E10
“Valar morghulis”, 37:09**

	<i>ST dialogue</i>	<i>German subtitles</i>
Jaqen:	If the day comes when you must find me again, just give that coin to any man from Braavos and say these words to him:	Falls du mich eines Tages wieder brauchst, gib diese Münze irgendeinem Mann aus Braavos und sprich folgende Worte:
Arya:	Valar morghulis. Valar morghulis. Please don't go, Jaqen.	Valar morghulis. Valar morghulis. Bitte geh nicht, Jaqen.
Jaqen:	Jaqen is dead. Say it again. Valar morghulis.	Jaqen ist tot. Sag es noch mal. Valar morghulis.
Arya:	Valar morghulis.	Valar morghulis.
Jaqen:	Good.	Gut.

The meaning of the phrase “Valar morghulis” is not explained until S03 E03 (see section 5.3), but for this exchange, neither the audience nor the character Arya need to know the meaning. With L3V in the subtitles, example 2 is the only instance in the analyzed material where operation 6 (subtitles in L3 (\neq L2)) is used.

5.2 *Characterization Through L3: The Case of Dothraki*

For L3D, the dangling cause does not apply since this language is introduced in season 01 episode 01 and named in episode 02 of the same season. This language is used only in Daenerys's storyline. She is introduced as a very shy woman who finds her strength throughout the first seasons.

In the first scene with L3D, there are no subtitles, and the language is not named. The lines are repeated in English (and subtitled in German) so that the main character and of course the viewers understand what is being said. This use of L3 also signalizes that the main characters do not understand the language, which is a frequent use of L3D.

In the first episodes in season 01, the L3D dialogue is interpreted diegetically up until episode 03, when Daenerys slowly learns and uses L3D. From this moment on, the only scene without subtitles from L3D is in episode 07, when Daenerys' brother Viserys is present at a Dothraki ritual. The lack

of part-subtitles underlines his unwillingness to accept the Dothraki as his peers because of his arrogance towards their culture.

Another characteristic of the subtitles for L3D is that they transfer some of the features of the Dothraki language using compounds for concepts and items foreign to the Dothraki culture (e.g. “iron suits”/“Kleidung aus Stahl” for “armour” and “wooden horses”/“hölzerne Pferde” for “ships”) and ornate forms of address and terms of endearment (e.g. “blood of my blood”/“Blut von meinem Blut” addressing the members of the tribe, “my sun and stars”/“meine Sonne, meine Sterne” addressing the husband and “moon of my life”/“Mond meines Lebens” addressing the wife). The series also underlines further cultural aspects through language, stressing the lack of some words.

Example 3, *Game of Thrones*, S01 E01 “Winter Is Coming”, 52:35

	<i>ST dialogue</i>	<i>German subtitles</i>
Daenerys:	She’s beautiful. Ser Jorah, I . . . I don’t know how to say “thank you” in Dothraki.	Sie ist wunderschön. Ser Jorah, ich. . . Ich weiß nicht, wie man Danke auf Dothrakisch sagt.
Jorah:	There is no word for “thank you” in Dothraki.	Die Dothraki kennen kein Wort für Danke.

Peterson (*Creating the Dothraki Language* 2012) points out that L3D is used to convey the Dothraki culture: “As a language creator, you must start with the culture. [. . .] You piece together what their life is, and little by little, you build up vocabulary that [. . .] reflects their world-view and their world”. Considering that the Dothraki are seen as a mixture of Mongols and Native American tribes (Benioff, in *Creating the Dothraki Language* 2012), and the way the subtitles transport the L3D structure and style, there appears to be a connection to the way Native Americans are portrayed in films (cf. O’Sullivan 2007).

5.3. Dramatic Effects

L3V is used in a different setting, mainly, but not exclusively, in the same storyline. However, the dialogue corresponding to the slow increase in part-subtitling shown in Table 10.4 is set in Daenerys’s storyline, seemingly to create distance between the main character and the other characters. In season 03 episode 01 to episode 05, there are several scenes featuring L3V, which are only partially subtitled, but diegetically interpreted throughout.

The scenes in these few episodes show a commercial transaction involving negotiation on both parts. After the first lines with subtitles, it is revealed that the opposing party is insulting the main character. These insults are neutralized by the interpreter, so the viewers have more information about the trustworthiness of the trading partner than about the main character. Thus L3V is not used to characterize a people or to create distance between the characters like L3D, but to build up suspense by gradually subtitling more and more of the unsavoury comments of the trading partner:

**Example 4, *Game of Thrones*, S03 E03
“Walk of Punishment”, 30:20**

	<i>ST dialogue</i>	<i>German subtitles</i>
Daenerys:	I will have them all or take none. Many will fall in battle. I need the boys to pick up the swords they drop.	Ich nehme alle oder keinen. Die Jungen sollen die Schwerter der Gefallenen auf sammeln.
Kraznys:	[speaks Valyrian]	Die Schlampe hat nicht genug Geld dafür. [Translation: The bitch does not have enough money.]
Missandei:	Master Kraznys says you cannot afford this.	Er sagt, das könnt Ihr Euch nicht leisten.
Kraznys:	[speaks Valyrian]	Für ihr Schiff kriegt sie höchstens 100 Unbefleckte. [For her ship, she will get 100 unsullied at most.]
Missandei:	Your ship will buy you 100 unsullied.	Euer Schiff bringt Euch 100 Unbefleckte.
Kraznys:	[speaks Valyrian]	Und das auch nur, weil mir ihr Arsch gefällt. [And that is just because I like her ass.]
Missandei:	Because Master Kraznys is generous.	Denn der gute Herr Kraznys ist großzügig.

Later in this episode, the dialogue hints at the possibility that the main character might understand L3V, but she never shows any reaction to all the insults she receives. This increases the suspense, until it is revealed that the main character does indeed understand and speak L3V. From that moment on, almost all the lines in L3V in Daenerys's storyline are subtitled.

There are no differences in the German subtitles, although the negotiation and the interpreting result in a rather high reading speed. In addition, the change of speakers and the quick succession of close-ups make it difficult to

associate the subtitles with the characters, especially because the characters (Missandei and Kraznys, see example 4) speak at the same time.

Overall, this study shows that L3 languages not only anchor the story in a given place but also are used for other purposes, such as increasing suspense in the case of L3V and characterization, as well as describing the integration and development of a character in the case of L3D. These are all functions that Kozloff (2000) identifies for film dialogue and that, in the case of *GoT*, are brought about by the deliberate use of part-subtitles. L3V and L3M additionally function as connectors between seasons.

6. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have looked at how invented L3 languages are used in the TV series *GoT* in seasons 01–03, and how the German subtitles for the DVD deal with this multilingualism. As a model of analysis for the subtitles, I have used the one proposed by Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2011), and adapted it to subtitle-specific phenomena. Contrary to dubbing, there is no way of changing or deleting L1 and L3ST in subtitling. However, the subtitles can show the different languages, be it through italics, colour, or explicitly mentioning L3 (cf. Bartoll 2006; de Higes-Andino 2014; Szarkowska et al. 2014).

This study has shown that L3 languages, even invented L3 languages, are used in a similar fashion to monolingual film dialogue. All three L3 languages contribute to the development of the story in different ways: they anchor the story and elicit emotion from the audience. In the examples noted earlier, I have shown that L3D is used to show character development and to characterize the Dothraki tribes, while L3V contributes to the suspense in the first episodes of season 03. Both L3V and L3M function as link between seasons.

For the German subtitles, the use of L3 languages leads to an additional constraint, because there is no visual distinction between languages. In addition, in one scene where LV is used to increase suspense (example 4), the use of part-subtitles in the ST leads to a higher reading speed in the TT and exacerbates the issue of language distinction.

As argued earlier, the languages could be distinguished with marked subtitles, but the reaction of a non-SDH public remains to be seen. The digitalization of audiovisual distribution with video on demand would allow the use of marked subtitles as they are already used in informal fansubs, and a reception study would indicate whether such subtitles would be well received by the audience and marketable on the new distribution platforms.

Notes

- 1 *Game of Thrones: Cast and Crew*, HBO, www.hbo.com/game-of-thrones/cast-and-crew/index.html (last accessed January 17, 2017).
- 2 *Game of Thrones Wiki*, <http://gameofthrones.wikia.com> (last accessed January 17, 2017).

- 3 A *Wiki of Ice and Fire*, <http://awoiaf.westeros.org> (last accessed January 17, 2017).
- 4 *Tongues of Ice and Fire Wiki*, <http://wiki.dothraki.org> (last accessed October 13, 2017).
- 5 *Dothraki* (blog), www.dothraki.com (last accessed January 17, 2017).
- 6 David J. Peterson, “The State of Valyrian”, *Dothraki* (blog), May 6, 2014, www.dothraki.com/2014/05/the-state-of-valyrian/ (last accessed January 17, 2017).
- 7 David J. Peterson, “Valar Javaris”, *Dothraki* (blog), May 5, 2014, www.dothraki.com/2014/05/valar-javaris/ (last accessed January 17, 2017).

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Part V

Representing Voice



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11 The British Upper Classes

Phonological Fact and Screen Fiction

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1. Introduction

“A low, croaky voice slipping into Northolt *eows*”, is what an acute observer of aristocracy wrote about Princess Diana’s pronunciation (quoted in MacCarthy 2007: 266). By mentioning the suburban settlement in Greater London, he was referring to the supposed hints of a downmarket London accent often detected in the speech of the people’s princess. No account of the British upper class seems to be able to do without similar testimonies by members (or comparable peers) of the class itself. Judging from the relatively scarce literature at our disposal, the upper classes are best studied from within, by their own speakers, in a sort of metalinguistic, if often impressionistic, effort.

After a definition of the phonological and sociocultural aspects of British upper-class speech, this chapter will offer an evaluation of the way the people belonging to this class are linguistically and culturally portrayed in significant films and TV series of UK and US production, focusing on the function of the characters’ dialogues in the respective narratives. The analysis will also consider the translation strategies implemented by Italian adapters for dubbing, with occasional references (when relevant) to subtitling. The aim is to verify to which extent these different translational modalities are consistent with the original aural text, as ‘consistency’ is posited by the author as the most appropriate criterion to evaluate the translation of dialectal variants. The term consistency, adapting the definition offered by various dictionaries (see, for example, *Cambridge* and *Collins* dictionaries), means achieving a degree of agreement or harmony between the source and the target text, following a uniform and logical pattern.

This chapter will approach the theme of the linguistic representation of the British upper classes in films and television, and of their translation for dubbing, by exploring, on the one hand, some of the more realistic screen portrayals and, on the other, the more stereotypical characterisations. For what concerns the latter, it is frequent to encounter British upper-class characters who contrastively move, from a geographic point of view, within a foreign, usually United States, context, or, from a social point of view, in

a working-class context. British and American characters on the one hand and upper-class and working-class characters on the other are in these cases juxtaposed so as to put into relief the language varieties and the linguistic, social and cultural nuances at play in what is de facto a multilingual environment.

With the term *upper classes*, I refer in this chapter to members of the aristocracy and to the upper middle classes of Britain, as portrayed—realistically or parodistically—in films and television series. As specified further on, the way the members of these class(es) speak is by using some form of received pronunciation (RP), so a section will illustrate the characteristics of this linguistic variant before looking more closely into the most relevant linguistic features (with a focus on phonology, prosody, lexicon) which screen characters present.

2. U and Non-U

The generically termed *upper classes* are characterised, from a sociolinguistic point of view, by their insularity, as their members are a self-recognised group of people who “frequently meet face-to-face in social institutions of their own” (Kroch 1996: 24). Kroch points out that the upper class is the only social class which is small and well defined enough for its members to know one another as individuals and have “intimate access to one another”. Because of the exclusivity of upper-class education and social interaction, one expects the group to have developed dialectal peculiarities in its speech, as with any other speech community (*ibid.*: 26–27).

The result of this limited accessibility is that although upper-class voices are often unmistakable (in the words of Evelyn Waugh to Nancy Mitford, “An upper class voice is always unmistakable though it may have every deviation of accent and vocabulary”, in Mitford 1956/2002: xvii), they are—at least in the upmost echelons—seldom the focus of linguistic studies: the little research on the subject generally has as its upper limit the upper middle classes (Mesthrie et al. 2005: 104) and the question of whether and how upper-class speakers can be distinguished from well-educated members of the middle class has also attracted limited interest in the relevant literature (but see again Kroch 1996).

In spite of its focus on a US context, some of the conclusions of Kroch’s essay can be applied to the British reality, perhaps also because, as he states, upper-class speech is perceived by others as British sounding, not because of any similarity in the pronunciation of vowels or consonants, but for shared features of speech style:

The properties that distinguish upper class speech are not phonemic but prosodic and lexical. They constitute what Hymes (1974) calls a ‘style’ rather than a dialect. In particular, upper class speech is characterized by a drawling and laryngealized voice quality and, contrastingly, by

frequent use of emphatic accent patterns and of intensifying modifiers. These features are iconic and have, perhaps for that reason, an intense interactional effect, at least on outsiders; and this effect has led to the public recognition of the upper class speech style as distinctive.

(Kroch 1996: 39)

The use of intensifying modifiers (as *extremely*) and hyperbolic adjectives (as *outstanding*), as well as the prosodic stress patterns project “self-assurance and an expectation of agreement from the listener”, a sense of entitlement that, Kroch maintains (quoting Coles 1977), members of the upper class learn from childhood and is the psychological correlate of power and wealth (Kroch 1996).

The fascinating but rather impressionistic U/non-U debate of the late 1950s, which focused on the lexicon of the privileged classes of Britain, is still cited in linguistic studies—a fact which, again, puts in evidence the relative scarcity of more scientifically grounded works. The popular acronyms were coined by the linguist Alan Ross (1954) to define what is, respectively, *upper class* and *non-upper class*. From his 1950s perspective, Ross states that the members of the upper class, meaning essentially the British aristocracy, are distinctive for their way of speaking, rather than because of their wealth and education, as it was in the past. Ross’s article, concerned with the “usages which serve to demarcate the upper class” (1954: 24) would have remained perhaps rather obscure had it not caught the attention of British novelist Nancy Mitford, who had just been commissioned an article on “The English Aristocracy” to be published by Stephen Spender’s *Encounter* literary magazine. The author of popular novels and a member of the upper class herself, Mitford adopted with enthusiasm Ross’s definitions of U and non-U (much to her friend Evelyn Waugh’s dismay, who regarded the expressions “as vulgar in the extreme—like VD for venereal disease and PC for postcard”, in Mosley 1996: 373), and sparked a public debate on the appropriateness of using non-U expressions such as *mental*, *toilet paper* and *wealthy* rather than the respective U-words *mad*, *lavatory paper* and *rich* (Mitford 1956/2002: 35).

The ‘Mitford’ U/non-U dichotomy is useful here for two reasons: the first is that, as explained in the following section, the definition, *pace* Waugh, has been adopted not only in current speech but also in scholarly literature; secondly, and more importantly, it is my contention that the ‘conservative’ view of upper-class speech that this debate mirrored is often at the base of the stereotyped or at least old-fashioned rendition of the members of this class in cinematographic films and television series.

3. RP and U-RP English

While written comments on spoken English started to appear in the sixteenth century, when the regional speech of London and of the court began

to be looked up to as the dialect to be imitated, a real concern over correctness in pronunciation spread only at the end of the eighteenth century (Cruttenden 2014: 74–75). *A Dictionary of the English Language* by Samuel Johnson (1755/2017) was the first comprehensive dictionary to deal with definitions, but it was Kenrick's (1773) and Walker's (1791) dictionaries which first attempted to offer an account on the pronunciation of words. Walker acknowledges that “custom is the sovereign arbiter of language” and asks:

But what is this custom to which we must so implicitly submit? Is it the usage of the greater part of the speakers, whether good or bad? This has never been asserted by the most sanguine abettors of its authority. Is it the majority of the studious in schools and colleges, with those of the learned professions, or of those who, from their elevated birth or station, give laws to the refinements and elegancies of a court?

(Ibid.: vii)

He concludes that those sounds “which are the most generally received among the learned and polite, as well as the bulk of speakers, are the most legitimate” (ibid.). The word *received*—a “less than happy” term, according to Wells (1998: 117)—eventually dominated the idea of a model for British pronunciation. However, in all the many manuals of elocution for public speakers or actors published in England during the nineteenth century, there was yet no concept of a standard pronunciation (Cruttenden 2014: 76). The term finally became established as representing standard spoken British English, thanks to three books by Daniel Jones, first published early in the twentieth century but all remaining in print in various later editions throughout the century. The popularity of Jones's books between the 1920s and the 1960s—*English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1917) and *An Outline of English Phonetics* (1918) in particular—disseminated the term RP to describe the ‘standard’ of British English pronunciation. Being the standard one should ‘aim’ at, RP came to symbolise a person of high position in society, although today it is no longer exclusive to a social élite but can be described as an ‘educated’ accent (Crystal 2005: 365). It spread considerably thanks to the beginning of broadcasting, in 1926, by the BBC, which was headed at the time by John Reith, a baron who was much concerned with prestige (Cruttenden 2014: 77).

Following Wells (1992), which distinguishes this form from what he calls “mainstream RP”, and as a homage to the U/non-U debate, I will refer to U-RP (meaning “upper-crust” RP) as the conservative form of RP usually spoken by fictional upper-class characters. U-RP, the ‘posh’ variant of RP, is still the standard accent of the Royal Family, of the members of Parliament, of the Church of England, of the High Courts and other institutions, but less than 3% speak it in a pure form. Even members of the Royal Family have been noticed by phoneticians to present instances of glottalisation,

especially in the speech of the younger generations (Crystal 2010: 29). The class-ridden, outdated U-RP is then limited to a small minority of mainly elderly people. By many, a speaker of U-RP is regarded as affected and a figure of fun, and this accent has often been adopted to portray members of the upper class on screen.

Summarising from Wells (1992: 281–283), U-RP includes the following features:

- the vowel of words such as *trap*, /æ/, is realised with an opening diphthong /eæ/ or /eæ/: *that man* [ðeæt meæn];
- the open diphthongs of words such as *price* and *mouth* have a relatively front starting point;
- the /ʌ/ in words such as *strut* is realised by lowering the larynx and expanding the pharynx;
- the central diphthongs of words such as *near*, *square* and *cure*—that is, /ɪə/, /eə/, /ʊə/—have a second very open element when they are in free position, thus [niə], [weə]—at least in the ‘aristocratic’ stereotype;
- the vowel in words such as *nurse* is very open: [nɜ:s];
- the vowel in words such as *goat* is particularly rounded: [gout] instead of /gəʊt/;
- the final vowel in words such as *happy* is peculiarly open, even reaching [ɛ]; thus, *city* has the second vowel at least as open as the first, usually more open: [sɪtɪ, sɪtɛ]. Enclitic *me* always has this vowel, never /i:/, thus *tell me* [tɛl mɪ];
- smoothing (i.e. a monophthonging process) is very frequent, as in *do it* [dʊ ɪt];
- words such as *cloth* have /ɔ:/ instead of the usual /ɒ/, thus *cross* /krɔ:s/, *soft* /sɔ:ft/, *off* /ɔ:ff/;
- voiceless plosives are never glottalled and usually not even glottalised, with consequent nasal release, a transitional voiceless nasal, in words or phrases in which /p/, /t/, /k/ are followed by a nasal, thus in words such as *cotton*, *chutney*, *department*, *Hockney*, *stop me*;
- preconsonantic /t/ is articulated so as to accommodate to or overlap with the following segment;
- tapped /r/ [ɾ] is typical of some varieties of U-RP. It can be found in intervocalic position after a stressed vowel, as in *very sorry* [vɛɾɪ sɔɾɪ]. As this type of /r/ is rare in what Wells calls “mainstream RP”, it can be considered a typical feature of U-RP.

The last feature, the tapped /r/, deserves some comment. It contributes to create the ‘crisp and clipped’ sound which many identify with U-RP. Conversely, however, another stereotypical opinion is that this accent is ‘languid and effete’. This feature finds linguistic support in another characteristic treatment of intervocalic /r/—that is, elision; thus, *very* can be pronounced [ve.ɪ]. This elision is variable and restricted to a limited number of words

(including, for example, *terribly*). Another possible U-RP realisation of /t/ is as a labiodental approximant [ʋ]. Although this is often considered an upper-class affectation, Wells (1992: 282) finds traces of it also in other social classes. The same can be said for the extremely rare and old-fashioned use of [w] for /t/.

U-RP curiously shares with some inferior classes a couple of relatively low-status characteristics. One of these is the variant [ɪn] in words ending in *-ing* (mainstream RP features only [ɪŋ]), thus [mɔrnɪn] for *morning*. The other ‘low-status’ feature is the frequent use of [mɪ] or [mə] as a weak form of *my*. Wells (1992: 283) states that at Eton, one addresses one’s tutor as [mə’tju:tə], while in mainstream RP, *my* is almost always [maɪ], with no weak form.

From a prosodic point of view, there are several phenomena characteristic of U-RP. One of them is adding emphasis by prolonging the steady state of a consonant; thus, *frightfully sorry* is pronounced (frat:flɪ. sɔrɪ), *it was awfully nice* as (ɪt wəz ‘ɔ:f:li. naɪs) (ibid.). Another prosodic feature is a peculiar rhythmic pattern in words with penultimate stress, such as *water*, *wider*, *places*, *reducing*. This involves a shortening—more marked than in mainstream RP—of the stressed vowel and a compensatory lengthening of the final unstressed vowel. According to Wells (ibid.), the pronunciation of the word *parking meter* can serve as a “shibboleth” to distinguish people from the upper class from those who are not quite upper class. In U-RP, in fact, the [ɪŋ] of *parking* is considerably longer than [a:], and [ə] of *meter* is longer than [i:], “in spite of what the conventional use of length-marks suggests” (ibid.).

Finally, another feature is related to voice quality: U-RP requires the so-called plumminess achieved by lowering the larynx and widening the oro-pharynx.

A tendency which is directly related to upper-class speech is the wide use of emphatic stress patterns and intensifying modifiers: adverbs (*very*, *extremely*, etc.), augmentative adjectives (*large*, *serious*, etc.) and hyperbolic adjectives (*outstanding*, *enormous*, etc.) (Kroch 1996: 41).

Extralinguistic images of ‘elegance’, ‘propriety’, ‘politeness’ and ‘refinement’ are also regularly associated with the use of RP. “Evaluation, in contexts such as these, tends to take on the nature of social response, fusing with the prejudices and preconceptions of society in its own notions of what is ‘good’ and ‘bad’, ‘right’ or ‘wrong’” (Mugglestone 2007: 50). As Mugglestone further states, in the nineteenth century, the use of ‘proper’ language formed a central part, especially, of female education, influencing contemporary constructions of the woman in her various social roles and in the aspects of the social identity which true ladies were expected to convey:

The voice, for example, was presented as a particularly prominent element within those external signals by which notions of identity were

to be conveyed to the outside world. Its proper modulations accordingly received marked attention within the norms presented for the erudition of girls. The voice emerges as a recurrent topos in depictions of the truly feminine, commendations liberally accruing around that “voice ever soft, gentle, and low” which Shakespeare’s King Lear had so long ago praised in his own daughter. This too became a prominent element in the linguistic stereotyping of the age. [. . .] [According to] *Good Society: A Complete Manual of Manners* “There is a certain distinct but subdued tone of voice which is peculiar only to persons of the best breeding. It is better to err by the use of too low than too loud a tone”.

(2007: 145–146)

To conclude this section on the use and the perception of U-RP, it is useful to refer to the dated (at least as far as British English is concerned) term of address *papa*, in lieu of *father* or *dad*, which features prominently in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novel. Originated in courtly speech and adopted as a continental trend (*Etymological Dictionary Online*), *papa* was not used by the common people until the seventeenth century. Mugglestone (2007: 151) quotes Dickens’s *Little Dorrit* in which one of the characters, Mrs General, explains why *papa* is the preferable mode of address:

Father is rather vulgar, my dear. The word Papa, besides, gives a very pretty form to the lips. Papa, potatoes, poultry, prunes, and prism, are all very good words for the lips: especially prunes and prism. You will find it serviceable, in the formation of a demeanour, if you sometimes say to yourself in company—on entering a room, for instance—Papa, potatoes, poultry, prunes and prism, prunes and prism.

Papa is recommended for its phonetic virtues, “a bilabial plosive which gives a becoming pout in its articulation, a position deemed entirely suitable for the appearance of a young lady as she enters a room” (Mugglestone 2007: 151). Together with the vocative *mama*, it is frequently heard in films and television series set in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as one of the devices used to confer a patina of ‘linguistic antiquity’ to distinguished and educated characters.

The following section will elaborate on the use of features of U-RP as a means of characterisation in films and TV series, as well as on the strategies used to translate this form of linguistic representation into Italian dubbing.

4. U-RP in Audiovisual Translation

The problem of the translatability of the linguistic varieties of a geographical, ethnic and social type is particularly felt in the field of audiovisual

translation (AVT) where, if linguistic problems may arguably be the main concern, issues related to the policies of penetration and dissemination of audiovisual products within a national market are also crucial factors which affect the process of translation. The translation of the sociolect under analysis can be inscribed in the wider research field on dialect translation, which has been tackled several times in AVT (see, for example, besides individual articles, collections of essays such as Armstrong and Federici 2006; Helin 2008; Federici 2009; Marrano et al. 2009; Ranzato 2016a). In Italy, translation for dubbing has always had a tendency to neutralise diatopic varieties and to aim at standardization (Pavesi 2006: 37). It is worth remembering that the effacement of dialects has deep historical roots in Italy. A law passed in 1933, under the fascist regime, prohibited the importation of films which had been dubbed elsewhere than in Italy. It was from then on possible for the censor to view the film in the original version and to ‘suggest’ the alterations in the dialogue that needed to be introduced in the dubbing so as to modify the unpleasant sequences. With this policy, the government achieved a greater control over the ‘purity’ of the language, which added to other, more overtly political, advantages: manipulation of content, deletion of unwanted references and, in some cases, addition of more ‘pleasant’ references. The government could, from then on, exert without difficulty a linguistic control which also aimed, among other goals, at the disappearance of Italian dialects, regionalisms and accents in the final dubbed version. US films—the majority of the films imported—were to be dubbed in an abstract Italian, thus contributing to the effort of cultural homogenisation and regional uprooting, which was one of the aims of fascism (see Mereu Keating 2016 for a comprehensive and updated account of film dubbing in fascist Italy).

The subject of upper-class speech in particular, however, has attracted specific interest by AVT scholars only recently, partly thanks to the international success of British ‘period’ audiovisual products such as the TV series *Downton Abbey* (Julian Fellowes, 2010–2015). Bruti and Vignozzi (2016) analysed some of the aristocratic characters featured in *Gosford Park* (2001), the Robert Altman feature film which can be considered a proto-*Downton Abbey*, also created by the popular TV series’s author Julian Fellowes. The characters in the film are identified by the two scholars as speaking RP and their dialogues’ translation into Italian is especially focused on lexical items, idioms and pragmatic features.

As a controversial public figure accused of endorsing a right-wing conservative take on heritage film, Fellowes is highly dismissive of social realism on screen: “People are pleased to see something on television that isn’t about a dead prostitute in a dustbin” (Byrne 2015: 88, citing Copping 2010). Thus one would think that his creations would pay little attention to linguistic nuances. But although regional and social dialects both in *Gosford Park* and *Downton Abbey* serve mainly to typecast each character by relating him or her to a well-defined and recognisable idiolect, the result is

the portrayal of a polyphonic ensemble which provides an ideal context for upper-class characters to stand out, even linguistically.

Sandrelli (2016) interestingly differentiates between the ‘RPs’ spoken by the various ‘upstairs’ characters (in the upstairs/downstairs dichotomy, upper-class characters live in the apartments above those destined to the maids, valets, cooks and the rest of the household’s staff). If most of the characters speak a ‘modern’ version of RP, Lady Violet, a character depicted with similar brushstrokes as the Lady Trentham of *Gosford Park*, and played by the same actress Maggie Smith (specialised in the ‘plummy’ renditions which have contributed to building her professional persona), speaks a purer version of the variant. Her way of speaking is construed in such a way as to be in sharp contrast to that of other characters in the story, not only those speaking the ‘downstairs’ lingo but also especially the accentuated American accent of Lady Cora. The variant that the latter speaks is less linguistically correct, Sandrelli notes (*ibid.*: 174), than what would have been the natural option for the period, the transatlantic accent, but it is more effective to intensify her ‘alterity’ than it would have been choosing an accent too similar to the British RP. Sandrelli, similarly to Bruti and Vignozzi in relation to the other period drama, concludes that the Italian translation of this series managed to preserve part of the flavour of the original thanks to the ample use of archaisms, culture-specific and time-specific references and various compensation strategies.

As an introduction to the following section, it is good to remember the prototypical sociolect-speaking character in a fictional text: Eliza Doolittle. The Italian dubbing of the 1964 film *My Fair Lady* (George Cukor), featuring this character, is both a typical and an extreme way of handling dialect: the Cockney flower girl who is taught to talk like a lady by a phonologist was translated into a mixture of southern Italian dialects. An example which, whatever the opinion on the final result, might encourage translators to find more creative strategies beyond that of levelling register to deal with dialectal specificities. The film by Cukor, based on George Bernard Shaw’s play *Pygmalion*, deliberately keeps the theatrical atmosphere of the play on which it is based: the use of stage settings as opposed to filming in realistic locations contributes to the anti-realism of the film, encouraging a certain latitude in the way dialect and sociolects are translated (Ranzato 2010). As if, because regional and social varieties are not used to describe the ‘real’ world, translators could feel less constrained and could give free rein to their creativity.

5. U-RP in Fictional Characters: Function and Translation

Various examples from films and TV shows have been chosen to illustrate recurrent *topoi* in relation to the function played by upper-class characters in their respective narrative contexts and to discuss the translation of their dialogues into Italian.

5.1 The ‘All-Upstairs’ Socio-historical Dramas

The premise of this section on some relevant examples of upper-class types is that these characters are generally contrasted to the working-class type in a recurrent narrative device. Exceptions to this ‘rule’ are comparatively few, and the exceptions fall into the category of what I propose to term the ‘all-upstairs’ audiovisual text—that is, films and TV series which are focused on the lives of aristocratic characters who have no relevant interaction with members of other classes apart from the customary brief exchanges with butlers, valets and chambermaids. Although directors and scriptwriters have often shown interest for the more or less historical life and mores of real-life members of the aristocracy, usually royalty, with many historical films and TV series dedicated to the likes of Elizabeth I, Henry VIII and Queen Victoria, directors and series creators, especially from the years 2000s, have increasingly paid homage to ‘contemporary’ royalty (and by contemporary I mean people to whom many of us can relate from personal memory): from *The Queen* (Stephen Frears, 2006) through *The King’s Speech* 2010 (Tom Hooper 2010) to *The Crown* (Peter Morgan 2016-in production), what makes these works basically different from period pieces of earlier times is their quest for socio-historical realism, which includes an evident linguistic research. In *The Crown*, for example, actress Claire Foy successfully achieved the goal not only of losing her native northern accent but also of playing Queen Elizabeth II with that sort of old-fashioned RP—the U-RP—which was peculiar to the old aristocracy. Randomly selecting from the queen’s speeches in *The Crown* (for example, from season 1 episode 9, the final address to Winston Churchill leaving his office; the private conversation between the two; and the telephone conversation with her friend Porchey), we can hear how some of the features relative to the U-RP, as listed earlier, are dutifully rendered by the actress:

- in words such as *years* and *here*, for example, the second element of the diphthong is very open: [jɪa] instead of /jɪə/ (“during the early years of my reign”), [hɪa] instead of /hɪə/ (“is there anyone else you want to speak to here?”);
- although not consistently, the final vowel in words ending in *-y* (*astery*, *magnanimity*, *profoundly*, *happy*) is very open;
- the variant [m] is chosen in words ending in *-ing* (*infuriating*).

In addition, the actress is very careful to keep her larynx always lowered in order to achieve ‘plumminess’.

There is not much to note about the Italian translation of the series in which all characters have been invariably and predictably rendered with a standard pronunciation. It can just be remarked, however, that unlike other audiovisual productions in which dubbing voices are carefully type-cast, the Italian Elizabeth has a firmness and confidence of tone which is

strikingly different from the overall unassertiveness and apparent fragility of the young Elizabeth. It can thus be concluded that the Italian version fails in one of the few points which could be controlled in the adaptation phase: that of voice quality. Lexical choices are also not always happy and, again, fail to compensate prosodic losses: hear, for example, the translation of the word ‘support’ in the highly official occasion of the final salute to Winston Churchill (“to whom I shall look for help and support in the days which lie ahead”). The dubbing adaptation on Netflix chose the word ‘supporto’ (“un saggio consigliere cui potrò sempre chiedere aiuto e supporto nei giorni che verranno”), an unforgivably contemporary anglicism in the place of the more philologically correct standard word ‘sostegno’ chosen for the subtitles (“a cui potrò chiedere aiuto e sostegno nei giorni che verranno”). It is true that lip-sync preoccupations might have been in the adapters’ mind in this case. I have, however, expressed on other occasions (see Ranzato 2016b: 44, quoting Goris 1993 and Pavesi 2006) how this technical constraint is successfully overcome or ignored by adapters in a high number of cases. *The Crown* dubbing team, in particular, does not seem to have considered it a central concern. Only a few minutes before her speech, the queen, shot in an extreme close-up, addresses her husband, Philip, with a well articulated “can you?”. This was translated with an, again, extremely awkward, and unsynchronised anglicism (“Puoi farlo?”) which makes it really hard for the audience to keep the necessary suspension of disbelief.

However, as mentioned earlier, apart from these royalty, all-upstairs period pieces, U-RP is more often found to characterise a class type in contrast to a different class type.

5.2 *The Adoptive U-RP*

In her book on *Dialect in Film and Literature* (2014: 174–182), Hodson discusses three types of style-shifting: the emotional, the interpersonal and the transformative. The last one, which describes a shift to a new language variety which is considered as ‘ideal’ by the speaker, or the most appropriate to a particular situation, is a notion in harmony with Wells’s “adoptive RP”, “that variety of RP spoken by adults who did not speak RP as children” (Wells 1992: 283). The *My Fair Lady* prototype again comes to mind, but also other interesting variations on the same theme. In the film *Educating Rita* (Lewis Gilbert 1983), the Scouse-accented hairdresser Rita pursues a higher education with the help of an improbable Pygmalion, her college tutor. In her genuine search for authenticity, Rita does not abandon her Liverpool accent, even when, thanks to her intelligence, she becomes educated. But there are two metalinguistic moments in which she briefly style-shifts from her native dialect, adopting an accent (and expressions) that make it clear how the stereotypical use of U-RP is a code word, in this type of film, for inauthentic affectation, in contrast with natural and unpretentious dialectal speech:

- RITA: But, Frank, wouldn't you simply die without Mahler?
 FRANK: Frankly, no. Why are you talking like that?
 RITA: I have merely decided to talk properly. You see, as Trish says, there's not a lot of point in discussing beautiful literature with a ugly voice.
 FRANK: But you haven't got an ugly voice. At least, you didn't have. Why don't you just be yourself?
 RITA: I am being meself.
- RITA: Do you mind me using words like that?
 FRANK: Like what?
 RITA: Tits.
 FRANK: No.
 RITA: No, you wouldn't. It's only the masses who don't understand. It's not their fault but sometimes I hate them. I do it to shock them sometimes. You know, like, when I'm in the hairdresser's, where I work, I'll say something like, "I'm really fucked", dead loud and it doesn't half cause a fuss. But educated people don't worry, do they? It's the aristocracy that swears most. It's all "Pass me the fucking pheasant", with them. But you couldn't tell them that round our way.

Of the two dialogue excerpts, it is the first which best exemplifies the use of adoptive RP, as in that case Rita assumes the kind of emphatic talk (the adverb "simply" is here an intensifier) she had just heard her new posh roommate using. But also in the second excerpt, the mock aristocratic "Pass me the fucking pheasant", pronounced with a lowered larynx and widened oropharynx, is a phrase used contrastively to encourage the audience to stigmatise upper-class talk. Rita—and Eliza for that matter—are examples of successful transformative style-shifting, "often used to depict a wily and resistant character, who is capable of renegotiating the social situation in which they find themselves by projecting a new identity" (Hodson 2014: 182).

In the film *East is East* (Daniel O'Donnell 1999), the multilingual environment of Mancunian dialect speakers and Pakistani of first and second generation offers several objects of reflection. What is of interest here is the case of adoptive RP in one of the funniest moments of this social comedy set in the 1970s. The arrival of those she perceives as distinguished guests prompts Ella to switch from her Mancunian accent to a U-RP emphasised by the usual larynx lowering when addressing her daughter Meenah:

- ELLA: Would you fetch the tea, love?
 MEENAH: Righty-ho.

Meenah reacts by mocking her mother, assuming an exaggerated upper-class tone and choosing a dated expression ("righty-ho") often associated in comedy to upper-class characters. Hodson (2014: 187) also notes that Ella's

pronunciation of her daughter's name, with two unusually long vowels [mi:na:], may be because she is aware that RP has a long /a/ vowel in some environments, although a stress on the second vowel is here highly unusual.

As in the case of *Educating Rita*, in this type of narrative, dialogue is construed in such a way as to censure or satirise attempts at upward mobility, either through the comments of another character or by forms of metalinguistic self-deprecation.

5.3 Upper Class Versus Working Class

This category includes the dichotomic films and series depicting upstairs and downstairs characters, characterised by their paying equal attention to the two social classes. In addition to the already cited *Gosford Park* and *Downton Abbey*, other screen texts of this type include *Upstairs Downstairs* (Jean Marsh et al. 1971 and Heidi Thomas 2010–2012), the *Titanic* miniseries (Nigel Stafford-Clark 2012, written by the same Julian Fellowes), and James Ivory's masterpiece, *The Remains of the Day* (1993), where the scale, however, is tipped definitely in favour of the 'downstairs' staff who watch their masters as entomologists their insects.

More interesting still, in terms of contrastive linguistics, are the cases in which the odd upper-class character stands out against the backdrop of a working class environment. A rich, multi-layered text of this type is the fortunate TV series *Call the Midwife* (Heidi Thomas 2012-in production), the story of young and newly qualified midwives who arrive in the post-Second World War working-class community of Poplar to complete their training at Nonnatus House, an Anglican order of nuns. One of the young midwives is Chummy, played by popular comedian Miranda Hart. The daughter of several generations of British civil servants in India, Chummy grew up in boarding schools and has a familiarity with the royals, no less. An emblematic U-RP speaker, with her speech interspersed with intensifying adverbs ("thanks awfully", "absolutely", "frightfully", etc.), Chummy has her colleagues taken aback when they hear of her connections in the following excerpt from season 1 episode 2:

CHUMMY: (cutting out a model from a magazine): Oh! I've chopped Princess Margaret's head off. I was cutting out the sleeve. She'll be giving me one of her hard cold stares.

CYNTHIA: I'm sure she'll forgive you. I always think she looks like fun.

CHUMMY: Oh, she's frightfully vivacious when she's had a gin and it. Oh, not that I know her well. No, I haven't really seen her since Pa's investiture.

TRIXIE: Investiture?

CHUMMY: Yes, he was just. . . . Well, he was knighted . . . for, um, services to the viceroy.

TRIXIE: I'd keep that from sister Evangelina.

CHUMMY: Why?

TRIXIE: Oh, well, by all accounts she grew up drinking out of jam jars.
 CYNTHIA: It's made her a bit of an inverted snob.

Chummy's prosodic and phonological features, similar to the ones already listed for U-RP speakers, and her use of intensifiers and refined lexicon, are not acknowledged by the dubbing adapters by any sort of compensation: "frightfully vivacious" is translated with "molto vivace", whereas *vivacious* belongs to a higher register than the Italian *vivace* (which is more comparable to *lively*); the term of address *pa*, short of *papa*, a common class usage, was translated with the Italian, common *papà* ("dad"), whereas the abbreviation *pa*, also possible in Italian, would have correctly sounded like a snobbish affectation. Missing the point of Cynthia's last line ("It's made her a bit of an inverted snob") by translating "E questo l'ha resa allergica agli snob" ("And that made her allergic to snobs") is a further way to miss out on an important piece of sociological information.

In the next instance (season 1 episode 3), Chummy's sophisticated way of speaking is emphasised by the contrast with the speech of Constable Peter, her Cockney suitor.

CHUMMY: I'm so, so sorry.
 PETER: No harm done. You're something of a menace on that thing.
 CHUMMY: Oh, Constable Noakes is the, um, the officer I managed to crash into a few weeks ago.
 SISTER EVANGELINA: If it's any consolation, she's a menace no matter how she conveys herself.
 PETER: Well, like I said, no harm done at all. Although, maybe it'd be best if you had hit me. I wouldn't say no to more of that whiskey you brought over.
 CHUMMY: I'm sure it can be arranged. The whiskey, not deliberately levelling you with my bicycle.
 PETER: You look well.
 CHUMMY: And you. Very well.
 PETER: As do you. Well, I'd best be getting on.
 CHUMMY: Uphold the law, good sir.
 PETER: Quite.
 CHUMMY: Chummy! Why on earth did I say that?
 SISTER EVANGELINA: At times like this I'm more grateful than ever that I took vows. Now, come along.

The contrast between the two young speakers is remarkable: while Chummy utters, in her customary plummy style, high-register words and expressions such as "not deliberately levelling you" and "uphold the law, good sir", Peter's lines are delivered in pure Cockney with t-glottalisations, l-vocalisations and h-droppings all over the place. If one had to judge from the Italian dubbing, the two would be considered as socially equal:

Italian Dubbing Adaptation

- CHUMMY: Oh scusate, sono terribilmente mortificata.
PETER: Non è successo niente. È pericolosa quando guida.
CHUMMY: Lo so. L'agente Noakes è la persona che ho investito qualche settimana fa.
SISTER EVANGELINA: Se la può consolare, la signorina è pericolosa anche quando va a piedi.
PETER: Per fortuna non è successo nulla. Per quanto, avrei preferito essere reinvestito. Però ottimo il whiskey che mi ha portato l'altra volta.
CHUMMY: Lo posso fare se vuole. Portarle il whiskey, non investirla di proposito con la bici.
PETER: Sta molto bene.
CHUMMY: Anche lei. Sta molto bene.
PETER: Lei di più. Bene, proseguo il giro.
CHUMMY: Faccia rispettare la legge.
PETER: E' il mio lavoro. Andiamo.
CHUMMY: Santa pace. Ma perché gli ho detto così?
SISTER EVANGELINA: È in momenti come questo che sono contenta di aver preso i voti. Andiamo, forza.

Back Translation

- CHUMMY: Oh, I'm sorry. I'm terribly mortified.
PETER: Nothing happened. You are dangerous when you ride.
CHUMMY: I know. Agent Noakes is the person I ran over a few weeks ago.
SISTER EVANGELINA: If it can console you, the lady is dangerous even when she is on foot.
PETER: Luckily, nothing happened. Although I would have preferred to be run over again. But a very good whiskey which you brought me last time.
CHUMMY: I can do that if you want. Bring you whiskey, not run you over with my bike on purpose.
PETER: You look very well.
CHUMMY: You too. You look very well.
PETER: And you more. Well, I'll go on with my round.
CHUMMY: Have them respect the law.
PETER: It's my job. Let's go.
CHUMMY: Holy goodness. Why did I say that?
SISTER EVANGELINA: It's in moments like this that I'm glad I took the vows. Let's go, come on.

Apart from her first line, in which the Italian Chummy uses a suitably high-register expression (“sono terribilmente mortificata”, “I’m terribly mortified”), and the last one, where she uses an equally suitable old-fashioned exclamation (“santa pace”, “holy goodness”; more literally, “holy peace”), the rest of the exchange is conspicuous for Peter’s absolute lack of informality: for example “avrei preferito essere reinvestito” (“I would have preferred to be run over again”), “un ottimo whiskey” (“a very good whiskey”), his deferential *lei* form of address, are all elements that contribute to portray a very different character from the original one. The Netflix subtitles are not any better, in fact they sometimes add formality: see for example “Sebbene forse sarebbe stato meglio, se mi avesse colpito” (“Although it would have been better, if you had hit me”), where the word *sebbene* is particularly formal and usually used in writing.

The whole translation into Italian of what is a successful TV series in the United Kingdom is highly disappointing and perhaps the reason for its very limited popularity in Italy. It is to note that the complete change of the dialogue adaptation team after the second season, in the passage of the series from the Rete 4 channel to the Netflix platform, has not changed the overall quality of the work, perhaps because dubbing director Massimo De Ambrosis has remained in charge, thus providing evidence of the importance of this professional figure in setting the tone of a film or TV adaptation.

Finally, Ross’s (1954: 29–30) comment on the term of address *mater*, used by Chummy to address her mother, can tell us much on the way writers typecast upper-class characters. According to the scholar, *pater* and *mater* “were apparently once perfectly U [. . .]. But, at a later date (c. 1910?), Pater and Mater were picked up by non-U-speakers and so became non-U-indicators. Today [. . .] they appear to be obsolete in all classes”. This comment demonstrates how the series, set in the 1950s, more or less at the time when Ross was writing, uses every possible linguistic device, even obsolete and exaggerated expressions, to construct a stereotyped image of the upper-class speaker.

In one of his ‘British’ films, Woody Allen enjoyed playing with socially and linguistically characterised types. *You’ll Meet a Tall Dark Stranger* (2010) presents a gallery of mostly upwardly mobile middle-class characters speaking in a RP leaning on Estuary English (“her accent a note-perfect estuarial London”, writes *The Independent* (Quinn 2011) about non-British actress Naomi Watts). It is true that none of them can be classified as properly upper class, but their adoptive RP is put in sharp contrast with the wild Cockney of the prostitute Charmaine in some memorable scenes of this underestimated jewel. In this case, the character with a lower social status is so grossly vulgar that the Italian adapters could suitably reproduce the linguistic distance between her and the other characters, by playing especially with prosodic features such as a high-pitched tone of voice and the choice of vulgar expressions in contrast with the others’ calmly delivered lines in

standard Italian. *You'll Meet a Tall Dark Stranger* also plays on another juxtaposition, that of a US character in a British context—a contrast which passes unacknowledged by the dubbing adapters of the film, who did not differentiate between the various characters' standard Italian.

5.4 *British as Upper Class/American as Working Class*

The British upper-class character in a mostly American context or, vice versa, an American character in a British context, is another common contrastive *topos*. This opposition is usually not only linguistic but also social, as the American characters are typified as more 'vulgar' and 'working class' or simply more humble, while the British are portrayed as more refined and 'upper class'. Class associations can at times be slightly different, but they are always implied. For example, all of the Woody Allen's films set in Britain—apart from *Cassandra's Dream* (2007)—exploit the juxtaposition of British and American characters in their linguistic and cultural differences. Both *Match Point* (2005) and *Scoop* (2006) showcase American characters moving among the British upper middle class and aristocracy, respectively. As it seems to be customary with Allen's European escapades, reviewers and critics from the countries of the respective films were not lenient with the director's intentional or unintentional clichés. A review from *The Guardian* on the most interesting (also in linguistic terms) of the two films best encapsulates the natives' viewpoint on Allen's linguistic handling of his "quaintly conceived upper classes":

But the problem with *Match Point* is that the dialogue is composed in a kind of Posh English that Allen seems to have learned from a Berlitz handbook [. . .]. Allen had originally set the script in the US, but the opportunity for financing from BBC Films persuaded him to translate it to a British setting. Not too much of a stretch, perhaps, considering Allen's high-end concerns, but a good deal is lost in translation, and he does not have what Robert Altman had in Julian Fellowes, the screenwriter for *Gosford Park*: someone who really can speak the lingo. Allen's Brit-dialogue sounds clenched, stilted and occasionally plain bizarre. If he was engaged as a script consultant, Fellowes could have explained to Allen that Tate Modern does not have the definite article, that we pronounce the name "Eleanor" with the accent on the first syllable not the last, and a thousand other solecisms. And—snobbery aside—people with pretensions to love high opera do not tend to adore the work of Andrew Lloyd Webber, or at least not without a great deal of pre-emptive English irony. [. . .] The only actor who really does relax is Matthew Goode as Tom, utterly convincing and authentic as the young patrician. He is real. His dialogue sounds real. Everyone else is ersatz. Could it be that he was allowed to improvise his lines while everyone else was too much in awe of the director to

depart from the script? [. . .] However, as Allen's next movie is reportedly also going to be set in the UK, he really is going to have to learn to speak British at something better than tourist level.

(Bradshaw 2006)

The Italian dubbing rendition of the “utterly convincing” Matthew Goode, however, sometimes borders on the ridiculous with improbable lines such as “Non tocco la racchetta da secolissimi” for “I haven't touched a racket for bloody ages”. The line, which backtranslated would sound something like “I haven't touched the racket for “very” centuries”, employs a superlative with a noun instead of an adjective, which in Italian is theoretically grammatically incorrect, but is used rarely to give a sort of affected emphasis to a phrase. It sounds exactly that: affected and unnatural. The device is exploited again just a few moments later (“Danno *La Traviatissima*” for “It's *La* bloody *Traviata*”) to construct an idiolect which is paradoxically the fakest of the whole Italian adaptation.

Another good example of American versus British type shows, again, characters from the British upper middle class in their interactions with socially lower (but also ‘warmer’) Americans. In the comedy classic *A Fish Called Wanda* (Charles Crichton 1988), US crooks Wanda and Otto take the life of genteel British barrister Archie Leach by storm. The depiction of stereotyped, but not unrealistic posh characters, has a comedic function that has not been ignored in the often inventive Italian dubbing. The interaction between characters makes ample use of the typical misunderstandings because of different lexical items between the two varieties, but also of different registers and prosodic features. In the following dialogue, Wanda is meeting Archie in secret because Otto is jealous of the British man. The couple makes fun of Otto, playing on various cultural references and idioms, before being interrupted by Otto, from which point the confrontation becomes more based on a register clash:

WANDA: He doesn't have a clue.

ARCHIE: What?

WANDA: He is so dumb.

ARCHIE: Really?

WANDA: He thought that the Gettysburg Address was where Lincoln lived.

ARCHIE: Oh, those terrible lies he told about the CIA. So painful!

WANDA: And when he heard your daughter's called Portia, he said “Why did they name her after a car?”

[. . .]

OTTO: Now, apologise.

ARCHIE: What?

OTTO: Apologise.

ARCHIE: Are you totally deranged?

- OTTO: You pompous, stuck-up, snot-nosed, English, giant twerp, scumbag, fuck-face, dickhead, asshole!
- ARCHIE: How very interesting. You're a true vulgarian, aren't you?
- OTTO: You're the vulgarian, you fuck! Now apologise!
- ARCHIE: What? Me? To you?
- OTTO: Apologise.

True to the stereotype, Otto is first of all vulgar ("a true vulgarian", in the refined words of Archie) and has a problem in even understanding some of Archie's high-register words. The reaction shot to Archie's epithet "deranged", for example, shows his probable ignorance of the word. The Italian adapters, who found suitable solutions for the culture-specific items and for other conundrums present in this rich text, do not always recognise the nuances. They translate "deranged", for example, with *pazzo* ("mad"), which does not justify Otto's expression and, ultimately, his final bout of aggressivity, prompted most probably by the Englishman's pompous and "stuck-up" linguistic delivery.

It is not to be thought that only UK productions support the equation of British people as more refined, but colder and stiffer characters, and of US people as more vulgar, but warmer and nicer. Several US productions endorse this view. The classic sitcom *Friends* (David Crane and Marta Kauffman 1994–2004), for example, exploited this narrative, stylistic and linguistic theme in its 'British' episodes—that, is episodes (in season 4 and season 5) which feature Ross's British fiancée, and later wife, Emily. In the following dialogue (season 4, episode 24), Phoebe, one of the leading characters of the show, phones Emily's residence in England:

- HOUSEKEEPER: The Waltham Residence.
- PHOEBE: Oh . . . yes . . . is this . . . umm . . . Emily's parents' house.
- HOUSEKEEPER: This is the housekeeper speaking. And by the way, young lady, that is not how one addresses oneself on the telephone. First one identifies oneself and then asks for the person with whom one wishes to speak.
- PHOEBE: (*in a British accent*) This is Phoebe Buffay. I was wondering, please, if-if it's not too much trouble, please, umm, might I speak to Miss Emily Waltham, please?
- HOUSEKEEPER: Miss Waltham, is at the rehearsal dinner and it's not polite to make fun of people. Goodbye.
- PHOEBE: No no no, I'll be nice, I swear!!! Could you just give me the number for where they are?
- HOUSEKEEPER: I'm afraid I'm not at liberty to divulge that information.
- PHOEBE: Ok, somebody is on their way to ruin wedding, okay. And I have to warn somebody, alright. So if you don't give me that number then I'm going to come over there and kick your snooty ass all the way to New Glocken . . . shire.

The housekeeper's U-RP is especially marked in her high-falling tone, lengthened vowels and 'creaky' voice towards the end of the sentence. She also pronounces the word telephone, typically, as /telɪfəʊn/ rather than /telɪfəʊn/. In addition, the antiquated form of address ("young lady") and the impersonal construction of her first lines ("that is not how one addresses oneself on the telephone. First one identifies oneself and then asks for the person with whom one wishes to speak."), the formal tone and selection of words ("divulge") convey the image of a conservative RP speaker. Phoebe's mock British accent is mostly realised through her exaggeratedly polite way of address, which the housekeeper correctly interprets as a way of making fun. Also, the way she speaks in the last line of the excerpt suggests the image of someone speaking to a foreigner, as if to make her understand words she would not easily comprehend. The Italian adaptation, as in some of the cases already examined, provides a mixture of coherent and less coherent translation strategies. For example, the housekeeper is dubbed in a suitably pompous tone and keeps the impersonal third-person form to reproach Phoebe, but she identifies herself as "la cameriera" ("the maid"), thus as someone enjoying a considerably lower status than the housekeeper of an upper-middle-class family. Phoebe's mocking speech is even more marked in its pompous tones in Italian, while in the last line ("I'm going to come over there and kick your snooty ass all the way to New Glocken . . . shire"), the translation departs from the original: "verrò lì e le darò un sacco di calci nel suo vecchio sedere di cameriera borghese" ("I'll come over and I'll kick your old middle class maid's ass"). Using the *-shire* ending, coupling it with an evidently fake county name is, like other distortions of typical British toponyms,¹ a device which never fails to achieve its humorous ends. The Italian translation chooses to underline the housekeeper's and Phoebe's social gap by having the latter address the housekeeper as a "middle class maid". In Italian as in English, *borghese* ("bourgeois, middle class") is typically used by upper-class people as a pejorative term to define people of a lower class; vice versa, it is employed by working- or lower-middle-class people as a disparaging term for 'snooty' upper-class people.

The theme of the American versus British linguistic and cultural type is often exploited in these social terms. In *Gosford Park*, the Californian character of Morris Weissman is put in sharp contrast with the haughty and distant U-RP accent of Lady Trentham (a linguistic contrast analysed by Bruti and Vignozzi 2016: 61–64). *Garfield: A Tail of Two Kitties* (Tim Hill 2006) is a variation on 'the rich and the poor' narrative theme, where a happy-go-lucky, lovable, but extremely vulgar, American kitty switches places with an aristocratic British kitten in England. Interestingly, the butler, in this case, speaks Cockney, not at all a common feature, but one which seems to be gaining ground.² The theme of the housekeeper and/or butler speaking a pure version of U-RP to match the accents of his/her masters is, however, the most recurrent in film and television: see, for example, Mr. Carson in *Downton Abbey* and Mr. Stevens in *The Remains of the Day*, to mention

two butlers who play key roles in the respective audiovisual texts. Another British butler speaking RP in a film where a socially inferior but morally superior type speaks general American is Edgar in *The Aristocats* (Wolfgang Reitherman 1970), which leads us to the next and last subsection, that of the British (upper-class) villain.

5.5 *The British Villain*

Popular British actor Benedict Cumberbatch (2013) has a linguistic theory to explain the fact that British actors are often selected to play ‘baddies’ in films:

I think it might be [sic] to do, in America at least, with vowels and consonants. We speak with consonants a lot more, we sound our consonants a lot more, which usually, in a psychosocialist [sic] way means intelligence, thoughts, relations and the colder edge of reason rather than emotion, which is more vowels, which is more American, so that’s my pop theory. . . . Who knows?

Fanciful as it may sound, it is at least an attempt to explain what, as public opinion goes, is a well-established fact: many British actors star, indeed, as villains in American films, and if not all of them speak RP, certainly most of them do. From tiger Shere Khan in Disney’s *Jungle Book* (Wolfgang Reitherman 1967) to Hannibal Lecter in *The Silence of the Lambs* (Jonathan Demme, 1991), from Scar in Disney’s *The Lion King* (Roger Allers and Rob Minkoff 1994), to the same Cumberbatch playing the super-villain Khan in *Star Trek Into Darkness* (J. J. Abrams 2013), the antagonists played by British actors with a flawless RP are so many that it would be difficult to choose one as an exemplification. It is perhaps best to quote the 2014 Jaguar advertisement which explicitly acknowledges as a fact that “in Hollywood movies, all the villains are played by Brits” and links this knowledge to a web of associations revolving around privilege and wealth. The idea of RP as the speech of an envied élite which has little to do with the kind of ordinary men and women general audiences more easily sympathise with is reinforced by this kind of narratives. RP speakers are not us.

Conclusions

After defining the main phonological and prosodic features of the British upper class speech, this chapter has offered an evaluation of the way the people belonging to this class are linguistically and culturally portrayed in relevant films and TV series. The study has highlighted how audiovisual texts written with the aim of portraying realistic characters—that is, characters as close to reality as possible—make ample and careful use of phonological

and prosodic features belonging to this class of speakers. However, both these realistic examples and the more explicitly comedic or parodic ones, also deploy linguistic forms which, either because they are old-fashioned or simply exaggerated, reveal the purpose of construing stereotyped images of upper-class people as people who are fundamentally different and distant from the average viewers.

The study has also grouped these portrayals by the function that this type of character plays in the respective films and TV shows, revealing how the stereotypes fulfil specific narrative functions which have become *topoi* across genres. The discussion of the relevant translation strategies used to transfer this particular speech into Italian has served to highlight the challenges that this type of speech would offer to the translators if anyone were genuinely ready to face and act upon them.

Notes

- 1 In “Great Expectations”, an episode of *South Park*, to name another funny parody of British people and contexts, “our story is set in England, in the small town of Drop-A-Chair-Upon-Top-Snot” (season 4, episode 14 of *South Park*, Trey Parker and Matt Stone, 1997-in production).
- 2 See also Michael Caine’s Alfred in Christopher Nolan’s *Batman: The Dark Knight Trilogy* (2005, 2008 and 2012), who speaks Cockney (Caine’s native, and iconic, accent), and Sean Pertwee’s Alfred in the *Gotham* TV series (Bruno Heller, 2014-in production), whose low-status Cockney accent is even more marked.

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12 Representations of Stuttering in Subtitling

A View From a Corpus of English Language Films

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Introduction¹

Investigations in communication studies have evidenced that disabilities have increasingly been chosen as the topic of films, although sometimes they are still misconstrued.² In the case of Academy Award-winning movies, the percentage of films depicting people with disabilities increased from 16.7% in the 1970s to 43% in the 1990s (Safran 1998: 227). Safran claims that the depiction of disabilities in films can be extremely beneficial in several ways: if the portrayal is truthful, it can be a “barometer of social awareness and understanding” and reflect what people know and believe about them, and can educate about the meaning of social barriers and help dispel misconceptions (ibid.). In other words, movies “offer people a way to explore the unfamiliar in a safe environment” (Black and Pretes 2007: 66).

Among sensory disabilities, stuttering is quite well represented in films and on television. From a preliminary investigation into a corpus of 20 films featuring this disability,³ it emerges that, although feature films sometimes use stuttering to depict paths of personal growth, more frequently, they employ it to represent a character as psychologically weak or morally vicious. So, for example, people who stutter are often unreliable or even jeopardize other people’s lives because of their ineptness, or, in other cases, their stuttering is a shield that hides a deceptive and evil nature. A third function that stuttering may perform is that of triggering laughter, but very often the comedic effect turns farcical (Kuster 2011). The overall outcome, however, is that, in most cases, stuttering results in inappropriate and unfortunate stereotypes that are bound to affect public perception.

Much of the ongoing research on speech disorders and stuttering has focused on the relationship between media exposure and attitude formation. As is the case with physical disabilities, several scholars have ascertained that the portrayal of stuttering in the media develops stereotypes (J. Johnson 2008; Kuster 2011; van Kraayenoord 2011; Evans and Williams 2015; Miller 2015), in most cases providing the audience “with negatively stigmatising models of people who stutter” (Evans and Williams 2015: 337). Miller’s master thesis (2015) aimed to establish the impact

that entertainment media portrayals of stuttering, in particular in successful motion pictures, have on young people's perceptions of the personality traits of people who stutter (PWS from now on). In this panorama, *The King's Speech* has unanimously been acclaimed for reversing the trend towards a more balanced and positive representation of stuttering and for dispelling many of the misconceptions about it (Kuster 2011; French 2010; Lieckfeldt 2010; van Kraayenoord 2011). This film "tells a universal story about a man confronting his fears and finding confidence in his own voice" (Myers 2010).

In this chapter, after reviewing the treatment of stuttering in the scientific literature, we shall discuss how the speech impairment of stuttering is represented in popular media (with a special focus on feature films) and in the written medium, including both literature and subtitling, which, however different, may share the same representational graphic conventions. Examples of renditions of stuttering both on page and on screen provide us with a contextual framework for the analysis of its various external communicative functions in our dataset.

1. Stuttering: An Overview

Stuttering is a communication disorder in which the flow of speech is interrupted by repetitions, prolongations of phonemes, or abnormal blocks (no sound) of sounds and syllables. This difficulty is sometimes accompanied by unusual facial and body movements. The phenomenon is fairly well spread, with 70 million PWS in the world, of which there are 3 million in the United States; 600,000 in the United Kingdom (Tetnowski and Scaler Scott 2010: 431); and 1 million in Italy.

In the studies on speech disorders and stuttering, there are two main philosophical ways of approaching the problem, which result in different defining criteria and therapy proposals: behaviourism and constructivism (Tetnowski and Scaler Scott 2010: 431). Behaviourism concentrates on manifestations of stuttering—that is, what can be heard and seen—so the focus is mainly the motor movements that are made. Although less crucial, in this approach, the cause of stuttering is attributed to individual genetic makeup. The opposing viewpoint, constructivism, delves instead into the repercussions stuttering has on people's social lives, hence in their ability to communicate. Attention is thus placed on the emotions that are associated with stuttering and the repercussions of stuttering in real life (Tetnowski and Scaler Scott 2010: 431–432).

In Lavid's words,

Stutter is speech that does not follow normal, conventional rhythm. In this sense, we all stutter. When we are speaking too fast, angry, confused, nervous, surprised, or at a loss for words. We get "tonguetied" and stutter. [. . .] Speaking too fast, being emotionally charged,

or not knowing what to say are stressors that cause us to stutter—to become tongue-tied—and this happens to us all. The stressors make us “flustered” and we stutter. When we become “unflustered”, that is, when the causes are addressed and removed, our speech returns to its normal cadence and flow.

(2003: 3)

Occasional stuttering that crops up in this way, in sporadic moments and under conditions of increased tension, is different from developmental stuttering, which is “not caused by speaking too fast, anger, confusion, nervousness, surprise, or being at loss for words, and does not resolve along with those situations” (Lavid 2003: 3).

Ward (2006) specifies that there are also cases in which stuttering is acquired, which means it is either neurogenic—i.e. occurring after neurological trauma—or psychogenetic, if associated with a distressing event in one’s life. Van Riper (1982) has also identified a third type, called occult stuttering, which affects adults with no observable trauma. In this case, stuttering may be the re-emergence of a stutter that had not been diagnosed before and that is not particularly severe. Cluttering, which has not received much attention in the literature, is characterized by fast speech in which sounds are blurred or not well articulated. Speech is poorly organized, but the speaker is neither aware of nor worried about it.

The most interesting and still debated problem is what counts as stuttering and what as normal dysfluency. Evaluation relies on a multiplicity of factors such as the severity of the dysfluency, its frequency, the effort of speech (for example, complete blocks are not regarded as a typical manifestation of normal dysfluency), the extent of the impairment (whether it occurs within word boundaries or not—e.g. repetition of the same phoneme or syllable tends to imply stuttering, repetition of words or phrases is instead associated with normal dysfluency), and long periods of silence. To sum up, “the greater the size of the repeated unit, the more likely this will be perceived as normal disfluency” (Ward 2006: 6).

The onset of stuttering (W. Johnson 1959) usually coincides with preschool age, when children develop language and motor skills. More than half of all children who stutter will stop naturally or with therapy. Speech therapy (Gabel et al. 2010) proves to be useful, especially because it reduces the sources of anxiety (Lavid 2003: 47 and ff.). Data suggest undeniably that stuttering affects more males than females, but females have better recovery rates.

Despite the large number of studies, there is still no consensus on the causes of stuttering: what can safely be stated is that it seems to depend on a number of factors that increase its likelihood—e.g. gender, age, genetic predisposition, education and learning problems, and environmental factors. According to this multifactorial account, the likelihood of stuttering is

the product of a trade-off between the capacity of an individual to produce fluent speech and the environmental pressures he/she undergoes.

1.1 Stuttering Between Stereotyping and Representation

In the preface to a collection of essays devoted to speech disorders and literature, Eagle (2014) finally brings the problem of speech impairments to the fore and claims that it is high time to redress the marginalization of speech pathologies, such as language loss or breakdown, and portray them in an unbiased way. Until recently, he argues, despite increased awareness thanks to the power of media and successful films such as *Rocket Science* (Jeffrey Blitz 2007), *The Diving Bell and the Butterfly* (Julian Schnabel 2007), and *The King's Speech* (Tom Hooper 2010), speech impairments have been granted little attention. The fact that these phenomena are not officially 'recognized' illnesses or visible on the outside is responsible for their "liminal position in [. . .] literary theory, philosophy of language, medical humanities, disability studies, sociolinguistics, etc." (Eagle 2014: 2). Thus, despite the medical and social significance of the topic, disability studies, including speech dysfluency, are still in their infancy. Evidence of this is provided by an uninformed and biased attitude towards impairments: as Eagle himself reports (2014: 3), at the opening of *The King's Speech*, his fellow viewers laughed to tears upon seeing Colin Firth enacting Demosthenes's cure for stuttering—i.e. trying to speak with marbles in his mouth. This is symptomatic of an attitude that is still grounded in "the enforcing of normalcy" and a kind of political marginalization that assesses speech against "the societal expectation to talk normal" (Eagle 2014: 3–4).

Interestingly, much of the literature in the specialized domains of speech research recognizes the existence of negative stereotypes concerning PWS. Seminal studies such as White and Collins's (1984) ascertained the inferential origin of the stereotype: according to their experiments, this attitude is formed by means of generalizing the variables that accompany sparse episodes of dysfluency in normally fluent speakers. In other words, non-stutterers transfer the anxiety and tension they experience in stuttering-like moments in their daily lives to what stutterers might feel (Kalinowski 1987; Doody et al. 1993; MacKinnon et al. 2007). In MacKinnon, Hall and MacIntyre's words,

Compared to the typical male, the trait stutterer is significantly [. . .] more nervous, shy, self-conscious, tense, anxious, withdrawn, quiet, reticent, avoiding, fearful, passive, afraid, hesitant, insecure, and self-derogatory. These 15 traits therefore can be considered stereotypical of people who stutter.

(2007: 303)

Many studies have followed in Woods and Williams's footsteps (1971: 1976) in evaluating perceptions of self and others in both stuttering and non-stuttering individuals by means of the so-called semantic differential. This method, which allows researchers to distinguish groups by means of bipolar rating scales consisting of lists of adjectives, has become extremely influential to account for traits of groups, stutterers included (White and Collins 1984; Kalinowski 1987). A regular emerging trend is that self-description does not differ in stutterers and non-stutterers, but non-stutterers tend to describe stutterers with mainly negative adjectives, whereas the reverse does not apply, as stutterers describe non-stutterers positively.

Applications of the Lacanian psychoanalytic theory of stuttering (Barklay 1987; Columbus 1992) have also contributed to perpetrate negative attitudes towards PWS, who are represented as people who suffer from an unconscious conflict or a desire to suppress speech. Although this is not supported by empirical evidence, stuttering is envisaged as the surfacing effect of a neurosis, which entails "fading subjectivity" or "becoming lost in speech" (Columbus 1992: 206), childhood trauma, and "infantile fixation in narcissism". This position mirrors a widespread social attitude that interprets stuttering as deviant because it violates expectations of a normal speech situation. However, this interpretation is a social construction, as has convincingly been argued by St. Pierre referring to both medical and 'representational' (i.e. stuttering in literature, etc.) studies: stuttering is most often seen as "an individual, biological defect to be coped with, managed or cured" (2013: 9), but not as a social concern. This is the result of an evident tendency to frame it "both clinically and medically as *something* to be managed and fixed" (St. Pierre 2013: 10, his own emphasis). Like anything that unsettles the normal rules and expectations of human communication because the body is not able to perform typically, stuttering is thus considered the speaker's sole responsibility. The hearer, on the contrary, is seen as "a receptacle, whose passivity (which frees [them] from interpretation) reliably mirrors the objective nature of the 'broken' speech" (St. Pierre 2013: 14). St. Pierre also points out that, as a consequence, the onus is not on hearers to do any extra work in hearing, so that difficulty in understanding or mishaps in communication are wrongly attributed to speakers only. On the contrary, however, it is quite obvious that, communication being dependent on both speaker and hearer, the hearer too has a role in the construction of stuttering. Since stuttering has no clear and obvious manifestation, and is not an 'absolute' disability, it is trapped in evaluation against normalcy or ability: "Stutterers are expected to communicate on the terms of the abled but cannot live up to these expectation" (St. Pierre 2013: 18). However, the beneficial effects of increased awareness have begun to be detectable. In recent research in the field of communication disorders, there is a clear attempt to verify if the same stigmatizing attitudes are equally spread in different countries (St. Louis et al. 2016), are related to specific parameters (e.g. age,

gender, social class), and if people attribute to stuttering negative life effects, with a view to reducing the discriminating consequences of stigma (Boyle et al. 2009; Hughes et al. 2010).

2. Stuttering in Popular Media

2.1 *Authenticity and Stereotyping in Film*

Recent studies demonstrate a growing “critical awareness of the stigmas and stereotypes that attach to not talking normal in modern society” (Eagle 2013: 7). As previous research has shown, stereotypical representations of stuttering have been variously used and even reinforced by film as well as by other media (Shell 2005; J. Johnson 2008, 2012). It is true, however, that “clinical constructions” and “popular representations” (Osteen 2008) of speech disorders and of disability in general have changed through time (see Dumas 2016). As J. Johnson (2008: 246) has noted, the cinematic portrayals of stuttering characters “have often pandered to the public’s basic idea of stuttering and thus have been stereotypical, unrealistic, and at times even derogatory”. As pointed out by Baker (2008: 229), “the definitional power of film” is enormous, in that “narrative representations” of disabled characters on the silver screen “provide powerful, memorable definitions” that tend to become dominant in popular imagery. In Hall’s classic definition, stereotyping is analyzed as “a set of ‘representational practices’ that are used to represent ‘difference’ by reducing people to a few simplified, reductive and essentialized features” (Hall 1997: 239). This process involves the selection of one or two features and their erection “into one-dimensional portraits” of the disabled person (Osteen 2008: 31). This has been the case with stuttering, since negative stereotyping has dominated cinematic depictions of this speech disorder until very recently.

G. Johnson (1987) and J. Johnson (2008) examine the formulas popular films have traditionally employed to represent stutterers. In mainstream cinema, stutterers are not just personifications of difference and otherness: they are very often targets of caricature and ridicule. *Porky Pig*, a cartoon character created by Warner Brothers in the mid-1930s, is a prototypical figure in the category of the stutterer used as a comic element. His severe stutter, constantly exposed and trivialized for the amusement of the audience, is realized acoustically through “the insertion of the schwa, part- and whole word repetitions, struggle, word substitutions, circumlocutions, insertions of unrelated syllables and sounds, and retrials”, accompanied by physical signs such as “squinting, eye blinks, time bodily movements, and facial grimaces” (G. Johnson 1987: 237). As noted by J. Johnson (2008: 248), when used as a comedic device, “the stutterer is not a true representation of a person but rather the physical embodiment of his speech impediment”. Other films have echoed this formula, for example *A Fish Called Wanda* (Charles Crichton 1988) and *My Cousin Vinny* (Jonathan Lynn 1992).

Another prototypical figure is that of the weak stutterer, as in John Wayne's *The Cowboys* (Mark Rydell 1972), where a young boy miraculously gets over his stutter after being tongue-lashed by Wayne. A variation on the same theme is provided by *Primal Fear* (Gregory Hoblit), a 1996 American crime-thriller film featuring a character called Aaron, a young murderer who pretends to suffer from dissociative identity disorder in order to get away with the crime. Aaron is capable of switching back and forth between two personalities, one of which is that of a weak, shy stutterer and the other that of a fast-talking, assertive man. Ideas of stuttering as weakness or deception thus suffuse most of the films that showcase characters with a stammer.

As J. Johnson (2008: 245) points out, stuttering functions “as a crude formulaic storytelling device”, which spans a variety of film genres, including comedy, drama, horror, thriller, and western. It is important to note that, whatever the film genre, the formulas used for including a stutterer as a character in a film remain limited because stuttering mainly serves as shorthand to communicate “humor, nervousness, weakness” (ibid.). In older popular culture accounts, stutterers were depicted as either funny, weak, or evil characters (J. Johnson 2012: 12); hence, stereotypical and negatively biased views were often conveyed. Films that showcased non-stereotypical portrayals of stutterers were in fact very rare, and it is only recently that more realistic and true-to-life depictions have begun to appear on cinema screens, with greater attention being paid to both characterization and performance (J. Johnson 2012: 15). More importantly, characters who stutter have finally started to gain a true heroic voice, which is in stark contrast to the cinematic commonplace of the stutterer’s “inability to be heroic” (J. Johnson 2008: 254). *The King’s Speech* (Hooper 2010) is perhaps the most widely recognized example of these “new narratives that display stutterers as heroes” (J. Johnson 2012: 11).

2.2 *The Construction and Performance of Stuttering*

If it is true that cinematic portrayals of stuttering have often resulted in misrepresentation, then film seems to have often indulged in the representation of the twisted tongue, which testifies “to its continual fascination with the sounds and meanings generated by the [. . .] voice” (Silverman 1988: viii). As Kozloff (2000: 78) observes, although mainstream film dialogue favours clarity and comprehensibility, “verbal dexterity” is not the norm in Hollywood movies. Failed attempts at eloquence and moments of hesitation and stammering act as indicators of sincerity. “Extremes of verbal awkwardness” thus not only occur in film dialogue but also are “used as special signifiers—either of the pressure of emotions or of character traits”, with a prototypical example being the love declaration scene in *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (Mike Newell 1994). Previous research has shown that stuttering has been

traditionally used to “negatively affect the image of male identity” (Peberdy 2013: 217), an aspect that has also been highlighted by Smith (2007: 198), who points to “the additional creative possibilities and effects that may arise in those cases where the male’s struggle to speak manifests itself in the form of some quite literal impairment to his voice”. Smith’s observation is quite interesting in that it captures a fundamental aspect of filmic representations of stuttering—i.e. that the depiction of characters struggling with words on screen foregrounds the constructedness of sound and voice in film. As Peberdy (2013: 213) points out in reference to Humphry Bogart’s lisp in *The Maltese Falcon* (John Huston 1941), the scripted dialogue “functions to draw our attention to the sounds of the voice”. Quite similarly, in films that showcase stutterers as characters, every sentence has a word that draws attention to the stutter.

An important distinction that Peberdy makes is that between ‘voice’ and ‘vocal affectation’—i.e. the voice as performed (2013: 209). The term ‘affectation’ calls attention to the on-screen impediment as a performance, which is “therefore subject to control and manipulation along with any other part of the body” (ibid.). It also serves to highlight the fact that the vocal affectation on screen “also exists within a wider performance frame, subject to the manipulations of the director, camera and other cinematic elements” (ibid.). The cinematic construction of stuttering is thus to be conceived of as a collective process to which screenwriters, film directors, and actors contribute, sometimes with the assistance of language consultants, as was the case with *The King’s Speech*.⁴ As J. Johnson (2012: 13) notes,

The writers and actors generally attempt to create characters that are not just a physical embodiment of their disabilities. Sometimes these portrayals fail miserably, but occasionally they create physically and mentally challenged characters that resemble real people.

The sense of authenticity that many film critics observed in Colin Firth’s performance was in fact the result of hard work and preparation (see Kellaway 2011; Peberdy 2013).

The issue of accuracy in the representation of people with disabilities has been the focus of attention of many studies. Some scholars have investigated whether film and popular media “provide accurate portrayals” of stuttering (van Kraayenoord 2011: 103). Other scholars have focused on the functions of stuttering in a variety of texts. For instance, Eagle (2013) examines “the fine line between performance and portrayal of disordered speech” in James Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake*, showing how the portrayal of a “clinically identifiable” condition such as stuttering is exploited by the author for aesthetic effects. On a similar note, Hoegaerts (2015) investigates the representation of stuttering in popular songs. She finds that “the syncopated speech of the stammerer” (746) was often used as a device to

achieve both rhythmic and comic effects. As she points out, “The stammer is first and foremost an acoustic phenomenon, a series of interrupted sounds and silences that can only exist as transient, fleeting moments” (746). This acoustic dimension has been frequently and consistently exploited in popular media, which have variously engaged with the “halting sound of stammering” (753).

Another important issue, as suggested by Peberdy (2013: 208), is that “speech impediments are also gender related, offering a direct challenge to stereotypical notions of the masculine voice”. Stuttering as a speech disorder is in fact less frequent among female characters and is typically associated with discourses on masculinity. According to Eagle (2014: 116), “the meaning attached to this speech-fluency disorder” in literary texts “varies according to gender, reflecting diametrically opposed gender norms with respect to fluent, copious speech”. For men stuttering “represents a failure to live up to gender expectations”, while for women it acts as “a symbol of the suppression of the female voice” (Eagle 2014: 14). Gender differences are also attested in the available literature on stuttering. Research shows that males are much more likely to stutter than females are (Craig et al. 2002).

3. Representational Strategies in the Written Medium

3.1 *Representing Stuttering on Page*

As already noted, stuttering is a fluency disorder that manifests itself as a disruption in the phonetic and prosodic execution of speech (see Duckworth 1988). In Wingate’s classical definition, the symptoms that characterize stuttering include

involuntary, audible or silent, repetitions or prolongations in the utterance of short speech elements, namely: sounds, syllables, and words of one syllable. These disruptions [. . .] usually occur frequently or are marked in character and [. . .] are not readily controllable.

(1964: 498)

Previous research has shown that each culture develops its own conventions for the representation of stuttering on page (see Eagle 2013 and 2014 for literary texts). Paralinguistic features such as timbre, resonance, loudness, tempo, pitch, intonation range, syllabic duration, and rhythm are essential voice qualifiers that play a key role in character identification. As Poyatos (1993) demonstrates, two main representational strategies are used to recreate the primary qualities of characters’ verbal behaviour in fictional dialogue. One is essentially diegetic and consists of the description of a character’s voice and manner of speech; the other is more mimetic in character

and consists of the visual transcription of sound-related prosodic features by means of punctuation and other typographical devices (Poyatos 2008: 179). The same strategies are adopted for the representation of phonetic features, which are often encoded through “the use of specific graphic resources that evoke in the reader associations with phonetic characteristics of oral speech” (Cadera 2012: 290). Spelling alterations, punctuation, and typeface are thus among the most frequently used strategies for the transcription of both phonetic and prosodic features. As Poyatos (1997) argues, these elements can be interculturally difficult and hence pose problems to translators.

As Shell (2005: 45) observes, “There are so many different ways to indicate on the page that a particular speaker is stuttering or to render the particular stutter”. Stuttering is often represented typographically by means of repeated sounds (e.g. h-h-h-h), but this type of stylization may not reflect the complexity of this impediment and the diverse forms it may take. Stutter can manifest itself as a sudden paralysis (Shell 2005: 46)—the speaker pauses, frozen in speech, and falls silent.

Eagle (2011: 202) observes that Billy Budd’s stutter as depicted in Melville’s novel “represents the most paradigmatic form of stuttering: the repetition of the initial consonant of the given word followed by schwa” (e.g. “If you d—don’t start I’ll t—t—toss you back over the r—rail!”). In Ken Kesey’s *One Flew over the Cuckoo’s Nest*, “Bibbit’s stutter follows the same pattern as that of Billy Budd: the repetition of the onset syllable (consonant plus schwa)” (Eagle 2011: 206). However, while “Melville leaves the schwa sound implied with a dash, Kesey instead chooses in most cases to inscribe a vowel (usually with an *e* or *uh*)” (e.g. “fuh-fuh-flunkedout of college be-be-because I quit ROTC”) (ibid.).

It is interesting to note that conventions vary from culture to culture. In Mario Vargas Llosa’s novel *Los cachorros* (1979), for instance, the main character’s stutter “is represented with graphic features doubling, trebling or quadrupling consonants”: e.g. “gggggustabbbban” (Cadera 2012: 297). Not surprisingly, perhaps, while the German translation adopts the same typographic devices adopted in the source text, the English version resorts to hyphenation—a strategy that makes the speech impediment more markedly visible on the page. This may be indicative of culturally different conventions in the representation of stuttering in the writing code, although translators’ preferences may have played a part too (Cadera 2012: 302).

In analyzing *Alice in Wonderland*, Nord (1997: 113) notes that Carroll employs dashes to encode tempo, which “serves as an indicator of emotions” in passages such as Alice’s conversation with the mouse (“Are you— are you fond—of—dogs?”). Here the stammering rhythm of her speech is encoded by means of dashes and repetitions. Nord’s view of the way in which paralinguistic features such as tempo are to be dealt with in translation is especially relevant here:

It is not so much the structural difference of languages which poses translation problems, but the evaluation of a particular structure with regard to the frequency and distribution of its use in certain genres or text types of a particular culture. Moreover, one particular structure may be used for various purposes, and different structures may serve the same purpose.

(1997: 116)

Therefore, as suggested by Nord (1997: 124), the adoption of descriptive or transcriptive procedures in both original and translated texts is largely dependent on culture-specific conventions.

3.2 Representing Stuttering in Subtitling

In subtitling, the multisensory world created in a film is “reduced to the morphologico-syntactical representation (supplemented by a few punctuation signs) which is the written text, that is, a visual form of expression” (Poyatos 1983: 290). Translators thus find themselves confronted with the challenge of how to represent a speech disorder such as stuttering, which manifests itself acoustically as a disfluency through a communicative medium that is written.

As Pérez-González (2014: 199–200) rightly points out in reference to mainstream modes of audiovisual translation (AVT), “the semiotic potential of the para-verbal manifestations of speech remains relatively under-researched”. On the contrary, studies conducted in the area of media accessibility have been extremely attentive to the issue of paralinguistic and its representation (Neves 2005, 2007). Since the aural dimension of films is precluded to deaf people, sound and paralinguistic elements are given particular attention in subtitles for the deaf and the hard of hearing (SDH). As with other written media, the two macro-strategies adopted in SDH to represent prosodic and phonetic features are description and transcription. Special labels, which appear among square brackets, are used to describe and specify manner of speech or voice quality (Neves 2005). These labels often contain verbs that indicate the emotion accompanying the utterance (e.g. sighs, muttering). Prosodic information can also be encoded by using special techniques such as line break, punctuation (De Linde and Kay 1999: 13; Díaz Cintaz and Remael 2007: 112–115 and 179–180), and, more recently, emoticons (Neves 2005; Civera and Orero 2010; Romero Fresco 2015a). The phonetic representation of a speaker’s accent or manner of speech can be realized by means of graphic transcription, although this strategy tends to be used sparingly as it may “slow up the reading process and possibly ridicule the speaker” (De Linde and Kay 1999: 13). Recent studies seem to suggest that deaf and hard of hearing viewers’ preferences concerning the encoding of

sound and emotion information differ across cultures and strongly depend on local subtitling conventions as well as on audiences' habits and degree of hearing impairment (see Romero Fresco 2015b). For instance, Italian deaf viewers show a preference for descriptions, whereas hard of hearing viewers seem to favour "descriptions of sound information only when it is necessary instead of by default" (Eugeni 2015: 304). For British viewers, both deaf and hard of hearing, the preferred choice is for sound information to be conveyed by means of descriptions rather than by using words that reproduce the sound (Romero Fresco 2015a: 149–150).

It is important to stress that, "as a site of representational practice" (Pérez-González 2014: 29), AVT participates in the construction of identities in the media and contributes to propagating these representations. According to Nathaniel Dumas, "representational practices of transcription" such as those adopted by speech-language pathologists and scholars (2011a), "like popular representations of stuttering, play crucial roles in reproducing language ideologies of stuttering" (2011b). Hence special attention should be paid to the way stuttering is constructed in the written code in subtitling.

4. The Film Corpus

The idea of assembling a corpus of films in which stuttering plays a relevant role came to us when we were analyzing *The King's Speech* and realized that representations of stuttering are very frequent in films. At present, the corpus contains 20 films, including genres such as western, comedy, drama, action, and thriller, and covers a considerable time span—e.g. from the '70s of the twentieth century to the first decade of the twenty-first century.

The criteria for selection of corpus components are twofold: on the one hand, we opted for films where stuttering is not necessarily quantitatively diffuse, but where it is functional to the depiction of a character, even a secondary one, or narratively significant at key moments in the plot. On the other, since we are interested in representation strategies, we included those films for which we had more sets of subtitles. Whenever available, we preferred films for which SDH were provided, either in the original or in the target language (e.g. Italian): this is due to the fact that the representation of stuttering is most crucial in SDH since the speech defect needs to be rendered for an audience with a hearing deficit. In interlingual subtitles, representation is also filtered through the lens of linguistic mediation. So, in the end, our corpus, although partly unbalanced because it contains different sets of subtitles of different types (depending on availability of subtitles in DVDs), is at the same time representative and contains a sufficient sample of genres.

Table 12.1 The Film Corpus

FILM TITLE	ENGLISH SUBS	ITALIAN SUBS	ENGLISH SDH	ITALIAN SDH
<i>A Fish Called Wanda</i> (1988)	X		X	
<i>Broadway Danny Rose</i> (2002)		X	X	
<i>Dead Again/L'altro delitto</i> (1991)	X	X		
<i>Dead Poets Society/ L'attimo fuggente</i> (1989)	X	X	X	
<i>Die Hard with a Vengeance/Die hard—Duri a morire</i> (1995)	X		X	X
<i>It</i> (1990)	X		X	X
<i>J. Edgar</i> (2011)			X	X
<i>Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone</i> (2001)	X	X	X	
<i>My Cousin Vinny/Mio cugino Vincenzo</i> (1992)	X	X	X	
<i>One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest</i> (1975)	X	X	X	X
<i>Paulie /Paulie- Il pappagallo che parlava troppo</i> (1998)			X	
<i>Pearl Harbor</i> (2001)	X	X	X	
<i>Primal Fear/Schegge di paura</i> (1996)	X	X	X	
<i>The Cowboys</i> (1972)	X	X	X	X
<i>The Hurricane/ Hurricane—Il grido dell'innocenza</i> (1999)	X	X	X	
<i>The King's Speech</i> (2010)	X	X	X	X
<i>The Right Stuff/ Uomini veri</i> (1983)	X	X	X	X
<i>The Shawshank Redemption/Le ali della libertà</i> (1994)	X		X	X
<i>The Sixth Sense</i> (1999)	X	X	X	
<i>Urban Legend</i> (1998)	X	X	X	

5. Analysis and Discussion⁵

5.1 Stuttering as a Comedic Device

Comic stuttering, as evidenced earlier, is quite pervasive in films as a trigger for laughter and a shortcut to characterization. Although several films in the corpus may contain comic moments despite their main dramatic tone, the prototypical film where stuttering is linked to a comedic function is *A Fish Called Wanda*. Ken Pile, the stammering character, is played by Michael Palin, one of the Monty Pythons. Despite being the right arm of the criminal George Thomason, Ken is a very shy, reserved man, who fondly loves animals. After starring in this role, Palin agreed to give his name to the Centre for Stuttering Children, but his involvement is also due to the fact that his own father suffered from stuttering. This experience provided him with a model to follow when performing Ken. Even though the film is overall enjoyable and funny, some scenes in which he is harassed because of his stutter or where his stutter becomes severe because he is tormented turn almost to drama.

The SDH provide acoustic information of various types, including specifications of sounds and noises, and stuttering is indicated in two major ways, either with suspension dots or, when it is more serious, with the repeated sound followed by a hyphen, e.g. “W-W-Wanda; No. He had to g-g-go to the b-b-b- . . .”. Labels that describe his speech impairment are never used, but there are numerous scenes in which Otto (Kevin Kline) mocks him for his stuttering: “Hello, K-K-Ken’s p-p-pets” or “Oh the old lady’s gonna m-m-meet with an accident, eh, K-K-Ken?”. There is an interesting detail in the plotline concerning Archie Leach (John Cleese), the barrister who defends George and is seduced by Wanda. In the courtroom, when forced to ask Wanda questions and feign indifference, he instead calls her darling and begins to stutter. He is not a regular stutterer, but falls prey to the tension of carrying out his duty in court in front of his domineering wife and Wanda, and in fact makes a total mess and mixes up the names of the two women. Codification is the same—i.e. a mixture of suspension dots and repeated sounds indicated by repeated corresponding graphemes:

Example 1: *A Fish Called Wanda*

ENGLISH SDH

Yes, Mr Leach?
 I Wendy . . . I Wanda . . . I wonder . . . I w-w-w- . . .
 Wh-when you say five to seven,
 Miss, er, Gerschwitz. . .
 How can you be so sure?
 Darling!

There are occasions in which Ken does not stutter—i.e. when he is at ease or enraged, for example when Wanda kisses him or when Otto tries to seduce him (“-May I kiss you? -No, you fucking can’t!/-Just a peck! No tongue! Ken!-No”). At the end of the film, instead, when he takes revenge against his persecutor, Otto, who has tortured him and eaten his beloved pet fish, he suddenly realizes that he no longer stutters, so to put himself to the test, he tries to enunciate a difficult tongue twister: “Hey! I’ve lost my stutter. It’s gone. I can speak. How much wood could a woodchuck chuck, . . . if a woodchuck could chuck wood?”.

In other films in the corpus—e.g. *My Cousin Vinny* (1992) and *Broadway Danny Rose* (Woody Allen, 1984)—stuttering is likewise a device to trigger laughter and create memorable scenes, although it is applied to minor characters, so it is limited to a few moments in the narrative.

In *My Cousin Vinny*, two young New Yorkers, Billy and Stanley, while on a journey through rural Alabama, are put on trial for a murder they did not commit. At first, they are defended by their cousin Vincent Gambini, but then Stanley loses confidence in his ability and hires John Gibbons. Gibbons is a very skilled lawyer, but his job is much inhibited by his severe stuttering, which never disappears in his opening statement. The representation of the speech impairment is brought to extremes, as can be seen by the physical symptoms that accompany it: Gibbons is physically devastated by the attempts at getting words out of his mouth and pats one of the members of the jury on the shoulder; then he also tries so hard to enunciate the bilabial stop /p/ in the word “prosecution” that he spits on some jury members, who react disgusted.

Example 2: *My Cousin Vinny*

ENGLISH SDH	ENGLISH SUBS	ITALIAN SUBS
Ladies and gentlemen of the j-j-j- . . . of-of the j-j-j. . . (coughs) . . . jury! Um. . . On-on. . . On January fffffff. . . fourth of this year, my client did indeed visit the Sac-o-Suds c . . . um. . . co. . . um. . . um . . . convenience store.	Ladies and gentlemen of the j-j-j- . . . of-of the j-j-j. . . jury. On-on. . . On January fffffff. . . fourth of this year, my client did indeed visit the Sac-o-Suds c . . . co. . . convenience store.	Signore e signori della g-g-g. . . de-della g-g-g. . . giuria. Il-il. . . Il quattro ggggg. . . gennaio scorso, il mio cliente è effettivamente stato da Sac-o-Suds, lo sp. . . spaccio.

This parodic portrayal is faithfully reproduced in the subtitles (English, Italian, and English SDH), where the reduplication of the consonant

sounds is represented in a rather atypical way (e.g. “On January fffffff/ Il quattro ggggg”). This accumulation of graphemes to represent the prolonged stumbling against a consonant sound represents stuttering in its most severe manifestation. In other cases the typical hyphenated repetition is employed, applied to different items to preserve lip synchrony coherence (e.g. “do you think that that’s/close enough to make an /accurate i-i-i-identification?”; “- a-a-a che distanza si trovava? /- a 15 metri circa”).

In *Broadway Danny Rose*, Danny (played by Allen) is a talent agent. Among his clients is a stuttering ventriloquist called Barney Dunn. Stuttering is used here to sketch a minor character. The person who stutters in this film is a ventriloquist, who is portrayed as an absurd, freak-like human being. His impairment is reproduced with consonant reduplication, with a minor difference in the Italian subs, where the last instance of stutter with the dental fricative is lost.

Example 3: *Broadway Danny Rose*

ENGLISH SDH	ITALIAN SUBS
- You're kiddin'? Where for?	- Ma va'? Per dove?
-I'm working a s-s-ship to the B-Bahamas.	-Su una n-n-nave per le B-Bahamas.
-Fantastic. And then back here?	-Fantastico. Poi torni qui?
-No. And here is the b-b-beauty part.	-No. E questo è il b-b-bello.
From the B-Bahamas	Dalle B-Bahamas
to P-Puerto Rico for th-three weeks.	a P-Puerto Rico per tre settimane.

Like in the other films in this category, labels describing the impairment are never used.

5.2 Stuttering as a Dramatic Device

As well as serving as a shortcut to characterization, stuttering is a narrative device employed in film to heighten dramatic moments and convey emotions in multimodal performances that carefully orchestrate voices, silences, and close-up views of faces. Often used as a signal for weakness (*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, Miloš Forman, 1975; *The Right Stuff*, Philip Kaufman 1983), stuttering appears in stories of healing, in which weaknesses or wounds are cured and loss of stuttering showcases symbolic change (*The Cowboys*; *Dead Poets Society*, Peter Weir 1989; *Paulie*; *The Hurricane*, Norman Jewison 1999). Filmic representations of stuttering most typically develop along the ‘hero-villain’ continuum and only in recent times have stuttering characters started to take on heroic qualities, as in *The King's Speech*.

5.2.1 *Stuttering as a Signal of Weakness*

One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest (Miloš Forman 1975) offers a prototypical example of dramatic stuttering. Billy Bibbit (Brad Dourif)⁶ is a shy and fearful mental patient who lives in an Oregon psychiatric hospital. As in the novel, “Bibbit’s stutter coincides with moments of nervousness or shame, and its severity increases the more self-conscious or intimidated he becomes” (Eagle 2011: 206). For example, when Nurse Ratched asks him to talk about the girl he fell in love with during one of the group therapy sessions, Billy’s speech disorder becomes more prominent under the pressure of his emotions.

Example 4: *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest**ORIGINAL FILM DIALOGUE*

RATCHED: Did you tell the girl how you felt about her?

BILLY: We-Well I we-went went over to h—her h-house . . . one S-Sunday afternoon and . . . and I b- I brought her some [fl-fl-fl]owers and I—I s- I said [s-s-s-s] Celia, will you [m-m-m-m-m-]marry me?

<i>ENGLISH SDH</i>	<i>ITALIAN SDH</i>
Did you tell the girl how you felt about her? I went over to her house. one Sunday afternoon and. . .	Hai detto alla ragazza quello che provavi per lei? Sono andato a casa sua. . . una domenica pomeriggio e. . .
BILLY: I brought her some flowers. and I said: “Celia, will you. . . BILLY: “Marry me?”	BILLY: e le ho portato dei fiori. . . e le ho detto: “Celia, vuoi. . . BILLY: “Sposarmi?”

The subtitles rely mainly on the use of ellipses to indicate fragmented speech rather than on labels, which are in fact used very sparingly throughout the movie (we counted no more than three occurrences of *stutters/stuttering—balbetta/balbettando*). While Billy’s stuttered speech is rendered typographically in the novel by means of consonant reduplications, in the subtitles, it is constructed more as a form of blockage articulated in terms of hesitations than as a fluency disorder involving marked repetitions and prolonging of sounds. Humiliated by Nurse Ratched after being caught with a prostitute, Bibbit commits suicide. This essentially dramatic quality of the character explains why the portrayal of stuttering is carried out in such a stylized manner, which seems to aim at avoiding stereotypical representations.

A similar representational pattern is found in *The Right Stuff* (Philip Kaufman 1983), which narrates the story of the pilots who were selected to be part of Project Mercury, the United States’ first human spaceflight programme. Among them is John Glenn, the first American astronaut to

orbit the Earth. The film portrays the real-life stuttering problem of his wife, Annie, depicted as an extremely shy person affected by a severe stutter. She is introduced to the audience in a scene where, while alone with her husband, she literally struggles with words. In the SDH subtitles, Annie's stutter is encoded solely by the addition of explanatory labels (*stuttering/balbettando*) in combination with ellipses indicating that her second utterance is unfinished.

Example 5: *The Right Stuff*

ORIGINAL FILM DIALOGUE

GLENN: I'm going to the cape tomorrow. I wish to heck it wasn't off-limits to wives. There's so much work to do, anyway. More tests, training, studying.

ANNIE: [w-w-w-w]hat about a—fter?

GLENN: After hours I'll run a lot.

ENGLISH SDH	ITALIAN SDH
I'm going to the cape tomorrow. [. . .]	Vado a Cape Canaveral domani. [. . .]
There's so much work to do, anyway.	Comunque c'è tanto lavoro da fare.
More tests.	Altri esami. . .
. . . training. . .	l'addestramento. . .
. . . studying.	gli studi.
(stuttering) What about after?	[balbettando] E fuori orario?
After hours I'll run a lot. [. . .]	Correrò parecchio. [. . .]
Scott Carpenter will run with me.	Scott Carpenter correrà con me.
He's a good guy. [. . .]	È un bravo ragazzo. [. . .]
(stuttering) What about. . . ?	[balbettando] E gli. . . ?
The others want to get the job done [. . .].	Gli altri vogliono fare il lavoro [. . .].

In a crucial moment of the film, during an aborted launch attempt, we see American vice president Lyndon Johnson parked near the Glenns' house in a limousine, asking to be let in to meet Annie in front of the TV cameras. As she turns down his visit, a NASA official urges Glenn to tell his wife to let the vice president in. While on the phone, Annie struggles with words and with emotions, the physical signs of her struggling being clearly visible on screen.

Example 6: *The Right Stuff*

ORIGINAL FILM DIALOGUE

GLENN: Annie? It's me. Are you all right? What's wrong?

ANNIE: [d3-d3-d3]-ohnson [w-w-w-w]ants me on. . . [t-t-ti:] . . . [vi:].

GLENN: The Vice President? [. . .] Annie, listen to me. If you don't want the Vice President or the networks, or anyone else in our house, that's it!

ENGLISH SDH	ITALIAN SDH
Annie?	Annie?
It's me. Are you all right?	Sono io. Stai bene?
What's wrong?	Cosa c'è?
(stuttering) Johnson. . .	[balbettando]
. . . <i>wants</i> . . . <i>me</i> . . .	Johnson. . .
. . . on . . . T . . . V.	. . . <i>mi</i> . . . <i>vuole</i> . . .
The Vice President?	in TV.
[. . .] Annie. . .	Il Vicepresidente?
Listen to me.	[. . .]
If you don't want the Vice President. . .	Ascoltami.
. . . or the networks,	Se tu non vuoi né il vicepresidente. . .
or anyone else in our house, that's it!	né le reti nazionali, né chiunque altro in casa nostra, va bene così!

In this case, similar strategies are found in the two sets of subtitles in the two languages. Ellipses are used in both the English and the Italian subtitles to mark a speech block, while consonant repetition is avoided. In the English subtitles, ellipses are also used to separate initials in the word 'TV', providing additional information as to Annie's speech impediment.

Another prototypical case in our film corpus is that of stories involving young stutterers and the overcoming of stuttering, as in *Hurricane* (Norman Jewison 1999), *Paulie* (John Roberts 1998), and *Dead Poets Society* (Peter Weir 1989). The archetypal figure of the stuttering child is epitomized by the character of Bob in *The Cowboys* (Mark Rydell 1972), where stereotypical and patronizing views of stuttering are portrayed (Shell 2005: 229). The film tells the story of an elderly rancher, Wil Anderson (John Wayne), who hires a group of schoolboys to help him get his herd of cattle to market. One of the boys, called Tom, has a severe stuttering problem that prevents him from warning Wil that one of the kids is in serious danger after slipping off his horse while crossing a river. In both the English and the Italian SHD subtitles, the speech problem that affects the boy is signalled solely by means of labels (*stutters*, *stuttering*, *balbettando*), while no typographic representation is provided.

Example 7: *The Cowboys*

ORIGINAL FILM DIALOGUE

WIL: You! You almost got him killed, you know that?

BOB: But I [t-t]ried to tell you.

WIL: The hell you did!

BOB: I [t-t]ried hard.

WIL: If you'd have been out in that water we'd have heard you.

BOB: I [c-c]ouldn't get the [w-w]ords out.

(Continued)

(Continued)

ENGLISH SDH	ITALIAN SDH
You!	Tu!
You almost got him killed, you know that?	Per poco non moriva a causa tua!
Bob: [stutters] I tried to tell you.	Bob: [balbettando] Ho cercato di dirglielo.
Wil: The hell you did!	Wil: Un corno!
I tried hard.	Glielo giuro.
If you'd have been out in that water we'd have heard you.	Se ci fossi stato tu in acqua, ti avremmo sentito.
[stutters] I couldn't get the words out.	[balbettando] Non mi uscivano le parole.

Bob takes his place in a long line of filmic characters who are unable to warn others of an impending danger because of their speech impediment. In *Pearl Harbor* (Michael Bay 2001), the stuttering character of Red Winkle is not a dramatic type but provides moments of comedic relief. His utterances are therefore represented in the SDH subtitles following the conventions established for comedic genres, in which exaggeration in the actor's performance is often reflected in an emphatic use of consonant reduplication in the on-screen text. In example 8, Red seems to be almost choking on the word 'Strange':

Example 8: *Pearl Harbor*

ENGLISH SDH	ENGLISH SUBS	ITALIAN SUBS
Hi.	Hi.	Salve.
I'm—I'm Red.	I'm—I'm Red.	Io, io sono Red. Red. . .
Red—[snorting] S-s-s-s-strange.	Red S-S-Strange.	. . . Strano.
Is Red your name?	Is Red your name?	-Di cognome si chiama
Heh heh.	-Your last name's Strange?	Strano?
Your last name's Strange?	[. . .]	[. . .].
No. It—It's Winkle	No. It's—It's Winkle.	No, Winkle.
[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]
No. It—It's Winkle	-Do you always stutter?	-Balbetti sempre?
[. . .]	-No, only when I'm—	-No, solo quando sono. . .
Do you always stutter?	. . .	[. . .]
No, only when I'm-	-Nervous?	Emozionato?
[Snorting]	-Yeah.	Si.
[. . .]		
-Nervous?		
-Yeah.		

It is interesting to note that, in the Italian subtitles, Red's speech is encoded as being, overall, more fluent than in the English ones ("I'm—I'm Red./Red S-S-Strange" vs. "Io, io sono Red. Red. . . / . . . Strano.").

When the attack on Pearl Harbor begins, Red struggles to warn his friends because of his stutter—a fact that is made all the more transparent in the English SDH subtitles by the repeated occurrence of labels (*stuttering/stammering*):

Example 9: Pearl Harbor

ENGLISH SDH	ENGLISH SUBS	ITALIAN SUBS
[shouting and stuttering] Anthony: Why's the Navy always buzzin' us? [stammering] Shut up, Red! [stammering]	Why's the Navy always buzzin' us? Shut up, Red! -Hey, come on. -Red, it's too early for this. The Japs are here!	Passano sempre a volo radente. Piantala, Red! I giapponesi!
<i>Pilot: Oh, man, come on!</i>		
<i>Pilot: Red, it's too early.</i>		
The Japs are here!		

Here we see close-ups of Red gritting his teeth and blinking his eyes as he struggles to articulate; hence, information is conveyed through the interaction of different semiotic codes.

Stuttering plays a prominent role in the horror made-for-TV film *It* (Lawrence D. Cohen and Tommy Lee Wallace 1990), based on Stephen King's novel. Billy is a stuttering child who joins a group of seven children who call themselves "The Losers Club" because they all have a weakness of some kind. They confront a supernatural evil creature that terrorizes and murders children by taking on different shapes. The events narrated are set in two different timelines, the past (1958) and the present (1985), that weave in and out of each other. Billy's stutter is an element which is central to his characterization, so it is often referred to in the dialogues and is therefore foregrounded in the subtitles, where it is encoded typographically by means of consonant reduplication.

Example 10: *It*

ENGLISH SDH	ITALIAN SDH
-M-Maybe later.	-Magari dopo.
-The Magic Stone story.	-La storia della pietra magica.
Please, Bill. Please?	Vai a r-rompere qualcun altro,
Go b-bug somebody else,	pidocchio, non mi sento troppo bene.
I don't feel so hot.	G-Georgie.
G-Georgie.	[. . .]
[. . .]	Beh prima bisogna i-i-incerarla. . .
W-Well, you have to	. . . con della p-p-p-paraffina.
s-s-seal it first. . .	-Che cos'è? Dove la trovo?
. . . with p-p-p-paraffin.	-È in c-c-cantina.
-What's that? Where is it?	
-It's in the c-c-cellar.	

The way of rendering Bill's stutter graphically varies depending on the particular word being stuttered and the severity of the stutter ("b-bug",

“s-s-seal”, “p-p-p-paraffin”). Besides providing visual prominence to the boy’s impediment, the signalling of stuttered speech by means of typographical devices makes it possible to establish immediate visual links with the parallel story world of the same kids in their adult lives, which explains why the strategy of transcription rather than that of description is favoured here.

5.2.2 Resurgent Stuttering

A good number of films in our corpus feature characters who have overcome their speech impediment but lapse back into stuttering at some point in the story: *Dead Again* (Kenneth Branagh 1991), *The Sixth Sense* (M. Night Shyamalan 1999), and *J. Edgar* (Clint Eastwood 2011). These movies showcase stories of recovered stutterers, most typically depicted as having an inhibited personality or some kind of repressed impulses. The observable symptoms of stuttering resurface at crucial moments because of emotional tension and distress (*J. Edgar*, *Dead Again*), or as an effect of supernatural forces (*The Sixth Sense*). As Peberdy (2013: 216) points out, these films construct stuttering as “something that can be hidden” or “controlled through techniques such as vocal training to achieve a measured, well-paced, even tone, breathing techniques, avoidance of certain words, singing or reading poetry”.

In *The Sixth Sense*, the person who stutters is Stanley Cunningham, a schoolteacher who suffered from abuse by his peers because of his speech impediment. In one of the most popular scenes from the film, Cole Sear, a troubled boy who can see and talk to the dead, addresses him as “Stuttering Stanley”, the name the man was teased with when he was a kid. While the rest of the class is shocked and silent, Cole goes on by saying: “You talked funny when you went to school. You talked funny all the way to high school”. Driven by an obscure supernatural force, Cole repeatedly shouts that mocking nickname, leading Mr Cunningham to lose his speech control and to fall back into stutter. Markers of hesitation are found in Mr Cunningham’s utterances at the beginning of the exchange (“I, uh, I-I-I don’t know”), but when the stuttering becomes evident and recognizable as such, the label [*stammering*] is placed right before the repeated sound in the English SDH. In the following lines, stuttering is represented typographically in the text through the repetition of the consonant clusters on which Cunningham stumbles (“St-st-stop it!”). The scene culminates in verbal aggression: the man’s efforts to overcome his momentary speech block become physically manifest until he slams his hand on the desk, intimating the child to shut up and stuttering on the final insult. In all the subtitles, both for the hearers and the hearing impaired, his stuttered speech is marked by

initial consonant repetition (“Shut up, you f-f-freak!”—“Sta’ zitto!/. . . s-s-sscemo!”).

Dead Again is a thriller film that revolves around the mystery of a woman who suffers from amnesia and whose fate gradually appears to be connected to that of a woman murdered 40 years before. This emerges in the recollections she recovers with the help of a hypnotist, Franklyn Madson. The murderer turns out to be Frankie, a disturbed boy with a serious speech impediment. Only towards the end of the film does it become clear that Frankie and Madson are one and the same person. Upon being caught, he lapses back into serious stuttering. In the English SDH, the label (*stuttering*) introduces Frankie’s first appearance on screen and consonant reduplication is used throughout the film to mark his speech, whereas no indication as to his speech impediment is found in either the English or Italian subtitles for the hearing. The SDH subtitles carefully distinguish between Frankie’s stutter as a child (e.g. “It’s a ch-charm for good luck”) and the aggravated symptoms that resurface in his speech during the closing scene by multiplying the number of repeated graphemes, through which the stuttering is visually represented.

Example 11: *Dead Again*

ENGLISH SUBS	ENGLISH SDH	ITALIAN SUBS
I, for one, am very interested. . . to see. . . what’s going to happen next.	Well I, for one, am v-v-very interested to see wh-wh-wh-what’s going to happen next.	Personalmente, sono molto interessato. . . a vedere. . . che cos’altro succederà.

The idea of stuttering as a problem that can be overcome is central to the story of FBI chief Edgar Hoover as outlined in Clint Eastwood’s film *J. Edgar*. Hoover worked to overcome a stuttering problem by learning to talk fast. The repressed stutter resulting in Hoover’s “peculiar speech patterns” is masterfully constructed by Leonardo Di Caprio in a performance characterized by a blatantly theatrical style made up of “over-enunciated cadences” and a “carefully controlled diction” (Lucas 2011). The symptoms of stuttering rematerialize in moments of great stress or tension, in association with an emotional state. These stuttering moments are indexed in the English SDH subtitles by means of labels such as *stammers* or *stammering*, or, alternatively, through word repetition deployed in association with dashes and ellipses. In example 12, Edgar gets into a panic when a woman asks him to dance in a nightclub, and his stutter resurfaces heavily:

Example 12: J. Edgar*ORIGINAL FILM DIALOGUE*

HOOVER: We-We-We have a great deal of work tomorrow . . . and I-I-I'm just afraid we don't- we don't have time to dance. We-We-We're very busy, aren't we? And my-my-my sincere apologies. I—

<i>ENGLISH SDH</i>	<i>ITALIAN SDH</i>
We—We— We have a great deal of work tomorrow. and I'm afraid we don't have time to dance. We are very busy, aren't we? And my sincere apologies. I—	Abbiamo— Abbiamo una giornata impegnativa. E temo che non ci sia tempo per ballare. Abbiamo molto da fare, vero? Vogliate scusarci—

During a particularly dramatic exchange with his domineering mother (Judy Dench) in which he confesses that he does not like women, Hoover falls back into heavy stuttering, represented in the English SDH through fragmented speech and word repetitions. In the Italian subtitles, dysfluencies are reduced in number and replaced by partial reformulations (“Non mi—”, “A me non”, “Non mi—”) that attenuate the cumulative effect of the repeated chunks:

Example 13: J. Edgar

<i>ENGLISH SDH</i>	<i>ITALIAN SDH</i>
I don't— I— I don't—I don't like to— I don't like to dance, Mother. -I don't like to da—	A me non— Non mi— A me non piace ballare, mamma. -Non mi—

As Edgar starts stumbling on words, his mother invites him to “go look in the mirror” and talk the way the doctor taught him to. Stuttering moments in this film reveal the character's emotional state (“I can *sp—spit* my words out with precision,/diction, and clarity”), hence shifts in the repetition patterns of the source text such as those occurring in the Italian SDH subtitles (i.e. from onset consonants to words: “So—So sputare ogni parola con precisione,/dizione e chiarezza”) seem to lead to a toning down of the dramatic force of the scene.

5.2.3 Feigned Stuttering

The category of feigned stuttering can be considered a subtype of the dramatic type, with differences that depend on how the impairment develops.

Sometimes the revelation that stuttering was a pretense is explicitly focused on, whereas in other cases, it is left for the audience to infer, but it generally coincides with plot resolution and the end of the film. In our corpus, feigned stuttering appears in a few films, *Die Hard with a Vengeance* (John McTiernan 1995), *Primal Fear* (Gregory Hoblit 1996), and *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (Chris Columbus 2001). In *Primal Fear*, the speech impairment is central, and the whole plot revolves around it, whereas in the other two films, it applies to minor characters.

In the thriller by Hoblit (1996), Aaron (Edward Norton), the homeless street kid first protected by Archbishop Rushman and then accused of his heinous murder, is shy and speaks with a stutter. When in jail, he is examined by a psychologist and reacts by attacking her and turning into Roy, his evil double. Roy is an aggressive, foul-mouthed sociopath with no trace of stuttering in his speech. His lawyer, Martin Vail (Richard Gere), cannot change Aaron's plea and has to find a way to reveal his client's condition in court. During cross-examination, when questioned harshly, Aaron turns into Roy in open court and physically assaults the prosecutor until he is taken back to his cell. In light of Aaron's evident mental disorder, the judge dismisses the jury in favour of a bench trial and then finds Aaron not guilty due to his mental insanity. The boy is thus entrusted to a maximum security mental hospital. In the final scene, Vail visits Aaron in prison to tell him the good news: Aaron says he recalls nothing of what happened in the courtroom, because he fell prey to one of his blackouts. However, as Vail is leaving, Aaron asks him to tell Miss Venable, the prosecutor, that he is sorry for his behaviour, which is not something that Aaron should have been able to remember if he had truly 'lost time'. Aaron puts an end to his pretense: the sharp-witted, self-confident, and no longer stuttering Aaron admits that it was not Roy's identity that he made up, but Aaron's. Only by pretending to be a simpleton could he gain his lawyer's sympathy as well as the judge's and the jury's, and when something went amiss, he resorted to Roy and claimed to have a split personality.

In the SHD, there is special care in rendering acoustic elements such as the choir boys singing, laughter, and applause through labels, while Aaron's stuttering defect is represented in different ways depending on its seriousness. At first, in his interaction with his lawyer in his cell, Aaron attempts to reformulate an interrupted utterance: "No, no, sir. No, I don't./ [. . .] I don't have no money". As he goes on with his tale, stuttering intensifies and is represented either with suspension dots or through repetition of graphemes or syllables; "I-I was returning a book/to Bishop Ryshman" or "I bla . . . I blacked out". SDH are particularly faithful to the original dialogue, but subtitles also encode Aaron's stuttering, even though in a more stylized way: when stuttering occurs in adjacent turns, the gravity of the defect is not necessarily represented all the time (e.g. "bla . . . blacked" and "ho perso . . . ho perso" but then stuttering is not applied to the English and Italian subtitles for "I-I-I- lost time").

Example 14: *Primal Fear*

ENGLISH SDH	ENGLISH SUBS	ITALIAN SUBS
-I don't . . . I don't have no money.	I don't . . . I don't have no money.	Non . . . Non ho soldi. [. . .]
-I didn't think you did. [. . .]	[. . .]	Ho perso . . . Ho perso conoscenza [. . .].
I bla . . . I blacked out. [. . .]	I bla . . . blacked out. [. . .]	Ho perso tempo.
I-I-I lost time.	I lost time.	Voglio dire ho perso conoscenza.
I mean I-I blacked out.	I mean I blacked out.	

In the film, there is a clue to the fact that Aaron's stuttering is a pretense when prosecutor Linney asks Vail whether it was his idea to present such a meek, fragile boy in court, and she even mocks the impairment:

Example 15: *Primal Fear*

ORIGINAL FILM DIALOGUE	
LAURA LINNNEY: That face is great. Are you prepping him to take the stand? That stutter is [p-p-p]riceless.	
ENGLISH SDH	ITALIAN SUBS
That face is great. You prepping him to take the stand? That stutter is p-p-priceless.	Lo stai preparando al processo? Quel suo balbettio è s-s-senza pari.

The audience is not aware at this point that Aaron's stutter is feigned, but the fact that the accusing attorney suspected Vale of creating Aaron's persona might be recalled at the end of the film.

Interestingly, the label that is employed to let a hearing-impaired audience perceive the difference between Aaron's trembling voice and Roy's assertive tone—"DEEP AGGRESSIVE VOICE"—is very explicit and directs the audience's interpretation more than the simple act of perceiving a difference between tone of voice and loudness in Aaron's and Roy's voices. The hearing impaired are thus directed in their interpretation by means of an orienting strategy.

Example 16: *Primal Fear*

ORIGINAL FILM DIALOGUE
PSYCHIATRIST: OK, OK, I'm sorry. Let me just fix this. Hey, you know what I can do with this thing?
AARON/ROY: How the fuck should I know? Jesus Christ.
PSYCHIATRIST: Aaron?
AARON: [W-w]hat? [w-w]hat was you saying?

ENGLISH SDH	ITALIAN SUBS
OK, I'm sorry. Let me just fix this. You know what I can do with this? (DEEP AGGRESSIVE VOICE) How the fuck should I know? Jesus Christ. Aaron? W-What ? W-What was you saying?	-You know what I can do with this? -No, I the fuck should I know? Jesus Christ. Aaron? What? What were you saying?

In *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (2001), the stuttering character is a minor one—i.e. Professor Quirinus Quirrell (Quirinus Raptor in Italian), a half-blood wizard. Overall, the information in the Italian SDH is very slim: no indication is provided for a cat meowing, or to signal the music that introduces the arrival of Professor Dumbledore in the street where Harry lives with his uncle and aunt. Likewise, there is no trace of Quirrell (or Raptor)'s stuttering in either SDH or subtitles. In his first meeting with Harry, Quirrel says, “Harry P-potter. C-can't tell you how pleased I am to meet you”, which becomes “Harry Potter. Can't tell you/how pleased I am to meet you” in the English subtitles and “Harry Potter./Non so dirti la felicità di conoscerti” in both the Italian subtitles and SDH. When at the end Professor Quirrell himself discloses his evil nature and alludes to his feigned meekness and stuttering, this detail must leave a deaf or hearing-impaired audience puzzled, as it is the first time they learn about his stuttering.

Example 17: *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*

ORIGINAL FILM DIALOGUE	
QUIRRELL: Yes. He does seem the type, doesn't he? Next to me, who would suspect, [p-p-p]oor [s-s]tuttering Professor Quirrell?	
ENGLISH SDH	ITALIAN SDH
Yes. He does seem the type, doesn't he? Next to me, who would suspect. poor, stuttering Professor Quirrell?	RAPTOR: Sì, lui sembra il tipo giusto, vero? Con lui in giro, chi sospetterebbe. del povero, balbuziente professor Raptor?

This is one of those cases in which an audience with a hearing deficit is not granted the opportunity of understanding the unrolling of the plot, as a crucial piece of information was not provided at the beginning.

In *Die Hard with a Vengeance* (1995) John McClane (Bruce Willis) and a Harlem store owner are targeted by German terrorist Simon Gruber (Jeremy Irons) in New York City, where he plans to rob the Federal Reserve Building. The villain, Simon Gruber, stutters once while talking with John

McClane over the phone, saying, “You c-c-c-couldn’t catch me if I stole your ch-ch-chair with you in it!” John McClane then retorts, mocking his stutter.

Example 18: *Die Hard with a Vengeance*

ORIGINAL FILM DIALOGUE

SIMON: You [c-c-c-c]ouldn’t catch me if I stole your [tʃ-tʃ-tʃ]-air with you in it!
 MCCLANE: My [tʃ-tʃ-tʃ]-air with me in it? That’s very exciting. Let me ask you a question, bonehead. Why are you trying to [k-k-k-k]ill me?

ENGLISH SDH	ENGLISH SUBS
You couldn’t catch me if I stole your ch-ch-chair with you in it. My ch-ch-chair with me in it. [chuckles] That’s very exciting. Let me ask you a question, bonehead. Why are you trying to k-k-kill me?	You couldn’t catch me if I stole your chair with you in it. My chair with me in it. That’s very exciting. Let me ask you a question, bonehead. Why are you trying to kill me?

This conversation leads John and the rest of the police to underestimate Simon as an adversary, as they presume that someone who stutters while attempting to sound intimidating must be a fool behind his feigned toughness. But it is they who are tricked, as Simon uses that opinion to his own advantage, making them feel secure while outwitting them and stealing a fortune right out from under their noses. When, after accomplishing his goal, he stutters again while speaking to his men of the “g-g-g-gullibility of the New York Police Department”, he is alluding to the fact that he faked his stutter to lead the police astray. In the English subtitles, no trace of stuttering appears.

This type of stuttering, although limited, has some evident repercussions on the plot and on the construction of the evil character. Unlike *Harry Potter*, where the suppression of stuttering left a narrative incongruence, the Italian SDH for this film bears a trace of Simon’s stutter. The representing strategy, in line with the limited impact of the impairment (especially because it is irregular and sporadic), is that of using suspension dots after a grapheme (standing for the sound on which the speaker stumbles): “Non mi prenderesti neanche se ti rubo/la s. . . sedia da sotto il culo!” (“You wouldn’t catch me even if I pulled the ch. . . chair out from under your arse”!)

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have aimed to explore the different strategies adopted in SDH subtitles (and for comparative purposes also intra- and interlingual subtitles) to represent “the breakdown in normal phonetic and prosodic

encoding of speech by the person who stutters” (Duckworth 1988: 54). Because of the different channels activated in subtitled films, the perceptions of the on-screen characters may vary widely among audience members depending on the mode of translation and on the encoding strategies employed at the textual level.

As Stuart Murray (2009: 244) observes in reference to autism, “The commercial and narrative formulae driving Hollywood have produced multiple Others characterized by their misrepresentation”. Previous research has shown that the filmic medium has a long tradition of stereotypical accounts of stutterers. Quoting Osteen (2008), it could be argued that for a long time “misleading stereotypes have shoved out virtually all other representations of [stuttering] from mainstream cinema”. To understand the disparity between stuttering as it is represented in feature films and the experiences of individuals living with stuttering, one may want to consider the way in which real-life stutterers react to popular depictions of their problem.⁷

Awareness of the issues connected with screen representations of stuttering is essential to understand fully the way it is tackled in translation. On the one hand, there is “the phenomenon of films shaping and defining disabilities for the general public” (Baker 2008: 230). On the other, there is the role that AVT may have in shaping and re-shaping these representations. Subtitlers are confronted with the problem of understanding the specific function stuttering fulfils within the film text to select the best strategies to represent it in the written mode. These range from ludicrous exaggeration (*A Fish Called Wanda* and *Broadway Denny Rose*) to more nuanced depictions, which require a more balanced deployment of linguistic and typographical resources.

As illustrated earlier, there can be different ways of constructing stuttering in subtitles depending on the function it fulfils in the narrative. The use of descriptors such *stuttering/stutters* is more likely to occur when the focus is on what is being said rather than on the way it is said. When emphasis is on the mode of enunciation, either for comedic effect or because the visual signalling of the impediment is in some way functional to the narrative, the strategy of transcription tends to be favoured. Typographical devices can be used to signal variable degrees of intensity of the stutter, to distinguish intentional pauses versus linguistic blocks, or to mark the relationship of the on-screen text with the visuals, as the concomitant factors such as face and body movements that characterize stuttering moments may be more or less foregrounded. Encoding strategies may change a great deal also depending on the date of release of films, marketing choices, distributors’ policies, and culture-specific factors. Awareness of the audience’s needs also makes subtitlers attentive to readability—i.e. the ease of reading and processing subtitles along with images.

The emergence of new representational paradigms has been addressed in a previous study by the authors (Bruti and Zanotti 2017), which focused on cross-cultural differences in the representation of stuttering in the SDH subtitles for the universally acclaimed film *The King’s Speech*, where stuttering

is not merely a signal of weakness or a comedic device, but the defining feature of a central heroic character. The impact of changing times appears to have had an immediate affect on AVT translators, who are nowadays faced with the need to rethink representational conventions and to consider the potentially detrimental consequences that some choices may have in terms of identity construction and reception. Among possible future developments of our work, we therefore consider the possibility of conducting reception studies to assess whether cinematic representations of stuttering in SDH succeed in matching hearing viewers' experiences with the film and the impact that the AVT mode has on viewers' perceptions of people who stutter.

An all-round exploration of stuttering as constructed in film and in subtitling will no doubt contribute to our understanding of the power of AVT as a representational practice and has the potential of illuminating the processes of identity construction and reception in the media as well as the subtle implications of their linguistic and cultural transfer.

Notes

- 1 The research leading to this contribution was carried out jointly by the two authors. However, Silvia Bruti drafted the introduction as well as Sections 1, 4, 5.1, 5.2.3, while Serenella Zanotti wrote Sections 2, 3, 5.2, 5.2.1, 5.2.2, and the conclusions.
- 2 See Safran 1998 on people with disabilities in Academy Award-winning films, Badia Corbella and Sánchez Guijo Acevedo 2010 on blindness, and Black and Pretes 2007 on physical disabilities.
- 3 The investigation of this topic began with the analysis of *The King's Speech* (2010), to which we devoted a full-length study published in *Palimpsestes-Revue de traduction* (Bruti and Zanotti 2017).
- 4 An interview with the person who served as the language consultant for the film can be found in the special features in the Italian DVD edition.
- 5 Transcription conventions: . . . *Three dots* indicate a long pause;—*Double dashes* indicate a tense pause (i.e. a speech block);—*A dash* indicates a cut off; :: *colons* indicate sound prolongations. We opted for an orthographic transcription of the film dialogue and for a phonetic transcription of the stuttered forms.
- 6 In horror film *Urban Legend* (Jamie Blanks 1998), Brad Dourif features as a stuttering gas station attendant who is unable to warn a girl about the murderer hiding in the back seat of her car.
- 7 The web sites of stuttering associations worldwide offer ample space for discussion, debate, and interaction on media representations. See, for example, the Stuttering Foundation (www.stuttering-help.org), the National Stuttering Association (www.westutter.org/about-the-nsa/media-information/), and the British Stammering Association (www.stammering.org). For Italy, see www.balbuie.it/eventi/awareness-day-2012.

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Part VI

Representing Translation



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13 “New and Improved Subtitle Translation”

Representing Translation in Film Paratexts

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The purpose of this volume is to look at how languages and cultures are represented through audiovisual translation (AVT). Empirical, case-study-based research over recent decades has given us a lot of data on the kinds of transformative actions carried out on audiovisual texts by the operations of dubbing and subtitling, which are the principal modes of AVT. But a related question also needs to be addressed—namely, the way in which AVT is itself represented in the paratexts of films.

This may seem a slightly rarefied topic, when we already know that AVT shares in the invisibility problem of translation as a whole (Venuti 1995, 2008; Nornes 1999, 2007). But it is timely to look again at the visibility, or otherwise, of AVT. The United Kingdom, where I am based at time of writing, has recently seen a rise in visibility both in literary translation (Tonkin 2017: 8) and in subtitling, particularly on television (Frost 2011; Lawson 2016; Tate 2016). The DVD format, which revolutionised the consumption of AVT, turned 20 in 2017, in which time it has seen a substantial reduction in market share¹ in favour of streaming and downloading. There has been a surge in interest in fan-produced and user-produced AVT. It is therefore a useful moment to consider how all of this has affected the profile of AVT. I argue in this chapter that AVT enjoys certain forms of visibility in the paratexts of film that invite analysis and that speak to the ways in which those translations represent other languages and cultures. At the same time, these forms of visibility contend with other film-paratextual practices which tend to ignore or sideline AVT.

What Is the Film Paratext?

The concept of paratext was introduced by Genette in his 1982 work *Palimpsestes* (Genette 1997: 3) ² and developed in *Seuils* (literal meaning: thresholds; 1987). Genette’s concept is a book-based one which takes for granted the status of the book as a privileged cultural artefact. The paratext frames, and indeed sometimes substitutes for, our reading of a book; no book can exist without some kind of paratext. Genette draws a distinction between peritext, which is located “within the same volume” (Genette

1997: 4) and ‘epitext’, which is “located outside the book” (*ibid.*: 5). Peritexts may include titles, authors’ names, epigraphs, prefaces or postfaces, chapter titles or notes and so on. Epitexts include letters, diaries, promotional interviews, posters and external textual material which has in some way a framing function.

Genette already foresaw an application of the concept of paratext to film (Genette 1997: 407), but, as has been argued elsewhere, his distinction between peritext and epitext is problematic for film (Tybjerg 2004: 486; O’Sullivan 2011: 158–9). Subtitles are particularly difficult to classify in Genettian terms; while for many decades subtitles were physically burned onto the print of the film whose dialogue they translated, today’s viewer can choose between a selection of subtitles, or between subtitles and no subtitles. The intertitles of silent film are similarly problematic in their paratextual status; they were often shipped separately to the film; they are often missing from surviving film prints and have to be reconstructed; they are very often reworked in translation.

Genette’s concept of paratext is very author centred (Klecker 2015: 403) and casts the author as the ultimate authority over their work. Genette’s model is therefore much more concerned with understanding how authors consider that their works should be read and understood than with understanding how books are promoted in the marketplace. Film, as Alberto Pezzotta has observed (1989: 6), requires a more market-oriented view of paratexts (as indeed does literature, but that is beyond the scope of this chapter).

It has been asserted, in an excellent recent piece by Cornelia Klecker (2015: 404), that the distinction between peritext and epitext “can be easily transferred” to film. I am not sure I agree. Undoubtedly, there are some film paratexts which sit intuitively easily with Genette’s distinction, e.g. title sequences as peritexts; posters and promotional interviews as epitexts.³ But film does not share the stability of the book format. The home video revolution did, admittedly, create homologies between film and book by introducing the film that could be owned in an accessibly priced copy and exhibited on easily available technologies—we talk about ‘owning’ a film as we own a book—but compared to the centuries of continuity in the book format, film formats have changed very rapidly over the decades. Projection of film prints, with 35mm being the standard gauge, in the first half of the twentieth century was followed in the second half by a choice between cinema or television viewing. From early on, there were also ‘substandard’ home or club viewing formats of 16mm, 8mm, Super 8 and so on. VHS tapes were popularised in the first half of the 1980s. DVDs were introduced in 1997 and have already been partly superseded in home viewing by streaming and downloading.

For this reason, our assumptions about what film paratext is (and indeed about what film viewing is) are in part generational. My generation bought and collected films; they were “available to rent or buy on video” from my

childhood. Pezzotta observes that with the coming of home video, “il film [. . .] acquista l’equivalente della copertina del libro—mentre prima era un oggetto anonimo e ingombrante, chiuso in scatoloni metallici” [“film [. . .] acquires the equivalent of the book cover—while before it was a clumsy anonymous object, shut away in metal cans”] (1989: 9).

Since film paratexts have been in a near-constant state of evolution through the history of the cinema, elements of the paratext may be peritextual in some exhibition contexts, or time periods, and epitextual in others. The Danish director Carl Theodor Dreyer wished to avoid including opening credits in several of his films, including *La Passion de Jeanne d’Arc* (1928), *Vredens Dag* (1943) and *Ordet* (1955) in order to promote greater immediacy of experience for viewers. As Casper Tybjerg (2004: 482) points out, however, during *Vredens Dag*’s first run in Denmark, audiences had access to the film’s cast and crew details both through a folder published by the cinema for the film’s launch and in the form of the usual ‘program booklet’, much like a theatre programme: “Dreyer himself could have been said to have decided to make this cast list [. . .] part of the epitext” (ibid.).

In recent years, subtitles have become more often epitextual than peritextual. For DVDs and Blu-rays, peritexts include language menus and cover art. Special features are both epitextual (part of the package) and peritextual (because optional): you can watch a film on DVD without ever watching them, and they may be present in some editions and not in others. Epitexts, which include reviews, advertising and promotional material, directors’ comments and trailers, may become peritextual when adopted for home viewing formats in the form of directors’ commentaries and bonus features.

I conclude, following Georg Stanitzek, that different media formats have different paratextual configurations. Stanitzek’s key distinction (2005: 38–40) is between film and television, but I would argue that all the different formats—films projected in their theatrical versions, films on VHS, films on DVD, films on streaming sites—are framed paratextually in different ways and invite different angles of analysis.

There are very good reasons for continuing to use the concept of paratext, while realizing that it has not only medium-specific properties but also period- and format-specific properties. In this chapter, I will be considering the visibility of translation in a number of different paratextual environments, all of which contribute, or have contributed to, film spectatorship and the representation (or non-representation) of translation in the film marketplace.

Peritext and Translation

We can most easily speak of the peritexts of film in the context of traditional theatrical exhibition, where the spectator is present in a cinema to see a film screened according to parameters determined by the distributor and the cinema management. This contrasts with more interactive environments, such

as viewing online, where the viewer can start, stop, rewind, etc., at will, or watching a DVD or Blu-ray, where the viewer navigates a series of menu options.

The main peritexts of translation in the context of theatrical exhibition are attributions of subtitling or dubbing authorship. Details of the dubbing were often found in the opening credits in the early decades of sound, but are now more likely to be found in the closing credits.⁴ Subtitling authorship attribution is very patchy, even within a single target market (O'Sullivan, forthcoming). In the early years of sound, it was more common for subtitlers to be named in the credits of a film, perhaps by analogy with (inter)title writers in the silent period, some of whom were stars in their own right. Up until at least the 1960s, subtitle credits were sometimes to be found in the opening credits of a film, either as a superimposed title or as part of a credit sequence which was localised into the target language. Now they are more often to be found, where they are included, at the end of films. Where they are available, they allow the audience at least to be aware of a 'translating presence' in the transmission of a film; where they are not present, they reinforce the overall invisibility of AVT.

A key factor facilitating the invisibility of AVT today is the fact that these translator credits in the cinema are not usually reinforced by other paratexts. By contrast, in the 1930s and 1940s, it was not uncommon for subtitlers' names to appear in newspaper advertisements (Weidmann 2014); Mai Harris, the doyenne of British subtitling from the 1930s to the 1960s, is mentioned as author of the subtitles in several press reviews of her films. Herman G. Weinberg, the best-known subtitler in the United States in the same period, is frequently mentioned in reviews. Today, interviews with subtitlers are rare, and the interviews that do get published tend to be in relation to a subtitler's professional practice in general, and the particular challenges of translation for subtitling, rather than as part of the promotion of a particular film. No 'author function' is conferred on the audiovisual translator.

Choose Your Own Translation

The field of translational paratexts is more complex when it comes to DVD or Blu-ray viewing. Perhaps the most immediately obvious peritextual site of translation is the DVD menu. DVD menu choices revolutionised the visibility of dubbing over subtitling; in theory at least, the DVD format offered up to 8 different dialogue tracks and up to 32 different subtitle tracks (O'Hagan 2007: 157). Although discs have sometimes offered a transfer of an already hard-subtitled film, with no more optionality than a 'play' command, such discs are in the minority. Almost all DVD menus offer at least intralingual or SDH subtitles for the film; most feature film DVDs offer language options as well. In dubbing territories, these usually include a choice between subtitled or dubbed options in the target language. DVD

makes these tracks available through an interface designed to allow users to set the terms on which they watch the film, within the parameters laid out by the architecture of the interface. The format often offers the possibility of viewing a film with a dubbed soundtrack and subtitles simultaneously. With Blu-ray presentation, technical advances are beginning to allow for viewers to reposition subtitles according to their preference (e.g. within or outside the frame) and even to resize the subtitles (Sanchez 2015: 143–144). After many decades when researchers and cinephiles relied on occasional, sometimes difficult-to-repeat theatrical viewings and rather impressionistic memories of films for their work, the DVD format was to revolutionise the study of AVT (Kayahara 2005).

At the same time as it was making it much easier to study AVT, the DVD format arguably gave rise to an over-dependence on DVD versions as *the* object of study for AVT researchers. I use the term ‘over-dependence’ not because valuable work has not been done on AVT through the study of DVDs—the format has been fundamental to the development of AVT studies—but because the DVD format, by its very nature, has a number of limitations in respect of its representation of translation. For instance, DVD menus tend to have a very monolingual idea of the source and target languages: these menus struggle with the multilingualism present in films or with meeting the language needs of a heterogeneous range of spectators. This means that the DVD’s representation of a film’s linguistic landscape and its translation is often quite reductive (O’Sullivan 2011).

Another problem for the (re)presentation of translation in home viewing formats is that disc menus may not frame the choice of translated versions as a choice about translation. Some DVDs do—e.g. with terms such as ‘language options’ or ‘language set-up’ in the case of English-language DVDs—but others may simply speak of a ‘set-up’ which turns translation into a technical category akin to the choice of a mono or stereo soundtrack.

Even more problematically, the provenance of translations on DVD and Blu-ray formats is seldom revealed; we rarely know who subtitled the film and in practice never know exactly when those translations were produced. This means that considering the question of retranslation, which is one of the key potential areas of visibility for translators, becomes methodologically difficult.

Retranslation

Retranslation is an intrinsic feature of AVT. This has not, to date, been much investigated in AVT studies, which have tended to think in terms of *the* dubbed and *the* subtitled version of a film. However, it is common for the same film to be subtitled more than once into a single language for theatrical exhibition, for DVD release, for television, on reissues of restored films). It is also not uncommon for films to be dubbed more than once into a single language (e.g. older Disney titles). The issue is now receiving

some well-overdue attention (e.g. Zanotti 2011, 2015; Di Giovanni 2016; Mereu Keating 2016). Dubbing, in particular, has been assumed by previous scholars to be something that only happens once; Zanotti's work shows that at least in Italy, redubbing is becoming more frequent, with DVDs of films including *The Godfather* or *Grease* released with alternative dub options (Zanotti 2011: 152). More classic films, such as *Frankenstein* or *The Mummy*, have also been released in Italy in recent years with the option of watching the "doppiaggio d'epoca" (vintage dubbing). In this way, translation becomes part of the textual proliferation represented by the DVD, which has been called "le lieu où se déploient et se recomposent enfin les modes d'existence pluriels du film" (the site where the plural modes of existence of the film are deployed and reassembled) (Quaresima 2008: 141)

The introduction of DVD technology led not only to a huge increase in research into AVT but also a surge in translation itself. The requirement to produce electronic subtitle files for DVD release meant that many films which had been subtitled in the analogue era had to be resubtitled from scratch. DVD also provided new subtitles not only for older films but also for films that had had a theatrical release; the different screen size meant that subtitles needed at least to be reformatted for television viewing, and in practice, subtitles were often recommissioned. However, this labour of retranslation was all but invisible in the medium itself. Unlike in print literature, where retranslation is often marked by extensive paratextual apparatus and position statements by translators, in the new DVD medium, retranslation generally went unremarked.

The main exceptions are the 'prestige' publishers, such as Criterion, Masters of Cinema, BFI and Second Run, who have added value to their DVD and theatrical releases by offering new and improved subtitles, and have used these as a marketing gambit (cf. Martin 2017). These new, often restored editions of classic films frequently boast 'new and improved subtitles' or 'newly translated English subtitles' as one of the reasons for buying the film. The implication is that previous subtitles were of poor quality; resubtitling is always about improving. It was usual in the 1930s and 1940s to subtitle only the most relevant dialogue; many lines of dialogue were routinely unsubtitled. This practice continued into the 1950s and 1960s, but it is now accepted that films should be as fully subtitled as is practical. As a result, many 'new improved' subtitle versions are denser than previous versions. Occasionally, this is made explicit in a film's paratext, as with the Criterion Collection release of Tarkovsky's *Andrei Rublev* (1966) with "new English subtitles translating 40% more dialogue" as it says both on the DVD cover and on the website.⁵

Other norms have also changed over the decades. Songs were not routinely subtitled in the early decades of sound, when their purpose, indeed, was often to make films internationally 'sellable' by reducing the proportion of spoken dialogue. It is now, however, known that songs can be thematically important in a film. One example is Jean Renoir's *La grande illusion*

(1937), first released in the United States in 1938 and re-released several times as better film elements became available. This film has been subtitled into English several times, most recently by Lenny Borger for Rialto’s 1999 re-release. The film is set in a series of prisoner-of war camps during the First World War. The film contains several songs. These include the song “Marguerite”, sung at the concert party and other fragments of songs sung by the music-hall star Carette, who plays one of the prisoners. They also include the song “Il était un petit navire” sung by Jean Gabin’s character, Lieutenant Maréchal, later in the film when he quarrels with his companion during their escape. The subtitles also include a number of plays on words and cultural references which were omitted in previous versions. The higher quality and increased nuance of the new subtitles was remarked on by a number of reviewers:

Besides looking so good, the restored “Grand Illusion” has had its subtitles overhauled too. The typography is less intrusive, colloquialisms are preserved and the tone is far more sophisticated. In the older version . . . Rauffenstein, who considers Boeldieu his equal, dismisses Maréchal’s and Rosenthal’s officer status as “A gift of the French Revolution.” With the new subtitle—“A charming legacy of the French Revolution.”—you can practically see him sniff.

(Anderson 1999)⁶

The former subtitles were inadequate, most notably in the dialogue of the POW who is a former vaudevillian and who speaks in puns and snatches of song. Borger comes as close as is imaginable to rendering his chatter in English. And all of the dialogue seems cleaner, more pointed.⁷

It is above all in this shift from peritextual to epitextual visibility that we can consider the label of ‘new and improved subtitles’ as effectively representing the work of AVT. It is not irrelevant that Borger, in addition to subtitled the film, received a prominent credit for this in the pressbook, which he also compiled. This combination of subtitles, subtitler credit and subtitler involvement in the film’s wider paratextual presentation allowed reviewers and commenters to engage with the new subtitles as a meaningful feature of the film. Borger has subtitled a number of films for Rialto, which has allowed a certain continuity in the visibility of translations with this distributor.

Subtitles must constantly contend with the cognitive environment of subtitling, which requires that subtitles be as unobtrusive as possible in order to work effectively as part of the multimodal text. As the distinguished subtitler Henri Béhar has commented, “If the subtitles aren’t invisible, you fail” (Rosenberg 2007). Creating a space for subtitle visibility can therefore be a mixed blessing. The only instance I am aware of in

which a film was released with two sets of subtitles by named subtitlers is the Criterion Collection's release of Akira Kurosawa's 1957 film *Throne of Blood*, an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The disc offers two subtitle translations: one by Linda Hoaglund, who translated a number of other films for Criterion, and the other by film historian and Kurosawa expert Donald Richie. The sleeve notes also include translators' notes by the two subtitlers. Hoaglund's approach is avowedly creative and foreignising, characterised by archaisms, swear words and other marked linguistic choices. Richie's subtitles are designed to be unobtrusive. The two have also both subtitled other films by Kurosawa, including *Seven Samurai*. Fan responses to Hoaglund's subtitles for this film were negative (Martin 2017) to the point where subtitles were modified after the film's re-release (*ibid.*: 28). In this case, we may say that the profile of translation was very effectively raised, revealing

the importance of subtitles to the core fan base of Criterion collectors, to whom translation is far from a minor issue, and the significance of this niche market to the Criterion Collection, whose leaders clearly understand that in spite of their ambition for mass-market penetration, the particular demands of their most loyal customers must be met.

(*Ibid.*)

The Translational Paratexts of Cult Film

These fan discourses reveal a number of positions on translation, not all of which chime with recent moves towards more target-oriented approaches to translation. The perception of fidelity is still extremely important to fans, and fans' knowledge of the films and their previous versions is likely to be extensive. When the Criterion Collection released a box set of Japanese films called *When Horror Came to Shochiku*, aimed at a 'cult' audience, some fans were dismayed that a particular earlier dubbed version, which was the version in which some fans had first encountered the film, was not included as a DVD extra (Egan 2017). Kate Egan argues convincingly that this represents a double standard in Criterion's approach to AVT, which privileges subtitled releases over dubbed ones, which were traditionally considered less 'authentic' and less prestigious (*ibid.*: 77). Ironically, fans' enthusiasm for particular early translations of films mirror film fans' general commitment to the idea of the 'original film' in its most authentic version. In the case of fans who are invested in a particular approach to AVT, and in the teeth of distributors' attempts to 'improve' audiovisual products, a certain nostalgia for 'originality' has simply been displaced from the original film to its translation.

The earlier example showed how the nature of the DVD or Blu-ray as a consumer product also has potential for raising the visibility of translation through viewer engagement. Another good example of an epitextual

controversy which raised the profile of AVT can be found with 2008 Swedish thriller *Let the Right One In*, directed by Thomas Alfredson. This was released in the United States by Magnet on DVD with a set of subtitles different to those which had accompanied the film on its US theatrical release. A post on the Icons of Fright website (RobG 2009) provided a close comparison of the two versions, and fans were unhappy with the differences. Later that month an announcement was made that the distribution label, Magnet, would be manufacturing the DVD with the theatrical subtitles from then on. Fan pressure had both acknowledged the differences between the two sets of subtitles and obliged the distributor to provide a preferred set. Interestingly, the suggestion from posted comparisons between the two sets of subtitles (ibid.) indicates that it was the more extensive, and therefore plausibly more faithful, theatrical subtitles which were preferred. In this case, the retranslation was far from an improvement.

As we can see, paratexts about subtitling are not restricted to high-status cultural products; there is a body of editions of (largely Asian) cult film whose paratexts engage with the specific history of ‘Hong Kong’ and anime subtitling. These paratexts have the potential to increase awareness of translation issues among audiences, though we must also ask how much individual editions, however interesting, can create real change in popular perceptions of AVT in an era of streaming and downloading where paratextual opportunities for making translation more visible are fewer and further between. I have written elsewhere (O’Sullivan 2013) about the phenomenon of cult film releases which deliberately incorporate obsolete or inadequate previous subtitled versions. The 2007 Discotek Region 1 DVD release of Herman Yau’s *Ebola Syndrome* (1996) offers conventional English subtitles and “crazy Hong Kong subtitles”, accessed via the usual DVD menu. Wilson Yip’s *Bio Zombie* (1998, released on Region 1 DVD by Tokyo Shock in 2000) also offers a choice of English subtitles, although it does not make a feature of this on the cover of the DVD. The viewer can choose: Cantonese original dialogue, an English dub, Cantonese dialogue with English subtitles or Cantonese dialogue with ‘Engrish’ subtitles. The ‘Engrish’ subtitles are the original subtitles for an earlier Mei Ah DVD release. These two subtitle tracks diverge very extensively (see O’Sullivan 2013).

The intense viewer engagement which characterises the fanbase for Asian, and particularly Japanese, films can also be illustrated by an interesting paratextual feature on the

2005 Region 1 Animeigo release of *Incident at Blood Pass*, also known as *Machibuse*, which offers ‘Japanese with full subtitles’ and ‘Japanese with limited subtitles’. One might think that this involved a choice between denser/more detailed and, more sparing, subtitles, but on enquiry to Animeigo, it transpired that the ‘limited subtitles’ were headnotes translating cultural references, plus titles for in-vision verbal material, without any dialogue titles. The full subtitles included all of the above, plus dialogue titles. I was informed by the company that they have many viewers with enough

Japanese to enjoy listening to the dialogue, but not necessarily enough Japanese to read Japanese script in inserts and captions easily, or catch cultural references. They therefore included this feature on this and other DVDs to cater for the specific language knowledge and cultural interests of their target audience. Here it is clear that the increased visibility of AVT in film paratexts is not only a source of audience awareness of AVT but also a result of it.

Behind the Scenes

Dubbing has greater appeal as an observed process than subtitling; this may be one reason why dubbing appears in films themselves, as part of the plot, more often than subtitling (e.g. Denys Arcand's 1989 *Jesus of Montréal*). The process of dubbing in particular has considerable entertainment potential in itself. The DVD format, with its ceaseless search for new and improved extra features, offered an excellent opportunity for raising the visibility of dubbing. Paratexts for dubbing are aimed at both mainstream and more niche audiences. A successful and widely disseminated epitext of the 2013 Disney film *Frozen* was a video clip 'mash' of the song "Let It Go" sung in 25 of the 41-odd languages in which the film was localised.⁸ At the time of writing, the video has nearly 70 million views, suggesting that the appeal of this foregrounding of dubbing, and the different dubbing voices and languages, was very considerable.

Another example of a paratextual foregrounding of dubbing can be found in the "coulisses du doublage" (backstage at the dubbing studio) format. A good example can be found on the 2000 French Region 2 DVD edition of the Aardman Entertainment stop-motion animated feature *Chicken Run*. The DVD extra feature, "Les secrets du doublage des voix françaises",⁹ running just under 27 minutes, presents the filming of the dubbed version starring Gérard Dépardieu, Josiane Balasko and Valérie Mercier. This includes extensive footage from the filming of the voice-over and interviews with the actors. Much of this kind of epitextual material has now moved online and can be found on sites such as Allociné.

Conclusion

We have observed so far that 1) certain appealing affective aspects of AVT are being used as secondary ways of marketing audiovisual artefacts, 2) paratextual discussions of AVT are in particular used to market to a cult/geek and to a high-culture market and 3) the discourse of 'new and improved subtitles' to some extent reflects a more complete representation of source text dialogue in subtitles.

Clearly, the paratexts of films offer considerable scope for foregrounding AVT, but there are several ways in which this paratextual space also works against the visibility of film translation:

- 1) Translation is anonymous. Where no attribution is made to subtitler, laboratory, dubbing director, scriptwriter or actors, the impression is reinforced that AVT functions as a mere conduit, as opposed to a mediation and reframing of the audiovisual text.
- 2) Sometimes, paratexts actually seek to conceal the translated text. This is notably the case with trailers, as B. Ruby Rich has shown in a 2004 article (Rich 2004).
- 3) It is sometimes the case that translational phenomena are made available in the paratext, but not seen in translational or linguistic terms. An example is the inclusion of vintage translated credit sequences on the 2016 BFI Region B Blu-ray of Jean-Luc Godard’s 1964 feature *Bande à part*. As Casper Tybjerg (2004) has shown, credit sequences are part of the work of translation of a film. The BFI Blu-ray labels the extra feature as “*The Outsiders: Alternative Presentation of UK Theatrical Release Credits*”, which tends to situate this translational feature as part of an alternative cut, rather than an alternative language version. The same happens with the 2015 BFI DVD re-release of Roberto Rossellini’s *Journey to Italy*. The DVD includes as a bonus feature, “the alternative, Italian cut” of *Viaggio in Italia*, running at 83 minutes (the English-language version runs 100 minutes). Here, effectively, the user is presented with the option of watching a version of the film in Italian, but it is not presented as ‘the Italian version’.

The conflation of textual variance and translation is very understandable in re-releases of classic films, because very often the translation coincides with a restoration. Thus Michael Atkinson (1999), reviewing the Rialto re-release of *La grande illusion*, enthuses, “This living, breathing, 61-year-old experience is running in the most pristine version this nation’s ever seen. (That includes new subtitles, which clarify the puns and uncloak the frank sexual references.)” It does, however, risk obscuring the breadth of the role of AVT in the international circulation of films. Films are not only dubbed or subtitled but also recut, shortened and censored; their credit sequences or insert shots may be reshot for another language market; they may have additional credits for a subtitler or the cast and crew of a dubbed version. There is thus a risk that current representations of AVT offer a relatively restricted picture of what these processes entail and how they are intrinsic to the work of filmmaking and distribution.

Where paratexts do engage with translation, they may have the potential to increase awareness of translation issues among audiences, but it is also necessary to acknowledge the extent to which the paratexts of film disguise and de-emphasise AVT. The current intense activity by fans and amateurs in the area of AVT may spur a more critical awareness of the modalities of translation in film and help with the overall task of film “to produce insights

into the cultures and languages represented”, as Marie-Noëlle Guillot puts it (2012: 479), by helping to raise awareness of the ways in which those representations are inflected through translation.

Notes

- 1 After years of declining DVD sales (Sherwin 2010, Wallenstein 2016), in 2017, streaming sales overtook DVD sales for the first time (Sweney 2017).
- 2 Cornelia Klecker makes the point that this was not the first use of the term ‘paratexte’ by Genette; he had used it in 1979 in *Introduction à l'architexte*, but was unhappy with his definition of it. We can therefore consider his use of it in *Palimpsestes* to be the first use of the term in the sense in which it is now known.
- 3 Pezzotta includes under the heading of paratextual elements of film: title, director's name, opening and closing credits, dedications, distributors' logo, place of projection (at the time he wrote his article, home video was only taking off), posters, press advertisements, trailers, television channels and programming contexts and press books.
- 4 There are a number of interesting examples of ‘cartons de doublage’ or dubbing credits at www.objectif-cinema.com/blog-doublage/index.php/Cartons-de-doublage.
- 5 The film's webpage can be found here at time of writing: www.criterion.com/films/300-andrei-rublev.
- 6 I am grateful to Mr Borger for these and other materials relating to his translation of this film.
- 7 Extract from a review in the *New Republic* of 23 August 1999 by Stanley Kauffmann kindly provided by Lenny Borger.
- 8 At time of writing, the URL for the clip on YouTube is <https://youtu.be/OC83NA5tAGE> under the title “Disney's Frozen—‘Let It Go’ Multi-Language Full Sequence”.
- 9 Available at time of writing at www.youtube.com/watch?v=oKNzAj2QiWc.

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