



Media and Translation

An Interdisciplinary Approach

Edited by Dror Abend-David

Preface by Susan Bassnett



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Media and Translation: An Interdisciplinary Approach

Edited by

Dror Abend-David

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Editor's Note

Dror Abend-David, University of Florida

One of the most popular clips on YouTube features a technophobic monk who, sometime after the invention of the printing press, is struggling with a new gadget—a bound book rather than a scroll. This amusing clip draws a comparison between the manner in which the invention of the printing press revolutionized communications in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and the growing linguistic, social, and political effects that Media and New Media have over the dissemination and accessibility of information in the twenty-first century. It is a matter of opinion, for example, whether the recent WikiLeaks scandal and the publication of secret and classified information has a greater or a lesser effect on contemporary society than the publication of Martin Luther's translation of the Bible had in 1534 (and it is certainly met with a similar level of tolerance). In academia, fields and scholars who previously felt immune to developments in the media find—much like the monk in the aforementioned video clip—that they can no longer ignore them. Linguists find that the use of language (and translation) in the media affect oral and written forms of expression; sociologists find that media and access to media can affect social trends, hierarchies, and identities; and literary scholars are surprised to find out that even printed texts are a form of media, affected by the same financial, ideological and technical elements that are used to describe electronic media (but are continuously absorbed into Literary Studies). Even in Yiddish Studies, scholars have begun to look at the Yiddish Cinema, audio recordings, and the representation of Yiddish in contemporary media by Woody Allen, Alan Alda, Fran Drescher, and the Coen brothers.

Media and Translation Studies are two fields that never attempted to shield themselves from each other. But has the relation between Media and Translation (and the co-dependency of the two fields) been sufficiently explored? Many scholars feel that it has. A number of scholars who work in different areas of Media and Translation believe that we are now living in a “golden age” of research in this field. In the introduction to *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*, Jorge Díaz-Cintas writes:

The proper beginning of a real flurry of activity can be traced to the 1990—AVT's [Audiovisual Translation's] golden age. The field became the object of more systematic research from a translational perspective in educational, scholarly and professional circles ... we have been flooded with contributions on AVT and the true scholarly emergence of the field ... AVT seems to have finally come of age academically ... Gone are the days when scholars needed to start their papers with reference to the limited amount of research carried out in this field.

(Díaz-Cintas 2009: 3)

It is certainly true that over the last decade there has been a dramatic increase in publications on Media and Translation, whether one refers to this field as “Screen Translation,” “Film Translation,” “Multimedia Translation,” “Audiovisual Translation,” and so on. Some recent important publications in this field are Carol O'Sullivan's *Translating Popular Film* (2011), Cristina Schäffner and Susan Bassnett's *Political Discourse, Media and Translation* (2010), *Translation, Humour and Literature* by Delia Chiaro (2010), Michael Cronin's *Translation goes to the Movies* (2009), *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation* by Jorge Díaz-Cintas (2009), *Translation in Global News* (2009) by Esperança Bielsa and Susan Bassnett, Aline Remael's and Jorge Díaz Cintaz's *Audiovisual Translation, Subtitling* (2007), and *Cinema Babel: Translating Global Cinema* by Abé Markus Nornes (2007). Additionally, slightly older but rather important sources are *(Multi) Media Translation: Concepts, Practices, and Research* by Yves Gambier and Henrik Gottlieb (2001), Minako O'Hagan and David Ashworth's *Translation-Mediated Communication in a Digital World: Facing the Challenges of Globalization and Localization* (2002), and *Overcoming Language Barriers in Television Dubbing and Subtitling* by Georg-Michael Luyken et al (1991). Also published during this period are numerous conference proceedings and articles on various facets of Media and Translation, with dubbing and subtitling in the lead (particularly when the search word “translation” is omitted...).

In fact, I have been told by a number of people (particularly those who already published books in this area) that so much has been published in this field, that further publications might be superfluous. But whether or not what has been published so far constitutes a large body of research is relative to the view of Media and Translation as anything ranging from film and television drama to newscasting, commercials, video games, web pages, and electronic street signs. When considering such a wide perspective, it would seem that research in Media and Translation has barely scratched the surface. Naturally,

most publications consider only isolated facets of Media and Translation, and even general collections such as those of Schäffner and Bassnett, or Jorge Díaz-Cintas, concentrate (legitimately) on a limited variety of topics, constituting different definitions of “Media and Translation.” In a field that is situated largely (and not exclusively) between Communication and Translation studies, it is not uncommon that certain sources hardly mention the word “translation” at all, while others take a rather linguistic approach in analyzing visual texts. In fact, it is rare to see two articles in this field that refer to a similar body of knowledge. On the other hand, it is also rare (although it has certainly been done) that observations about Media and Translation are used to theorize about Translation Studies as a whole, and the changing “task” of the translator (and interpreter) at a time when translation (and translators) takes an increasingly greater and more central role in public media.

This collection of essays about media and translation is certainly not the first in this field, but it does come at a point when a need to merge theories in Translation and Communications Studies can be well served, as well as the need to create some guidelines and tools for a more collaborative research in this area. Like its predecessors, *Media and Translation—An Interdisciplinary Approach* does not cover the entire spectrum of Media and Translation. A number of important topics, while they are mentioned by the different authors in the collection, truly deserve to be addressed in unique chapters in the future. Such topics are: Media Interpreting, Subtitling and Interpreting for the Deaf, Internet Translation (on web sites such as Google, IKEA, and Wikipedia), Localization, Computer Game and Translation, and Computer Aided Translation. These are only some topics that can be further expanded upon. But this collection does not claim to present an exhaustive view of the field. It does attempt, however, to give the reader a sense of the vastness of the field, and of the need to explore what is not a familiar territory after all, but rather an entirely new theoretical continent.

To this end, *Media and Translation* does deliver on its promise to be heterogeneous and versatile (and in some ways volatile), incorporating different fields of studies, methodologies, and ideological stances. It goes without saying that the national background of the participants is diverse. They describe various texts and national phenomena from Belgium, China, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, South Africa, the Netherlands and the United States. But the perspectives that are provided by the authors' different disciplinary and occupational venues are even more fascinating. Film Studies and Film History expert Emilio Audissino

supplements and contextualizes the task and preoccupation of the media translator in relation with those of the film producer, distributor, and viewer. He combines theoretical issues with practical ones as they are manifested in different historical contexts, particularly in the Italian market. Alison Patterson and Dan Chyutin contribute their expertise in Film and Critical Cultural Studies to discuss the global and political facets of the cinema, and the different manners in which a film is “read” in different national contexts. They also raise a challenging question about translation: when can translation be superfluous, or even harmful, to the integrity of the audiovisual text? Are there parts of the original which should not be translated? A team of three Communications scholars, Tal Samuel-Azran, Amit Lavie-Dinur, and Yuval Karniel, contribute a glimpse of their fascinating research into news channels that broadcast simultaneously in various languages (such as BBC, CNN, France 24, and Al-Jazeera). As a special tribute to translation scholars, they provide a surprising outcome of their empirical research: the text can be translated “too well.” The translation can be overly precise, and pronounced so diligently (or, in TS scholars’ jargon, “foreignized”), that the source of the text might present itself and be the subject of adverse reaction by a suspicious audience in the context of what Communications scholars refer to as a “hostile media perception.” But perhaps the most impressive interdisciplinary collaboration in this collection is that of Aline Remael, Luuk Van Waes, and Mariëlle Leijten. The three scholars combine their expertise in Audiovisual Translation, Business and Technical Communications, and Communications and New Media to explore an entire industry, as they discuss the technical, professional, industrial, and social aspects of live subtitling with speech recognition. Their project, which is at once innovative, rigorous, and extensive, is a compelling demonstration of what can be achieved through a collaborative approach to Media and translation.

But there are additional disciplines that play a role in this collection. Scholars of Media and Translation are by definition interdisciplinary scholars. However, many of the scholars in this collection wear more than two hats, sometimes juggling three or four areas of expertise with impressive confidence. The discussion in *Media and Translation* involves Translation, Communications, and film studies as well as Linguistics and Social Linguistics (Heiss, Li Pan, Cui, and Zhao), Literary Theory (Raine and Heller), Cultural Studies and Children Literature (Heller), Humor Studies (Chiaro), New Media (Bucaria) and Psychology, Marketing, and Advertising (Cui and Zhao). When one takes into account that each translation scholar is an expert in at least two languages

and cultures, one can sense the complexity of the discussion, when the preparation of subtitles for a talk-show in Belgium is hardly the same issue as the translation of a children's book in Israel or of an advertisement in a newspaper in China. This is a vast area of study geographically, methodologically, and intellectually. Our purpose, however, is to find out what methods and information can be shared between different scholars of Media and Translation—not with the impossible goal (thank god) of creating a uniform practice—but rather of helping each scholar in pursuing his/her own interest.

Our success, however, in being “truly interdisciplinary” did present a number of serious challenges and concerns during the process of editing. Even among the Translation Scholars in this collection, some come from Social Studies, and some from the Humanities; some perform empirical, some perform quantitative, and some perform non-empirical or qualitative research. Some use many examples; some are abstract; and some use professional jargon that had to be “translated” (at least in part) for the sake of readers from other disciplines. This required a great deal of patience and tolerance on everyone's part, and certainly on my own. The prevailing wisdom is that a collection of essays should display intellectual unity, with the editor at the helm as the purveyor of academic leadership. But with the diversity that this collection presents, it was not only impossible to achieve intellectual unity—it would have also undercut the initial premise of the project, of creating an interdisciplinary collection. The participants in this collection did agree to provide explanations in their work of terms and theoretical models that are discipline specific, and to append glossaries of some of the key terms in their work, once it was explained that such measures were not taken (only) for the sake of a general audience, but rather to enable experts in related fields to read and respond to their work. It goes without saying, of course, that all the authors agreed to follow a single reference system and style-guide. But I felt that, even if we were so inclined, it would be impossible for such a diverse group of scholars to speak in one voice.

My personal rationalization (and I hope that the reader will be amenable to rationalizing along) involves the reexamination of two concepts: the first is the term “interdisciplinary.” Much like other terms (such as Post-Modernism, Post-Colonialism or Critical Thought), it has been used so often in the past three decades that some of its original meaning might have been lost. And while this term is used lightly by some scholars, I believe that truly interdisciplinary work demands the exasperation, the (hopefully) temporary lack of comprehension, and the occasional hair pulling and ardent disagreement that I felt at some

points during the editing process. I came to see this as a positive, or at least necessary, part of a fruitful academic exchange.

The second concept is the “task of the editor.” While the chapters in a collection must be well matched, complement each other’s research and speak to a well-defined area of discussion, I do feel that a sense of “intellectual unity” can be taken too far. My opinion is that my task as an editor is to provide the best tools to enable the authors to say what they wish to say, rather than to tell them what their message should be. I was adamant in places where I felt that arguments and models were not consistent, or where jargon inhibited rather than facilitated understanding. Similar tasks could involve asking for further references or asking for clarifications. But my purpose has been to assist in presenting the authors’ views rather than my own. The latter is reserved for my own books and articles. I do, however, allow myself some room for expression in the “Introductory Notes” that precede each section. In addition, the reader will find that there is quite a plurality of opinions in the following pages and a wide scholarly, professional, and political perspective. There are also some cross-references between the authors, and some acquaintances were made during the work on this collection. In short, the careful reader will find that between the dispassionate and scholarly lines of *Media and Translation* lurks a rather passionate drama. One might ask, therefore, if this comes at the expense of intellectual unity in the collection. I would say that it does. But unity, in my humble opinion, is overrated.

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Preface

Susan Bassnett
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Periods of great social change are always reflected in epistemological shifts, though often people living through such times cannot always see or understand the changing signs around them. With hindsight, though, patterns can be discerned, connections can be made, and the invisible threads of the cultural tapestry can be traced. Matthew Arnold, in his inaugural lecture at Oxford in 1857 advised that “everywhere there is connection,” pointing out that no single event, nor any single literature, can be adequately understood without reference to other events and to other literatures (Arnold in Bassnett 1993: 1). Arnold’s argument was ahead of its time, for what he recognized was the connection between cultural production and cultural contexts. Today, for example, when we look back at the period we have termed the Renaissance, we can see all kinds of interconnected sign systems that must have been largely invisible to those living at that time. We can see how political events were inextricably tied to changes in religious belief, how scientific discoveries such as the invention of printing and the revelation of the Copernican universe had a huge impact on both politics and religion, how the European and Asian voyages of discovery, which were driven by economic factors altered human relations on a global scale, and we can see the impact of all these changes on cultural production, on painting, writing, architecture, music and literature.

In the future, students who look back on the twentieth and twenty-first centuries will be able to read sets of signs that we struggle to recognize or to read clearly, enmeshed as we are in them. Those students will look back at the most violent age in the history of humankind, when millions perished in wars or extermination camps, when technological advances produced ever more lethal weapons of mass destruction, but they will also see other technological advances that have led to the highest ever standard of living in some parts of the world, and to unprecedented changes in communication systems, enabling more millions to move around the planet than at any other time in

history. That mass movement of peoples, combined with the expansion of the Internet is already, as I write, challenging the assumptions we have inherited about belonging to a particular state or culture that have held sway for several centuries. What it means to be a citizen of a global world is a question yet to be answered. One thing we can begin to recognize though, is that a prime mover in this global world is translation between languages, media, cultures, and ideologies. The comparative literature scholar, Bella Brodzki, points out that translations are texts that reflect changing socio-political contexts, because translation is a phenomenon that underpins all kinds of cultural translations. Brodzki argues that just as gender has now become fundamental to all cultural analysis, so the same consideration should be given to translation:

Just as it has become impossible, for example, to explore authorship, agency, subjectivity, performativity, multiculturalism, postcolonialism, transnationalism, diasporic literacy, and technological literacy without considering the impact of gender as an intersecting category of analysis, so should it be inconceivable to overlook translation's integral role in every discursive field. (Brodzki 2007: 2)

These are big claims for translation, and for the moment, translation is still not given the recognition it deserves as a global shaping force in communication. But undoubtedly, the students of the future, looking back on our age, will recognize exactly how important translation became in the decades following the end of the Second World War. Moreover, from the first failed attempts to use computers to translate instantaneously during the Cold War period, translation technology has increased in sophistication to the point where today we can all click onto a chosen website and change language with the touch of key. Whether we recognize its significance or not, translation flows through our daily lives, affecting what we eat, what we read, or what we buy; the 24-hour breaking news that we now demand comes to us often via highly complex processes of interlingual and intersemiotic translation. Even if we consider ourselves to be monolingual, we are caught up in different patterns of translation. Brodzki suggests that the time has come for translation to be recognized as having an integral role in all discursive fields. This is a position that highlights the importance of translation in everyone's lives, and if followed through to its logical conclusion would lead to translation in the broadest sense of that term being seen as a vital field of study around the world. For Brodzki's conception of translation refers not only to the transfer of texts across linguistic and

cultural boundaries; it encompasses what Roman Jakobson termed interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic translation, fused together with contemporary concepts of cultural translation, wherein the very term “translation” is used both literally and metaphorically (Jakobson 1992). We have moved a long way from the old erroneous assumption that translation is merely the transfer of a text in one language directly into another, and that it is a simple activity that can be undertaken by anyone with a minimal acquaintance of two languages and a large dictionary. Translation, on the contrary, is a highly sophisticated, complex textual practice.

In his visionary book, published as far back as 1962, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, Marshall McLuhan drew parallels between the technological revolution of the twentieth century and the revolution during the Renaissance caused by the invention of the printing press. He would no doubt be amused to read some of the contemporary anxieties expressed about the power of the Internet, which are couched in terms reminiscent of the anxieties expressed about the impact of printing. For our Renaissance ancestors feared that the spread of printing would not only foment dissenting religious or political views, but would destroy the highly prized art of memorizing. Looking back with the hindsight accrued over several centuries, today we perceive printing as a positive step forward, since it provided a means of ensuring mass communication and mass education, which we consider desirable. The idea that there could have been anxiety about the spread of the book strikes twenty-first century minds as bizarre.

But there are now other fears being voiced about our own technological innovations, fears that electronic media will destroy the book; that reading will die out; that the Internet is becoming a gigantic tool used by criminals, terrorists, and pornographers. Long before the Internet was developed, McLuhan argued that such fears are an inevitable aspect of major shifts of perception. He pointed out that the invention of the alphabet was another huge shift, in that it translated (interestingly, he uses this term) oral speech which involved all the senses into a visual code. The invention of the alphabet was “the translation or reduction of a complex, organic interplay of spaces into a single space” (McLuhan 1962: 45). Later, printing translated knowledge onto the page, and today new modes of translation continue to shape our consciousness. McLuhan was arguing from a different starting point to Bella Brodzki, but both underline the need for translation to be recognized as significant, since it plays such a key role in today’s multilingual, multifaceted world of global communications.

Recognition of the importance of translation is a relatively recent phenomenon. The field of study known as Translation Studies began to emerge in the 1970s, then developed rapidly in the 1990s, the decade that saw the greatest mass movement in history of people around the planet. The end of the Cold War following the collapse of Soviet communism, combined with the opening of China to the rest of the world meant that millions more people began to travel outside their own countries. In addition, millions fled from poverty, wars, and famine, so that the 1990s can be said to be the decade of global mass migration, a phenomenon that has continued into the twenty-first century. As people travel, they bring their languages and cultural baggage with them, and as they encounter other languages and cultures, so cross-fertilization occurs. This process of cultural interchange is not always easy or straightforward, but it is undeniable. Theorizing this phenomenon, Homi Bhabha has argued that this mass movement of peoples has resulted in “a new international space of discontinuous historical realities,” which he sees as a migrant or nomadic space where identities can be reshaped in new ways (Bhabha 1994: 217). In a time of great change and unprecedented movement, translation plays a central role, whether acknowledged or not. The task of scholars is then to try and map the discontinuities though, as noted already, producing such a map will most likely be the task of the next generation.

Translation Studies has made some progress, however, and today the field can be said to have expanded beyond all the earlier expectations (Bassnett 2014). There are now many varieties of research loosely categorized under that subject heading, in fields that include not only literary and language studies, but also sociology, ethnography, corpus linguistics, communication studies, media studies, film studies, translation technology—the list is growing all the time. Moreover, much of this research is transdisciplinary, so that Translation Studies has become a field that is emblematic of the breaking down of the old disciplinary boundaries that were still in place until not very long ago. Significantly, many of the new fields that emerged at the same time as Translation Studies, including Film and Media Studies, Cultural Studies, Communication Studies, and Gender Studies are also all transdisciplinary fields. Students looking back on the last decades of the twentieth century and the first decades of the twenty-first will note that the boundaries between disciplines that had stood firmly for decades had begun to dissolve. A changing world demands new methods of analysis and invites new perspectives.

The essays collected in this volume exemplify this new trend of trans- or interdisciplinary research. Under the general heading of “media and translation,” we

find a wide range of approaches, some identifying themselves within the field of Translation Studies, others approaching translation in their own very different ways. In his introduction to the collection, Dror Abend-David acknowledges that such diversity could be criticized for a lack of what he calls “intellectual unity,” but justifies this by rejecting the desirability of a unified approach. In this respect, he is surely right, since what characterizes innovative work is a plethora of diverse voices all speaking in their own tongues. So this volume brings together research into various aspects of film translation, both subtitling and dubbing, with research into global news translation, humor systems across cultures, international advertising, and Internet sites, in a series of essays written by scholars in Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Inevitably there is a diversity of views and a diversity of approaches, but this diversity is what captures the reader’s attention.

In this global age, given that diversity, it is vital to ensure dialogue between research fields as much as between individual scholars and between broader cultural groups. The complexity of new systems of communication demands new approaches and new methods of analysis. This collection of essays offers readers a sense of the variety of work being undertaken around the world in the broad field of media and translation and, as the editor suggests in his introduction, shows that we are moving away from familiar territory to begin the exciting task of exploring a vast new theoretical continent. One can only speculate as to what scholars of the future will see when they look back at this age of ours, but books such as this will certainly aid them in their understanding of how we sought to make sense of rapidly changing paradigms.

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Part One

Film Translation and Adaptation

An introductory note

The first part in this collection features three different chapters. The topic of film translation and adaptation is the first that comes to mind when discussing media and translation, and probably one of the two topics (along with subtitling and dubbing) that receive most of the scholarly attention in this field. Films speak in many voices, registers, tones, and even different languages and dialects. This complexity is a part of the discussion in each of the three chapters in this part. However, this is done in different ways and from different perspectives.

Perhaps the two best matched chapters in this collection are those of Christine Heiss, and Patrick Zabalbeascoa and Elena Voellmer. The two chapters address the same topic: multilingual (or L3) film translation (a topic that is mentioned again by Emilio Audissino in Chapter 5 with reference to these authors). They also share references, among others, to two films: *Almanya* (Yasemin Samdereli 2011) and *Inglourious Basterds* (Quentin Tarantino 2009). And yet, the two chapters are radically different from each other. Heiss's terminology is taken from the field of sociolinguistics, and she sees multilingual films and their translated versions as reflections, if not agents, of social and political processes of immigration, ethnic identity and the formation (and development) of a national culture. Her work teaches us a great deal about film translation, the German and Italian cinema, and the ways in which linguistic developments are related to recent changes in German society. Her approach, if not prescriptive, certainly opens the way to a heated political and ethical debate—particularly in relation to current demographic changes in Central Europe. Zabalbeascoa and Voellmer's chapter, on the other hand, is deliberately descriptive. As they write in their abstract, their "aim is not to evaluate" various translations, but rather to offer a theoretical model that would consider almost any possible

form of multilingual translation. Their impressive work reveals the complexity of the situations that the translator of a multilingual film might face. A film might contain more than two or even three languages. Some languages can be used to a great extent or only briefly during the film. And the significance of using a certain language might or might not be proportional to the amount of time during which it is represented in the film. To complicate matters, there are also dialects, accents, native, and non-native speech, all of which are important—sometimes essential—for the understanding of the plot. Thus, while one chapter underscores the social significance of multilingual translation, the other describes the complexity of this phenomenon and offers theoretical tools for further discussion.

Zoë Pettit's chapter takes the discussion out of the realm of mainstream European and North-American Media. Speaking of the South-African cinema, Pettit addresses the challenge to the receptiveness and curiosity of viewers in France, the United Kingdom, and the United States when faced, not only with South-African English, but also with Afrikaans and Tsotsitaal. Particularly in films that explore "questions surrounding a sense of belonging and personal identity in post-apartheid South Africa," to what extent does the translation of the film allow the viewers to understand the complexity of a life that is very different from their own? And what are the differences between the ways in which these difficulties are handled in different countries? And at the same time, Pettit considers the technical challenges faced by the audiovisual translator, whose task "is a delicate balancing act," contending "with a complex and dynamic semiotic text."

Multilingual Films and Integration? What Role Does Film Translation Play?¹

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1. Multilingual films in an increasingly multilingual social reality

A fact sheet on cultural expression published by UNESCO's Institute for Statistics (UIS) offers an excellent description of my objectives in this chapter, among which is the examination of translation of multilingual films for a culture with a different dominant (foreign) language and for a different primary (target) culture:

Multilingual films are another measure of linguistic diversity in film production and consumption. A multilingual film is defined as a domestic production that uses several languages, which may include a foreign language. Their prevalence may be a reflection of cultural change. (UIS Fact Sheet February 2012)

The phrase "linguistic diversity" appears useful, in this context, to point to an entire spectrum of intra- and interlingual forms that, depending on your perspective, are perceived as diverse forms of language use in reality and which are rendered in films (depending on their genre) as more or less stylized, that is, having an iconic function, wherein they become models of speech. During the last five or six decades, the mobility of many population groups and classes has steadily grown in various industrial countries, creating, in turn, manifold multi-ethnic and multilingual realities, ranging from parallel societies to ones that are well integrated (but which may also be concomitant with the loss of cultural identity). In various countries, increasing multilingualism stands in the face of a variety of political measures concerning language and translation

¹ Translated from German by Staci von Boeckmann.

(cf. Meylaerts 2011: 744ff.). In the field of film production as well, socio-political transformations in increasingly multi-ethnic and multilingual societies of industrial nations are taken up thematically, for they provide rich material, whether they are dealt with in dramatic narratives or in a plethora of more or less cliché-driven comedies.

In immigration countries, various combinations of national languages and the languages of ethnic minorities are the subjects of different levels of acceptance and focus. In Germany, under the influence of its very large and relatively homogeneous population of Turkish immigrants, a *lingua franca* of mixed languages has evolved (see Kallmeyer and Keim, 2004; Moraldo, 2007). In stylized form, this *lingua franca* lends vivacity to film dialogues and, at the same time, reflects social reality in an authentic manner. Here, the mode of filmic representation is central to the role played by the respective “foreign” culture and language, as well as for what film makers might be able to demand from their viewers (which might depend upon the production and genre).

A number of questions arise in this context: what linguistic space and what form are attributed to the “foreign” culture? Is there only “foreign talk”, easily understood by a more or less broad public speaking the dominant language and belonging to the *Leitkultur* [dominant culture], to use a hotly-debated term within the discussions surrounding the integration of migrants in Germany? Does code-mixing or code-switching take place and, if so, to what degree? Does the film contain entire passages of dialogue in a foreign language? Are these passages, in turn, presented with an element of varieties and variants in order to adequately represent intra-linguistic cultural individuality and identity? Does the target audience of the *Leitkultur* and dominant language have comprehension aids, such as subtitles, or is the film’s intention to confront the target audience with “foreignness” without the cushion of such aids?² Finally, in terms of translation theory,³ can we recognize intentional effects in the modes of language use of these film productions—in other words, what function is the film intended to serve in its culture of origin?

Moreover, what happens when the film is dubbed for distribution in another country where other ethnic groups reside whose social reality is markedly different from that of the migrant group depicted in the film? This poses new and quite distinct challenges to the film translation industry.

² See Heiss (2004) for detailed examples of dialogues.

³ For more on *skopos* and function, see Vermeer’s theory in Stolze (2003: 141)

With dubbing and subtitling practices, films have long been able to move between cultural contexts. However, the emergence of multilingual films offers a different approach, namely incorporating the contemporary context of cultural exchange, characterized by cross-border flows of people, commodities and culture, into the story-world of the film (UIS Information Bulletin No. 8, forthcoming; cited in <http://www.uis.unesco.org/culture/Documents/fs17-2012-linguistic-diversity-film-en5.pdf>, accessed November 16, 2012).

But before I can turn to the manner in which the dubbing process depicts the transfer of cultural exchange in multilingual films, I need to take a moment to briefly trace the development of multilingual film production in German-speaking countries (mainly in Germany and, to a lesser extent, in Switzerland and Austria). This development has been brought about by the emergence of an increasingly plurilingual, multi-ethnic society. Film production in these countries has, chiefly in the last three decades, undergone a significant process of what might best be called the “emancipation” of a particular migrant group, namely Turkish immigrants and their second- and third-generation descendants.

After a brief overview of the spectrum of language use in German-language film, in which regional varieties play a significant role, I will turn to a discussion of both the general issues and problems of dubbing multilingual films, as well as the effect of omitting comprehension aids in the original versions of various multilingual films. Finally, I will discuss the extent to which the cultural contact found in the original production can be sustained in the dubbed film, as commercial interests might lead in the direction of simplification and cultural homogeneity. My discussion centers chiefly around films dubbed from German to Italian.

I will not concern myself, here, with the problematic of intersemiotic multilingualism for a visually or hearing-impaired target audience. Undoubtedly, however, other forms of film translation, such as audio description, audible subtitles (see Orero 2011), and voice over, represent great potential as a means by which foreignness or otherness in multilingual films, in particular, could be signaled.

1.1 Co-productions after WWII—the particular case of Switzerland

Contact between various (linguistic) cultures taking place in films with the aid of (linguistically foreign or alienating) interjections can be found in film history since the beginning of “talkies.” In German-language film productions, the use of regional variations and varieties plays a major role. Their use is also

dependent on the film genre. After WWII, the well-loved German and Austrian *Heimat* films of the 1950s often reflect a colorful mixture of Alpine dialects and accents spanning across the entire spectrum, albeit in diluted form, to preserve comprehensibility for a broader audience in other regions and without consideration for geographical plausibility. Thus the illusion of a monolingual regional Alpine variant, which never really existed, is cultivated.

In Switzerland, where German, French, Italian, and Rhaeto-Romansch are spoken, the problem of film translation existed from the very start, particularly for television productions where translation took the form of subtitles (cf. Pignataro 2000). French, Italian, and Rhaeto-Romansch could be integrated into film production as quasi-monolingual subunits, while *Schweizerdeutsch*, the national variant of German, required subtitling for export to other German-speaking countries. This already rather complex situation of multilingual filmic dialogues (which could, of course, be further differentiated at the diatopic and diastratic level) embodying the country's politico-linguistic reality was made more complex by the flood of (labor) immigrants from other countries and made even more so by the addition of English film productions (see <http://www.uis.unesco.org/culture/Documents/fs17-2012-linguistic-diversity-film-en5.pdf> accessed November 16, 2001).

During the "economic transformation" of Germany in the 1950s and 1960s, the flood of "guest workers" from southern Europe brought about a transformation of the monolingual (standard) linguistic landscape, which was quickly reflected in film production (for example in *Angst essen Seele auf* (1974) by Rainer Werner Fassbinder). Significant socio-historical events such as the labor recruitment agreement between Germany and Turkey in 1961 or the flood of refugees in the wake of the Balkan wars, led to the development of (multi-)ethnic neighborhoods, especially in major cities, where new ethnic variants (*Kanak Sprak*) developed, particularly in Germany (Androtsoupoulos 1998, 2001).

2. Globalization and multi-ethnicity in German-language film production in the 1990s

The 1990s were marked by a noticeable growth, particularly in Germany, in the number of social dramas and comedies with the theme of multicultural conflict. In the context of a transforming society, the use of language and forms of linguistic representation became increasingly more complex and differentiated.

Protagonists with migration backgrounds are no longer characterized through grammatically or phonetically incorrect speech, but rather through entire passages of dialogue in their respective language, subtitled for the audience (Heiss 2004, 2010).

Since language represents a central element of cultural identity (Roth 2009: 289), it follows that film productions addressing a new social reality would place particular emphasis on the linguistic representation of their characters.

In this regard, one can notice the development of two opposing tendencies that characterize German film production in the age of globalization. On the one hand, there is a growing awareness of regional and ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences, even in film and television productions aimed at a mass audience. On the other hand, foreign-language dialogues and speech are not always presented in a consistent manner. One example for this tendency is the German series *Tatort*, which began in 1970 and still enjoys considerable commercial success in Germany, as well as in Austria and Switzerland. This series is characterized by strong regional settings and regional dialects. During the last 20 years, the viewers of this series have been confronted with numerous episodes of the series that include foreign-language dialogues and speech by minority groups, including Chinese, Russian, Turkish, Albanian, and Serbian. These instances are sometimes subtitled, sometimes explained through dialogue sequences, and sometimes left untranslated as a means of alienation.⁴

2.1 The cliché of “foreign talk”

The cliché of “foreign talk” has always been a favorite means of parodic character representation in comedy. Social drama, by contrast, holds greater potential for the representation of conflict. Dubbing a film that instrumentalizes “foreign talk” is not commonly seen as problematic, since similar strategies can be developed in the target language to accommodate this. Incorrect syntax, pronunciation, inadequate lexical use, and so on, can be reproduced in all languages with little difficulty (see Heiss 2010). Foreign accents also exhibit certain patterns that call up clichéd representations. Dubbing, however, might be rather complicated in this instance. Does an Albanian accent, for example, affect an Italian viewer the same way a Turkish accent would a German viewer?

⁴ For more on the confrontation of the viewer with incomprehensible language in film as a means for producing an effect of alienation see Heiss (2004).

There are further challenges. What happens when the second or third generation of an immigrant group develops its own (typical) speech,⁵ as is the case of the Turkish immigrant community in Germany? And is this speech employed as a central tool of character representation in driving the plot of the film? What possibilities are there for translating, or (at least in part) signaling, divergent speech typical of a certain social group?

2.2 From first-generation Turkish-German to tertiary ethnolect⁶—a challenge for dubbing?

Beginning in the 1990s, Turkish immigrants play an increasingly central role in German film, a role one can rather quickly identify as an emancipation of both linguistic characterization and the process of production. Early on, films began to expand or even replace the “foreign talk” of first-generation Turkish immigrants with the colloquial speech of second- and third-generation Turkish descendants, speech specific to their social group and which fosters the group’s cultural identity. This identity is marked by the so-called *Kanak Sprak*, a phenomenon which has captured the attention of both linguists and sociologists (Androutsopoulos 2001; Dürscheid 2003; Moraldo 2007). Later, in 2004, when German-Turkish director Fatih Akin was awarded the *Golden Bear* in Berlin for *Gegen die Wand* [Against the Wall, English Title *Head-On*], a broader film-viewing public recognized just how enriching to “German language” multi-ethnicity and multilingualism could be.

The successful television fictional series *Türkisch für Anfänger* [Turkish for Beginners] (2006–8, by Turkish-German director, Bora Dağtekin, broadcast by the German television network *ARD*) makes use of this new linguistic and cultural diversity, and the inherently comic potential of different styles of speech and linguistic nuances. In this manner, second- and third-generation ethnolect enters the living rooms of the average German citizen. In Italy, the series has run since 2007 as *Kebab for Breakfast* on *MTV*. Although the series targets a broad audience, it represents an extremely complex linguistic situation. The protagonists, who have an immigrant background,⁷ switch effortlessly

⁵ For more on the notion of tertiary ethnolect, see Dürscheid (2003: 335ff.). For more on the linguistic characteristics of Turkish-German, see Androutsopoulos (2001). For more on the problem of translating ethnolects see Salmon Kovarski (2000).

⁶ For more on the notion of tertiary ethnolect, see Dürscheid (2003: 335ff.).

⁷ On the term “Turkish-German” as a collective reference to a form of speech used by other, non-Turkish minorities in Germany, see Androutsopoulos (2001: 321ff.).

between Turkish, the Turkish-German of the adolescent generation (*Kanak Sprak*), and standard German. The comic and entertainment values of the production are based largely on the alternations between these different forms of speech. Although I am mainly referring to characters with Turkish immigrant backgrounds, this does not mean that *Kanak Sprak* is spoken only by youth with a Turkish background. In the series (and in reality too) it is spoken, as well, by adolescents from other ethnic minorities (in most cases the “newer” immigrants from southern countries), serving to foster group identity and create a sense of belonging, and even to set them apart from other groups. Typical speech patterns of *Kanak Sprak* have been stylized in the media, creating a model which sometimes influences everyday linguistic reality, and contributes to a process of incorporation of elements of tertiary ethnolects in native-German adolescent speech (Dürscheid 2003: 335ff.).

2.2.1 Tertiary ethnolect as a translation challenge

In the following scene from *Türkisch für Anfänger*, the native-German speaker Lena imitates the *Kanak* pronunciation of her Turkish-German stepbrother, Cem:

Lena: Cem hat vor allem so **nisch** die Sprache, in der man mit Lena spricht, **ey**.
[*Lena:* Cem just don't speak Lena's language, eh.]

In the Italian version, *Kebab for Breakfast*, the same utterance appears as:

Lena: Fratello Cem, sintonizzati sulla mia frequenza se vuoi parlare con me.

Lena uses three language variants to signal Cem's linguistic difference: the pronunciation of /ch/ as /sch/, deviant prosody, and a tag at the end of the sentence typical of adolescent speech. Prosody, above all, and the pronunciation of individual sounds serve to characterize the stepbrother's speech and are, ultimately, the source of humor.

Because no tertiary ethnolect has yet developed in Italy (see Vietti 2009) and, as with dialects and regiolects, the utility for synchronization of such linguistic phenomena is questionable in any case, the Italian dubbing industry is faced with an impossible task. In the Italian version, Lena's joke is reduced to the mocking of adolescent speech (signaled by the use of the Italian *fratello* as an appellative and by word choice), leaving out the other components of the original German dialogue. The translator avoids completely the challenge of tertiary ethnolect, flattening and erasing the difference between speech patterns

in the scene in a manner that is far from rare in Italian dubbing (for further examples, see Heiss 2010). Cem replies to Lena in standard German:

Cem: Dann sag ich's auf Hochdeutsch. Ziehen Sie sich ordentlich an, Fräulein Schneider, sonst wird Onkel Öztürk sauer. Schönen Tag noch!

[*Cem:* Then let me say it in standard German: Put on some proper clothing, Miss Schneider, or Uncle Öztürk is going to be upset. Have a nice day!]

And in Italian:

Cem: Cercherò di essere chiaro. Datti un contegno signorina Schneider, o scateni l'ira dello zio Öztürk. I miei saluti.

That Cem retorts in perfect standard German illustrates the sizeable linguistic transformations that have taken place in the Turkish immigrant population in Germany since the 1990s. Second- and third-generation Turkish-Germans speak an ethnolect, but have likewise mastered standard German—as well as Turkish. In addition, the role of Cem is not played by an actor of Turkish descent, but by Elyas M'Barek, an actor native to Munich with a Tunisian father. This demonstrates, of course, that we are dealing here with the fictional representation of di- or triglossia, which, while it occurs in real life, is not common.⁸

2.3 Adolescent speech and tertiary ethnolect: Marginalizing or integrative?

As I mention above, over the past decade a mix of tertiary ethnolect and adolescent speech has entered the colloquial speech of native-German adolescents without an immigration background (Dürscheid 2003). This phenomenon can be attributed in its entirety to its stylization in the media (Androutsopoulos 2001). The characteristics of this speech “variant” can be found to some extent in genres of music targeted at adolescent audiences, such as rap and hip hop. Such lyrics increasingly include Turkish words, as well as Arabic, Serbian, and Croatian (see <http://jetzt.sueddeutsche.de/texte/anzeigen/562990/Der-neue-Slang>, accessed on March 5, 2013). Cabaret artists and comedians with immigrant backgrounds skillfully integrate the comic potential inherent in the switch between standard German, regional German

⁸ Artists and cultural figures, such as cabaret artist Django Asül, consistently incorporate this tri- or diglossia as a means of fostering integration.

variants and Turkish-German into their routines, and this phenomenon is extended to entertainers from non-immigrant background as well. And, in addition to numerous highly popular comedians of Turkish descent such as Django Asül, Bülent Ceylan, or Kaya Yanar, German comedians like the duo Stefan and Erkan exploit Turkish-German to comic effect (e.g. in the German version of *Finding Nemo* (2003) for the voice of the malevolent shark). Comedians with immigrant backgrounds from countries other than Turkey, such as Abdelkarmin, of Moroccan descent, have also employed parodic differentiation vis-à-vis members of other immigrant groups for comic effect. The object of satire, then, becomes phonetic deviations from standard German other than those of stylized Turkish-German. Such phonetic deviations can be characteristic, for example, of East European accents,⁹ which are placed lower on the hierarchy of immigrant speech. However, certain accents specific to such speech can also take on positive associations and even become esteemed. This can be best illustrated by the popularity in Germany of the author and satirist, Vladimir Kaminer of Russian descent.

The combination of adolescent speech and Turkish-German serves in other comic situations to positively characterize their protagonists. One example for this phenomenon is the successful comedy, *Soul Kitchen* (Fatih Akin 2009). In this comedy, the character of Greek descent (played by German actor Moritz Bleibtreu) skillfully employs several of the linguistic characteristics of tertiary ethnolect that have meanwhile attained cult status. The film confounds the phonetic idiosyncrasies of different ethnic groups (Greek speakers of German generally have difficulty with different phonetic sounds from Turkish) and tertiary ethnolect serves a unifying function. In the social drama *Ghettokids—Brüder ohne Heimat* [Brothers without a Homeland] (Christian Wagner 2002), by contrast, we see phonetic characteristics and idiosyncratic forms of speech that have not been stylized. Played by adolescent, non-professional actors, the film's protagonists come from Turkish-speaking minority in Greece. They live now in Munich's social flashpoint, *Hasenbergl*, and repeatedly get caught up in feuds between gangs of different ethnicity.

⁹ East European immigrants represent a large group, above all, Russian-Germans, whose numbers increased in the wake of new laws put in place by the Kohl administration in the 1990s.

2.3.1 Tertiary ethnolect as a vehicle of acceptance in the series, *Türkisch für Anfänger*

In the German-Turkish step-family of the series *Türkisch für Anfänger*, Cem, rejected initially by his new stepsister, Lena, as a Turkish *Kanake*, wins her love when she listens to him telling a German fairytale to children in the hospital:¹⁰

Cem: Was labert ihr für'n Müll! Der Wolf, Alter, der Wolf kommt. Red Cap, so voll deutsch, kreischt rum, Hilfe, Hilfe, ich werde vergewalt ... äh geärgert! Und der Wolf so: Ey, Tussi, ich chill hier nur ab und du fährst voll rum. Der Wolf findet die Kleine nämlich ganz süß. Aber Red Cap läuft davon und der Wolf steht da und denkt sich: Oh Mann, ey, die mag mich gar nicht.

[*Cem:* What are y'all on about! The wolf, man, the wolf's coming. Little Red Riding Hood, is like totally German and all, runnin' around "Help, help, I'm being ra...uh, messed with!" And the wolf is all: "Hey, girl, I'm just chillin' here and you're totally freaking out." He thinks she's kinda cute, you know, but Little Red Riding Hood runs off and the wolf just stands there thinking, "Oh, man, she doesn't dig me at all."]

Cem's version of the fairytale contains numerous elements of adolescent speech in combination with stylized Turkish-German prosody and pronunciation. At the lexical level, for example, there are *Müll labern* [talk trash] and the German Anglicism *abchillen*. Twice we see the use of *voll* [totally] as an intensifier, while *ey* (as we saw in an earlier example) is placed after the expletive *oh Mann* at the beginning of the sentence. *Alter* [old man] as exclamation and form of address is directed at the children themselves. *So* [like] also appears as an intensifier together with *voll* [totally] to introduce direct speech. The array of linguistic creativity in Cem's narrative is well-received not only by the children, but also by Lena herself, who falls in love with him in this episode.

The same scene appears in the Italian version as follows:

Cem: Ah, che cosa c'entra il principe! Il lupo, ragazzi, arriva il lupo. Red Cap, che è tedesca, comincia a strillare "aiuto, aiuto! Il lupo mi vuole violent ... mi vuole mangiare!" E il lupo allora: "Hey cocca, io andavo per i fatti miei e tu mi sei venuta a sbattere addosso." Il lupo la trovava molto carina.

The Italian translation lacks not only the extremely charming quality and effect of the German-Turkish in the original, but nearly every element of adolescent

¹⁰ For a longer discussion of this scene, see Heiss (2010), Casalena (2009).

speech. *Alter* is translated as the expressionless *ragazzi*, and the intensifier *voll* is omitted altogether, losing both intention and comic effect entirely, as we see in the translation of *so voll deutsch* as *che è tedesca*. The translation of *Ey, Tussi* as *Hey cocca* does retain a trace of adolescent speech, but in Italian *cocca* carries a more positive connotation and stems from adolescent speech of an earlier period, namely the 1980s and 1990s.

3. Translation modalities—the omission of subtitles in dubbed films

One kind of simplification which raises interesting questions from the perspective of translation theory can be seen at the level of translation modalities. For a German audience that has meanwhile become accustomed to a multilingual social reality, it is not rare to encounter films that contain entire scenes in which the dialogue is delivered exclusively in Turkish, with German subtitles. The successful comedy, *Almanya — Willkommen in Deutschland* (Yasemin Samdereli 2011), offers numerous examples of this phenomenon. The film was released in German cinemas in 2011, the fiftieth anniversary of the recruitment agreement with Turkey, and tells the story of a German-Turkish immigrant family across three generations. The film masterfully uses the clash of the two cultures to produce a comic effect. Linguistically, we find, of course, the frequent switch between German and Turkish (the latter is subtitled), as can be seen in the following examples:

1. *Fatma*: Bist du denn gar nicht aufgeregt? (Turkish with German subtitles).
Hüseyin: Nein (German).
[Aren't you excited at all? No]
2. *Ali*: Warum musst du es immer so scharf machen? (German). *Fatma*: Dann iss doch Reis (Turkish with German subtitles). *Ali*: Der ist auch scharf (German).
[Why is your cooking always so spicy? Oh, eat rice then. The rice is hot, too.]

The film also employs an invented language which is used to simulate for German viewers the experience of the newly-arrived Turkish immigrants, hearing but not understanding the German spoken around them. Moreover, the German version of the film presents its target audience (which expects the

film to depict a multilingual reality) with a fast, dynamic series of original audio tracks in both German and Turkish (with subtitles).

The success of the comedy *Almanya* in Germany, where dubbing is the foremost mode of film translation, demonstrates that German viewers are clearly prepared to sacrifice the illusion of a monolingual dubbing language for the advantages of the occasional overt translation through subtitles. One might argue that an audience choosing to see a film of this sort expects linguistic differentiation, since it would not be realistic to depict a Turkish-German extended family of multiple generations that speaks only in German. Ultimately the tension driving the action of the film (in the case of comedy, the humor) lies precisely in the clash of two different cultures and languages (and the resulting misunderstandings).

The Italian dubbed version of the film *Almanya—La mia famiglia va in Germania* ignores instances of code-mixing and code-switching, and does not include a translation of the subtitles which appear in the original. In doing so, it follows the example of other dubbed films in Italian (Heiss 2004: 210ff.; 2010). There have been individual attempts in Italian film translation to reproduce for a broader public the distancing effect of the sound of a foreign language through the use of subtitles. Unfortunately, these attempts are marked, at times, by a visually disruptive overlapping of German and Italian subtitles. This is the case, for example, in the opening scenes of the 2012 film version of *Türkisch für Anfänger* (also directed by Bora Dagtekin), where the extended Turkish-German family first comes together. The Italian version of the film retains the spoken Turkish dialogues, which in the original are subtitled in German, and overlays Italian subtitles, a modality which, it need hardly be emphasized, can be used, at best, for only very short intervals without causing substantial irritation on the part of the viewer. It is more common in Italian translations of multilingual films containing longer subtitled scenes to opt for monolingual dubbing and, only in some cases, to offer subtitles in addition to the dubbed audio. Here, a number of factors, in addition to technical and economic considerations, play a role. One significant concern is that subtitles might discourage a broader public from going to the cinema because they run contrary to the audience's visual habits in a country where dubbing is the rule of the day.¹¹

¹¹ Still, there are Italian films in which subtitles are used to reveal the multilingual social reality of immigrants in Italy, as can be seen in the film *La giusta distanza* (Carlo Mazzacurati 2007).

3.1 Loss of potential humor through “concealed” dubbing

In many comedies that depict a multi-ethnic society, the humor is expected to function as a binding element between the “foreign” immigrant and the host culture of the immigration country. In *Almanya*, typical German stereotypes and prejudices with regard to Turkish immigrants are introduced, as well as Turkish stereotypes and prejudices regarding Germany and its inhabitants. These tensions are immediately defused through the use of humor. Here, too, not only cultural and religious factors, but also various linguistic levels, play an important role.

In the following dialogue, excerpted from *Almanya*, the grandfather, Hüseyin, prepares to give a speech at an official celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the 1961 recruitment agreement:

Hüseyin: Ich sage am besten zu Frau Bundeskanzlerin: Hey Angela, wo Problem? Du kommst aus dem Osten, ich auch! Wir beide Ostes.

[*Hüseyin:* The best thing I can say to the chancellor is: Hey, Angela, where problem? You come from the East; me, too! We’re both Easterners.]

In in the Italian version:

Hüseyin: Che ne dici se mi rivolgo direttamente alla cancelliera: Hey Angela, non c’è problema, tu sei una dell’est no? E anche io! Veniamo tutti e due dall’est.

In the original version, the humor derives, in large part, from the discrepancy between the rudimentary elliptical Turkish-German, devoid of any verbs or articles (*wo Problem* [where problem]?), the Turkish pronunciation and prosody, and the formal situation in which the German chancellor is a fellow speaker. At the same time, power relations are playfully examined: an immigrant who speaks Turkish-German places himself on the same level as the German chancellor, who, likewise comes from the East and is thus, to a certain extent, an immigrant as well in his opinion. In the Italian version it comes across as though the words are spoken by a native speaker. In the original, the (linguistic) attempt of the first-generation immigrant to establish commonalities and equivalence with the German chancellor, who also comes from the East, is so bold that it gives rise to humor. In the standard Italian version, by contrast, there no such language gulf to be bridged and so Hüseyin’s amusing idea comes across instead as ingratiating.

3.2 The humorous potential in films featuring ethnolects in combination with regiolects and slang

As previously mentioned, second- and third-generation immigrant comedians and cabaret artists consciously employ the humorous potential of code-mixing and code-switching between standard German, a German regiolect or dialect, and tertiary ethnolects. Naturally, similar approaches are used to comical effect in many films. *Türkisch für Anfänger* provides numerous examples of such usage. *Türkisch für Anfänger* also builds on the success of many Turkish-German cabaret artists and comedians, when Cem cites the title of the ethno-comedy *Was guckst du?* [What you look at?] by Kaya Yanar,¹² a title which has in the meantime become a popular saying in certain circles:

Cem: Hast du was gegen meine Schwester gesagt? *Was guckst du?* Problem oder was?

[*Cem:* Did you say anything bad about my sister? What are you looking at? A problem or something?]

And in the Italian version:

Cem: Adesso ti spacco la faccia. Te la sei voluta porco schifoso.

The humor, here, derives from a combination of three elements: Turkish-German pronunciation, the rudimentary syntax which gives rise to aggressive overtones (*Problem oder was*) [Problem or something],¹³ and the audience's background knowledge regarding the beloved ethno-comedy. In the Italian version, the aggressive element is over-emphasized. The linguistic cliché, in combination with the familiar cultural reference, which tends to produce an unbiased grin and even some sympathy on the part of the viewer, is completely lost in the Italian version in which bad language and threats are being used (see Heiss 2010).¹⁴

4. Proximity and distance as functional categories for film translation

Increasing regional sensibility in many member states of the European Union has raised the significance of regiolects and dialects and their incorporation in

¹² *Was guckst du?* was broadcast on the independent TV channel Sat 1 from 2001 to 2005.

¹³ Advertising also takes advantage of this, cf. the slogan: "Alles Müller, oder was?" [Everything from Müller, or what?] in the campaign advertising Müller (a German company) dairy products.

¹⁴ On the problem of variety and humor in translation of films see Chiaro (2012: 9).

multimedia products. As I mention at the beginning of this chapter, regiolects and dialects have long played an important role in German film productions. Variants and varieties—such as a mixture of tertiary ethnolects and regiolects—which can be classified as *Nähesprache* [language of proximity] (Koch and Österreicher 1985) in German linguistics, can produce a sense of empathy and identification. One example of such usage is the example cited above (*Cem: Was guckst du?*). Of course, depending on the target audience, such variants and varieties can also produce a distancing effect.

The comedy, *Almanya—Willkommen in Deutschland*, depicts the way in which linguistic (and other) perspectives can change over the course of three generations. The film further provides German audiences with a glimpse of the experience of immigrants who do not speak the host language by using a particular linguistic device. A fake language with aggressive consonants is introduced in certain strategically important places (see <http://www.kino-zeit.de/filme/almanya-willkommen-in-deutschland>, accessed November 23, 2012). This switch of languages also lends the perspective of immigrants who do not speak German a certain humorous quality. In the childish expectations of the grandson, Cen, German is also the family language when visiting the grandparents in Turkey (even if that turns the historical situation on its head). When Fatma goes shopping in a German store for the first time, the viewers witness her alienation. In the original scene, the German shop assistant speaks an invented language, with many consonants, which is supposed to be reminiscent of German. Fatma speaks fluent German and yet all sorts of misunderstandings and comical situations arise. For example, she must exert a particular effort in order to avoid certain foods that contain salami, which comes from pork and therefore cannot be eaten by devout Muslims. In the Italian dubbed version, everything is reproduced in Italian and the newly-arrived immigrant (Fatma) now makes vocabulary mistakes using a register which seems much too refined for her. Thus the level of humor is reduced and, throughout the rest of the film, the viewer's perspective of the various members of the first generation of immigrants is altered. Dialect, too, as perhaps the most extreme mark of integration, also comes into play. Hüseyin, with his wife Fatma, has applied for German citizenship the night before he is supposed to receive it he is plagued by a nightmare in which he is forced to adopt the most grotesque clichés of mainstream German culture like *Schweinebraten* (roast pork), popular German television series, and holidays in Mallorca. And while he is still in the midst of an identity crisis, his wife (who, by contrast, has said she has no problem assuming

German citizenship) suddenly starts wearing a Bavarian *Dirndl*, has her hair in a traditional hairstyle, and calms him with the most beautiful Bavarian dialect: “Na, mir san scho no Türken” [Don’t worry, we’re still Turkish]. In the Italian version, once again, only standard language is used: “Non fare il broncio, restiamo ancora turchi, abbiamo la doppia nazionalità.”

In another scene, the grandson Cenk (who represents the third generation and even has a German mother) imagines his grandmother Fatma going to a German female doctor. Her daughter, Leyla, who can speak German, acts as translator.¹⁵

Doctor: [something unintelligible]

Fatma: Was hat sie gesagt? Ich hab’ was Schlimmes, oder?

Leyla: [translates]

Fatma: Sag’ doch

Leyla: Du bekommst noch ein Baby.

[*Doctor:* [something unintelligible]]

Fatma: What did she say? I’ve got something bad, right?

Leyla: [translates]

Fatma: Go ahead, tell me.

Leyla: You’re going to have another baby.]

In the Italian version, the entire dialogue takes place in Italian, which completely alters the audience’s experience.

Dottoressa: Confermo, presenta tutti i sintomi.

Fatma: [to the daughter] Che cosa intende dire? Che mi resta poco da vivere?

Leyla: È proprio sicura?

[The doctor nods]

Fatma: [to the daughter] Che cos’ho?

Leyla: Aspetti un altro bambino, mamma.

The absurd redundancies, which result from this strategy, can also be found in other dubbed multilingual films, affecting the extent to which linguistic and cultural diversity are preserved in translation (which I discuss in the next section).

¹⁵ For more lengthy examples, see Cataldo (2012).

5. Preserving linguistic and cultural diversity in film translation

As in the case of the original version of *Almanya*, the illusion of proximity and distance among the film characters (and between the film characters and the viewers) can be achieved by using accents, regional and social variants and varieties, as well as (subtitled) dialogues in foreign languages. In *Almanya*, foreign languages are Turkish for the German-speaking viewers and German for the Turkish-speaking viewers (whether or not they live in Germany). Whether such strategies are exploited in comedies in an attempt at parody or in social dramas where the goal is to generate a sense of authenticity, dubbing which eschews these strategies loses more than an essential element of the message and the artistic value of the film. If linguistic differentiation in comedy is lost through dubbing, only a qualitatively inferior entertainment function is left.¹⁶ This clearly is the case of the Italian version of *Türkisch für Anfänger* [*Kebab for Breakfast*], even though this series was quite successful in Italy.

However, as previously mentioned, nearly all multilingual German films dubbed in Italian¹⁷—no matter which genre—reveal an undifferentiated, monolingual form, at times marked by a strong standard linguistic character. Code-mixing and code-switching in the original are frequently obscured through standard language subtitles. This might be due, on the one hand, to the viewing habits of Italians, who prefer traditional film dubbing as a translation modality and thus, in the final analysis, the marketing strategies of the rental film industry as well. Concealed behind this, however, is the fact that Italian film viewers were late in becoming aware of domestic immigration problems although, in Italian cities, whole quarters are entirely multi-ethnic.¹⁸ These problems, albeit with different ethnic groups than those in German-speaking countries, are far more present than the dubbing of multilingual films into Italian would convey. On the other hand, in Italy there is no prominent

¹⁶ When this happens in social drama (e.g. *Nordrand*, Barbara Albert 1999), the work loses its social-political edge, as the characters are made to conform and their speech patterns are flattened (Heiss 2004).

¹⁷ Examples can be found in *Gegen die Wand* (Fatih Akin 2003), *Soul Kitchen* (Fatih Akin 2009), *Nordrand* (Barbara Albert 1999), and *Almanya* (Yasemin Samdereli 2011).

¹⁸ This development is naturally reflected in literature (and not only from second- or third-generation immigrants), but only infrequently and hesitatingly comes forth in the cinema. For example: *Non ti muovere* (Sergio Castellitto 2004, based on the novel by Margaret Mazzantini) or *Scontro di civiltà per un ascensore a Piazza Vittorio* (Isetta Toso 2010, based on the novel by Amara Lakhous).

ethnolect that could be easily categorized and cannibalized in the media in the same manner that this is done with the *Kanaksprache* in Germany.

5.1 Monolingual dubbing into German?

Monolingual dubbing of multilingual films also occurs when dubbing films into German. And this happens, as previously mentioned, despite a relatively linguistically differentiated film production, not only in auteur films but also in television productions for a general audience. However, the reactions in Germany and Italy to the dubbing of *Inglourious Basterds* (Quentin Tarantino 2009) indicate that cinema viewers and film reviewers are strongly critical of dubbing that masks the multilingual elements of films that contain various languages. The loss of the switch from English into Italian or German in the dubbed version of *Inglourious Basterds* leads to a loss of plausibility of action as well as a complete loss of the comic element at some points in the film, for example, in the scene in which, through his unexpected knowledge of Italian, SS officer Landa makes his adversary look like a complete fool. In an interview, Oscar winning actor Christoph Waltz (who plays the part of Colonel Hans Landa) outlined the problem of multilingualism and the practice of dubbing in Germany:

Er [Landa] bewegt sich zwischen den Kulturen. Deswegen ist die Mehrsprachigkeit wichtig. Das ist keine Marotte, sondern ganz essenziell wichtig für die Figur, dass Landa in vielen Sprachen redet. Jetzt gibt's hier natürlich das handelsübliche Bestreben, so viel wie möglich zu synchronisieren ... Ich habe wiederholt bohrende Fragen gestellt, aber man hat sie mir mit diesem etwas herablassenden Kaufmannsblabla beantwortet. [...] "Hier geht keiner ins Kino, um zu lesen!"; hieß es.

[He [Landa] moves between cultures. Accordingly, multilingualism is necessary. That is no quirk but rather an essential attribute of the character, that Landa speaks many languages. Now here [in Germany] there is naturally the usual attempt to dub as much as possible ... I have repeatedly asked probing questions, but I have always been answered with the somewhat condescending sales rep blah-blah-blah. [...] "People don't go to the cinema to read!" they say.]

Waltz's critique of the dubbing industry whose focus lies on commercial success can be extended with another question. Is a satisfactory depiction of the cultural and linguistic identity of a minority in (audiovisual) cultural products,

particularly in the context of the culture within which the plot takes place, possible or even necessary? In dubbing a film, does not the altered language and target culture also change the functional priorities of translation?

6. Cultural/linguistic depiction and alienating translation

The one-sided emphasis on clichéd, banal humor is noticeable particularly in the dubbing of comedies, which focus on the universal principle of misunderstandings arising from the collision of cultures. A somewhat coarser emphasis on the element of humor frequently suffices in order to market an audiovisual text to a wide audience, and this necessarily leads to degeneration. In the case of auteur films that focus on a linguistic minority, even during the production phase, an attempt is usually made to reach an equivalence in the multilingual depiction. This attempt must be made, since the multilingual reality must remain perceptible and believable in the translated version of the film. This would be possible (in many cases) even with dubbing. In this case, the target audience must be ready to change its attitude towards the languages that are represented in the dubbed film. In the dubbed version, the language spoken in the depicted country is replaced with the language spoken in another immigrant country in which the film is supposed to be dubbed. This requires the target audience to mentally accommodate this change, in a peculiar kind of “suspension of disbelief” (*Illusionspakt*). If the parts of the dialogue which are in another language are reproduced in an *overt translation* (House 1981), such as with subtitles (which could also be used creatively; see Heiss 2004; Foerster 2010), at least the alienation effect remains, and the awareness that the focus is on another language and culture would be aroused in the target culture, even if the impact can or must be different. Thorny questions remain: how can the broad spectrum of intra-lingual variation be rendered? This variation reflects diastratic and diatopic differences in language use in a particular country at a particular time. As such, these differences cannot be completely transplanted into another language area. Only a part of them can be simulated in the target language by drawing on some registers of compensation at an appropriate linguistic level.¹⁹

¹⁹ Compensation at the lexical, syntactical, and phonetic levels is conceivable, as well as the introduction of various registers like sociolects, social group languages, etc. See Heiss and Leporati (2000: 47ff.); Heiss (2004: 212).

When examining the translation of multilingual films from the perspective of translation theory, Schleiermacher's notion of the alienating translation²⁰ appears to gain new significance. By means of a clever combination of various translation modalities, the reception in the target culture could give an impulse to an intellectual process, which—independent of film genre—would intensify awareness of other cultures and the increasingly complex social reality in which we live. From this point of view, film translation—even of entertainment products—would have an ethical and a moral obligation. Whether film translators want to (or can) fulfill such an obligation is, of course, another question. At the same time, however, the importance of a flexible, pragmatic, and theoretical translation approach (as postulated in Herbst 1994) must be emphasized. The issue here is not at all the tension between the marginalization of the foreign and its domestication, but instead the application of various strategies and modalities, depending on the specific requirements at linguistic, sociopolitical, and artistic levels.

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Glossary

- Diglossia:** two distinct languages spoken by members of the same speech community.
- Ethnolect:** a variety of a language used by an ethnic or cultural subgroup. An ethnolect may be a distinguishing mark of social identity, both within the group and for outsiders (see *Kanak Sprach*).
- Idiosyncratic speech:** a mode/manner of speech unique to an individual.
- Kanak Sprach:** a German ethnolect created by Turkish youth in late 1980s. It is named after the book *Kanak Sprach* (1995) by German-Turkish author Feridun Zaimoğlu.
- Overt translation:** overt translation is a kind of translation which is easily recognized as such by target readers or viewers. It is clearly tied to the source language and culture.

Accounting for Multilingual Films in Translation Studies: Intratextual Translation in Dubbing¹

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1. Introduction: Is interlingual translation “proper” or old hat?

A longstanding view of translation is that it involves two languages: L1 (see a full list of abbreviations at the end of this chapter), the language we translate from, and L2, the language we translate into. This is generally regarded as *interlingual translation* or *translation proper*, as Jakobson (1959: 232) called it. His words have frequently been interpreted to mean that the target text (TT)—the translated text—and its source text (ST) are each in a different language, (although he only mentioned languages, not texts). This entails that each text has but one language. From the point of view of traditional statements about translation, these languages are preferably of a standard variety and high or literary register, as found in canonical texts (e.g. sacred texts, classical literature, science, or philosophy). This fundamentally semantic approach to translation studies, which also reduces the notion of text to a verbal message—with form and meaning—resulted in a complete blackout of phenomena such as poetry translation in theoretical models like Jakobson’s. Rather than criticize his own model, Jakobson preferred to claim that poetry was untranslatable. This kind of attitude is also applied to other practical cases of translation

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that question the general validity of the theoretical model, such as humor translation, Audiovisual Translation, or the translation of texts that include language variation. Intratextual language variation raises a number of awkward questions for the idea of interlingual translation as being translation “proper”. These questions are not marginal or frivolous, and include such issues as how to determine the borderline between one language and another, and what to do with cases of texts that involve more than one language.

The traditional $L1 \Rightarrow L2$ (interlingual) view also tends to carry with it certain implications, such as that texts and their translations are monolingual, whereby nonverbal (and even paralinguistic) items are contextual features rather than essential textual elements. Contrary to this view, however, many texts, fictional and non-fictional, actually display not only intralingual language variation (dialects, sociolects, and special stylistic devices), but even combinations of different languages, or even languages that are invented by the author. Audiovisual texts such as films frequently use linguistic varieties and combinations which may be intralingual, made-up, and/or interlingual. Audio, visual, nonverbal, and paralinguistic components are added to provide easier interpretations and sometimes greater credibility and coherence. For example, different characters can be made to speak differently—or in different languages—just as each character is provided with a specific physical appearance, wardrobe, gestures, and reactions, as well as different settings, such as outer space, fantasy worlds, or foreign countries.

Language variation within a text is a phenomenon which translation theory does not have many answers for, despite the many case-study publications on the matter. Additionally, there is little published awareness of translation within a text, which we refer to as *intratextual translation* (Zabalbeascoa 2012). In recent years, however, there have been noteworthy contributions on fictional representations of multilingualism (Delabastita and Grutman 2005) and fictional translators (Cronin 2009) within translation studies. L3, or third language (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2011), is a proposed term for accounting for intratextual translation and language variation in translation by systematizing all linguistic expressions that do not fall neatly under the category of L1 or L2. Very simply stated, any instance of linguistic expression that is not standard L1 or L2 might be referred to as L3.

Traditional theory sees itself as being obliged to prescribe a translation method (Newmark 1988), strategies, and procedures, to dictate or recommend when and how they are to be implemented. To make theoretical progress means

to substitute that kind of outlook for an explanatory account of all sorts of information coming from descriptive studies, along with speculative-theoretical ideas that complement reality as it is perceived through descriptions, thus providing other hypothetical options which may not always have a case-study counterpart, but help us to improve our understanding of case studies and descriptive-driven typologies. The theoretical proposal for L3 still requires a large body of case studies and examples that can confirm and further refine the model. *Inglourious Basterds* (Tarantino 2009), as we shall see, is an ideal source which provides many useful examples (Voellmer 2012).

One way to make conceptual theoretical (and, ultimately, practical) progress is by questioning the traditional $L1 \Leftrightarrow L2$ view of translation “proper.” We could regard all texts as being potentially multilingual or having some degree of linguistic variation. Translating, in its verbal dimension, could be represented² as $L1+L3^{ST} \Leftrightarrow L2+L3^{TT}$, whereby L3 is nonexistent only for texts with a completely uniform type of language use. The words of the ST are written/uttered in one main language (L1). There may be two different L1s if the text is bilingual, with both languages (L1a and L1b) being of relatively equal importance, regardless of the presence of any other “lesser” language (L3ST). Mirroring L1 and ST, the same definition applies for L2 (and L3^{TT}) in the TT. L3 is defined as having far fewer words than L1 and/or of meriting less of a need to understand it. L1+L3 and L1a+L1b are both representations of source texts with significant language variation, involving either different languages or significant differences within a language. The distinction between L1b and L3 is not how close such languages or varieties are to L1, or anything else to do with their nature or relationship, but “how much” of each is present in a given text. An example of L1a+L1b would be a conversation between bilinguals with a great deal of code-switching. Just as for L1, there could also be more than one L3 in a given text (L3a, L3b, L3c, etc.). L3 is not an actual language, but a concept related to language variation, textual multilingualism and intratextual translation. In this sense, more than one language in a text might have that L3 quality. In this model, we are not thinking of bilingual publications that involve repeating the same message in two different languages, one a translation of the other, as would be the bilingual edition of the Constitution of Canada in French and English. We are referring to texts where some parts of the message of a text are in one language and other parts are in another.

² According to this notation, L1ST and L2^{TT} are redundant and therefore not necessary, since L1 can only appear in the ST, and L2 only in the TT, by definition. For example, if L1 is French, it is also L1ST, and any French words in the translation are L3^{TT}=French, whereby L3^{TT}=L1.

Our twofold aim here is to show how the traditional interlingual (L1 \Leftrightarrow L2) approach to translation can be challenged (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2011), and to validate the L3 proposal further with examples from *Inglourious Basterds* (IBST) and its dubbed versions. In this film, there is so much German and French in the English-language version, that it seems reasonable to consider them within an L1b category. However, German and French are used to a much lesser extent than English. The way in which these two languages are dealt with in translation can also be explained in terms of transfer options for L3 (see Part 4 and Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3). Along with L1^{Eng}, for English, the main languages of IBST will be designated as L1^{Ger} for German, and L1^{Fre} for French (rather than L3^{Ger} and L3^{Fre}) in order to highlight their “quantitative” importance as distinct languages, unlike the token use of Italian in the film. Applying the same criterion of quantity, Italian, which is also heard in IBST, is treated here as L3 (more specifically, L3^{Ita}) for the purpose of analyzing it as an element of the source text, and to see how the translators deal with this language in their target texts. In order to analyze dubbed versions (IB^{TT}) of Tarantino’s film and validate our theoretical model, we regard *Inglourious Basterds* as a multilingual audio-visual ST with the following language combination: L1^{Eng}+L1^{Ger}+L1^{Fre}+L3^{Ita}. And although four languages might look like a wide variety, this formula does not reflect the fact that English could still be broken down further to create additional L3ST components: British English and other dialects.

We have drawn examples from the dubbed versions of the film made in Germany (TT^{Ger}), Spain (TT^{Spa}), and Italy (TT^{Ita}). Each of these countries, where dubbing is a common practice, provides a different context in which one of the film’s languages may happen to coincide with the main language for the translation³ (L1^{Ger} for TT^{Ger}, L3^{Ita} for TT^{Ita}, but not in the case of TT^{Spa}), and translators use different approaches when it comes to dealing with such a linguistically complex and unusual ST. *Inglourious Basterds*’s complexity stems from the fact that the film includes and successfully represents several languages, and displays various types of language variation (Voellmer 2012),

³ In this chapter, we use the term “translator” to refer collectively to all of the people who had anything to do with the translation of any one of the dubbed versions: From the script translators (Alexander Löwe for TT^{Ger}, Josep Llubra for TT^{Spa}, and Fiamma Izzo for TT^{Ita}) to the dubbing directors (Norman Matt for TT^{Ger}, Manuel García Guevara for TT^{Spa}, and Fiamma Izzo for TT^{Ita}). There is no disrespect intended by not mentioning their names throughout the text, especially since the study is descriptive and largely theoretical, involving no criticism and no judgment for their work, which is professional in any case. The translators’ decisions are usually subject to many extratextual factors that we cannot mention within this chapter. Here we only intend to provide a formal model to show the possibilities of translating multilingual texts.

e.g. within English there are various American dialects and British English, that could also be regarded as L3 and could be translated by using different strategies (Appendix 1, Example 5), depending on the translator's interpretation of the ST and whatever restrictions and priorities are identified for the TT.

Whether a given language is to be regarded as L1 or L3 is very much something for translators to decide. The analyst's task is to try and understand what each translator's criteria might have been, especially because the analyst or scholar's assignation of which languages are (or should be considered) L3 may not be the same as the translator's.

2. IBST: *Inglourious Basterds* as a multilingual audiovisual source text

Inglourious Basterds (IB) is a war film written and directed by Quentin Tarantino, set in Nazi-occupied France during World War II. Divided into five chapters, the film tells a fictional story about a young Jewish refugee named Shosanna Dreyfus (Mélanie Laurent) who witnesses the slaughter of her family by SS Colonel Hans Landa (Christoph Waltz). She manages to escape the massacre and begins her career in Paris as a cinema owner, named Emmanuelle Mimieux. When Frederick Zoller (Daniel Brühl), a young German war hero, falls for her, she realizes that he could provide her with an opportunity for revenge. In the meantime, the US Office of Strategic Services (OSS) sends to France a group of Jewish guerilla soldiers known as the Basterds, recruited and led by Lieutenant Aldo Raine (Brad Pitt). A German film star, Bridget von Hammersmark (Diane Kruger), and a British Lieutenant, Archie Hicox (Michael Fassbender), team up with the Basterds to help bring the war to an end.

Hardly realistic in terms of historical accuracy, *Inglourious Basterds* presents a complexity of multilingual audiovisual texts that warrant an innovative approach to translation. Tarantino disapproves of Hollywood's tradition of eliminating foreign languages (Bleichenbacher 2008) and places a great deal of dramatic importance on languages, creating monolingual characters who rely on interpreters and other bilingual characters. He goes to great lengths to include four different languages (English, German, French, and Italian) and adds foreign accents, regional varieties, and idiolects. This mixture of varieties is personified in Landa, the polyglot character who theatrically juggles all of them (Hoad 2010).

English is L1. German and French stand out as obvious candidates for L3. However, for the purpose of this chapter, we are claiming that German and French are so prevalent and significant in the film that it might be difficult to establish them “automatically” as L3. Here, we consider them as L1^{Ger} and L1^{Fre}. It is also true that in some parts of the text (e.g. Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3) we refer to German and French as undergoing transfer operations in translation (see below, transfer options A–D) that we have defined for the concept of L3; we hope this will not be seen as a contradiction but as a claim that when L1 is distributed over more than one language, the “minority” L1 languages can be accounted for with the same concepts as the ones proposed here for L3. Italian is quite clearly L3^{Ita} since it only appears once, for a minute and a half. The most distinguishable varieties in English are the Southern US accent, spoken by Raine, and the British accent, spoken by Hicox.

English is spoken as a native language by the Basterds, Hicox, and British General Fenech (Mike Myers), and as a foreign—non-native—language by Landa, von Hammersmark, and other German and French characters; German is spoken by the German or Austrian native characters, and as a foreign language by Hicox and the French interpreter Francesca Mondino (Julie Dreyfus); French is spoken by the French native speakers and as a foreign language by some of the German or Austrian characters; Italian is spoken as a foreign language by Landa, von Hammersmark, and, very poorly, by three of the Basterds.

2.1 Translating the many languages of IBST

All three dubbed versions, TT^{Ger}, TT^{Spa}, and TT^{Ita}, substitute English with the translation’s main language (L2^{Ger}, L2^{Spa}, and L2^{Ita} respectively). Many metalinguistic references and off-screen narrative explanations indicate the characters’ national origin (the United States, the United Kingdom, and others), even though English disappears in all three dubbed versions. Furthermore, in TT^{Ger}, ST German is rendered as TT German, which would explain why TT^{Ger} features only three languages, and loses some of its linguistic variety in comparison with IBST: both English and German are rendered as German. To be consistent with this, when there are comments in Tarantino’s dialogues about some character’s knowledge of English, and instances of intratextual translation (with a character acting as interpreter), such comments and instances are rendered in TT^{Ger} as something quite different. Metalinguistic references to the English language are changed too, not only when uttered in English or German, but also in

French (Example 1). This was easier to do for TT^{Ger} than for TT^{Spa} and TT^{Ita} as some of the IBST actors (such as Christoph Waltz in the role of Landa) worked as voice actors for the German dubbed version, which helped to avoid voice consistency problems. In one scene (00:06:52), Landa says to the French farmer Perrier LaPadite (Denis Ménochet) (in French): “I’ve been led to believe you speak English quite well?” In the German version, Landa says: “I’ve been led to believe you speak *German* quite well?” (Example 1; for a detailed transcript of all examples, see Appendix I.)

A further challenge for the translator of the German dubbed version is that there are numerous encounters between English- and German-speaking characters. In the dubbed version, this language barrier disappears as both languages are rendered in German. The script for the dubbed version is therefore forced to create another sort of communication problem or even a different sort of conversation. Example 2 shows how TT^{Ger} renders a situation from IBST in which Raine from the Basterds asks the German Sergeant Werner Rachtmann (Richard Sammel) whether he speaks English or not and whether he would like someone to interpret.

Example 3 is an excerpt from the same scene, shortly afterwards, in which the Jewish-American Sergeant Wilhelm Wicki (Gedeon Burkhard) interprets between Raine and the German Private Butz (Sönke Möhring) who neither speaks nor understands English. The two examples show how the metalinguistic references disappear from TT^{Ger} and no communication problem is perceived as the original conversation is changed for a new one.

Example 4 is taken from the short IBST scene where five of the characters speak Italian, which is compared with the same scene in the dubbed TT^{Ita} version. The translator opts for a regional Italian variety which might be classified as a different language, namely Sicilian, represented through typical expressions from Sicily and Southern Italy in general, such as “bacio le mani” [lit.: We kiss hands] or “mizzica” [interj.: Holy cow!]. A typical grammatical feature of Sicilian or Southern Italian also appears when Raine says “indovinò,” the third person singular of *indovinare* (to guess) in *passato remoto*, a past tense that is normally used in literature and only used in spoken language in the South.

2.2 Regional varieties as L3ST and their translations

Several dialects can be heard in the ST, but the most remarkable ones are Southern US American English and British English. Since both contribute

significantly to character portrayal, they might be considered a translation problem. The Spanish and Italian dubbed versions convey the English-language dialectal differences mainly through voice tone and intonation, providing the British characters with very soft, gentle voices, and the Southern US character with a rather harsh voice; however, these voice-type differences are also perceivable in the ST. Besides such paralinguistic character portrayal, TT^{Ger} makes an additional effort to convey the idea of two varieties through lexical and grammatical features. Hicox addresses everyone formally with *Sie* whereas Raine addresses everyone informally with *Du*. This is especially noticeable in a crucial scene where the two meet. In the German version, this distinction is demonstrated very pointedly, but is not as consistently applied in TT^{Spa} or in TT^{Ita}. Example 5 illustrates this effort in TT^{Ger} to distinguish the British character from the American. Three aspects draw the attention of the TT audience in this example: First, the lexical choice and preference of the form *falls* [if] (actually quite correct) over the rather colloquial and ambiguous *wenn* [if, when]; second, the lexical choice of *offerieren* [to offer] instead of its synonym *anbieten*, to highlight posh, learned language; and third, the grammatical choice of the more sophisticated form of the subjunctive II *offerierten* over the typical construction in spoken German (*würde* + infinitive). These choices, at least the first one, could be attributed to certain translational norms, because very colloquial speech styles are not frequently heard in standard dubbing language for Germany. The second choice is clearly an instance of compensation. The use of *offerieren* cannot be explained by lip synch restrictions either, as the shot is wide and the actor is not close enough for lip movement to be a relevant factor. As the conversation continues, there are further instances of a more sophisticated lexical and grammatical usage that might help the audience tell the difference.

2.3 Non-native speakers and foreign accents as L3ST and their translations

Non-native speakers of a language may speak it at various levels of proficiency, and there is room for translators to decide, according to their own interpretation of the text (when the norms are not strong or explicit), whether a foreign accent—or other features of non-native speech—should define speech as L3 rather than L1 (Figure 2.1).

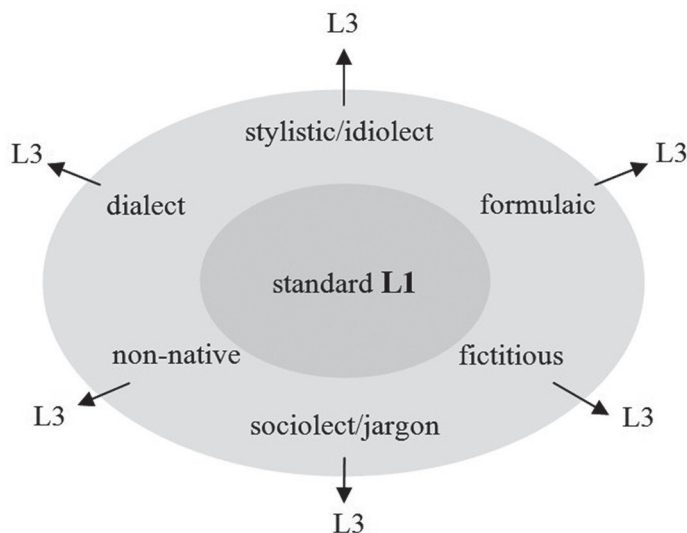


Figure 2.1 How much variation is allowed before L1 becomes L3?

2.3.1 Non-native English in *IBST* and its dubbed versions

Seven native German speakers communicate and interact with the native English characters in the film: Landa, Dieter Hellstrom (August Diehl), von Hammersmark, Wicki, Hugo Stiglitz (Til Schweiger), Rachtmann, and Butz. All of them speak English, except for Butz. Landa, as the polyglot detective and a high-ranking member of the SS, speaks almost flawless English. Hellstrom is probably not as fluent but can make himself understood quite clearly. Von Hammersmark speaks English, but has a strong accent. Rachtmann speaks English well and can communicate with Raine in the first scene of Chapter 2 well enough, but Butz needs a member of the Basterds to interpret for him (Example 3). This is done by Wicki, who was raised bilingually in German and in English, just like the actor who plays the part. No other native German characters are required to speak English. Zoller, for example, never meets Raine or Hicox.

Of the French characters, only two speak English: farmer LaPadite in the opening scene, and Shosanna in the last chapter. LaPadite speaks good English, with a French accent, but well enough to get by. However, he is no match for Landa, the polyglot genius of the film, not as a rival in the narrative nor in his language proficiency. Shosanna's spoken English is very brief and her accent is slight.

English (L1^{Eng}) is substituted in all three dubbed versions, but L1^{Eng} spoken with foreign accents is not always dealt with in the same way. Thus, English with a French accent is rendered as L2 German with a French accent. This is the language profile of LaPadite (Example 6). TT^{Spa} does not include the French accents, but provides all native speakers of German with a strong German accent, regardless of the language they may happen to be speaking at any given moment in IBST. L1^{Eng} with a German accent becomes Spanish with a German accent, but so does IBST German, as well as IBST French when spoken by a German character. TT^{Ita} conveys the French accent (Example 6), as well as the German accent. Most of the accents are actually stronger in all three dubbed versions.

2.3.2 Non-native German

There is one English-speaking character in the film who actually speaks German with a slight foreign accent, and that is Hicox. His knowledge of German is a key point to an important scene and the entire plot. His German is fluent, almost perfect, but at one point his British accent betrays him and his cover is blown, and so too are von Hammersmark's and the Basterds'. Therefore, the translator for any dubbed version may wish to either portray this change in accent or somehow adapt or compensate for it. For this scene (Example 7), TT^{Ita} uses subtitles, so the ST soundtrack is left unchanged for this part of the footage. TT^{Spa} dubs every character anyway, and TT^{Ger} dubs Hicox for the case of non-native German in order to preserve voice consistency. However, a slight accent is rendered through short instances (underlined in Example 7) of unusual pronunciation in TT^{Ger} (on the same word where the accent can be noticed in the ST) and in TT^{Spa} (shortly before the accent can be noticed in the ST). TT^{Ita} interestingly marks the accent as well, namely in its subtitles, through unmotivated switching between the formal *Lei* and the informal *tu*.

2.3.3 Non-native French

Several German characters interact with the French characters in the film: Zoller, Landa, Joseph Goebbels (Sylvester Groth), and Hellstrom. Zoller and Landa both speak near-native French, fluent, but with slight accents. Goebbels and Hellstrom have no knowledge of French and are only able to talk to Shosanna through an interpreter, either Mondino, or a German chauffeur and assistant, who translates for Hellstrom. The slightest of accents that the native

German characters have when speaking French are not relevant (the actors are actually quite fluent, which helps considerably) and no dubbed version renders them; this could be considered an instance of transfer option Ai (see below).

2.3.4 Non-native Italian

Italian as a foreign language is also central to the plot, as Raine, Omar Ulmer (Omar Doom), and Donny Donowitz (Eli Roth) try to cover up their American identity by speaking Italian (Example 4). It instantly turns out that they cannot pass for Italian speakers and their cover is blown. Landa, on the other hand, proves his language skills once more by not only telling them in Italian how welcome they are, but also by torturing them, repeatedly asking them to pronounce their false Italian names. Again, the ability to speak languages becomes central to the plot and adds a comic effect by ridiculing various stereotypes. The Italian spoken with an American accent that is characteristic of the three Basterds is rendered as a German accent in TT^{Ger} and Spanish accent in TT^{Spa}, regardless of whether they can still be portrayed as Americans by other means given that English is dubbed in both of these versions. A concept that might help to explain how this works is that of willing suspension of disbelief; the viewers know they are watching a dubbed film and that their language of reference, L2, is used for native (L1) English-speaking characters. This kind of illusion makes it possible, or plausible, for characters from the United States to speak foreign languages like French or Italian with a Spanish or German accent (i.e. an L2 accent, not an L1 accent), just as they can speak fluent non-English L2 although the viewers accept the proposition that these characters are native speakers of English. As seen in Example 4, TT^{Ita} adapts non-native Italian and solves the issue by making the Basterds use typical expressions from Sicily or Southern Italy as L3^{Ita} to distinguish it from standard Italian, used as L2. Thus, viewers are invited to believe that L2 is supposed to represent English and L3^{Ita}, Italian (whether standard or dialectal may depend on the conventions and translational norms of Italian dubbing and nonverbal cultural clues such as uniforms and nonverbal gestures made by the speakers with their hands and face).

3. L3 variables and features

L3—as a concept—groups together different instances of linguistic variation, each one with fluctuating features that can be regarded as variables. In this part we explain the ones listed in Appendix II (variables 1–6). L3 variables are also applicable when there is more than one L1 (e.g. L1^{Eng}, L1^{Ger}, and L1^{Fre} in IBST). L3 can be (variable 1) a natural language (e.g. L3^{Ita} in *Inglourious Basterds*) or it can be a made-up language (e.g. Elvish in *The Lord of the Rings* 2001, 2002, 2003). Invented languages can be entirely different to any real language, or based on natural languages to various degrees (e.g. Nadsat in *A Clockwork Orange*).

There seems to be no need to restrict the concept of L3 to official languages. It may be possible to use the distinction between L1 and L3 to analyze or translate texts that make use of certain dialects or sociolects, or simply some literary stylistic creation (Figure 2.1), e.g. Standard English and Welsh's portrayal of Scottish dialect in *Trainspotting* (1996). The degree to which a language variety is based on L1 will determine whether it stays within the boundaries or whether it is distinct and significant enough to cross over and take on L3 status (Figure 2.1). Of course, the exact position where the line is drawn will depend on the translator's criterion (while translating), or the scholar's (for the purpose of academic studies). The point we are making here is that translation theory cannot draw clear lines for all language boundaries, even though it is important to take these boundaries into account.

Once we have established L1 and L3 for the ST, it seems perfectly legitimate to ask how these languages are rendered in translation. In numerous cases, the obvious formula seems to be: L1 is rendered as L2 whereas, largely due to a theoretical void, L3 is left untouched and transcribed or transliterated in the TT, namely L3ST=L3^{TT}. Alternatively, L3 is simply omitted or rendered as L2. And if L3ST happens to coincide with L2 (variable 2), both strategies become indistinguishable. This means that the TT users are deprived of a feature of the ST, namely its functional and/or stylistic combination of different languages or linguistic varieties. According to Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2011), the L3 of a ST might be rendered in translation in a number of ways, thus producing different results and effects, depending on the choice of language combination(s). This includes such possibilities as *adaptation* (Example 4, if Sicilian is seen as a distinct language), *neutralization* (Example 5), or *transfer unchanged* (Example 1). Adaptation means that L3^{TT} retains its visibility (variable 6) but is not the same language as L3ST. Neutralization means that L3 loses visibility by being

omitted or rendered as L2. Transfer unchanged means that L3 keeps its visibility and is the same language in the ST and the TT.

If the translator decides to neutralize L3 in a film, then “other changes may be introduced at various levels to help maintain the illusion of authenticity” (Baker and Hochel 1998: 76). We might rephrase this as follows: other changes may be introduced at various levels to help maintain the illusion of L3 presence. The choice of one option over the other, as Grutman (2006) puts it, “very often exceeds matters of text and style, and can be related to the target community’s views regarding foreign languages and cultures in general.”

If a translator were to apply the obvious $L1 \Leftrightarrow L2$ formula while keeping $L3^{ST} = L3^{TT}$, there would be no $L3^{TT}$ as such if $L3^{ST}$ is the same language as L2, making it impossible to distinguish $L3^{TT}$ from L2 in the TT. L3 can vanish if it is omitted or rendered in a certain way and so can a portrayal of intratextual translation, e.g. when one fictional character is acting as interpreter for the others (Example 3).

Although the meaning of an utterance of a character is not always “guessable” by the audience (variable 5.2) through nonverbal clues, and the language may not be familiar (variable 3), intratextual translation (e.g. one character interpreting for another) or interlingual subtitles may be unavailable. Such an omission may be part of the author’s strategy to create suspense, or arouse curiosity. For example, when in IB^{ST} (00:41:16), Shosanna meets Zoller at the café, his conversation with another German character is not translated (variable 5.1.2) either by another character or by subtitles. In a different scene (00:46:30), Shosanna is at the restaurant with high-ranking German officers and their conversation is not translated, possibly to create suspense. Such a device may also be used to establish a certain relationship between the audience and the character, such as empathy or sympathy. L3 is also frequently used as a device to alienate the L3-speaking character from the audience, probably even more so if left untranslated (variable 5.1.2).

In IB (Example 5), TT^{Ger} uses linguistic and paralinguistic strategies to indirectly represent the distinction between British and American English. TT^{Spa} and TT^{Ita} basically use the same strategy. The effort in the dubbed versions to distinguish between British and American speakers might be regarded as an instance of a compensation strategy (conspicuous pronunciation as in variable 6.1), or, most likely, as an indirect representation (variable 6.2). The difference between 6.1 and 6.2 depends on how much the distinction stands out and works, in the sense that L3 can be either easily recognizable (variable 6.2) or hardly distinguishable (variable 6.1).

4. Translating multilingual audiovisual source texts. Transfer options A–D

$L3^{TT}$ may coincide with $L1$, $L2$, or $L3^{ST}$, or can be a completely different language. We refer to these types of solutions within the TT as transfer options because they are determined by comparing ST and TT languages and they are the result of the translator's decision on how to render $L3^{ST}$. We understand this kind of decision as an option, meaning that there is a choice at some level, if not the translator's (as defined in this chapter) then as a result of social and professional norms. These transfer options are listed below as items A, B, and C. Transfer option D describes a situation in which $L3^{ST}$ is rendered as a completely different language or variation. A well-informed, strategically-minded translator is presumably influenced by the variables outlined in Appendix II (transfer options A–D actually involve a detailed study of variable 2). There may, of course, be other factors, such as ideological constraints, including prejudice, either that of the translator and/or the viewers. There now follows a list of transfer options for $L3$, along with brief explanations of language coincidences and their effects.

- A In some instances, $L3$ in the ST might be the same as the language into which the film is dubbed (i.e. $L3^{TT}=L2$). Following are three instances of *neutralization*, a case in which the two languages “cancel” each other out, and the minor language ($L3$) simply disappears, both in terms of linguistic representation, and as a part of the plot.
- Ai Language variation becomes invisible, by either leaving $L3^{ST}$ unchanged ($L3^{ST}=L3^{TT}=L2$), or by substituting it for $L2$ words, or by deleting the $L3^{ST}$ segments.
 - Aii Signaling that a character is meant to be speaking a different language (regardless of nationality). Some degree of awareness of language variation by compensation within $L2$ remains, such as conspicuous pronunciation, accents, or vocabulary (Example 5).
 - Aiii Signaling that a character has a certain ethnic profile—or nationality—(regardless of language spoken) by compensation within $L2$, like conspicuous pronunciation or vocabulary. The real-case example of this can be found in TT^{Spa} , where a thick accent signals that the character is German. This transfer option is applied to the German characters in IB^{ST} regardless of the language they are speaking at any given moment.

- B L1 is a possible choice for $L3^{TT}$ ($L3^{TT}=L1$) if the intention is to provide a language that is different from L2 in order to maintain L3 visibility. This would be a case of *adaptation*. This is a highly unlikely option. However, a similar combination would be the hypothetical case where native English-speaking characters in a ST were given some words or lines in English in a dubbed version, for example ($L1^{Eng} \Leftrightarrow L3^{Eng}$). This may sound contrary to the logic of $L1 \Leftrightarrow L2$ translation, but it could be justified on the same grounds foreign languages are used in the first place, for an intended multilingual “authenticity,” in texts and their translations. Valdeón (2005) describes such a case in the French dubbed version of the US TV series *Frasier* (Beren and Hackel 1994), whereby English is used as $L3^{TT}$ to portray a pedantic use of a foreign language (foreign as opposed to L2 French). This is done to render what was a French L3 utterance in the ST.
- C When $L3^{TT}$ is the same language as $L3^{ST}$ ($L3^{TT}=L3^{ST}$), there are several options. Ci and Cii are cases of *transfer unchanged*:
- Ci Verbatim transcription (or different words in the same L3)—it is important to know which features might change even when the same L3 is retained. Factors that might influence such changes could be the $L1 \Leftrightarrow L2$ change of scenario (Example 1). The relationship between the L1 community of speakers and L3 is rarely exactly the same in sociocultural and historical terms as the relationship between L2 and L3, and this affects such features as the connotations and implications of L3 usage in ST and TT. Another important factor is the need to present the text to a new audience with a different mother tongue ($L1$ v $L2$) and different command of other languages ($L3$, respectively for L1 and L2 speakers), different prejudices and stereotypes, etc. Thus, the $L1 \Leftrightarrow L3$ intratextual relationships and connotations may differ from that of $L2 \Leftrightarrow L3$.
- Cii Conveyed accent (stronger or weaker, but recognizable); e.g. $L1^{Eng}$ (IB^{ST} English) spoken with a non-native French accent translated into German with a French accent (Example 6).
- D Finally, the solution opted for by the translator may not coincide with any of the languages mentioned so far ($L1$, $L2$, $L3^{ST}$). $L3^{TT}$ could, theoretically be any other language (Example 4). This would also be a case of *adaptation*. Sicilian in TT^{Ita} illustrates the kind of problem graphically represented in Figure 2.1 (Zabalbeascoa 2012). The borderline separating one language

from another is not always a straightforward matter, neither in practical political terms nor necessarily in academic studies.

The focus of the analysis in this chapter is solely on the textual result, rather than on the process or the motivations behind the choices that are made in the target texts. This is further illustrated in the language transfer tables in Appendix III. By “textual” we mean anything included in the audiovisual text, in any of its semiotic dimensions: linguistic (words, intonation, accent, pitch, speed, letter-type, etc.), oral or written, and nonverbal (sound effects, visual effects, etc.). We regard each and every component of a film (or any other type of audiovisual text) a constituent element of the audiovisual text. In other words, text is not just the words, but all the elements that have communicative value.

Some transfer options that are used in the three dubbed versions of *Inglourious Basterds* represent noticeable diversions from the source text: In TT^{Ger}, the interpreting scene (partly transcribed in Example 3) is not, strictly speaking, translated. In fact, the scene is largely re-scripted. In cases of this type the translator writes his/her own words, presumably seeking to establish coherence by alternative means.

Another outstanding phenomenon, in TT^{Spa}, is the use of Spanish with a German accent to signal German nationality. One might find it surprising that there seems to be no clear strategy in TT^{Spa}, and that choices concerning the use of accent seem to be made scene by scene, as a quick glance at Table 2.2 might show.

A phenomenon that stands out in TT^{Ita} is the use of a regional variety of L2 in dubbing. In Italian dubbing there is traditionally a strong tendency to indigenize, or domesticate (Venuti 1995), and varieties of English often have their Italian counterpart. The Sicilian variety is used to “amplify the connotations related to characters of Italian descent” and it is specifically employed when featuring gangsters or comic characters (Parini 2009: 22). Other geographical varieties often resorted to are Neapolitan or Sardinian. Despite a steadily growing trend of abandoning the use of regional varieties in Italian dubbing, they are still frequently used. This is supposedly due to habit and the spectator’s expectations. We believe that the adaptation of ST Italian to TT Sicilian in IB is an example of this practice.

5. Concluding remarks

Multilingual texts pose specific translation problems, practical and theoretical, regardless of whether or not they are audiovisual. Among these problems is the particular case of a coincidence of the main language of the TT with one of the languages of a multilingual ST which can be complicated even further if the ST includes a scene of intratextual translation (Zabalbeascoa 2012). If in such a case the only transfer operation carried out is standard interlingual translation, then the result is the disappearance of L3 (such as Example 3, $L1^{Ger}=L2^{Ger}$, for IB dubbed into German) and the reduction or erasure of multilingualism (in TT^{Ger} it is merely reduced, since French and Italian are repeated). This has an effect on metatranslation, namely the intertextual translation ($ST \Rightarrow TT$) of scenes involving intratextual translation (e.g. $L1^{Eng} \Rightarrow L1^{Ger}$). An alternative solution for such a complicated case is described in Zabalbeascoa and Corrius (2012). The case is of intratextual translation in *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (George Roy Hill 1969). The Spanish dubbed version of this movie maintains the communication barrier of the original, but uses a single language throughout the scene. A character that needs interlingual translation in the ST, still requires someone to speak on his behalf, but not in a different language. The intervention is needed because the character is shy, afraid, or does not wish to stoop so low as to speak to “foreigners.” The language barrier, however, is eliminated. This solution may not work in other cases, as the visual material and the storyline tend to be highly restrictive.

Inglourious Basterds offers a rich array of languages and their varieties, but we found no examples in any of the three different dubbed versions that challenge or contradict the variables and transfer options proposed so far for the concept of L3 in translation. A model like the one explained here can help us to account for multilingual films and television series in Translation Studies. It should be pointed out that, given the multilingual trend in Hollywood, multilingual audiovisual source and target texts include successful, highly grossing box-office films. Potential TT audiences are therefore very large and not necessarily the stereotypical independent film polyglot spectators, which shows that the problem we are dealing with (and its theoretical importance) is far from marginal.

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List of abbreviations

- IB *Inglourious Basterds*, film by Quentin Tarantino. IBST *Inglourious Basterds*, as a source text to be translated.
- L1 Main (or only) language of the source text. English is L1 in IBST. The concept of L1 also includes any other language with a significant amount of words. L1^{Ger} is for German in IBST, the second language after L1^{Eng} (English), in terms of quantity. L1^{Fre} stands for French in IBST, not the main language but it has a significant presence.
- L2 The same concept as L1 but applied to the target text, i.e. the translation. For example, L2^{Spa} is our abbreviation for Spanish as the main language for TT^{Spa}.
- L3 Any language or type of linguistic variation that is significant and distinguishable from L1 in the ST, and/or from L2 in the TT. It is unlike L1 and L2 in that it accounts for a relatively (or very) small number of words.
- L3ST Any L3 that appears in the ST. L3^{Ita} is for Italian in IBST. L3^{TT}: any L3 that appears in the TT.
- ST The source text, i.e. any text that is seen within the field of translation as the text to be (or that has been) translated.
- TT The target text, the translation, the text resulting from translating its source text.
- TT^{Ger} The dubbed version of IBST for Germany and other German-speaking audiences, such as Austria and parts of Switzerland. By the same token, TT^{Ita} stands for the dubbed version of IBST for Italy; and TT^{Spa} for the dubbed version of IBST shown in Spain.
- ⇒ L1⇒L2 stands for "translate from L1 to L2."
- +
- The plus sign means which languages combine with which others in the same text regardless of their location and distribution in the text. L1+L3

means that there is a main language and somewhere in the text a “lesser” language. If anything, the various languages appear in order of importance and quantity. Thus, according to the definitions provided above for L1^{Eng}, L1^{Fre}, L1^{Ger}, and L3^{Ita}, the notation for IBST is: L1^{Eng}+L1^{Ger}+L1^{Fre}+L3^{Ita}.

Appendix I

Below are the Examples 1 to 7 that are referred to in the main text. Backtranslations are provided in *italics* and accent fluctuation is marked by underlining>.

Example 1 IBST ⇒ TT^{Ger} (00:06:52)

IBST *Landa: [...] Cependant, je crois savoir que vous parlez un anglais tout à fait correct, n'est-ce pas? // However, I have been led to believe you speak English quite well?*

La Padite: Oui. // Yes.

TT^{Ger} *Landa: [...] Cependant, je crois savoir que vous parlez un allemand tout à fait correct, n'est-ce pas? // However, I have been led to believe you speak German quite well?*

La Padite: Oui. // Yes.

Example 2 IBST ⇒ TT^{Ger} and TT^{Ita} (00:26:31)

IBST *Raine: You know what “sit down” means, Werner?*

Rachtmann: Yes.

Raine: Then sit down! How's your English, Werner? 'Cause if need be, we got a couple of fellows here who can translate.

TT^{Ger} *Raine: Hast du schon mal auf dem Boden gegessen, Werner? // Have you ever sat on the ground, Werner?*

Rachtmann: Ja. // Yes.

Raine: Dann setz dich hin! Schön, dass du da bist, Werner. Ich will dir hier nämlich mal ein paar Leute vorstellen. // Then sit down! Good you are here, Werner, because I would like to introduce you to a couple of fellows over here.

TT^{Ita} *Raine: Sai che vuol dire “siediti,” Werner? // You know what “sit down” means, Werner?*

Rachtmann: Sì. // *Yes.*

Raine: Allora, siediti! Vuoi parlare in tedesco, Werner? Perché ho un paio di ragazzi che possono tradurre. // *Well then, sit down! Do you want to speak German, Werner? Because there are a couple of fellows who can translate.*

Example 3 IBST ⇒ TT^{Ger} (00:33:56)

IBST Raine: English?

Butz: Nein. // *No.*

Raine: Wicki! Ask him if he wants to live.

Wicki: Willst du am Leben bleiben? // *Do you want to stay alive?*

Butz: Ja, Sir. // *Yes, Sir.*

Raine: Tell him to point out on this map the German position.

TT^{Ger} Raine: Hast du Schiss? // *Are you shitting your pants?*

Butz: Ja. // *Yes.*

Raine: Wicki! Ich brauch dich zum Händchenhalten. // *Wicki! I need you to hold hands.*

Wicki: Willst du am Leben bleiben? // *Do you want to stay alive?*

Butz: Ja, Sir. // *Yes, Sir.*

Raine: Da will sich wohl einer um das Baseballmatch drücken. // *Seems like someone is ducking out of the baseball match.*

Example 4 IBST ⇒ TT^{Ita} (01:48:23)

IBST Bridget: Es sind Freunde aus Italien. // *They are friends from Italy.*

[...]

Raine: Buon giorno. // *Good day.*

Landa: Signori, è un piacere. Gli amici della vedette, ammirata da tutti noi, questa gemma proprio della nostra cultura, [...] // *Gentlemen, it is a pleasure. Friends of this star that is admired by all of us, of this jewel of our culture,...*

Raine: Grazi(e). // *Thanks.*

Landa: Gorlomi? Lo pronunzio correttamente? // *Gorlomi? Am I saying it correctly?*

Raine: Er, sì, er—correcto. // *Er, yes, er, correct.*

TT^{Ita} Bridget: I miei amici sono siciliani. // *My friends are Sicilians.*

[...]

Raine: Baciamo le mani. // lit.: We kiss hands /old: Your servant.

Landa: Signori, è un piacere. Quante estati ho passato nella Vostra splendida Sicilia, dall'Etna alle spiagge di Taormina. [...] // *Gentlemen, it is a pleasure. How many summers have I spent in your beautiful Sicily, from the Etna to the beaches of Taormina ...*

Raine: Mizzi! (mizzica!) // *interj.: Holy cow!*

Landa: Gorlomi? Ed è un cognome di Palermo? // *Gorlomi? Is that a surname from Palermo?*

Raine: Ah, sì, minchia, indovinò. // *Oh damn, you guessed right!*

Example 5 IBST ⇒ TT^{Ger} (01:02:07)

IBST Hicox (British accent): If you offer me a scotch and plain water, I could drink a scotch and plain water.

TT^{Ger} Hicox: Falls Sie mir einen Scotch mit Wasser offerierten, würde ich einen Scotch mit Wasser trinken. // *If you offered me a scotch with water, I would drink a scotch with water.*

Example 6 IBST ⇒ TT^{Ger} and TT^{Ita} (00:10:06)

IBST La Padite (slight French accent): Again, this is just a rumor, but we heard the Dreyfuses had made their way into Spain.

TT^{Ger} La Padite (French accent): Wie gesagt, es handelt sich nur um ein Gerücht, aber, wir haben gehört, die Dreyfusens haben es nach Spanien geschafft. // *As I said, this is just a rumor, but we heard that the Dreyfuses had made their way to Spain.*

TT^{Ita} La Padite (French accent): Ripeto, è soltanto una chiacchiera, ma abbiamo sentito che i Dreyfus sono riusciti a fuggire in Spagna. // *I repeat, this is just a rumor, but we heard that the Dreyfus were able to flee to Spain.*

Example 7 IBST ⇒ TT^{Spa} and TT^{Ita} (01:15:30)

IBST Hicox: Darf ich Sie erinnern, Feldwebel, Sie sind Soldat! Das ist ein Offizierstisch!

Ich schlage vor, dass Sie das Fräulein nicht weiter belästigen und an Ihren Tisch zurückkehren. // *May I remind you, Sergeant, you are a soldier! This is an officers table! I suggest you stop pestering the Fräulein, and rejoin your table.*

- TT^{Spa} *Hicox*: Debo recordarle, Sargento Wilhelm, que es un soldado y eso es una mesa de oficiales. Le recomiendo que deje de importunar a la Señorita y regrese a su mesa de inmediato. // *Need I remind you, Sergeant, you are a soldier and this is an officers table. I suggest you stop pestering the young lady, and quickly rejoin your table.*
- TT^{Ita} *Hicox*: (subtitles, with same audio as IBST)
 Posso ricordarle, Sargente, che lei è un militare di leva? Questo è un tavolo di ufficiali! Le consiglio di smetterla d'infastidire la Fräulein e tornare al tu tavolo. // *May I remind you, Sergeant, that you are a soldier? This is an officers table! I suggest you stop bothering the Fräulein and return to your table.*

Appendix II

Below is a list of L3 variables (Zabalbeascoa 2012) applicable to the analysis of ST and TT alike. A detailed analysis of L3 in the ST and TT can include answering the following questions. Among the examples, we have included some from IB where relevant.

1. Is L3 made-up or real?
 - 1.1 L3 is a made-up, an invented language created by the writer.
 - 1.1.1 L3 is (strongly) L1-based, eg. Nadsat, in *A Clockwork Orange* (1971).
 - 1.1.2 L3 is not (strongly) L1-based, e.g. Klingon, in *Star Trek* (1979).
 - 1.2 L3 exists (modern languages) or existed, e.g. Latin.
 - 1.2.1 L3 is a real/faithful representation of a foreign language, e.g. French in IBST.
 - 1.2.2 L3 is a fake, a parody, or pseudo-language, e.g. pseudo-German in *Almanya* (2011) and TT^{Spa} (as in Spanish rendering of Example 2). This does not fall under 1.1 since it is a non-faithful representation of an existing language. It is not like Nadsat or Klingon in that sense.
2. Is L3 the same language as L2?
 - 2.1 L3 happens to coincide with L2 (L3ST=L2), e.g. for IBST⇒TT^{Ita}, the main language for the Italian dubbed version of *Inglourious Basterds* is Italian, the same language as L3^{Ita} in IBST.

- 2.2 L3 is not the same language as L2 ($L3^{ST} \neq L2$), e.g. Spanish (L2) in TT^{Spa} does not appear in IB^{ST} at all; so, for the case of Italian in TT^{Spa} , L3 is: $L3^{Ita} \neq L2$ (the TT^{Spa} version of Example 4).
3. How exotic or familiar is L3 for the intended audience?
 - 3.1 L3 is an exotic or unfamiliar language, e.g. Japanese for Westerners in *Lost in Translation*. In the case of IB, none of the languages is particularly exotic as they are all Western European languages.
 - 3.2 L3 is a related or familiar language, e.g. certain French or Latin words and phrases for some English speakers. In the case of IB, many German-speaking viewers of TT^{Ger} can be expected to regard French and Italian as familiar, at least when dealing with certain basic words and expressions.
4. Is the L3 message comprehensible and is the language identifiable?
 - 4.1 L3 is a comprehensible message, e.g. short utterances like orders, announcements, or instructions that are comprehensible thanks to the context and/or visuals.
 - 4.2 The L3 message is not comprehensible, e.g. a more complex, probably longer conversation, such as a scene almost entirely shot in French and another one in German in IB^{ST} .
 - 4.2.1 L3 is identifiable by the audience, e.g. because of greater familiarity of a certain linguistic landscape or of explicit naming of the language either by one of the characters or by a narrator.
 - 4.2.2 L3 is not identifiable. (It might be difficult for Spanish or British viewers to identify either Hungarian or Finnish just by hearing a few utterances in a film.)
5. Are the words in L3 meant to communicate information or content?
 - 5.1 L3 communicates information.
 - 5.1.1 L3 is translated, e.g. a subtitled scene in IB^{ST} that is partly or entirely shot in German, (Examples 3 and 7).
 - 5.1.2 L3 is not translated. Sometimes L3 appears in a film or written text, but there is no translation for it either because the viewer or reader is expected to know L3 sufficiently well, or because the L3 words are not meant to be understood.
 - 5.2 L3 carries no real information or content, e.g. short utterances in IB^{ST} German, mainly military orders that do not need to be completely understood, since their message is guessable.

6. Is L3 clearly visible and noticeable or is it just hinted at?
- 6.1 L3 is not—or is hardly—distinguishable from the main language of the text, it is invisible, e.g. for some dialects or sociolects or instances of conspicuous pronunciation as compensation strategy (see Examples 4 and 7).
- 6.2 L3 is compensated or indirectly represented by alternative strategies: linguistic (e.g. vocabulary); paralinguistic (e.g. voice pitch); nonverbal (e.g. a foreigner is represented through costume or mannerisms). TT^{Ger} uses linguistic and paralinguistic strategies to indirectly represent L3^{Eng-UK} while TT^{Spa} and TT^{Ita} use paralinguistic strategies for this purpose.

Appendix III

Language transfers in the three dubbed versions of *Inglourious Basterds*

Table 2.1 Language distribution in *Inglourious Basterds* and its German dubbed version

IB ST	⇒	TT ^{Ger} (<i>Inglourious Basterds</i>)	Transfer types
English	⇒	Standard German	L1⇒L2
Non-native English	⇒	German with a foreign accent of the same L3 ^{TT}	Cii
German	⇒	German (Example 3)	Ai
French	⇒	French	Ci
Italian	⇒	Italian	Ci

Table 2.2 Language distribution in *Inglourious Basterds* and its Spanish dubbed version

IB ST	⇔	TT ^{Spa} (<i>Malditos Bastardos</i>)	Transfer types
English	⇔	Standard Spanish	L1⇔L2
German	⇔	German	Ci
		Standard Spanish	Ai
		*Spanish with German accent	Aii
French	⇔	French	Ci
		Standard Spanish	Ai
		*Spanish with German accent	Aii
Italian	⇔	Italian	Ci

Table 2.3 Language distribution in *Inglourious Basterds* and its Italian dubbed version

IB ST	⇔	TT ^{Ita} (<i>Bastardi senza gloria</i>)	Transfer types
English	⇔	Standard Italian	L1⇔L2
Non-native English	⇔	Italian with a foreign accent of the same L3 ^{TT}	Cii
German	⇔	German	Ci
French	⇔	French	Ci
		Italian	Ai
Italian	⇔	Italian	Ci
		Sicilian	D

Glossary

Audiovisual text: this term is used to stress the fact that an audiovisual product such as a film or TV show can and should be seen as a text, meaning that the picture and the (nonverbal) sound are just as much textual constituents as the words.

Intratextual translation: this term is proposed by Zabalbeascoa (2012) to refer to instances of translation that are included within a given text, ST or TT (for example, when one character interprets for another) as constituent textual elements.

Metatranslation: the translation of book passages or audiovisual scenes involving intratextual translation in such a way that ST intratextual translation is rendered as TT intratextual translation.

Multilingual text: a text that includes more than one language; not bilingual publications that involve repeating the same message in two different languages, like a bilingual edition of the Constitution of Canada in French and English, but rather texts where some parts of the message of a text are in one language and other parts are in another. Also referred to as polylingual.

Source text (ST) / target text (TT): source text is the text to be (or that has been) translated. This term is preferred to “original text” as some scholars reject the notion of texts being fully original, pointing to such textual features as intertextuality and polyphony. Target text is the result of translating the source text, i.e. the translation.

A South African Take on the Gangster Film Genre: Translating *Tsotsi* and *Hijack Stories* for an International Audience

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Introduction

This chapter follows on from an initial investigation of the South African film, *Tsotsi* (2005), which examined translation strategies in the subtitled English version (UK Sub) of the film, in comparison with those employed in the French subtitled (Fr Sub) and dubbed (Fr Dub) versions (Pettit 2011). The notion of code-switching and language variation is the main focus here. It builds on the previous study by including the DVDs released for American (USA Sub) and South African (SA Sub) audiences. In addition, the analysis is extended to the subtitled and dubbed versions of a second South African film, *Hijack Stories* (2000). This film was selected to be shown at the 2001 Cannes Film Festival. As Jacobsohn (2008: 78) points out, *Hijack Stories* is:

a South African film, shot in South Africa, starring well-known South African actors, with a predominantly South African crew, yet funded and marketed internationally. German South African director Oliver Schmitz transcended the boundaries of South African and non-South African to unite the global ensemble which would create *Hijack Stories*.

While both films relate thematically to South Africa (SA), *Hijack Stories* relies more heavily on dialogue than *Tsotsi*. This constitutes an interesting basis for comparison in relation to the resulting translations. Although the value of each film lies in the specificity of its “South Africanness,” both are intended for international audiences, and are therefore dependent on the skills of those involved

in the subtitled and dubbed versions. No mention is made of those responsible for the French versions of *Tsotsi*. However, the following reference appears in the film credits for *Hijack Stories*: “Translation (France) Michèle Hababou.” As regards the English version of *Tsotsi*, “Inferno Sub-titling/HD mastering Eddie Addinall” appears in the credits at the end of the film.

In the following analyses, the translations are examined in relation to the wider audiovisual text, an “integrated text” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996: 183), which is composed of an intricate web of visual, auditory, verbal, and nonverbal signs where “different sign systems co-operate to create a coherent story” (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 45). The translator needs to consider the way in which the multiple signs interact to generate meaning. This can assist in choosing an appropriate translation strategy where the subtitles or dubbed dialogues complement the other signs in the film. As Perego (2009: 58) states: “At times, the semantic load of nonverbal signs accompanying speech is much more significant than that of the spoken text itself.” She examines the ways in which nonverbal information can be reintegrated into a subtitled version namely through the strategy of explicitation by adding linguistic elements not present in the original or by making the translation more specific, either through the choice of particular lexical items or rephrasing (Perego 2009: 59). Can this trend be observed in the films selected in this chapter? Are there other instances where the translation strategies appear to have been chosen due to the multimodal nature of the audiovisual text? First, let us contextualize the films.

The films

Tsotsi is an adaptation of a novel by the well-known South African playwright, Athol Fugard. The novel was written in 1961 but only published in 1980. Twenty-three years later, the South African writer and director, Gavin Hood, was commissioned by Peter Fudakowski to adapt the novel and write a screenplay for a feature film: this marks the beginnings of the film that would eventually be released in 2005. Although the original screenplay was in English, the language of the film is *Tsotsitaal* or *isiCamtho*, a township slang which merges African languages (Zulu, Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa), Afrikaans, and English. The film is set in the vast Johannesburg township of Soweto and follows the leader of a gang who hijacks a car and accidentally kidnaps a baby in the process.

A *tsotsi* is a “township criminal” (Soanes 2002: 983), a thug or gangster, as explained at the beginning of the film. Dovey (2007: 153) maintains that it is difficult to provide an accurate translation for *tsotsi* and offers “street-wise criminal.” She also explains that the term can refer both to the “slick smartly dressed gangsters,” such as Fela in the film, and to the youths who turn to crime due to poverty and marginalization. *Tsotsi* and his gang members belong to the latter group. The narrative follows his moral struggle as he comes to terms with what he has done, leading to his eventual redemption when he finally decides to return the baby to his parents. The synopsis which appears on the film’s official website states that as a “psychological thriller,” the film “puts a human face on both the victims and the perpetrators of violent crime and is ultimately a story of hope and a triumph of love over rage” (*Tsotsi the Film* 2006). In this film, dialogue plays a secondary role and the visual signs are of paramount importance.

Hijack Stories by Oliver Schmitz is also set in Johannesburg and tells the story of a successful young actor, Sox Moraka, who lives in Rosebank, a wealthy suburb of Johannesburg. He auditions for the role of a Sowetan gangster in a popular local television series, and is desperate for the role, which would launch his acting career. Unfortunately, his clear-cut appearance and polite mannerisms are far removed from the image of a hardened criminal. So, he returns to Soweto, where he was born, to carry out some character research. He crosses paths with Zama, a local gangster who allows him to become part of his car hijack gang. Sox is drawn further and further into the criminal web and becomes increasingly involved in violent acts. The line between reality and fiction blurs, with the actor losing everything as he is transformed into a brutal hijacker. The real gangster, Zama, ends up switching places with Sox and successfully auditions for the part of the Sowetan gangster.

Both films are set in Soweto, with gang members as the main protagonists. In addition, the township scenes are set against the wealthier suburbs of Johannesburg. In contrast with *Tsotsi*, the language of *Hijack Stories* is mainly English. However, *Tsotsitaal* and code-switching frequently occur in *Hijack Stories* as well.

Area of study

Chaume (2004) identifies a number of signifying codes which can influence Audiovisual Translation: linguistic, paralinguistic, sound arrangement, iconographic, photographic, and planning (types of shot) codes, mobility or proxemic codes, graphic and syntactic or editing codes (see also Chaume 1997). This approach emphasizes the importance of considering the interaction between each of these codes if the resulting translation is to do any justice to the original audiovisual text. In other words: “A translation that does not take all the codes into account can be seen only as a partial translation” (Chaume 2004: 22). In addition to the linguistic code, it is essential to appreciate the way in which the various sign systems have been juxtaposed to generate meaning (see also Gambier and Suomela-Salmi 1994; Gottlieb 1994; Gambier 2006). This interaction produces the message which first has to be deciphered by the translator, who subsequently renders it accessible to a foreign viewership.

The success of the film is in the balance: subtitles are “an addition to the finished film, and if they are to function effectively, they must interact with and rely on all the film’s different channels” (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 46), visual and acoustic, verbal and nonverbal. For a dubbed version, the risks are equally high. The stakeholders involved in transposing and adapting the original dialogues, the translator, synchronizer, dubbing actor, and so forth (Martínez 2004: 4), need to be aware of the meanings generated by the multiple signs of the original text. Zabalbeascoa (2008: 33) argues that Audiovisual Translation leads to the “creation of a ‘new script’ in a different language” which establishes “meaningful relationships [...] with the pictures and sounds that also make their contribution to the ‘new’ AV text, so that it is as coherent and relevant as possible to the new audience.”

In order to achieve this coherence, the audiovisual translator needs to take account of the interaction between the co-existing sign systems. The examples selected for analysis in this are considered in this context. Therefore, the following guiding questions are applied to the analyses of the different versions:

1. Do the different target viewerships have an impact on the respective English translations of *Tsotsi*?
2. How are representations of South Africa in *Tsotsi* and *Hijack Stories* maintained when dealing with colloquialisms and language variation in the French versions?

3. To what extent are the resulting translations defined by the sign system, by the marked verbal and cultural signs which constitute the audiovisual text?

The target audience: Different versions, a different approach?

Before turning to the UK and US versions of *Tsotsi*, it is worth noting in passing that there are no differences between the SA and UK subtitled versions of the film. The English subtitles for the South African DVD are exactly the same as those used for the British DVD. One would have expected some variation as a South African audience would understand cultural references and local specificities. Only the DVD covers differ. The South African version focuses on *Tsotsi*, with a close-up of the actor in a hooded top. This image is not juxtaposed with the city skyline of Johannesburg and township shacks, as with the other covers used for the UK, US, and French versions. The UK cover goes one step further and pre-emptes the film narrative by showing Tsotsi holding the baby he kidnaps. There are also variations in the added text that accompanies the title: The UK DVD proclaims: “In this world ... redemption comes just once.” The US DVD, however, declares: “Hope set him free.” And the South African version philosophizes: “We do not choose our beginning. tsotsi/ n. thug. hoodlum. gangster.” The South African viewers would understand what and who “tsotsi” refers to, whereas it is highly unlikely the other viewers would. It is therefore intriguing that it is the South African DVD cover which offers a preliminary explanation of the word “tsotsi” and not the other versions.

Regarding the translations, the English subtitles in the South African (and British) version are generally very similar to the American version. However there are some differences. These occur essentially in relation to layout and differing spotting strategies. Examples from the different translations appear in Table 3.1. The back translation for the French versions is indicated in square brackets.

The subtitles are divided into shorter, discrete components in the US version. The US subtitles transcribed in Example 2 also differ in that the subtitles remain on screen through the shot change. The UK version respects the shot change,

Table 3.1 *Tsotsi***Example 1**

<i>SA/UK Sub</i>	Fela: What's it say? Soekie: Says he shot a woman. Stole her car, with her child inside ... What kind does this shit?
<i>USA Sub</i>	– What's it say? – Says he shot a woman. Stole her car, with her child inside. What kind of man does shit like that?
<i>Fr Sub</i>	Ça dit quoi? [It says what?] Qu'il a tiré sur une femme [That he shot a woman.] et volé sa voiture avec l'enfant dedans [and stole her car] [with the child inside.] Quelle ordure peut faire ça? [What bastard could do that?]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	Qu'est-ce que ça dit? [What does it say?] Ça dit que ton copain a tiré sur une femme et a piqué sa voiture avec son bébé dedans. [It says that your friend shot a woman and pinched her car with her baby inside.] Faut vraiment être une belle ordure. [Really have to be quite a bastard.]

Example 2

<i>SA/UK Sub</i>	Butcher: Why later? Tsotsi: Maybe we need him?
<i>USA Sub</i>	– Why later? – We might need him.
<i>Fr Sub</i>	Pourquoi? [Why?] On peut avoir besoin de lui. [We might need him.]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	Pourquoi plus tard? [Why later?] On peut avoir besoin de lui. [We might need him.]

Table 3.2 *Tsotsi***Example 1**

<i>SA/UK Sub</i>	Fela: Drivers I need, drinkers I don't ...
<i>USA Sub</i>	I need drivers, not drinkers.
<i>French Sub</i>	J'ai besoin de chauffeurs, pas d'alcoolos. [I need drivers,] [not alkie.]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	J'ai besoin de chauffeurs, moi, pas d'alcoolos. [I need drivers, me, not alkie.]

Example 2

<i>SA/UK Sub</i>	Boston: Jesus, Butcher, fetch it yourself. I'm trying to talk serious here.
<i>USA Sub</i>	Jesus, Butcher, fetch it yourself. I'm trying to have a serious discussion.
<i>Fr Sub</i>	T'as qu' à y aller! Je discute, là! [You go for it!] [I'm discussing here.]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	Tu vois pas que je parle. Bouge ton cul et vas-y. [Can't you see I'm talking. Move your arse and go.]

Example 3

<i>SA/UK Sub</i>	Turn off the alarm
<i>USA Sub</i>	Shut the alarm off.
<i>Fr Sub</i>	–Débranche l'alarme. [Disconnect the alarm.]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	Coupe l'alarme. [Cut off the alarm]

Example 4

<i>SA/UK Sub</i>	Morris: Howzit, Bheki!
<i>USA Sub</i>	What's up, Bheki?
<i>Fr Sub</i>	Comment il va, mon Bheki! [How he's going, my Bheki.]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	Mon Bheki. [My Bheki]

Example 5

<i>SA/UK Sub</i>	Miriam: Go well. Man: Thank you.
<i>USA Sub</i>	– Be well. – Thank you.
<i>Fr Sub</i>	– Bonne journée. – Merci [Have a good day]. [Thanks.]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	Bonne journée. A vous aussi. [Have a good day]. [You too.]

inserting a subtitle for each shot: “Why later?” followed by “Maybe we need him?” The USA choice is unusual given that it would have been possible to respect the shot change. As Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007: 91) point out:

Although not always possible to comply with, another golden rule in spotting recommends that a subtitle should not be maintained over a cut. The subtitle should leave the screen just before the cut occurs and a new subtitle spotted after the cut, which functions as a dividing frontier between subtitles.

Where differences occur between the translations, these appear to be guided by strategies which facilitate the American viewer’s understanding. This is illustrated in Table 3.2.

In Example 1, “Drivers I need, drinkers I don’t” (UK), is simplified to a common subject, verb, object word order: “I need drivers, not drinkers” (USA). Similarly, in Example 2, “I’m trying to talk serious here,” becomes the much less colloquial “I’m trying to have a serious discussion.” In Examples 3 and 4, American turns of phrase are chosen: “Turn off the alarm” becomes “shut the alarm off” (Example 3) and “howzit,” a common informal South African greeting, becomes the equally colloquial but markedly American: “What’s up” (Example 4). In the final and fifth example, a direct translation of the conventional Zulu leave-taking phrase “hamba kahle” appears in the UK subtitled version as “go well.” However, this is adapted in the American subtitle and becomes “be well.”

Language variation: South African gangster subculture and code-switching

As mentioned previously, the action in *Tsotsi* revolves around the activities of a Sowetan gang in a South African township on the outskirts of Johannesburg, the crime committed by Tsotsi, their leader, and his gradual move towards redemption. In *Hijack Stories*, an aspiring actor joins a Sowetan gang to acquire an insight into gang culture to help him in his quest to be selected in a popular television series. The gangster subculture permeates the film narrative and visual dynamics of both films. Colloquial terms are chosen which emphasize this, both in the subtitled and dubbed versions. The geographical setting, the visual appearance of the actors, the way in which they interact with each other, their mannerisms and gestures, combine to create a multitude of meanings and expectations for the viewers which has implications for the translations.

Language variation will shape the way in which a character is perceived, and it might pose particular challenges for the audiovisual translator. Minutella (2012: 313) writes that “culture-specific traits, sociolinguistic varieties, shifts from one language to another, or the use of a specific language are meaningful aspects of multilingual films strictly linked to culture and among the most challenging features for audiovisual translators.” Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007: 191) suggest that the interaction of the other signs in the audiovisual text assist the subtitler in dealing with language variation (dialects, sociolects, and idiolects). Furthermore, the subtitler relies on “an estimate of what viewers from the target culture might be expected to fill in themselves” (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 191–2). In a dubbed version, the original dialogue and soundtrack are no longer available to indicate code-switching or a different language variety, which leads to other challenges and solutions. Heiss (2004: 209) explores “inter-linguistic variation,” code-mixing, and code-switching in multilingual films where several languages appear in the original version. She maintains that this must not disappear in the dubbing translation as it constitutes a “meaningful element” (Heiss 2004: 218) of the original. A way to indicate these shifts in meaning needs to be found.

In *Tsotsi*, colloquial terms appear throughout the subtitled and dubbed French versions. For example, “thunes” (dough) is used for “money” instead of “argent.” Similarly, in *Hijack Stories*, the informal lexis and register reinforce the gangster subculture. Protagonists in both films speak Tsotsitaal, which literally means the language of thugs or criminals (“taal” meaning language in Afrikaans and “tsotsi” meaning thug or criminal in Sotho). In *Hijack Stories*, English is spoken to a greater extent, ensuring wider accessibility to an international audience. Nevertheless, in both films, the code-switching is not indicated in either the French subtitled or dubbed versions. For example, italics are not used in the subtitled version, and the dubbed dialogues do not indicate the shift by either introducing a dialect or an accent. In the subtitled version, however, the original soundtrack compensates partly for this feature. In the dubbed version, there are a few isolated cases where French street slang, known as “le verlan,” is used as a compensatory device. Although this is not used throughout the dubbed version wherever code-switching occurs, the gangster subculture is reinforced where it is introduced.

“Le verlan” is a type of Pig Latin that is based on the principle of inverting the order of syllables in each word. For example, the namesake of the language, “le verlan,” switches the syllables of “l’envers” (the reverse). The syllables are

mentioned in reverse order: l'en—vers; vers—l'en; verlan. Some words have become so common, that they are used in everyday French speech. For example: “meuf” [femme] “woman,” “keuf” [flic] “cop.” However, this is not exactly the case in the example that appears in Table 3.3, where “prison,” is translated as the rather unusual “zonpri”:

Table 3.3 *Hijack Stories*

<i>Original version</i>	Sox: OK, so where did you learn this stuff guys. Zuma: Boarding school Sox: What? Fly: Jail, wena.
<i>Fr Sub</i>	Où as-tu appris ce truc? [Where have you learned this thing?] – En pension. – Quoi? [At boarding school.] [What?] En prison. [In prison]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	Où est-ce que vous avez appris ce truc? [Where did you learn this thing?] – En pension. – Quoi? [At boarding school.] [What?] A la zonpri. [In clink]

In the original, code-switching is present: “Jail wena,” where “wena” refers to “you.” This is informal usage present in Nguni languages such as Zulu and Xhosa. Although the French viewer of the dubbed version will be unaware of the code-switching, “verlan” is used to compensate for this loss. The dubbed version is appropriately trying to reinforce the criminal subculture that is present visually in the film and the code-switching. However, “la zonpri” is not widely used and perhaps one of the many other French colloquial terms for jail could have been inserted not only in the dubbed version but also in the subtitled version.

Translation and the audiovisual sign system

What strategies do translators observe in the subtitled and dubbed versions of *Tsotsi* and *Hijack Stories* in relation to verbal cultural signs? Table 3.4 presents examples from *Hijack Stories* where verbal signs specific to the South African context are used (see also Pettit 2011 for an analysis of culture-specific terms in *Tsotsi*).

Post-apartheid South Africa is often referred to as the Rainbow Nation, a term initially coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu back in the late 1990s. In Example 1, Zama refers to Sox the actor as Mr. Rainbow Nation. In the subtitled version this becomes “M. National Arc-en-ciel,” [Mr National Rainbow], which is quite bizarre. In the dubbed version, the term “young” is added: “Monsieur Jeune Nation Arc-en-ciel,” [Mr. Young Rainbow Nation]. This alludes to South Africa as a “young” democracy. The dubbed version therefore refers the viewers to South Africa’s history, facilitating their understanding of this cultural signposting.

In the second example in Table 3.4, an additional reference to the South African context appears. The evocative and invented “babyfood boys” becomes, in the subtitled version, “c’est ça la vie des gosses de riches,” [so this is the rich kid life]. In the dubbed version this becomes: “Alors, c’est ça la vie des bébés de la nouvelle Afrique du Sud.” [So this is the life of the babies of the New South Africa]. The new South Africa, once again refers to the fact that the country is a new democracy. The dubbed version therefore contextualizes the South African setting of the film, while enhancing accessibility for the viewers.

Similarly, in Example 3, the term “democratic” is inserted in an intentionally ironic manner. Zama is arranging further carjacks. There are four gang members but they have only stolen three cars so he suggests they need to steal a fourth in order to be democratic. Both French versions use the colloquial “caisse,” [banger], to translate “car.” In the dubbed version, “mec,” [guy/man], is added and we hear “y a” instead of “il y a,” [there are]. The dubbed version therefore creates a new soundtrack which matches the gangster subculture in the film by increasing the number of colloquial, slang renderings. While these additions do not appear in the subtitled version, there is still an attempt to achieve a similar effect by inserting the colloquial “T’as encore rien fait” rather than the standard and grammatically correct “Tu n’as encore rien fait.”

In Example 3 there is also a reference to Gibson Kente, a South African playwright whose plays were concerned with the reality of life in South African townships, fitting in with the context of this film. The French viewer may not

Table 3.4 *Hijack Stories***Example 1**

<i>Original version</i>	Zama: Gents, I think it's our duty to give Mr Rainbow Nation some serious re-education.
<i>Fr Sub</i>	Ja Messieurs, [Gentlemen] il est de notre devoir de rééduquer sérieusement M. National Arc-en-ciel! [it's our duty to seriously re-educate] [Mr National Rainbow.]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	Messieurs, [Gentlemen] Je crois que nous devons prévoir pour Monsieur Jeune Nation Arc-en ciel une sérieuse rééducation. [I think that we must plan serious re-education for Mister Young Rainbow Nation.] Oui.

Example 2

<i>Original version</i>	Zama: So this is how you babyfood boys live?
<i>Fr Sub</i>	C'est ça, la vie des gosses de riches? [This is it, the life of rich kids?]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	Alors, c'est ça la vie des bébés de la nouvelle Afrique du Sud [So, this is the life of the babies of the new South Africa.]

Example 3

<i>Original version</i>	Zama: You haven't done anything yet. Ja! You see four, there are only three cars. Not very democratic, now is it. Mister Actor, I think it's time you gave us a little show. Gibson Kente style! (laughs menacingly)
<i>Fr Sub</i>	T'as encore rien fait! [You haven't done anything yet.] On est quatre, et on a que trois caisses. [We are four] [and we have four bangers.] C'est pas très démocratique. [It's not very democratic.] M. l'acteur, il est temps que tu nous fasses ton numéro. [Mr. Actor, it's time for you to do your number.] Genre Gibson Kente! [Like Gibson Kente!]

<i>Fr Dub</i>	<p>T'as encore rien fait, toi. [You, you haven't done anything yet.] Et oui, mec, on est quatre, non. Y a trois caisses. [Yes man, we are four, not so? There are three bangers.] C'est pas très démocratique, cette histoire. [It's not very democratic this situation.] M. l'acteur, il est temps que tu nous montres l'étendu de tes talents. [Mr. Actor, it's time that you show us the extent of your talents.] Gibson Kente, enseigne, ouais! [Gibson Kente, teach, yeah!]</p>
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know the South African playwright, but both versions choose to retain this personality from the source culture in the translations. A slight addition appears in the dubbed version: “Gibson Kente, enseigne, ouais!” [Gibson Kente, teach, yeah!] Here, again, the dubbed version provides the viewer with additional assistance and creates a coherent link with the preceding utterance.

Other South African terminology, such as “township” is translated as “ghetto” in both films. A symbolic reference to the fight against apartheid, is implied in the original by the term, “the struggle,” referring to “the campaign by liberation movements and their supporters against the apartheid system” (South African Pocket Oxford Dictionary 2006: 902). This is translated as “le combat,” but these connotations may be lost on the French viewer.

There are two examples in *Hijack Stories* (see Table 3.5) where the translations do not seem to fit either the context in the narrative or the visual signs.

Table 3.5 *Hijack Stories*

Example 1

<i>Original version</i>	Zama: I work with these two guys.
<i>Fr Sub</i>	Je travaille avec deux types. [I work with these two guys.]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	Je travaille avec deux associés. [I work with two associates.]

Example 2

<i>Original</i>	... and the other one is just mad about cars. He's our getaway driver.
<i>Fr Sub</i>	l'autre est un malade des bagnoles. Un serial-pilote. [the other one is just crazy about old bangers.] [A serial driver.]
<i>Fr Dub</i>	L'autre c'est un grave malade des bagnoles. C'est un serial-pilote. [The other one is seriously crazy about old bangers. He's a serial driver.]

In the first example, Sox is auditioning for the role of gangster. He says “I work with these two guys,” referring to his partners in crime, translated literally in the subtitled version as [deux types]. This matches the way in which the character is depicted physically, and the informal register he uses more generally. The same term becomes “deux associés,” [two associates], in the dubbed version, a translation which was perhaps chosen due to lip sync constraints as lip movements are visible. However, this change in register does not match the character we see on the screen and the tenuous suspension of disbelief created with the juxtaposition of a source culture image with a target culture soundtrack is eroded.

The second example is slightly different. An Anglicism is invented where “getaway driver” is transposed as the slightly odd [serial-pilote], “a serial driver” in both translations. A “getaway car” is often present and mentioned in American gangster films to refer to the vehicle criminals use to make their escape. As this cultural allusion proves difficult to translate here, the translations have opted for a collocation which describes the character and the actions that follow throughout the film. He is obsessed with cars, and at one point in the film refers to himself as the “Michael Schumacher of Soweto.” This adaptation fits the character but the viewer is not given an indication of his particular role in the gang.

In Table 3.6, extracts are taken from Sox’s two auditions for the role of a gangster in a TV drama called *Bra Biza*. The first takes place at the beginning of the film, and the second towards the end, after Sox has gained some first-hand experience of gang culture. In these scenes, he tries to display his acting skills to their best advantage. His gestures are exaggerated, and the camera is focused on his actions.

When he refers to the American actor, Wesley Snipes, suggesting that the role “needs more of a Wesley Snipes slant,” Sox pronounces “slant” with an American accent, playing up to the American gangster film genre. This is translated literally in the subtitled version: “doit avoir un côté plus Wesley Snipes,” [must have more of a Wesley Snipes side], but is made explicit in the dubbed version in case the French viewer does not know what Wesley Snipes is known for: “avec un côté très physique,” [with a very physical side]. Other elements, not present in the original, are introduced in the dubbed version: “son rôle culte,” [his cult role]; “vous vous souvenez de son jeu?” [do you remember his role?] However, the reverse strategy occurs with *Bra Biza*, the name of the gangster in the television series. This time explicitation is used in the subtitled version, “Brother Biza,” but remains unchanged in the dubbed version: “Bra Biza.” “Bra”

Table 3.6 *Hijack Stories***Example 1**

<i>Original version</i>	<p>Sox: Uh, I believe, y'know, this, this that, this character Needs more of a Wesley Snipes slant into it. like when he was doing that bad character in the "New Jack City," have you seen that one? Director: Look, uh, this character is township, I mean, you can do that can you? Township? Like he is in the show? Bra' Biza? Sox: Oh, absolutely. I can do township. I'm a, I'm a Soweto boy.</p>
<i>Fr Sub</i>	<p>Sox: Et je crois que ce personnage ... [And I think that this character...] doit avoir un côté plus Wesley Snipes. [must have more of a Wesley Snipes side] Comme lorsqu'il faisait le dur [Like when he was a playing a bad guy] dans "New Jack City". Vous l'avez vu? [in "New Jack City." Did you see it?] Director: Ce rôle, c'est le ghetto. [This role is township.] Vous pouvez faire ça? [Can you do that?] Ghetto? Comme dans la série "Brother Biza". [Township?] [Like in the series "Brother Biza."] Sox: Absolument. Je peux jouer ghetto. [Absolutely. I can do township.] Je suis né à Soweto. [I was born in Soweto.]</p>
<i>Fr Dub</i>	<p>Sox: ... et, j'ai pensé en fait qu'ici, ici, c'est, c'est un rôle à jouer plus à la Wesley Snipes [... and I thought in fact that here, here, it's, it's a role to be played in the Wesley Snipes style.] avec un côté très physique [with a very physical side] genre quand il faisait le vrai méchant [like when he's playing the real bad guy] dans son rôle culte dans 'New Jack City'. Vous vous souvenez de son jeu? [in his cult role in 'New Jack City.' Do you remember his acting?] Director: Ecoutez, ce rôle c'est ghetto, n'est-ce pas? [Listen, this role is township, isn't it?] alors, je vous demande de faire [so, I'm asking you to do]</p>

ghetto, c'est tout simple, comme il est dans la série télé. Soyez Bra Biza.

[township, it's straightforward, like in the TV series. Be Bra Biza.]

Sox: Absolument. Je peux jouer ghetto.

[Absolutely. I can do township.]

Heureusement, j'habite à Soweto.

[Fortunately, I live in Soweto.]

Example 2

<i>Original version</i>	<p>Zama: My boys on the back, sitting in the back low Three black men in a car Suspicious He's coming Here he comes Gets out of the car to open the gate. Pulls out.</p>
<i>Fr Sub</i>	<p>Mes gars sont assis à l'arrière, assez bas [My guys are sitting in the back,] [quite low] Trois Blacks dans une caisse... [Three Blacks in an old banger] Suspect! [Suspicious!] Il arrive ... [He arrives ...] Le voilà. [There he is.] Il descend de voiture pour la grille. [He gets out of the car for the gate.] Il démarre. [He starts up.]</p>
<i>Fr Dub</i>	<p>Mes hommes sont à leurs postes, à l'arrière de la bagnole. [My men are in their positions, at the back of the old banger.] Trois Blacks dans une tire [Three Blacks in a car] Suspect! [Suspicious!] C'est la bonne. [It's the right one.] On est prêts. [We're ready.] Il descend pour ouvrir le portail. [He gets out to open the gate.] Il remet en marche. [He starts up again.]</p>

is a colloquial abbreviation for “brother,” which is used in the French subtitled version, but not in the dubbed version.

An inconsistency occurs when Sox says: “I’m a Soweto boy.” The subtitled version gets it right: “je suis né à Soweto,” [I was born in Soweto]. He was indeed born in the township, but we learn that he has managed to escape poverty through a privileged education and a career in television. However, in the dubbed version, we hear: “j’habite à Soweto,” [I live in Soweto]. This is not the case. He lives in Rosebank, a wealthy suburb of Johannesburg, confirmed by shots of him in his apartment shortly after this scene. The visual therefore contradicts the verbal.

The second example takes place at the end of the film where the real criminal, Zama, replaces Sox and goes along to the audition. He describes the preceding moments to an armed hold-up. Once again gestures feature prominently as Zama attempts to display his talents to the director. The focus is on him as he tells the story, leading to improvisation in the dubbed version, to ensure a match between actions and context. However, this is sacrificed at one point, when “my boys” becomes “mes hommes,” [my men], to produce similar lip movements, compromising the more colloquial rendering of the original. The informal register is maintained in the subtitled version: “mes gars,” [my guys] or [boys], and is therefore closer to the original than the dubbed version. The dubbed translation also moves away from the original where “He’s coming” is changed completely to become “c’est la bonne,” [it’s the right one].

Closing remarks

This study examines the way in which a particular South African reality, as portrayed via *Tsotsi* and *Hijack Stories*, is represented through translation in the English and/or French subtitled and dubbed versions. Slang and colloquialisms are featured frequently in both films, and code-switching is characteristic of both. No differences were found between the English and South African versions of *Tsotsi*. However, variations were observed in the American version, not only in relation to layout and spotting strategies (Table 3.1) but also regarding adaptations appearing in the subtitled US version which seemed to be guided by a wish to facilitate the viewer’s understanding (Table 3.2).

An informal register is present in both films with slang permeating subtitles and dubbed dialogues. Generally, code-switching is not indicated. However,

one compensatory strategy employed by the dubbed version of *Hijack Stories* is indicated in Table 3.3 where a particular French urban street slang, “le verlan,” is used at a point where code-switching appears in the original. Although an unusual term appears, “zonpri,” [“clink/prison”], this choice indicates a desire to match the linguistic signs with the visual and cultural signs which portray the township setting and gangster milieu. Elsewhere, the informality of the lexis and register serve to reinforce the gangster subculture which is the focus of both films. As can be seen in the examples above, the French versions opt for colloquialisms even when these are not present in the original. For example: in Table 3.2, “drinker”/“alcoolos” [alkies] (Fr Sub/Fr Dub), “fetch it yourself”/“bougé ton cul et vas-y” [move your arse and go] (Fr Dub) and in Table 3.4, “cars”/“caisses” [old bangers] (Fr Sub/Fr Dub). These translations are a way of compensating for instances where language variation is not indicated, and in order to connect with the nonverbal signs present in the image.

In the dubbed versions of *Hijack Stories*, different dialects and accents have not been used to indicate the code-switching in the original. Rather, the focus is on trying to replicate the gangster genre by avoiding formal terms. Other solutions go some way towards facilitating the viewer’s understanding through explicitation or additions to the target text. For example, in Table 3.4, allusions to South Africa’s history appear in the dubbed version. In Table 3.6, additions are inserted which appear to increase accessibility for the target viewer. A similar trend is noted in the American subtitled version of *Tsotsi* (Table 3.2). However, an inconsistency which could be potentially distracting for the viewer was identified in the French dubbing of *Hijack Stories* (see Table 3.6), where the shot that follows the scene contradicts what was said.

On the whole, the extracts selected for analysis do indicate an attempt to relate the translations to the multiple signs in the audiovisual text. The art of the talented subtitler lies in providing the viewer with sufficient information and time to peruse the image and take in the other signs which interact and function to generate meaning. The new dubbed soundtrack needs to link up seamlessly with an image embedded in the source culture. It is a delicate balancing act and one that needs to be carefully managed by the audiovisual translator who has to contend with a complex and dynamic semiotic text.

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Part Two

Subtitling and Dubbing

An introductory note

Like film translation and adaptation, subtitling and dubbing is a topic that receives a great deal of scholarly attention. A search in a database for subtitling and dubbing is likely to retrieve a long list of sources—perhaps more than any other keyword in this collection. Subtitling and dubbing, whether in film, television, video clips, commercials, newscasting, live broadcast, and theater performances, is indeed a wide topic. Few of the sources retrieved, however, would include references to Translation Theory or even to translation at all. Much of the discussion of this topic is very technical, and in some sources the reference is to a “language technician” rather than a translator (or audiovisual translator) whose work carries either creative or theoretical implications.

This is certainly not the case in the following part. Rocío Baños both surveys the recent scholarship, trends and conventions in the field of language dubbing, and argues for an interdisciplinary approach that combines knowledge in linguistics, scriptwriting, and the specific constraints and characteristics of dubbing. Baños speaks of the “pretended spontaneity” of dubbed dialogue, and of the particular challenges that a dubbed production faces in comparison with non-translated productions, as it is produced in a particularly constrained and controlled environment.

As I already mention in the editor’s note, Emilio Audissino supplements and contextualizes the task and preoccupation of the media translator in relation with those of the film producer, distributor, and viewer. Audissino’s work combines theoretical thought with a vast knowledge of film history and practical considerations. Particularly in his reference to multilingual translation, Audissino supplements the dispassionate discussion of Heiss, Zabalbeascoa, and Voellmer with very clear judgment on the way in which avoiding linguistic

diversity can render a film tedious (in his case *Le Mepris*, J. L. Godard 1963), subjecting the viewers to an “annoyingly repetitious” dialogue. Elsewhere, Audissino demonstrates where unsuccessful dubbing can hurt “the style, tone, pace, and local meaning of the original film.” As he writes, “While Translation Studies supply the indispensable framework to theorize operational guidelines ... film studies can contribute to the field by describing the formal/aesthetic effects of translation.”

Insights into the False Orality of Dubbed Fictional Dialogue and the Language of Dubbing

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Introduction

One of the main challenges of screenwriting is to create dialogues that mirror natural conversation but that, at the same time, are dynamic, concise, and relevant. Achieving spontaneity turns out to be especially challenging bearing in mind the non-spontaneous and controlled environment in which these texts are produced. The importance and the difficulty of writing good dialogues are revealed by the high number of monographs written on this topic. In the case of dubbing, the challenge is to create dialogues that, being embedded in a foreign audiovisual framework of multiple signifying codes (Chaume 2004a), sound spontaneous and natural in the target language. In fact, as with non-translated fictional productions, the credibility and verisimilitude of dialogues is one of the main criteria used to ascertain whether a dubbed production meets quality standards (Chaume 2006: 8–9). However, the production of dubbed dialogues takes place in an even more constrained and controlled environment, which means there is little room for spontaneity. Nevertheless, dialogues should sound spontaneous, and they must also comply with synchrony constraints and fit naturally in the lips of the actors on screen. Otherwise, target viewers will not believe that characters on screen are speaking their language and will find it difficult to get involved in the cinematic illusion.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the false orality or prefabricated nature of fictional dialogue in general, and of dubbed dialogue in particular. The aim is therefore to delve into the language of dubbing, an object which has

drawn the attention of several scholars carrying out research in Audiovisual Translation (AVT). Throughout the discussion, the need to adopt an interdisciplinary approach when analyzing and translating fictional dialogue will be emphasized. In addition to mastering the linguistic features available in their target language to mirror natural conversation, audiovisual translators should be familiar with scriptwriting principles, and with the specificities of non-translated fictional dialogue. They should therefore consider that the orality of original dialogues is already “prefabricated” (Chaume 2012: 82), and that these have been produced following specific screenwriting conventions.

1. The nature of audiovisual texts

Diversity is one of the defining traits of audiovisual texts: audiovisual products can be broadcast in a wide range of media (cinema, television, the Internet, etc.) and are available in various formats. As regards their communicative situation, these texts can reflect very varied language levels and deal with every imaginable topic: from an exciting Formula 1 race, to the details of the life of a group of subjects who have decided to spend some time in a far-away island in very basic conditions to win an attractive prize. When working with audiovisual texts, we are therefore dealing with a very heterogeneous group of texts which are presented in different formats, deal with different topics, fulfill various functions, and will be interpreted and enjoyed by an equally heterogeneous group of viewers. Given such disparity, it makes sense to wonder what is common to all audiovisual texts. As emphasized by Chion (1993: 11), information in audiovisual texts is transmitted simultaneously through an acoustic and a visual channel. A wide range of signifying codes is used to convey such information (Casetti and Di Chio 1991: 73), and these are articulated following rules and conventions specific to the audiovisual media.

Adopting an interdisciplinary approach by establishing a link between film studies and Translation Studies, Chaume (2012: 100) defines the audiovisual text as “a semiotic construct woven by a series of signifying codes that operate simultaneously to produce meaning.” The author examines the extent to which these codes of meaning affect the translation process, and shows that the role of the audiovisual translator consists in “disentangling the meaning and functioning of each of these codes, and the possible impact of all signs ... on translation operations” (*ibid.*). This suggests that, although audiovisual translators work mainly

with the linguistic code transmitted through the acoustic channel, the rest of the signifying codes and their interaction with the latter must also be considered.

As far as the linguistic code transmitted through the acoustic channel is concerned, the peculiar discourse mode of audiovisual texts determines the production and configuration of audiovisual dialogue and has therefore an impact on its translation. A large majority of audiovisual texts, especially those that require translation, stem from a script which has been carefully prepared in advance and which, in the case of fictional products, will be interpreted as if it was not prefabricated, as if it was spontaneous. This is what Gregory and Carroll (1978) define as texts to be spoken as if they had not been written, whose production mode will be planned and written, but whose reception mode will be spoken. The discourse mode and the degree of planning might differ from one production to another, and even within the same production, with factors like genre and register being decisive. Documentaries, for instance, might include narration, which will be highly planned and will not need to sound spontaneous, but they will also feature semi-spontaneous conversations and interviews, where the degree of spontaneity will be much higher. As it is not possible to cover all genres and text types in this chapter, the focus will be on fictional audiovisual products, where there is a clear attempt to mirror natural conversation.

1.1 The nature of fictional dialogue

Whereas the script is just one of the many elements that make up fictional audiovisual texts, it is the starting point and constitutes the foundations of the whole product. Together with directors and actors, the role of scriptwriters is often one of the most criticized and praised, especially in cinematographic productions. The high number of monographs and guides on scriptwriting bears witness to the importance of scripts in the production of audiovisual texts. Most of these are of a practical nature and, written by professionals in the field (cf. McKee 1998; Field 2003), gather useful experiences and advice on how to write a screenplay. Special attention is often paid to the nature and structure of scripts, the treatment of the plot, characterization, or the scriptwriting process and its stages. The creation of dialogues, which is the main concern of this chapter, often comes at the end of the process, and it is just one of the many stages.

Several authors refer to the difficulties of writing good dialogues (Chion 1990: 87–91; Comparato 1993: 172–9) and to the main challenges faced by

dialogists, defined by Comparato (1993: 170) as those scriptwriters whose main task is to create dialogues. The fact that screenwriting is a group task emphasizes the complexity of this activity, where one can find tasks as specific as that of *gagmans* (Toledano and Verde 2007: 159), who are responsible for reinforcing the comicality of certain utterances in comedies.

Although some scriptwriting manuals argue that good dialogue writing can be learned and improved (Toledano and Verde 2007: 155), it is a difficult art to master, and this has resulted in very prescriptive approaches. Kozloff (2000: 28) criticizes such prescriptivism and compiles a set of norms often referred to in manuals and guides which, according to the author, are nevertheless often disregarded by Hollywood screenwriters. According to these norms (*ibid.*), dialogue should be kept to a minimum and never be redundant. It should never convey expositional information or information that can be inferred visually, and should not be intellectual, flowery, or obscure. It should be subtle and always match the characters' sociological class or background. In addition to these rules, scriptwriting manuals (*cf.* Comparato 1993; McKee 1998; Field 2003; Toledano and Verde 2007) often promote the use of dynamic dialogues, which sound credible and can be identified by viewers as true-to-life conversation. However, divergences between spontaneous conversation and fictional dialogue are obvious if we consider the communicative situation and reflect on the multiple "filters" audiovisual texts have to go through:

In narrative films, dialogue may strive mightily to imitate natural conversation, but it is always an imitation. It has been scripted, written and rewritten, censored, polished, rehearsed, and performed. Even when lines are improvised on the set, they have been spoken by impersonators, judged, approved, and allowed to remain. ... The actual hesitations, repetitions, digressions, grunts, interruptions, and mutterings of everyday speech have either been pruned away, or, if not, deliberately included. (Kozloff 2000: 18)

Kozloff's words reflect that the script, as such, is only a provisional document and that it is very different from the final dialogue which is heard and seen by viewers. Remael (2008: 58) uses the terms "virtual" and "physical" screenplays to emphasize the provisional character of the original or "physical" script, and argues that the "screenplay becomes a virtual text as soon as the film has been made; it informs and is absorbed into the multisemiotic filmic text." This distinction is relevant to audiovisual translators, who should bear in mind that the text they have received (in case they work with a script or dialogue list) has

been written by scriptwriters to be interpreted as if it had not been written, and that other part-takers have modified, amended and interpreted the script to transform it into audiovisual dialogue.

The type of changes made while shooting the audiovisual product, the director's interference and the actors' leeway for improvisation, can be observed by comparing pre-production scripts with the dialogues included in the final audiovisual product. The following example (Table 4.1), taken from the Spanish TV series *Siete Vidas*, clearly shows that changes can affect both content and form.

Table 4.1 Comparison of pre-production script and final audiovisual dialogue

Example 1	TV Series: <i>Siete Vidas</i> (Episode 139)	TC: 00.12
<i>Vero and Sergio have decided to break off their relationship temporarily. Vero is looking forward to getting back together with Sergio.</i>		
Pre-production script	Audiovisual dialogue	
VERO: ¡2 días, sólo 48 horas y Sergio y yo por fin estaremos juntos! ¡Dios, no me pasaba el tiempo tan despacio desde que me perdí en aquel zoco de Marrakesh!	VERO: ¡2 días, sólo 48 horas y Sergio y yo por fin <u>podremos estar</u> juntos! ¡ <u>Ay!</u> ¡Dios, no me pasaba el tiempo tan despacio desde <u>que me vi aquel musical de Raphael!</u>	
Translation	Translation	
VERO: 2 days, only 48 hours and Sergio and I will at last be together! God, time didn't run so slow since I got lost in that market in Marrakesh!	VERO: 2 days, only 48 hours and Sergio and I will at last <u>be able to be</u> together! <u>Oh!</u> God, time didn't run so slow since I went to see <u>that musical by Raphael!</u>	

Table 4.1 shows the kind of amendments that are likely to take place while shooting a TV series. Note that in this case the joke has been changed to include the name of a famous Spanish singer, probably because it was considered that the final joke will be funnier or more relevant bearing in mind the time when the series was broadcast. In the following example, taken from the same TV series, improvisation results in the implementation of many syntactic features which are typical of spontaneous conversation (hesitations, false starts, repeats, etc.), but that were not present in the pre-production script. These examples clearly show that “changes may be minor or major, but the results represent the unique alchemy of *that* script in the mouth, mind and heart of *that* actor” (Kozloff 2000: 92).

Table 4.2 Example of the addition of spontaneous conversation features in the final audiovisual product

Example 2	TV Series: <i>Siete Vidas</i> (Episode 139)	TC: 05.56
<i>Vero has spent the whole day with Jorge, a childhood friend. Her boyfriend, Sergio, is jealous but he suddenly stops being jealous when Jorge gives him a CD as a present.</i>		
Pre-production script	Audiovisual dialogue	
Sergio: Nada, nada, y gracias por el CD. Oye, y si tienes que quedar con ella el fin de semana, tú queda, pero tienes que traerme como mínimo un jamón, je...	Sergio: <u>Que... tío, no, tío. Bueno, que ... Pues que no sé qué decir, tío, que ... Bueno, que muchas gracias por el CD y ... bueno, que si tienes que quedar con ella el fin de semana, queda, ¿eh?, después me traes un <u>jamoncito</u> y <u>apañao</u>, ¡je!</u>	
Translation	Translation	
Sergio: No worries, no worries, and thanks for the CD. Listen, if you have to meet her this weekend, do so, but you have to at least give me a <i>jamón</i> , ha ha!	Sergio: <u>Erm... mate, no, mate. Well, erm ... Well, I don't know what to say, mate, erm ... Well, thanks a lot for the CD and ... Well, if you have to meet her this weekend, do so, <u>huh?</u> After that, just bring me a <u>jamoncito</u>, and <u>we're sorted!</u> Ha ha!</u>	

From a linguistic and translational viewpoint it is worth noticing which linguistic resources are used by scriptwriters and actors to provide dialogues with their pretended spontaneity or their “prefabricated orality” (Baños and Chaume 2009). However, very few scholarly works have been devoted to exploring how false orality is achieved from a linguistic point of view. Quaglio (2009: 10) writes that screenwriting manuals seem to “rely on native-speaker intuition” and provide virtually no linguistic information. Works written by professional scriptwriters tend to be more anecdotal and prescriptive, but several scholarly works devoted to the analysis of fictional dialogue have been published in recent years. A very recent contribution is that of Forchini (2012), who argues that face-to-face and movie conversation do not differ to a great extent, and that movie language incorporates a significant amount of spontaneity (ibid.: 119). Bednarek (2010) expresses concern about the lack of systematic studies of television dialogue and contributes a detailed analysis of the language of television and character identity. Drawing on her research and on existing literature, she provides an overview of the linguistic differences between television dialogue and naturally occurring dialogue (ibid.: 64), and

argues that the characteristics of the former are influenced by the communicative context of fictional television:

television discourse needs to be comprehensible to the audience (avoiding unintelligible and vague language); entertain the audience (including emotional and aesthetic language; avoiding repetition, long monologues or narratives); create characters that the audience finds realistic (featuring informal language); and attract a large audience (featuring conventions of stage dialogue, stock lines; less linguistic variation). (Bednarek 2010: 65–6)

Quaglio's (2009) research also focuses on television dialogue, in particular on the US sitcom *Friends*. Quaglio (2009: 139) concludes that this series "shares the core linguistic features that characterize natural conversation," especially with regards to the use of emotional language and informality markers. Like Bednarek (2010), he highlights the fact that the differences between these two types of discourse are due to the restrictions and/or influences of the televised medium. These specificities of the audiovisual medium, which affect both television and film dialogue, call for precise and economic dialogue, which says "the maximum in the fewest possible words" (McKee 1998: 389), while sounding natural. Davis (2003: 48) uses the term "selective naturalism" to refer to "the style of writing which attempts to faithfully imitate dialogue as we normally speak it, but, unnoticed, manages to omit all those passages ... which would add nothing to the production."

Following are some of the recommendations made by Davis (2003: 196–7) which, despite being targeted at future scriptwriters, are equally relevant for translators:

1. Make sure that the dialogue is not taking all the mystery out of the plot by giving information too early, or the mystery out of characterization by making statements that are too clear. In short, check that your dialogue is leaving enough work for the audience to do.
2. Be sure that your dialogue has maintained a consistency of style.
3. Make sure that each character uses the speech patterns appropriate for the individual and the situation, and that the speech patterns of characters are sufficiently differentiated from each other.
4. Make sure you haven't unconsciously tidied up the language.
5. Make sure that the dialogue engages us emotionally.

Although prescriptive, these recommendations should at least be acknowledged by audiovisual translators, especially if we bear in mind trends of

standardization (cf. Goris 1993; Herbst 1997) or explicitation (cf. Baumgarten 2005) that are identified by scholars studying the language of dubbing. The latter, as will be seen below, seem to contravene some of these principles.

2. The nature of dubbed texts

Together with subtitling, dubbing is one of the most widespread modes for the translation of audiovisual texts. This AVT modality “consists of replacing the original track of a film’s (or any audiovisual text) source language dialogues with another track on which translated dialogues have been recorded in the target language” (Chaume 2012: 1). Such replacement must be done bearing in mind the synchronization between the new track and the rest of the text components (e.g. images), in particular with regards to the following types of synchrony as defined by Chaume (2004b: 43–4): phonetic or lip synchrony (which involves adapting the target text to the articulatory movements of the characters); kinesic synchrony (by which the translation should be synchronized with the actors’ body movements); and isochrony (referring to the synchronization of the translation with the duration of on-screen characters’ utterances). Yet, the specificities of dubbed texts do not solely rely on synchronization. The interaction between multiple signifying codes transmitted through the visual and the acoustic channel, as well as the reproduction of dialogues that sound spontaneous and natural, are also specific to dubbed products (Chaume 2012: 66). Dubbing is further characterized by the numerous agents who work towards the common goal of “offering an audiovisual product in the target language that can be accepted by the audience as a credible illusion” (Matamala 2010: 102). Once the audiovisual text has been translated, it needs to be adapted and synchronized by the dialogue writer or adapter, before being interpreted by dubbing actors under the supervision of the dubbing director and the linguistic supervisor (if applicable). Dubbed texts are therefore complex audiovisual products which often play an important role in the target culture and occupy a central position in its audiovisual polysystem (Baños 2009).

As will be shown below, all the above-mentioned specificities of dubbing determine the characteristics of the language of dubbing and shape its particular register, which has often been referred to as *dubbese*. This term, originally attributed to Myers (1973), is defined by Marzà and Chaume (2009: 36) as “a culture-specific linguistic and stylistic model for dubbed texts which has been

named by some authors as a third norm, being similar, but not equal, to real oral discourse and external production oral discourse.”

2.1 The nature of dubbed fictional dialogue

If creating dynamic, concise, and relevant dialogues that mirror natural conversation is challenging for scriptwriters, the challenge is even greater in the case of dubbing. Audiovisual translators must bear in mind that the dialogues of the original audiovisual text they have to translate have been carefully written to be interpreted to convey a sense of spontaneity. In order to convey a similar impression of spontaneity in the target text, they should master the linguistic features available in the target language to imitate spontaneous conversation. When doing so, they will be constrained by a wide range of factors (i.e. synchrony constraints, multiple agents involved, little room for improvisation) which will put a limit on their creativity and resourcefulness to achieve credible dialogues in their target language. Herbst (1997: 305), for instance, argues that the dubbing process promotes a fragmented approach to translation which seems to disregard the audiovisual product as a textual whole by focusing on individual sentences or individual takes. He considers that at the translation stage “no attempt is made ... to produce natural dialogue or idiomatic German” and dialogue writers “are mainly concerned with producing dialogue that corresponds to the needs of sync” (ibid.), which certainly does not contribute to achieving credible dialogues.

Influencing factors are not always determined by the characteristics of audiovisual texts and the complexities of the dubbing process: internal conventions or norms also play a crucial role in the shaping of dubbed fictional dialogue. In the professional environment, recommendations made by dubbing studios seem to suggest that translators should not imitate spontaneous conversation freely. According to Ávila (1997: 25–6), dubbing studios in Spain recommend using standard language to achieve clear and simple dialogues which meet the needs of viewers. Taking a similar stance, Chaume (2007: 215) considers that some features typifying spontaneous spoken conversation should be avoided by translators, who should bear in mind that “while the language of dubbing pretends to be spontaneous, it is very normative indeed.” When discussing the paradoxical situation of the language of dubbing in Quebec, von Flotow (2010: 30) refers as well to the avoidance of “prohibited language” by translators/adapters, which can inhibit “performances of certain scenes where, for example,

strong, expressive language in the source text is replaced by the required neutral version of ‘international French’” (ibid.: 31).

These tacit norms, backed up by systematic research, have led authors like Matamala (2009: 498) to state that “the language of dubbing is nothing but a convention, an artificial linguistic variety which takes elements from different sources to create a credible yet planned spontaneous language with no room for continuous improvisations.” Artificiality and standardization are often associated with dubbed fictional dialogue in a wide range of languages and thus determine the selection of linguistic features made in dubbed productions. However, these are not the only aspects defining this complex linguistic model. According to Romero-Fresco (2009a), the language of dubbing is characterized by the general features of film dialogue, which he refers to as the “fictional dimension,” and by those characteristics that are specific to dubbed products (the “translational dimension”). Drawing on the existing literature on the language of dubbing, the author (ibid.: 49–54) includes eight features that characterize the translational dimension: extradiegetic complexity (determined mainly by the complex process and multiple authorship of dubbing); the monotony of delivery and tense articulation; constraint-based modifications (determined by the synchronization process required in dubbing); lack of cohesion and prefabricated syntax; geographical underdifferentiation; colloquialization and register adequacy; pragmatic interference; and occurrence of translational routines and privileged carriers of orality. Some of these features will be discussed in more detail below, under a different prism.

2.2 Dissecting the language of dubbing

The language of dubbing has attracted the interest of several scholars in Translation Studies, especially in languages such as French, Italian, German, Spanish, and Catalan, mainly due to the strong dubbing tradition of the respective countries and regions where these languages are spoken. A common approach to the language of dubbing consists in considering its degree of orality, bearing in mind the similarities and differences between naturally occurring conversation and fictional dialogue (cf. Dolç and Santamaria 1998; Chaume 2004c; Marzà 2007; Pavesi 2008, 2009; Matamala 2009; Baños and Chaume 2009; Baños 2014). Arguing that “orality does not suffice to make dubbing dialogue idiomatic,” Romero-Fresco (2009b: 67) explores dubbing language from the point of view of its naturalness (Romero-Fresco 2006, 2007, 2009a,

2009b). Other scholars have focused on the use of dubbing as a vehicle to disseminate a specific, yet often artificial, language model (Herbst 1997; Duro 2001; von Flotow 2010).

Given the nature of audiovisual texts and audiovisual dialogue, interdisciplinary approaches that suggest the application of analysis models which are specific to Audiovisual Translation are particularly relevant. Baumgarten (2005), for instance, investigates the relevance of multi-modal linguistic analysis to study the interdependencies between verbal and visual information in German dubbed dialogue, whereas Chaume (2004c) proposes an integrated model of analysis which pays particular attention to the prefabricated orality of fictional dialogue. His model is structured around four language levels (prosody, morphology, syntax, and lexis) and draws on the comparison of written discourse, oral discourse, and *dubbese*. The results of his research (ibid.: 167–86) show that dubbed dialogue in Spanish resembles written texts at the morphological level, which proves to be very standard, but resembles spontaneous colloquial conversation at the lexical level. Whereas the prosodic-phonetic level is oral by nature, the clear and standard phonetic articulation and intonation of dubbing actors reduce the orality of these texts. From a syntactic point of view, dubbed dialogue strikes a balance between oral and written features. Chaume (2012: 81) therefore concludes that, as regards its degree of orality, the language of dubbing is “a matter of compromise.” His seems to be the most detailed analysis model for the study of the false orality of dubbed dialogue up to date, which has in addition been adapted, ratified, and complemented by other scholars (cf. Marzà 2007; Baños and Chaume 2009; Baños 2014).

In an attempt to provide an overview of how Spanish fictional dialogue is shaped from a linguistic point of view across all language levels, my own research (Baños 2014) demonstrates that the intersection between natural conversation and prefabricated discourse reaches its peak at the lexical-semantic level, is remarkable at the syntactic level, less significant at the phonetic-prosodic, and minor at the morphological level. This study revealed some trends in the translation of fictional dialogue for dubbing which, according to descriptive studies carried out by some of the above-mentioned scholars, seem to be common to languages other than Spanish. According to the existing literature and my own research, some of the trends shaping the language of dubbing are: standardization/neutralization, source text interference, explicitation, simplification, normalization, and leveling out.

After observing that some substandard fragments of the original become standard in texts dubbed into French, Goris (1993) highlights **standardization** as one of the main trends in French dubbing. The negative effects of the use of standard language in German dubbing have been put forward by Herbst (1997: 304), who considers that this trend, although unavoidable, levels out linguistic differences between characters. This results in the “geographical underdifferentiation” referred to by Pavesi (2008: 81) or Romero-Fresco (2009a: 51), which contravenes one of the above-mentioned screenwriting principles highlighted by Davis (2003: 197), who suggested that the speech patterns of characters should be sufficiently differentiated from each other. However, as illustrated by Chaume (2004c: 176–85) and Baños (2014), standardization does not only affect phonetic-prosodic features, but also morphologic and lexical features, thus bringing dubbed dialogue closer to written discourse than to spontaneous conversation. This trend is illustrated in Table 4.3, which includes an example taken from the US TV series *Friends*, where it can be clearly appreciated that relaxed phonetic articulation (*kinda* instead of “kind of”) and grammatical inconsistencies (*don’t he* instead of “doesn’t he”) present in the source text are omitted in dubbing. As a result, and in contrast with the original version, dubbed dialogues are grammatically correct and standard at the morphological and phonetic level.

In addition, even if only indirectly, standardization might also be related to the register shifts and inconsistencies reported by Romero-Fresco (2006) in

Table 4.3 Example of the standardization of dubbed dialogue

Example 3	TV Series: <i>Friends</i> (Episode 194)	TC: 13.45
<i>Rachel has just given birth to her baby daughter. Coincidentally, she has met Janice, Chandler’s eccentric ex-girlfriend, at hospital. Janice has also given birth to a baby boy.</i>		
Original dialogue	Dubbed dialogue	
JANICE: (<i>entering</i>) Yoo-hoo! Aaron Litman-Guralnic would like to say hello to his future bride.	JANICE: ¡Yuju! Aaron Litman-Guralnic viene a saludar a su futura esposa.	
RACHEL: Ohhh! (<i>Looks at Aaron and recoils in horror.</i>) Wow! He <i>kinda</i> takes your breath away <i>don’t he</i> ?	RACHEL: ¡Oh! ¡Oh! ¡Caray, te deja sin aliento! ¿A que sí?	
Translation		
JANICE: Yoo-hoo! Aaron Litman-Guralnic comes to say hello to his future wife.		
RACHEL: Oh! Oh! Wow, he takes your breath away! <u>Doesn’t he?</u>		

the case of Spanish, or by Herbst (1997: 304) in German. Interestingly, screenwriting manuals advise against this kind of style and register shifts (cf. Davis 2003: 197).

According to Toury (1995: 275), **interference**, as a law of translation, lies in the fact that “phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text.” In the case of the language of dubbing, authors have focused on what Toury (ibid.) calls “negative transfer” (i.e. deviations from normal practices of the target system), that is, on the inclusion of source text induced features which result in the introduction of traits that are not natural or idiomatic in the target language. In this sense, interference can be realized at all language levels through the use of unnatural pronunciations (Baños 2014), vocatives (Dolç and Santamaria 1998; Baños 2014), deictics (Baños 2014), intensifiers and discourse markers (Romero-Fresco 2009b), hesitation markers (Romero-Fresco 2007), interpersonal markers (Baumgarten 2005), interjections (Cuenca 2006; Matamala 2009), anglicisms (Herbst 1997; Gómez Capuz 2001; Duro 2001), and so on. An example of this trend affecting the use of vocatives is shown in Table 4.4. It contains two examples, also from the TV series *Friends*, which illustrate the use of a vocative consisting of the form of address and the surname of the person being addressed (Mrs. Green

Table 4.4 Example of use of unnatural vocatives in Spanish dubbing

Example 4		TV Series: <i>Friends</i> (Episode 190)
<i>Monica and Phoebe are organizing Rachel's baby shower. They invite Rachel's mother, Mrs. Green, at the very last minute. During the baby shower, Mrs. Green suggests to Rachel that she could stay to help look after the baby.</i>		
Original dialogue	Dubbed dialogue	
PHOEBE: (<i>Mrs. Green enters.</i>) Oh, hi <u>Mrs. Green!</u> I'm so glad you could make it. [...]	PHOEBE: Ah, ¡Hola, <u>Sra. Green!</u> Me alegro de que haya podido venir. [...]	
ROSS: Y'know what? Maybe, <u>Mrs. Green,</u>	ROSS: ¿Sabe, <u>Sra. Green?</u> Puede que no it's not absolutely vital that you live with us.	
	sea del todo vital que viva con nosotros.	
Translation		
PHOEBE: Ah, hi, Mrs. Green! I'm glad you could come. [...]		
ROSS: Do you know, Mrs. Green? Maybe it is not completely vital that you live with us.		

> *Sra. Green*). Whereas this structure might be common in English spontaneous conversation (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, and Finegan 1999: 1109–11), it is not in colloquial spoken Spanish. These examples reveal signs of interference in the language of dubbing: the use of the vocative *Sra. Green* represents a form of address which is overly formal and thus not appropriate for conversational Spanish, which would probably prefer “Doña + first name”, or simply a first name.

Research has nevertheless shown that signs of interference reported in the language of dubbing are not always motivated by the source text. This is the case with linguistic markers of an interpersonal communicative orientation in German film dubbing which, as shown by Baumgarten (2005), are not induced by the source text but are nevertheless influenced by English conventions. In order to cater for this possibility, Baumgarten (2005: 242) suggests broadening the idea of source-text-induced language variation to include the notion of “source-culture-induced variation.” By doing so she argues that the presence of source-cultural meanings in the dubbed audiovisual product could induce their linguistic expression in the translation and thus be responsible for the use of features primarily associated with the source language (*ibid.*). Another interesting viewpoint is that of Romero-Fresco (2009b: 69), who suggests that pragmatic interference could be motivated or perpetuated by the “suspension of linguistic disbelief.” By suspending linguistic disbelief, the translator might take inspiration not from spontaneous conversation but from his/her own perception of dubbing language, and this might result in the use of unnatural linguistic features (*ibid.*).

Some of the decisions taken by the agents involved in the dubbing process could be associated with **explicitation** or **simplification**. This is the case when lexical precision is favored over vague language, or when hesitations and pauses are explicitly verbalized in dubbing, therefore giving priority to clarity (Baños 2014). Explicitation trends have also been observed by Baumgarten (2005: 232) whose research shows that “German translations are on the whole much more tightly packed with explicated information than their English source texts.” Rather than considering the greater degree of explicitness in dubbing as an expression of a translation universal (Baker 1993), Baumgarten (2005: 234) considers it to be “the expression of language specific communicative conventions in German” and concludes that German dubbed products thus adhere to target language conventions. This type of adherence to conventions originating in the target culture, or the **acceptability** (Toury 1995: 57) of dubbed products,

has been reported by several authors studying the language of dubbing. Pavesi (2008: 90), for instance, highlights that some syntactic features commonly found in spoken Italian are also reproduced in Italian film dubbing from English, with some features such as marked word orders or personal pronouns being overused or chosen as “privileged carriers of orality” (Pavesi 2008: 79, 2009: 98). Baker (1996: 176–7) has referred to this “tendency to conform to patterns and practices which are typical of the target language, even to the point of exaggerating them” as **normalization** or conservatism. Interestingly, it does not seem restricted to dubbed Italian: both Romero-Fresco (2006) and Baños (2014) have reported the overuse of specific features (mainly at the phraseological and lexical level) in Spanish *dubbese*. These findings about the language of dubbing reveal similarities between the strategies used by scriptwriters and translators to achieve credible dialogues.

Table 4.5 includes another example from the TV series *Friends*, which illustrates how the audiovisual translator has resorted to a wide range of features which are typical of spontaneous conversation in Spanish at different language levels. A sense of spontaneity is achieved through repetitions (*alto, alto, alto*), hesitations (*lo-lo*), and unfinished sentences (*pero es que ...* and *eres un poco ...*) in dubbed dialogue. The colloquial nature of the utterances is also reinforced through the use of features such as colloquial connectors (*que no es una tragedia griega*), suffixes (*malísima* and *muchísimo*), shortening processes (*tranqui* instead of *tranquilos* and *diver* instead of *divertido*), and phraseological units (e.g. the use of *estoy como una cabra*, “I’m as crazy as a goat” to translate the less marked “I’m totally crazy”). These examples reveal that, despite cases of standardization and interference, in other cases the translator gives priority to target language conventions and uses orality markers which are not directly motivated by the source text.

Scholars have also highlighted the stereotypical and formulaic nature of *dubbese* as the result of its artificiality and the intrinsic characteristics of audiovisual dialogue (Chaume 2004a: 179; Pavesi 2008: 94; Freddi 2009: 122). These traits could be associated with **leveling out** or the “tendency of translated text to gravitate around the centre of any continuum rather than move towards the fringe” (Baker 1996: 177). In fact, the use of certain spoken features in dubbed texts seems to be more monotonous and less colorful than in native spontaneous colloquial dialogue (Romero-Fresco 2007: 199), and more stereotyped and conventional if compared to similar products created originally in the target language (Baños 2014).

Table 4.5 Example of use of features which are typical of spontaneous conversation in Spanish dubbing

Example 5	TV Series: <i>Friends</i> (Episode 191)	TC: 14:54
<p><i>Monica and Joey end up at a beginner's cooking class by mistake. Monica is a professional chef and she decides to stay to feel good about herself since she received a very bad review recently.</i></p>		
Original dialogue	Dubbed dialogue	
<p>TEACHER: We're all beginners here. Nobody knows what they're doing.</p> <p>MONICA: I do! I'm a professional chef! Oh relax! It's not a courtroom drama!</p> <p>TEACHER: If you're a professional chef, what are you doing taking Introduction to Cooking?</p> <p>JOEY: Yeah!</p> <p>MONICA: I'm-I'm sorry, it's-it's just that umm ... Well I-I cook at this restaurant, Alessandro's, and umm I just got a really bad review ...</p> <p>TEACHER: Oh Alessandro's! I love that place!</p> <p>MONICA: You do?</p> <p>TEACHER: Oh yes! You're an excellent chef! As a person you're a little ...</p> <p>MONICA: Oh, I'm totally crazy, but you-you like the food?</p> <p>TEACHER: Very much.</p> <p>MONICA: Okay then, I don't stink. I'm a good chef. Okay.</p> <p>JOEY: Whoa-whoa-whoa-whoa! I don't wanna go. I'm having fun.</p>	<p>PROFESORA: Todos somos principiantes: nadie sabe lo que hace.</p> <p>MONICA: ¡Yo sí! ¡Soy cocinera profesional! ¡Eh, <u>tranquis!</u>, ¡<u>que</u> no es una tragedia griega!</p> <p>PROFESORA: Si eres una profesional, ¿qué haces en esta clase?</p> <p>JOEY: ¡Eso!</p> <p>MONICA: <u>Lo-lo</u> siento, pero <u>es que ...</u> cocino en un restaurante, Alessandro's, y me hicieron una crítica <u>malísima</u>.</p> <p>PROFESORA: ¡Oh, Alessandro's! ¡Me encanta ese sitio!</p> <p>MONICA: ¿En serio?</p> <p>PROFESORA: ¡Sí! ¡Eres una cocinera excepcional! Como persona <u>eres un poco...</u></p> <p>MONICA: <u>Estoy como una cabra</u>, pero ¿te gusta la comida?</p> <p>PROFESORA: <u>Muchísimo</u>.</p> <p>MONICA: Estupendo, no soy un asco. Cocino bien. ¡Genial!</p> <p>JOEY: ¡<u>Alto, alto, alto!</u> No quiero irme. Esto es <u>diver</u>.</p>	
Translation		
<p>TEACHER: We're all beginners. Nobody knows what they're doing.</p> <p>MONICA: I do! I'm a professional chef! Eh, relax! That this is not a Greek tragedy!</p> <p>TEACHER: If you're a professional, what are you doing in this class?</p> <p>JOEY: That is!</p> <p>MONICA: I'm-I'm sorry, but it is that ... I cook at a restaurant, Alessandro's, and they wrote a very bad review ...</p> <p>TEACHER: Oh, Alessandro's! I love that place!</p> <p>MONICA: Really?</p> <p>TEACHER: Yes! You're an exceptional chef! As a person you're a bit ...</p> <p>MONICA: I'm as crazy as a goat, but do you like the food?</p> <p>TEACHER: Very much.</p> <p>MONICA: Fantastic! I'm not a mess. I cook well. Great!</p> <p>JOEY: Stop, stop, stop! I don't want to go. This is fun.</p>		

Concluding remarks

As discussed throughout this chapter, it is clear that, due to the specific constraints and characteristics of dubbing, we will never be able to bring the language of dubbing to the same level as that of domestic products or spontaneous conversation. Nevertheless, audiovisual translators working in the dubbing industry should be familiar with the complex nature of fictional dialogue and the principles governing scriptwriting. They should therefore understand that the orality of original dialogues is pretended or false and that, due to many factors that govern the dubbing process, the orality of dubbed dialogues will be even more artificial. The existing literature corroborates the notion of the language of dubbing as “a matter of compromise” (Chaume 2012). It is a compromise not only between spoken and written features, but also between innovation and existing conventions (either “recommended” by dubbing studios or harbored by a long-standing tradition), and between seemingly conflicting trends such as standardization and normalization. Some of these trends seem to contravene a few of the principles of screenwriting as outlined by practitioners (e.g. scriptwriters advocate for implicitness and character differentiation, while in some cases dubbing seems to tend towards explicitation, underdifferentiation, and standardization). From its very pretended spontaneity, discussed here in detail, dubbing dialogue seems to be full of contradictions which are undoubtedly better understood by adopting an integrated and interdisciplinary approach.

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Glossary

- Acceptability:** term coined by Gideon Toury (1995) to refer to the initial norm or general choice made by translators as regards source and target cultures. The acceptability of a translation is determined by its subscription to norms or conventions originating in the target culture.
- Dialogue writer:** the person responsible for the adaptation and synchronization of the translated dialogue during the dubbing process. Once the dialogue is adapted and synchronized, it can be interpreted and recorded by dubbing actors. Dialogue writers are also called adapters.
- Dubbese:** term used to refer to the specific register of dubbed products. It often carries negative connotations as it is used to refer to translational (frequently unidiomatic and unnatural) linguistic traits which make it possible for the audience to distinguish a dubbed product from an original one.
- Interference:** term used to refer to the influence of the original text in the make-up of the translated text. This phenomenon might result in the inclusion of unnatural or unidiomatic features in a translation.
- Orality marker:** linguistic features typifying spontaneous spoken register, used in prefabricated dialogue to reinforce its orality and to convey a false sense of spontaneity.

Translation universals: term used by translation scholars to refer to universal trends or features of translations, that is, to features which occur typically in translations and not in original texts.

Dubbing as a Formal Interference: Reflections and Examples

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The ideal situation would be that of watching films in their original versions. Unfortunately, few of us are polyglots. Even fewer of us are so familiar with a foreign language as to be able to savor all the nuances of the dialogue. So, translating films is a necessity. The point is to accomplish the task without harming the original film. While Translation Studies supply the indispensable framework to theorize operational guidelines, to chart established translation routines, to reveal the rationale for a given solution, and to explain the linguistic/semiotic effects that any one solution has on the film dialogue, film studies can contribute to the field by describing the formal/aesthetic effects of translation. Each decision made during the film-translation process is likely to impact not only on the film's meaning,¹ but also on the film's form, either locally or even globally. Among film-translation methods, dubbing is the most potentially harmful. If executed with negligence and in haste, dubbing can result in severe damage to the film.

In the silent-cinema era exporting motion pictures was rather simple. Since all the verbal information was carried out by intertitles, it was a matter of cutting the ones in the source language out of the filmstrip and replacing them with new ones in the target language. "Film language" was a sort of visual *koinè dialektos*

¹ To avoid misunderstanding, I use "meanings" instead of "contents" because: "Very often people think of 'form' as the opposite of something called 'content.' This implies that a poem or a musical piece or a film is like a jug. An external shape, the jug, *contains* something that could just as easily be held in a cup or a pail. Under this assumption, form becomes less important than whatever it's presumed to contain" (Bordwell and Thompson 2010: 58). Form is not merely a container: form is a system. The scope of this chapter is also to show how even slight changes to the film's form can have deep consequences and can affect the film's meaning as well. If I change the form of a jug, the content does not change. If I change the form of a film, the meaning can indeed change.

[common language] that could be understood in each part of the globe. Then came Babel, namely the coming of sound. Between 1927 and 1930 silent cinema virtually disappeared in all the major film industries (Gomery 2005).

In sound films, verbal information took a bigger role and was conveyed by dialogue, which was much more difficult to replace than intertitles. Two early solutions soon proved to be short-lived. The first one was to export sound films as silent films by replacing dialogue with old-fashioned intertitles. Obviously, the experiment was unsuccessful, since the pace of the early talkies was peculiarly slow in itself—due to technical issues (Thompson and Bordwell 2010: 108–82)—and, without dialogue, it lagged even more. Another attempt to solve the problem was to create “multiple versions.” A film would be shot, say, in English during the day, while another crew and cast employed the same set during the night to shoot another version for some major foreign market.² Surviving examples are *Dracula* (1931, English version by T. Browning, Spanish version by G. Melford), *M* (1930, both the German and English versions by F. Lang) and *Die Dreigroschenoper* ([*The Threepenny Opera*] 1931, both the German and French versions by G. W. Pabst). Multiple versions were too expensive and generally only one foreign language could receive this treatment, leaving the remaining markets without an exportable product.

These two discarded, the best alternatives proved to be subtitling and dubbing—the latter becoming technically feasible from 1931 onward (Salt 1992: 187–9, 212–14).³ With subtitling, one or two lines presenting a condensed translation of the dialogue are superimposed over the lower section of the frame. Subtitling is definitely more economical and preserves the original dialogue track. The drawbacks, however, are the spoiling of the image with an obtrusive text which can distract from the action; the necessarily condensed and simplified form in which dialogue lines are rendered; and the supposed difficulty in shifting the eyes to-and-fro between the text and the images. Dubbing

² An enduring trace of this praxis is the funny American-accented Italian with which Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy (Stanlio and Ollio, in Italy) are dubbed. The trend was set by Laurel and Hardy themselves. Their Italian debut was *Pardon Us* (Parrott 1931) which was a multilingual version with the two comedians delivering their lines in a phonetically-learned Italian. The resulting awkward accent proved, although unintentionally, to be a comic extra value and was adopted as a trademark of the duo. See Quargnolo (1999b: 159–61).

³ Actually, there is a third method called “voice over” which consists of adding a narrator’s voice on top of the original dialogue, whose volume is appropriately turned down. The narrator reads the translated dialogue in a mostly blank tone, and usually one single narrator covers all the characters, regardless of whether they are female or male. The voice over is a worldwide choice for documentaries. However, in Eastern Europe it is employed for narrative films as well. To unaccustomed ears, voiced-over narrative films produce an unintentional quasi-Brechtian estrangement effect.

is the replacement of the original dialogue with new dialogue recorded by voice actors in synchronization with the lip movements of the screen actors. Unlike subtitling, dubbing keeps the image intact and the viewer's visual attention can be fully devoted to the visual action.⁴

Apart from aesthetic concerns which we shall discuss shortly, the main reason for choosing subtitles is that they are far less expensive—typically 10 percent of the cost of dubbing (Rinsche and Portera-Zanotti 2009: 39). Subtitling was and still is traditionally adopted in those small markets whose revenues are not high enough to pay for the costly dubbing process—e.g. North-European countries. Dubbing was the first choice in such countries as France, Germany, and Italy which were more financially rewarding markets and where dubbing costs could be easily offset.⁵ Moreover, these countries boasted important national film schools willing to fight Hollywood supremacy, and thus favored dubbing out of protectionist policies. The costly dubbing process—financially depending on the American exporters—was a way to create entry barriers and to force American studios to invest money in the foreign markets where dubbing facilities were generally located.⁶ An exemplary case of a dubbing country is Italy, where the technique is still the major option.

In Italy, illiteracy probably had some weight on the rejection of the subtitling, since in 1931, 21 percent of the population was unable to read (Treccani *Encyclopedia*: “alfabetizzazione”). Yet, protectionism was probably the major cause. Fascism pursued a “linguistic autarchy” aimed at preserving the “pure” Italian language from hybridization (Raffaeli 1992: *passim*). In the 1930s, Italian did not exist as a spoken language, but only as a written one. Regional dialects were still largely used for everyday communication. One of the ways to make Italy a really unified nation was to introduce a unified language. Foreign words were either systematically banned or “italianized”—in the Trio Lescano's rendition, *St. Louis Blues* became “La tristezza di San Luigi” [St. Louis' sadness—here meaning the saint, not the town] (Caroli 2003). Accordingly, films could not feature any trace of foreign-language “contamination.” In 1929, the Minister

⁴ Introductory works on subtitling and dubbing in the Italian context are, respectively, Perego (2005) and Pavesi (2005). For an international overview, see Fong (2010). A useful database of Italian dubbing actors and dubbed films is “Il mondo dei doppiatori” [The world of dubbing actors]: <http://www.antonioemma.net/doppiaggio/doppiaggio.htm> (accessed March 17, 2014).

⁵ For a statistical overview, see Rinsche and Portera-Zanotti (2009: 38–41). For a map of the different zones, see Media Consulting Group (2008: 15–16).

⁶ From 1933 onward, foreign films could be exhibited in Italy, not only on the condition that they had been dubbed into Italian, but also that the dubbing had been made in Italy. See Quargnolo (1999a: 16).

of Internal Affairs forbade the circulation of those films whose language was not Italian, and a stricter 1934 law banned all foreign words (Raffaeli 1992: 190–5).⁷ Hollywood studios were forced to dub their films in order not to lose the lucrative Italian market. They had either to outsource the process or to create their own departments. In 1932, MGM opened its dubbing facility in Rome, and soon after there followed a blossoming of dubbing studios, either independently run or under the direct control of Hollywood (Quargnolo 1999a: 14–21). The Italian dubbing industry was rooted so deeply and developed to such an extent that even Italian films were traditionally dubbed. Unlike American cinema which uses direct sound recording—namely dialogue is recorded on-set when the scenes are filmed—Italian cinema had a notorious preference for “post-synchronization.” In this practice, dialogue is recorded after the shooting phase, with the actors dubbing themselves or, very often, with different actors dubbing the actors who took part in the film. Indeed, a number of Italian films featured established Italian actors dubbed with someone else’s voice, arguably for some sort of contractual or conflicting-schedule reasons. For example, Marcello Mastroianni, one of the best Italian actors ever, in *Amore e guai* ([*Love and Troubles*], A. Dorigo 1958) is dubbed by Gualtiero De Angelis, Cary Grant’s Italian voice.⁸

Dubbing was also preferred for aesthetic reasons: the tradition of “Bel canto” voice—rooted in the nineteenth-century “melodramma”—had a strong influence on the tone, pitch, and color of the voices of actors and radio announcers. The realistic delivery and the unmusical sound of Hollywood voices diverged from the idealized ones to which the Italian audience was accustomed. Dubbing transformed those unfamiliar timbres into something more palatable to the ears of the “Bel canto” *aficionados*. The nasal overtones of John Wayne’s voice could hardly be accepted, and consequently Wayne was dubbed with the full-bodied, warm, very theatrical voice of Emilio Cigoli.

Finally, another reason that dubbing was convenient for the regime was “occult censorship:” by replacing the original lines with new ones, it was possible to suppress undesired references.⁹ An infamous instance is *The Adventures of*

⁷ Such restrictions led to changing the characters’ names as well: In *It Happened One Night* (F. Capra 1934), Clark Gable’s Peter Warne became Pietro Warne. And Scarlett O’Hara of *Gone with the Wind* (Fleming 1939) became Rossella O’Hara. This odd trend survived the Fascist era and continued until the late 1950s.

⁸ Other similar oddities are listed in Guidorizzi (1999: 157–8).

⁹ On pre-fascist state control and later fascist occult censorship, see Raffaeli (1992: 163–216), which includes a list of such interventions from 1913 to 1945.

Marco Polo (A. Mayo 1938), which was considered disrespectful to the Italian hero and thus distributed as *Uno Scozzese alla corte del gran Khan* [A Scotsman at the Gran Khan's Court]. Still influenced by this policy was the 1947 dubbing of *Casablanca* (Curtiz 1943), where Rick Blaine is said to have sold weapons to help the Chinese and to have fought in Spain for democracy—while originally Rick is said to have helped the Ethiopians (against the Italian Army), and to have fought in Spain (against the Fascists). Unlike direct censorship—namely cutting unwanted footage out of the filmstrip—this type is not directly noticeable since it does not modify the film's image track. One needs to compare the translation with the original version to discover it. This leads us to the main aesthetic consequence of dubbing: while subtitles are an addition to the film, whose form remains intact—apart from those two lines superimposed over the images—dubbing implies the elimination of one part of the original film.

When a film is exported, it comes with three separate sound tracks—sound effects, music, and dialogue. While the sound effects and music tracks are retained, the original dialogue track is eventually discarded. The new dialogue is not merely a neutral translation of the original one, despite the accuracy and pursuit of fidelity that the translator might have applied. No translation is neutral. It is a process that reshapes into the target language the content delivered by the source language. Translation entails an adaptation process. A much reported example (Pavesi 2005: 18) is from *Horse Feathers* (McLeod 1932). In this Marx Brothers film, Groucho is the president of Huxley University. In a scene, he has to sign an official document:

Groucho: Wait a minute. This isn't legal. There's no seal on it. Where's the seal?

Instead of the expected stamp embossed with the institutional emblem, a sea seal is brought to him. In Italian there is no way to translate the gag verbatim, since the office seal [sigillo] has no sound affinity with the animal [foca]. The translator's brilliant solution was this:

Groucho: Un momento. Qua c'è un punto che va focalizzato. Focalizziamo!

[Wait a minute. There's a point here that need to be focalized. Let's focalize!].

It plays on the sound affinity between “focalizzare” [to focalize] and “foca” [sea seal].

The translated dialogue has also to be adapted so as to match the visuals in terms of synchronization, mostly to fit the lip movements of the actors.

A successful dubbing is that which is able to conceal the artificiality of the technique and lead the viewers into forgetting that they are watching a film that was shot in a different language. After the dialogue is conformed to lips movements, it is recorded by voice actors, under the guidance of a dubbing director. Then, the new dialogue track is mixed with the two remaining original tracks—sound effects and music—and the resulting composite track is coupled with the image track: the film is thus ready for national exhibition.

Why is dubbing so chastised by film purists? The answer may be that, compared to other methods, dubbing is the most aggressive to the film's integrity and formal architecture. Any dubbing entails some degree of modification of the film as it was originally conceived. Even a seemingly irrelevant addition or a slight semantic adjustment can modify the meaning of a scene or of the entire film. When a novel is translated, the source text is completely transformed into the target text. No trace of the original can be found within. The cinematic parallel would be to re-shoot a film completely, as happened with *Three Fugitives* (Veber 1989) which is the American remake of the original French *Les fugitifs* (Veber 1986). Unlike a novel (or a complete re-shooting of a film), most of the original material of a film is kept and has to coexist with the spurious new part—the dubbed dialogue. Imagine an English dialogue when one of the characters is confronted with a challenging situation and reacts by saying “Knock on wood!” while simultaneously knocking on a wooden table to emphasize his line. The direct Italian equivalent is “Tocca ferro” [Touch iron]. In a novel, one idiomatic expression could be simply replaced with the corresponding one: the original meaning would be kept. The same choice in our hypothetical scene would make it look nonsensical: Why does the character say “Touch iron” while she/he is touching wood?

Each film is a complex system of stylistic, thematic, and narrative elements in reciprocal interplay. The modification of one component creates an interference with other formal components. In particular, sound films are an audiovisual whole in which the visual and the sound track are carefully interwoven. The sound track itself is a precisely balanced composite of the three separate tracks. Think of Erich Wolfgang Korngold, composer at Warner Bros. in the 1930s and 1940s. In dialogue scenes, Korngold was famous for composing the music around the actors' voice pitches, so as to incorporate their timbres in the score, like the sung parts in an opera. This gives the idea of how delicate and well thought-through the assembly of the sound track can be. Film purists prefer subtitling because it is a complement to the original—like the footnotes that

allow modern readers to enjoy Chaucer or Dante—not the replacement of part of the original. In David Bordwell’s words, “With subtitling, viewers still have access to the original sound track. By eliminating the original voice track, dubbing simply destroys part of the film” (Bordwell and Thompson 2010: 310). Imagine a painting of a street café with vivid orange brush strokes. Suppose the painting is reproduced in an art catalog of some exotic country, in which orange has a very negative connotation, and thus the brush strokes are re-colored green—dreadfully so! The subject of the painting would still be recognizable—as is the original plot in a dubbed film—but the painting would be a different one, not the original as devised and crafted by the painter. This is how purists might feel about dubbing.

To illustrate how dubbing can affect the original film’s form, instead of focusing extensively on a single case study, I provide a variety of examples of diverse natures, so as to give a broad account of the many degrees of formal interference that dubbing can produce. The examples will be mostly from Italian versions because of my familiarity with their context.

The first type of formal interference concerns sound homogeneity. Often, dubbed voices have a distinctive “studio sound.” Voice actors record the dialogue in sound-proof booths delivering their lines into a microphone that is close to them. In the best instances, the distance of the sound source corresponding to the variations of distance from which the character is framed is simulated through sound manipulations—reverberation and volume shift. In other instances, when dubbing is executed on the cheap and in a short time—typically for *telenovelas* and soap operas—it is easy to perceive an artificial closeness to the microphone and the absence of the natural “air cushion” and ambient reverberation that characterize direct sound recording. Dubbed voices are more foregrounded than they should be and sound as if they were pasted onto the film. Besides volume imbalance, there may also be a poor blending of the new dialogue track with the preexisting tracks. A good example is the Italian version of *The Addams Family* TV series (Levy and Perrin 1964–6). In the original episodes, a laughter track is extensively combined with the characters’ quips and gags. The presence of a laughter track implies that a pause has to be interposed between the dialogue lines. The Italian version discarded the laughter track completely, which caused a series of sound gaps. Originally, the lines were bridged by the laughter, thus creating a continuous sound flow with a steady pace. Besides the odd silence between the lines, the Italian solution had a deleterious impact on the dialogue, because the spurious pauses break the original rhythm and the pace is perceived

as much slower than it actually is. The sound imbalance is remarkably evident in the 1980s and 1990s re-dubbing of old films for TV or home-video reissues. Re-dubbing was required because either the diction of the old dubbing sounded too old-fashioned to modern ears, or the old dubbed dialogue track was lost. In these cases, it is striking how the new voices sound as if they were floating on a different level than the original parts of the sound track, like oil on water. Besides sounding too loud and poorly mixed, the new voices are recorded with modern equipments and their crisp sound quality clashes with the pops, crackles and muffled sonority of the original tracks—an example is the 1978 Italian re-dubbing of *Bringing Up Baby* (Hawks 1938). Even worse are those cases in which the original separate tracks were not available. When the only material at hand is the Italian composite track—in which the three sound components are interwoven, locked, and cannot be split—a new master track has to be reconstructed working around the old dubbed dialogue. This means that when the original sound effects and music are the background of a dialogue part, they cannot be used and must be created anew. The result is that there are harsh jolts when the usable parts of the old music and sound effects tracks connect with the new ones that accompany the new dubbed dialogue—with music abruptly changing in style from the old to the new segments.¹⁰ Sometimes the music track is replaced altogether with an economical low-quality alternative and the sound effects are mostly discarded, with the consequence that the new version features spurious music and voices that sound as if they were in a vacuum—e.g. the Italian DVD release of *The Roaring Twenties* (Walsh 1939), featuring a counterfeit synthesizer music score.

Dubbing also affects characterization. Each actor has his or her own persona, which is the result of her/his body features, character traits, and track record of her/his previous roles. Voice is one of the recognizable features of any one persona. In a polemical article, a young Michelangelo Antonioni denounced the awful artificiality of “Clark Costa,” a *monstrum* having the body of Clark Gable and the voice of Romolo Costa (Antonioni 1940: 328–30). Indeed, by replacing the original voice with a new one, dubbing can impact on the actor’s persona and create one in the foreign country that does not correspond in full with the original—e.g. Al Pacino is mostly dubbed by Giancarlo Giannini, whose flamboyant tone is louder and more theatrical than Pacino’s own and thus projects onto the Pacino persona a spurious, overly-dramatic quality. The

¹⁰ On re-dubbing, see Comuzio (1999: 162–4).

most remarkable case is that of Marilyn Monroe. Monroe's persona—especially in the post-1956 films—was a complex one, mixing explosive sex appeal with innocence, lighthearted cheerfulness with existential anguish. Marilyn was not just a “dumb blonde” type. In Italy, however, the dubbing would overplay the stereotype of a “dumb blonde.” In her major films, Marilyn's tender lisp and breathy voice were replaced with Rosetta Calavetta's blaring high-pitched tone and over-excited performance. In Italy, Marilyn's characters sound giddier than they actually are. In the Italian version of *Let's Make Love* (Cukor 1960), Marilyn's character is even given a lower level of education—while in the original she is attending night school to earn a high-school diploma, in the Italian version she is working on her primary-school leaving qualification.

Besides distorting the actor's public persona, dubbing can also modify the personality of a character in the films as a consequence of a miscast new voice. Diction in American films is traditionally more realistic. The inflections, accents, and even the defects are peculiarities that are used to create a full-bodied character—think of Humphrey Bogart. Italian dubbing, however, has traditionally had a tendency to level the language and the diction to a standard form. Dialects in Italy have a strong comical connotation and are seldom used outside comedies or grotesque films. The same applies to foreign accents. For example, Laurence Olivier's Van Helsing in *Dracula* (Badham 1979) has a Central European accent in the original English film—the character is Dutch. In the Italian dubbing, this feature was removed and Van Helsing speaks perfect Italian, because otherwise it might have sounded comic to Italian ears. Serious films require a neutral diction, which is a legacy of the “pure language” policy of Italian Fascism, during which time dialects were banned in legitimate art forms (Raffaelli 2001: 879–88). Older practice tended to wipe out all the hues in favor of a pure single color. The perfect voice of Gualtiero De Angelis was attached to both Cary Grant—who spoke with a British accent—and James Stewart—who spoke with an American accent with a peculiar drawl. Although a more naturalistic trend has entered the practice from the 1970s onward, the standard Italian “doppiaggio” language is still a neutral Italian devoid of any dialectal inflections and articulation defects, delivered in a “received” polished diction. Part of an actor's job is to find out the right lilt, register, timbre, and pace for a role—think of British actor Hugh Laurie feigning an American accent to portray American physician Gregory House in *Dr. House, M. D.* (Shore 2004–12). For *Lincoln* (Spielberg 2012) finding the right voice was a key point in Daniel Day-Lewis' preparatory work for the title role. He said: “A voice is such a deep personal

reflection of the character, it's not just a composite, a grouping of sounds you can put together."¹¹ Daniel Day-Lewis came up with an unexpectedly non-stentorial voice in middle-high register, seemingly unfitting to such an eminent figure and tall person as Lincoln was. However, reportedly such was indeed the actual sound of Lincoln's voice.¹² For the Italian version, actor Pierfrancesco Favino strove to model his voice on Day-Lewis' original voice in order to preserve the character's integrity. Changing the qualities of a character's voice affects the way in which the character is perceived. In the TV series *Bones* (Hanson, 2005–), FBI agent Siley Booth (David Boreanaz) has a youthful, high-pitched voice which somehow contrasts with his rugged sturdy figure, revealing the sensitive and emotional man behind the rocky detective. On the other hand, the female lead, Dr. Temperance Brennan (Emily Deschanel), has a firm voice, much lower in pitch if compared to Booth's. She is a strong woman, a very rational and detached scientist. In the Italian version, Booth is dubbed with a warm, lower-pitched voice—which is more fitting to Boreanaz's very masculine look—and Dr. Brennan with a beautiful, not particularly low voice: the subtle characterization provided by the original timbres is lost.

So far we have focused on the technical operations and the material medium of dubbing—the voice—showing how adjustments even in these apparently superficial aspects may cause some interference in the original film. An area in which such interferences are potentially even more disrupting is the verbal component, namely dialogue adaptation. As I mention above, translation is also adaptation, and this is particularly true for films. Adaptation, basically, is making the original dialogue fit the context of the foreign country. The most common occurrence can be called “semantic adaptation.” It generally operates locally—for example, working on a given dialogue line or even on a single word—and it aims at rendering in the target language those puns, proverbs, or idiomatic expressions that are not translatable verbatim. Consider the good-luck wish “Break a leg.” If translated as such into Italian, it makes exactly the opposite sense, sounding like a jinx. The adaptation has to find a corresponding idiomatic expression which is semantically similar: for “Break a leg” the Italian “In bocca al lupo” [In the wolf's mouth] would be a correct choice. This operation is vital in comedy. It is a hard work converting all the puns and jokes into the target language and, even when this is done well,

¹¹ “Lincoln Q&A Interview – Finding the Voice (2012),” Video interview on the YouTube channel “MovieClips Coming Soon. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BERKF9mBcQ> (accessed March 17, 2014).

¹² Ibid.

something is inevitably lost. Famous examples are the “Shirley/surely” pun in *Airplane!* (Zucker, Abrahams, and Zucker 1980) for which a couple of phonetically equivalent Italian words could not be found. Consequently, the film’s principal catch phrase “Don’t call me Shirley” is simply suppressed. Consider the following dialogue from the same film. A Boeing 747 is on a flight but all the pilots have food poisoning. Dr. Rumack and a stewardess are trying to convince Ted Striker, a passenger who has had some flying experience, to help land the plane:

Rumack: What flying experience do you have?

Striker: I flew single-engine fighters in the air-force, but this plane has four engines. It’s an entirely different kind of flying! Altogether!

Rumack and Stewardess (repeating his words, all together): It’s an entirely different kind of flying!

This is a perfect sample of Zucker, Abrahams, and Zucker’s surrealistic comedy, featuring characters who systematically misinterpret the dialogue or take literally what should be taken figuratively. In this case, “altogether” (entirely) is confused with a call to repeat something in unison: “all together.” The effect is lost in Italian. Here is the dubbed version:

Rumack: Che percentuale di speranza abbiamo? [What’s our hope ratio?]

Striker: Il tre per cento, visto che ho guidato solo un aereo a un motore e questo invece ne ha quattro. L’aereo che ho guidato io con questo qui non c’entra. È un’altra cosa. [Three out of one hundred, since I flew only single-engine planes before and this one, instead, has four. The plane I flew has nothing to do with this one. It’s a completely different thing.]

Rumack and Stewardess (all together): Il nostro quoziente di speranza è l’uno per mille. [Our hope ratio is one out of one thousand.]

The trademark Zucker-Abrahams-Zucker humor disappears and is replaced with a dull piece of dialogue, not particularly amusing. A worse “sabotage” can be spotted in the episode “Lurch’s Little Helper” from *The Addams Family*.¹³ Gomez and Fester are assembling a robot. Gomez is operating, while Fester is assisting him by passing the tools:

Gomez: Wrench! (Fester passes a wrench)

Gomez: Pliers! (Fester passes a pair of pliers)

Gomez: Screwdriver! (Fester passes a cocktail)

Gomez: (grabbing the glass and drinking thirstily) Delicious!

¹³ Season #2, Episode #61, March 18, 1966.

Although there is no cocktail in Italy named “cacciavite”—the Italian for “screwdriver”—in the Italian version everything was negligently translated verbatim, with Gomez asking for a *cacciavite* and being given a drink with no reason at all. More preposterously, he accepts the glass without a hint of disconcert, as if everything made perfect sense. This is an example of how a gag can be brutally destroyed by the careless work of some inconsiderate translator.

Translating comedy is a daunting task but the translator’s inventiveness can save the day. An uplifting instance is the “where wolf/werewolf” pun from *Young Frankenstein* (Brooks 1974):

Inga: Werewolf!

Dr. Frankenstein: Werewolf?

Igor: There!

Dr. Frankenstein: What?

Igor: (pointing to his right) There wolf. (pointing ahead) There castle.

There is no way to keep the original assonance in Italian. So, the gag is rendered with a comically unnatural accent shift which transforms “lupo ùlula”—third-person singular of the verb “ululare” [to howl]—into “lupo ululà” with the accent stressing the final “là” which in Italian means “over there,” soon followed by a further distortion of the verb into “ululi” which changes the last syllable into “li” [the Italian for “over here.”]

Inga: Lupo ululà! [sounding somewhat like “Wolf howls-there”]

Dr. Frankenstein: Lupo ululà?!? [Wolf howls-there?!?]

Igor: Là! [Over There!]

Dr. Frankenstein: Cosa? [What?]

Igor: (pointing to his right) Lupo ululà. [Wolf howls-over there.] (pointing ahead) E castello ululì. [And castle howls-over here.]

Although not as elegantly effective as the original, the adaptation was a good compromise and was very well accepted, soon becoming a popular catchphrase.

A deeper degree of adaptation is the modification or suppression of sociocultural references. It is a much more arbitrary adaptation and often not as necessary as the semantic one, since the dialogue would not need any intervention to be understandable. Mostly, such adaptation is market oriented, trying to render the product allegedly more marketable in the new

country.¹⁴ The idea is that a foreign audience may enjoy the film better if they recognize familiar elements in the story, or that they will be less confused if references alien to their context are silenced. An outstanding example can be found again in the episode “Lurch’s Little Helper” from *The Addams Family*. Before assembling the robot, Gomez brushes up his notions of the anatomic joints and articulations. A chart of a skeleton’s anatomy is displayed on the wall and Gomez calls aloud each articulation while indicating it with a stick:

Gomez: The knee bone connected to the thigh bone (he gradually shifts to a rhythmically accented delivery). The thigh bone connected to the hip bone (He begins to move his head and body rhythmically in a sort of dance). The hip bone connected to the back bone (Fester joins him in singing and swinging rhythmically). The back bone connected to the neck bone. And the head is up on top!

The gag is that Gomez’s knowledge of anatomy is very basic and therefore his review of the joints soon turns instinctively into the traditional spiritual song “Dem Dry Bones.”¹⁵ This song is not popular at all in Italy. So, the reference to the song was simply suppressed. There are two effects. First, there is no gag any more, but simply Gomez making a list of the anatomical joints in a plain no-singing delivery—which is not funny per se. Second, while listing the joints, Gomez and Fester can be seen swinging their bodies rhythmically with no reason at all. The elimination of references that are not as popular in Italy as they are in the United States is a common phenomenon. In *His Girl Friday* (Hawks 1940), Cary Grant says: “The last man who said it to me was Archie Leach just a week before he cut his throat.” In the Italian version, the name “Archie Leach” is removed. Archibald Leach was Cary Grant’s real name, but this subtle meta-linguistic joke was thought to have little chance to be understood by an Italian audience. However, by removing it altogether, the adaptation deliberately deprived those aware of Grant’s real name of an amusing film moment. A more drastic intervention where a reference is removed, lest someone might not get it, utterly impoverishes a gag is in *Airplane!* In a hospital ward, where soldiers are recovering from post-traumatic stress syndrome, one soldier is said to “think he is Ethel Merman.” The narration cuts to that soldier’s bed and, unexpectedly,

¹⁴ A related phenomenon is the modification of the film’s title, whose Italian translation often has nothing to do with the original. The idea is that of luring more people into theaters by choosing a title that either alludes to other popular and successful films or that suggests a certain degree of erotic content, which is absent in most cases. For a survey, see Audissino (2012: 28–9).

¹⁵ Attributed to James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938).

we see Ethel Merman herself, singing aloud and then sedated and put to sleep. In the Italian version, the soldier is said to “think he is a feminist” and we see a woman (Merman) shouting clichéd political statements instead of singing.

The drive to make the references more familiar to the new audience typically causes blatant incongruities. In *The Poseidon Adventure* (Neame 1972), the Rosens, a couple of elderly Jews from Brooklyn, are traveling to Israel. Quite incongruously, in the Italian version, when tragedy strikes, Mrs. Rosen can be heard praying “Padre Nostro che Sei nei Cieli” [Our Father, Who Art in Heaven]—instead of the original “Shema Yisrael.” In this respect, a good case study is the TV series *The Nanny* (Drescher and Jacobson 1993–9). Fran Fine (Fran Drescher), the main character, is a working-class Jewish woman from Queens, New York, hired as a nanny by upper-class British Broadway producer Maxwell Sheffield (Charles Shaughnessy). The bulk of the comedy is based on the contrast between the extrovert and outspoken Fran and the bashful and inhibited Maxwell—besides the obvious upper/lower class clash. The traditional cliché of presenting the British as cold and emotionless and the Americans as expansive and resourceful is further reinforced by Maxwell’s strong British accent and Fran’s strong New York accent. Moreover, Jewish humor is the comic core—references to Jewish culture abound both in the setting and in the dialogue—and Yiddish words frequently color the lines. As to the Italian version, it is indisputable that such Jewish references are not as comprehensible to Italians as they are to Americans. A small percentage of Italian viewers would know what “Seder” or “Kosher” mean. Yet, this hardly justifies the radical adaptation of the series. All the Fine Family members were turned into Italian immigrants from Frosinone (Lazio) and renamed “Cacace.” The first consequence was the elision of the accent characterization that reinforced the portrayal of the clash of classes—now Francesca and Maxwell speak with the same accent. Also, a distinctive trait of actress Fran Drescher’s persona was lost: her funny nasal voice. The solution also caused many patently incongruous situations, as when the supposed Italian-American family gathers for dinner: oddly enough, a menorah stands at the center of the table, a Rabbi walks into the room, and “zio Antonio” [the Italian version of Morty Fine] always wears a kippah. Consider the following excerpt, an example of how the Jewish characterization was removed.¹⁶ Sitting in a photo studio specializing in dog portraits, Yetta, Fran’s eccentric and senile grandmother, is mistakenly eating dog biscuits with her glass of milk:

¹⁶ Season #5, Episode #121, “The Pre-nup,” April, 29 1998.

Yetta (complaining): Wow! These triscuits are really stale!

Dog Portraitist: *Yetta* ... You're eating liver snaps!

Yetta (worried): Oh my God! With milk! It's not Kosher!

And the Italian adaptation:

Yetta: Questi biscottini sono un po' duri e amari. [These biscuits are a bit stale and bitter.]

Dog Portraitist: *Yetta*... Sono di fegato, per i cani lupo! [*Yetta* ... They're made of liver. They're for German Shepherd dogs!]

Yetta: Questi biscottini sono di fegato? Non ne avresti di trippa? [They're made of liver? Don't you have some with tripe?]

Another similarly incongruous case is *Many Rivers to Cross* (Rowland 1955), a Western comedy whose title was transformed into *Un napoletano nel Far West* [*A Neapolitan in the Far West*], and whose Irish characters were renamed "Capasso" and dubbed with a Neapolitan accent. A particularly infamous case is the Italian version of *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (Gilliam and Jones 1975). This exemplary sample of British humor and Python's mad-cap surrealist comedy was adapted and dubbed with regional accents by the "Bagaglino" theater group, whose comedy is the exact antithesis of British humor. Suffice it to say that while the former is based on puns, intellectual paradoxes, and understatement, the Bagaglino relies on scatological jokes, profanity, and overstatement. Consider the scene of Tim The Enchanter: King Arthur and his men, on the quest for the Holy Grail, meet a menacingly eccentric wizard. The humor in the original is based on the erratic behavior of the lunatic enchanter. When asked about the Grail, he replies with silent gazes—halfway between threat and contempt—or by shouting incoherently, while keeping on provoking explosions and casting fireballs that incinerate the surrounding trees for no reason at all. In the Italian version—besides King Arthur speaking with a Tuscan accent and Tim the Enchanter with a Neapolitan accent—there is a plethora of cheap and dated jokes on accountancy and tax matters that fill all the silent moments, as driven by a sort of logorrheic *horror vacui* that annihilates the surrealist silence of the original. Here is a sample of the Bagaglino's very non-British humor, to say the least, featured in this scene:

Tim: Iva! Iva! [Iva is the acronym of "Imposta sul valore aggiunto," the Italian "Value Added Tax" (VAT).]

Arthur: Iva?

Tim: Lasciami finire di parlare. Volevo dire con Iva... [Let me finish the sentence. With Iva I mean...]

Arthur: Forse imposta sul valore aggiunto? [Is it Imposta sul valore aggiunto?]

Tim: No! I va—ffanculo si sprecheranno! [No! There is going to be a lot of ‘Fuck off!’-saying from now on.]

Here the joke is based on a coarse word play between the assonance of “Iva” and the first syllables of “Ivaffanculo” [the Fuck offs].

A major adaptation problem arises when films feature more than one language.¹⁷ In an English film, English is simply replaced with the new language, say Italian. What about those films in which characters speak diverse languages?¹⁸ Sometimes, the adaptation replaces only the English dialogue with Italian, and keeps the other parts in the original. When the other language is accompanied by subtitles in the original, the original English subtitles are replaced with Italian subtitles. Such was the choice for *Inglourious Basterds* (Tarantino, 2009). However, subtitling in Italy seems to be still perceived as a “box-office poison.” Therefore subtitling is avoided and the problem is dealt with in a clumsy manner. Consider the Italian version of *Le concert* (Mihaileanu 2009). The comedy concerns a group of Russian musicians who had been purged from their posts during the Brezhnev era and have never recovered their careers. Led by their former conductor, they have the chance to travel to Paris and pass themselves for the Bolshoi Orchestra. The first part of the film is set in Moscow, and characters originally speak Russian with French subtitles. When they move to Paris, French characters speak French, obviously, and the Russian musicians speak a jerky Russian-accented French. Probably fearing that the subtitles in the first part of the film might annoy Italian viewers, those in charge of adaptation¹⁹

¹⁷ On dubbing of multilingual films, see the first two chapters in this collection by Christine Heiss and by Patrick Zabalbeascoa and Elena Voellmer.

¹⁸ There are also English films in which some character delivers, for exoticism, snippets of dialogue in a foreign language. When this foreign language is that of the country for which the film has to be dubbed, the general choice is to change the foreign language into another foreign language. For example, in the Italian version of *A Fish Called Wanda* (Crichton 1988) the character of Kevin Kline speaks Spanish instead of Italian. Similarly, in the French version of *The Addams Family* TV series, Morticia seduces Gomez by speaking Spanish, not French. In other cases, the linguistic difference is suppressed. An example is *Avanti!* (Wilder 1972), a comedy starring Jack Lemmon that is set in Ischia, Italy. The main characters are an American businessman and a British woman, while the surrounding characters speak either a heavy Italian-accented English or Italian. The dubbed version levels everything to Italian, keeping some nuances by having some secondary characters speak in dialect.

¹⁹ The Italian dialogue and the direction of dubbing are by Alessandro Rossi who, however, claims that the controversial adaptation was suggested by director Radu Mihaileanu himself. See Rampazzo (2009).

opted for the following solution: In the first part, the Russian characters speak to each other with a Russian-accented Italian. When in Paris, French people speak in straight Italian, while the Russians still speak with a Russian-accented Italian, only decidedly more strongly accented. The solution causes the film to appear more farcical and negatively ridiculous than intended. A textbook case in this respect is *Le Mepris* (Godard 1963). The Italian version was severely tampered with by producer Carlo Ponti. Major (detrimental) interventions were a reordering of the plot line; the replacement of Georges Delerue's sensitive score for strings with Piero Piccioni's dull Hammond organ-ridden pop music; and the elimination of Brigitte Bardot's nude shots. Besides this havoc, the film's original multilingualism was suppressed. Originally, Bardot and Michel Piccoli speak French, Jack Palance speaks (American) English, Fritz Lang speaks German, and a number of secondary characters speak Italian—since the film is set in Italy. The dubbing eliminated all linguistic differences, forcing all characters into speaking Italian. This led to serious damage of the original film's form. In the original film, a female interpreter is present in most scenes to translate the bits of conversation from one language to the other and to assist the multilingual dialogue of the characters. So, we see Palance expressing his viewpoint in English and the interpreter explains it in French to Piccoli, who in turn replies in French and is translated for Palance into English. In the Italian version, we see Palance expressing his viewpoint in Italian and then, pointlessly, one girl, who tails the characters for most of the time, paraphrases to Piccoli the very same things that Palance has just said. And so on. The impression is that we are watching conversations among slow-witted people who need the assistance of someone to understand clear statements in their own language. Moreover, by this constant redundancy, the film is perceived as quite tedious and the dialogue as annoyingly repetitious. The Italian *Le Mepris* is not an adaptation but a wholly different film, and a memento of how devastating dubbing can be to the film's original form.

Apart from harming the style, tone, pace, and local meaning of the original film, dubbing can have a serious impact on the film's global meaning as well. Woody Allen's *What's Up, Tiger Lily* (1966) is proof of how dubbing can transform the overall meaning of a film—purposely in this case. American International Pictures bought the distribution rights of a low-cost Japanese Bond-like film.²⁰ They soon realized that the film would sell better as a comedy and hired Allen

²⁰ *Kokusai himitsu keisatsu: Kagi no kagi* [Key of Keys] (S. Taniguchi 1965).

to write new dialogue to be dubbed onto it. Thus, an action film concerning the search for a microfilm was turned into a farcical search for the recipe of the world's best egg salad—at the beginning of the film Allen himself gives an explanation of this humorous and deliberately “wrong” adaptation. The problem is that, unlike in Allen's case, dubbing may change the meaning of a film deceitfully. In that case, one is oblivious of the arbitrariness of the adaptation, and in order to discover the alteration it is necessary to access the original dialogue for a comparison. This is not an immediate process and is generally ignored or skipped by the casual viewer, who accepts the meaning as it is conveyed in the dubbed version.

A proper example of how even a minimal change can be seriously harmful to the film's meaning is provided in *The Straight Story* (Lynch 1999). The film is about an elderly and mobility-impaired WWII veteran—Alvin Straight—who decides to reconcile with his estranged brother. To do so, he crosses two American states on his lawnmower—not having a driving license any more. The film's explicit theme is that of reconciling with the dear ones before it is too late. However, the narration insists quite strongly on Alvin's harsh frugality and on the privations and discomfort that he not only accepts but even seeks along his already exhausting trip: during one of his laps he refuses a bed and a shelter and insists on sleeping outside. We are told that Alvin had been hounded by war memories for a long time, and his past alcoholism caused the estrangement from his brother. However, we sense that there is something more concealed in Alvin's past. During a conversation about the importance of family, Alvin talks²¹ about his daughter Rose—previously shown in the film—who has a mild mental disability:

Alvin: She was a real good mom. She had four kids. One night, somebody else was watching the kids ... There was a fire ... The second boy got burned real bad. Rosie had nothing to do with it, but on the account of the way Rosie is, the State figured she wasn't competent to take care of her kids and took them all away from her. There isn't a day goes by that she doesn't cry for them kids.

The key element in the dialogue is “somebody.” Who is the “somebody” that caused guiltless Rose to lose her children? Could he not be Alvin himself? We know about his past problem with alcohol, and we know that Rose shares her home with him. What if the whole accident was due to the negligence of an alcoholic Alvin? The film does not answer the question, but the enigmatic “somebody”

²¹ Incidentally, note that Alvin originally talks with a rural inflection and employs substandard English, while he is dubbed by Omero Antonutti in perfect Italian and with polished diction.

prompts some interpretation in this sense—and being directed by David Lynch, it would not be inappropriate to expect a more complex hidden layer in this film which, for him, is atypically simple (a *straight* story). From this perspective, Alvin's journey is not only a path of reconciliation, but also of atonement. This interpretation explains Alvin's aforementioned insistence on "punishing" himself with hardships. The Italian version completely destroys this important lead to the possible implicit meaning. The "somebody" line is translated as follows:

Alvin: Durante una sera in cui lei non c'era e aveva affidato i bambini a un'amica, ci fu un incendio ... [One night, when she wasn't home and had entrusted her children to a female friend of hers, there was a fire ...]

The "somebody" is replaced with "a female friend of hers" with no reason at all. This inexplicably arbitrary substitution robs the unaware Italian viewers of a fundamental clue to an unsettling scenario.

A certain degree of interference with the film's form is inevitable when dubbing. In the worst cases, the interference is so strong as to result in devastating effects to the film. Original connotations can be silenced, new meanings can be arbitrarily added, and even the overall meaning can be seriously modified. The worst thing is that often this is not done deliberately, but it is the simple consequence of carelessness, lack of time, or slim budgets—when not a fatal combination of the three. A more scrupulous work ethic, a better knowledge of film aesthetics, and a more receptive understanding of the reciprocal interplay of the many elements involved in film art could have avoided many of the aforementioned cases of "filmic manslaughter."

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Glossary

- Direct sound recording:** the recording of dialogue and/or sound effects along with the filming of the images during the shooting of a scene. Sound and image are captured at the same time.
- Film form:** an audiovisual system of stylistic, thematic, and narrative elements in a reciprocal interplay.

Intertitles: full-screen title cards used to convey dialogue lines in written form during the silent-cinema period.

Post-synchronization: the creation or replacement of one of the components of the sound track (e.g. dialogue) during post-production, after the on-set filming is done. Sound and image are captured at separate moments.

Sound track: the carefully balanced composite audio track that lies on a filmstrip next to the image track. It is a combination of the dialogue track, the music track, and the sound-effect track.

Part Three

Media and Computer Translation

An introductory note

The following part contains a single chapter. This chapter addresses new technological developments with which most Translation and Communications scholars are not likely to be familiar. This discussion is the product of collaboration between three scholars, Aline Remael, Luuk Van Waes, and Mariëlle Leijten, who work, respectively, in Audiovisual Translation, Business and Technical Communications, and Communications and New Media. They provide a wide perspective to the very latest developments, as well as the current challenges, in live subtitling with speech recognition. The three researchers are actively involved in research aimed at improving the live subtitling process, and present a unique vantage point for considering both theoretical issues and industrial needs and constraints. While a part of their discussion is technical, it also opens the door to questions about computer (or, for the time being, computer-aided) translation, and the challenges that have to be overcome before a computer might be trusted to complete the task on its own (see in particular the section “Speaker independent speech recognition”). In addition, the task of live subtitling is contextualized by the discussion of political constraints (such as government regulations) and social and demographic needs. Live subtitling, while originally initiated for the benefit of the deaf and hard of hearing, has also been found to serve non-native speakers, immigrants, and senior citizens who find speech on television too fast. Last, but definitely not least, the task of “respeaking” (creating titles in the same language as the one that that is spoken) is compared with that of simultaneous interpreting (see in particular the section “Respeaking versus simultaneous interpreting”), as the two tasks share similar technologies and challenges, and are often carried out by the same people. Much like other

discussions in this collection, but perhaps more so, the following chapter demonstrates the complicated, perhaps haphazard relationship between language and technology, industry, politics, social considerations, translation, and communications.

Live Subtitling with Speech Recognition: How to Pinpoint the Challenges

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1. (Audiovisual) translation as a mediator of communication

Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and Functionalism have shifted the focus of Translation Studies (TS) from an interest in the source text (ST) as a determining factor in translation to an interest in the target text (TT) and how it functions in the target culture (TC) (Toury 1995; Nord 1997). In addition, the concept of “equivalence” originally denoting the type of relation and degree of similarity that should exist between ST and TT has been gradually hollowed out. Toury himself reduced the concept to one indicating “any relation which is found to have characterized translation under a specific set of circumstances” (p. 61) whereas others, such as Hermans (1999: 97), have questioned the usefulness of the concept altogether. Hermans writes that it turns the focus of researchers away from the equally important concepts of “non-equivalence, of manipulation and displacement,” which also characterize translated texts, especially in postcolonial contexts where translation takes place in “a context of power differentials [and where] ... relations between communities and cultures are rarely between equals.” (p. 97). Taking this argument into the broader contemporary context of globalization and technology-driven text production, it is safe to say, as Pym (1998) also pointed out, that there are multiple sources of explanation for the final shape that any translated text will take. The source text, if there is a clearly defined source text, is but one factor among many.

Audiovisual translation (AVT), which is always a form of team work in which a varying number of specialists collaborate, is a case in point. The different factors that have an impact on translated audiovisual texts are almost countless. They range from the professional experience of the translating team to the function that the target text is expected to fulfill; to the technology that is used to translate it; to the financing and time available; and the impact of the target audience—and these factors exist besides the “usual” linguistic and intercultural translation challenges. In addition, AVT has stretched the concept of what translation is beyond the borders of what Jakobson (1959) called “translation proper,” namely “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language” (quoted in Munday 2001: 5). AVT no longer encompasses multilingual subtitling, dubbing, and voice over only, but also media accessibility such as audio-description for the blind, and captioning, or subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH) (Remael 2010, 2012). It therefore makes audiovisual products accessible across linguistic, sensorial, and cultural barriers of different kinds. For example, people who consider themselves to be “deaf” see themselves as members of a different and quite closed cultural community (Neves 2005, 2008).

In AVT the linguistic component always signifies in interaction with all the different sign systems of a film or other audiovisual production. The form translation takes can be interlingual (e.g. French into Dutch), intersemiotic (e.g. images to words), or intralingual (e.g. a reformulation in Dutch). SDH has been mostly intralingual since its advent in the 1970s in Europe (Remael 2007). However, under the joint influence of technical possibility and increased global multilingualism, the demand for interlingual SDH is now increasing. In other words, some forms of AVT or media accessibility that were originally monolingual have become a form of “translation proper” again. “Continuous change” is the defining concept of the media landscape and different forms of communication today, including (audiovisual) translation and its mediating functions. Translation scholars are very much aware of this but often feel that media specialists may not be. In this chapter, we will consider the process of live subtitling with speech recognition and the impact it has on subtitles as a broadcast media.

2. Live subtitling with respeaking

2.1 Live subtitling with respeaking: A complex procedure

Subtitling is a well-known AVT mode that has traditionally served as a means to make television programs and films in one language accessible for target audiences with a different mother tongue (see above and e.g. Gottlieb 1994; Ivarsson and Carroll 1998). However, it was quickly seen as a valuable means to meet the demands for accessible television by aurally impaired viewers. It has been providing first intralingual and now also interlingual translations of media content (Remael 2012). Live subtitling was introduced in the 1980s in Europe (see Van Waes, Leijten, and Remael 2013 for details) to meet the rising demand for accessible live programs and to allow broadcasters to meet the accessibility quota imposed on them by their respective governments. In Flanders, for instance, the public broadcaster VRT has reached 95 percent subtitling of Flemish programs overall and 92 percent of news-related programs at the time of writing. The core programs for live subtitling are sports or news programs, and VRT's target is 100 percent intralingual subtitling of news-related programs by 2014 (Saerens, personal communication February 28, 2014). In other words, like any other form of Audiovisual Translation, live subtitling is essential for broadening the group of potential media consumers. Below we will analyze the process and its challenges, discuss a selection of some of our current research projects, and identify topics for further research. We focus on live subtitling produced by public broadcaster VRT, our main research partner and supplier of research material, who use, for the purpose of live subtitling, both Dragon Naturally Speaking speech recognition software and Softel Swift subtitling software.

Live subtitling with respeaking is the most commonly used form of live subtitling today, not just in Flanders but in Europe and, indeed, throughout the world (see Romero-Fresco 2011). However, it is far from flawless and different production techniques are in use. A further distinction therefore needs to be made between two different approaches to the task of making the subtitles appear on screen: "block mode" and "scrolling/snake mode" (Remael 2007). When the subtitles are presented on the screen gradually, word for word, we speak of scrolling or snake mode. Subtitles that appear as a whole (one to three lines at a time) are said to be presented in block mode. In this study we focus on block subtitling, the subtitling type used by the Flemish public channel, which

tends to involve more editing than the scrolling mode. That is, dialogues are often paraphrased rather than transcribed verbatim. Henceforth we will also use the term SDH to refer to this type of subtitles rather than captions, the term more closely connected with the scrolling mode (used in the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom).

Figure 6.1 offers a temporal representation of the live subtitling process as it is carried out at VRT. In an average live subtitling session, one person watches and listens to the television program as it is broadcast live. Wearing a headset, he or she simultaneously repeats, paraphrases, or “respeaks” what is being said. “Respeaking” is the currently used term for this activity but, in the case of edited block live subtitling, it is a bit of a misnomer since the subtitler does more than respoking alone. Nevertheless, this so-called respeaker speaks directly to a speech recognizer, which produces a draft subtitle. Errors that are made by the respeaker or by the speech recognizer itself are corrected before they are put on the air. This can be done either by the respeaker (the mono-LS model) or by an additional editor who will quickly correct the output of the speech recognition program before the subtitles are broadcast (the duo-LS model). In addition, in a third model (the multi-LS model), programs are put on air with a delay. The three models are explained below.

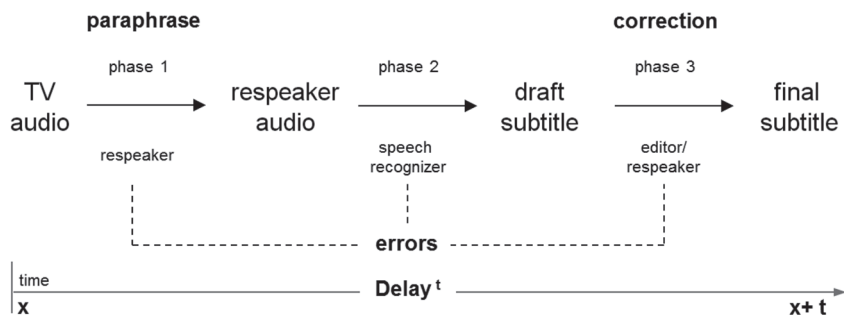


Figure 6.1 Temporal representation of the live block subtitling process (Van Waes, Leijten & Remael 2013).

Errors can obviously occur in different places in this process, as indicated in Figure 6.1. The respeaker may misunderstand, misinterpret, or mispronounce the TV audio input; the speech recognition software may produce a faulty rendering of this input; and the editor may fail to correct the error or, very rarely, introduce errors of his/her own. The concept of “delay” refers to the

time that elapses between the moment the respeaker hears the audio input and the moment the final subtitle appears on screen. Three variants on the above procedure that have been in use at VRT in the recent past, are discussed in greater detail below.

2.1.1 The mono-LS2 model

In the mono-LS2 model, all interventions are done by the same person, as shown in Figure 6.2. In other words, the respeaker does not only voice the subtitles, (s)he also takes on the task of the editor. This method is often applied for relatively simple programs such as tennis (with a low speech rate).

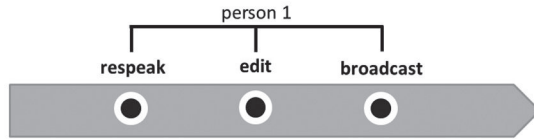


Figure 6.2 The mono-LS model.

2.1.2 The duo-LS model

In some live broadcasts, such as cycling, the speech rate of the commentator(s) is too high for one person to take care of both respesaking and editing. In such cases, a second person, the editor, corrects errors and synchronizes the subtitles manually before they go on air, while the respeaker focuses on respesaking, supposedly correcting only minor errors.

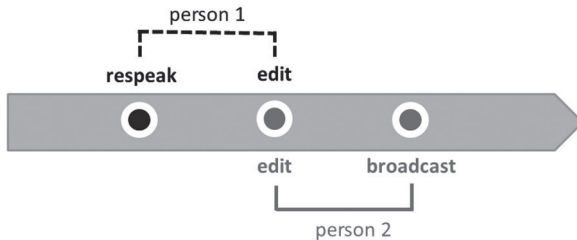


Figure 6.3 The duo-LS model.

2.1.3 Multi-LS model with broadcast delay

Finally, some programs are broadcast with what is known as a “broadcast delay,” a practice that most broadcasters are loath to apply, but which improves subtitling quality exponentially. This means that the program is no longer “live”,

strictly speaking, but “semi-live” as the respeakers are given a head start of five to sometimes even 60 minutes on the actual broadcasting time. The amount of time given is extremely variable since it usually depends on the goodwill of the producer. Whatever the case may be, this still entails working under pressure but allows for a more complete coverage and more corrections. The subtitling team is expanded in such cases: person 1 respeaks, person 2 (and 3) correct, and person 4 synchronizes the subtitle with the audio and broadcasts it. In this setup, it is common for persons 1 and 2 (or 3) to alternate tasks. Persons 2 and 3 are usually allocated alternating blocks of about five minutes.

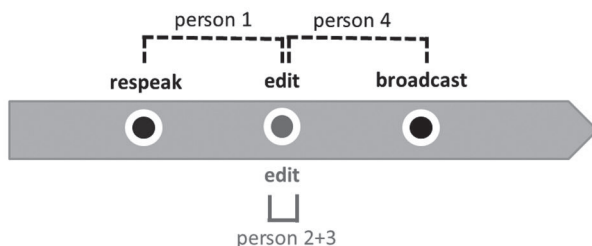


Figure 6.4 The multi-LS model with broadcast delay.

2.1.4 Speaker independent speech recognition

All three variants on the procedure are labor-intensive and costly, but without live subtitling many television programs would attract far fewer viewers with poorer ratings as a result. One simple solution would be to use speaker independent speech to text software that can recognize different speakers without prior training, eliminating the need for a respeaker. This would mean that the TV audio input would be fed directly into the speech recognition software, which would then produce the final subtitle. The possibility of using such software is certainly an option that is the topic of much research today. Another option is the use of a combination of speaker dependent and speaker independent software (see for instance, the SAVAS project (http://www.fp7-savas.eu/savas_project [accessed March 16, 2014]) or Ando et al. 2000). Progress continues to be made in this area, but until now most TV audio input remains too unclear for direct feeds, and the same goes for talk shows with multiple speakers. This is confirmed in the latest report by Ofcom, UK (2013).

Other issues of a less technical nature also deserve attention. Today, speaker independent speech recognition reproduces the audio input verbatim, without editing. This results in high reading speeds and in a written text that retains

most of the features (e.g. hesitations and repetitions) of the spoken audio input. This is highly problematic for the subtitle users. Although the original target group of live subtitling usually demands verbatim subtitles because they feel editing amounts to censorship, research has shown that many people who are deaf or hard of hearing cannot manage the reading speeds verbatim subtitling would require (Romero-Fresco 2012a). Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that the original target group of deaf and hard of hearing viewers has expanded considerably and keeps growing because of our ageing populations. In addition, the current target viewership comprises non-native speakers such as immigrants, elderly people for whom the speech is too fast, and many others (www.vrt.be/T888). The aim of the ongoing research at the University of Antwerp has therefore been to analyze and improve the current live-subtitling working methods.

2.1.5 Respeaking versus simultaneous interpreting

One striking feature of respeaking is its resemblance to simultaneous interpreting. Interpreting is often associated with conference interpreting even though it is a form of oral translation that has always been used in many contexts and is undergoing further diversification today. First, much like in the case of live subtitling, the demand for interpreting has also been increased by new EU directives that present it as a means of guaranteeing human rights, such as access to a fair trial (e.g. Directive 2010/64/EU) of October 30, 2010. Second, in the domain of interpreting, as in that of Audiovisual Translation, the effects of globalization and technology are producing new and hybrid forms, even though the use of technology for interpreting may not necessarily be new. Live interpreting for television, for instance, whether simultaneous or consecutive, has been around for decades (Gambier 2003: 173). However, today, AVT and new forms of interpreting using technology that goes beyond the usual conference setup appear to be converging. One example is the use of live subtitling with speech technology, our topic.

Some of the major similarities and differences between simultaneous interpreting and live subtitling with speech recognition might yield interesting research questions and methods for improving the live subtitling procedure. There are a number of striking resemblances between block subtitling, which is edited, live subtitling with speech recognition, and simultaneous interpreting. Both modes are live and simultaneous forms of oral translation. Both interpreters and respeakers have to deal with “the unexpected” in the sense that

they do not know what kind of information or sentence structure will come next. And both try to minimize the delay in rendering their translations, even though the parallelism between the two forms is not complete in this respect (cf. below). For both translation modes, the four basic principles of interpreting (Jones 2002) are crucial: active listening, understanding, analyzing, and reformulating. The capacity to split one's attention is another important skill the two modes share, namely the capacity to listen and speak simultaneously. Finally, both respeakers and interpreters will perform better if they know the topic of the source text and have been able to prepare (van der Veer 2007). However, here the similarities end.

One major difference between the two procedures is particularly crucial. The output of interpreters is the final target text and still a form of spoken language, whereas in the case of respeakers it is not. Their rendering is the input for the speech technology software, which transforms this oral input into a written output, the draft subtitle, which is then edited by another translator. This means that the delay with which respeakers' input is produced will be exacerbated by the subsequent phases of the process, and that errors may be introduced in each of these subsequent stages (see Figure 6.1). Some stages in the process, it will have become clear, fall under the responsibility of the respeakers; others are the responsibility of editors; and others still depend on the functioning of the software. This software must be "trained" to recognize the voice of a specific respeaker and must be fed terminology in a dedicated database. The better it has been trained and stocked up, the better it will perform. If we concentrate on the tasks of the respeakers, the simple fact of being just one link in a chain makes the task more (uni)focused, but also seriously complicates their task. Usually respeakers rephrase the text. Sometimes, however, they also translate in the traditional sense (cf. above). In addition to having good interpreting skills, however, they must be able to adapt their speech to the type of oral input (pronunciation, intonation, articulation) required for the software to function, add punctuation (verbally, while respeaking) and, in most cases, correct the draft subtitles produced by the software. This means that they will also have to perform manual actions on the keyboard and with the mouse. In addition, the final text is no longer an oral but a written text that has to comply with the local subtitling guidelines (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). In other words, respeakers must also have subtitling skills, and even though these may be easier to acquire than respeaking skills, they present an additional challenge (Romero-Fresco 2012b). Interpreters can sometimes make use of visual information (e.g. slides)

to support their comprehension of the source text. To what extent respeakers make use of the visual input of a film, considering the multitasking required during the respeaking process, remains under-investigated (see the section “The visual attention of respeakers”).

3. Observing the live-subtitling process

Figure 6.1, the temporal representation of the live block subtitling process, is a good starting point for the identification of major challenges in the live subtitling procedures that merit research.¹ From a methodological point of view, collecting and analyzing this kind of process data can be quite challenging since live subtitles are produced in real time, broadcast live, and almost literally disappear into thin air. That is why a logging tool is used for all our experiments, more specifically, *Inputlog*, developed at the University of Antwerp (Leijten and Van Waes 2006, 2013).² Most logging tools have either been developed for a specifically designed word processing environment, or have not been adequately adapted to Windows environments. This means that they cannot be used for research into “natural” writing or for writers using use speech recognition, as is the case for live subtitlers. This is what prompted the researchers at the University of Antwerp to develop this dedicated software. *Inputlog* features five modules: it can record, pre-process, analyze, post-process, and (re)play the titling process.

The module logs data (keyboard, mouse and speech) in Microsoft Word and other Windows-based programs (e.g. Softel Swift) together with a unique time stamp (ms) and a record of copy/paste/move actions. The *pre-processing* feature allows the researcher to process data from various perspectives: event based, time based, mode based (viz. keyboard, mouse or speech) or based on window changes (e.g. by isolating the main document that is produced from the searching activities in the sources accessed during the writing process).

The *analytical module* is the heart of the program and features six aggregated levels of analysis: summary, general, linear, pause, source, and revision. The resulting XML files contain specific and/or statistical information about any particular writing session. Several process characteristics are presented based on algorithmic

¹ Since the main focus of this chapter is on the live subtitling process, reception research into what the audience wants and what it can manage is not discussed.

² The latest version of *Inputlog* can be downloaded from <http://www.inputlog.net> (accessed March 16, 2014) (free software for researchers). A detailed manual of the program is also available.

processing of the raw logging data. For instance, the summary analysis displays the number of characters, words, sentences, and paragraphs produced, the product/process ratio, average length, and number of pauses (also classified according to their location in the text process: within words, between words, etc.), total percentage of pause time vs. active writing time, and different writing modes used (keyboard, mouse, and speech). The pause analysis scrutinizes every non-scribal period, and the pause threshold can be set (often 2 seconds is used to eliminate motoric key transitions and to focus more explicitly at higher cognitive activities).

The *post-process module* integrates single or multiple log files from Inputlog or other observation tools, like usability data (e.g. Morae), eyetracking data (e.g. Tobii) and speech recognition software (e.g. Dragon Naturally Speaking by Nuance). Inputlog is currently the only logging tool that can integrate the input of Dragon Naturally Speaking (DNS). The custom add-on in DNS (in combination with a Python script) merges Nuance speech recognition data with Inputlog keyboard and mouse data. It is also possible to merge multiple output files—horizontally or vertically—for further analysis in, for instance, SPSS, R or MLWin.

Finally, the *(re)play module* allows researchers to play back the recorded session at various levels (time or revision based). However, this option is limited to writing processes logged in MS Word. The replay is data based (not video based) and the play speed is adjustable. In the live subtitling research discussed in this chapter, Inputlog was used to log all the respeakers' keystrokes, mouse movements, and speech input data throughout the various experiments.

4. Two examples of live-subtitling process research

Since it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss all different sub-projects of our research group, we will focus on two examples: first, an experiment investigating the relations between error production and three different live subtitling production modes (verbatim, summarized, and highly reduced); second, a pilot study looking into the respeakers' use of visual input (in terms of the distribution of tasks among respeaker and editor) when using two different respeaking methods. The assumption is that respeakers will have more time to make use of information supplied via the images if the editor takes care of all the errors that occur in the draft subtitle.

4.1 Error production in different respeaking modes

When surveying and classifying the errors produced in live subtitling, or when evaluating the output of respeaking software in other contexts, the final subtitles or the final respoken text are usually used as research data (Romero-Fresco and Martínez forthcoming). In the case of the live-subtitling process described above, however, we feel it is just as important to take the errors into account that are produced in one of the earlier stages in the process, but that may have been corrected in the final subtitle. This assumption lies at the basis of the first experiment described below.

Method

This experiment involved 12 subtitlers of the Flemish public television channel, VRT. All participants were native speakers of Dutch, with a mean experience time with Dragon Naturally Speaking of 3.3 years (standard deviation 2.2 years). The respeakers were asked to produce intralingual respoken subtitles for excerpts from three episodes of a Flemish infotainment talk show *Phara*. They were familiar with the program but they had never subtitled it. Each of the excerpts contained Dutch dialogues lasting 15 minutes; they had a comparable format (two interviewers and three interviewees); and a speaking rate of around 200 words per minute (184, 200, and 208 wpm respectively). The participants used Nuance Dragon Naturally Speaking 9.5 (<http://www.nuance.com>, accessed March 16, 2014) speech recognition software in combination with Softel Swift subtitling software (<http://www.softel.co.uk> [accessed March 16, 2014]) and the entire process was logged with Inputlog (see Part 3).

For each of the three respeaking tasks, the participants were asked to apply a different experimental reduction strategy:³ (a) verbatim, (b) summarized, and (c) highly reduced. These three different reduction intensities allowed us to explore and compare various reduction strategies used by the respeakers under different conditions. Since each fragment was subtitled using the same condition by four respeakers, we obtained 12 subtitled clips of the same fragment. In the verbatim condition, the participants were asked to focus on quantity and to keep as close to the spoken dialogue as possible. Avoiding errors was of less importance than aiming for 100 percent subtitling. In the summarized mode,

³ Which episode had to be subtitled using which reduction condition was controlled in order to monitor the outcomes (Latin square design). For more details about the experimental design see Van Waes, Leijten, and Remael (2013).

the respeakers were asked to focus equally on quantity and quality, and to aim at 50 percent reduction. They were also told that this mode was equivalent to their usual *modus operandi*. Finally, in the highly reduced mode, 25 percent subtitling was the target. The respeakers were asked to render the core elements of the program dialogues very concisely and to pay close attention to the quality of the subtitles, avoiding errors and producing well-edited subtitles.

Results

Error classification

For the classification of errors we made use of the classification rendered in Table 6.1 (Van Waes et al. 2009).

Table 6.1 Classification of subtitling errors (based on Van Waes et al. 2009)

Misrecognition

1. one word as another word
 2. several words as several other words
 3. one word as several (other) words
 4. Several words as one other word
 5. 'nothing' as one word (*ghost-recognition*)
 6. word as 'nothing' (*non-recognition*)
 7. personal names
 8. other proper names and acronyms
-

Misinterpretation

9. parsing mistake: one (compound) word as several words
 10. parsing mistake: several words as one (compound) word
 11. grammatical error (e.g. congruence)
 12. command as text
 13. text as command
 14. background noise/hesitation/cough recognized as dictation
-

Miscellaneous

15. spelling error
 16. Typing error (input via keyboard only)
 17. Mistake by respeaker
 18. Punctuation error
-

This classification distinguishes between three basic types of errors: misrecognition errors, misinterpretation errors (both made by the respeaking system), and a third miscellaneous category of other errors. These three main categories are further subdivided into 18 subcategories, listed in Table 6.1. The purpose

of this classification was to create categories that were easily countable without requiring interpretation while being quite exhaustive at the same time. Due to, for instance, the phonetic nature of some of the errors, it is virtually impossible to provide English translations of Dutch examples recorded for each of these categories. However, a few examples are discussed below.

Table 6.2 Misrecognition

Type of error	Correct subtitle	Draft subtitle
Several words rendered as one word	Hij nadert nu <u>op zes</u> seconden <i>He approaches now in six seconds</i>	Hij nadert nu <u>opzij</u> seconden <i>He approaches now 'ontheside' seconds.</i>

The speech recognition software recognized the two words “op zes” (“in six”) as one word “opzij” (“on the side”) because of its phonetic resemblance to the correct rendering. The word “opzij” exists, but does not fit the present context and the draft subtitle therefore makes no sense.

Table 6.3 Misinterpretation

Type of error	Correct subtitle	Draft subtitle
Command as text	Hij had de <u>2-0</u> aan de voet <i>He had the 2-0 [score] within [foot] reach</i>	Hij had de <u>2 een streepje 0</u> aan de voet <i>He had the 2 a dash 0 [score] within [foot]reach.</i>

In this example, the command “streepje,” the Dutch for “dash,” is interpreted as a word rather than as the command to actually place the dash.

Table 6.4 Miscellaneous

Type of Error	Correct subtitle	Draft subtitle
Spelling error	<u>Gombani</u> aan de bal <i>Gombani on the ball</i>	<u>Gombami</u> aan de bal <i>Gombami on the ball.</i>

This category contains all the mistakes that can be attributed to the respeaker and/or the editor, in this case a spelling error.

Table 6.5 Average number and proportion of classified errors for the three reduction modes

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	total
concept	15.0	2.7	2.7	3.0	0.8	3.6	2.5	2.4	1.6	1.4	1.5	0.0	0.1	0.0	11.6	1.1	1.8	1.3	53.1
final	8.0	1.4	0.8	1.4	0.6	2.2	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.5	0.7	0.5	0.4	28.6
corrected	7.0	1.3	1.9	1.6	0.3	1.4	1.8	1.6	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.1	0.4	1.3	0.9	24.7
average	10.0	1.8	1.8	2.0	0.6	2.4	1.7	1.6	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	7.7	0.7	1.2	0.9	35.5
percent	28.2%	5.1%	5.1%	5.6%	1.6%	6.8%	4.8%	4.5%	3.0%	2.6%	2.8%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	21.8%	2.1%	3.4%	2.4%	

The occurrence of the different types of errors was counted for all of the categories in each of the 12 subtitled clips, as shown in Table 6.5.

Most of the mistakes fall into categories 1 and 15, that is, substitutions of misspelled words, which account for almost half of the problems. Another category that stands out is that of non-recognition errors (category 6 in Table 6.1). Even though some of the percentages are based on a rather limited number of occurrences and are therefore not statistically relevant, the dominant categories can be distinguished quite clearly.

In addition, if the time at which errors occur is considered, another interesting feature emerges. The number of errors made by the respeaker varies and this variation is caused by different factors, such as the complexity and the speed of audio input. However, what remains reasonably stable is the proportion of errors corrected for each of the reduction modes. In the strongly reduced mode a markedly higher number of mistakes are corrected, whereas in the verbatim mode hardly any mistakes are corrected at all. It would seem that the cognitive load of the live subtitling process allows the respeakers to take on a certain amount of correcting, but that the quantity of errors they can handle is limited. Or, in other words, there is a correction ceiling. This is reflected visually in Figure 6.5. Peak moments in terms of errors made in the draft subtitles are reflected by parallel peak moments in the errors that remain in the final subtitles.

Accuracy and correctness of subtitles

The next question is: what does this mean if we turn from the analysis of the production errors to the overall subtitling results? Table 6.6 shows that in the verbatim condition an accuracy rate of 73 percent is reached on subtitle level and—when calculated on the word level—an accuracy rate of 95 percent, which means that one word in 20 contains an error. The figures for the summarized mode are 89 percent and 98 percent respectively. And, in the highly reduced mode, the participants reach 96 percent and 99.5 percent accuracy. Briefly, even with an excellent accuracy rate of 98 percent on word level, one that is quite good in speech recognition terms (Leijten, Van Waes, and Janssen 2010), this only translates into an accuracy rate of 89 percent when counting subtitle units. In other words, our data also demonstrate that counting errors on word level only, which happens in some software accuracy tests, is not a sufficient measurement in a subtitling context, as has also been demonstrated by Romero-Fresco (2011: 150).

Table 6.6 Percentage of errors in final subtitle per reduction mode (word and subtitle level)

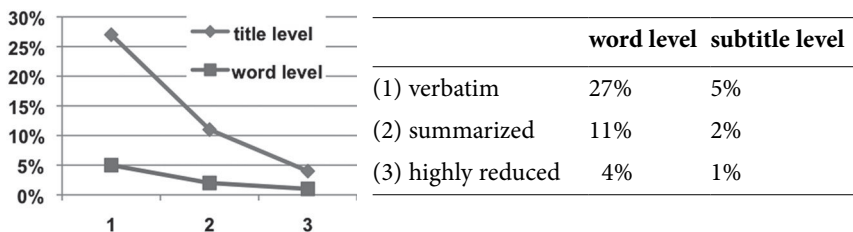
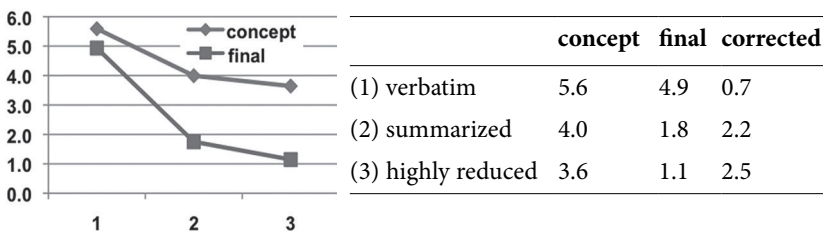


Table 6.7 provides an overview of the number of errors produced per minute. A comparable pattern emerges: when the degree of reduction decreases, the number of errors gradually decreases as well. On the other hand, the number of errors that the respeaker is able to correct increases considerably at the same time. This combination results in about five subtitles per minute containing an error in the verbatim mode, and decreases to about one in the highly reduced mode.

Table 6.7 Number of errors in subtitle per minute per reduction mode



In other words, very interesting results surface, if we consider the number of errors in the draft and the final subtitles separately while also relating these results to the specific reduction mode in which they were produced. The differences are quite marked, as Figure 6.5 demonstrates.

First, Figure 6.5 shows that in the highly reduced mode, both graph lines move further apart, indicating that the respeakers can devote much more time throughout the process to subtitle editing than in the verbatim mode. As was pointed out above, this is, in all likelihood, a result of the fact that the cognitive load that respeaking requires (see the section “Respeaking versus simultaneous interpreting”) has become much less taxing. Even between the verbatim and summarized mode the difference is considerable. Second, both graph lines more or less follow each other, especially in the less reduced modes, confirming that due to the cognitive load

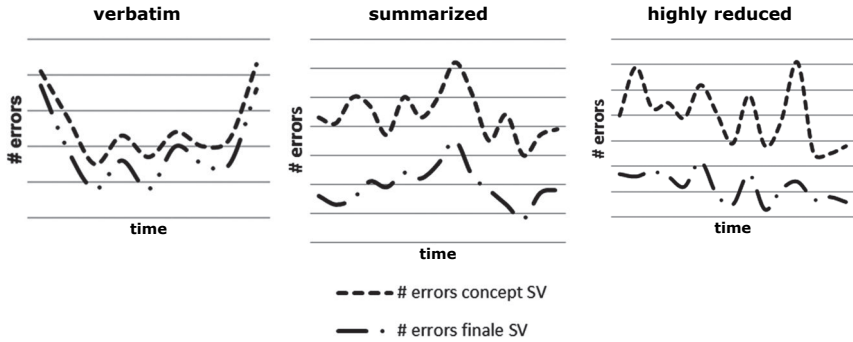


Figure 6.5 Evolution while respeaking of errors and error correction (per reduction mode).

of the live subtitling process the quantity of errors that respeakers can handle is limited. Peak moments in terms of errors made in the draft subtitles are reflected in the parallel peak moments in the errors that remain in the final subtitles.

Multilevel analysis: the effect of error correction on reduction (and delay)

To answer the question whether there is a significant effect of error correction on reduction (or delay), we conducted a multilevel analysis. In comparison with a more classic analysis of variance (e.g. Anova) multilevel analysis is a statistical methodology that better addresses the hierarchical structure of data because it allows variance in outcome variables to be analyzed at multiple hierarchical levels (see Barr 2008; Leijten, De Maeyer, and Van Waes 2011; Quené and Van den Bergh 2008 for a more elaborate explanation of this statistical method). In other words, the main advantage of multilevel analysis, in this case mixed modeling, is that in the analyses each score depends on a combination of random effects: (a) the participant, but also (b) the specific one-minute time slot of a task, and (c) the relationship between the participant and the observed one-minute time slot. To conduct this analysis, we used R, an open-source package for statistical analysis (R Development Core Team 2008).

Table 6.8 shows the results of this analysis, representing both the zero model and an elaborated net model in which—among others—the different conditions, and the number of corrected errors are added as predicting variables (fixed effects). The zero model shows that the average reduction rate is around 65 percent. Taking into account the high complexity of the programs used in this task (high speech rate and multiple interviewees) this is not surprising (see Van Waes, Leijten, and Remael 2013 for a discussion). The net zero model

shows that all the predicting variables significantly add to the model. This model is superior to the basic zero model ($p < .001$). This model shows, for instance, that the estimated mean reduction percentage in the verbatim condition—after taking into account the explanatory variables—is almost 60 percent. The summarized and highly reduced condition resulted in an increased reduction of, respectively, 5.8 percent and 8.1 percent.

Table 6.8 Multilevel model with estimated parameters (with standard error of estimate and 95% confidence interval) for the reduction percentage of the zero model ($N = 468$) and the net zero model ($N = 405$)

	Reduction percentage	
	Zero model	Net zero model
	Est. (SE)	Est. (SE)
Fixed Part		
Intercept	64.852 (1.675)	59.967 (1.083)
Condition 2: summarized	–	5.872 (1.185)
Condition 3: highly reduced	–	8.095 (1.231)
Mean delay	–	0.332 (0.107)
Number of words in spoken comment	–	0.1346 (0.018)
Percentage 100% reduction	–	0.4378 (0.027)
Number of corrected errors	–	0.319 (0.152)
Random Part		
I^2 interval level variance	77.521 (8.805)	15.266 (3.907)
Participant level variance	24.732 (4.973)	3.150 (1.775)
Residual variance	38.451 (6.208)	19.977 (4.470)
$-2 \log(lh)$	2769561.64	1592644
p-value		$\leq .001$

With respect to error correction, we notice a significant effect of revision on the amount of text reduction: for every error corrected (per minute), the reduction percentage and delay increases to about 3 percent. In other words, the more errors that are corrected, the higher the need to further reduce the subtitle. As we know from previous studies, this tendency to reduce more explicitly is significantly correlated with the need to limit the delay between the spoken comment and the subtitle as broadcast. Respeakers are trapped in an inevitable flow: the more errors, the higher the need to correct, the higher the delay, and

thus the higher the need to further reduce the subtitle (with a possible loss of information as a result). An additional raw score analysis showed that a delay increase of one second results in an average increase in the reduction of 1.75 percent.

4.2 The visual attention of respeakers

The purpose of the second study was to explore the effects of two different respeaking methods (see Part 4) on the behavior of respeakers with respect to their reliance on visual input for the collection of information. As we mentioned in Part 1, in AVT, the linguistic component always signifies an interaction with all the different sign systems of the audiovisual production to be translated. In pre-prepared subtitling, where there is less time pressure, subtitlers usually make use of the visual information of the production to interpret the verbal source text and to determine their translation strategies, including what to leave out or rephrase (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). In the case of the respeaking method applied most at VRT, the mono-LS model (see the section “The mono-LS2 model”), our hypothesis was that the respeakers are so focused on understanding and rephrasing the audio input that they can barely devote any time to watching the images that accompany the audio commentary. Our research question therefore was: if the respeaking process is moved a notch closer to simultaneous interpreting, and the respeakers are allowed to respeak only, in their usual slightly summarized mode but using the duo-LS model without taking care of any corrections at all, would that make a difference with respect to the attention they devote to the visual component of their source text?

More concretely, the experiment wanted to investigate the respeakers’ visual “focal points” in order to find out how much the respeakers look at the subtitles they produce versus the TV images, and to what extent they still use their keyboard. The expectation was that in the usual mono-LS working method, the respeakers’ visual attention is divided between the subtitles and the images. If, however, the need to correct is eliminated, the need to look at the keyboard should be reduced and the hypothesis was that this “vacuum” would be filled by a shift in attention to the focal points “video” and “other” (i.e. different areas or items in their working environment). The expectation was that the focal point “video” would become the main one if the other focal point, “subtitles,” indeed became less important.

One of the major challenges in both interpreting and respeaking is dealing with “the unexpected” (see the section “Respeaking versus simultaneous

interpreting”). Interpreters and respeakers seldom work for longer than 30 minutes in one stretch because at that point the focus of their attention may begin to diminish. Images that support the spoken message have been shown to help interpreters anticipate unexpected turns in speeches; giving respeakers time to make use of the televised images may have the same effect. We also assumed that the redundancy of film may be useful for them: information that is conveyed both visually and in the commentary or interviews may not have to be included in the subtitle. Our two research questions therefore were: how do respeakers divide their visual attention during the live subtitling process? And which different strategies exist for watching visual information (video, subtitle, and keyboard)?

Method

Eight respeakers from the VRT respeaking pool took part in this experiment. They were all professional respeakers with at least six months’ experience. A webcam installed on top of their computer was used to determine the focal point of their gaze while live subtitling. The recordings allowed us to make connections between the participants’ visual foci and the moment at which a change in focus took place.

The respeakers were asked to subtitle four clips, each taken from two different types of TV programs that VRT usually provides with live subtitling, but which the respeakers in the experiment had not yet subtitled. The two different programs had a different type of visual input and were selected in order to gauge whether this might have any influence on the repartition of the respeakers’ visual attention. Two clips were taken from a sports program about cyclo-cross racing (*Druivencross*), and two clips were taken from a current affairs talk show (*Terzake*). Each respeaker was asked to tackle both types of programs using both the methods detailed above, in a so-called 2 × 2 design.

The standard working method of the respeakers (mono-LS) was referred to as the control condition (CC): the respeakers respeak and correct their output as well, with the editor making additional corrections if required. In the alternative condition, the experimental condition (EC), the respeakers were not asked to make corrections, but they were allowed to use the keyboard to change the colors of subtitles and to forward the subtitles to the editor.⁴ In other words, the

⁴ Since the respeakers were producing subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing, colors were used to allow speaker identification by the target audience.

editor was the only person allowed to type in corrections and to broadcast the subtitles.

Druivencross combines shots of the cyclists and the landscape they traverse with off-screen commentary that consists of mostly short sentences. In *Terzake*, by contrast, the images are mostly of the talk show participants in the studio, and their verbal exchanges are often long and complex. In the clips that were selected for the experiment, we carefully excluded exchanges in which the turns of the different speakers overlapped. This allowed us to select clips that were quite similar in terms of content and development for both genres, and guaranteed to generate clear and comparable data.

For the setup of the experiment, two screens were used for each respeaker: one screen was set to the left of the respeaker, featuring images of the program. Another computer screen was set to the right of the respeaker, and was connected to the computer with the usual Softel Swift subtitling and Dragon Naturally Speaking resparking software, showing the subtitles produced in Softel Swift. This is the usual working environment and layout at VRT. Having two screens rather than one facilitated the recording of the different visual foci of the resparkers, since they had to physically move their gaze from one screen to the other. The webcam recording these movements was installed at the top of the left-hand screen.⁵

Data analysis

The images recorded by the webcam were analyzed in order to determine how the resparkers divided their visual attention between images and subtitles when working on two different types of clips, and through two different working methods. This was done by reducing the speed of the webcam images to 70 percent of their normal speed, using the software programs Windows Live Movie Maker and FLV-player. The coding of the visual foci of the resparkers was done with Inputlog (see the section “Observing the live-subtitling process”). We coded (via key in actions) whether participants gazed at subtitles, video, keyboard, or any other location. Inputlog can calculate the time that elapses between key strokes (key in actions), which allowed us to determine how long the different resparkers focused on one particular information source and how often their gaze switched between sources.

⁵ Because of this advantageous set-up from a recording perspective, we decided not to use an eye-tracking system for this pilot study, which was very difficult to install on the computers together with Dragon Naturally Speaking, Softel Swift, and Inputlog. The present experiment also shows that much can be achieved with fairly simple means.

Results

The results showed that overall—and irrespective of conditions—the respeakers directed their gaze most at the subtitles (48 percent), and that the visual input took a close second place (43 percent), while the keyboard was only looked at occasionally (7 percent). Respeakers very rarely directed their gaze elsewhere (2 percent). Table 6.9 shows the mean percentages for the three foci in both conditions, namely the control condition and the experimental condition.

Table 6.9 Mean percentages for the three foci in both conditions: control condition (CC) and experimental condition (EC)

	Subtitle		Video		Keyboard		Other	
	CC	EC	CC	EC	CC	EC	CC	EC
Participant 1	71.00	65.20	25.69	33.74	3.07	0.81	0.11	0.18
Participant 2	59.81	51.34	36.89	39.93	0.71	6.43	2.49	2.22
Participant 3	51.90	51.88	47.22	44.32	0.66	3.57	0.10	0.10
Participant 4	42.41	46.46	45.00	44.10	11.73	7.19	0.80	2.18
Participant 5	41.86	45.53	50.39	41.97	7.24	11.88	0.40	0.51
Participant 6	41.06	34.75	33.19	39.99	16.67	12.40	8.99	12.79
Participant 7	32.42	30.86	58.80	64.07	8.65	4.95	0.00	0.00
mean	48.64	46.57	42.45	44.02	6.96	6.75	1.84	2.57
<i>sd</i>	13.17	11.44	11.23	9.53	5.79	4.23	3.27	4.61
general mean	47.6 %		43.2 %		6.9 %		2.2 %	

When one compares the percentages for the different conditions or working methods, it appears that the results for the control condition and the experimental condition are quite similar with respect to the amount of time the respeakers spend looking at the subtitles (48 and 46 percent) and watching the video (42 and 44 percent). This also holds for the different program genres. In the case of *Druivencross*, the respeakers looked at the subtitles for 49 percent of the time and at the video for 44 percent of the time; in the case of *Ter Zake*, these percentages amounted to 46 percent and 43 percent respectively.

However, the individual differences between respeakers are considerable. One respeaker may look at the images for 30 percent and at the subtitles for 68 percent of the time, whereas for one of his colleagues this may amount to as much as 61 percent of the time spent on the video versus 32 percent spent on

the subtitles. Such individual differences recur across the two working conditions. What remains constant is the direction of the preference, irrespective of the working method. A respeaker who prefers to spend more time watching the video will do so both in the control condition and in the experimental condition. In a post-experiment interview, the respeakers indicated that they are not aware of what exactly they look at while respeaking. This indicates that it may be very difficult to teach respeakers a new working method that would require them to only watch the video and leave the subtitles entirely to the editor. For the fairly experienced to experienced respeakers in this experiment, it seems to have become an automatic reflex to watch both sources of information. One explanation for this may be that the respeakers at VRT are also subtitlers (i.e. they subtitle non-live programs as well) and have been trained to keep an eye on both the images and the text they produce, but the degree of visual attention devoted to either the subtitles or the video is determined by personal preference.

5. Concluding thoughts

One of the charms and frustrations of research is that each research project generates further research questions. Research into live subtitling with speech recognition software is no exception. At the start of this chapter we wrote: “There are multiple sources of explanation for the final shape that any translated text will take.” What makes live subtitling with speech recognition especially challenging is that research into the different features contributing to its success or failure is required and should ideally be carried out simultaneously in a research project that involves different experts. Advances in the quality of speech recognition have an effect on the procedure that works best in terms of respeaking and editing subtitles. When speaker independent software improves, respeakers may all become post-editors. Whether post-editing automatically generated live subtitles will be more efficient than respeaking remains an open question at present, and it seems especially improbable in the case of interlingual live subtitling. On the other hand, the recently concluded SUMAT project into machine translation for pre-prepared subtitling does appear to herald serious changes for the subtitling profession (<http://www.sumat-project.eu> [accessed March 16, 2014]). Practice and research into live subtitling is also progressing on different fronts even though much of it remains somewhat inconclusive at this point. That is also the reason why our “concluding thoughts” are just

that: concluding thoughts, rather than a clear-cut “conclusion.” Technology is moving extremely fast, bringing along both new solutions and new challenges, especially in terms of the adaptability required of translators.

All the same, our research has shown that insight into the best way to count and evaluate subtitle errors can help broadcasters develop adequate quality controls (see the first experiment and Romero-Fresco and Martínez forthcoming). In addition, determining the limits of what a respeaker can handle (see the experiment described in the section “Error production in different respeaking modes”); which factors determine individual respeaking strategies; and the affinities between respeaking and other forms of translation (the second experiment) can help training programs determine training requirements. Advanced observation tools like keystroke logging and eye tracking in combination with newly developed statistical analysis techniques, like multi-level models and data mining, create an opportunity for both physiological and sociological research. And since interlingual subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing is definitely on the rise, this has now also become one of the major challenges on all fronts: for respeaking and translation software, for the respeakers and for respeaker-training, and, of course, for research.⁶

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⁶ For more input on the study into the relationship between delay and text reduction see Van Waes, Leijten, and Remael (2013); for the relationship between types of errors and quality control see Romero-Fresco and Martínez (forthcoming) and the software developed for counting errors on the basis of their “NER model” at: <http://www.speedchill.com/nerstar/index.php/publications.html> (accessed March 16, 2014), as well as preliminary research by Empereur (2013).

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Glossary

Multilevel analysis: an advanced statistical technique to analyze hierarchically and non-hierarchically nested data. Multilevel models are particularly appropriate for research designs in which data for participants are organized at more than one level (i.e. nested data). The units of analysis are usually individuals (at a lower level) who are nested within contextual/aggregate units (at a higher level). A simple example is students (individual level) clustered within schools (aggregated level). Multilevel models provide an alternative type of analysis for univariate or multivariate analysis of repeated measures.

Part Four

Between Literary and Media Translation

An introductory note

In this part, both Michael Raine and Erga Heller discuss the complicated relationship between Literature and Film, and agree that the two media dictate different methods of translation and theoretical interpretation. Both of them also consider various developments in Media and New Media (something that is done to even a greater extent by Chiara Bucaria in Chapter 13). Nevertheless, Raine and Heller come from very different backgrounds, and their methods and discussions are very different from each other.

Raine uses his expertise in film studies, Translation Studies, and the Japanese Cinema—as well as his practical experience as a film translator—to present a provocative argument: that theorizing film subtitling through “the specific linguistic and material conditions of literary translation” is an approach that does not take into account the particular nature of the “film text.” And whereas Raine sees literary translation as replacing the original, he argues that subtitling is a more “adaptive,” process that preserves and becomes part of an original that cannot be specified in the same way as a literary text. Moreover, Raine considers a number of developments in Media and New Media that considerably changed the practice of subtitling, which must also effect the theoretical discussion of “subtitling as an adaptive practice.”

Heller uses her background in Translation and Cultural Studies—as well as her vast knowledge about the publishing of fantasy and children literature in Israel and in Western Europe—to discuss the literary translation and film adaptation of fantasy literature for young audiences. Like Raine, Heller underscores the plurality of methods involved in theorizing about book translation

and film adaptation, particularly in light of developments in New Media that blur the supposed hierarchy between written and visual texts. A successful novel might be adapted as a film, but a successful film might also popularize a neglected novel. And, when taking into account the multilingual experience of computer literate adolescents, the popularity of a text in another language can be just as influential nowadays as the history of the text in the same target (or even source) language. Heller, therefore, prefers to speak of “cultural collections” and “multiple media channels,” in which various translations and adaptations are multilingual, multifaceted, and in constant reciprocal relationships with each other.

From Hybridity to Dispersion: Film Subtitling as an Adaptive Practice¹

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As Audiovisual Translation (AVT) theory points out (e.g. Neves 2009: 153), all translations are situated, subject to constraints and intentions that help define their task. In this chapter I claim that the understanding of the “film text” in the history of cinema points to a set of questions for film subtitling that emerge prior to interlingual translation, as part of a larger hybridity of words in relation to the film image. Drawing on examples from narrative and documentary cinema it proposes that the fundamental ambiguity of cinema’s “source text” complicates AVT theory’s attention to verbal messages and codes. Recent film studies (e.g. Elsaesser and Hagener 2010) conceive of cinema as an object, or an experience, which is reduced when understood as intentional communication and fundamentally altered by the addition of diasemiotic words. That attention to film as artwork aligns the subtitler’s task with literary translation, but the continuing, albeit transformed, presence of the audiovisual “signaletic material” (Deleuze 1989: 33) distinguishes film subtitling from the tragic vision of annihilation and ethical debt one finds in many accounts of literary translation. Unlike translated novels, film subtitles do not obliterate the original—they are not, to use Benjamin’s metaphor, “fragments” of a messianic whole, but a *glaze* that penetrates the surface of the film, making it transportable even as they change it completely. The “subject free” nature of the film apparatus (registering objects in images without the direct intervention of the filmmaker) also complicates the material of film translation in ways that distinguish it from linguistic translation.

¹ I would like to thank Dudley Andrew for inviting me to give the first version of this chapter at his conference “The Dialects and Dialectics of Subtitling: Graphing Language Matters in Film” at Yale University, February 24, 2012. My thanks also to Junko Yamazaki for her stimulating comments on translation problems in *Forest of Oppression*.

Focusing on the history of English-language subtitling, this chapter concludes by arguing that subtitles are both *the way* and *in the way* of an encounter with foreign films, an *aporia* that could not be resolved by the cinephilic art film print, in which titles are burned into the substrate and constrained by the microtemporality of projection. However, the current translation situation, conditioned by new digital technologies and new communities of interpretation, affords subtitles that are dispersed into synchronized overlays that can be removed. Consequently, the already confused line between translation and other activities such as interpretation, annotation, and commentary blurs even further: perhaps subtitling can be best understood as part of a set of “adaptive practices” in which cinema is made and remade in different cultural locations.

History

Subtitles are often contrasted with surtitles, for their different location on the screen, but this is a false etymology. The “sub” of subtitle originally had a logical, not spatial, meaning. *All* written captions in the cinema were called “subtitles,” to the annoyance of this anonymous writer in 1919:

The true subtitle, as the word should imply, is the title of some scene in a photoplay as distinguished from the title of the photoplay itself ... But “subtitles” are seldom subtitles. The word is used universally to describe any text on the screen ... They have no proper place in a photoplay ... A photoplay made of assembled words and pictures is a hybrid, and hybrids are not works of art.

(New York Times 1919: 44)

This appeal to medium specificity was already at odds with the use of text in the cinema. The “musical analogy” (Bordwell 1980: 141) that informed art cinema’s ideal of patterned visual narration was a retrospective purification of an already intermedial form. In early cinema, writing on the image enabled various types of intermedial translation, sometimes as captions and sometimes as animated and overlaid graphic elements in an image that was only marginally photographic. For example, Edwin S. Porter’s *College Chums* (1907) featured a telephone conversation seen as a series of letters that follow a representation of the telephone wires.

Rather than chapter headings dividing the drama into scenes, inserts naming actor and character on their first appearance were common in silent cinema,

and writers of expository and dialog subtitles, such as Anita Loos and Ralph Spence, were highly-paid celebrities. Words were embedded within and colored the sequences in which they appeared, even when they were not seen at the same time as the photographic image. Spence's "sub-titular wise-crackers" (of the "he took offense so she showed him the gate" variety) were highly prized. Films that previewed badly would be rewritten by Spence, who "translated" the existing narration into a new diegesis, frequently absurd. As one critic observed, "the day does not seem too far distant when we shall attend the movies in order to laugh at a series of illustrated captions" (Moulton 1926: A7). In sum, silent cinema was a hybrid of word and image and a broad, target-oriented version of translation governed the relationship between visual and written text.

Although films such as *Metropolis* (1927) were given new titles and edited separately for release in each English-speaking country, subtitles as interlinguistic translation into English only became significant with the growth of film festivals and the art theater circuit after WWII. In the postwar ideal, film was politics by other means: an ecumenical medium in which cultures could represent themselves on a world stage. Ironically, the global medium of postwar art cinema was relatively indifferent to issues of linguistic difference. The reception of postwar art cinema did not depend on careful translation of the semantic content of a film's dialogue. In Jacques Rivette's opinion:

These films—which tell us, in an alien tongue, stories that are completely foreign to our customs and way of life—do talk to us in a familiar language. What language? The only one to which a film-maker should lay claim when all is said and done: the language of *mise en scène*.

(Rivette 1985: 264)

Of course this is outrageous, but for Rivette and for postwar art film critics the ostensive aspect of film—the way it shows us its world—is more important than the verbal gloss that is provided by subtitles. *Rashomon* was lauded as a "rediscovery of the film medium" and an ideal "pictorial narrative" by British critics who saw the film at the Venice film festival with Italian subtitles (Sight and Sound 1951: 90). Audiences at film festivals regularly watched subtitled films, relying on summaries or simultaneous translation and their faith in an immediate communion with the image. When Henri Langlois of the Cinémathèque Française made a donation of over 100 films to the fledging Film Center at the Museum of Modern Art in Tokyo, only eight of them were subtitled in Japanese (Sato et al. 2003: 527). Subtitling was considered irrelevant to the

art of film, tasked only with acceptability at the commercial end of foreign film exhibition and ideally absent for the most serious students of the medium. For example, Jonas Mekas of the Anthology Film Archives proclaimed in 1970 that “subtitles destroy the rhythm and form of a film. We’ve had complaints, but we’re not concerned with the audience. We’re interested in film” (Sitney 2005: 110).

Audiovisual translation

Recent AVT theory *is* concerned with the audience. However, some AVT theorists’ optimistic understanding of textual coherence and assumptions about “audience design” (Bartrina 2004: 161) do not describe well the corpus of films typically subject to interlingual English subtitling, nor the film culture in which they are now seen. Although historically even art film subtitling shares with AVT a preference for acceptability over “lexical solutions” (Sanchez 2004: 17), the cultural turn in film studies (Turner 2008: 273) in the 1980s put more emphasis on authenticity and local context. In this part I will compare AVT and film studies accounts of the relation between verbal and other audiovisual material in the film.

Developed in the most part by translation professionals concentrated in the polyglot nations of the new European Community, AVT theory extends translation from written documents to the audiovisual texts that increasingly make up politics as well as entertainment. Modern translation is seen as part of a range of practices, intralingual as well as interlingual, monosemiotic as well as diasemiiotic, that focus on the multiple purposes (*skopoi*) of audiovisual producers, translators, and audiences (Vermeer 2012). AVT theorists situate subtitling as part of a broad taxonomy, semiotic and pragmatic, in which even the musical accompaniment to a silent film is a form of “translation” (Gottlieb 2001: 2). Gottlieb gives a persuasive description of subtitling as a prepared, written, additive, synchronous, transient, and polysemiotic translation in which “verbal elements in a text are rendered by other verbal elements in order for that text to reach a new speech community” (Gottlieb 2001: 16 and 3). This is a powerful and succinct description but like all such statements it invites testing. As we have already seen, the “subtitle” in the broadest sense was not necessarily synchronous, or at least synchrony could also be synaesthetic and was achieved in the mind of the viewer. I will argue that it could also be “subtractive,” and that the dispersive forms of subtitling enabled by new technological solutions are not

necessarily transient. Subtitles in newer media can be paused and replayed: they are no longer a “one way street” (Skuggevik 2010: 210).

Bartrina (2004: 157) positions AVT theory as a combination of translation studies and film studies, which is used to analyze audience understanding of audiovisual texts. The goal is acceptance, a pragmatic approach to translation quality that, as Chiaro (2008: 244) argues, is relatively “free of the Ghost of Literary Translation.” AVT theory has a sophisticated understanding of the polysemiotic nature of audiovisual texts and of the *aporia* of letter and spirit familiar to the history of translation studies. Skuggevik (2010: 13) is surely correct that film subtitling is a “multimodal translation format”—as Remael (2004: 104) points out, subtitles are not only constrained but insufficient, dependent on cues from the audiovisual context. She goes further to argue that film dialogue is already a stylized “secondary speech genre” (ibid.: 107) and quotes Díaz-Cintas on the need to eliminate from the subtitle “whatever is irrelevant for a good understanding of the message” (ibid.: 104). In AVT theory, audiences draw inferences from the audiovisual context and “semantic voids are often intersemiotically filled” (Gottlieb 2005: 19) since: “A mainstream film story is highly organized and based on the blueprint of the film script, which is in its turn a norm-bound narrative, typified by its character-centered, personal, or psychological causality” (Remael 2004: 107).

However, such causality-based models of classical cinema are contested by claims that popular cinema has always been characterized by a “commercial aesthetic” that valued entertainment over plausibility (Maltby 2003: 15), as in the comic absurdities written by Ralph Spence. The “art cinema mode of film practice” that was the source of most English subtitled prints is even more open, featuring opaque characters, subjective imagery, and a directorial agency expressed ambiguously through *mise-en-scène* (Bordwell 1979). Of course, all translation involves interpretation, but even when meaning is understood in a sophisticated sense as the sender’s “primary illocutionary point” (Pedersen 2008: 110–13), that point is not always easily arrived at, or accommodated. Subtitling these films entails not simply a “regrettable loss of lexical meaning” (Tveit 2009: 86) but a question as to what that meaning is, and whether “meaning” is even the point. An example from the narrative film *Story of the Last Chrysanthemum* (Zangiku monogatari, dir. Mizoguchi Kenji 1939) may serve to illustrate these claims.

Story of the Last Chrysanthemum chronicles a spoiled young actor, Kikunosuke, the scion of a major *kabuki* family who is forced to join a traveling

acting troupe when he is banished for eloping with his younger brother's wet nurse, Otoku. Through years of struggle and disappointment, supported only by Otoku, Kikunosuke hones his art and finally is allowed to rejoin his family after Otoku secretly promises to leave him. The film ends by contrasting Kikunosuke's public triumph with her private agony: his family allows him to join his wife only for him to find her dying of tuberculosis. The film was a highly successful melodrama, acknowledged even at the time for the distinctive way in which it was made. Almost all the scenes featuring the central characters are shot in a long shot, long take style that downplays facial expression and emphasizes slowly developing interactions in an extensive physical environment.

In one early scene, Kikunosuke encounters Otoku late at night as she pacifies the fretful baby. As they walk, buying a wind chime for Kikunosuke's nephew from a passing hawkler, she tells him that the rumors of his poor acting are true and insists that he should dedicate himself to his art (*gei*) instead of listening to public flattery (*seken no odate ya oseji*). The five-minute scene consists of a single tracking shot along a canal, a mostly black image with a postrecorded close-up soundtrack made up of Otoku's tremulous criticism and Kikunosuke's diffident response along with the mostly offscreen sounds of hawkers' cries and the wind chimes. As Noel Burch, the first Western critic to recognize the importance of this film, points out "the presence of the characters is in fact ensured by voice alone" in this "splendid sequence, of indescribable delicacy" (Burch 1979: 234).

The scene illustrates many of the difficulties that AVT theory is designed to solve. For example, the pragmatics of the conversation: a competent viewer's understanding of the relationship between the characters depends on recognizing the social gulf between Kikunosuke and Otoku. Those differences are clearly audible in the different levels of politeness that have no direct counterparts in English: Otoku uses humble speech (*kenjōgo*) in saying she watched Kikunosuke's performance (*haiken shita*), and respectful speech (*sonkeigo*) in expressing her wish that he do well as the Master's heir (*rippa ni ōdanna no gotokushin no iku yō ni o nari ni natte kudasaimashi*). Kikunosuke's replies are more informal: "*dame datta kai*" [was I bad?] and "*n*" [OK]. There is plenty of time for subtitles in the scene and it would surely be possible to find "functional equivalents" (Tomaszkiewicz 2010: 98) for those expressions in English. However, things are not so simple. What is striking about the conversation in its cultural context is not Otoku's politeness but her impertinence. She repeatedly apologizes for it, but when Kikunosuke thanks her for her honesty she says "then I'll go on being impertinent," after quoting directly the Master's

rough speech on how “art is our life” (*gei wa oretachi no inochi da*), using his words as her own. Remael (2004: 107) suggests that we understand dialogue through audiovisual context. But in this scene the image in long shot is reticent and Otoku’s voice is weak, even though the words she speaks are strong. The narrative situation also undermines the tonal qualities of the vocal performance. Kikunosuke is adopted into the *kabuki* family and his position is threatened by the unexpected birth of his adoptive parents’ biological son. At the same time, Otoku is a wet nurse, but it is unclear in the film where her own baby is, and how she came to have one if she is not married. Even native viewers are confused in this scene by its duality of passive and active, maternal, and erotic connotations. Context does not amplify the “verbal message” here but complicates or confuses it, a typical strategy of the ambiguous *mise-en-scène* of art cinema. AVT cannot always rely on polysemiotic coherence in order to guide translation choices.

The English subtitled print of *Story of the Last Chrysanthemum*, when it was finally shown in the United States in 1976, contained almost no subtitles for this scene. I am not sure whether this shows the faith of contemporary film culture in the “language of *mise-en-scène*” or simple delinquency, a neglect of the subtitler’s debt to the semantic load of the film. In any case, the long untranslated sequence is intolerable to contemporary viewers and the streaming version commissioned by the Criterion company now includes a complete translation. However, more is sometimes less: the conversation, though clearly thematically relevant, is quite banal and the absence of titles does allow the viewer to focus on significant aspects of the film’s construction. *Story of the Last Chrysanthemum* is one of several *Meiji-mono* (films set during the Meiji period (1868–1912) when the Japanese nation-state was founded in response to Western pressure) that Mizoguchi made in the 1930s, just as Japan embarked on a project of “overcoming modernity” (Calichman 2008) that led to war in Asia and then in the Pacific. Otoku’s contradictory weakness and strength were understood at the time as both the virtuous self-sacrifice of melodrama and an image of the inner “strength of Meiji woman” for which the film won a prize from the militarist Japanese government. Surely an *apprehension of Meiji*, an ambivalent sense of estrangement and nostalgia for the physical and sonic environment of a Japan before Western encroachment, was one of the most powerful experiences of this extended sequence in 1939. The significance of that experience, however, is also subject to revision. Recent scholarship points out that Mizoguchi’s *Meiji-mono* emphasizes *new* class disparities, featuring a Japan engaged in, not prior to, an encounter with Western modernity (Kinoshita 2007: 480). While not denying

the more conservative reading, the film as a whole could be read as a diagram of power, using the melodramatic figures of a weak man and a strong woman to indict an unjust society in the present as well as the past. Otoku's self-sacrifice is also a demand—to be admitted into respectable society as Kikunosuke's "legitimate wife"—that exposes the limits of the national community. Nowhere is that demand clearly stated, here or in the rest of the film, but the implication is supported by the slowly developing *mise-en-scène*. Kikunosuke in his rickshaw is at first elevated above Otoku, but they come close, like a new family, when he buys the wind charm. They face apart when she chastises him but then draw together, this time with Otoku in the lead, as she tells him to follow her home. What consideration should we give to these unarticulated aspects of diction, ambience, and proximity when it comes to Audiovisual Translation?

Illocutionary speech act theories of AVT ask us to identify what response the "sender" (Pedersen 2008: 110) of the source text intended to elicit from the film's target audience. Of course, the sender is not necessarily the speaker, or even the director. However, for this scene there are strong grounds in subsequent commentary on Mizoguchi to regard the performances that take place within the spatial extension and temporal duration of the scene as the "primary illocutionary point" (Pedersen 2008: 111), but one that is explicitly ambiguous rather than encoding a specific meaning. Chika Kinoshita's research shows that Mizoguchi credited his friendship with psychologist Naito Kojiro for inspiring his experiments with duration. He thought the attention of the audience during an uninterrupted long take created a kind of "psychological weight" that was not available to montage cinema (Kinoshita 2012: 36). Nevertheless, it is still difficult to identify what "point" we are supposed to take from this scene. Or rather, the point of the scene is to give us an *experience* of that psychological weight, created by the joining and parting of the characters in an unbroken time and space. This is why postwar French critics, drawing on André Bazin's critique of montage, identified Mizoguchi as a master of *mise-en-scène*, that "mysterious distance between an author and his characters" (Bazin 2009; Astruc 1985: 267).

If "reading behavior [is] automatically triggered" (d'Ydewale, Muylle, and Van Rensbergen 1985: 378) by subtitles, then *any* subtitle, by its mere presence, breaks the effect that Mizoguchi was attempting to create. Gottlieb (2001: 16) maintains that subtitles are additive but if we treat subtitles as an experience and not just a semiotic channel, then in this scene subtitles are subtractive—they detract from the experience of duration and intensity. The glaze of subtitles can be more or less opaque. Elsewhere, Gottlieb (2005: 14) has created a subjective

matrix of the effect of various translation technologies on the different signifying channels (image, writing, sound effects, and speech) of “average filmic production.” He claims that subtitles do not affect sound effects, but at least for *Story of the Last Chrysanthemum*, a relatively early and self-conscious Japanese sound film, the shift in “semiotic balance” interrupts the intensive experience that both sound and image were designed to provide. If Kwame Anthony Appiah (2012: 340) is correct that we should preserve in the translation of a text “the features that make it worth teaching,” then it is both necessary and intolerable that we add no subtitles to this scene.

The problem of communication and reticence, what and how much to say, is not just a quirk of *Story of the Last Chrysanthemum* but a general feature of art cinema. Even popular cinema deals in time-based experience (see for example Hal Wallis’ editing notes for *Angels with Dirty Faces* in Maltby 2003: 334–5) but the ambiguity of that experience is part of art cinema’s audience design. Contra Remael, the script is not a “blueprint” of the film: dialogue is only one aspect of the finished work. AVT is surely justified in drawing on film studies to make subtitling decisions, but it sometimes neglects the ambiguity that is the content and not simply a consequence of film narration. Historically, art film subtitles have also ignored those concerns. Cinephiles’ very indifference to linguistic otherness, even as they focused on fine-grained experiences of moral ambiguity and cultural difference, permitted subtitles based on a very different aesthetic than the films themselves. A contemporary capsule review described the art film ideal in praising *Hiroshima mon amour*: “fluent subtitles, authentic backgrounds and terrific snob values” (Kinematograph Weekly 1960: 89). Art film subtitling was not so much interlingual translation as a form of commentary or interpretation, a way of tracking the plot in order to experience an “unmediated” foreign world. In some ways, that functional emphasis on audience needs is quite modern: Bartrina (2004: 163) doubts that politeness levels and other pragmatic aspects of dialogue should be included within the subtitler’s task because “professional” titles are characterized by “speed, synthesis, and readability.” Those were certainly the goals of the most celebrated English-language practitioners—Herman G. Weinberg in the United States and John Minchinton in the United Kingdom—who often did not speak the source language of the films they subtitled.

Historically, art cinema suppressed the hybridity of word and image in popular film in favor of “pictorial narrative.” However, the growth of film festivals and digital media led to new, culturally omnivorous, audiences that are as interested

in foreign culture as they are in *mise-en-scène* (De Valck 2007: 183). Classic films are now placed in their cultural context while new categories of English-language subtitling include Japanese animation and the genre films shown at the Toronto Film Festival's "Midnight Madness" screenings. Some AVT theorists are too hasty to recommend that subtitles should avoid cultural "turbulence" (Chiaro 2008: 251) and "serve the needs of the audience who are the end users" (Fong 2009: 102) without identifying the *skopos* of interlingual English subtitles for the relatively specific audiences that consume them. Foreign films are regularly resubtitled when they are released on DVD, not because knowledge of languages has improved but because the translation situation is not the same. After the cultural turn, audiences are willing to entertain a broader range of genres and are more curious about the specificities of foreign cultures. The technical constraints of subtitling and the preference for "acceptability" in contemporary translation theory run up against a *skopos* of "authenticity" that makes the English-speaking audience for international cinema more like the readership of literary translations than like non-native consumers of English-language television or popular cinema.

Abusive fidelity

Walter Benjamin's "The translator's task" (2012) is a keystone for theories of literary translation. It dwells on incommensurability as a fundamental fact of linguistic difference, and on the translator's ethical relation to the "continued life" of the source text over the commissioner and audience of *skopos* oriented AVT. Later commentators have drawn on those ideas of difference, debt, and community, and extended Benjamin's arguments to audiovisual as well as written texts. However, there are major differences between literary and Audiovisual Translation. Although it could be argued that "film studies" came into being through French intellectuals' non-specialist reading of linguistic theory (e.g. Metz 1968), that "semiotic turn" was succeeded by a "phenomenological turn" that emphasized somatic perception over the double-articulation of language (e.g. Deleuze 1989).² Unlike literature, the *signaletic* material of an audiovisual text

² Perhaps most influential was Gilles Deleuze (1989: 33), who defined the basic matter of cinema as "a *signaletic material* which includes all kinds of modulation features, sensory (visual and sound), kinetic, intensive, affective, rhythmic, tonal, and even verbal (oral and written) ... a plastic mass, an a-signifying and a-syntactic material, a material not formed linguistically even though it is not amorphous, and is formed semiotically, aesthetically, and pragmatically."

endures even as it is glazed by a new channel that alters the semiotic balance of the original. The unbounded nature of such material poses difficult problems for both AVT and literary translation, problems that highlight another aspect of Benjamin's argument: the importance of the "continued life" of a text, embodied in transformative adaptations.

In his typically dialectical essay Benjamin contrasts translation and communication:

What does a poetic work "say" then? What does it communicate? Very little, to a person who understands it. Neither message nor information is essential to it. However, a translation that aims to transmit something can transmit nothing other than a message—that is, something inessential. And this is also the hallmark of bad translations.

(Benjamin 2012: 75)

Clearly, Benjamin is not writing for professional translators. Translation in this argument is not a communicative operation; rather, translatability is a property of (artistic) texts that signifies something about language itself. He seems to have in mind an urbane reader who understands both languages and recognizes in the similarity of their "intention" (roughly, denotation) and rift in their "mode of meaning" (roughly, connotation) the state of post-Babelian incommensurability that Benjamin idealizes as "pure language" (Benjamin 2012: 78; Fenves 2010: 55; Peirce 1932: 2: 431–4). The operative mode of translation then is failure: "all translation is merely a preliminary way of coming to terms with the foreignness of languages to each other," a claim that Benjamin then, quoting Pannwitz, recommends as the appropriate mode of literary translation (Benjamin 2012: 82).

Put simply, for Benjamin artistic texts that rely on connotation are untranslatable, yet paradoxically their staging of that fate constitutes their translatability. He argues in messianic vein for a non-congruent contiguity between the modes of meaning of different languages, with neither original nor translation having ultimate priority:

Just as fragments of a vessel, in order to be fitted together, must correspond to each other in the minutest details but need not resemble each other, so translation, instead of making itself resemble the sense of the original, must fashion in its own language, carefully and in detail, a counterpart to the original's mode of meaning, in order to make both of them recognizable as fragments of a vessel, as fragments of a greater language.

(Benjamin 2012: 81)

Benjamin's account reads like a parable, a kind of reverse Genesis story of translation as the infinite ethical task of re-joining the languages broken at Babel. George Steiner and others working in the hermeneutic tradition also focus on the inevitable difference of the original text and the "restitution" incumbent on the translator (Steiner 2000: 190). Later translation theorists have understood the ethical stakes of that mutual alienation of languages in a more political vein, codified by Antoine Berman as "receiving the Foreign as the Foreign" (Berman 2000: 241). Mark Nornes makes a similar critique of the suppression of difference in film subtitling in his book *Cinema Babel* (Nornes 2008), which focuses on subtitling to and from Japanese. This "somewhat revolutionary, sociologically imbued perspective" (Di Giovanni 2008: 198) emphasizes the power relations constructed by subtitles, and other forms of screen translation, between source and target cultures. Nornes attacks "corrupt" subtitles that accept the technical constraints placed on length and duration and normalize rough speech or dialect into standard language. Worse than ellipsis and semantic reduction is the "domestication" of another culture that results from translating local references into equivalents that are more familiar to the anticipated audience. Those corrupt subtitles "hide their repeated acts of violence through codified rules and a tradition of suppression. It is this practice that is corrupt—feigning completeness in their own violent world" (Nornes 2008: 156). Nornes recognizes that most subtitles are not in English, but that the language still dominates interlingual translation in film through the use of English-language "genesis files" (or pivot scripts) that mediate between non-English source and target languages. Adducing examples from the history of sound cinema, he amply demonstrates the extent to which foreign dialogue in Japanese subtitle culture in particular is dominated by technical constraints and a domesticating approach of "poetic understanding."³

Against deceptive domestication, Nornes borrows the idea of "abusive fidelity" from Philip E. Lewis's reading of Derrida's texts on translation (Lewis 2000). For Lewis, and for Nornes, the signifier is as important as the signified: the goal of translation is not simply to communicate semantic content. Seemingly drawing on the "logic of participation" (*katan no ronri*) of the radical Japanese

³ In terms of box-office, Japan is still the largest subtitling market in the world though that is changing as the constraints of fast editing and the ambiguous depth of 3D images, along with the putatively constrained literacy of modern Japanese youth, supports a shift from subtitling to an even more domesticating "super-dubbing" (Schilling 2010). My thanks to Asakawa Nami and Ishii Kiyotake of the Japan Video Translation Academy, Tokyo for productive discussions on the state of Audiovisual Translation in Japan.

documentary filmmakers he studies, Nornes argues that “the abusive subtitler attempts to locate his or her subtitles in the place of the other” (Nornes 2008: 185). He recognizes that all subtitles are “abusive” in the sense that they convert speech into writing. But to be properly abusive, to side with the source over the target, subtitlers should break the temporal, grammatical, and typographic rules and intervene directly in the subtitle text, a “visibility” that Lawrence Venuti has also promoted (Venuti 1995). Venuti borrows from Schleiermacher the idea that translations should “foreignize” their own language rather than “domesticate” a text by rendering it in forms familiar to the target audience, thus marking the alterity of the text that the translation displaces (Venuti 1995: 15).

However, this language of “domesticating” and “foreignizing” fragments seems unsuited to the task at hand. The metaphors depend on a type of substitution, of one text for another, which does not pertain to the “symbiotic” text of subtitles (Skuggevik 2010: 15). Subtitles are not autonomous fragments so the danger of ontological substitution is limited to the semantics of the dialogue, not the *mise-en-scène* or the “grain” of the voices we hear. The non-metropolitan accents of the farmers in the documentaries that Nornes analyzes can surely be anticipated by viewers who can see their appearance, hear their voices, and understand the theme of the film. Nor do subtitles disguise their foreignness in the same way as “covert” literary translation: historically, subtitles are the mark of a linguistic non-belonging that demands their intercession. Rather than a fragment, the subtitle constitutes a glaze that clouds the surface of the film even as it makes it transportable.

Derrida’s performative texts on translation as deconstruction are beyond the scope of this chapter, but for Lewis and for Nornes an abusive translation does not simply acknowledge the “foreignness” of the source text. It should “rearticulate analogically the abuse that occurs in the original text” in order to “renew the energy and signifying behavior that a translation is likely to defuse” at the same time that it directs “a critical thrust back toward the text it translates” (Lewis 2000: 271; Nornes 2008: 178–9). Abuse is then a form of mimesis, a means of interrogating and extending its object in order to understand it, and not simply to express its signifying difference. In Venuti’s intervention, too, visibility is not simply an attitude, a property of the translation alone, but a commitment to the ongoing life of a text among a community of interpreters that “shares an interest in the foreign” (Venuti 2000: 485).

Citing Benjamin, Venuti argues that a “translation of a foreign novel can communicate, not simply dictionary meanings, not simply the basic elements of

narrative form, but an interpretation that participates in its ‘potentially eternal afterlife in succeeding generations’ (Venuti 2000: 473). Where AVT obeys the technical norms of subtitling and suppresses “distractive” elements (Perego 2008: 218), translation in Venuti’s scheme becomes a type of commentary, “relatively autonomous” from the source text but also at odds with the translating culture, leaving a “remainder” which is the mark of translation (Venuti 2000: 471). That shift from reproduction to invention is part of a “politics of interpretation” linking a translation that “demands to be read as a translation” to its continuing life, and thereby the living-on of the original text, in commentaries developed within the field of translation studies (Venuti 2013: 77). In a similar vein, the highly reticent subtitled print of *Story of the Last Chrysanthemum*, understood through Chika Kinoshita’s interpretation of Mizoguchi’s long take style, becomes a strong “translation” that supports the “continuing life” of the film within film studies. The reticence of the titles on the 35mm print are justified by a *skopos* to respect Mizoguchi’s creation of duration and intensity, even as the full titles on the streaming version are justified by a *skopos* aimed at semantic clarity.

Dispersion

Rather than adjudicate between alternative aims, perhaps we should accept the many justifications for multiple competing translations that *skopos* theory allows, while acknowledging that audiovisual texts add yet more parameters for their differentiation. If literary translation has no parallel to the symbiosis of subtitle and source text recognized by AVT, AVT’s focus on verbal messages ignores the aesthetic specificity of *mise-en-scène* and the relative autonomy of the source text. All translation is interpretation, but the object of Audiovisual Translation cannot be specified like words on a page. A film for which I created subtitles, *Forest of Oppression* (*Assatsu no mori*, dir. Ogawa Shinsuke, 1967), illustrates some of the ways in which the open-ended nature of the source text points toward Venuti’s arguments for the importance of translation as a developing commentary or adaptation.

Forest of Oppression is an independent documentary about the first student occupation of a Japanese university, a precursor to the much larger student uprisings of the following years. The film consists of a montage of images shot silent and combined with snatches of “wild” non-synchronized sound. Unlike most literary translations, the film does not rely only on verbal elements for

its significance. The first Japanese viewers of this film would recognize, from the images alone, a politicized student subculture to which they would assign meanings. Slogans and graffiti are part of that world, but so are the divisions between generation, gender, and status that are foregrounded on the image track. In general, subtitles are a glaze on top of a dramatic situation and an ostensive *mise-en-scène* that films show us as we read the words. That continued presence contrasts with the invisible and vulnerable text of literary translation that we must “love” lest we exploit it (Spivak 2012: 313).

One scene contains an onscreen title that helps locate us in this collage—“July 21: Central Executive Committee”—but beyond that it is not clear what we are meant to understand. As we hear a student radical, Kakuta, stammer: “um, shouldn’t be, um, avoided, um, but should clarify the directionality...” the camera tilts down a banner that reads “Don’t be defeated by the riot police, the symbol of state power.” Surely the overt camera movement promotes the written slogan over what the inarticulate student is struggling to say. Subtitling this scene seems quite straightforward. With Gottlieb (2001: 3) we accept each of these verbal elements as the source of a subtitle, and with Pedersen (2008: 111) we accept that the “primary illocutionary point” can be assigned to the director instead of the speaker. But where are the boundaries of this “source text”? Can everything in the film be subsumed under illocutionary intent? Not all text in the image is produced after the fact like an onscreen title, or accompanied by such overt camera movements. In some scenes the verbal material hangs in the background, available for reading and relevant to an understanding of the film, but hard to attribute to any single enunciating agency. In one 28-second sequence I identified eight written elements that I thought should be translated (in addition to the continuous verbal narration) but only the onscreen titles (applied in postproduction by the filmmaker) were accepted by the subtitle commissioner:

1. *Newspaper headlines*: Severe Punishments at Takasaki Economics U / Struggle against illegal admission
2. *Onscreen title*: The first punishment
3. *Blackboard lettering*: February 7 Protest Meeting
4. *Hanging banners*: Punished Students Forbidden to Enter School Grounds / Remove the Barricades Today—the President
5. *Onscreen title*: Protesting to the Faculty Committee
6. *Poster*: Remove the barricades by midnight tonight. University President Tsunoda, February 10

7. *Billboard*: Emergency Student Meeting, February 14 / Revoke the Unjust Punishments! Or, Boycott!
8. *Camera tilt down painted graffiti*: Revoke the Unjust Punishments!

The semantic load in this sequence is too much for orthodox subtitles. At least four agents are “speaking” in these titles: the student organization enunciates its objections to the university authorities, who make their claims in turn, while newspapers report on the struggle and the filmmaker narrates the events. Director Ogawa is seen in the film. His “logic of participation” breaks any sense that he is standing outside the action. But the confidence of his speech clashes with the uncertainty and anxiety (as well as bluster) that permeates the occupying students’ meetings. A fundamental difference between photographic media and written or graphic forms is the “subject free” nature of the apparatus, open to what Bazin called “chance and reality” (Andrew 2010: 33). We see things that were not intentionally put there, such as the half-obscured and mysterious graffiti in *Forest of Oppression*. The blackboard in the background of one scene contains some crossed out names of Japanese prefectures, bracketed with the characters for “premature baby” (*mijukuji*). Are those prefectures the “premature babies”—Japanese locations not yet ready for revolutionary change? We could understand the graffiti as an expression of the students’ revolutionary consciousness, but does not the word also extend and interrogate their naivety? After all, who is the “Alain Delon of Japan”—a reference to the French movie actor, an icon of rebellious or alienated youth, written on the same blackboard in a combination of Japanese and English script? The film documents an early and therefore anxious occupation by first-generation student radicals at a minor university who have no idea what would happen and, as the police close in, realize they may have moved too soon. The graffiti is available for reading without being explicitly “the text” in a way that only the most experimental literature can accomplish. It is surely relevant to the tone if not the illocutionary intent of the film, but this “source text” expands and contracts with decisions about how to subtitle it, which in turn depend on subsequent knowledge, for example, of the failure of the student protests to come.

Conclusion

Art cinema had an ecumenical mission: to reach the world through the language of *mise-en-scène*. Subtitles were conceived not as a serious translation but as a necessary evil, so that we could concentrate on the “film itself.” The goal was to reduce confusion, not to convey the subtleties of the original dialogue. Herman Weinberg, for example, called himself “an adapter rather than a translator” (Freedman 1983: B5). But subtitles are not only *in* the way; they *are* the way, for all the complexities and frustrations they introduce. Even the “reduced” English-language art film subtitles revealed as well as concealed, serving Mizoguchi well in exposing diagrams of power without the distraction of written words. Unlike literature, for which the source text is explicit even when it is incomprehensible, the source text of cinema is a vague amalgam of signaletic material. Subtitles cannot avoid interpreting that material, not only through translation but by specifying what is to be translated. Yet no choice leaves a film unscathed: by glazing a film to make it transportable they obstruct our experience even as they enhance our understanding.

Subtitling is translation as adaptation, commentary, annotation, and more, of an ostensive audiovisual text. There is no recipe for how to “translate” all that into 64 characters at 12 (or even 16) characters per second in a different linguistic and cultural space. The *skopoi* of audiences are also proliferating: if the reading formation for art cinema subtitles accepted silence as a necessary means for appreciating the *mise-en-scène*, some contemporary audiences are culturally omnivorous and are more interested in authenticity than in transparency. Clearly, those expanded demands on translation threaten to exceed the reading capabilities of cinema audiences. But they are already part of the anime “fansub” culture that Nornes (2008: 182) discusses: the almost obsessive video annotation of precisely those non-linguistic cultural elements that mainstream versions of translation attempt to substitute or suppress. Digital technology threatens the artisanal status of the translator through atomized production and outsourcing, but in place of a defensive “professionalization” of subtitling perhaps we should look for solutions to its *aporia* in the “amateurization” of the field.

For art cinema, film was a pentecostal medium, speaking in tongues it did not understand, but aimed at a direct connection with the numinous. In a similar utopian spirit, perhaps modern subtitles can leave the temple of the cinema, where we used to gather to perform rituals of community, to become more direct and personal in the age of new media. In place of the

fixed interpretation of the burned-in subtitle why not embrace the possibilities of digital media to create multiple versions, from academic commentary and pedantic, if unreadable, glosses to various perspectives on the film that draw on its continuing life in critical commentary. That proliferation may sacrifice the single text of literary translation and the ideal of film as a purely visual medium, not to mention established regimes of copyright and remuneration, but why let those concerns define the translator's task? Subtitles' implicit goal was always to outlive their usefulness, and to allow audiences to assume a cultural competence that made the titles superfluous. In the age of the subtitle-as-glaze that goal could only be metaphorical but the new "translation situation" conditioned by digital technologies affords a proliferation of subtitles dispersed into synchronized overlays that could eventually, as Jonas Mekas wanted, be removed.

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Glossary

Abusive subtitling: a form of subtitling that attempts to make the viewer aware of specific qualities in the performance of the source text dialogue. Drawing on Jacques Derrida’s arguments for the necessary difference introduced by translation, abusive subtitling does not attempt lexical adequacy or transparency with respect to the target context so much as disruptions that register the strangeness of the original in its context. In that sense, we could regard abusive fidelity as a form of mimetic subtitling that aims to preserve the foreignness of the source text rather than assimilate it to the target culture.

Microtemporality: a term introduced by media theorist Wolfgang Ernst to name the temporal being of specific media technologies. Unlike the reader of a book or viewer of a video, the cinema audience has no control over the unreeling of the images and sounds, and so is constrained to experience the film, and the subtitles, in a specific temporality. Many of the constraints on the duration and complexity of film subtitles flow from the microtemporality of film projection and the television broadcast. As that microtemporality changes with the increasing ubiquity of newer media, we should expect some of those constraints to loosen or change.

Mise-en-scène: the arrangement of material and its presentation in a film image. This concept was developed more richly by critics in France during the 1950s to define the “ontology” of cinema: a holistic sense of the world created by a film and the experience that it provides to an audience. This term was seen as impossibly vague during the “epistemological” turn in film studies of the 1960s and 1970s, which analyzed audiovisual texts according to linguistic models. Recent theorists have returned to the question of “what cinema is” by emphasizing the phenomenological aspects of audiovisual experience that go beyond dialogue or pre-established symbolic codes. See for example Thomas Elsaesser’s brief survey in *Opening Bazin*.

Skopos theory: a theory of translation introduced by Hans Vermeer that focuses on the purpose of a translation, as defined by its commissioner and in relation to an audience. The theory is often used to justify “looser” forms of translation that prioritize the interests of the target audience over the specificity of the source text but Vermeer allows that a *skopos* can be “fidelity” to the source at the expense of such values as ease of reading. As debates over English-language subtitling and dubbing reveal, many audiences now demand cultural and aesthetic

contextualization of the strangeness of foreign texts rather than a translation that “domesticates” them.

Source text: the material to be translated. Of course, problems of purpose and interpretation make all translation difficult but in the case of literary translation the source text is usually clear: the words in their original language. Other forms of translation may involve deciding when gesture or tone of voice are part of the text to be translated, and the difficulties are compounded in Audiovisual Translation, which must address those aspects of performance as well as the automatic nature of the photographic image. The object of Audiovisual Translation cannot be specified like words on a page: it involves the phenomenal experience of sound and image in time, and includes elements that are made present without the subjective intention of the filmmaker.

When Fantasy Becomes a Real Issue: On Local and Global Aspects of Literary Translation/ Adaptation, Subtitling, and Dubbing Films for the Young

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Introduction or how fantasy translation becomes concrete

Fantasy is the realm of the uncanny, unknown, and strange, although it may be found in every house with teenagers who like to read books. Fantasy is full of surprising denotations, but we all become familiar with them since their visual images and actual related products are found all over the world. Fantasy tells us about places no man had visited, places we cannot visit outside our mind, like Aslan's Camp in Narnia, or the Bogo Matassalai of the Minimoyes which is allegedly found by Arthur's grandfather, Archibald Suchot, in Africa. But many young people across the world have seen those places, and can describe them the same way in different languages, after seeing a single movie. Fantasy encounters us with creatures we had never met, and probably will never see in our real life except for book illustrations, comics, and movies. Thus, creatures like Thimbletack, the male fairy who lives in the walls of Spiderwick Estate, or Jadis the White Witch who froze Narnia, are no longer a mystery; they become familiar and fully visible through graphic arts, media adaptations, and popular films and culture.

Fantasy literature is an old genre with a capacity to adapt itself to new literary and artistic concepts. Fantasy literature is written mainly as fiction. Its most popular form nowadays is adventure series. Fantasy adventure series address young readers, since they are based on magic, dragons, wizards, strange creatures, alternate worlds, etc. Thus fantasy literature is regarded as children's

literature, even though it is not written for children per se. Like detective novels, the literary fantasy has its loyal captive readers, who are eager to read (and watch) new adventures of their favorite heroes. Like legends and fairytales, the fantasy is extremely tolerant of adaptations. Continuous writing, adaptability, and an enthusiastic relatively young audience are the factors which accelerate the construction of contemporary fantasy as a transmedia; hence it is no longer restricted to its literary form[s], it can reach wider audiences via cinema, comics, or games.

The transmedia features blur fantasy boundaries—it can simultaneously use selected elements from various genres and media (Ward, Young, and Day 2012: 168). Translating contemporary fantasy involves the ability to identify those selected elements and adapt them to the target culture. One can assume that sharp differences between source and target cultures will be reflected in translation: absence of literary or cinematographic legacy and lack of proper vocabulary due to cultural gaps lead to exclusive solutions which can hardly be seen in other cultures. The case of Hebrew translation in comparison to other translations may illustrate this hypothesis. Modern Hebrew is a young language without a genuine culture of fantasy literature or movies. Hebrew has a different set of letters, and thus names have to be changed at least visually. But being a transmedia, fantasy is also a global genre in many aspects. This tension (or equilibrium) between local and global issues is the essence of this chapter.

However, the transmedia concept does not imply the extra-wide variety and quantity of translated texts that are involved in a collection of this sort. Therefore, I regard fantasy in this case as a cultural collection of texts. I refer to this collection as multiple-media channels, due to its multiple adaptations of various media or literary forms and languages.

Although children's fantasy is regarded as a marked escapist genre, it is a genre that challenges social issues (Doughty 2013: 15–6); fantasy works explore the world we are living in to the extent that they narrate fictional world[s]. Fantasy literature also involves naming various imaginary wonders, creatures, and locations. A word, a name, is not an image. Half a century ago translating fantasy literature was a matter of decoding a world of verbal imaginary and keeping this make-believe alive by re-coding it using another culture's words and ideas. But nowadays fantasy is not restricted only to books, to words, and to literary illustrations. It is often adapted to other media, such as television and cinema, and transported into real life as related products: role-playing games, computer games, collectors' figurines, fans interactive websites, and so

on. Hence, contemporary fantasy should be regarded as a transmedia genre, including all literary forms, illustration and visual arts, cinematic adaptation, and other relevant forms and media (Laetz and Johnson 2008: 161).

By adopting the transmedia concept, the fantastic referents become much more realistic, and the translator's work of decoding the fantastic denotations changes, since the fantastic matter becomes abundant and visible, detailed and concrete. The references for the translator's choices expand and include not only the verbal plot and its literary descriptions, but also a variety of media adaptations and their visual detailed and distinct interpretations. For example, J. R. R. Tolkien's protagonist, the Hobbit Bilbo Baggins, is no longer identified by the simple black-and-white character that was depicted by the author himself in the original edition of *The Hobbit* from 1937. This character is now identified with the photographic or even cinematic image of contemporary twenty-first-century actors Ian Holm and Martin Freeman who play Baggins' role in the newest film adaptations of Tolkien saga by director Peter Jackson. Holm and Freeman became the Hobbit, and their Hobbit's image acts as a semiotic sign for Tolkien's Hobbit. This sign is so common that the fact that Ian Holm once had played the role of Baggins' nephew, Prodo, is not much of an obstacle. This is also true of the fact that two different actors (Holm and Freeman) play the same fictional character. Adopting a transmedia concept necessitates a dynamic concept which allows changes by re-writing and re-visualizing the original fantasy. Since 2001, when Jackson released his first cinematic adaptation of Tolkien's work, all new worldwide literary translations for *The Hobbit* had to acknowledge Jackson's *Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit* adaptations, not as an instant translating tool, but as a readers' backyard of signs and denotations. As a result, some international reprinted editions of Tolkien's work used famous images from films, as is done in the French one-volume from 2005 by Gallimard Jeunesse and the 2005 Italian one-volume edition by Mondadori, both of which depict Aslan's cinematic picture on the cover while using the original illustrations by Pauline Baynes inside.

The readers' backyard or local and global elements within a transmedia genre

Fantasy books and films do not address exclusively young audiences, such as children or teenagers (age nine to 16), although they are the majority among the consumers of these genres. Many young readers meet fantastic stories via

adaptations which are part of multiple-media channels' collections. It contains short stories or novels, comics, television series, and movies, and a wide variety of related products and applications.

In addition to the transmedia concept, we have to notice the English lingual aspect as an accelerator of global distribution. A large part, if not the majority, of children's popular fantasy literature is written in English. Hence the international interest in translating fantasy for children. As B. J. Epstein, a British translation researcher and a children's literature translator, points out: the main issue concerning translation for children is the question of whether the translation is for children's reading or just for children (Epstein 2012: 67). Epstein adopts this idea from Riitta Oittinen, a Finnish media and culture researcher who writes in favor of a non-isolated translation process in which the children's translators have to bring their own reading experience, their child image, and their interpretation of cultural aspects (Oittinen 2000). The concept of the translation for children is adopting the young reader's whole experience as the target of the translated process, rather than merely the act of reading a translated book. Children's experience while reading a fantasy story is not limited to language. Their experience expands to visual imagery, including the book's illustrations and relevant media and cultural imagery. The translator, therefore, has to be aware and become familiar with the children's culture. In other words, the translator should know not only the global literary history of the translated story, but its local cultural legacy, if existing, and, most importantly, its other contemporary (local and international) adaptations into various children's media works.

In countries in which English is not the first language, fantasy books have to be translated from English into local language[s], and television episodes and movies have to be dubbed and/or subtitled. Yet, since fantasy is a transmedia, it is found also in the web, in video, or computer games and in other media forms that are not translated. Thus, the young read and watch fantasy both in its original form or language and in its adaptations for other media and/or languages.

Each new translation or adaptation of a single original text is added to a cultural collection, which builds up as a structure of multiple textual channels. As a result, an original text and its literary translations, literary adaptations, cinematic versions and all its related products act as a textual system (Shavit 1981: 68–9; Shavit 1986: 111–15). Members of this textual system—the collection—share a main plot or relate to the similar characters, but may be

different in style, vocabulary, and their degree of clarity/ambiguity. These differences are not only the result of language crossing or different times of publication, but mainly the result of using different media (Díaz-Cintas 2009: 4–5; Gambier and Henrik 2001: viii). Translating a printed novel for young readers by a known publishing house is different from subtitling a motion picture based on the same story, or dubbing a family movie version which is intended for both children and adults (Varga 2012: 373–4); and the voice of the implied translator within the translations for children is different as well (O’Sullivan 2003: 204–5).

In January 2007, after the publication of six volumes and during the waiting period for the last volume of the literary *Harry Potter* series, *The Guardian* published an article by the British writer and translator Daniel Hahn (Hahn 2007). Hahn, who is currently the director of the national program at the British Centre for Literary Translation, wrote a controversial critique on the translations of *Harry Potter* into different languages. In his piece, titled “¿Hagrid, qué es el quidditch?”, Hahn is in favor of using local lingual elements and shifts in *Harry Potter* literary translations. He suggests that Rowling’s series selections asked the translators to become a sort of writer; they have to invent the series’ local language and design its local concepts in order to be accessible to their young readers. The international success of the literary series was a result of its local aspects, and thus local terms—which were invented by literary translators—became an obligatory guideline to the translations of the series’ film adaptations (Wyler 2003: 6; Bar-Hillel 2012).

Illustrating the differences between the French literary translation of *Harry Potter* and the original English text, Anne-Lise Feral suggests adding another value to the local translators’ strategies: familiarity (Feral 2006: 468). Feral claims that a correct translation is the one that designs itself to fit its assumed readership, for example the translation in the case of *Harry Potter* should be done not only from the target culture point of view, but from that of its youngest readers’ point of view. Thus, translation of children’s foreign fantasy transforms the foreign into the familiar, which is another way of keeping the readers in their own backyard, safe and secure by their familiar culture and language, and thus free to wander in the fictional/fantastic world.

Although different audiences, different translation practices, and different translation norms and channels may lead to inaccuracies (or to important distinctions) between the original names (persons, places, titles) and their translated namesakes, those changes are usually logical. In addition to a universal

norm of changing names in fantasy translation for children and young readers, which was discussed by others (for example: Fernandes 2006: 46; Yamakazi 2002: 53–4), those inaccuracies are much more distinguished when the lingo-cultural gaps between source culture and target culture are notable. The case of English/Russian translations of *Narnia* and *Harry Potter* is a good example of significant changes: the series lost many fantastical characteristics due to the shifts between relatively distant cultures (Inggs 2003: 287, 291).

Young fantasy readers, as many other readers of literary genres for children and teenagers, are invited to continue their reading experience outside the books. URLs, passwords to fans' websites, and links to suggested sites are printed inside the fantasy books and are of course available within e-books. Authors and publishing houses, television and film production companies, create official websites for the young (Ward, Young and Day 2012: 167–8); and the young readers contribute to this media transformation and production by embracing social web tools—blogging, reviewing, and writing about fantasy in free and open fan sites they create for themselves (Martens 2011: 49).

The most important facet of fantasy as transmedia is that it is a globalized cultural phenomenon that allows children and teenagers to act, not only as consumers, but also as contributors. Extra textual activity that surrounds fantasy literature allows young people to be content writers, web forum editors, and so on. Hence, they often have to retranslate or reuse local translations while discussing fantasy. For example, the Israeli forum “HPortal—because magic is might” (<http://hportal.co.il>, accessed June 3, 2013) is a members' web portal on *Harry Potter* which is partly translated into English and French. It was established in August 2007 and has been active since. Its contributors are young Israeli volunteers. In order to avoid using informal self-translations, they ask formal and semi-formal institutions for lingual guidance. They asked Gili Bar-Hillel Semo, the Israeli *Harry Potter* literary translator, to use her names' choices while discussing future printed volumes which were under work. The volunteers also asked local theater group, the Globus Group, for free tickets to special early premieres of *Harry Potter* movies, in order to enable their portal members to use a unified language. But on special occasions, such as the publication of a new free chapter in Rowling's official site (but not in Hebrew), the Israeli HPortal self-translated and web-published Rowling's new chapter. The HPortal's editors design the books section as a real book, with cover, pages, pages numbers, and so on. The young story-readers/content-writers navigate themselves, probably without attention, between old and new

media traditions and throughout a continuous contradiction between local and global cultural elements.

Translating a fantasy book or a movie as a transmedia text requires the translator to be able to distinguish the local from the global, and be aware of young people's ways of reading the text. The French writer, film director, and producer, Luc Besson, is an example for this kind of fantasy writer. In the beginning of the new millennium, he started to create his *Minimoys* saga after an original idea of another author, Celine Garcia. The saga's first literary volume was published in French in 2002, in English translation in 2005, and the saga's first movie adaptation, based on the first two books of the French original series, premiered in 2006. The *Arthur* series was published at first as a local French book series by a bright new publishing house in Paris—Éditions Intervista. From the beginning it was very clear that this new publishing house has a main interest in books that have the potential of being adapted into films. Luc Besson, a celebrated cinematographer, was their first author.

The practical connection between publishing literary fiction and producing fiction movies is clear. This is a commercial act which affects the old literary book and transforms it into a multiple-media creation.

In the case of *Harry Potter* films, for instance, it seems that the production studios adopted the available and well-known international literary translations, and guided the local new films' translators to use their local lexicon of names and idioms excluded from the existing literary translation of *Harry Potter* series as an obligating formula. The Warner Bros. move was in fact a cultural recognition of the local translations' popularity and success. The cinematic production had to maintain the local *Harry Potter* names and idioms created by local literary translators in order to sell new films to the same audiences (Hahn 2007; Bar-Hillel 2012). Thus the young readers' backyard developed into a medium's powerful and mass-influencing playground.

The versatility of the multiple-media channels translation approach

The view of fantasy as a transmedia genre explains its special appeal to young readers. But this definition focuses on the medium and its contents rather than its *raison d'être*. It marks various inter-media changes and variations, but ignores an important tool that facilitates these changes—the translation. The

multiple-media channels translation approach—as I suggest—provides a view of media products as dynamic cultural texts—art forms, verbal/visual translations and adaptations of other cultural text[s]—as well as internal and other transparent relations among different media translations (O'Connell 2003: 223–4; Varga 2012: 359–60).

The multiple-media channels translation approach enables a close examination of hidden cultural relations among the various media/texts which build a given textual collection in the broader sense (for example, the works of a certain author in all forms and languages, or a collection of multiple translations and adaptations of a single work). Appreciating each text of a given media collection as an adapting channel that is tuned through its relations with and position in regards to other texts/channels leads to a comparative concept which is much more than a descriptive linear aspect of analyzing fantasy simply as a transmedia genre.

The case of the translation of Cornelia Funke's work into Hebrew, English, French, and Spanish illustrates the significance of a multiple-media channels approach. Funke is a celebrated German author of children's literature and fantasy. She lives in the United States but keeps writing her picture-books and children's fantasies in German. Her work is translated into many languages, and some of her bestsellers were adapted for the cinema, including, in our case, *The Thief Lord*, a fantasy adventure of an international bunch of street children in Venice with touches of a Dickensian atmosphere. *The Thief Lord* was published in Germany in 2000 as *Herr der Diebe*. In 2002 it was translated and first published in English as *The Thief Lord*, and in 2006 it was adapted by director Richard Claus for Warner Bros. studios as an English-language film under the same title.

The Hebrew translations of Funke's works are interesting for three reasons: first—most literary translations into Hebrew are carried from English; translating from German into Hebrew is less popular. Second—translating literary non-English books for the young is often done after major exposure; but Funke's work was translated into Hebrew before her cinematographic success. Third—Funke's book are recommended for a national reading project by the Israeli Ministry of Education (from 2012 to 2014, to the seventh grade); this recommendation is based on students' survey in schools and a final approval by a committee of experts. The fact that seventh-grade pupils want to read Funke as their reading project is connected to her local exposure via films and Internet sites about a decade after her works were first translated into Hebrew by Hana Livnat.

Funke's writing is very intertextual, often alluding to various literary texts from Western culture. This makes the translation of her work quite complicated. In fact, even the translation of the title of Funke's *Herr der Diebe* into Hebrew was a challenge. The original German, *Herr* [mister] was not a good choice in Hebrew. Israeli children rarely use the Hebrew equivalents of "Mister" [either אדון, *adon* or מר, *mar*] while addressing other people, due to the direct nature of Israeli communication norms. Thus, such a choice would seem inappropriate for the characters of street children who are presented in story. Therefore, both the Hebrew book and film versions of *Herr der Diebe* were titled in 2006: מלך הגנבים [*melech ha'ganavim* = The King of the Thieves]. This choice was most likely influenced by the popular screening of Disney's hit film series, *The Lion King*, (1994–2004)—which was titled in Hebrew מלך האריות [*melech ha-ara'ot* = King of the Lions]. Another factor that most likely influenced this choice has to do with Hebrew slang and the translators' attempt to use authentic language while translating for the young. Young Israeli Hebrew speakers, who are at the same ages as Funke's potential readers, use the Hebrew expression "מלך" [*melech* = king] to suggest a high social status addressing each other and as an expression of self-esteem. Hence, adopting children's slang and implying another popular movie's title were the key motivation behind the Hebrew title of the work.

Similar shifts in the title of *Herr der Diebe* occurred in other languages as well. In English, *Herr der Diebe* appeared as *The Thief Lord*. In the context of fantasy literature, this choice was probably most influenced by the German title of J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* (1954–5), which was published in German as *Der Herr der Ringe* (1969–70). The same translation formula was used for the film adaptation of William Golding's dystopic novel—*Lord of the Flies* (1954)—with the title *Der Herr der Fliegen* (1963). The same title was used again for the first German literary translation of this novel (2008) and for the audio-book version in the following year (2009). The interchangeability of *Herr* and *Lord*, therefore, seems like a standard choice when translating between English and German.

In French, *Herr der Diebe* is titled *Le prince des voleurs* (Hachette 2003). The same title is used for the 2006 French version of the English movie. The French title, *Le prince des voleurs* [= The Prince of the Thieves] follows a legacy of French fantasy literature. Antoine Jean de Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince* [= *The Little Prince*] (1942) stands as an immediate connotation; thus "Herr" [= Monsieur/Sir] is instantly transformed to "Prince."

In 2003, the translation of Funke's *Herr der Diebe* was published in Spanish. It was titled *El señor de los ladrones* [Lord/Master of Thieves] (Ediciones Destino 2003). The same choice was made in relation to the title of Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, which appeared as *El señor de los anillos*. However, the 2006 Spanish film adaptation of *Herr der Diebe* opted for the French tradition, and was titled *Príncipe de los ladrones*.

The above shifts in Hebrew, English, French, and Spanish must therefore be considered as parts (or adapting channels) of a single media collection rather than separate transmedia texts. The different choices that are made by various translators are not only made in the context of a particular linguistic tradition (where *The Lord of the Rings* is echoed in the title of *The Thief Lord*), but also across media (as *The Lion King* is echoed in *The King of Thieves*), and in reaction to choices that are made in a "third" language (with the echoing of *Le prince des voleurs* in *El señor de los anillos*).

Global authors and local fans in the World Wide Web

The multiple-media channels translation approach can also be a useful method in order to describe and analyze global/local lingual aspects on the Internet, including official authors' sites versus fans' sites. Both authors and readers use the Internet to discuss the same beloved stories. Their aims are not very different: authors write in order to keep selling stories to their readers, and fans write in order to reread and discuss the same favorite stories over and over again.

Most official sites of international fantasy authors are written in English, even though some of the authors do not write in English. In most cases, the detailed information and related (free or for sale) digital products are published in English. These, for instance, are the examples of Luc Besson and Cornelia Funke. The official site of Besson's cinematic series *Arthur et les Minimoys* (<http://arthuretlesminimoys.com>, accessed June 3, 2013) is an interesting case. It was built in 2005 as a French/English official site for the first episode of Besson's family movie version. As mentioned above, the film is based on the first and the second books of Besson's fantasy for children. The first book and the first movie share the same original title, as does the computer game that was developed after this series and released in 2006. This movie was distributed in France and in French-speaking countries throughout 2006. A shorter version, excluding most

of the romantic scenes between Arthur and Princess Sélénia, was distributed in the United States at the end of 2006. During the following year, the movie was released internationally. The Spanish, German, and Hebrew dubbed versions, among other adaptations, kept the meaning and semantics of the original movie title (*Arthur und die Minimoy*s; *Arthur y los Minimoy*s; ארתור והמינימונים [*Arthur ve'ha'minimonim*]). But the English movie has two alternate titles: either *Arthur and the Minimoy*s or *Arthur and the Invisibles*. The first title was used for distribution in non-English-speaking countries and as a base for dubbing adaptations as mentioned above, and the latter was used in England, the United States, and other English-speaking territories, implying the hidden nature of the Minimoy)s, and creating a difference between the English first literary volume and the film.

From its starting point, the cinematic adaptation of the *Arthur* series was produced by the most developed 3D animation technology of its time: augmented reality. In 2009, the global success of the first film in the series was clear. During this year, Besson and his production studios worked on the last cinematic episodes and on a special 4D film for *Arthur*'s attraction in Futuroscope Parc in Jauany-Clan, France. Besson's animation partners, the animation companies Dassault Systems Interactive and 3DVIA Virtools Technology, invited the young viewers to create their own Minimoy avatar either out of an uploaded digital picture or by using a live webcam. A new *Arthur et les minimoy*s website enabled the children to use the companies' newest technology online in order to produce a short karaoke with their own Minimoy avatar. The young viewers could also share their new avatar images and the animated karaoke either on Facebook or on YouTube (<http://minimoy.s.3ds.com/content/discover-experiments>).

Dassault Systems Interactive and 3DVIA Virtools Technology published their *Arthur* pages both in French and English. The slight differences between French web text and the English one are important to the issue of global/local elements. The movie was made mainly in France by local BUF studios. Their animators created two separate versions: one for French-speaking viewers and another for English-speaking viewers, from which the major part of the non-English dubbed versions were made. From the perspective of the French young fans, *Arthur et les Minimoy*s was a film that was made after a popular fantasy book series. They had read all four parts of the *Arthur* series before watching the first film in the trilogy; hence they looked forward to the cinematographic adaptation. For them, Arthur is a local hero who speaks their language and shares his fantasy experiences with them. Dassault Systems Interactive and 3DVIA Virtools Technology were aware of this perspective,

and the companies took it into consideration; hence they addressed French children as old loyal fans. On the other hand, the English version site addresses two different groups: English readers and non-English readers. Both are new audiences who either only read the first book of the series, or knew nothing about *Arthur et les minimoy*s. In 2006, the new site <http://minimoys.3ds.com/content/discovers-experiments> (accessed June 3, 2013) suggested to its readers:

French: **Personnalise ton avatar**

Change le look de ton Minimoy.

Choisis la forme de la tête, une coupe de cheveux, un chapeau ou des lunettes 100% minimoy.

English: **Customize your Avatar**

Change its look.

Choose head shape, hair cut, a hat or Minimoy glasses.

It is obvious that the French text is longer than the English one. But the French is designed to look much longer than necessary, although the literal content is the same, as a result of its typography: it is broken into five lines instead of three. The word “Minimoy” is mentioned twice in the French version and only once in the English text, suggesting a reader–Minimoy familiarity. In addition, the French text promises authenticity and a “100% Minimoy” look, while the English version just points out that the avatar will have Minimoy-like glasses. The French version implies a reader–Minimoy pre-relation (“*ton minimoy*” [your minimoy]) while in English there is no indication of previous relations and the Minimoy is not humanized (“your *avatar*,” “*its* look”). These subtle differences are a result of addressing two different audiences: the old fans, who have read *Arthur* in French and are interested in the Minimoy’s actions, and the future fans, who meet the Minimoy fantasy adventures for the first time either as an English movie version or via the English animation production site, and are much more interested in creating an avatar as on online game.

The main breakthrough of the *Arthur et les Minimoys* film trilogy was in 2009, just before the release of the second film, *Arthur et la vengeance de Maltazard*, and a year before the premiere of the last cinematic part. The first movie official website was animated and included subtitles; it was written in 22 languages. English and French were marked by relatively bigger English and French flags with the captions: “Join Arthur” or “Rejoins Arthur” respectively. Clicking on any one of the 20 smaller unmarked flags below the two main

marked flags opened a new language subsite identical to the English/French main versions. Thus the official site was multilingual; by using local translated names and idioms it appealed to readers and viewers from many countries: English, French, Finish, Croatian, Serbian, Turkish, Greek, Luxembourgian, Spanish, Russian, Romanian, Norwegian, Israeli, Polish, Slovenian, Swedish, Danish, Portuguese, Belgian, Hungarian, Italian, and Basque. This direct address to different audiences is more than a simple commercial act; it is a cultural statement. It is important to notice the absence of German. The major cause for this absence is the fact that the book series was never translated into German and that the movie was dubbed and distributed in Germany mostly as home DVDs. Ignoring the English-American audience, although the production was a French-American production, is notable especially due to the clear use of British style and spelling. The consideration of commercial aspects along with cultural ideology enabled many children around the world to watch the trailer in their local language, read the book series' synopsis in their local language, and learn more about their beloved movie characters. Meanwhile, other children were kept away if they were unable to use either the English or French site. This last point is amplified by the fact that this multilingual site contains links to French/English fans' sites only.

Another example of the recognition of the English global readers' force is Cornelia Funke's 2013 *MirrorWorld* iPad application. Like Besson, her writings are translated into many languages and first and foremost into English. Like the children's Fantasy of Besson, her works are adapted to cinema and other media. On May 23, 2013 Funke's bi-lingual official site (www.corneliafunke.com, accessed June 3, 2013) announced her very first literary application. The announcement was published in German and English, but the application was available only in English. The application is called *MirrorWorld App* after her bestselling series, *MirrorWorld*, about two brothers who enter the Brothers Grimms' fairytales through a mirror. The new application was created in collaboration with Miranda Studios. Funke wrote 16 brand new short adventure stories for the new iPad application. As always, she wrote them in German, and they were translated into English. They are published in English as a part of the *MirrorWorld App*, which offers the young reader a literary interactive media adventure. Funke's application is acting both as the fantastic mirror and as a visual tool for her *MirrorWorld* stories. When a young reader touches the requested options on the screen, he or she enters into the fictional plot, mixing reality and fantasy, until the story (or the interactive reading process) ends. About a month after this application had been

announced, Miranda Studios declared that they are working simultaneously on German and Spanish versions with an intention to sell the final products within a few weeks. As published on Funke's official site on June 3, 2013 (accessed the same date), Miranda Studios understood that "German readers long to read in Cornelia's mother tongue what she and Miranda created."

The chronicles of translated wor[l]ds and flexibility

The Chronicles of Narnia by C. S. Lewis and *The Spiderwick Chronicles* by Holly Black and Tony DiTerlizzi are good examples of two large multiple-media channels' collections—including original series, international translations, adaptations for television and the cinema, and related products—all of which illustrate the flexible borders of fantastical lingual aspects. Both collections are also intriguing from translation studies point of view since they originally consist of multicultural narratives and heroes as well as proper names in foreign languages, such as Turkish in Lewis' *Narnia* and Irish in Black and DiTerlizzi's *Spiderwick*. But the most important issue concerning such collections as *Narnia* and *Spiderwick* is media impact on the retranslation process. *Spiderwick* and *Narnia* represent opposing examples to *Harry Potter*. *Spiderwick* and *Narnia* translators are free to adapt the cinematic or literary series or part of them according to their professional decisions; there is no essential linkage between movies and literary series lexicons as there is in the case of the *Harry Potter* films.

Lewis' *Narnia* series is based on seven volumes, published in England from 1950 to 1956, narrating the fantastical adventures of four siblings, the Pevensies, and their cousins in the Kingdom of Narnia. The American edition of 1994 by HarperCollins changed the books' order and republished the seven books in chronological order according to the storyline and the reconstructed fictional history of *Narnia*; an act that was followed by another American publishing house. Scholastics changed the printed numbers of the books in its edition according to the new order (i.e. according to the storyline rather than order in which they were published. Only in the 2005 hard cover collectors' edition, HarperCollins implies that the change was their response to Lewis's wish (Ford 2005: xxv). Two thousand and five was an important year in the evolution and transformation of *Narnia* from simple literary fantasy to a multiple-media channels' collection. The *Narnia* series was a rich media collection even before 2005. In April 2003, *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, the first to be

published, was listed ninth among 100 English children's books in a readers' survey by the BBC. In 1967 and 1979, the same volume was adapted to the big screen, and in 1988–90 it was the BBC's turn to adapt the first half or so of C. S. Lewis' original series to a popular television series. After the television production was completed, its four seasons were reedited and readapted as a series of family movies for home distribution. But this was not the first time that the BBC had adapted this saga: in the 1980s, a bestseller audio-book series of the whole literary collection of *Narnia* was produced as well.

The *Narnia* series had been written more than half a century before it gained its greatest popularity through a new film series produced by Disney (*The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, 2005; *The Chronicles of Narnia: Prince Caspian*, 2007; *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Voyage of the Dawn Treader*, 2010). The first Disney movie of the new cinematic adaptation, either dubbed or subtitled, rapidly became number one in the European box offices and inspired many new young readers to look for Lewis' original literary collection. Before the end of 2005, the seven books of *Narnia* could certainly be considered transmedia, as the literary series became one of the first bestsellers in Europe (mainly in Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Switzerland, and Israel) as an echo of its popularity in the cinemas (GoodKnight 2010).

Until 2005, the *Narnia* literary series was translated into 41 languages, which is a phenomenal achievement on its own. But after Disney's adaptation, *Narnia's* books could be formally read in 47 languages including new translations into Arabic, Catalan, Chinese, Czech, Danish, Estonian, Faroese, French, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Icelandic, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Latvian, Macedonian, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish, Thai, Tibetan, Turkish, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese (GoodKnight 2010). The 2005 *Narnia* movie did not only induce the need to retranslate or reedit old translations, but brought on a new drive towards globalism. In other words, the new Disney adaptation increased the global trends in *Narnia's* international media and literary translations. For instance, the header of *Narnia* series home page at HarperCollins changed into Disney's Aslan and the movie's formal logo. And although none of HarperCollins *Narnia* editions includes Disney's pictures, the HarperCollins site includes links to Disney's *Narnia* movies in its main menu (<http://harpercollinschildrens.com/feature/chroniclesofnarnia> [accessed June 3, 2013]).

The 2005 Hebrew revised edition of *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* also illustrates similar global media affects: (1) The old translation of 1961 by

Shoshana Vidal was replaced by a newer contemporary translation by Nurit Golan (Vidal's translation was already re-edited in 1990 by Gideon Toury, the translator of the other volumes in the series); (2) the cover design echoed the movie's local poster; (3) the title of the series had changed (again, only on the cover, but not inside the new translation itself) and adopted the local title of the movie series: *Stories of Narnia* [sipurei Narnia = סיפורי נרניה] instead of *Stories of the Kingdom of Narnia* [sipurei mamlechet Narnia = סיפורי ממלכת נרניה]; (4) the current new series typographic design targeted readers from age nine and above, but was not restricted to younger children as was the case with previous editions; (5) some names of places and characters were changed from literal translations to simple phonetic transcripts in accordance with the local translation practices as well as with the dubbed cinematic version. The fact that the Israeli new literary title followed the new movie release is added to the global dynamics within *Narnia* multiple-media channels collection. A similar change can also be noted in the French new edition of *Narnia* which changed from *Les Chroniques de Narnia: Le Lion, La Sorcière Blanch et l'Armoire Magique* into *Le Monde de Narnia: Le Lion, La Sorcière Blanch et l'Armoire Magique*, and sacrificed the historical impact ("chronicles") in favor of the geographical fantastical connotations ("world"), which already exists in the book's title ("*magique*," magic).

Holly Black and Tony DiTerlizzi, an author and her co-author and illustrator, created from 2003 to 2009 *The Spiderwick Chronicles* collection. The first literary *Spiderwick* series included five volumes, published from May 2003 to September 2004 by Simon & Schuster. It was followed by a new trilogy from September 2007 to September 2009: *Beyond the Spiderwick Chronicles*, and a cinematic adaptation of the first series by Nickelodeon Movies in 2008. The two fantasy series were also accompanied by four alleged field guides to the hidden world of Spiderwick Estate. The first field guide was published in 2003, after the success of the first volumes of *Spiderwick* original series, and the last one was published in 2007.

Spiderwick tells the story of magic creatures that live in the walls and below the garden of Spiderwick Estate, the new home of three siblings, the Graces, whose parents had just divorced. As a result, they were forced to move to an old forgotten family estate. The *Spiderwick* series quickly gained high popularity, became an international bestseller, was translated into 30 languages and adapted to the big screen and continued to be published as a new picture-book and activity series for younger readers by new Spiderwick's writers, including

Rebecca Frazer and Irene Kilpatrick. The success of this literary series was well recognized by its publishers. Since 2003, the books were followed by online and offline games and activities for the young readers, and by further learning instructions and literacy advice for their parents and teachers in an official website created by Simon & Schuster. The official site is still active and it is being refreshed and redesigned all the time. From its beginning, the *Spiderwick* official site linked to the original authors' sites, then to the film adaptation at Paramount Picture's site, and nowadays it follows the latest posts of Black and DiTerlizzi in Twitter. Although the literary series gained high international popularity, the site is published only in English and has no links to other *Spiderwick's* translated series sites (<http://pages.simonandschuster.com/spiderwick> [accessed June 3, 2013]). Most international websites for literacy education and reading encouragement concerning *Spiderwick* literary series have links to the American official site; thus young readers have to read the related information and understand *Spiderwick* online game instructions in English. For example, the Israeli Center for Educational Technology publishes in its portal for reading encouragement a summary of the first *Spiderwick* book, including an option to read the full first chapter from the formal translation by Ori Balsam for Matar publishing house (<http://knafaim.cet.ac.il> [accessed June 3, 2013]). But in order to read further information on the book series and/or its authors, the Israeli site links to Simon & Schuster's, and to Black and DiTerlizzi's American-English sites.

It is clear that *Spiderwick* became a transmedia phenomenon, and that its local aspects were interwoven into the global lingual dynamics. For example, the French title of *Spiderwick Chronicles* is similar to the French formula of *Les Chroniques de Narnia—Les Chroniques de Spiderwick* (2004–5). The second series was translated into French in 2007–9, after Nickelodeon announced the new production of *Spiderwick* film adaptation. At that point, *Beyond the Spiderwick Chronicles* was translated into *Au-delà du monde de Spiderwick*, creating an intentional echo of the French title of the 2005 film *Le Monde de Narnia*.

In Hebrew, both literary series, the field guides, and the additional picture-books were translated from 2005 to 2009 by the same translator, Ori Balsam, a fantasy and science fiction translator, and were all published by the same Israeli publishing house—Matar. In general, all the series were titled and referred to as עלילות ספיידרוויק [a'li'lot spiderwick], meaning *Spiderwick's Adventures*, or *Spiderwick Stories*, which is reminiscent of the re-branded series title for the Hebrew version of Lewis' *Narnia* after 2005. The cinematic

title was therefore adapted as a brand name and, in this case, Matar publishing house used the first series title to all *Spiderwick* books, ignoring their original sub-series titles.

In addition, it is interesting to compare the French and Hebrew literary and film translations of the name Thimbletack with the same series. Thimbletack is a male fairy who lives in the walls of the estate, and can be seen whenever he desires to be seen. According to the plot, he was seen for the first time in 1907, but the Graces believe that he had moved in much earlier. He is the first good fairy they meet, and his character is essential to the plot development. Like most of the names that are given to fantasy characters, Thimbletack's name is meaningful; its meaning is important to the plot, since it fits his features. Thimbletack is a small, witty, glutton, who may turn into a hostile creature when he is hungry.

Although the Hebrew translations were prepared by the same translator, Thimbletack's Hebrew name was changed over the years. Before the film adaptation was released, he was called נַעֲצוּץ [*naatzutz*], an old Biblical term for a thorn. The term is taken from Isaiah 55.13, but in 2004 the old word was revived to fit a modern definition: a thumbtack. *Naatzutz* sounds suitable for a Hebrew male-fairy name. But in Balsam's translations from 2008, the year in which the film was distributed in Israel, *Naatzutz* was erased and Thimbletack took his place in transcription. *Naatzutz* was a wise literary choice, but unfit for subtitling an English film when the original word is heard over and over. Since the Israeli dubbed version often follows the subtitles (or vice versa), the Hebrew translation of the movie must adopt the original male-fairy English name. Yet, the Hebrew transcription can use alternate Hebrew letters and spelling (either טק or טאק) and still sound the same (*/tak/*). Thus, Thimbletack lost his former Hebrew name and gained two very similar new versions (טימבלטאק and טימבלטק) that sound the same but are written differently, one for the movie subtitles (טימבלטק) and the other for the printed new books (טימבלטאק).

A similar shift occurred in the French translation. The French literary Thimbletack is *Chafouin* (a French medieval word that was created from *chat* [cat] and *fouin* [male weasel]—meaning a sly person), as suggested by the French translator Bernard Ferrier. The movie character, however, remains Thimbletack in the subtitled and in the dubbed versions. But since contemporary young readers are not just readers, but media consumers as well, they can easily bridge the name gap and identify the right character by using both its local and original names.

Summary and conclusions

This examination of literary texts and their adaptations to the cinema as a multiple-media channels collection reveals two major lingual routes: (a) adoption of literary terminology and designing the cinematic language in accordance with a literary lexicon; or (b) literary adoption of the translated cinematic lexicon and re-translating the literary texts according to it. These two may sound like a normal dynamic translation routine, in which media translations have to be refreshed within about three years. But this is not the case here. Translated names and translated titles are changing rapidly to suit the global media dynamics and to reach wider audiences in order to sell more media products. J. K. Rowling had to accept the local translation choices since her international book sales were almost unprecedented. In order to have a blockbuster movie she cannot change the local phenomenal *Harry Potter* and transforms him into a foreign English boy in the eyes of the local viewers. Rowling's adaptations for the big screen were close to the books' date of publication, but C. S. Lewis's saga was revived due to its new international film adaptation. The new movies transformed it into a transmedia series, and local lingual changes within translations were easily accepted. The case of Black and DiTerlizzi is antithetical to Rowling's. Like Rowling, they write and publish in English, but they did not gain the same worldwide fame through their books as she did. Thus, they did not instruct local translators how to either subtitle or to dub their work. Their attitude toward independent and unguided translations resulted in flexible lingual changes within their translations and the final lexical alignment with their official website and original writings.

As for the cases of Funke or Besson, both of them are fully aware of their worldwide translations. Although they write bestsellers in their local languages, they are conscious of the fact that in order to succeed internationally they must transform their literature into an international platform, which means an American/English film. This multilingual move inevitably affects their original lingual choices and is reflected both in their literary and cinematic translations.

The visibility of the lingual choices via media images, illustrations, film adaptations, or website graphics cause further lingual changes, adjustments, or corrections within translations and re-translations. The unique nature of those changes is that they are all happening rapidly and widely across the world due to global media connections. Cultural differences and geographical distances are now less important than a single powerful global distribution campaign.

Thus, translating into Hebrew is not radically different from translating into any European language. When fantasy, as a transmedia, meets the real world it has no other choice but to join the global market. In most cases, this move turns fantasy into a global genre.

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Glossary

- Cultural gap:** within a semiotic or lingual context, this term indicates a semiotic and/or lingual discontinuity between two given cultures which leads to major misunderstandings. In the translation process, a cultural gap causes difficulties and often involves translator's explanatory notes or added information.
- Guided translation:** a translation performed according to obligatory specific lingual instructions for local or international translators. A guided translation is a rare procedure in the field of literary or cinematic translation. Yet it is common in cases of international bestsellers and blockbusters, as in the case of the *Harry Potter* series.
- Multiple media channels:** an ad hoc term that illustrates a main feature of fantasy translations nowadays. As a transmedia genre, fantasy gains numerous adaptations to various forms and languages which exist simultaneously in the cultural system.
- Translation for children:** translation for children differs from other literary and cinematic translation due to frequent lingual and cultural gaps, deficiencies

and issues of localization versus universalism. In cinematic translation, popular solutions involve dubbing and annotated subtitling. In literary form, popular solutions are free adaptation or annotated text.

Transmedia: an interdisciplinary genre whose narratives are not restricted to a single medium or platform, and can be continued via different media. Fantasy is an example of contemporary transmedia genre, since it is based on literature, cinema, computer games, visual arts, etc.

Part Five

Translation, Communication, and Globalization

An introductory note

Translation is not only the task of interlingual, but also of intercultural and often international communication. Delia Chiaro takes Humor Studies seriously in a study on humor that helps her to highlight the cultural task of media translation. If one accepts that translating humor is one of the most difficult tasks that a translator faces, then one would also have to agree that by translating humor one might be making a substantial contribution to global communication. If translation can help us understand each other's humor—then it can truly help us to understand each other. It is a noble task, if making people laugh was not noble enough. Chiaro demonstrates how an interdisciplinary approach that draws from theory in Translation and Humor Studies can help us understand better the manners in which humor is conveyed in different cultures (whether they are linguistic/national cultures or otherwise defined), and how it can be communicated across linguistic and cultural boundaries.

Alison Patterson and Dan Chyutin, on the other hand, write about a topic that is not funny at all. While war and genocide are, unfortunately, universal—to what extent can films truly communicate the circumstances and nature of local conflict across national and linguistic boundaries? Patterson and Chyutin, scholars in Film and Critical Cultural Studies, combine a theoretical discussion and empirical work with their own students at the University of Pittsburgh to compare the domestic and global reception of the Israeli film, *Waltz with Bashir* (Ari Folman 2008). In pursuing the “ethical and political concerns surrounding filmic representations of (someone else’s) trauma,” they raise a challenging, and perhaps provocative question about translation. When can translation be

superfluous, or even harmful to the integrity of the audiovisual text? Are there, as is the case in the translation of *Waltz with Bashir*, parts of the text that simply should not be translated?

Chiaro, Patterson, and Chyutin remind us of the difficulties involved in transporting films across nations, cultures, and languages, and some of the different hats that the film translator must wear: a linguist and a film expert, a political scientist and an anthropologist, and—in the case of *Waltz with Bashir*—a psychoanalyst with heightened sensitivity to what should, but also what perhaps should not, be translated.

The Eyes and Ears of the Beholder? Translation, Humor, and Perception

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1. Introduction

It is a truth universally acknowledged that verbal humor travels badly. While visual incongruity and slapstick may raise a smile universally, once words enter the cross-cultural equation, the issue of what may or may not be intended as humorous becomes less clear cut. Furthermore, when verbal humor is part of an audiovisual product, the fact that it may be strongly anchored either visually or acoustically to other elements in the audiovisual text, will complicate translation and as a result possibly influence viewers' reception of the instance of humor in question. This chapter sets out to explore the impact of language, and more particularly, of translation, on the reaction of Italian end-users of humorous stimuli contained within translated audiovisual products. The research design created to measure these responses is described and results pertaining to a number of studies in which the same protocol was applied are reported. As the appreciation of humor is not solely cognitive—in other words, it cannot be limited to comprehension alone—the chapter will also examine the concept of “sense of humor” and whether, and if so to what extent, it is lingua-cultural specific and/or how far it is dependent on individual personality traits.

2. Translating verbal humor

Translating “verbally expressed humor” (Ritchie 2004) is certainly different from translating anything else expressed in words. On one level, in order to

create comic incongruity, verbal humor takes a number of linguistic options available in a language to extremes. Such is the complexity of the unrestrained language that is often inherent to humor that translating it has been likened to translating poetry, as both genres are equally uncontrollable and untranslatable. According to Sherzer, humor entails the “projection of the syntagmatic onto the paradigmatic,” which, as he points out, is “precisely the Jakobsonian definition of poetry” (1978: 341). In other words, humor and poetry stretch language to its limits and, as it is extremely unlikely that two languages will share identical linguistic ambiguities, idiosyncrasies, duplicities, graphic forms, and so on that are typically exploited in the creation of poetry and verbally expressed humor (VEH), the linguistic-specificity of these two modes creates a major problem in terms of translation. The second problem lies in the tendency for VEH to play on common knowledge, thus restricting its understanding to members of a circumscribed societal group. The content of an instance of VEH is thus likely to be limited to issues specific to ethnicity, gender, age, class, time and, of course, place. However, the third, and probably thorniest problem occurs when language and culture-specificity combine. As Cicero observes: “there are two types of wit, one employed upon facts, the other upon words ... people are particularly amused whenever laughter is excited by the union of the two” (*De Oratore* II LIX and II LXI). While recipients of more sophisticated verbal humor may indeed be “particularly amused,” others outside the borders of the place and time of origin of the humorous instance may well remain perplexed, leaving translators to face a somewhat tough challenge. However, if Cicero was alive today, he would certainly point to a fourth difficulty, namely that of humor occurring in audiovisual texts, the translation of which goes well beyond paying attention to the words alone.

The exploration of translated humor thus combines two disciplines, namely Translation Studies and Humor Studies—two disciplines which, to date, have largely ignored each other. Both are newly born areas of study which were established in the 1970s as autonomous disciplines, while the scholarly study of Audiovisual Translation only dates back to the early 1990s. Humor Studies, while as yet not taught as a distinct discipline, is a truly interdisciplinary field which includes anthropology, medicine, psychology, philosophy, sociology, linguistics, literature, film, and gender studies.¹ Being such an extensive field, the

¹ For an existing program on Humor Studies, see the International Summer School and Symposium on Humor, endorsed by the International Society for Humor Studies, which is now in its thirteenth year of operation. Available at <http://www.psychologie.uzh.ch/fachrichtungen/perspsy/summerschool.html> (accessed November 3, 2013).

literature is unsurprisingly extensive and dispersive. However, for the purpose of this discussion, the three areas which are most relevant are psychology, sociology, and linguistics. In fact, personality research has revealed that, while laughter and smiling are recognized as universal and innate expressions, sense of humor is affected by nature and culture (Ruch 1998). Furthermore, although all humans are capable of perceiving something as being funny, the pertinent research regarding the culture-specificity of laughter is missing. To date, Davies (1998) has investigated joke genres across different societies and quantitative techniques have been applied to test sense of humor in a variety of systematic studies which compare Germans to Italians (Forabosco and Ruch 1994) and French and Americans (Ruch et al. 1991) by means of measurement scales (Ruch 1983 and 1998). However, little research has investigated what occurs when different cultures are faced with interlingually translated stimuli. Does linguistic transposition affect humor response negatively? The three studies quoted above base their investigations on visual humor, or else on universal joke genres identified by Davies (i.e. stupidity jokes; underdog jokes; scurrilous jokes; jokes aimed at institutions such as politics and religion, etc.) in which the untranslatable mix of language and culture is not present. Civilization appears to have brought about a refinement in what people find funny. In fact, in anthropological terms, wordplay is a relatively recent phenomenon (Schmidt-Hidding 1963). The most significant studies on VEH include Raskin's Semantic Script Theory (1985) and the General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH) proposed by Attardo and Raskin (1991) which argues that script opposition is an essential element of verbal humor. According to the GTVH, any single instance of verbal humor must consist of two overlapping scripts, one of which is evident but simultaneously shields another, less-manifest script which is hidden away and not immediately distinguishable. Concurrently, however, these two matching scripts also oppose each other in such a way as to create a humorous incongruity. The secondary, hidden script provides the element of surprise necessary to elicit a humor response. Theoretically, when translating VEH, the lowest common denominator required in its translation would be that of overlap and opposition that will create the right mix of incongruity and surprise for the script to qualify as humorous in intent. Yet, as Attardo argues, recipients of VEH also need to possess a number of "knowledge resources" (KR) (1994) in order to understand the incoming gag, joke, quip, and so on. Such KRs would presumably need to be supplied somehow through translation for the benefit of cross-cultural end-users. However, the examples provided by Attardo and Raskin to illustrate their theory

avoid linguistic ambiguity. Humorous instances such as the T-shirt slogan “The Gobi Desert Canoe Club” (Attardo 1994: 25) needs no lingua-culture-specific knowledge to be either translated or understood—suffice that the receiver is old and/or sentient enough to know that the Gobi Desert has no waterways. In other words, this kind of VEH is not adequate to truly test translational impact.

However, the area of translated VEH has been widely ignored except for a few disparate studies such as Redfern (1984); Chiaro (1992), and Delabastita (1997), although the subject does seem to be making a comeback recently (e.g. Vandaele 2002; Chiaro 2005, 2010a, 2010b).

2.1 Translating verbal humor on screen

Instances of VEH extracted from the Marx Brothers’ filmic repertoire have been chosen to exemplify what we are dealing with, as they provide countless cases that clarify the concept of overlapping and opposing scripts. Of course, these are “old” examples and there is the possibility that some contemporary readers may fail to find them funny as humor is also culture-bound in terms of time (as well as class, gender, religion, etc.). But they do clearly exemplify the arduous challenge that the first translators of the newly born audiovisual industry had to face in the 1920s and 1930s. Fuentes Luque (2010) offers eight different categories of Marxian humor, amongst which is the category of “wordplay” that includes tropes such as spoonerisms in *Monkey Business* (Norman Z. McLeod 1929):

Groucho: Oh why can’t we break away from all this, just you and I, and lodge with the fleas in the hills...I mean flee to my lodge in the hills.

Nonsensical tongue twisters like those contained in the famous “contract scene” from *A Night at the Opera* (Sam Wood, 1935):

Groucho: It says “The party in this first part should be known as the party in the first part.” Would you like to hear some more?

Chico: Just the first part.

Groucho: What do you mean? The party in the first part?

Chico: No, the first party of the first part.

And abundant plain and painful (to translate) puns such as the one at the end of the same scene:

Groucho: Don’t worry, it’s just what they call a sanity clause.

Chico: Hey, you can’t fool me. There ain’t no Santa Claus!

These are just three wordplay techniques randomly chosen from a wide array of tropes adopted by the Marx Brothers. They occur on screen within a polysemiotic text in which visuals and sound, and verbal and non-verbal codes are indissolubly interconnected (see Chiaro 2008a), yet the kind of translational problems they present are *not specific* to Audiovisual Translation. Challenging as these translations may be, they contain obstacles inherent to the translation of VEH that could occur in any type of text.

What is particular about audiovisual texts is that instances of verbal humor may be anchored to a visual feature outside the dialogues, or else may hinge upon acoustic features. When humor is “audio-visually” anchored, the translational process is complicated.

2.2 “Audio-visually” anchored humor

2.2.1 Visually anchored humor

Visually anchored verbal humor refers to lines in audiovisuals whose humor relies on features within the visual code. Fuentes Luque (2010) provides an example from *Animal Crackers* (Victor Herman 1930) in which Chico and Harpo Marx are about to steal a painting. Chico asks Harpo if he has all the tools they need, including a torch, a “flash.” A long string of visually anchored puns follows, with Harpo pinching his cheek (“flesh”), then producing a flask, then a flute, then a flush of cards, until he finally shows a flashlight. Again, in the film *Monkey Business*, a police officer tells Harpo that he is looking for “a couple of mugs,” to which Harpo predictably offers him two shaving mugs. In the same film, Groucho tells the policeman “you could have knocked me over with a feather,” and Harpo takes a feather from his pocket and hits Groucho over the head. Clearly these are especially tricky utterances translation-wise as translators cannot manipulate the visual code. They are restricted to operate upon the words alone and having them match with what is happening on screen is no easy task. Sometimes the translators come up with successful solutions (see Chiaro 2008b and Fuentes Luque 2010 respectively for successful Italian and Spanish subtitles of Marxian wordplay), while at other times they are less successful. Bucaria and Chiaro (2007: 13) provide a more up-to-date example from the sitcom *Friends* (NBC 1994–2004) in which at a party for ophthalmic surgeons, the host holds two glasses up to his eyes and says to his guests: “Do you know what glasses are for?” The Italian translation is unsuccessful owing to the fact that the Italian term for “drinking glasses” (*bicchieri*) is not homophonous with the term for

eye-glasses (*occhiali*) so the translators opted for the generic term for “glass” (*vetro*). The result is a mismatch between visual and verbal as the host says: *A chi servono dei vetri?* Literally “Who needs (sheets of) glass?” a line which is quite detached from someone holding two glasses in front of their eyes.

It is important to note, however, that such visually anchored humor, for which the Marx Brothers’ productions were famous, is much less frequent in contemporary audiovisual comedy—or rather, while visually anchored puns do occur, they seem to be limited to one or two instances within a film or sitcom rather than them being choc-a-block. This could be due to the fact that tastes in humor have changed and have become more sophisticated than they once were. On the other hand, contemporary scriptwriters may prefer the more bland good line that is unproblematic in terms of translation. Scripts that lend themselves more easily to translation may well be preferable to those which do not (see Chiaro 2008c). Furthermore, not being exposed to much visually anchored humor, and hence not being well practiced in translating visually anchored gags, could also account for poor translations. Nowadays the audiovisual market requires screen translators to work against the clock with very tight deadlines. European audiences want to consume products released in the United States as soon as possible, which does not always give translators the necessary time to find the best solution. Bearing this in mind, successful solutions do, however, exist. Chiaro (2000: 40) discusses a visually anchored line in the film *The Full Monty* (Peter Cattaneo 1998, UK), the translation of which received ovations in many Italian cinemas. In an attempt to enroll a team of male strippers, Gaz (Robert Carlyle) “interviews” a number of candidates. When faced with Guy’s (Hugo Spear) credentials, namely, his being in possession of what are presumably larger than life genitalia, which Guy proudly exposes to the jury, Gaz utters the line, “Gentlemen, the lunchbox has landed!” This line is loaded with up-to-the minute, specifically British socio cultural information.² In this family film, audiences are led to deduce the anomaly of Guy’s bodily features from the combination of the line itself with expressions on the faces of the members of the jury. The Italian dub (and sub) *E arrivata la terza gamba* (literally, “the third leg is here”) is undoubtedly an excellent translation which fits well with the expressions of disbelief on the judges’ faces.

² In the early 1990s, the popular British press revived the term “lunchbox” in reference to athlete Linford Christie’s genitalia, the form of which were clearly apparent from his tight-fitting shorts. The word was/is normally part of homosexual slang to describe male genitalia when visible in revealing clothing (Spears Richard 1981 *Slang and Euphemism*. New York: Doubleday, p.45).

Finally, audiovisuals may also contain instances of visually anchored humor which are less immediate and more subtle than the examples so far. In a scene from Woody Allen's *Match Point* (USA 2005), the morning after having shot his lover with a sawn off shotgun, Chris, (Jonathan Rhys Meyers) is told by his mother-in-law Eleanor (Penelope Wilton) that he looks "shell-shocked." Similarly in *Frida* (Julie Taymor 2002, USA), after being paralyzed in the famous trolley accident, when asked how she feels, replies that she feels "like I've been hit by a bus." If translators are unable to find expressions for the target script that are able to point intra-textually to visuals elsewhere in the film, this will inevitably result in an undesirable loss.

2.2.2 "Acoustically" anchored humor

The norms for dealing with language variation in literary texts have been amply described by Sternberg (1981), and the same norms are applicable to audiovisuals in which the general tendency is to flatten and standardize variation both in dubbing and subtitling. However, accent and language variation are frequently used to humorous ends in filmic products in which audiences are often led to laugh "at" the non-standard speaker. Heiss (2004) argues that variation used to humorous ends presents a kind of special case in which a linguistic variant in the source text can be legitimately substituted with a variant belonging to the target language, something which is less acceptable in other, more serious, filmic genres. In the Marx Brothers' repertoire, the persona of Chico is famous for his (pseudo)-Italian accent and his poor command of English, which is peppered with Italo-American features. In a famous dialogue from the Marx Brothers' *Horse Feathers* (Norman McLeod, 1932),³ the concept of overlap and opposition works very much on Chico's lack of linguistic skills in Standard English:

Professor Wagstaff: ... Let me see: Is it sturgeon?

Baravelli: Hey, you crazy. Sturgeon, he's a doctor cuts you open when-a you sick. Now I give you one more chance.

Professor Wagstaff: I got it. Haddock.

Baravelli: That's-a funny. I gotta haddock, too.

Professor Wagstaff: What do you take for a haddock?

Baravelli: Well-a, sometimes I take-a aspirin.

³ In this dialogue, Baravelli (Chico) is trying to get Wagstaff (Groucho) to guess the password needed to enter a speakeasy.

Over and above the challenge of having to deal with the overlap/opposition of the items “sturgeon/surgeon” and “haddock/headache” in another language, there is the question of what to do with Chico’s idiolect. Sergio Jacquier, the translator of the Italian version (subtitled like all the Marx Brothers’ productions at the time) opted for the strategy of total substitution with different gags (see Chiaro 2008b for translational strategies adopted for VEH). After all, if the translational mode is dubbing, nobody is likely to notice anyway, and if the mode is subtitling, only those proficient in English will spot the difference. At the end of the day the function of the text—an attempt to amuse—would be retained as occurs in the Italian subtitles of the scene:

Wagstaff: E’ aguglia!

Baravelli: Ehi, iu pazzo! ’A guglio sta in coppa ’o campanile, non è pisce. Ora ti do una altra cianse.

Wagstaff: Ci sono. Tòtano.

Baravelli: Tu scherzi? Non scherzo con il male.

Wagstaff: Il male che c’entra?

Baravelli: Bè è una cosa che ci muori se non hai fatto l’antitotanica.

[*Back-translation:* It’s a garfish/ Hey you mad! The garfish/spire is on the belfry, it’s a not a fish: Now I a give a you another chanca/ I know. Squid!/ You’re joking? Don’t joke with evil/What’s evil got to do with it?/Well you die without an anti-squid /anti-tetanus jab.]

Although the translation is far from being equivalent to the original in formal terms, functionally, it works. Jacquier retains the “fish” script of the original scene as the invariant core that unites source and target texts while, at the same time, substituting Chico’s Italo-American mode of speech with an ungrammatical vaguely southern Italian variant and the inclusion of codeswitches. Substituting non-standard variations and slang with formally incorrect subtitles (and dialogues in the case of dubbing) is a frequently adopted strategy (see Pavesi 1994). However, in the case in question, the spelling of Chico’s “English” words adds to the humor effect as “you” is subtitled with *iu*—a graphic form that imitates the way an uneducated Italian would attempt to transcribe the pronoun; “chance” with *cianse*—with the addition of the final vowel sound frequently heard in the broken English of Italian speakers, and so on. By deconstructing the term *aguglia* (garfish), we obtain the southern definite article *’a* + *guglia* (“the spire”). Similarly, the Italian word for “squid” is *totano* that sounds like *tetanus* from which Jacquier arrives at the made-up term *anti-totanica*

(rather than *anti-tetánica*). Presumably, Italian audiences would have been amused by the misspellings and odd grammar and conceive Chico as a dimwit to be laughed at.

3. Investigating the impact of verbal humor in translation

3.1 Viewership and screen translation

Very little research has been carried out regarding the way audiences perceive translated humor on screen—actually little research has been carried out on the perception of audiovisual products in general. On the other hand, reception has traditionally been a popular area of research. With the advent of eye-tracking technology, however, perception studies are beginning to take off in Translation Studies, although mostly in the area of subtitling (e.g. testing eye-movement, reading speeds, etc.) and inclusion (i.e. subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing, and audio-description for the blind and visually impaired). To my knowledge, there appears to be little or no interest in what mainstream audiences actually grasp and/or possibly, misinterpret via translation. The reason for this lack of interest may be due to the sheer difficulty involved in setting up a research design, finding a robust sample of respondents and, of course, dealing with the issue of countless language combinations. All things considered, studies always seem to include English plus language x, y, or z. Naturally, large amounts of data in terms of box-office takings are available (e.g. data sets released by the British Film Institute, the European Audiovisual Observatory, etc.) but the financial success of a film is not necessarily a mark of its quality. Neither does it say much about how audiences perceive it. So, it may well be true that the writings of film critics and film scholars (and indeed, blogs and informal net based forums) could be the only insights available regarding the reception of a film apart from raw numbers and statistics regarding the financial success or failure of a product. Furthermore, despite the exponential growth of the audiovisual market (especially home videos via DVD technology and videogames) and the need for an inestimable number of products to be translated into and out of numerous languages, both commercial and academic professionals have largely disregarded the dynamics of audience perception. As Antonini notes:

Despite the central place occupied by language transfer of audiovisual products, particularly in the European cinema and television sector, audience perception

of both dubbing and subtitling is a largely neglected field of study and research. (Antonini 2005: 209)

Fuentes Luque takes a similar standpoint:

The volume of audiovisual productions has multiplied exponentially over the last few years, in part thanks to dramatic developments in the IT sector and the audiovisual revolution [...]. Viewers are the ultimate and direct receivers of translated audiovisual texts, and their characteristics and expectations seem all too often not to be taken into account before and during the translation process. (Fuentes Luque 2003: 293)

New technologies and social networks have dramatically changed the role of end-users who are now able to voice their opinions in a way that had never previously been possible, and notions such as “user-friendliness” and “customer satisfaction” have become fundamental. Consumers are at the center of public opinion in a competitive global market, so it would indeed be interesting and commercially useful to know how they react to translated products. After all, audiences in areas where English is neither the native nor official language are exposed to vast amounts of translated language on film, television, DVDs, videogames, the Internet, etc. And these translations are mostly from US English sources. Whether transformed into dubbing or subtitles, little is known about the impact of the translationese of audiovisuals—in the most positive connotation of the term.

In order to improve the quality of screen translation, which is an important public service, data is needed regarding both producers and consumers. But, as previously stated, obtaining adequately sized samples of reliable quali-quantitative data is no easy task, especially as it involves the dedication of much time on the part of respondents. The few audience studies regarding Audiovisual Translation available include Karamitroglou (2001) who has researched the issue of subtitled programs for children in Greece; Fuentes Luque (2003) who has investigated audience perception to subtitled and dubbed films in Spain, Chiaro’s (2002) study on audience perception of ad hoc interpreting on Italian TV; as well as Bucaria and Chiaro (2007) and Antonini and Chiaro’s (2005, 2008) studies on audience perception of dubbed fiction in Italy.

But how does humor fit into this discussion? Or rather, why should it be of any importance? Translation (whether via dubbing or subtitling) of VEH can be seen as an ideal benchmark of quality of Audiovisual Translation overall. When a feature as complex as verbal humor is translated successfully we can

safely presume that other, less problematical aspects, will also be translated positively. From an investigation carried out in Italy involving 96 stakeholders and operators, ranging from translators to voice actors working in the Italian dubbing industry, who were interviewed with regard to quality standards, respondents unanimously ranked translating VEH as the hardest problem they had to face in the dubbing process (Benincà 1999). Thus, the way in which verbal humor is tackled by translators can be an effective gauge of the overall worth of an Audiovisual Translation.

3.2 The “Forlì” screen translation research design

Since 1999, researchers at the University of Bologna’s Department of Interpreting and Translation Studies at Forlì have been investigating screen translations from the point of view of viewer reception. Following Benincà’s study involving operators in the Italian dubbing industry mentioned previously, Bucaria (2001) interviewed a group of 87 respondents that included translators, film critics, journalists, and language experts as well as random members of the general public. Bucaria elicited reactions to a series of lingua-cultural mismatches contained in video clips extracted from over 100 hours of dubbed fiction recorded from Italian terrestrial TV channels (for details of the research design, see Bucaria and Chiaro 2007). The study revealed a general awareness of the artificiality of Italian dubbese, but simultaneously also a positive acceptance of a type of language that respondents claimed to be quite removed from naturally occurring Italian. However, gathering robust samples of data regarding audience perception of Audiovisual Translation is not simple. Regular interviews and traditional fill-in style, face-to-face questionnaires can be tiresome for respondents because of the time they must dedicate to the task, so when questions are also based on video clips that are to be watched before answering, people require additional time. A ten point questionnaire requires at least half an hour of a person’s time if based on ten clips. Finding respondents willing to dedicate the time is extremely hard so researchers often resort to students. College classes may be large and therefore apparently two birds can be killed with one stone. On the other hand, this means that responses are those of an extremely homogeneous group in socio-demographic terms. In an attempt to gather stronger data, Antonini and Chiaro (2005, 2008) reviewed over 500 respondents who randomly answered a web questionnaire linked to video clips featuring extracts from US television products dubbed into Italian. Like Bucaria

previously, this study also set out to ascertain the extent to which what viewers perceive from translated audiovisuals bears any similarity to what is conveyed in the original version and how far the language reflects naturally occurring Italian.

Antonini and Chiaro recorded over 300 hours of dubbed television programs from seven national terrestrial channels, across genres (sitcoms, series, serials, and soap operas)⁴ and screening times. The materials were mostly translated from US English, but included daytime *telenovelas* translated from Argentinian and Chilean Spanish, as well as police/detective series translated from Austrian German. This material was viewed and divided into four macro-categories exemplifying:

1. Culture-specific references: references to institutions, sports and pastimes, food and drink, events, festivities, famous people, personalities, etc.
2. Language-specific features: language variation, forms of address and endearment, taboo language, etc.
3. Borderline features: features which did not fit into either category a or b but required end-users to have knowledge resources which cross-cut both highly culture-specific references and lingua-specific features. This category contained instances of metaphor, idioms, allusions, VEH, songs, rhymes, poetry, and gestures.
4. Visual features: Purely visual elements that were highly culture-specific.

The recorded materials were then split into 170 MPG files according to the four categories identified above so that each video file contained an instance of either culture-specificity, language specificity, borderline, or visual feature. The files were uploaded onto a purpose-built website containing a questionnaire directly linked to the clips.⁵ Respondents logging into the site randomly extracted one video file for each category which they watched and then evaluated each clip on a 1 to 10 point graphic rating scale according to how much they had understood in each clip. In order to check the reliability of respondents' scores, they were also asked to recount their interpretation of each clip in their own words on an electronic note pad, thus providing researchers with a mix of quali-quantitative data. Results from this study converged with those of Bucaria, revealing once more a certain amount of linguistic bi-polarity with respondents claiming to understand much more than they actually did. In other words, although they

⁴ Full length feature films were deliberately excluded from the database.

⁵ The questionnaire is available at <http://137.204.90.125/dubbingquality/> (accessed April 18, 2014).

may have given a clip a high score in terms of what they had understood, the explanations in the electronic note pad in which they were asked to explain what they had understood frequently revealed that they had understood very little, or even totally misunderstood what they had seen and heard.⁶

3.3 Italian audiences and translated VEH

In several studies, the Forlì researchers set out to specifically target audience perception of translated VEH. Given that the language operators (these included translators, dubbing translators, actors, and project managers) interviewed by Benincà consistently rated VEH as the most difficult translational challenge in their jobs (see the section “Viewership and screen translation”), it was expected that viewers’ responses could provide useful insights into the process *tout court*. After all, if VEH was successfully translated, it could be seen as a valid yardstick for judging other features. Antonini and Chiaro’s study (2005, 2008) includes clips containing VEH extracted from numerous sitcoms, series, and cartoons.⁷ Surprisingly, it emerged that these products actually contained very few instances of clear-cut VEH. Especially with regard to the sitcoms, one would presume that the humor within them would be situation-based, yet these products were very much language-based with potentially humorous situations often sparked off following verbal misunderstandings between the characters. There was little of the Marxian style verbal play discussed previously. Furthermore, watching the Italian dubs, researchers had to frequently resort to back-translations in order to identify the humor as it was often only obvious that there had been a humorous remark because of the cues provided by the canned laughter. Again, in the source versions, canned laughter usually occurred at the point of a good line, a sharp and/or clever remark which is indefinable in terms of humor categories such as irony, paronomasia, and so on. So in the end, only eight clips including VEH were actually incorporated into the questionnaire. These clips were chosen because of their strong socio cultural content upon which the gag within them was based.

Out of a total of 65 respondents who extracted an example of VEH, 18 said that they were either unaware that they had seen or heard anything remotely

⁶ See Chiaro 2004.

⁷ The web questionnaire included clips from *Frasier*, *The Nanny*, *Willy*, *The Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, *Veronica’s Closet*, *Spin City*, from the cartoon series *The Simpsons*, *Futurama*, and *South Park* and from the series *Sex and the City*.

humorous, or else that they realized there was humor involved because of the canned laughter, but could not understand what was funny. A further 26 respondents provided interpretations of the VEH which were completely off the mark. Thus the VEH escaped 44 respondents—three-quarters of respondents. The remaining 21 respondents who did get the gags were mostly over the age of 40.

Twenty-six respondents retrieved clips from an episode of *Futurama*⁸ (Comedy Central 1999–2003) in which Richard Nixon’s head is present in a jar (Bender, the main character, is trying to make money by selling Nixon’s body) and a number of gags play on Nixon’s “sense of decency,” whether he can use a tape-recorder, and other Watergate references. Very few respondents understood the irony in these clips and those who did were generally aged over 40 and likely to remember the scandal. However, seven respondents were exposed to a clip from the cartoon in which a spaceship lands in front of the White House. Alongside the Washington Memorial, a taller obelisk has been erected labeled “Clinton Memorial.” Despite the closeness in time of the “Lewinsky” scandal to administration of the questionnaire, only three out of seven respondents got the allusion and were able to explain the citation of the larger monument and Clinton’s extramarital affair. One respondent claimed that the two obelisks referred to two fictitious presidents, and the remaining four could not see the humor in the clip at all (see Chiaro 2004 for details of other examples). Whether respondents did not understand the humor in these clips due to the quality of the translations is highly debatable, above all because the VEH in question is linguistically straightforward and did not require special deftness on behalf of the translators. Certainly, as far as examples citing Watergate are concerned, audiences’ lack of encyclopedic knowledge cannot be attributed to translators. On the other hand, in a similar study based on 87 face-to-face interviews, Bucaria and Chiaro (2007: 108–9) found that there was a correlation between proficiency in English and understanding three somewhat poorly translated jokes from the sitcom *Friends*. For example, in order to understand the following witty exchange, the recipient needs to be familiar with the film *The Silence of the Lambs*.

⁸ *Futurama* is about a young boy called Bender, who, after being hibernated in the twentieth century, wakes up in the year 3000. In the episode selected from which the clips were extracted, election day is approaching but a disaster hits a titanium mine and 200 robots are trapped causing the price of titanium to rise exponentially. Bender tries to get rich by selling Richard Nixon’s body.

Monica (reading a menu): God, this is so hard, I can't decide between lamb and duck.

Chandler: Of course lambs are scarier. Otherwise the movie would've been called, "Silence of the Ducks."

The Italian translators opted for a literal translation of the original gag, i.e. *Il silenzio delle anatre* even though the original Italian film title was *Il silenzio degli innocenti* (literally *The Silence of the Innocents*). Respondents claimed that they had understood the wordplay involved thanks to their knowledge of English which allowed them to create a back-translation which led them to the source text and hence the gag. However, in these two studies, humor was just one of numerous features being examined and not the main focus of the research.

In a series of studies which followed Antonini, Chiaro, and Bucaria's broader investigations, Forlì researchers began to specifically target the perception of translated humor in a series of audiovisual products. Antonini, Bucaria, and Senzani (2003) and Antonini (2005) surveyed audience reactions to subtitled VEH in a UK sitcom and found that spectators were so taken with reading the captions that they often missed the action upon which the verbal gag was anchored. Investigations of dubbed humor in "Cool Britannia" movies were carried out by Chiaro (2007) with regard to Italians watching them in translation, while Rossato and Chiaro (2010) compared the reaction of Italians watching a German comedy in translation (*Goodbye Lenin*, Wolfgang Becker 2003) to those of different generations of German spectators watching the original—both these studies focused on dubbing as the translational modality.

Chiaro's study clearly shows how well-translated VEH is appreciated almost as well by Italian audiences as it is by native speakers watching the original (2007: 146–50). For example, in a well-known scene from *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (Mike Newell 1994, UK), the priest, Father Gerald (played by Rowan Atkinson) botches up the lines during a marriage ceremony by missing out certain sounds of words in the litany. For example: "In the name of the father, the son, and the holy spigot. Spirit!" becomes: "Nel nome del Padre, del Figlio e dello Spiritoso Santo" (in Italian *spiritoso* means "witty"). Similarly, "lawful wedded wife" becomes "awful wedded wife," which in Italian is translated as *illegittima sposa*; and "johnned in matrimony" rather than "joined in matrimony" becomes *unti in matrimonio* (literally "oiled" in matrimony). In these instances, where the English omits (or changes) an individual sound, Italian adds a syllable creating an Italian text which is every bit as irreverent as

the original. This successful translation is reflected in the very positive humor response of the viewers interviewed.

Another successful translation from this study can be found in an instance of visually anchored humor in *My Big, Fat, Greek Wedding* (Joel Zwick 2002, USA). In this film, the Greek mother, Maria, is presented with a highly risen bundt cake. As the woman had never seen a similar cake before, she loudly asks “A bunt? A boont? A bonk?” The Italian translators opted for *Una cassata? Una cazzata?* This is a good choice as a *cassata* is a cake and *cazzata*, like “bonk,” is a word that verges on taboo.⁹ Despite the fact that there is a clear mismatch between the cake we can see on screen and a Sicilian cassata (a white and green flat cake covered in colorful glacé fruits), Italian respondents appreciated the VEH. Retaining a slightly taboo element increases the positive humor response, and gives textual smoothness to the line which follows: “There’s a hole in this cake!” translated verbatim into Italian. In this particular example, it was the British respondents who were somewhat puzzled by the gags as a bundt is not a well-known cake in the United Kingdom.

The same experimental design has since been applied by numerous postgraduate students researching diverse comic audiovisual products in different language combinations. Madrigale (2005) translated and subtitled a number of sketches by Roberto Benigni and administered a purpose-built questionnaire to a sample of 36 English-speaking tourists holidaying in Florence. He found that respondents favored Benigni’s jokes with a high sexual content, whereas a control group of 36 Italians preferred his jokes based on politics and religion.

Sex, politics, and religion are indeed universally accepted humorous elements (Davies 1998), but the details of Italian politics and Catholicism are likely to create more translational difficulties than matters pertaining to sex. The amount of glossing involved in translating a political joke could well turn it into a non-starter, unless, of course, the joke is foreignized by substituting British and/or US politicians with Italian ones. Similarly, Filizzola (2010) set out to measure the effects of subtitled VEH on a sample of 31 UK academics. She translated and subtitled instances of VEH extracted from a number of Italian comedies shot in the 1960s featuring Italian comedian Totò. Filizzola administered the Forli questionnaire while respondents watched the clips. According to responses,

⁹ The slang term *cazzata* refers to a misdeed, a prank, something stupid. It verges on taboo because etymologically it stems from *cazzo*, a vulgar term for penis.

three-quarters of respondents in her sample were consistently amused by the translated wordplay. However, Filizzola also recorded facial expressions and laughter as participants watched the clips, noting that seven participants were unfailingly un-amused, possibly implying that humor response could be more individual than cultural.

Particularly worth mentioning is Amarossi's work (2011) on the reaction of Russian, Italian, and English-speaking respondents watching clips of purely visual humor enacted by Russian, Italian, and British and North American comedians. Amarossi adopted social network crowd-sourcing to gather a robust sample of responses to video clips posted on a dedicated website, and gathered reactions from each lingua-cultural group to purely visual humor acted out by comics of the other lingua-cultural groups. Respondents evaluated the video clips on graphic rating scales and Amarossi's findings show that native speakers of Italian, Russian, and English (split according to whether they were from the United Kingdom or the United States), with self-declared good sense of humor, reacted very differently to the clips pertaining to non-verbal humor enacted by comedians from the other lingua-cultural groups. Italians struggled with the Russian comedians and showed a preference for the British and US comics. The Russian sample reacted positively to Italian and British and US comedians while, on the whole, the English-speaking samples were either indifferent or negative towards Russian and Italian comedians. Of course, Mr. Bean, Monty Python, Buster Keaton, Charlie Chaplin, and Laurel and Hardy are known all over the world and this recognition may well have played an important part in their appreciation by non-native speakers of English. And although Michail Galustjan, *Nasha Russia* (a sort of Russian *Little Britain*), Totò, and Paolo Villaggio are unheard of outside Russia and Italy, surely slapstick is slapstick? Amarossi's results would assert otherwise.

3.4 Audience responses to humor in translation

What do these studies tell us about audiences' reactions to translated humor on screen? First, that the humor reaction is likely to differ from culture to culture. As far as purely visual comic stimuli are concerned, contrary to expectations, Amarossi's study demonstrates that visual humor does not necessarily provoke a positive humor response (McGhee 1972) that is more or less similar from culture to culture. However, translated examples of VEH should provoke different and more varied responses from culture to culture

and suggest that such Humor Responses are likely to be inferior and more negative than the humor response of respondents from the source culture. And second, that the quality of translation is a fundamental component of the general humor response which can reduce or eliminate the negative humor response.

From the examples reported in this study, as far as the translation of VEH based upon socio cultural knowledge is concerned, unless the translator wants to substitute the wordplay with a different example, he or she is faced with having to provide the viewer with missing knowledge. Of course, supplying a gag with extra details may lead to destroying the dynamics of the gag—after all, once you explain a joke it is seldom funny. As far as language-based VEH is concerned, given sufficient time, an adequate solution is always possible. For example, Chiaro (1992) quotes a scene from Lawrence Kasdan's film *The Big Chill* (USA, 1988), in which Meg (Mary Kay Place) asks dimwitted Sam (Tom Berenson) to father her child. As Sam has no desire to do so he tells her that she is giving him “a massive headache.” Meg tells him to stop making excuses; after all he has “good genes.” At this point Sam looks down at his jeans and touches them with a puzzled expression on his face. Being dimwitted, the only “genes” Sam recognizes are trouser-style jeans. Despite an adequate translation of the dialogue, the Italian translation makes no attempt to replace the pun. In Italian, genes/jeans are not homophones (geni /dʒenI/—jeans /dʒInz/) so, clearly the quip required substitution with a different joke. As the Italian version of the film stands, the actor simply looks at and touches the legs of his trousers and looks puzzled, without audiences really understanding why. Over the years, using this scene for practice work in translation classes, Italian undergraduates have provided several successful solutions to this visually anchored pun. For example, Meg could say “*perché hai la stoffa*” or “*perché sei in gamba*,” two idioms which mean “because you're smart”—where the item *stoffa* means “fabric” and *gamba* means “leg.” Such choices would make sense out of the fact that Sam touches his trousers. In the real world beyond the classroom, there are tight deadlines to meet, translators have less time to make choices, so a visual/verbal non-sequitur is understandable. Rarely do we find drops in quality in blockbuster movies whose translations tend to be injected with more time and energy, for example the VEH in Dreamwork's *Shrek* series and in all the Disney movies (see, for example, the excellent different language renditions of the Genie's fast-talking (Robin Williams) in the 1992 *Aladdin* cartoon).

4. Conclusions and reflections on the notion of sense of humor

The various studies conducted on end-users reported in this chapter have attempted to measure the impact of translation on verbally expressed humor occurring in audiovisual texts. These studies have yielded mixed results. While on the one hand there appears to be a strong link between translational quality and positive humor response, a series of other factors are involved that cannot be ignored.

First, although we talk of national sense of humor, (e.g. British humor; US humor; German humor, etc.) generally speaking, exposure to a well-known comedian will trigger a smile over and above language and culture. This could explain why extremely well-known actors such as Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton, and other world-famous comics are widely appreciated in comparison with their Russian and Italian equivalents. Familiarity appears to breed consensus in terms of humor response.¹⁰

Second, in a sense, there appears to be a series of comic dimensions which may well be strictly culture-specific. The sight of comic duos such as Morecambe and Wise, and George and Mildred will instantly elicit a humor reaction in audiences who are familiar with them. And although a custard pie is a custard pie, it may well be that those baked at home taste better. An interesting case is the TV short comedy sketch *Dinner for One*: based on a sketch written in the 1920s by a British writer and then recorded for German television in 1963, in English with English actors, not only has it become the most frequently repeated TV program ever, but it is a ritual followed on New Year's Eve by German speakers who watch and enjoy the black and white sketch year after year. Until the birth of *YouTube*, however, most British people were unaware of its existence.¹¹ And while German speakers find the sketch funny, native speakers of English do not.

Third, let us not forget that humor appreciation undoubtedly varies from one individual to another. Some people are more easily amused than others, while mood also has a strong impact on a person's humor response. We are more likely to be amused easily on a day in which things are going well rather than after a bad day at the office. This complicates matters further.

¹⁰ Having said this several British respondents in Chiaro's study of "Cool Britannia" movies declared a strong aversion to Mr Bean.

¹¹ See http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/8172542.stm#germany (accessed April 18, 2014.).

Of course the data discussed so far is insufficient to make sweeping generalizations. In order to understand better, needless to say, more cross-cultural studies are required in more language combinations. However, we must not forget that language and culture-specificity are inseparable. Above all, we need to bear in mind the time restraints under which operators within the audiovisual industry now work. Sergio Jacquier, who is responsible for the Italian translation of the complex Marx Brother puns, surely did not suffer the stress and time restraints of present-day professionals. Under similar conditions there is no reason to believe that present-day translators would be unable to match the richness and the quality of the verbal humor conveyed through the classic translations of the past.

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Glossary

“Audio-visually” anchored humor: a pun occurring within an audiovisual text which relies either on a visual or on a non-verbal acoustic feature within the same text.

General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH): Attardo and Raskin’s theory which states that verbal humor consists of one single script made up of two opposing and overlapping scripts.

Humor response: the overt response to a humorous stimulus usually, but not necessarily, signaled by laughter or smiling.

Knowledge resources: The linguistic and cultural knowledge one requires in order to understand a humorous text.

Language operators: any professional involved in the production of a dubbed filmic product, including translators, dubbing translators, voice actors, and project managers.

Teaching Trauma in (and out of) Translation: *Waltzing with Bashir* in English

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Introduction

Since the Holocaust, films have been burdened with the entwined problems of how to memorialize large-scale traumatic events and how to mourn them. Most famously, filmmaker Alan Resnais insisted that the Holocaust *cannot* be represented, while in *Night and Fog* (1955) he found strategies for presenting lacunae by meditating on a temporal gap between past trauma and current time.

In *Prosthetic Memory*, Alison Landsberg brings together cultural and critical theory to argue for progressive aspects of public mourning and refute popular notions that media enforce a dominant, and often conservative, understanding of historical events. For Landsberg, popular memory films (like Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List*, 1993) can be shown to have "opened up new discursive possibilities" and to have enabled their viewers to see public histories critically (Landsberg 2003: 123). She cites responses to the German broadcast of the miniseries *Holocaust* (Chomsky 1978) as demonstrating the importance of film and television for translating trauma from victim to audience and, in the specific case of German reception of that series, toward national responsibility. Landsberg recalls that Andreas Huyssen understood the German reception of *Holocaust* as "an indication of 'how desperately the Germans needed identification [with the Jewish Weiss family] in order to break down the mechanism of denial and suppression'" (2003: 124).

Landsberg's argument is compelling. Nevertheless, there remains the specific question of how we—and how we ought to—"remember" someone *else's* trauma. This is both an aesthetic and ethical question and one we have taken up together

and independently as scholars and teachers. Indeed, it was this question that explicitly organized the conclusion of our classes “Seminar in Composition: Film, Memory and Trauma” (Patterson) and “Introduction to Film” (Chyutin) in spring 2011. Freshman and sophomore students at our Mid-Atlantic American University had been asked to consider the ways in which films in general and some films in specific engaged issues of memory, both visually and narratively. While learning to compose thoughtful essays that “positioned their words and ideas in relationship to the words and ideas of others,”¹ class participants were working through foundational issues of cinema scholarship and contemplating a more contemporary turn toward depictions of memory and memory lapses in film. In both courses, Ari Folman’s *Waltz with Bashir* (2008) became an important example and posed significant problems. Teaching trauma in translation—linguistic and cultural—exacerbates the condition of distance and reveals the broader concern for universalization of victims’ specific suffering.

Israeli film scholarship has interpreted *Bashir*’s translation of trauma as either radically consciousness-raising or, contrastingly, as undercutting trauma’s potential to induce critical thought. Yet whereas scholars were divided on the film’s critical and ideological worth, they nevertheless consistently confined consideration of the film’s effects to *Israeli* spectators, real and theorized. In this respect, their approach is motivated by a limited conception of translating trauma, since the viewership they discuss has a relatively intimate knowledge of the traumatic events in question. That is, in these writings trauma functions more as “ours” than as “someone else’s.” We therefore attempt to supplement this absence of a substantial reference to the issue of mediating Israeli trauma to non-Israeli audiences, and its implications on our understanding of the process of engaging a trauma that is geographically and culturally removed. These questions, the importance of which became evident in our (American) classrooms, will stand at the heart of this chapter.

Bashir in the classroom

Bashir begins with realistic animation depicting the recurring nightmare of a friend of documentarist Folman. In the dream, a pack of dogs persecute the veteran who reports that during the First Lebanon War (1982–3), he had been

¹ Course syllabi excerpt based on the University of Pittsburgh’s guidelines for Seminar in Composition.

ordered to shoot dogs when he could not shoot humans. Nightly, Folman's friend is hounded by his canine victims. The filmmaker is sympathetic to his friend's suffering, but he finds his own experience more disconcerting: Folman has had neither nightmares nor daytime recollection of his whereabouts during the Sabra and Shatila Massacre, the bloody Phalangist revenge on Palestinian refugees following the assassination of newly-elected President Bashir Gemayel, a massacre perhaps enabled by the presence of the Israeli Defense Forces in the region to root out Palestinian terrorists in the camps. Folman's friend cannot forget his guilt. Why then, Folman worries, can he not remember his own?

The narrative undertaking of the film is thus motivated by the friend's dream and by the diegetic Folman's personal quest for a missing memory. Folman follows his friend and confidant Ori Sivan's advice to pursue this absence. While seemingly attempting to capture post-traumatic lacunae in animation, the film re-narrates that trauma, using the conventions of narrative as a form of therapy. Appropriately, *Bashir* ends with a return to the massacre itself, and the impact of this return is magnified through a transition from animation to archival video footage of the event's Palestinian victims—slain men and children, wailing mothers and widows.

In engaging this text, our own tendency as Film/History scholars and theorists is, along with Paul Atkinson and Simon Cooper (2012), to argue that “it would be a mistake to isolate [meanings] from formal questions of representation.” Nevertheless, we also believe that formal analysis alone cannot provide us with a satisfying account of what audiences do with or make of the film. For that, we must also engage the audiences themselves.

The audience involved in this study was, as indicated above, was comprised of Mid-Atlantic college students. Out of 19 participants in Patterson's composition seminar, only three claimed any knowledge of Hebrew. Out of 32 students in Chyutin's introductory film course, none professed knowledge of Hebrew, and only one claimed to know some Arabic. Thus, as the film's dialogue is carried mainly in Hebrew, the use of English subtitles for the film screening was predetermined. We also assumed students would be lacking some historical and cultural knowledge of the nearly 30-year-old Lebanese-Israeli conflict. We knew this to be a common problem of design: indeed, significant scholarship on studying and teaching in translation dissuades film scholars from work outside their linguistic fluency and cultural proficiency (with the worthy aim of accuracy, sensitivity, and sensibility). Nonetheless, we often *teach* films in translation—especially if they enjoy or have enjoyed international acclaim.

The specific problem here is compounded by a limited engagement from within *Israeli* film scholarship of the transnational reception of Israeli cinema, including *Bashir* and other popular contemporary films that have reached a broad international market. As indicated above, otherwise sharp analysis of Folman's film nevertheless either assumes an Israeli audience or generalizes "effects" from responses of Israeli viewers.

We believe our students' initial experience of *Bashir* to be quite typical of the experience of American audience members. Vaguely aware but fortuitously distanced from the horrors of Sabra and Shatila by location, age, and limited American coverage of the conflict in Lebanon, the seminar participants were also—like most Americans—shielded from the perils of actual war. Despite this lack of familiarity on which to judge accuracy of representations of the violence, on Chyutin's visit to Patterson's classroom, students praised *Bashir* for revealing the "truth," an evaluation which is consistent with the popular reviews of the film.

Of particular impact in this context was *Bashir's* concluding videographic moment. However much we would argue that the film prepares us for the transition out of animation, and that it unwittingly undercuts some of its own shock with the use of a sound bridge, students reported feeling initially "stunned" by this "return" to video. One of Patterson's students, "Hannah," argued that the impact of the ending does not rise from the immediate shock but from the fact that "everyone" can "identify" with a Palestinian widow and "feel the pain" in what she described as her "wordless" wailing. Heads nodded. But the problem is that there *are* words. There are just no *subtitles* for those particular words. The Palestinian victims were saying quite specific things of extraordinary implications, among them:

"Where are the Arabs?!" and "Shoot [film] this!"²

Did Folman's film bear witness to the massacre of the Palestinians, as one Palestinian woman demanded of the diegetic Folman (and, by extension, viewers)? Or did the film bear witness to veterans' (and their peers') struggle to overcome their own trauma as victimizers via psychoanalytic excavation? Several students in Patterson's class were incensed by the latter suggestion. If the wail wasn't wordless, the words were for the students—and, they believed,

² Thanks to Drs Amani Attia, University of Pittsburgh, and Ariel Moriah Sheerit, the Open University of Israel, for their confirmation of the translation.

for Folman—beside the point; that point was and somehow *ought to have been* “universal suffering.” “Ang,” a student, argued that “though it is in a different language, we almost get a better understanding rather than [sic] if it were in English.” “Understanding,” in Ang’s argument, is affective rather than linguistic. In a later message-board discussion, “Colin” concurred with Ang. He wrote:

I think that leaving the last few moments untranslated is very key in evoking emotion from the audience. Because we have no words to read while watching the last scenes, we are able to focus on the raw emotion of the affected people. For example, a crying woman is focused on for a scene. We have no idea what she is screaming, but this forces us to focus on her body language much more, which in turn allows us to understand her true emotion, as emotion is a universal language.

“Ryan’s” post elaborated and raised the stakes: “Neglecting a translation allows the viewer to connect more personally with the women in the footage, and *humanizes the women...*”³ Another student wanted to reclaim the specificity of the text, still in defense of the film’s refusal to translate: “Folman makes the audience feel the turmoil and the confusion that [the Palestinians] are feeling...” She suggested that a refusal to translate was integral to audience perception of suffering they could never comprehend. She wrote later: “Folman evokes empathy towards these people by keeping them foreign. The English-speaking audience of this film will feel bad for the Palestinians but still [will] not truly understand their pain...” Students did not suppose that a refusal of translation was meant to simulate *Folman’s* experience in that moment, though the film uses an eyeline match between the animated Folman and the filmed woman to suggest this is so.

Indeed, the students’ claims—that the woman’s suffering was easy to *feel* and that translation was unnecessary—were repeated in Chyutin’s class: one student proclaimed confidently that he already knew what the woman was saying without needing to know her words. Another remarked that before the film ended, he sensed that he *wanted* the “real images” to appear because the animated form had, all along, made him feel “uneasy”; he did not perceive the desire or uneasiness to be structured into the film’s narration. Most interestingly, another student expressed disappointment when the words in Arabic were translated by Chyutin, as she felt that translation “cheapened” the experience.

³ Our emphasis.

But is it ethical to call a victim's words "beside the point"? It is true that Folman *cannot* speak for the massacred or for the Palestinian witnesses. Without engaging in fiction, Folman can only insist on a contemplation of the extent of his own complicity. What about the ethical response of the viewers? In Susan Sontag's words (2003), how ought we to "regard the pain of others?" These were the questions raised less so by animation than by translation—and a refusal of translation for the videographic moment.

Students responded in the following manner. If the point was that we must never forget the suffering at Sabra and Shatila, the film effectively demanded that we "never forget." Yet what do these students regard as that which needs to be remembered? An understanding of Palestinian suffering that is devoid of specificity? What can be said of a reading of this suffering that ignores, for example, the question "Where are the *Arabs*?" that a Palestinian woman cries out in the final sequence? How would students' own memory be shaped by this absence, which shifts the ideological direction of a film that primarily deals with *Israeli* culpability?

The challenging nature of these students' responses diverged from the evaluation of *Bashir* by certain Israeli film scholars as a text which provides a radical entry to historical and memorial truth. Ohad Landesman and Roy Bendor (2011), for example, discuss the reactions of Israeli veterans, for whom the film felt like "recall," prompting of a sense of "having-been-there" and a "being-there"—an interpenetration of the past and present that provided a powerful re-evaluation of personal and collective history.⁴ Students' divergence from this response can be seen as a result of their unfamiliarity with the geographical and cultural context in which this *particular* trauma takes place: the denotative aspect (the *proof* value of the image) would exceed the connotative, dependent as it is on viewer experiences.⁵ These students' readings could be seen as lacking: a gap between Israelis' specific experience of the war and students' lack of experience with it might have generated readings opposite to Folman's intentions. But could we not conceive of a different interpretation of our students' responses, one which sees their "decoding" as operating firmly within—to use Stewart Hall's term—*Bashir's* "dominant or preferred meanings" (2001: 172)? Such an interpretation would consider the absence of translation in the videographic moment not as anomalous

⁴ For a more detailed report of Israeli veterans' responses to the film, which is aligned with Landesman and Bendor's account of them, see Ben Simchon (2009).

⁵ For the distinction between connotation and denotation, see Barthes (1977: 32–51).

but as emblematic of the film's overarching strategy, one aimed at providing a universal understanding of trauma that thrives on a lack of particular historical knowledge. In this interpretation, our students' responses might not seem as the products of a failure to translate a particular cultural context to another, but of a successful attempt at divesting a particular context of its specific attributes so that it may be easily translatable to a transnational audience.

Bashir and the crisis of traumatic memory

As has been widely observed,⁶ *Bashir* resists any facile conceptualization of its relation to reality. While traditional documentaries are restricted to an indexical relationship with reality, *Bashir's* use of animation allows documentary to escape indexicality and extend its range of historical representation. Folman's animation also enables him to fuse his account of historical events with fantastic visions, dreams, and hallucinations (his own and those of others). As Landesman and Bendor argue, this "mixing of 'realistic' themes with fantastic forms" enables "the disclosure of reality in all its complexity, ambiguity and multifacetedness" (2011: 2).

Accordingly, *Bashir* could be read as a "meditation on memory" rather than history: the film's realistic line drawings approximate the pastness and subjectivity of memory where photography would assert absolute truth claims of official history. This reading is endorsed in an early scene in *Bashir* where Folman's friend Sivan describes, and the film depicts, a "famous psychological experiment." In this experiment, subjects are presented with ten images, of which nine are authentic documents of their childhood and one combined their infant portraits with a background image of a fairground they had never visited. Sivan reports that all of the experiment's subjects mistook the fake picture for a real one, identifying themselves as an integral part of the manufactured scene. By invoking this example, Sivan shows that "together, the real and the imagined, the actual and the fantastic, construct the fabric of memory" (Landesman and Bendor 2011: 3). This assertion, in turn, underlies *Bashir's* articulation of mnemonic retrieval, which, as Landesman and Bendor argue, includes "both *factual memories* that can be empirically (ideally or in practice) verified and

⁶ See for example: Ebert (2009); Ansen (2008); Raveh (2008).

factual memories that remain beyond empirical verification” (2011: 4).⁷ In some sequences, Landesman and Bendor find that the factual and the factual intermingle cannily, as when, in the aforementioned scene where Sivan describes the experiment—itsself a past recollection of the filmmaker—we see Folman sitting in Sivan’s house while the fake picture’s carnival landscape appears in the background. In other sequences, however, the oscillation between factual and factual is more keenly felt, as in a scene where we see Folman enjoying the luxuries of Beirut Airport’s duty-free shops, only to have this rosy vision exposed as an illusion when images of the ravaged terminal and its looted stores appear on the screen.

However, *Bashir* is not simply a treatise on the general functions of memory, but rather an interrogation of one particular mode of mnemonic activity: traumatic recollection. According to Cathy Caruth, the traumatic event, in contrast with “normal” occurrences, “is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it.” Through “repeated, intrusive hallucinations, dreams, thoughts or behaviors” (Caruth 1995a: 4), the traumatized subject relives his or her original trauma. This reliving does not entail understanding or retrieval of the traumatic event but perpetual dislocation. It is the nature of traumatic experience that its primal scene defies integration, and the dislocated return only serves to highlight “the impossibility of knowing that first constituted it” (Caruth 1995a: 10).

Folman’s journey through *Bashir* can be seen as an attempt to negotiate this lacuna of knowledge—or to determine, in Kai Erikson’s words, “to what extent ... the traumatized view of the world conveys a wisdom that ought to be heard in its own terms” (1995: 198). The protagonist-filmmaker seeks to make sense of a lack which is organized around an intrusive and hallucinatory war memory of himself bathing in the Beirut sea, and which points to an underlying “perpetrator’s trauma” (Morag 2012). To address the crisis of witnessing, Folman puts together the equally traumatized recollections and dreams of fellow veterans. Yet this quest seems to paradoxically lead us away from objective reality as it brings us closer to it. As Raz Yosef elucidates (following Janet Walker), the film’s recollections

are “disremembered” memories; they are fragmented memories, constructed through forgetting and marked with traces of fantasy. Disremembering enables

⁷ Emphasis in the original.

the soldiers to talk about and represent events that are too threatening to be experienced directly. Such memories indicate the very unrepresentability of the events that the soldiers are trying to recall. (Yosef 2010: 318)

“Disremembrance,” however, is not only represented by the fantastic elements that are present in the veterans’ memories, such as the 26 dogs in Carmi’s dream, or ex-girlfriend Yael’s ghostly appearance in Folman’s recollection of the night of Gemayel’s assassination. More fundamentally, the sense of impossible history exists in the very choice to depict Folman’s journey through animation, which, as Yosef explains, “enables a representation that is related, and even similar, to the catastrophic event, but is not the actual event” (2010: 321).

Emphasis on “fantastic memory” may undermine an effective attempt at representing the Lebanon War and the Sabra and Shatila Massacre, as several critics have noticed.⁸ Such emphasis should not be understood, however, as simply meant to “falsify” reality. Quite to the contrary: verisimilar claims *are* important to the film (the animated Folman is, after all, no *Maus* [Spiegelman 1992]). The film does not represent a desire to consecrate the verisimilar and thus engender a monolithic conception of realism with respect to actuality; rather the film’s animation brings the indexical into a dynamic interaction with the iconic, thereby producing the *authenticity* of perceiving past and present through the fractured lens of trauma.

The fluidity made possible through this interaction seems to undermine spectatorial expectations for stability of meaning—an impression that prompted many critics to hail *Bashir* as a consciousness-raising text that “challenges us to a new kind of listening, the witnessing, precisely, of *impossibility*” (Caruth 1995a: 10).⁹ Landesman and Bendor, for instance, equate Folman’s film with Walter Benjamin’s influential category of “dialectical images,” which brings together life’s contradictions, the factual and the factical, in order to awaken complex understandings (2011: 12–13). Katrina Schlunke, as yet another example, invokes Brecht in speaking of Folman, and defines the works of both as aimed at undermining viewer preconceptions of reality; where the two part ways for her, nevertheless, is in their mode of appeal, with Brecht depending “on the overarching power of normative rationality to remind the viewer to

⁸ In addition to discussing the film’s fantastic aspect, some critics cite Folman’s decision not to provide contextual information on the war and the massacre as resulting in a compromised historical understanding. See Hetrick (2010); Klein (2008).

⁹ Emphasis in the original.

think without emotions,” and Folman allowing us “to see how we feel and think simultaneously” (Schlunke 2011: 955).

While not disputing the dialectical and reflexive qualities of *Bashir*, we believe that the film subverts them in its concluding section. In this section, the protagonist-filmmaker searches for “the real details” of the massacre so that he may close the last gaps in his memory. What ensues on-screen is an account of the massacre’s events, structured chronologically, and taking on a more traditional form of reportage, visually alternating between animated versions of otherwise traditional “talking heads” interviews with two eye-witnesses—veteran Dror Harazi and journalist Ron Ben Yishai—and reconstructions of the events they describe. This account culminates in the aforementioned videographic footage of the massacre’s aftermath, which marks a transition into the realm of unequivocal factual detail that retroactively verifies all that came before it (to the extent that we see in the footage sights which were previously discussed by Ben Yishai and reconstructed in animation). The cathartic impact of the video images—which signal a final recovery of the massacre’s dislocated history, and of Folman’s true place in it—seems to offer a suitable resolution to the protagonist’s quest for mnemonic retrieval. The choice to perform—in Folman’s words—a “turn to the documentary”¹⁰ at *Bashir*’s dénouement carries with it important ideological implications: This documentary “turn,” the ostensibly more direct presentation of the suffering women, is compromised by avenues the image offers for catharsis.¹¹

With respect to traumatic memory, the dénouement comes as a (welcomed?) force of stabilization. In this final sequence, the fragmented and malleable nature of traumatic memory is replaced by historical authoritativeness, validated through dependable witnesses and traditional documentary form. This replacement then sets up the climactic appearance of the indexical image, which provides final proof to the return of History. The cumulative effect of these two stages subsequently retrieves the absent core of traumatic experience. Consequently, this sequence also produces an anomalous case in the context of post-traumatic testimonials. As Dori Laub explains in relation to the testimonies of Holocaust victims:

¹⁰ Noted on the commentary track of the Israeli DVD edition of *Waltz with Bashir*.

¹¹ We may also describe this cathartic effect in Barthes’s terms, as one in which the *studium*—the set of possible meanings that might arise from a photographic image—is overtaken by the *punctum*, a “wound” caused by the existential *fact* of the photograph, which cannot be expressed linguistically. See Barthes (1981).

The act of bearing witness at the same time *makes* and *breaks* a promise: the promise of the testimony as a realization of the truth ... The testimony aspires to recapture the lost truth of that [traumatizing] reality, but the realization of the testimony is not the fulfillment of this promise. The testimony in its commitment to truth is a passage through, and an exploration of, differences, rather than an exploration of identity, just as the experience it testifies to—the Holocaust—is unassimilable, because it is a passage through the ultimate difference—the otherness of death. (Laub 1992: 91)¹²

Where the testimonials Laub discusses maintain the impossibility of traumatic history, *Bashir's* dénouement realizes a different project. Here the promise of obtaining “the *real* details” of the massacre, which Sivan articulates at the outset of this sequence, is not broken but wholly realized. This move, in turn, produces two effects. By returning to the initial trauma, impossible history becomes possible, and with that comes “the loss, precisely, of the event’s essential incomprehensibility, the force of its *affront to understanding*” (Caruth 1995b: 154).¹³ The volatility of memory is reduced to the verifiable contours of catastrophic history.

Even as a historical image, the film’s final video scene seems particularly uncomplicated. Since the return to the traumatic event takes place under the sign of “sameness” rather than “difference,” the film provides us with the vision of the massacre as 20-year-old Folman would have seen it: that is, without subtitles. By sticking to this perspective, Folman denies his spectators important information that could have complicated their thinking. Refusing to translate also means withholding information that would have allowed the filmmaker to take on the role of historian, whose work relies on the existence of an intervening period of knowledge gathering between past event and present writing. This absence of subtitles (and information) should not be considered passive (a lack) but active (a refusal). That is, it intentionally brings us back to History sans historical perspective, thereby engendering the generalized understanding revealed in the responses of our students—an audience which is particularly, but not uniquely, susceptible to such a message due to its distance from the film’s events.

Not all would agree with this interpretation. Schlunke, in her essay dedicated to *Bashir's* final scene, emphasizes the ending’s illuminating effect—one which

¹² Emphasis in the original.

¹³ Emphasis in the original.

allows audiences to both really see and really remember the victims on-screen. She writes:

[A] documentary's promise of a final knowing also produces in that totalizing knowing a forgetting. Here that forgetting is undone through this juxtaposition of unsettling animation that questions what is real with the very real captured images of the dead. When the two are brought together the dead are released from their photos and footage to speak continuously of Palestinian presence and suffering, and the driving narrative and factual basis of documentary turns instead to showing us how memory and the truth of documentary are produced. (Schlunke 2011: 950)

Where Schlunke finds innovation, we however find conservativeness. Though for the most part the film challenges us to come to terms with memory's malleability, its ending collapses memory into official History, and converts a specific Arabic admonition or exhortation into a universal (untranslated) sign of suffering. With self-discovery that would lead to genuine efforts at accounting for personal and national deeds (and counting the subsequent cost) truncated, we are left with footage that "*speak[s]* continuously of Palestinian presence and suffering," yet does so in a language many of us—Israelis and non-Israelis alike—do not understand (at least, not without subtitles). Complex understanding is thus made to appear redundant here, since the film itself points towards abstract notions of war and catastrophe. As a result, the dead who were "released from their photos" come to be re-imprisoned at the film's end.

Bashir and the absurdity of war

In addition to attempting to map out the limits of our traumatic recall, *Bashir* seeks to reveal a universal "truth"—that of the absurdity of war. Through his depictions of combat scenes, Folman takes to task lofty ideas of conflict as ennobling and enlivening. Instead of honorable deaths, there is carnage. In lieu of bravery, we find survival. Leaders are revealed to be apathetic or debased, turning foot soldiers on both sides into their hapless victims. The results of battle create a diametrically opposed world to that imagined by the discourse of progress, democratization, and sanitized warfare. What emerges here is a nightmarish vision of the reality of war as ever more tenuously linked to reason. Yet if *Bashir*'s reliance on "memory's fiction" may be claimed to push this vision

to the realm of the fantastical, it does not however deprive it of authenticity. In this respect, Folman's creative depiction of violent conflict seems to parallel journalist-turned-novelist Curzio Malaparte's account of his experiences in WWII; as Gary Indiana explains in his discussion of Malaparte's *Kaputt* (1946):

Most assuredly, hundreds of horses fleeing a forest fire were not trapped up to their necks in Finland's Lake Lagoda and flash-frozen by an amazing cold snap; Ante Pavelić, the *Ustashi* capo in Croatia, never unveiled for Malaparte's delectation what appeared to be a basket of Dalmatian oysters but proved to be forty pounds of human eyes; Heinrich Himmler and Malaparte never vigorously flogged each other with birch branches upon emerging from a Finnish Sauna, before plunging into an icy river. These are, to paraphrase Picasso, *lies that show us the truth*. (Indiana 2008: 179)¹⁴

Bashir's "lies that show the truth"—that is, its coloring of war reality with shades of the fantastic and freakish—establish a link between the film and the aesthetic tradition of "grotesque realism" which, according to Mikhail Bakhtin, is aimed at "the lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract" (1984: 19). Looking through the lens of "grotesque realism" not only allows us to acknowledge the "downward" trajectory of the film's rendering of war, but also to locate its focus: the body (Bakhtin 1984: 21). The grotesque seeks to undermine "the classic images of the finished, completed man, cleansed, as it were, of all the scoriae of birth and development" (Bakhtin 1984: 25). In its place, it introduces an "unfinished" body, a body in the flux of becoming, and as such focuses on its "unseemly" apertures—"the open mouth, the genital organs, the phallus, the potbelly, the nose" (Bakhtin 1984: 26)—as they engage in "base" acts of life, including "defecation and copulation, conception, pregnancy, and birth" (Bakhtin 1984: 21). This corporeal vision dominates *Bashir*, where bodies often find themselves exposed, sexualized, and mutilated. This level of signification is subsisted by the animation style itself: with the animators employing a cutout technique that uses a radically smaller number of separate illustrations than is the custom,¹⁵ body gesture is made to appear fragmented and mechanized, and, by extension, grotesque and "incomplete".

While essentially degrading, the effect of "grotesque realism" should not, however, be simply considered negative. To consider it so would be to delimit

¹⁴ Our emphasis.

¹⁵ Two thousand instead of 60,000 illustrations which would be used in a same-length film produced in classic animation style. See Anderman (2008).

the radical potentialities of grotesqueness. The grotesque image, Bakhtin reminds us, is fundamentally ambivalent. Unveiling the profane and abused body gestures toward regeneration: “The individual is shown at the stage when it is recast into a new mold. It is dying and as yet unfinished; the body stands on the threshold of the grave and the crib. No longer is there one body, nor are there as yet two. Two heartbeats are heard; one is the mother’s which is slowed down” (Bakhtin 1984: 26). Nowhere is this duality more literalized in the film than in Folman’s friend Cna’an’s fantastic recollection of his experience on an IDF reconnaissance boat, in which he imagined himself falling asleep on deck and dreaming of a giant naked woman who carries him away in her arms while his shipmates are eradicated by enemy bombing. Here the extremes of death and life are united, bound by the grotesque and sexualized body of the giantess, who functions as an erotic object, a nursing mother and a goddess of death.

Importantly, grotesque realism is most critically potent when operating in conjunction with the “carnavalesque.” According to Bakhtin, carnivalesque grotesqueness has disappeared since the Romantic period, when the grotesque was divorced from laughter and made to establish reality’s fundamentally horrific character. Rather than reduce the grotesque to negativity, carnival laughter accentuates its ambivalence: “it is gay, triumphant, and at the same time mocking, deriding. It asserts and denies, it buries and revives” (Bakhtin 1984: 12). As such, the function of carnival is “to consecrate inventive freedom, to permit the combination of a variety of different elements and their rapprochement, to liberate from ... conventions and established truths ... from all that is humdrum and universally accepted. This carnival spirit offers the chance ... to realize the relative nature of all that exists and to enter a completely new order of things” (Bakhtin 1984: 34).

For the most part, *Bashir* does not explicitly invite its audiences to laugh; thus it captures that somber air of post-Renaissance grotesque. Yet it constantly hints to the power of ambivalence imbedded in grotesqueness and the radical potential of laughter to release it. Of those select moments where the threshold of laughter is palpably felt, none is more potent than a brief and memorable montage sequence, broken down into two parts, in which we are shown a rapid succession of extreme war situations: a soldier surfing the waves while missiles fall around him;¹⁶ an Israeli jet bombing Israeli tanks; a Lebanese vehicle being

¹⁶ Here one finds the most obvious connection between *Bashir* and the carnivalesque *Apocalypse Now* (Coppola 1979). See also Ansen (2008).

demolished by bazooka rocket while its driver is peeing on the wayside; and a tank division laying waste to a whole street in an unsuccessful attempt to destroy one enemy car. All the staples of carnival grotesqueness appear here: death is orchestrated to fast paced editing and vigorous rock music, creating a sense of festivity amidst destruction; the distinction between friend and foe, degrader and degraded, is abolished when the IDF is shown to be bombing both Palestinians and Israeli soldiers; and profane corporeality is used to ridicule the solemnity of annihilation, as in the image of the urinating car owner, or when an Israeli soldier, while missiles are flying around, is seen to be frying an egg, only to have it explode in his face. An emblem of “funny monstrosity” (Bakhtin 1984: 52), this sequence does not provide the spectator with the security of a stable perspective but rather forces instructive fluidity.

Yet with Folman’s final “turn to the documentary,” the fluidity of carnival, like that of traumatic memory, visually reverts to a fixed perspective. In the concluding account of the Sabra and Shatila Massacre, the animated representation is straightforward and solemn, leaving no room for play towards fantasy and laughter. This tendency is strengthened by the video depiction of the massacre’s aftermath, where mutilated Palestinian bodies are presented as a template of quintessential suffering, and where a lack of subtitling exposes a desire to generalize. Taken together, these animated and indexical scenes stabilize meaning and demand a singular—and simplified—understanding. In this respect, they take on the characteristics of an official ceremony, which Bakhtin describes as “monolithically serious” and aimed at putting forward “the predominant truth . . . as eternal and indisputable” (Bakhtin 1984: 9), while undercutting the spirit of the carnivalesque.

To say that *Bashir* re-establishes decorum is not to suggest that it aligns with Horace’s famous maxim “dulce et decorum est pro patria mori” [“It is sweet and right to die for your country”]. Indeed an anti-heroic and anti-war message dominates the film from beginning to end. But *Bashir*’s final retreat from the carnivalesque *does* signal an attempt to approach a locus of social acceptability which has been the foundation of decorum since Horace’s days. Courting this social consensus, the film seeks to turn an unwieldy and dangerous carnival into a somber memorial and, in the process, to arrest critical engagement. This desire for arrest may be found in Folman’s avowed aspiration that *Bashir* would not seem as just a “cool animation film” (Yudilevich 2008). It may also be found in the wish of certain spectators—our students included—to escape the uneasiness of animation and its underlying invitation for laughter for the safety

of videographic moments of pure terror, the “purity” of which is supported by the lack of linguistic significance for viewers who do not speak Arabic. Indeed, the image speaks more generally and functions more affectively when “unhampered” by subtitles, much like a photograph without the “anchor” of a caption (Barthes 1977). The lack of access to the historical particularities expressed in the women’s words thus makes this specific, historical video recording an emblem of a universal abstract concept. Without subtitles, the fetish aspect of the image trumps the informative, and a simplified reading gains the status of accepted truth (Harriman and Lucaites 2009).

Conclusion: A global *Bashir*

In an illuminating essay, Raz Yosef discusses *Bashir* as part of a highly significant trend of contemporary Israeli “films that explore repressed traumatic events from the First Lebanon War, events that have been denied entry into the shared national past” (2010: 313). Yosef presents two possible readings of Folman’s film. One reading envisages *Bashir* as an attempt to recuperate an event that has been marginalized by Israel’s decaying collective memory. By extension, this reading demands that the film’s Israeli viewers would “accept ethical responsibility for the terror that [they] did not see in time” (Yosef 2010: 322). The second reading understands the film as geared towards liberating Israelis from past wounds and sins, a process made possible by figuring the First Lebanon War in generalized and abstract terms divested of historical specificity. While the author devotes considerably more space to the first reading than the second, he does not explicitly favor one reading over the other. Raya Morag, in contrast, asserts the importance of the second reading. She argues, with reference to Dominic La Capra, that the “revelatory insight” as concluding device forecloses on necessary ethical debates. In her view, *Bashir* is structured toward discovery, and not to recognition and confession. Consequently, the film’s ideological trajectory seems intent on absolving Folman and Israeli audiences of their “sins” of involvement in victimization, curing their “perpetrators’ trauma” (Morag 2012: 98–105).

Of these two readings described above—which seem to characterize Israeli film scholarship on *Bashir*—we tend to agree with the latter. As may be evident from our analysis, we see in the film a tendency to foster complexity by sustaining the fluid and challenging structures of traumatic memory and the carnivalesque. Yet, as we also argued, *Bashir* displays a second tendency

at its very end which collapses traumatic memory into History and the carnivalesque into decorum. This second tendency overpowers the first, thereby redeeming Israeli soldiers and depriving Palestinians of specificity so as to make them emblems of eternal suffering. One could perhaps argue that this simplification originates from Folman's decision to focalize his film through his (Israeli) younger self. Such a claim resonates with Art Spiegelman's (1992) complaint, made in the context of Spielberg's choice to narrate the Holocaust in *Schindler's List* through the eyes of a German protagonist, that "there weren't any Jews in [the film]." However, this so-called "*Schindler* problem," Landsberg argues, should not be overstated, because "the fact that the [Schindler] story is organized around a German does not make the scenes in which Jews are brutally mistreated any less affecting" (2003: 125). But does this affectation not ultimately bypass personal responsibility for *causes*, leaving audiences only with the depoliticized and universalizing responsibility to "never forget?" This reading is borne out in the responses of our students, and it is suggested most directly to them (and to us) by Folman's refusal to translate.

If we are in agreement with Yosef's and Morag's critical reading of *Bashir*'s ideological effect, we disagree with these scholars on the question of proper context through which to analyze Folman's film. In these essays, as well as in the lion's share of scholarly writing on *Bashir*, the presumed audience—the generalized "us"—is largely comprised of Israeli spectators. Such a "national" approach may divulge important insight into the ways in which *Bashir* speaks to particular Israeli traumas, but it may also represent too limited a perspective, in that it obscures the possibility that the film is directed also—and perhaps even more so—towards a transnational viewership. In light of the above, we may argue that eliciting a generalized response, which trades in the words of Palestinian victims for such broad terms as "grief" and "loss," is *Bashir*'s dominant goal. Such a conception marks the reactions of average Israeli viewers which are imagined in Morag's and Yosef's essays, *and* those of our American students, as fundamentally appropriate. If *Bashir* primes its spectators towards a generalized understanding of its depicted events, then it stands to reason that the *ideal* viewership to share the film's journey—which, in other words, is most capable of disregarding the particularities of this journey—is the one which lacks an intimate connection with the Israeli-Lebanese context. Accordingly, the responses of our American students seem to come closer to this ideal form than those of their Israeli counterparts and, as such, they become significant keys to our understanding of Folman's overall project.

It is difficult to fault Israeli film scholars for seeing Folman's film through a national lens. In fact, Israeli film scholarship has been largely dominated by this approach.¹⁷ There are good reasons, however, that Israeli cinema should be discussed via a global perspective. It may be argued that Israeli filmmaking has always been international, since many of its founding figures were non-Israeli,¹⁸ and many of its seminal texts have explicitly imitated non-Israeli film cultures.¹⁹ This "global" tendency has only increased in recent years due to an ever-widening fiscal control of Israeli filmmaking by non-Israeli entities via international co-production agreements. The most obvious result of this close financial collaboration has been a rise in the global stature of Israeli cinema, with co-produced films consistently winning prizes in key international festivals.²⁰ Yet Israeli film's global connection also extends beyond matters of international financing and box-office success, and touches on the expansion of Israeli identity itself which, in the era of globalization, has been reshaped into new "glocalized" ideological formations that oscillate between two extremes: the localized *neo-Zionism*, "an exclusionary, nationalist and even racist and antidemocratic political-cultural trend" (Ram 2008: 232) that emerged as a countermeasure to the destabilizing effects of globalization; and the globalized *post-Zionism*, "which strives to lower the boundaries of Israeli identity" (Ram 2008: 233) and opposes the polarizing effects of the Arab-Israeli conflict as part of its mission for Israel's transnational integration.

Of the two extremes, *Bashir* could be said to come closest to the globalized post-Zionist position on Israeli identity. Folman's avoidance of historical contextualization, combined with his capitalization on animation's inherent abstracting and universalizing qualities, suits the formal problems of memory but also distances the film from being recognized as especially "Israeli." The stabilization of meaning and reduction of complexity, in turn, engenders empathy with a broad message—for example, Folman's own insistence that "war is so useless it's unbelievable" ("Interview with Ari Folman" 2008)—that could be understood by all audiences with no prior knowledge required (or even desired). If, as Yosef

¹⁷ For an exception to this rule, see for example: Dushi (2011).

¹⁸ For example, Aleksander Ford (*Sabra* 1933), Helmar Lerski (*Avodah* 1935; *Adamah* 1947), Thorold Dickinson (*Hill 24 Doesn't Answer* 1955), Larry Frisch (*Pillar of Fire* 1959), and Gilberto Tofano (*Siege* 1969).

¹⁹ As in the case of the "New Sensitivity" films which were heavily influenced by the French New Wave. See Schweitzer (2003).

²⁰ For example, *Or* (Yedaya 2004; Golden Camera Award at Cannes; French co-production), *Jellyfish* (Keret and Geffen 2007; Golden Camera Award at Cannes; French co-production), and *Lebanon* (Maoz 2009; Golden Lion Award at the Venice Film Festival; French-Anglo-German co-production).

suggests and Morag asserts, *Bashir* attempts to wash away Israelis' past sins, it does so as part of washing away their individualized characteristics—or rather as part of re-inventing Israeli identity as a global form unhampered by national idiosyncrasies. This approach works hand in hand with the film's standing as a global commodity, the result of a co-production agreement between several Israeli and international bodies,²¹ for which the undercutting-via-simplification of post-Zionism's critical impulse seems a prerequisite.²²

Still, the use of the term “global” should be qualified. Even when translating an Israeli narrative to an international audience through its abstraction and generalization, *Bashir*'s vision of this audience was not entirely homogeneous. To give but one piece of evidence for this, after *Bashir*'s American backers complained that a scene incorporating images of an (animated) porn movie would upset American audiences with its nudity, Folman produced for the film's American prints a “censored” version of the diegetic porno, with bathing suits covering up the act of penetration (*Piece of Cake* 2008). With this change, Folman showed himself to be sensitive to the cultural diversity of his transnational audience. Yet such instances are rare within what is essentially a generalized message film. Accordingly, it is in the realm of reception that the tension between cultural diversity and a global message could really be explored.

Investigating the responses of spectators in different cultural settings, in and out of translation, reveals the limits of *Bashir*'s global vision and intelligibility. It gives us a clearer understanding of how the film's meanings are mediated and translated, and whether or not they charge—and challenge—the film's abstraction with haunting specificity. Some audiences—like our American students—may confirm this abstraction while imbuing it with commonplace generalizations about war and suffering; others may find themselves unable to accept the film's shift towards simplification. In contrast to the largely generalizing tendencies of Folman and some of his critics, who

²¹ The making of the film involved three production companies—the Israeli Bridget Folman Film Gang, the German Razor Film Produktion, and the French Les Films d'Ici—and several financing bodies from Germany, France, the US, and Israel.

²² It should be noted that the definition of post-Zionist is not uniform, and some scholars restrict it to a critical—and often academic—discourse aimed at deconstructing Israeli-Zionist narratives and unveiling their ideological underbelly. By this definition, we would argue, *Bashir* operates as a post-Zionist text only to a limited degree, in that it fails to provide a complex understanding of how Israeli-Zionist notions of manifest destiny, racial superiority, and colonial expansionism shaped the First Lebanon War and the Sabra and Shatila Massacre. For an example of a limited definition of post-Zionism, see Ophir (2001: 256–80).

tended to treat *Bashir's* audience as an undifferentiated mass, the engagement of different global audiences may thus show the truth of Sontag's dictum, that "no 'we' should be taken for granted when the subject is looking at other people's pain" (2003: 7).

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Glossary

Denotation/Connotation: two key terms used by Roland Barthes (1915–1980) to describe the levels of signification inherent to a cultural sign. Denotation is the literal meaning of the sign: thus, an image of a house denotes *that house*. Connotation, on the other hand, is a value that is associated by culture to the referent: for example, an imaged house can connote “family life” or, alternatively, “material wealth.” For Barthes, connotative meanings are the means through which signs operate as makers of myth.

Indexicality: this term derives from C. S. Peirce’s (1839–1914) definition of the “index” as a sign in which the signifier arises directly (either physically or causally) from the signified. For photographic media, indexicality refers to the image’s ability to capture the reality of the imaged objects—and consequently make truth claims about them. The photograph’s indexicality is attributed to the mechanical-chemical process of image making, by which sensitive emulsion is transformed through exposure to light reflected from the imaged object. Accordingly, it has been argued that digital technology has undermined the photographic image’s claim to indexicality, as it does not establish a similar physical relationship to reality.

Memory film: beginning in the late 1970s, but especially since Hayden White’s and Robert Rosenstone’s seminal essays on “historiophoty” (1988), film scholars have taken the term “History Film” to mean those cinematic forms used for the representation of historical events, particularly in the context of debates surrounding film’s capacity to act as an agent of history. By contrast, the term “Memory Film” is meant to evoke those cinematic texts that contemplate the image’s role in personal and cultural memory, as a site of contestation between official and oppositional appraisals of past events. Memory films are often characterized by diegetic reflection on the material conditions of record, and a subject’s inability to remember or, conversely, to forget.

Studium/Punctum: in his final book, *Camera Lucida* (1981), Roland Barthes (1915–1980) distinguishes between two major sites of meaning generated by photographs: the studium, which relates to the spectrum of common cultural meanings; and the punctum, a personal “wound” caused by the existential fact of the photograph, which cannot be expressed linguistically. When the punctum overtakes the studium, as it happened for Barthes with a particular photograph of his recently-deceased mother, awareness is generated of the image’s pastness and, by extension, to the unrecoverable loss of the referent.

Traumatic memory: a traumatic event, as a result of its sheer intensity, denies the subject the ability to properly respond to and process it. Consequently, the trauma persists in the form of intrusive recall triggered by sensory experience.

Traumatic memory, thought to be coded by the brain without semantic form, is invariable, non-narrative, and decontextualized. It thus captures the disruptive nature of the original event without being faithful to details surrounding the trauma.

Part Six

Global News and Politics

An introductory note

As I mention in the Editor's Note, participants in this collection use different professional jargons. But whether one speaks of stance or slant, bias or mediation, a target audience or the public sphere, scholars who study international news reporting are often torn between the increase in the range and accessibility of global news reports, and the need of local audiences to fit news events into particular cultural and political frameworks. The two chapters in this part are very different from each other methodically, geographically, and even in terms of the media that they explore. But both of them explore a similar question: to what extent should international news be adapted in order to fit the needs and expectations of local viewers and readers?

Li Pan, a Translation Studies scholar, uses terms and models from linguistics and translation to create a theoretical framework for the evaluation of stance and mediation in international news translation. Her model can be applied to news translation in any medium or location, but Pan explores mostly the translation of international news for the *Cankao Xiaoxi* newspaper in China. One fascinating part of her discussion is the description of a method of collaborative translation that is used at *Cankao Xiaoxi*. Collaborative translation is a long-standing tradition in Chinese history, but Western readers might not be familiar with the ways in which this tradition is applied in a contemporary context. Finally, Pan provides a glimpse into Chinese politics and news media, taking into account both the ideology of news writers and the needs and expectations of their readers.

Tal Azran, Amit Lavie-Dinur, and Yuval Karniel are experts in Communications Studies. They provide their own perspective on translation as they study global news networks that broadcast in several languages, such

as CNN, BBC, and Al-Jazeera. In their study, they move beyond one's assumptions or presuppositions about target audiences' expectations, and conduct empirical research about viewers' reactions to various news items. Here, again, the reader is exposed to a glimpse of a local political culture, as the authors discuss the preferences and perceptions of Israeli viewers. From a theoretical point of view, they try to mark the fine line that separates ethnic bias and source credibility—finding that audiences' response to accent and name pronunciation (in accordance with certain linguistic conventions) takes precedence over the contents of a news item. By displaying such evidence, Azran, Lavie-Dinur, and Karniel seem to contradict the “CNN effect,” a theory which suggests that global news networks can influence foreign policy throughout the world. International news, it seems, works globally but must think locally.

Mediation in News Translation: A Critical Analytical Framework

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1. Introduction

In this chapter, I develop a critical analytical framework for the discussion of mediation in news translation. Mediation, a term that betrays subjective implications, seems to contradict the “objectivity” or “impartiality” claimed by journalists. However, like any other kinds of information, accounts, or narratives, news reports can hardly be free from subjectivity and it is not rare to find the same news event represented differently even in the same language, leading to distinct interpretations by the reader. As for news translation, though the general public expects no mediation or intervention in the transformation of information from one language to another, there is no such guarantee in actual practice (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). Neither can we be sure of the existence and the effect of such mediation unless supporting evidences can be found in our analysis of news discourse.

So far there has not been much research on the subjective intervention or stance mediation in news translation, and the news translator's role as a mediator in relation to stance is largely overlooked in most studies on journalistic translation. However, the wide research on ideological manipulation in news reports as well as in other media studies aided by socio-linguistic approaches provides translation scholars opportunities to borrow relevant linguistic methods and media theories for the exploration of subjective aspects such as stance and attitude in news translation. It is thus attempted in this study to form a framework to facilitate such an examination.

With a focus on possible mediation in news translation, the framework in this chapter is designated not only to help to reveal “What” linguistic resources are

deployed to facilitate such mediation, but also to seek “How” the mediation is made possible and “Why” it is perceived as necessary for the receiving community. I hope to provide the reader with a better understanding of the translator’s role as mediator and negotiator in translating news discourse between different ideologies and cultures. I also hope to draw scholars’ attention to the various institutional and social factors responsible for the translator and editor’s actual intervention in news translation rather than focus only on the translated texts.

2. The interdisciplinary and complementary models

In order to design a critical framework for the investigation of the possible mediation in news translation, this study draws on three interdisciplinary and complementary models, namely Fairclough’s model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (1998, 1995a, 1995b), the Appraisal model in Appraisal Theory (AT) (Martin and White 2005) from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday 1994), and Baker’s model (2006, 2007) developed from Narrative Theory. The three models are reviewed here before they are integrated into a single framework for the investigation of stance mediation in the section “The critical analytical framework.”

2.1 The three models

Fairclough’s CDA model is borrowed as a macro-analytical framework in this study. As one of the most influential CDA approaches, Fairclough’s model depicts discourse as a social practice and analyzes news discourse for its ideological implication. For Fairclough (1992: 110), news media is a carrier of ideology and power in the sense that “news media can be regarded as affecting the ideological work of transmitting the voice of power in covert form.”

In his model, Fairclough (1989, 1995a) describes three closely related dimensions: *text* (for example, a news report), *discourse practice* (for example, the process of production and consumption of a news report), and *sociocultural practice* (such as “social and cultural structures which give rise to the communicative event of reportage”) (Fairclough 1995a: 57). *Text* is central to the analysis of any communicative event in the sense that it is a product consisting of traces of production processes and clues for interpretive processes. *Discourse practice*, the mediating dimension that links “the sociocultural and the textual” in a

communicative event (Fairclough 1995a: 59–60), includes both the processes of production and of textual interpretation. The analysis of discourse practice involves analysis of “various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption,” some of which “have a more institutional character” (Fairclough 1995a: 58). *Institutional processes* refer to “institutional routines such as editorial procedures involved in producing media texts,” while *discourse processes* refer to the “transformations which texts undergo in production and consumption” (Fairclough 1995a: 58–9).

According to this model, research should follow three procedures: description, interpretation, and explanation, corresponding to the three dimensions of discourse (Fairclough 1995b: 97). *Description* concerns the linguistic properties of the discourse in question. *Interpretation* is concerned with the relationship between text and discourse processes. *Explanation* is concerned with the stage of exploring social, cultural, and political factors to explain possible social aspects of the processes of producing and interpreting the text. In news discourse analysis, this is the stage that unmasks the ideological factors and power relationships at play in producing and interpreting the reports.

Note that Fairclough draws mainly on notions and descriptive categories from Halliday’s SFL (1994) for his analysis. However, due to a lack of systematic description in SFL of the interpersonal resources in language, Fairclough’s analysis of interpersonal meaning in text largely depends on the analysis of mood and modality, a system described in SFL as the core grammatical realization for interpersonal function in language (Halliday 1994: 75–89; Thompson 1996: 41). While the analysis of mood and modality can partially reveal people’s relationships, it does not provide sufficient clues for language users’ identities, nor is it able to reveal their attitude and stance towards a news event. In fact, the lack of a reliable and systematic description of the linguistic resources for interpersonal meaning had long made a systemic inquiry of the interpersonal aspect of language hardly impossible until the coming out of AT in the 1990s.

The Appraisal model in AT provides us with a micro-analytical toolbox for the analysis of mediation in news translation. AT is an extension and development of the work on interpersonal meaning in SFL, with a fuller and more systemic account of resources for evaluation and stance. *Stance* and *evaluation* are two terms used in this chapter in line with their use in Thompson and Hunston (1999). *Evaluation* is viewed as the semantic meaning (of positive or negative value, being good or bad, desirable or undesirable, etc.) which expresses *stance* (a position of either approval or disapproval).

In the Appraisal model in AT, evaluative resources are described as a system of appraisal. *Appraisal* refers to the *linguistic means* by which speakers/writers encode explicitly or implicitly their own attitudes and “activate evaluative stances” while positioning readers/listeners to “supply their own assessments” (Martin and White 2005: 2). In this model, the appraisal system consists of three sub-systems, namely the systems of *Attitude*, *Graduation*, and *Engagement* (see an overview of Appraisal system in Martin and White 2005: 38). *Attitude* covers the categories of effect, appreciation, and judgment. *Engagement* encompasses “those resources by which a text reference involves and negotiates with various alternative positions put at risk by a text’s meaning” (White 1998: 20). *Graduation* concerns how writers scale up or down the strength of their utterances. It is described from two perspectives: *type* and *direction*. Two types of Graduation are recognized: the scaling in intensity and amount is termed *Force*, while the scaling with respect to membership of a category is termed *Focus*. Each type of Graduation can scale in two directions: Force can either scale up or down the meanings of intensity and amount, and thus moves in either an *up-scaling* or *down-scaling* direction; Focus can either *sharpen* the scale, moving the specification to prototypically in construing categories (e.g. *a real father, a true friend*), or *soften* the category to the effect of having a marginal membership (e.g. *an apology of sorts*). The application of an Appraisal model to the analysis of media texts has enriched AT significantly (Martin and White 2005: 8). However, the role of social context and its ideological impact on news reporting is yet to be probed into.

Drawing on social theories and narrative theory, Baker (2006, 2007) depicts a model for the analysis of the strategies that are used to frame varied and competitive narratives. Baker’s model of framing strategies can provide us with insight into the discursive effect of various strategies that are used in news translation. Of the framing strategies, three of particular interest to the present study are frame ambiguity, framing by labeling, and selective appropriation.

Frame Ambiguity refers to the strategies that present “the same set of events [...] in different ways” (Baker 2006: 107). The result is of competing or conflicting ways in which those events can be perceived. For instance, violent conflicts can be framed as war, civil war, terrorism, and so on. Framing by *labeling* refers to the use of any “lexical item, term or phrase to identify” any “key element in a narrative,” such as a person, place, group (ibid.: 122). *Selective appropriation* refers to the choices made by translators as regards textual material “realized in patterns of *omission* and *addition* designed to suppress, accentuate or elaborate

particular aspects of a narrative” (Baker 2006: 114). According to Baker (2006: 105), mediation is a basic choice that translators make on every assignment, especially in translating a politically charged narrative in the target context. However, the way in which different framing strategies work to mediate stances in translation is something that is not discussed in her model.

2.2 Possible integration

Interdisciplinary as they are, the three models reviewed above are complementary and can be integrated if applied to the study of news translation. While AT, SFL, Fairclough’s CDA, and Baker’s model all concern the subjective features of discourse, each of them has its own strength and research focus. AT, with a focus on the lexico-grammatical analysis of evaluative resources, offers a model of describing appraisal resources, and forms possibly the most systemic account of evaluative meanings in linguistics so far (Bednarek 2006: 32). The strength of Fairclough’s CDA model is in the three-dimensional framework, which can serve as a macro model for a framework for the critical analysis of news translation. AT and CDA are thus complementary in the sense that the former can function as a tool box for the latter’s analysis of interpersonal meaning on a textual level, serving—in turn—as the basis for the analysis of interpersonal relationships and stances in discourse production and interpretation.

Fairclough’s CDA and Martin and White’s AT, designated for monolingual discourse analysis, and widely applied to the study of media texts, are complementary to Baker’s model which explores the way in which translation functions, and the positioning of the translator in the context of ideological conflicts. While the framing strategies in Baker’s model can provide us with helpful tools in examining *how* the ideological and evaluative elements in news translations are rendered, AT can trace the patterns of changes in the evaluative resources in those news elements, and Fairclough’s CDA can be adapted as a macro framework to explore the reasons responsible for such evaluative deviations.

3. The critical analytical framework

The analytical framework is set up in this part, drawing on the above-reviewed models. Using this framework, a critical analysis of mediation in news translation is expected to encompass *three* procedures, realized by the examination

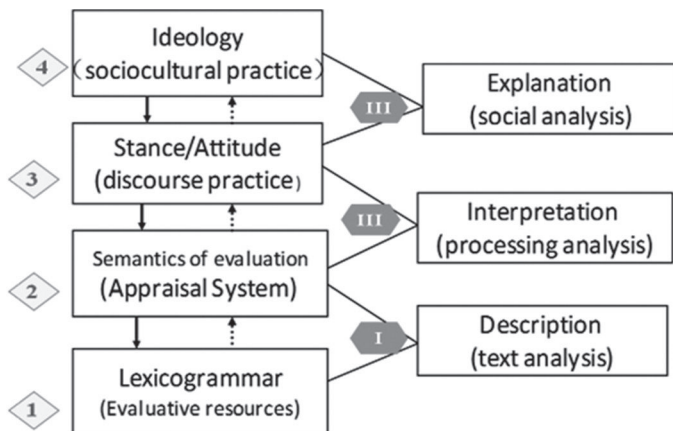


Figure 11.1 Analytical framework of stance in media discourse

of *four* interactive dimensions, as presented in Figure 11.1. The solid arrows indicate the conditioning relationships between the four dimensions, and broken arrows show the direction of the analysis.

Specifically, the *textual analysis and description* of the evaluation deviations, aided by the Appraisal model in AT and the main framing strategies described in Baker's model, is to be carried out through the lexical grammatical analysis of the evaluative resources and the comparison of the evaluative meanings in the ST and the TT; the *process analysis and interpretation* of the stance and attitude accommodated in the ST and the TT is to be facilitated through the investigation of discourse practice; and the *social analysis and explanation* of distinct stance and mediation depends on the examination of factors in social practice. The interaction between the four dimensions and the three procedures of analysis is illustrated with the help of a sample analysis in the next section.

4. Applying the framework to a sample analysis

In this section, the framework presented above is illustrated through a sample analysis. The textual analysis focuses on the deviations resulting from semantic differences in Graduation between the translations and the source texts of two news reports. The original news items, published in the *Daily Telegraph* (DT 2008) and the *The Times* (Times 2008), describe the same event: the 2008 riots

that broke out in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. Because of its special political and religious position in China, Lhasa has long been the subject of international attention, particularly in 2008 when the Olympic Games were held in Beijing. The Chinese translations of these items were disseminated by a Chinese national newspaper published by Cankao Xiaoxi (Reference News Agency; hereafter RNA), a Chinese news agency operated directly under the state-run Xinhua News Agency of China. The newspaper, titled *Cankao Xiaoxi* (*Reference News*; hereafter *RN*), is the major Chinese authoritative newspaper exclusively based on translations of foreign reports and commentaries disseminated by major news outlets in other countries. Translating reports and commentaries from over a dozen major and several dozen minor languages, the newspaper meets the Chinese people's interest both in accessing the latest international news and in opinion pieces about local and international events. For a long time in its early history, this newspaper had been accessible only to the top leaders in China and acted as the only source of information about events in other countries, and about the manner in which China was depicted in foreign news sources. Following the textual analysis, the process analysis focuses on the institutional practices of RNA, leading to a social analysis that explores the social factors that influence the possible mediation of the two news items when translated for Chinese readers, as the latter hardly share the cultural and ideological background of the original readers.

4.1 Describing evaluation deviations: Textual analysis

When performing a textual analysis, it seems that some linguistic elements in the target text (TT) are different from those in the source texts (ST) in terms of evaluative meanings. They are therefore regarded as *deviations of evaluation* or *evaluation deviations*. As part of this process, *quantitative* analysis is used as means of providing supporting evidence for a *qualitative* analytical approach. This is done to ensure a clear description of the mediation evidenced by the evaluation deviations in the translated news items. The ST and the TT are compared and analyzed to identify different patterns of departures in evaluative meanings before quantifying the evaluation deviations and establishing dominant deviation patterns. As part of the textual analysis, four procedures are carried out: Identification, Classification, Distinction, and Quantification. These procedures are illustrated below, using examples that are taken from the two news items about the riots in Lhasa.

a) *Identification*: with the aid of the Appraisal model in AT, deviations generated from semantic divergence in reframing the reported event for the target reader are *identified* by comparing the ST and the TT. There now follows an example based on the news item published in the *Daily Telegraph* (in all examples, emphases in bold and underlined letters have been added to assist the reader; BT stands for back translation):

Example 1

Ex 1 ST (*Daily Telegraph*, March 19, 2008): Tourists arriving in **Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal**, from **the closed city of Lhasa** have told how they saw **angry mobs of Tibetans** attacking **ethnic Chinese last Friday**.

Ex 1 TT (*RN*, March, 21 2008): 从拉萨转移到加德满都的游客讲述了14日他们是如何目睹暴徒袭击平民的。

Ex 1 BT: Tourists transferring from **Lhasa** to **Kathmandu**, have told how they saw **mobs** attacking **ordinary people on the 14th [of March]**.

Short as it is, the TT in Example 1 contains five deviations. Among them, two are related to evaluative implications about the parties involved in the riots: *angry mobs of Tibetans* are rendered as 暴徒 [mobs]; and *ethnic Chinese* are rendered as 平民 [ordinary people]. Another two deviations are related the locations in which the events took place: *the closed city of Lhasa* is rendered as 拉萨 [Lhasa]; and *Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal* is rendered as 加德满都 [Kathmandu]. Such renderings give rise to divergence in the labeling of people and locations that are mentioned in the text. The last deviation has to do with the time of the events, giving rise to a shift of perspective with *last Friday* turned into 14日 [March 14th].

b) *Classification*: To find out how the narratives are framed in the news reports, the framing strategies in Baker's model are used to *classify* the evaluation deviations in the text. According to Bell (1998), the core elements of an event structure in any news story include *actors* (Who), *action* (What), setting of *time* (When) *place* (Where) and sometime attributions. As found in a corpus-based quantitative study of translation of sensitive news (Pan 2013), different framing strategies can be used in rendering different elements of a news event: actors and places are frequently relabeled; reported news events are often ambiguously framed; and attributions are more often than not either selectively appropriated or omitted. Accordingly, the three most common types of deviation are referred to as labeling deviation, ambiguity deviation, and

selective appropriation deviation. They are further elaborated on with some examples below.

Ambiguity deviations cover instances of semantic changes in representing the events and actions in translated news stories. A case in point is the different framing of what happened in Lhasa in the ST and the TT. The two English reports frame the event as *Tibet riots*, *the riot*, or *rioting in Lhasa*, leaving no room for ambiguity regarding the nature of the event. However, the Chinese newspaper either reframes *the riot* as 打砸抢烧事件 [beating, smashing, looting, and burning incidents], or choose not to qualify the event at all, as the headline of “Tourists speak of the shock and fear at *Tibet riots*” (*The Times* 2008) is turned into “从西藏回来的西方游客描述了他们的震惊和恐慌” [Western Tourists back from *Tibet* speak of their shock and fear].

Labeling deviations are those resulting from semantic changes in the translation when identifying people and locations that are mentioned in the text. All the first four deviations in Example 1 are instances of labeling deviations.

A selective appropriation deviation, or an *appropriation deviation* for brevity, refers to the instance of omitting or adding a narrative element in the TT. A case in point is the omission in RN’s translated report of the rumor about the cause of the Tibetans attacking the Han Chinese quoted in the *Daily Telegraph*’s report (2008), as underlined below in Example 2.

Example 2

Ex 2 ST (*Daily Telegraph*, March 19, 2008): Mr. Kenwood also saw **boxes of stones** being supplied to **Tibetan throwers**. “To me it was like it was planned,” he said. Both men said a rumor spread that a group of monks arrested on Monday had been killed by the Chinese, and that this inflamed emotions. By the end of the day, “huge fires were rising above the buildings all over Lhasa and black smoke was everywhere,” said Mr. Kenwood. “I never saw any monks take part in the violence.”

Ex 2 TT (RN, March, 21 2008): 肯伍德还看见袭击者收到了很多箱石块。他说：‘在我看来好像是有计划的。’ 肯伍德说，那天晚上‘拉萨许多建筑被焚，浓烟滚滚’。

Ex 2 BT: Mr. Kenwood also saw **many boxes of stones** being supplied to **attackers**. “To me it was like it was planned,” he said. Mr. Kenwood said, “Many buildings in Lhasa were burnt and there was black smoke everywhere.”

An appropriation deviation in this example is the omission of a tourist’s observation that monks were not involved in the violence. Though the claim “I never

saw any monks take part in the violence” is related to the background of the riot, it undercuts possible accusations that the Tibetan monks are engaged in the attacks, and this implication most likely does not serve the ideology of the Chinese translator.

c) *Distinction*: The three different types of deviation introduced above can be *distinguished* through Focus deviation and Force deviation according to graduation type. These can be further distinguished according to graduation direction (Focus softened or sharpened, Force scaled up or down) and value position (negative, neutral, or positive). Such distinctions can help us see better the pattern of the renderings. For instance, in Example 1, the ST and the TT refer to the two parties involved in the attack differently in terms of value position. In the Chinese version, the attackers are labeled negatively as *mobs*, and the attacked are identified neutrally. In addition, the Chinese translation omits the racial identities of both parties involved in the attack, thus generating a labeling deviation of a softened Focus. The distinctions of the deviations are also intended to reveal discursive effect and probe into the ideological implication of the deviation patterns.

The distinction between Force and Focus can also help us to see the accumulated effect of different deviation types. For instance, the down-scaling Force division through the omission of the word *angry* in labeling the attackers as *mobs* in Example 1 works accumulatively with the omission of the quotation of the rumored cause of the anger and the attack in Example 2. In the original report, the *Daily Telegraph* tends to guide its potential reader to wonder why the Tibetans were *angry* and expect an explanation. However, in the translation, the appropriation deviations brought by the omissions in the translation discursively suppress the rumor and allegation against the Chinese government.

d) *Quantification*: the *frequency* of different patterns of the three major types of deviations is *quantified* respectively. In quantifying the deviations in Examples 1 and 2, labeling deviations are found to be the most prominent type among the three. They are thus worth a more elaborate analysis, first by quantifying the patterns to trace the dominant deviations, and then by further detailed analysis of the discursive effect in the entire translation. Altogether there are 14 occurrences of references to the different participants in the event in the ST. Table 11.1 presents the distribution of renderings of the labeling resources and that of the value positions. We can see that labeling deviations (60 percent) outweigh literal renderings (40 percent) in the translation of references. As for the value positions, more labeling deviations in the translation are generated

Table 11.1 Distribution of renderings of labeling resources in the TT

Labeling deviations	Value position in ST	Deviation pattern in TT
60% n=8	Ng (63%)	Foc_So/For_Sd
	Nt (37%)	Foc_So/For_Sd
Literal renderings	40% n=6	

from the renderings of the negative references (63 percent) than from those of the neutral ones (37 percent) in the original report. As for deviation patterns, Focus softened (Foc_So) and Force scaled down (For_Sd) are dominant in relation to both negative and neutral positions.

Quantification enables a closer analysis of the labeling deviations in the translated text, and it can help us to see how the participants in the news event are respectively identified in the ST, and how they are rendered in the TT. As displayed in Table 11.2, all the Focus deviations in the TT are generated by omitting elements indicating race, which results in softening Focus, while the two faithful translations of the negative references are both instances with

Table 11.2 Value and pattern in labeling Tibetans in the ST and the TT

Value & pattern		Instance	English ST	Chinese TT	Back Translation
Negative	Focus	Foc_Ng_So	angry mobs of Tibetans	暴徒	mobs
			Tibetan throwers	袭击者	attackers
			mob of Tibetans	暴徒	mob
		Foc_Ng_F	the mob	暴徒	mob
			his attackers	袭击者	attackers
Neutral	Force	For_Ng_Sd	angry mobs of Tibetans	暴徒	mobs
			Tibetans	西藏人	the Tibetans
	Focus		elderly Tibetan people	年长的藏族人	elderly Tibetan people
			some in the group of people	这群人中的有些人	some people in the group

Table 11.3 Value and pattern in labeling Han Chinese in the ST and the TT

		Instance	English ST	Chinese TT	Back Translation
Value & pattern					
Negative	Focus	Foc_Nt_So	the ethnic Chinese	平民	ordinary people
			seven to eight Chinese people	有七八个人	seven to eight people
			Chinese passers-by	过路者	passers-by
		Foc_Nt_F	one old Chinese man	一名汉族老人	one old Chinese man
	Force	For_Ng_Sd	Anything that looked Chinese	omitted	

no modifiers that indicate race in the ST. Neutral references (“elderly Tibetan people”) in the ST are translated faithfully even though they might contain the race identity (“Tibetans”). In Table 11.3, one can notice that the Han Chinese victims are relabeled with a softened Focus, as the race of the victims in the attack is omitted.

The discursive effect thus becomes obvious. With softening Focus being the dominant pattern, the race identities of both parties involved are erased in the TT, thus lending the riots a different meaning. In addition, the labeling deviations work accumulatively with the ambiguity deviations and the selective appropriation of the descriptions of the rioting scenes, the rumors that caused the event and the related commentary. Consequently, the translation offers the Chinese reader a potentially ambiguous frame of the conflict in the Lhasa riots.

4.2 Interpreting stance: Process analysis

The following process analysis of discourse practice is used to interpret the evaluation deviations that are discussed in the previous section “Describing evaluation deviations: Textual analysis”. The focus of this process analysis is on institutional practice. Institutional practice is crucial for the interpretation of choices made in the production process of the text, since “processes of text production are managed through sets of institutional routines” (Fairclough 1995a: 48). At this stage, the research on the institutional process is strengthened by the incorporation of the results from empirical surveys. In order to achieve a better understanding of the institutional practices at the Chinese news agency,

a survey and two interviews were conducted at the headquarters of RNA in Beijing in April 2010. The survey consisted of a questionnaire that was self-filled by TNA's in-house translators, and the interviews were conducted with the coordinator for the English-Chinese translation department, and with the deputy editor-in-chief of *RN*. The results reveal to us the operational procedures of producing translations in RNA. The survey results are discussed below in relation to the findings of the textual analysis:

1) *The collective procedures of producing translated news texts at RN do not constrain but facilitate Mediation. RN's complete procedure of producing translated reports is as follows: based on the selection and summary by the news-selecting teams stationed abroad, the editorial staff choose the news articles and decide on the points in each chosen article to be translated, which become an "order list of the day," and then the related paragraphs of the points listed in the order are translated into Chinese by the staff at the translation department. We can see that selective appropriation plays an essential role at this step. After that, the translated texts are reviewed by the "top-checkers." These are the editors of RN who make decisions regarding omissions and revisions, as well as the design of the headline for each news story in the newspaper.*

Throughout the production process, the participants are assigned different responsibilities, and each one of them is involved in reshaping the narrative to some degree. First, the selection of points by the editorial staff already omits certain elements of the source text. Second, though required to be faithful in rendering the reports, translators are not monitored to avoid mediation and intervention that might lead to reframing the events in the translation, since the "top-checkers," namely the editors at *RN*, very often do not know the source language of the translated text. This allows the translators' subjective intervention in rendering those expressions or clauses which they find at odds with official Chinese policy, or where they think "proper" guidance is needed to avoid possible "harmful" influence on the target reader. Third, the "top-checkers" perform further omissions and revisions which provide one more element of intervention and mediation.

2) *Mediation can be justified by RN producers' perception of the coverage of China in Western press and their assumptions about the different reactions of the source and target readers to negative reports about China. Assumptions about different attitudes of Chinese and non-Chinese readers towards news reports about China*

could partially be the motivation that drives *RN*'s producers to modify original reports. Such assumption most likely influenced the translation of the news items about the riots in Lhasa (in Examples 1 and 2). Most likely, compared with most non-Chinese readers, the Chinese readers, being closer and more attached to the violent spot, generally felt more sympathy towards the Han Chinese and stronger anger and resentment toward the Tibetans involved in the riots. A translation which had kept the evaluative values in the ST intact would be unlikely to be accepted calmly by the Chinese reader of *RN*. That might be one of the reasons for abandoning the framing of the event in the ST as bloody riots and the omission of the references to Tibetans and Han Chinese. The producers of the Chinese version would probably never agree with the notion that they are filtering rather than translating news items. However, responses given in the questionnaire by some of *RN*'s in-house translators suggest that they consider filtering a necessary means for guaranteeing the target reader's proper reactions towards negative or sensitive news on China.

3) *Both institutional training and the Chinese mainstream media exert influence in actual renderings of sensitive expressions.* The survey responses reveal that more than three fifths of *RN*'s translators had been working in the institute for more than five years, and that one third has over ten years working experience at *RN*. Working in a specific institutional context while being exposed to in-house training processes year by year, *RN*'s in-house translators may be better viewed as institutionalized professional news translators. They are thus different from freelancers who, for example, take on various translation tasks dealing with a vast range of subjects in different fields are thus less likely to commit to certain institutional practices. Apart from their professional experience, they would most likely make translation-related decisions based on their institutional training, the editors' requirements and instructions, the institution's related policies and guidelines. As such, the interpretation of certain events and constitution of relevant news discourse are more likely to be consistent among the translators at *RN*.

4) *In view of the official identity of the Chinese news agency, mediation can also partly be a result of *RN* producers' resistance to the narratives of China-related events in the source texts.* The producers of reports in *RN* (both its editors and translators) are institutionally trained in-house staff of the Chinese official news agency which operates directly under the state-run Xinhua news agency. The Xinhua news agency is generally regarded as the major "mouth piece" of

the government and controlled by the Chinese Communist Party's Publicity Department, a functional organ in charge of "ideological work" in China.¹ The official nature of *RN* and its connection with the Xinhua News Agency make *RN* a newspaper much in line with the policies of the Chinese government. It is thus unlikely that the producers of the translations in question would subscribe to the narratives of the events of British and American news organizations. Additionally, in the survey, *RN*'s producers admit that they need to consider the attitude of the government as well as the possible response of the general public while striving for faithful translation in their practice.

4.3 Seeking possible explanation for mediation: Social analysis

In this sub-section, the sociocultural and ideological contexts in which the translated and the original news texts are intended to function are compared and analyzed, so as to seek a possible explanation for the evaluation deviations identified in the textual analysis and the dissenting stances revealed in the process analysis. According to Fairclough (1995a: 73), the larger context of social and cultural community determines, or shapes, the discourse practice that mediates between text and context. The exploration of social factors is thus expected to provide a better understanding of the impact of social context on the news institute's decision making in the process of translation. To explain the mediation of stance in framing the reported events and labeling the related news actors in Examples 1 and 2, the following discussion centers on the distinct ideas and beliefs held by the two language communities about the political status of Tibet and the nature and cause of the events in Lhasa.

First, the different understandings of the political status of Tibet determine the stances toward the participants in the news event, and toward the events themselves. The controversy is centered on whether Tibet was a part of China or was "independent" until China's "invasion" in 1951. The Chinese government's stance is that "Tibet, ..., has always been *an integral part of China* and that it always should be" (Dillon 2009: 168; my emphasis). However, the Dalai Lama and his followers and supporters in the West argue that Tibet was "independent until 1951" and that it has "suffered under an unlawful occupation by the Chinese thereafter" (ibid.).

¹ See the department's web-site at <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64114/75332/> (accessed April 17, 2009).

Second, the nature and cause of the Lhasa event is viewed differently in China and in Western countries. The Chinese government sees the riots as a politically motivated and well planned insurgence, and a part of the scheme masterminded by the Dalai Lama with an ultimate aim of separating Tibet from China. Many Chinese people did not believe that the riots, so well organized and set off on such a large scale, arose as a spontaneous reaction. As far as the Chinese government is concerned, “the [Lhasa] incident has once more exposed the separatist essence and the hypocrisy and deceitfulness of the alleged ‘peace’ and ‘nonviolence’ of the Dalai clique” (Dumbaugh 2009: 5).² The Western media and the pro-Tibet groups, however, insist that the rioting was the result of increasing racial tension and conflict between Tibetans and the Chinese people under Chinese rule in Tibet (Smith Jr. 2010: 8-9). In reframing the event as *Lhasa insurrection or insurgence*, and the later events as *Tibet insurgence or insurgent incidents* (RN 2008b, c, d), the Chinese news agency signals in the translation a stance adhering to the political beliefs shared by Chinese readers. This mediation demonstrates RN’s rejection of the framing of the Lhasa riots in the original reports as either peaceful protests or as a rebellion against five decades of Chinese occupation.

Additionally, the difference in framing the direct causes of the attacks on the Chinese people by Tibetans in the ST and the TT also reflects different views about what happened in Lhasa in March 2008. The source texts frame racial hatred as the direct cause that triggered the Tibetans’ attacks on the Han Chinese, as can be seen in the analysis of the ST in Examples 1 and 2, which repeatedly emphasizes the conflict between the two races in Tibet. In Example 2, quoting the rumor about the death of Tibetan monks, the news writer subtly expresses the belief that the Chinese people were to be blamed for the Tibetans’ hatred. Such a frame follows the frequent practice in Western media regarding the issue of Tibet. For instance, the writer of a report in the *New York Times* (2008) claims that the hatred towards the Chinese, as well as the riots in Tibet, was the result of the Chinese government’s suppression of the Tibetans.

² These remarks are attributed to PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman Liu Jianchao.

5. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, a critical framework has been developed for the study of stance mediation in news translation. Adapting Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA as the macro-analytical model, this study has drawn on the Appraisal model in Appraisal Theory as well as the framing strategies depicted in Baker's model as the analytical toolkit for an integrated analysis of the deviations in translating the core narrative elements of news reports. The framework, descriptive and empirical in nature, largely consists of analysis of four dimensions and three procedures.

Textual analysis is central to the critical framework, serving as the starting point and providing lexico-grammatical evidences to trace the translator's mediation. Findings from the textual analysis are interpreted in process analysis of discourse practice, which incorporates empirical methods, such as surveys with questionnaires and interviews. Finally, to seek possible explanation for the distinct stances in the target text, a social analysis is carried out.

The framework, along with the integration of interdisciplinary and complementary theories and models, is hoped to contribute to our understanding of the role of stance mediation in the process of news translation. The sample analysis indicates that mediation, especially of stance, does exist in the Chinese news agency surveyed, even though the agency claims that all its translations are "faithful" to their source texts. The incorporation of empirical surveys to interpret findings from textual analysis further helps to facilitate a convincing and critical analysis of the data. The analysis of institutional practices at RNA establishes that the collective nature of the production of translated news texts at the Chinese news agency facilitates rather than constrains mediation. Ultimately, however, mediation is found to be essential for the consumption of a domestic audience, who come from a different ideological, historical, and cultural context from that of the source culture. The framework, probably the first of its kind, intends to assist further related studies of stance and deviation in news translation.

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Glossary

- Appraisal:** a term used in Appraisal Theory to refer to the linguistic resources that encode the semantic meaning of positive or negative value, being good or bad, desirable or undesirable, etc.
- Evaluation:** the semantic meaning of the linguistic resources which express *the language user's* attitude or stance, viewpoint, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about (Thompson and Hunston 1999).
- Evaluation deviation:** a term coined in this chapter to refer to the departure of the evaluative meaning of a linguistic resource in the translation from that of its original expression in the source text.
- Framing strategies:** depicted in Baker's model as solutions to framing the narratives differently in the context of a conflict. As components of a larger concept of "framing," they imply an active participation of the narrator or translator in the construction of reality, or the construction of a certain understanding of reality.
- Stance:** the attitude, viewpoint, or position that is expressed within a discourse towards the entities or propositions in question.

Accent and Prejudice: Israelis' Blind Assessment of Al-Jazeera English News Items

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1. Introduction

Al-Jazeera English (AJE) broadcasts of the Arab Spring won major awards in the United States (including the Peabody and the Columbia Journalism awards) and praise from Hillary Clinton, who even told the US Congress that “viewership of Al-Jazeera is going up in the United States because it is real news” (Maher and Corcoran 2011). A recent US-based study (Youmans and Brown 2011) examined whether this “Al-Jazeera moment” was translated into viewers’ openness towards the network. The researchers examined the perception of the same AJE-produced news material when viewers watched the material accompanied by either the CNN logo or the AJE logo. The viewers who viewed the video with the CNN logo ranked it more credible, leading the researchers to conclude that “there remains substantial prejudice against AJE among segments of the American public.” Building on these findings, we studied the extent to which viewing AJE news material devoid of any visible identifiers (“blind assessment”) affects the perceived credibility of these materials. This methodology is borrowed from experiments in marketing studies, where scholars often eliminate brand-name features to understand the “branding effect” on product-purchase decision-making (Acebron and Dopico 2000; Richardson, Dick, and Jain 1994). In this study, this methodology is applied to examine whether viewing AJE material devoid of its conspicuous logo (a decorative representation of the network’s name written using Arabic calligraphy) and other identifying brand elements affects perceptions of the items’ credibility and professionalism, the two main conditions for audience trust of a news source (Hovland, Janis, and Kelley 1953; McGuire 1985).

We designed an experiment in which we eliminated branding features from eight videos (one item produced by each network, for each of two news events) produced by AJE and its three main competitors in the international news market: CNN, Fox News, and the BBC. The source manipulation method included obliteration of all logos and subtitles using blocks of colors identified with each network, as well as meticulously selecting videos for analysis with voice over narration to ensure that viewers were not affected by the studio or anchors' appearance (which might convey information on the identity of the station). We then asked Jewish-Israeli students ($n = 112$) to rate the professionalism and credibility of the items. We compared the results to the ratings of a control group ($n = 99$) who watched the original videos untouched. For the sake of comparative analysis, we carefully selected two news events that reached the top of the global news agenda of the day and were therefore reported by all the networks on the same date. More importantly, we selected events where all the networks relied on similar footage, which originated from the same external news sources—Google Earth, archive photos, and hotel security cameras—rather than footage obtained by one of the networks studied. The first event was the assassination of Hamas leader Mahmoud Al-Mabhouh on January 19, 2010 in a Dubai hotel (possibly by the Israeli national intelligence agency, *Mossad*) where all the networks relied on the same hotel security-camera footage. The second event was Hillary Clinton's warning of "Iran's mounting military power" on February 15, 2010 and Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu's concurrent visit to Russia in an attempt to persuade the Russian authorities to join sanctions against Iran. This event triggered discussions about Iran's uranium enrichment program by all the stations that day. All the networks relied heavily on similar images of Iran's nuclear facility from Google Earth and archive images of Iran's nuclear facilities. Both events had particular saliency for an Israeli audience.

The reason we selected Israeli subjects for our study is that Israel belongs to a group of Western countries whose relationship with AJE can be described as "skeptical." Coverage of AJE's launch by this group, which includes the US and Canada, used the most negative tone in comparison to all other regions in the world (King and Zayani 2008). AJE also faced campaigns that questioned its credibility (in the United States), restrictions on its broadcasting license (in Canada), and government restriction on its access to events (in Israel). Nonetheless, AJE is available on cable television in all these markets. Whereas AJE's relationship with its US and Canadian markets has been the subject of several studies (Meltzer 2012; El-Nawawy and Powers 2010; Samuel-Azran

2010; Youmans and Brown 2011; El-Nawawy and Iskandar 2002), this is the first study to address Jewish-Israeli viewers' perceptions of AJE. We do not claim that Israel serves as a case study for all Western countries, as AJE was well-received by many European countries (i.e. the United Kingdom and Scandinavian countries). Rather, Israel represents the group of Western countries that have demonstrated suspicion towards the station since its launch.

The study is an attempt to contribute to the ongoing debate on whether international news networks help their viewers to develop a cross-cultural perspective. Whereas earlier studies found that CNN may convey a supra-national perspective of events to its viewers in the Balkans (Volkmer 1999; Fluorney and Stewart 1997) and thus contribute to cross-cultural sensitivity, the AJE November 2006 launch triggered a shift in research focus to the question of whether international networks originating in non-Western countries have a similar effect in inducing a cross-cultural perspective in their Western audiences. Thus, this study will contribute to our predictions of the success of AJE and its copycats, who reversed the traditional unilateral flow of information from Western to other countries (Thussu 2007), as such stations seek to convey a supra-national perspective of events to the average viewer in the West. Studies on this issue to date have produced partial and highly contradictory results. To illustrate, whereas El-Nawawy and Powers' (2010) empirical analysis found that AJE has the potential to function as a conciliatory agent among its loyal viewers in the United States, Youmans and Brown's (2011) study in the same country found that AJE's logo heightens prejudice and reinforces stereotypes. This study also aims to contribute to source credibility studies that examine the interplay between messages and their perceived credibility. One of the central debates in this field is whether predictors of credibility are more likely to be associated with the receiver or with the source. Whereas early studies indicate that a source's perceived professionalism and trustworthiness should be the focus of source credibility evaluations (Dholakia and Sternthal 1977; Harmon and Coney 1982), others assert that credibility perceptions are related to audience characteristics. Based on several audience studies, scholars (Christen, Kannaovakun, and Gunther 2002; Gunther, Christen, Liebhart, and Chia 2001) found support for a "hostile media perception" (see glossary) theory, which posits that partisans from opposing sides of an issue are more likely to view media coverage as biased against their position regardless of the actual stance of media source. This effect helps to explain the findings of Youmans and Brown's (2011) study, which revealed a "logo effect" and bias against all AJE materials.

The present study examined the role of blind assessment of news materials in reducing the “hostile media perception” effect.

Finally, findings of the present study have practical implications for decision-makers in the media industry. Before entering the US market, several AJE employees stated that the organization considered using a new name in the US market to increase its chances of success (Samuel-Azran 2010). For media decision-makers contemplating entry into Western markets, the findings of the present study may shed light on potential sources of antagonism that may undermine market penetration efforts.

2. International news: Cross-cultural perspective or ethnocentrism?

The advent of transnational news networks, and most notably CNN’s cross-border broadcasting of the 1991 Gulf War to a “global audience,” triggered a debate on the influence of transnational connectivity on the national “public sphere” (see glossary) in receiving countries (“CNN effect”; see glossary). Building on Castells’ (1996) famous “global network society” theory, which argues that global information networks yield new social structures, communication scholars have argued that the national public sphere consequently expands to assume a supra-national perspective and, as a result, international networks in crisis regions (e.g. Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey) can illuminate the perspective of the opposing culture/nation to viewers on both sides of the conflict (e.g. Fluorney and Stewart 1997; Volkmer 1999).

Critics of the “global public sphere” theory (e.g. Schlesinger 1999; Sparks 1998) emphasize the continued importance of the local arena perspective in the reception of international network materials, recalling that global networks are often forced to localize content in various regions (e.g. MTV Asia, CNN Europe, etc.). Domestication arguments also extend to the manner in which local producers edit news from international news agencies to align with local agendas (Cohen, Gurevitch, Levy, and Roeh 1996).

The debate over the existence of a “global public sphere” re-emerged in the wake of the events of September 11, 2001 and the rise of Al-Jazeera as a global provider of exclusive images from the battlefronts in Afghanistan and Iraq. Volkmer (2002) argued that Al-Jazeera manages to communicate a cross-cultural perspective to Western audiences. This was supported by findings of a

post-9/11 study by Michalsky et al. (2002), which found that British-Muslims who watched contradicting reports of events on Al-Jazeera, CNN, and BBC subsequently “made up their own version of the story.” Azran (2006) found that left-wing bloggers often imported stories from Al-Jazeera to compensate for what they saw as biased coverage of the Iraq war by Fox and CNN. These studies, however, provide anecdotal evidence of Al-Jazeera’s reception in specific sectors that proactively seek Al-Jazeera’s broadcasts due to political or ethnic considerations, whereas Al-Jazeera aims to gain credibility in the general population. To examine reception in Western markets, studies should therefore aim at other, wider, target populations. Accordingly, this study examines AJE’s reception in a convenience sample of secular Jewish-Israel students whose makeup is representative of the general population in Israel and could thus shed better light on the chances for AJE broadcasts to gain success across a general population.

3. Source credibility

Early studies of source credibility were prompted by the successful propaganda campaigns of the Second World War. These studies paid special attention to source features. Hovland, Janis, and Kelley (1953) found that the two main factors that influence perceived source credibility were expertise and trustworthiness. Further studies found that perceived source expertise, including knowledge, education, intelligence, social status, and professional achievement (McGuire 1985; Hass 1981), and perceived source motivation (Dholakia and Sternthal 1977; Harmon and Coney 1982; McGinnies and Ward 1980) were highly important in evaluating source credibility.

However, several studies found that variables predicting credibility are more likely to be associated with the receiver rather than with the source. Gunther (1992; see also Salmon 1986; Sherif and Hovland 1961) found that a respondent’s own group identification—whether religious, national, or political—proved to be the strongest predictor of her/his perceptions of media credibility. Similar studies found that other demographic variables such as age, education, and gender mediated perceived channel credibility (Abel and Wirth 1977; Gunther 1992; Johnson and Kaye 1998; Westley and Severin 1964). Other strong predictors supported by numerous studies include political involvement (Eveland and Shah 2003; Johnson and Kaye 2004) and issue-involvement, such as support or opposition to a war (Choi, Watt, and Lynch 2006). Such evidence

supports the “hostile media perception” theory, which posits that individuals with high issue-involvement or those belonging to a specific group will typically view media coverage of their group or issue as biased against their position or group (Christen, Kannaovakun, and Gunther 2002; Gunther, Christen, Liebhart, and Chia 2001; Schmitt, Gunther, and Liebhart 2004; Vallone, Ross, and Lepper 1985). This explains why the same news item may be simultaneously perceived by two opposing groups as biased against them.

One of the predictors of media credibility that has been frequently reported in the last three decades of research, which this study aims to examine in particular, is the correlation between elevated consumption of a specific media source and a high level of trust in that source. Rimmer and Weaver (1987) found that individuals who typically watch television two or more hours a day are more likely to rate the credibility of TV news higher than individuals who watch less than two hours of television a day. Kiousis (2001) similarly found that US residents who consume newspapers or television more often are those who rate the credibility or believability of these media higher. These findings extend to Internet consumption: Greer (2003) found that Internet reliance proved to be the sole predictor of online news story credibility. More recently, Jakob (2010) found TV consumption significantly related to trust in the media, and heavy viewers were more likely to trust the media. In line with the key role of the interplay between news consumption and perceived source credibility, the present study focuses on the interplay between news consumption levels and perceived news credibility.

3.1 AJE: Reception, credibility, and motivations

AJE was launched first as a website (<http://english.aljazeera.net>) on February 16, 2003, the eve of the war in Iraq, to provide news about the war to English speakers from a “non-Anglo-American” perspective. In November 2006, AJE’s 24-7 television channel was launched to great success. According to AJE’s website, though the declared target was to reach 40 million viewers it reached 80 million viewers on its launch date, including viewers in major European countries. Currently, the AJE television channel is available to over 130 million viewers in over 100 countries.

However, since its launch the channel has faced strong resistance in North America and Israel. King and Zayani’s (2008) examination of the global press coverage of AJE’s launch revealed that the tone of the coverage was most

negative in North America and Israel. Major US cable and satellite providers refused to carry AJE at the time, and providers that did carry AJE faced local opposition and threats, mostly from conservative and Republican groups (Samuel-Azran 2010). Currently, the channel's major distribution deals are in the New York area (where it is available to 2 million homes through Time Warner Cable since August 2011, its greatest success so far), Washington DC, and two regions in Vermont and Ohio, far from its original target of signing nationwide distribution deals with major cable and satellite providers such as Comcast. In Canada, although AJE encountered opposition from local Jewish organizations concerned that the channel would broadcast anti-Semitic content, it was eventually launched in 2010 after the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) approved a request by Ethnic Channels Group Ltd. to carry the channel. In Israel, AJE can be viewed on YES, the smaller of Israel's two cable providers, which has close to 500,000 subscribers. It is worth noting that AJE is positioned within the group of this cable provider's international news channels (CNN, BBC, SKY, and FRANCE 24) and not within the group of Arab channels. Thus AJE broadcasts are also likely to be viewed unintentionally by Israeli viewers who zap through the international channels. However, in 2008, the Israeli government restricted Al-Jazeera's access to battle zones and press conferences due to the channel's involvement in a series of what were considered anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli incidents, including the broadcast of a caricature that appeared on the channel's website depicting Israel's former Prime Minister Ehud Olmert as Hitler. In addition Al-Jazeera Arabic broadcast telethons throughout the Second Intifada on behalf of what they termed *Shaheeds* (martyrs), people who committed deadly attacks against Israeli targets. Israel also accused Al-Jazeera Arabic of one-sided coverage of the 2009 Israeli military operation in Gaza.

Nevertheless, AJE invested and continues to invest heavily in Western markets while trying to gain credibility. Several months before its 2006 launch, Al-Jazeera published a Code of Ethics that pronounced the channel's commitment to Western norms of journalism (<http://www.aljazeera.com/aboutus/2006/11/2008525185733692771.html>, accessed March 23, 2014). To gain credibility in the eyes of Israelis, AJE regularly interviews Israeli politicians during diplomatic incidents involving Israeli-Arab matters. During the 2009 Israeli military operation in Gaza, AJE interviewed Israeli Foreign Minister Zipi Livni as well as other senior Israeli officials despite Arab protests that Muslim leaders are not accorded similar treatment on Israeli television. To gain credibility in the eyes of US and Canadian

viewers, AJE executives established one of its four main global news centers in Washington DC, and recruited senior staff such as Sir David Frost (BBC), Dave Marash (ABC), and Riz Khan (CNN and BBC), who already gained credibility based on their work in major Western networks. AJE's executives also recruited a major Manhattan-based public relations firm that ran a high-profile "Demand Al-Jazeera" campaign (<http://www.facebook.com/demandaje>, accessed March 23, 2014), to persuade potential viewers in North America to "give the network a fair chance" by viewing its broadcasts once without bias.

AJE also worked hard to distinguish itself from Al-Jazeera's Arabic-language operations in light of the latter's problematic reputation in the West. Scholars who compared the English and Arabic Al-Jazeera websites broadly concur that the websites generate distinct outputs and reflect distinct broadcasting norms, and, more specifically, AJE tends to provide a more balanced version of political events. Youssef (2009) found that, throughout the war in Iraq, the Al-Jazeera Arabic website disseminated propaganda-like reports of Iraqi civilian casualties, whereas AJE presented a more balanced version of the same events. Kraidy (2008), who analyzed the political economy of Al-Jazeera's Arabic and English websites, attributed the differences in the outputs of the Arabic and English versions to AJE's ambition to comply with the more critical standards of Western viewers.

The disparity between Al-Jazeera's Arabic and English channels brings to light conversations about news translation. More than the traditional concept of translating a text from one language to another, international news networks translate stories from one culture to another. In creating a more balanced output, AJE is "translating" Al-Jazeera's Arabic from the Arab world to the Western world. Bassnet (2005) explains that news reporters function somewhere between acting as translators, who transcribe from one language to another, and acting as interpreters, who emphasize, add, subtract, and alter a text in order to make it understandable to a culturally separate target audience.

The process of translation faces multiple difficulties. Conway (2010) discusses the "cultural resistance" which hinders the newscaster's ability to translate pieces from one culture to another. For the journalist, in order to truly translate a story, the "message" must be translated, more so than the actual text. As such, the text will have to be "localized" in order to make it relevant to the receiving cultures.

Al-Jazeera Arabic must walk a delicate line in presenting US issues: maintaining the objectivity of a news story can present the United States in a more positive light, yet appearing too sympathetic towards the United States

might alienate some of their viewers (El-Nawawy and Iskandar 2002). On the other hand, if AJE would appear too sympathetic towards the Arab world, that might harm their credibility within the Western world.

4. Hypotheses

Our hypotheses are based on several comparative empirical studies which establish that AJE actually adheres to similar journalistic norms in comparison to the main Western news networks (Loomis 2009; Melles and Muller 2012), and on Youmans and Brown's (2011) study that revealed bias against AJE material when viewers were exposed to the AJE logo. The hypotheses are:

H1: Viewers who watched the redacted videos will award higher credibility ratings to Al-Jazeera's videos in comparison to the credibility ratings awarded by the control group.

H2: Viewers who watched the redacted videos will award higher professionalism ratings to Al-Jazeera's videos in comparison to the ratings awarded by the control group.

5. Methodology

5.1 Materials and procedure

For our analysis, we used a convenience sample of 211 students of a private college in the center of Israel: 137 women (64.9 percent) and 74 men (35.1 percent), whose ages ranged from 18 to 49 (Mean = 26). The experiment was conducted in December 2011. Participants agreed to participate in the study in return for five bonus points on their final course grade. All the participants identified as secular Jewish-Israelis. Participants were told only that the experiment "is about news." The study was conducted in a lab containing 20 computer stations separated by partitions. Participants were seated at the stations and listened to the videos' audio using headphones. In the first stage of the experiment, participants completed a preliminary questionnaire comprising several sections. The first section contained demographic information, such as gender, religious affiliation, country of birth, and so on. To examine preliminary views about international news networks, we asked participants to complete a

questionnaire comprising 48 items on the perceived credibility and professionalism of various channels (12 identical items regarding each of four channels; six items addressed perceived professionalism and six items addressed perceived credibility). The questionnaire was adapted from Gaziano and McGrath's (1986) credibility scale. Participants expressed their agreement with each item on a Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Sample items included "CNN/AJE/BBC/Fox News is accurate in its reports," "CNN/AJE/BBC/Fox News separates between facts and rumors," "CNN/AJE/BBC/Fox News can be trusted," and "CNN/AJE/BBC/Fox News is a fair news producer." Internal consistency of the items concerning credibility was BBC (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$), CNN (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$), Fox News (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$), and Al-Jazeera (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$). Internal consistency of the items concerning professionalism was: BBC (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$), CNN (Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$), Fox News (Cronbach's $\alpha = .85$), and Al-Jazeera (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$).

In the third section of the preliminary questionnaire, participants completed general background questions about participants' perceptions of international news networks' perspective versus the position of Israeli authorities' perspective (sample item: "Suppose international media reported that the IDF killed a Palestinian in the West Bank but the IDF Spokesperson denied the incident. Who would you believe?"). Participants also answered questions regarding their beliefs concerning news values (sample item: "Is it important to you that networks present both sides of a story?").

After completing the preliminary questionnaire, participants were divided randomly into two groups. The first group, 112 participants, viewed news stories in which the network logo and other branding features were redacted from the videos, and therefore participants were unaware of the identity of the news company. The second group, comprising 99 participants, viewed the original, untouched videos. All participants viewed a total of eight TV reports, two reports produced by each of four news networks (BBC, CNN, Fox News, and Al-Jazeera) on two topics: the Al-Mabhouh incident in Dubai and the Iranian nuclear enrichment program. All four networks reporting on the assassination of Hamas leader Mahmoud Al-Mabhouh relied on the same hotel security-camera footage. On the issue of the Iranian uranium enrichment facility, all the networks relied heavily on similar images of Iran's nuclear facility from Google Earth and archive images of Iran's nuclear facilities.

After viewing the videos, participants rated the credibility and professionalism of each video on a scale of 1 (not credible/professional) to 5 (very credible/

professional). Finally, after results were analyzed, follow-up interviews were conducted with 67 of the participants who viewed redacted videos, to gain a better understanding of the emerging response patterns.

5.2 Results

To examine preliminary attitudes toward the credibility and professionalism of each of news networks (Figure 12.1), we conducted a one-way analysis of variance with repeated measures (ANOVA) on BBC, CNN, Fox News and Al-Jazeera, ($F(3, 207) = 24.68, p < .001$). Post hoc (Bonferroni) tests revealed that participants rated the credibility of CNN ($t(208) = 7.19, p < .001$), BBC ($t(208) = 6.22, p < .001$) and Fox News ($t(208) = 6.83, p < .001$) significantly higher than Al-Jazeera's credibility ($M = 2.88$).

Participants responded to two background questions designed to elicit their position on reporting by international media organizations versus Israeli authorities. The first question was "Suppose international media reported that the IDF killed a Palestinian in the West Bank but the IDF Spokesperson denied the incident. Who would you believe?" Findings indicated that 55.9 percent of the sample reported that they would believe the IDF Spokesperson, 17.5 percent would believe the international media, 12.8 percent said they would not believe either, and 14.8 percent did not know. The second question was, "Overall, which in your opinion is more credible: the Israeli media or the international media (e.g. CNN, BBC, The New York Times)?" Forty-two-point-two

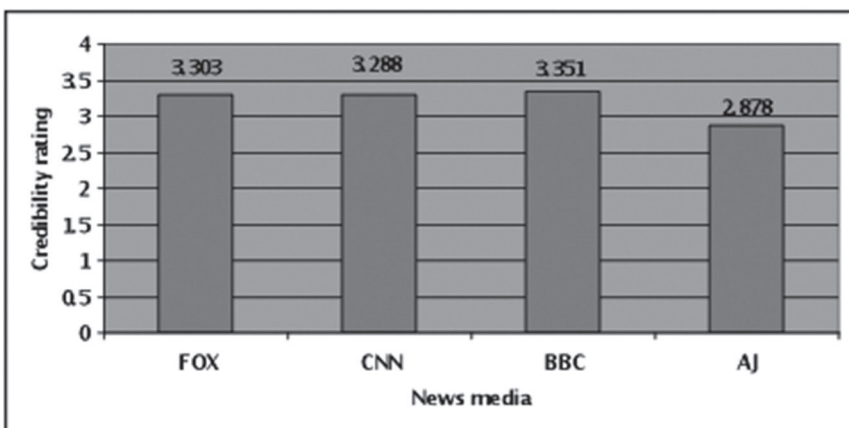


Figure 12.1 Perceived credibility ratings of news companies.

percent of the participants responded that Israeli and international media are equally credible, 35.2 percent stated that Israeli media are more credible, 17.6 percent stated that the international media are more credible, and 4 percent did not know.

Next, in order to examine our hypotheses, we conducted a two-way analysis of variance with repeated measures (ANOVA), with news network (BBC, CNN, Fox News, and Al-Jazeera) as the first independent variable, and redacted or untouched videos as the second independent variable. Our dependent variables were news report credibility and professionalism (see Tables 12.1a, 12.1b). A significant effect was obtained for news network credibility ($F_{(3, 203)} = 29.821, p < .001$) and a significant effect for news network professionalism ($F_{(3, 203)} = 227.255, p < .001$) (see Figure 12.2). Post hoc tests (Bonferroni) for the main effect showed that Fox News is perceived as more credible than BBC ($t = 3.21, p < .01$) and Al-Jazeera ($t = 7.97, p < .01$). Al-Jazeera is also perceived as less professional than BBC ($t = -4.82, p < .001$) and CNN ($t = -5.56, p < .001$). Thus, H1 and H2 were refuted.

Table 12.1a Network credibility and professionalism ratings by brand identification on videos

Network	Total			Untouched (N = 99)		Redacted (N = 112)	
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
FOX	3.91	0.67	208	3.93	0.66	3.89	0.69
BBC	2.67	0.63	208	2.75	0.62	2.59	0.63
CNN	2.75	0.74	208	2.86	0.71	2.66	0.76
AJ	2.41	0.71	208	2.43	0.72	2.39	0.70

Table 12.1b International network credibility by brand identification on videos

Network	Total			Untouched (N = 99)		Redacted (N = 112)	
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
FOX	3.76	0.67	211	3.71	0.70	3.80	0.63
BBC	3.72	0.66	211	3.74	0.63	3.71	0.69
CNN	3.80	0.71	211	3.85	0.74	3.75	0.69
AJ	3.29	0.77	211	3.36	0.77	3.23	0.77

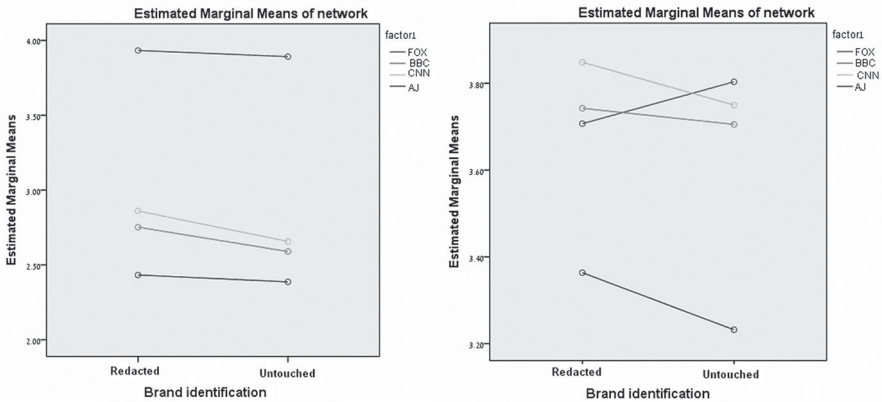


Figure 12.2 Two-way analysis of variance for repeated measures (ANOVA) with news network as the first independent variable, brand identification (redacted/untouched) as the second

Next, we conducted a three-way analysis of variance with repeated measures (ANOVA), with news network credibility and professionalism as within-subject factors, and group manipulation and news viewing intensity (“heavy viewers” were defined as participants who watch the news more than an hour per day; “light viewers” were defined as participants who watch the news less than an hour per day) as between-subject factors. Although no significant effects for professionalism were obtained, a significant main effect for network credibility ($F(3, 195) = 25.44, p < .001$), a significant two-way interaction effect for group and network ($F(3, 195) = 3.08, p < .05$), and a three-way interaction effect ($F(3, 195) = 4.29, p < .01$) were obtained.

Next, we conducted post hoc analysis (Bonferroni) to reveal the pattern of the results. We found that, among the heavy viewers, Al-Jazeera was rated as less credible than BBC ($t(195) = -7.15, p < .001$), CNN ($t(195) = -6.68, p < .001$) and Fox News ($t(195) = -7.09, p < .001$). As for the three-way interaction effect, we found that heavy viewers and light viewers differed in credibility ratings of the networks, but only for Al-Jazeera. While heavy viewers rated untouched Al-Jazeera materials as less credible ($t(195) = 2.07, p < .05$), light viewers showed the opposite pattern ($t(195) = 2.05, p < .05$) (Figure 12.3).

Following these results, we conducted follow-up interviews with 67 of the participants who viewed redacted videos. Specifically, we were interested in whether participants’ credibility and professionalism ratings were based on content, presentation, or other factors. The majority of respondents (73.1 percent,

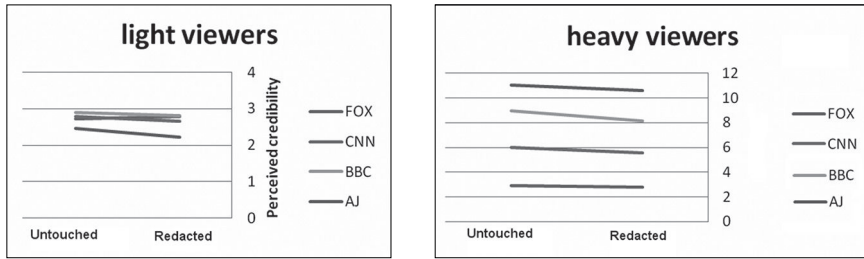


Figure 12.3 Perceived credibility of international networks, by news consumption

49 of the 67 respondents) provided similar explanations for their ratings. They stated that the main reason they awarded a lower credibility rating to the first video was the narrator's pronunciation of the Arab names, Al-Mabhouh and Hamas, with an Arab accent, which they thought indicated that he was from an Arab background. They stated that this was a strong indication for them that the video was less credible. A similar explanation was given for credibility ratings of the Iran nuclear enrichment video: interviewees were confident that the narrator's pronunciation of Arab terms, such as the locations of Iran's nuclear facilities or the name of Iran's president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, was a strong indicator of the item's (Arab) source. One participant said:

When I saw the videos I thought that I could identify an Arab accent when he pronounced Al-Mabhouh and Hamas ... I do not trust Arab media at all, they always spin events against Israel and spread propaganda ...

Other interviewees who awarded a low credibility rating to AJE videos ($n = 16$) mentioned reasons such as "sensationalism," "gut feeling," and "bias against Israel in content and presentation" as the main reasons for their attributing the low credibility to the source.

When we further asked these interviewees whether they can distinguish between Al-Jazeera Arabic and Al-Jazeera English, the majority stated that they were both the same organization, with the sole difference that "Al-Jazeera Arabic spread propaganda against Israel in Arabic, and Al-Jazeera English does it out to the rest of the world in English..."

Of the 67 interviewees, 29 heavy viewers reported that their news consumption was based mainly on Israeli channels and did not include Al-Jazeera. When viewing international news, this group typically preferred the Fox News Channel, which they believed offers the fairest representation of Israeli affairs.

6. Discussion and conclusion

Following a recent finding that segments of the US public are prejudiced against AJE (Youmans and Brown 2011), we examined whether blind assessments of AJE material affect the perceived credibility and professionalism of its news items. Against our hypotheses, both the experimental and the control group awarded lower credibility and professionalism ratings to AJE videos compared to the videos of the remaining networks. Source identification had no effect on the perceived credibility of the Al-Jazeera videos. Professionalism of AJE materials was rated similarly by both groups, and lower than the other networks. Fox News Channel's material was rated dramatically higher on professionalism than the other networks. Many of the interviewees in the follow-up interviews stated that the pronunciation of Arab names (such as Hamas and Al-Mabhouh) on AJE—perhaps the only identifying evidence that remained in the experiment (which obviously we could not eliminate)—exposed the source's connection to the Arab world, which was an indicator of lower credibility and professionalism for the interviewees. The interviewees stated openly that Arab news sources were dramatically less credible and professional. Heavy news viewers stated that their knowledge of the news world actually made them less tolerant towards AJE's materials.

The findings contradict global communication theories such as the “global public sphere” (Volkmer 1999) and “global civil society” (Castells 1996) arguments, which attribute to global networks an overpowering impact on local discourse. Rather, in line with Jensen (1998), these findings indicate that ethnocentrism still plays a major role in international news viewing decisions, especially in the case of what viewers perceive as “foreign” or “hostile” media. While the arguments regarding the “global public sphere” were based on an examination of CNN's reception in conflict zones in the Balkans (Volkmer 1999), the findings of the current study demonstrate that the reverse effect takes place with regard to the reception of Arab-source international news in “skeptical” markets, where such materials are received with ethnocentric bias. More to the point, the current study illustrates that prejudice against AJE does not depend on specific content but constitutes a more pervasive perception that Arab-produced material is biased.

The main significance of the current study is in illuminating that bias of segments of the Israeli population against AJE stems from a bias against all Arab-produced news. This study indicates that changing branding elements

such as the AJE Arabic logo or even the channel's name in those markets are unlikely to change viewers' perceptions of the channel's credibility as long as they can identify the source as Arab, based on pronunciation. The findings thus support Jensen's (1998) findings that nationality and religion are highly important factors in the reception of international media news items. This argument is strengthened further when we consider that the Israeli participants in the current study believed that the Fox News Channel, which former studies identified as pro-Israel (Orgad 2009), was significantly more professional than all the other channels.

Combined with Youmans and Brown's (2011) results, it is safe to conclude that Al-Jazeera's "moment of glory" in the West in the wake of the Arab Spring is unlikely to promote greater openness to its representation of events. The findings of the present study identify the boundaries of the Al-Jazeera effect in the West and indicate that its circles of influence and credibility are limited to specific population sectors, including immigrants from Arab countries (Michalsky, Preston, Gillespie, and Cheesman 2002), alternative media viewership (Samuel 2006), populations with a highly progressive agenda (Samuel-Azran 2010), as well as other loyal viewers (Powers and El-Nawawy 2009), while large segments of the population remain prejudiced against AJE.

The impact of the narrator's accent on the perception of credibility routes into discussions of news translation at large. If Israeli viewers discredit AJE upon hearing Arabic pronunciation, should AJE newscasters refrain from using it all? The question illustrates the acculturation vs. foreignization debate. As Bassnett puts it:

[T]he issue hinges on whether a translator should seek to eradicate traces of otherness in a text so as to reshape that text for home consumption in accordance with the norms and expectations that prevail in the target system [**acculturation**], or whether to opt for a strategy that adheres more closely to the norms of the source system [**foreignisation**].

(Bassnett 2005: 120)

If keeping to acculturation, AJE would seek to minimize the accent/pronunciation in Arabic names or words. Foreignization however would keep the accent in place.

Where is the line in the balance of making news relatable to one culture while preserving the ideals and voice of the original? If AJE were, for example, to eliminate Arabic terminology and pronunciation in order to translate their

content to Israeli culture, what would they compromise? AJE's mission is to be a "non-Anglo-American" news source—should their process of translation become too focused on acculturation, on creating segments for the target audience, AJE would lose its potential to be a truly alternative voice in the international arena.

At the same time, as seen in this experiment, something like pronunciation can instantly lead AJE's target market to discredit the station as a news source, thus negating any potential impact they could have in presenting an alternate view of a news event.

What are possible explanations for Israeli viewers' bias against Arab media? The Israeli-Arab conflict naturally resulted in suspicion towards news from Arab sources. This notion was strengthened during the 1967 Six Day War, when Arab radio stations gave false reports of Arab victory, despite Israel having crushed the Egyptian army. When listeners became aware of the falsity of these reports, riots broke out in Algiers and Tunis. The Egyptian cultural center was set on fire (Oren 2002) and many Arabs began to watch Western stations such as BBC and CNN since they did not believe their own media. As a result, Arab media developed a reputation, even in the eyes of many Arabs, of media used by authoritarian Arab rulers as an instrument of propaganda (Ayish 2002). For some, the 1996 advent of Al-Jazeera Arabic and other semi-free networks such as the Abu Dhabi channel marked the beginning of free Arab media. However, the current study indicates that segments of Jewish-Israeli society continue to consider Arab media to be unreliable.

Findings of the present study suggest that we should consider AJE's reception in the context of the "hostile media perception" effect—the theory that people with strong biases toward an issue (partisans) perceive media coverage as biased against their opinions, regardless of contents (Christen, Kannaovakun, and Gunther 2002; Gunther et al. 2001; Schmitt, Gunther, and Liebhart 2004; Vallone, Ross, and Lepper 1985). This proposal is consistent with findings that showed that when people have prior beliefs that a type of media is biased against their group they will not bother to consider its content before presuming that it is not credible (D'Alessio 2003; Giner-Sorolla and Chaiken 1994). Thus, for source credibility studies, these findings strongly support the highly important role attributed to group identification and allegiance in the evaluations of source credibility (Golan and Day 2010; Christen, Kannaovakun, and Gunther 2002; Gunther et al. 2001; Schmitt, Gunther, and Liebhart 2004; Vallone, Ross, and Lepper 1985).

Furthermore, the findings of the present study support the idea that high-level conflicts are likely to result in strongly biased credibility evaluations (Ariyanto, Hornsey, and Gallois 2007). Studies conducted on groups with low and moderate levels of conflict in areas such as sports (Arpan and Raney 2003) and elections (Duck, Terry, and Hogg 1998) found no correlation between group identification and perceived bias, possibly because these conflicts do not generate high levels of threat. In contrast, studies of high-level conflicts (interethnic and inter faith warfare) have found strong correlations between group identification and perceived bias (Matheson and Dursun 2001). The findings of the current study strengthen the notion that interethnic and interfaith conflicts—such as the Arab-Israeli conflict—promote a strong bias against sources that report the news from the rival’s perspective.

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Glossary

- Branding effect:** the expectation of consumers from the product based on the advertising promise. For example, studies identified that consumers form expectations about beef quality and taste based on its advertising campaign (i.e. elevating the spirit, invigorating, etc.).
- CNN effect:** a theory in political science and media studies that claims that 24-hour international television news channels can influence states' foreign policy. The idea is that the extent, depth, speed, and spread of networks' images forces governments to react to newscasts promptly in order to satisfy the networks' viewers. The international networks, in turn, gradually form a supranational audience that cares about events not only within their borders and sees itself as cosmopolitan.

Hostile media perception: the theory that people with strong biases toward an issue (partisans) perceive media coverage as biased against their opinions, regardless of content (Vallone, Ross, and Lepper 1985)

Public sphere: a term suggested in Jurgen Habermas' book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1962). According to Habermas, the public sphere began evolving during the Renaissance in Western Europe in line with the growth of democracy and individual liberties. The *public sphere* was formed between private individuals who gathered in coffee shops, public squares, and libraries and discussed public matters. Such discussions served as a counterweight to political authority and developed citizens' ability to challenge the authorities' actions.

Part Seven

Promotions, Commercials, Tweets, and Minisodes

An introductory note

This part provides a glimpse into some of the less explored areas of Media and Translation. Chiara Bucaria discusses the paratexts that contextualize the translation of television programs through New Media (some discussion of New Media can also be found in Chapters 7 and 8). Ying Cui and Yanli Zhao address the issue of translation in advertisement. These two topics are certainly no less influential in terms of either viewership or profit than subtitling and dubbing in films and television programs. Moreover, they signify merely the tip of the iceberg, opening the door to a discussion of online advertisement and translation of web-pages, localizations and online dictionaries, streets signs, traffic signs, and an endless list of venues, starting with the side of buses and ending with decorative coffee mugs—all of which are governed by different (and changing) space limits, social agenda, and practical considerations.

Bucaria argues convincingly that paratexts such as trailers and minisodes, alternate reality games, and user generated content have an overwhelming effect on the reception of translated television programs, as younger audiences' habits of watching and consuming televised content changes dramatically. Bucaria looks at the reception of English-language television in the Italian market, and demonstrates the extent to which paratexts might determine the success of an imported television program before even a single episode has been broadcast. She considers both the introduction of various cultural aspects (such as signifying the letter L with one's fingers in the series, *Glee*) and the extent to which the paratext is able to engage potential audiences and summon the appropriate

audience in terms of genre. Her chapter simultaneously helps the reader to decipher what at first seems like an overwhelming variety of virtual venues, and underscores the need for further study into the new methods and approaches that accompany (and contextualize) Audiovisual Translation.

Cui and Zhao conduct a thorough study that is based on a large corpus of translated advertisements in English and Chinese, covering a wide range of product categories. They demonstrate the significance, as well as the complexity of advertisement translation. As in news translation (see Chapters 11 and 12), advertisement translation involves a great deal of cultural mediation, which is based on the translator's presuppositions about the target reader's needs and expectations. From a theoretical point of view, Cui and Zhao present a synthesis of principles in linguistics, psychology, and marketing in a thought-provoking discussion that can be applied, not only to advertisement translation in languages other than English and Chinese, but to translation theory in general. As they quote the observation that "using translators" (rather than local copywriters) is "one of the pitfalls in preparing advertising campaigns," Cui and Zhao seem to suggest that more than anything else, translation is a function of purpose rather than of diction. A successful translation is the meeting of the minds of the author (or advertiser), the translator (or copywriter) and their target audience.

Trailers and Promos and Teasers, Oh My! Adapting Television Paratexts across Cultures

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1. Introduction

Recent years have seen the multiplication of the sites and modes in which audiovisual products can be consumed, which go beyond television and movie screens and extend, among others, to various portable devices and the web. Audiences—and younger viewers especially—have in many cases taken control of their audiovisual consumption, not only in terms of what they watch but also of how and when they do so. For instance, technologies such as digital recording devices and streaming allow viewers to selectively access content at their own convenience, regardless of the schedules and commercial breaks imposed by TV networks, cable channels, and movie theaters. The kind of audience and ratings fragmentation that has naturally ensued as a result (especially as far as television is concerned) has made it essential for the distribution system to become more creative and engage potential viewers in new and enticing ways and over a number of different platforms.

With a trend famously started in a systematic way by the hit TV series *LOST* in 2004 (Gray and Mittell 2007), television programs—and series in particular—have moved beyond traditional marketing and advertising strategies to create promotional material that usually includes a number of different expansions or paratexts (Genette 1987; Gray 2010) and overflow beyond the television medium per se. Such overflow (Brooker 2004) might include anything from promos, teasers, and trailers distributed on the Internet and dedicated websites to alternate reality games (ARGs), fan competitions and giveaways, flashmobs, celebrity promotional interviews and appearances, behind-the-scenes specials,

DVD bonus material, and so on. Audiences have also started to appropriate these new consumption modes and actively engage with their favorite audiovisual products by creating various forms of user generated content (UGC), such as fanvids, mash-up videos, and fanfiction, through which they reappropriate the material and create new meanings.

From a translation studies perspective, most scholarship in the subfield of Audiovisual Translation (e.g. Bollettieri Bosinelli, Heiss, Soffritti, and Bernadini 2000; Gambier and Gottlieb 2001; Chiaro et al. 2008; Díaz-Cintas and Anderman 2009) has focused on the dubbed, subtitled, and voiced-over versions of filmic and television products, with much less attention being paid to the ancillary texts, or expansions that are an essential and equally important part of these products' distribution across national borders. In fact, half way between promotional texts and fidelity-boosting productions, officially distributed television paratexts undoubtedly play a crucial role in reframing or repackaging a given audiovisual product for a specific target culture and possibly in creating new meanings and expectations. Interesting insights can therefore be gained by looking at which media paratexts are imported into a given culture and which ones do not usually reach other countries, and in the former case by analyzing if and how they were linguistically and culturally adapted.

Also, from a global media studies perspective, the international circulation of television products is often divorced from considerations regarding a possible connection between the linguistic and cultural adaptation of these products and their reception in the target country. Clearly, the choice of what paratexts/expansions to use as part of the international distribution strategy and the way these are altered for prospective viewers also potentially play a key role in the international success of an audiovisual product in general and therefore deserve scholarly attention.

In an attempt to argue that the study of linguistic and cultural issues should occupy a more prominent role than the one generally granted to them in the literature on global media and the international circulation of media products (e.g. Straubhaar 2007; Harrington and Bielby 2008; Havens 2006), this chapter proposes to look at how expansions are adapted when television series are imported into a different lingua-cultural system than the one in which those shows were originally created. By drawing on examples from officially distributed promotional content, this chapter considers which paratexts are privileged when US TV series are imported into the Italian market, and what strategies are chosen for their linguistic and cultural adaptation. On a larger

scale, this study tries to achieve a better understanding of the ways in which the strategies employed in the adaptation of various expansions for Italian audiences help repackage and reframe the shows for the target culture, specifically in terms of genre and viewer expectations. In this sense, this essay deals with translation in the broader sense of cultural adaptation or transposition rather than with translation meant exclusively in the more traditional textual sense of source language to target language transfer.

The next part offers a general overview of the various possibilities for the use of paratextual elements related to television series, using them as a comparison for the kind of paratextual information made available to Italian audiences in general. The third part will present two case studies on two very different television series, *Glee* and *Breaking Bad*, and will look at if and how their official paratexts were distributed in Italy.

2. Television paratexts in the source and target cultures

From their opening title sequences, promos, and posters, all the way to fan-created art, Facebook fan pages, and Twitter accounts, television series now come complete with a sometimes very semiotically complex apparatus of ancillary texts surrounding the show, which offer a potentially infinite array of combinations spanning both virtual and real-world platforms. For the most popular TV series, the amount of expansions is such that the series itself is not to be considered as the text from which the expansions originate but simply as one of the ways in which that particular narrative universe is expressed (Gray 2010). *LOST* (ABC 2004–10) was perhaps one of the first and most striking examples of this brand of transmedia storytelling (Jenkins 2006), in which a particularly rich paratextual apparatus was put in place around a TV series, with ABC launching a number of paratextual contents on platforms beyond the television screen. These famously included innovative advertising tools aimed at expanding the show's background and at getting fans involved in the *LOST* mythology. Also, as a quick search on YouTube clearly shows, *LOST* was extremely appealing for viewers, who have engaged in the creation of UGCs of various kinds. Popular genres include fanvids and trailers, mash-ups and season recaps with scenes from the show, not to mention countless examples of parodic videos.

It is safe to say that, as far as expansions are concerned, similar patterns to the ones described above can be found for other TV series that have achieved

popularity or even cult status, and therefore tend to originate a considerable number of paratexts. More recent examples include an ARG for *Dexter*; the launch of a real-life “Bluth’s Original Frozen Banana” stand in different global locations to promote *Arrested Development*’s much-anticipated fourth season on Netflix; “The Science of Deduction”¹ and “The blog of Dr. John H. Watson”² websites, supposedly updated by *Sherlock*’s characters Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson respectively; and the official Twitter account for *Downton Abbey* (@DowntonAbbey), which offers fans not only updates on the series’ developments and memorable quotes from the show, but also bits of historical information on what life would have been like in a mansion like Downton at the beginning of the twentieth century. For instance: “4.30am: Daisy is already up, creeping into the bedrooms to light the fires. #Downton.” As far as fan-made paratexts are concerned, series as diverse as *How I Met Your Mother*, *The Big Bang Theory*, and *Mad Men* have also been particularly productive. However, despite the sometimes overwhelming wealth of fascinating paratexts that are available for an exploration of television expansions—and perhaps also precisely because of this—for the purposes of this chapter the main focus of the analysis will be limited to officially distributed paratexts, while UGC will be mentioned only in passing. In fact, while a study of fan artifacts as one possible expression of fandom is an aspect that has been extensively addressed in the literature on fan studies as a subfield of media studies (e.g. Jenkins 1992; Hills 2002; Gray and Mittel 2007), close consideration of the ways in which viewers actively engage with the material and of the reasons behind fan’s affective involvement with it would be beyond the scope of this chapter.

When it comes to officially distributed paratextual material, the reasons for which networks and distributors engage in their production and commercialization are relatively straightforward. From a marketing point of view, it makes sense that television producers—perhaps even more so than film producers, given the serial nature of television—aim at keeping the viewers’ interest alive while a TV series is between seasons (between episodes, even) or on hiatus for other programming or production reasons. This is especially true in today’s highly competitive media marketplace, in which dozens of new TV series are launched every year in the United States on both networks and cable channels but in which, mainly due to poor ratings, only a handful manage to stay on

¹ <http://www.thescienceofdeduction.co.uk> (last accessed March 23, 2014).

² <http://www.johnwatsonblog.co.uk>. (last accessed March 23, 2014).

air. In this scenario, viewers are considered as particularly fickle consumers, especially since the traditional season system has become more flexible and series do not all premiere in the fall but might debut in January, or have a mid-season finale and return a few weeks or months later. Paradoxically, in the era of narrowcasting, in which programs more closely target specific audience segments, it has become easier to lose viewers.

Therefore, whether they are meant to increase interest in a series in order to boost its ratings or DVD/Blu-ray sales, or as a way to engage a series' fan base on an affective level or both, the number and nature of officially distributed paratextual contents for a given series clearly serve as a gauge of how producers intend for the show to be perceived and what genre-related aspects of the show are meant to be foregrounded. In other words, we could think of paratexts as a magnifying glass strategically placed over aspects of the series that are meant to be highlighted and reiterated in order to encourage the correct reading(s) of the narrative universe at hand. For example, in keeping with the series' complicated plot twists and mythology, *LOST*'s expansions were often presented as games or puzzles, with clues to be found and interpreted, red herrings, and so on. On the other hand, official paratexts and website contents for *Smash* and *Nashville*, two dramas set in the worlds of Broadway musical theater and country music respectively, foreground the music, glamor, and stardom components of the shows (e.g. song clips and games) and encourage the viewers' engagement with aspects concerning the romantic relationships and personal rivalries of the characters (e.g. trivia and discussion boards). At the same time, this process reinforces some specific interpretations of the shows and elicits precise expectations in the case of entryway paratexts (Gray 2010), such as promos, for viewers who are not yet familiar with the series.

From a global point of view, the paratexts that are created for a series' distribution and advertising in the country of origin are not automatically transposed or even recreated, either in quantity or in quality, for the international market. This may be a result of how much is invested in the show by the distributors in the target country (in other words: how much they believe in the show), which in turn depends in no small part on how successful the show was in the country of origin. However, this may also simply be a consequence of the visibility of the channel on which the series is aired in the target country and of the resources spent to create hype. For instance, *Switched at Birth*, an ABC family drama about two teenage girls switched at birth and their families, was relatively well received—and perhaps unexpectedly so—in the United States,

where it has recently received a Peabody Award for its portrayal of the deaf and hard-of-hearing community. The first season of *SAB* was aired in Italy on DeeJay TV, an up-and-coming channel, which, similarly to MTV, aims at expanding its programming beyond music videos to include shows appealing to youth audiences. However, information on *SAB* is difficult to find in Italian. No DVDs have been released so far, and there is hardly any promotion on the DeeJay TV's website, where no plans are announced to air the second season of the show. This is but a small example of a general trend that concerns a considerable number of US television series in Italy. Network websites that are devoted to such series seem to not be very frequently updated, and not much information is uploaded once the series has premiered. It is worth noting that, although there might be cultural reasons that a given program is not successful once it crosses national borders (e.g. Kuipers 2011), it is undeniable that in today's media landscape, paratexts as a promotional tool also have a crucial impact on international distribution and that failure to create hype around a show in the receiving culture results almost invariably in diminished success.

Another reason for the less conspicuous presence and effectiveness of television paratexts in Italy is the temporal and spatial shift between the different countries. In most cases, television series are aired in Italy at best with a few months delay with respect to the United States in order to allow for their adaptation through dubbing. This factor might make it more challenging to exploit and sustain the already existing but ephemeral hype wave that a given series was able to ride in its source country (see Barra 2009). For example, a common paratextual resource used to generate hype is what I would call semi-official initiatives carried out by members of the cast or creator/showrunner of a series that are aimed at expanding awareness for the show. These include, for instance, tweets reminding fans of when a given series will be aired every week (often accompanied by exclusive photos from the set), which become especially significant in the cases in which a show is at risk of being cancelled and creating hype about it could feasibly increase ratings. Also, *Cougar Town* showrunner Bill Lawrence personally organized viewing parties throughout the United States with members of the cast and writers, in order to thank fans for their loyalty and promote the show suffering from low ratings. Clearly, these tools' time and space specificity makes it difficult to adapt or repurpose them when a series is relocated to a different country. In fact, even if Italians were following an actor or showrunner on Twitter, Facebook, or Instagram and they were able to understand their messages in English, their reminders that episode X is about

to air on the US West Coast months before the series is scheduled to reach Italy would probably not be much use to either party.

Also, these initiatives openly acknowledge the audience's direct engagement as a crucial tool in keeping a series alive. Viewers' interest is very much sought after in the source country, since, among other things, positive audience response is often key to the continuation of the show itself. This does not happen as prominently and aggressively in the case of imported shows, since distributors do not rely as heavily on the target viewers' interest for the series' success. In other words, series that have already been imported will most probably be aired anyway—although perhaps with slight scheduling adjustments—despite their ratings in the target country (Havens 2006). This might be a further reason for what seems like a reduced interest in creating hype for television series once they have reached the receiving culture.

3. Case studies: *Glee* and *Breaking Bad*

In the present section I analyze issues related to the adaptation of television paratexts for Italian audiences by looking at two specific US series: *Glee* (FOX, 2009–ongoing) and *Breaking Bad* (*BB*) (AMC 2008–13), which were purposely chosen as case studies for a number of reasons. First, they are both well-known and popular television series in the United States, where a considerable amount of hype was created around them through the skillful use of paratextual material, although the latter series has admittedly gained more widespread critical recognition than the former. These shows are generally associated with two very different genres, although *Glee* has been known to dabble into dramatic storylines and themes³ and *BB* frequently shows clear undertones of dark humor. This allows us to consider if and how genre differences are also reflected in the kinds of promotional paratexts that were distributed, for example, by ideally addressing the different kinds of viewers to whom the series tend to appeal. Finally, both series have been airing in Italy for the past few years, where they also reached a considerable amount of popularity and paratexts were accordingly created. The next few paragraphs contextualize the two series and mention some of the paratexts available to US audiences.

³ For a recent example see episode 4.18, which takes place during what appears to be a school shooting.

Glee, which is commonly referred to as a musical comedy or a comedy/drama, is a series created by Ryan Murphy, Brad Falchuk, and Ian Brennan. It revolves around the McKinley High School Glee Club in Lima, Ohio, its underdog members, their teachers, and sometimes parents. The pilot episode of *Glee* premiered on FOX on May 19, 2009, and the series currently airs on the same network on Tuesdays at 8 p.m. *Glee* is currently in its fifth season and was renewed until season 6. At its onset, *Glee* became very popular in the United States and worldwide, and was generally well-received by critics. The series and its cast members also won a number of awards, among which are the Golden Globe, the Screen Actors Guild Award, and several Emmys. With its combination of lighthearted entertainment and storylines often associated with socially and politically relevant issues—such as the importance of arts programs in schools, its stance against bullying, and the acceptance of people who are “different” one way or another—*Glee* has managed to develop an inclusive discourse in which its fans, or “gleeks,” are constantly acknowledged as a crucial part of its success. Despite fluctuating critical response over the past few seasons, *Glee* has undoubtedly been able to generate considerable hype around the show and its characters/cast members with countless promotional materials and expansions, such as cast musical performances and tours, fan competitions, a 3D concert movie, behind-the-scenes specials, and even Twitter accounts for the main *Glee* characters. Also, apart from an official Twitter account for the show, cast members and the showrunner Ryan Murphy regularly tweet about the show, often including pictures from the set, the recording studio, or red carpet events.

Created by Vince Gilligan, *Breaking Bad* aired on the cable channel AMC (originally American Movie Classics) for five seasons from 2008 to 2013. The series, which is usually referred to as a drama, revolves around the life and family of Walter White (Bryan Cranston), a high school chemistry teacher from Albuquerque, New Mexico, who turns to producing methamphetamine to provide for his wife and children once he is diagnosed with terminal lung cancer. Consistently hailed by critics as one of—if not the—best television series of all time, the series has been praised for both its writing and acting. *BB* has received multiple nominations and awards for its cast members, notably Bryan Cranston, Aaron Paul (as Jesse Pinkman), and Giancarlo Esposito (as Gustavo Fring), and as a series in general. The show almost immediately developed a cult following, with fans actively engaging with the storylines and characters through venues such as fan art and fanvids available on YouTube. In terms of officially distributed paratexts, the AMC website contains an outstanding wealth

of paratextual elements. Among these are a host of video clips (many of which are not available for viewing outside the United States) containing either scenes from the various episodes or “making of” footage, cast interviews, and a series of weekly podcasts in which *BB* editor Kelley Dixon offers insider information on the production aspects of the show. The official website also contains links to Saul Goodman’s (Bob Odenkirk) dedicated website⁴ and to “Saul’s philanthropic causes” page, which in turn links to the website created in the series by Walter’s son Walter Jr (RJ Mitte) to raise money for his father’s surgery.⁵ Other *BB* characters are also foregrounded on the official website; for instance, Marie (Betsy Brandt) and Hank (Dean Norris) each have their own blog.

The following sections take into consideration a selection of officially distributed paratexts for *Glee* and *Breaking Bad*, in order to shed some light on the ways in which adapted paratexts help repackaging a television series for an Italian linguistic and cultural context. Other issues are also addressed, such as the ones concerning scheduling (Havens 2006: 119) and brand identity.

3.1 The *Gleetalian* job

FOX Italia (a subscription channel) has been airing *Glee* since its Italian premiere on Christmas Day 2009, with the first season broadcast as of January 2010 during the Thursday primetime slot. The basic version of *Glee* is dubbed, with the addition of Italian subtitles for the song lyrics. However, as of the second half of the show’s second season (January 2011), FOX started airing a subtitled version of the show’s episodes 24 hours after they had been aired in the United States. This change was introduced along with an extensive promotional campaign, and each subtitled episode was followed only a week later by the dubbed version of the same episode. This is a considerably shorter time than Italian viewers are used to waiting when it comes to the adaptation of foreign audiovisual products. Unquestionably, this was an innovative move for an Italian channel and is a testament to FOX Italia’s investment in the show, especially with younger audiences, and to the choice to give the show a very prominent position within the channel’s programming.

About a year after *Glee*’s run on FOX, the national network Italia 1, traditionally famous for targeting younger audiences, started airing the first season

⁴ <http://www.bettercallsaul.com> (last accessed March 23, 2014).

⁵ <http://www.savewalterwhite.com> (last accessed March 23, 2014).

of the show in strip programming. The selected time slot was 7.30–8.30 p.m., which in Italy corresponds to a pre-primetime slot and to dinnertime for most people. This scheduling choice, which might at first seem unusual due to *Glee*'s well-known potential to attract primetime audiences all over the world, was explained in an interview⁶ by Pier Carlo Guglielmi, head of scheduling for Italia 1. Guglielmi explained that it would have been riskier for the network to air reruns of a series already aired elsewhere in a primetime slot, and that, at the same time, an afternoon slot would not have reached as many potential viewers. Despite the very practical motivations offered by Guglielmi, this scheduling choice also points to a key element in the way in which *Glee* was reinterpreted for Italian audiences. The show was perceived in Italy primarily as a teen or, at best, family show, a reframing that does not necessarily appear to be in line with the creators' intentions. This preferred interpretation was confirmed when *Glee* was later moved to the 4.30 p.m. slot, which is particularly suitable for most school-aged viewers, who in Italy do not attend school in the afternoon.

FOX Italia's promotional strategies for *Glee* include, among others, a very rich website, on which fans can find numerous videos and musical performances from the show, photo galleries, and news. In the following paragraphs, however, I propose to look at some of the on-air promos used for the Italian launch of the show,⁷ namely one example in which the dubbed Italian version was superimposed on the English original and two cases in which new, localized promos were created.⁸ However, a preliminary note is in order concerning the pervasiveness of the *Glee* logo/title and its implications for translation/adaptation. In particular, it is easy to see how the visual elements embedded in the logo, namely a thumb and index finger with the palm outward spelling the letter L, play a crucial role in immediately framing the show for its American viewers, in that *Glee* is indeed, for the most part, about "losers." I suggest that the fact that the "L-Loser" correspondence might not be immediately recognizable for Italian viewers has yielded mixed results in how the show was initially framed for this particular target audience, and perhaps confronted the Italian audiovisual translators and distributors with the challenge of adopting more creative adaptation strategies elsewhere. Humorously enough, the visual and verbal discrepancy in

⁶ <http://www.tvblog.it/post/23355/glee-nel-preserale-di-italia-1-sara-un-successo-o-una-debacle> (accessed May 26, 2013).

⁷ Some of these examples were used in a blog entry for *Antenna—Responses to media and culture*.

⁸ An interview with FOX Italia's head of programming has confirmed that they were able to create promos for *Glee* as they saw fit, without interference from FOX (US).

the use of the L-Loser sign on screen is made abundantly prominent at the end of one of the promos for the show, where we see a close up of Sue Sylvester (Jane Lynch) putting her two, L-shaped fingers on her forehead and clearly mouthing the word “losers” (literally translated in Italian as “perdenti,” while the best functional equivalent would instead be “sfigati,” more similar to “not cool”). An interview I conducted with FOX Italia (November 2011) has revealed that this was not a concern for Italian executives, and that the L gesture was considered to be already widely popular among Italian teenagers because of their regular exposure to countless occurrences both on TV and film.⁹ This statement once again clearly indicates what *Glee*’s preferred audience segment is in the eyes of Italian executives.

The dubbed promo for the first season that I would like to consider here provides an almost identical structure in its English and Italian versions. However, a very basic linguistic problem contributes to convey diverging implications in the translated version. In the English promo we see some of the characters talking directly at the camera and in a rapid succession, either disparagingly stating “You’re a geek!” or proudly admitting “I’m a gleeek.” This way we immediately learn which characters are “gleeks” who are convinced—at least at the beginning of the first season—that their counterparts are nothing but geeks. Of course the portmanteau “gleek” poorly translates into Italian, with the result that the Italian dubbing gives up trying to find a replacement for it altogether. Undeniably, this is due also to lip-synch issues, which in this case did not leave much room to maneuver. Both “gleek” and “geek” are rendered simply as “Glee,” as in the following exchange:

ENG: *I’m a gleeek/You’re a geek*
 IT: *Io sono Glee/Tu sei Glee?*
[I am Glee/Are you Glee?]

Needless to say, part of the aggressiveness inherent in the use of the word “geek,” and the stark contrast it creates between the popular students and the losers, are downplayed in the pragmatically much weaker Italian question “*Tu sei Glee?*” Also, the “geek” element embedded in the English version is absent from the Italian one, with the result that Italian viewers are missing the important piece of information by which members of the Glee Club are

⁹ This is in contrast with previous data on the perception of the “Loser” gesture in dubbing (Bucaria and Chiaro 2007) collected in 2000–1, which can perhaps be seen as an example of cultural shift brought about by increased exposure to foreign audiovisual products.

also, almost by definition, “geeks.” The accompanying music once again plays a crucial role in framing the show, with the English version using Beethoven’s dramatic Fifth Symphony, and the Italian version reverting to the safe and recognizable cast rendition of Journey’s song “Don’t stop believing.” The final result seems to invite different audience expectations, with the English-language viewers perhaps getting a better sense both of some of the typical high school conflicts that will be portrayed in the show and of the ironic and playful commentary on these dynamics, which stand out as a distinctive feature of the show.

An increased amount of creativity seems to be put forward in the locally produced promos. The promo for *Glee*’s second season, aired by FOX Italia in the Fall of 2010, brings together scenes from the new episodes, while the voice over informs us that *Glee* is back with more auditions, nice songs, and so on. Some of the keywords heard in the voice over appear on screen with a slightly modified Italian spelling, namely with a “-ee” instead of “-i” ending, for example: *audizionee* [auditions], *televisionee* [lit. televisions], *canzonee* [songs], and so on. While it could be argued that using the dubbing actress who lends her voice to Sue Sylvester to promote *Glee* in such an upbeat, enthusiastic tone might not have been the most consistent choice, the promo clearly stands out for its verbal and visual creativity in superimposing alternative spelling on a grammatical feature of the Italian language, namely the plural noun and adjective ending “-i.” Thus the promo can be seen as successfully complying with the show’s verbal playfulness, which is evident, for example, in the creation of “gleek” and other *Glee*-inspired neologisms, and in Sue’s elaborate and colorful insults. Perhaps building up on *Glee*’s hugely successful first season, this promo as a whole seems to be more daring than its first season counterparts. In fact, the inclusion of the clip in which Kurt makes explicit reference to himself being gay and Mercedes being black—and to these features making both of them “trendy”—calls attention specifically to some of the minority and identity issues that are prominently addressed in the show.

The second case I consider here is the promotional campaign launched by the national network Italia 1. Italia 1 adapted its well-known slogan “Italia Uno!” by transforming it into “Gleeitalia Uno!” In the promo we see a number of TV personalities from Italia 1 putting their L-shaped fingers on their foreheads and exclaiming “Gleeitalia Uno!” The off-screen voice over at the end informs us that *Glee*, the “event TV series of the year,” is coming soon to Italia 1. This promotional campaign obviously lends itself to interpretation from a number

of different angles. First of all, on a linguistic level, it shows a certain amount of creativity on a phonetic level in attaching the title of the show to the name of the network, thus superimposing new content on an existing—and highly recognizable—promotional campaign for the network as a whole. Second, a certain cultural shift seems to be occurring as far as the “Loser” gesture is concerned. While we cannot safely assume that the majority of Italian viewers will be familiar with the L-Loser association, the Italian VIPs—who keep repeating the gesture seemingly unaware of its cultural significance in English—also seem to invite Italian audiences to view the ‘L’ in the logo and on their foreheads simply as a visual extension of the /l/ phoneme in the word *Glee*, thus skipping the cultural significance of the gesture altogether. Moreover, as far as the use of local celebrities to endorse the show is concerned, we could perhaps see this as mimicking and localizing the same strategy used—perhaps with equally awkward results—by FOX in the United States and by FOX Italia at the beginning of the show’s first season. However, one could legitimately wonder whether the use of celebrity images to promote the show from the start might have somewhat skewed the ways in which potential Italian viewers have approached the *Glee* phenomenon. Specifically, in addition to the positive associations normally invited by celebrity endorsement, I would also suggest that the use of mostly young, hip celebrities to promote *Glee* from its first season in Italy might have reinforced glamorous expectations that perhaps clash with the show’s message of being confident with who you are even, and especially, if you are perceived as a nerd or a “loser.”

3.2 Collateral reactions: *Breaking Bad*

The Italian dubbed version of *Breaking Bad* premiered on the subscription channel AXN (November 15, 2008) under the title *Breaking Bad—Reazioni collaterali* [Collateral Reactions]. The show was broadcast on AXN during the Tuesday 10 p.m slot and reruns were later aired on the digital channel RAI4 starting in October 2010. A subtitled version of the show is available on DVD. The on-air collocation of the series in Italy deserves some attention in itself, as an important part of the way in which the show was relocated to this new linguistic and cultural context.

BB was produced, among others, by Sony Pictures Television and, as noted earlier, was originally aired by the US cable channel AMC, which in the last few years has also produced other successful and critically acclaimed series,

most notably *Mad Men*, *The Killing*, and *The Walking Dead*. These series—and the channel by extension—have come to be associated in many ways with quality television, which in the case of TV series is generally characterized by narratively complex (Mittell 2006) writing and high aesthetic standards, and frequently appeals to more educated, niche audience segments. On the other hand, Sony-owned AXN could easily be placed at the opposite end of the quality TV spectrum, with its programming more reminiscent of the daily schedule of Spike TV in the United States. Therefore, *BB* clearly stands out among the various action/crime series and films, and even soft-porn programming, that usually air on AXN and that traditionally invite associations with a low-brow, probably gender-skewed viewership. However, the framing of *BB* as a predominantly male-oriented, action-packed series that is brought about by its mere presence on AXN does not only alter the focus of the original series, but it elicits some precise audience expectations. For instance, habitual AXN viewers will no doubt be gratified by the admitted presence of genre specificities in *BB* (such as crime-related storylines, violence, and fast-paced, action sequences), but at the same time it is likely that some potential viewers unfamiliar with the series' reputation abroad will purposely avoid watching it, perhaps precisely due to their preconceived notions about the rest of AXN's programming. While I am not suggesting that some of *BB*'s narrative and genre features may not in general be more appealing to a male audience, it is safe to say that the series is not necessarily framed as an exclusively male-oriented show on AMC and that the channel itself does not explicitly carry similar connotations.

Also, it is worth noting that AMC and AXN do not only differ in terms of their programming choices, but also in terms of the brand identity that they put forward. While AMC uses slogans such as “Something more” and “Story matters here” which, similarly to HBO's “It's not TV. It's HBO” tagline, aim at differentiating their brand from the rest of cable programming and traditional network TV, in its Italian incarnation AXN is dubbed “la TV in azione” (or “TV in action”), which explicitly suggests the associations discussed above. By contrast, RAI4, which airs reruns of *BB* on Wednesdays at 11.30 p.m, has chosen the tagline “Tante TV in una” (literally “many TVs in one”), which can be seen as a testament to its more varied programming choices, including edgier imported series and films. Incidentally, RAI4 also aired reruns of *Mad Men* up to season 4 and will be airing the first run of the series in Italy as of season 5.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, a larger quantity of officially distributed paratextual material for *BB* is available in English than in Italian. The DVDs for the four seasons released in Italy tend to contain the same bonus material as the US versions, even including the same cover art and the pictures used on the inside leaflet. Dubbed television promos, too, closely mirror their US counterparts, both in style and tone. Most promos even kept the positive critics' reviews quickly appearing on screen in English and, except for one case, no effort was made to make them accessible to Italian viewers by either subtitling them or providing a voice over in Italian. This could perhaps be seen as further confirmation of AXN's diminished interest in promoting the series as quality television, which the reviews clearly accomplish for an English-speaking audience.

The portion of AXN's website devoted to *BB* is not as rich in paratexts as its AMC equivalent, although the ones that are present on the Italian website are clearly adapted and not locally produced. Two photo galleries show examples from the Breaking Bad Art Project—through which a number of artists created *BB* inspired art—and a number of promotional pictures, mainly of Walter and Jesse. Other sections include short information about the characters, brief synopses of the latest episodes, and a comments page on which no comments have been posted at the moment of writing, as opposed to the numerous remarks left by fans on the AMC website. The only case in which AMC is explicitly mentioned as the original source for *BB* is a small news section announcing the channel's decision to schedule the second part of the fifth season on August 11, 2013. The website also features a video section containing three short clips, among which is a promotional segment for season 5 with dubbed scenes from *BB* and subtitled cast and creator interview excerpts. Also in this section is a long interview—found on the AMC website as well—in which late-night talk show host Conan O'Brien interviews the *BB* cast and creator. The video is surprisingly presented in English without any linguistic mediation whatsoever, which is perhaps another indication of what looks like AXN's seeming lack of commitment to popularize the series among Italian-speaking viewers. More in general, this might also be interpreted as an assumption that most Italian *BB* fans who have access to the website are proficient enough in (American) English to be able to understand not only all the different speakers (one of whom has a speech impediment) but also all the nuances of Conan's frequent humorous comments. Needless to say, such assumption has the effect of limiting access to the paratext in question for fans whose English is not up to the task, therefore

not performing the promotional and inclusive function that is typical of many similar expansions.

Perhaps some of the most interesting observations on the ways in which *BB* has been repackaged for Italian audiences can be made on the basis of the paratexts that stand out for their absence. Specifically, I'm referring to a considerable number of original minisodes that are available on the AMC website (although not in Italy) and on YouTube, but that to the best of my knowledge have not been distributed in Italian, and certainly not in such a prominent way. Some of these are conceived as short commercials for lawyer Saul Goodman's practice and they all repeatedly reference his famous tagline "Better call Saul," while others feature Jesse Pinkman's rock band "Twaüght Hammër" (who also has a dedicated Facebook page) and his dim-witted friends. Hank and Marie's role playing during sex also finds a spot in one of the minisodes, as well as Marie's comically incoherent video diary entry for her therapist. In the minisode titled "The break-in," Walter enlists the help of one of Jesse's friends to retrieve a vacuum cleaner that his wife has accidentally sold during a yard sale. And in "The confession," on his wedding day, Hank tells Walter about his unplanned sexual encounter with a transvestite at a bar called "The ivory swallow."

What seems to be most noteworthy about these minisodes is that they purposely foreground an unquestionably comic element that is only hinted at during *BB*'s full-length episodes. In fact, although as mentioned earlier, the series often uncovers its darkly humorous vein, its main storylines remain focused on the characters' dramatic lives in a tone that is generally serious, with the exception of a few comic-relief moments mainly between Walter and Jesse or in situations in which Saul Goodman is involved.¹⁰ The existence of such overtly comic expansions is therefore a demonstration that this comic vein in *BB* is not only acknowledged but also even openly encouraged and consciously amplified by its creator and producers. The fact that these paratexts have not (yet?) been distributed in Italian seems to point in the direction of a partially different framing of the series in the target culture. More specifically, we could perhaps argue that because a prominent component of the *BB* paratextual tonal range has not been made available to Italian viewers, they are likely to perceive the show as slightly different from the US audience. In other words, the characteristic tonal changes of *BB* are not given the same amount of resonance in Italy,

¹⁰ Incidentally, casting comic actor Bob Odenkirk (from *Mr. Show with Bob and David* and *Saturday Night Live*) is in itself a declaration of intent as far as the show's tone is concerned.

which therefore may produce a less ambiguous perception of the series exclusively as a crime drama series. Most choices made in the Italian distribution of *BB* therefore seem to point in the direction of a simplification of this product, perhaps in an attempt to categorize it more clearly according to existing genre conventions and audience expectations. This interpretation seems to be in line with previous research on the adaptation of film titles in Italy (Bucaria 2010), in which a tendency was noted to choose Italian titles that somehow clearly guide potential viewers toward a definite indication of its genre or plot, especially in the case of more ambiguous or neutral titles in English. The same trend can also be noticed in the downplaying of darkly humorous lines in the dubbing of series such as *House MD* and *Nurse Jackie*, which appear to be in contrast with the dominant dramatic tone of those series as a whole (Bucaria 2009).

Finally, a cursory look at fan-made paratexts also points to a discrepancy between the amount of hype generated around *BB* in Italy and in the United States or in English-speaking countries in general. While US fans have engaged in countless examples of content reappropriation—among which is a video in which scenes from *BB* are edited together to reframe the series as a typical ABC sitcom—considerably fewer fan videos are available in Italian. This might have something to do with the fact that, similarly to *The Sopranos* a few years ago, *BB* has managed to create a cult following in the United States, where fans eagerly await each new season. This is apparently not the case in Italy, where the hype for this TV series does not seem to have reached quite the same level of the United States, or at least not enough to reach cult status and consequently generate fan-created paratextual elements.

4. Conclusion

An analysis of various kinds of official paratexts for *Glee* and *Breaking Bad* in Italy has revealed both some differences between the ways in which the two series were distributed in Italy and some discrepancies regarding the elements that were foregrounded for an Italian viewership. Although a lower quantity of Italian paratexts was found for both series in comparison to their US counterparts, *Glee* seems to have produced a higher impact in terms of paratextual content. This difference might be due in part to the two shows' perceived intrinsic potential to attract viewers cross-culturally. For example, it could be hypothesized that a musical comedy featuring talented young performers and catchy pop songs,

peppered with abundant references to American pop culture, might be seen as containing a certain glamorous appeal for Italian viewers, who perhaps will not be equally fascinated with a more realistic, darker and grittier portrayal of crime and illegal drug trafficking in small-town United States. On the other hand, it seems also apparent that lesser effort has been put into promoting *BB* in a way that would effectively reflect the show's multi-layered potential. As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, FOX and Italia 1 prominently showcased *Glee*, both in terms of on-air promotion and scheduling choices. In particular, similarly to what the channel has been doing since its inception for other high-profile shows (not necessarily from FOX), FOX Italia engaged in an intense promotional campaign. This campaign included initiatives aimed at familiarizing the audience with *Glee* by bringing it closer to the target culture and by diligently engaging its potential fan base. In addition to the promos commented on above, FOX Italia advertised *Glee*'s premiere with a flash mob in a busy shopping mall in Rome a few days before Christmas 2009, and with the launch of a web-based competition for the best fan rendition of songs featured in the show, for which winners received tickets to a *Glee* concert in London. It seems safe to say that, on the whole, *Glee* is being brought to Italian viewers through insightful use of locally produced paratexts, which strategically appeal and reach out to both prospective and established gleeks. This was clearly not the case with *BB*, which both AXN and RAI4 schedule in a late-night, off-peak slot, and for which neither channel has engaged in the creation of locally relevant paratexts.

Further issues were also addressed concerning contextual aspects that seem crucial to the cross-cultural adaptation of television products, such as the brand identity of the channels on which they are broadcast in the target country. Specifically, the hypothesis was put forward that, as opposed to *Glee*, *BB* airs on a channel which programming is mostly inconsistent with the quality television discourse surrounding the series and AMC in the United States, a factor that might have skewed—at least initially—the show's perception on the part of Italian potential viewers. Admittedly, this happened to a lesser extent with *Glee*, since FOX has the additional advantage of being able to promote and air its own series. In fact, because FOX tends to air its own programming transnationally, we can assume that the local incarnations are granted better control of, and access to, copyrighted contents, which could ideally guarantee a certain transnational brand continuity for its shows. And, as noted earlier, presumably AXN is less invested in *BB*'s success since it is an exception within the channel's usual programming choices.

In conclusion, applying Venuti's (1995) terminology, we could imagine placing *Glee* and *BB*'s promotional paratexts along a continuum between what Venuti calls a domesticating and a foreignizing approach. In his terms, domestication implies translating foreign texts by figuratively bringing them closer to the target audience, while foreignization involves that the translator bring the audience closer to the source text. As noted earlier, in the case of *Glee* mixed results were obtained, with some paratexts specifically appealing to local audiences—for example through the use of verbal playfulness in Italian and constant engagement of its fan base—and others keeping or even placing emphasis on more foreignizing elements, such as the L gesture. On the other hand, AXN's approach tends toward the foreignizing end, sometimes quite literally—as in the case of the Conan O'Brien interview that was left in English. In other cases, this approach is more general because it leaves it up to the viewers to fill in the blanks of the missing pieces of the paratextual puzzle, as if implying that the more committed *BB* fans will have to go and look elsewhere for more information on the series. We should note, however, that FOX's approach is in many ways unique in the Italian landscape and further research is needed in order to gather more evidence on which of the two approaches is more widespread when it comes to the cross-cultural adaptation of paratextual elements.

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Glossary

Brand/channel identity: the specific identity and market positioning of a television channel/network, which are constructed through careful use of a set of various elements and marketing strategies, such as channel promos and taglines, scheduling, and program selection. These elements contribute to define how a specific channel is perceived by its potential viewership, especially with respect to other channels.

Foreignization/domestication: translation strategies in which the translator chooses respectively to make the translated text more similar to the source text—for example by maintaining more obscure cultural references and linguistic calques even at the expense of textual fluency (foreignization)—or to conform it with the target culture to the extent that the text almost sounds like it was originally written in the target language, for example by adapting cultural references and using completely transparent, target language expressions and terms (domestication).

Paratext: applying Genette's concept to media texts, we can say the paratext is comprised of all those elements accompanying the media text, anything from opening credit sequences and trailers to TV series' websites and fan fiction. These paratexts are not to be considered as mere ancillary elements but as important meaning-making sites.

Mediation of Cultural Images in Translation of Advertisements: Alterations and Cultural Presuppositions¹

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Introduction

This research on the translation of advertisements in newspapers and magazines is inspired by a phenomenon that is very common in this field. Translations of advertising texts are flexible and creative and in some cases the cultural images presented in translations are completely different from those in the original texts. In global marketing and advertising, many experts object to the employment of translators to translate advertisements, saying that “using translators is one of the pitfalls in preparing advertising campaigns” (Ho 2004: 238). Thus professional translators are seldom asked to translate advertising texts (Torresi 2010: 8). Instead, it is suggested that local copywriters be employed to carry out such projects, as they are supposed to know more about the target culture and the target readers. In this way, most companies follow the recommendation that “advertising texts must be produced by native speaker copywriters or copywriter/translators whose expertise goes beyond straight translation” (Smith and Klein-Braley 1997: 175). The wording of the original advertisement, the content, as well as cultural images, may all be mediated in translations produced by such translators. This flexible practice mirrors the view that the translations of promotional texts should be assessed “for what they do rather than what

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they are, or for how well they affect the reader rather than how close they are to the original” (Torresi 2010: 1). Therefore, the translation of promotional texts is intended to realize the purpose of advertising: promotion. In this study, we will analyze how cultural images are altered in advertisement translation and explain the reasons that such mediation is necessary and effective when it is based on cultural presuppositions.

We will first review the current research in this field:

1. Research background

As this study concentrates on the translation between Chinese and English, we reviewed various scholarly publications through *Translation Studies Abstract* (1998–2007), *The Translator: Key debates in the translation of advertising material* (Adab and Valdés 2004b, in English), *China Academic Journals Full-text Database* (Beijing Site, 1915–2008.9; mainly in Chinese, rarely in English), *Wanfang Database* (1998–2008), which collects M. A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations (in English), and *BITRA* (Bibliography of Interpreting and Translation, 1952–2008, in English).

Within translation studies, research on advertising

has focused more on comparative analysis of language pairs for intersystemic differences, more recently on intercultural differences in product appeal and cultural values ... [and] ...contribution from other disciplines such as semiotics, pragmatics, discourse analysis and cross-cultural communication studies is a recurring theme. (Adab and Valdés 2004a: 162)

To be more specific, an overview of *Translation Studies Abstracts* (1998–2007) and *The Translator: Key debates in the translation of advertising material* (Adab and Valdés 2004b) shows that advertisement translation has been investigated from the following angles: foreign words in advertisement translations, norms and strategies of translation, cultural exploration, word play, and reception factors. Within *BITRA* (1952–2008), we have found 176 relevant entries concerning advertisement translation covering the following aspects: audiovisual, cultural problems, quality of translations, translatability, teaching advertising as a genre, relevance theory, and poly-system theory. In reviewing *China Academic Journals Full-text Database* (Beijing Site, 1915–2008.9), we found 596 papers studying the translation of advertisements, the earliest dating

back to 1984. The categories that are addressed by these papers include: translation strategies and techniques, translation of rhetoric, influence of cultural differences, relevance theory, *skopos* theory, semiotics theory, functional theory, cogitative schema, intertextuality, feminism, dynamic equivalence, aesthetic features, and emotional transfer. This review demonstrates that cultural implications or problems have been explored in the research, and the phenomenon of the mediation of cultural images in advertisement translation has also been covered. However, the reasons for mediation have been rarely investigated. Besides, we have not been able to find any study that takes the perspective of presupposition in researching cultural implications in advertisement translation. Actually, advertisement translation is seldom investigated from the presuppositional angle.

In BITRA, we found 50 entries for papers that address presupposition, with 14 of them concerning translation, and only one of them focusing on advertisement translation: Cui (2008) applies presupposition in its ordinary sense and considers contextual factors influencing advertisement translation, such as music, pictures, and paralinguage. In *Translation Studies Abstracts* (1998–2007), we found only two papers, Fawcett (1998) and Ge (2002), investigating presupposition and translation. Fawcett's research applies the ordinary sense of presupposition instead of the technical concept, for he holds that it is what has been "put beyond the pale" by linguists that is truly relevant to translation (Fawcett 1998: 123). In other words, translation involves more than what linguists study in terms of presupposition. Ge (2002), on the other hand, applies the technical sense of presupposition and explores strategies that can be used in translating presupposed information. Searching on *the China Academic Journals Full-text Database* (Beijing Site, 1915–2008.9), we have found 31 papers studying presupposition and translation. Most of them discuss translation techniques and cultural presuppositions which can be classified as a sub-category of pragmatic presuppositions (see He 2006; Li 2002; Wei 2007). Such cultural aspect of presupposition will be included in our research as well, but our focus is not only on the skills of translating but also on exploring the reasons for flexibility and creativity in advertisement translation. Besides, Munday (2004: 205) stresses the important influence of translators' presuppositions about receivers, which helps justify the approach we take in this investigation.

To generalize, our review shows that the current research on advertisement translation covers cultural implications, but has not explored the reasons for the mediation of cultural images in translation; it has, to a lesser degree,

investigated advertisement translation from a presuppositional perspective, but has not clearly distinguished between the ordinary and technical senses of presupposition. In our investigation, we also touch upon inter-text, product appeal, and cultural implications as some studies have done, but we focus on the mediation of cultural images in advertisement translation and aim to explain the inherent reasons and effects of such adjustment from a presuppositional angle, combining theories from linguistics, psychology, and marketing in order to investigate how cultural images in advertisements are dealt with in translation. As to the relevance of presupposition to translation studies, we agree with Fawcett (1998) in that the ordinary notion of presupposition is more related to translation studies; however, we will clarify the definition of presupposition and differentiate between the ordinary and technical senses of the term.

2. Research topic

Advertisement translation has provided researchers with “a microcosm of almost all the prosodic, pragmatic, syntactic, textual, semiotic and even ludic difficulties” (Smith and Klein-Braley 1997: 173). Accordingly, when studying “such a complex, omnipresent discourse type, translation theory has until recently been relatively quiet” (Munday 2004: 190), as “traditional translation theories have failed or proved inadequate to interpret, describe, explain and predict translation problems encountered in commercial translations, including advertising” (Ho 2004: 240). Therefore, research on advertisement translation requires drawing on other disciplines in order to deal with the challenges posed by this form of translation. Thus, interdisciplinarity “lies at the heart of research in this field” (Adab and Valdés 2004a: 164). Considering the flexibility that characterizes advertisement translation, we will take presupposition as our main standpoint.

As we mention at the beginning of this chapter, it is advisable to have advertisements translated or even rewritten by local translators or copywriters who are more familiar with the target readers and culture. This phenomenon is in line with the practice of advertisement translation where “cultural adaptation of the copy is always necessary, to varying extent, on more or less obvious points, in more or less subtle ways” (Coclet 1985: 40). Such cultural adaptations depend to a great degree on translators who have their own presuppositions about the target readers and the target culture. Actually, an important feature of

advertising language, whether or not in translation, is that it is highly presuppositional (Delin 2000: 127), and “advertising relies on the reader to complete the meaning transfer as active participant” (McCracken, cited in Adab and Valdés 2004a: 163). Since advertising requires readers’ involvement to construct the textual meaning, translators need to consider their readers carefully. In other words, translators work in accordance with their presuppositions about the target readers’ needs and interests. Therefore, “the main factor influencing the production and the translation of an advertisement is the receiver,” because translation decisions are made according to “the presupposition the translator has about the target consumer’s interpretation of the message” (Munday 2004: 205). The argument here is in itself a pragmatic presupposition which we discuss in detail later on.

In the next section, we elaborate on the major theoretical framework for our analysis.

3. Theoretical framework

Presupposition is a rather complicated, sometimes confusing and even controversial concept. While presupposition plays an important though implicit role in language understanding, there has been little consensus concerning its nature or operations in textualization. Different viewpoints have been proposed concerning presupposition. It is claimed that there is “more literature on presupposition than on almost any other topic in pragmatics (excepting perhaps speech acts)” (Levinson 1983: 167). While much of the discussion is “of a technical and complex kind, a great deal is also obsolete and sterile” (ibid.). Therefore, the concept of presupposition remains open-ended, because “virtually everything written about presupposition is challenged or contradicted by some authority on the subject” (Hickey, as cited in Fawcett 1998: 114). There is enough reason to speak of presupposition as “the least established and least uniform notion of pragmatics” (Segerdahl 1996: 185).

3.1 Presupposition revisited

In the field of linguistics, there are three major approaches to studying presupposition, namely semantic, pragmatic, and experiential ones. As the experiential approach basically studies the movement of semantic presuppositions between

clauses in complex sentences (for more details, see Fauconnier 1994), it does not contribute to our discussion of presupposition. Therefore, we will only review semantic and pragmatic presuppositions in this section.

The semantic approach is centered on the concept of truth, which is conceived as the relation between sentences and the world in standard mathematical logic (Keenan 1998: 8). The fundamental commitment is that presupposition is inherent in linguistic objects like words and sentences, and in this way contextual elements are left out of discussion. Therefore, semantic presupposition refers to a semantic relation between sentences or propositions, independent of contextual factors such as beliefs or background knowledge of speakers and listeners (Sandt 1988: 13). It implies that proposition P presupposes proposition Q if, and only if, Q is necessitated both by P and by the negation of P (Van Fraassen, as noted in Stalnaker 1998a: 61). In other words: semantic presuppositions are defined by a binary relation between sentences in terms of truth value: “A presupposes B if the truth of B is a condition for the semantic value of A to be true or false” (Beaver 2001: 8–9).

Although the semantic approach is very often considered to be “relevant to giving a rigorous theoretical explanation” regarding presupposition, pragmatic accounts are actually closer to the ordinary sense of presupposition (Keenan 1998: 17). The pragmatic approach takes into account various contextual factors and does not focus on truth conditions. Stalnaker (1998b: 21–3) holds that in the pragmatic approach presupposition can be understood in different ways depending on contexts and explained in terms of general assumptions in communications. Presupposition can be regarded as something the speaker assumes to be true prior to making an utterance. In other words, it is speakers, not sentences,² who have presuppositions (Yule 1996: 25; Stalnaker 1998a: 61). Generally speaking, the pragmatic conception of presupposition is more about a propositional attitude than a semantic relation. Pragmatic presuppositions “not only concern knowledge, whether true or false: they concern expectations,

² To clarify a few technical terms: A sentence is “a well-formed string of words put together according to the grammatical rules of a language” (Huang 2007: 10); an utterance is “the use of a particular piece of language—be it a word, a phrase, a sentence, or a sequence of sentences—by a particular speaker on a particular occasion” (Huang 2007: 11); a proposition is “what is expressed by a sentence when that sentence is used to make a statement, that is, to say something, true or false, about some state of affairs in the external world” (Huang 2007: 11). In this research, we do not distinguish absolutely between sentence, utterance, and proposition; however, generally, by sentence we mean the linguistic unit of what we read or hear; by utterance we lay emphasis on language in use which involves the relevant situational context; and by proposition we mainly refer to what is meant or implied by the sentence.

desires, interests, claims, attitudes towards the world, fears etc” (Caffi, as cited in Mey 2001: 186). Therefore, pragmatic presuppositions are located in a wider communicative setting covering such factors as speaker, hearer, context, belief, appropriateness, and mutual knowledge (Segerdahl 1996: 190). Accordingly, a ternary relation between two sentences and one context is established (Beaver 2001: 8–9).

To generalize, the semantic approach is mainly concerned with logical relations between sentences and the pragmatic approach takes into account contextual factors. “No text of any kind would be comprehensible without considerable shared context and background” (Tannen 2007: 37). Context is also essential for understanding presuppositions in translation studies. However, the pragmatic approach applies context in its general sense. We will further specify the contextual factors in the case of advertisement translation and view semantic and pragmatic presuppositions from the perspective of context.

3.2 Presupposition in this study

3.2.1 Pragmatic presupposition

As noted in the section “Presupposition revisited,” pragmatic presupposition can be understood within specific contexts. In the case of advertisement translation, which aims to arouse readers’ desire for a product or service, pragmatic presupposition refers mostly to copywriters’ or translators’ assumptions about the target context and the target readers, and especially the readers’ needs and expectations in relation to such needs. What motivates people to behave as they do is the process of satisfying their various needs, and such consumer needs form the major component of our pragmatic presuppositions. We are going to introduce Maslow’s hierarchy of needs which is “frequently cited by all types of professionals in any number of industries” (Stephens 2000: 1). The theory holds that once a need is satisfied, it no longer dominates behavior, and another need rises to take its place; need fulfillment is never ending, and life is a quest to satisfy needs (Muchinsky 2003: 375). Three categories of needs are identified by Maslow (1987), namely conative, cognitive, and aesthetic.

Conative needs cover the following: physiological needs are basic survival mechanisms, and include the need for food, air and water; safety needs involve security, stability, and protection, freedom from fear, anxiety, and chaos, as well as the need for structure, order, law, and limits; social/love needs refer to giving and receiving affection, including the desire for association, belonging,

and companionship, and involving one's ability to exist in harmony with others; esteem needs cover self-esteem and respect from others, including the desire for strength, achievement, mastery, and competence, confidence, independence, and freedom, and the desire for reputation or prestige, status, fame, and glory, dominance, recognition, or attention; self-actualization refers to the realization of one's full potentials (Maslow 1987: 15–22; Muchinsky 2003: 375). People of different cultural backgrounds all share such needs; however, they may lay more emphasis on certain categories than others.

Besides the basic conative needs, Maslow also identifies the cognitive desires to know and to understand. Healthy people are attracted to the mysterious, unknown, chaotic, unorganized, and unexplained (Maslow 1987: 23–5). Cognitive needs to learn more about the unknown are universal, but people across different cultures may be curious about different aspects of the same issue. When studying our corpus, we have also found that Chinese and English texts often provide their own targeted readers with different details to appeal to their cognitive needs.

In addition, people also have aesthetic needs for order, symmetry, closure, completion of acts, system, and structure (Maslow 1987: 25–6). Such needs are related to cognitive needs, the satisfaction of which results in order, symmetry, and system. We know much less about this area than about others. Some people have a basic aesthetic need, which is seen almost universally in “every culture and in every age as far back as the cave dwellers” (Maslow 1987: 25). The aesthetic appreciation of these manifestations is of a universal nature; however, in different cultural contexts, variant emphasis may be laid on different aspects. In other words, people from different cultural backgrounds share the same aesthetic needs, but such aesthetic needs can be gratified in different ways.

In the process of translating advertisements, translators have their presuppositions about the target readers' needs and the proper ways to appeal to these needs. The decisions translators make concerning the mediation of cultural images are to a great extent the results of the presuppositions that they hold. The need theory proposed by Maslow is not claimed to be “ultimate or universal for all cultures” (Maslow 1987: 28); instead, it is intended to be “relatively more ultimate, more universal, and more basic than the superficial conscious desires, and makes a closer approach to common human characteristics” (ibid.). Accordingly, even when appealing to the same needs of the target readers, different methods may be applied or different emphasis might be laid

on certain aspects as we have noted. It is such variation that causes and justifies the mediation of cultural images in advertisement translation.

3.2.2 *Semantic presuppositions*

Different from pragmatic presuppositions, semantic presuppositions refer to those implied claims that are embodied in certain linguistic structures and can be identified through various triggers. Triggers cover many types of words or linguistic structures, and both the positive and the negative forms of sentences that contain such triggers refer to the same presupposition. For example, definite descriptions such as [the + noun] can be triggers. In this sense, both the positive and negative forms of “John saw *the* man with two heads” presuppose that there is a man with two heads. In addition, factive verbs like *regret*, *aware*, *realize*, *know*, etc. are also triggers. For example, both the positive and negative forms of “Martha *regrets* drinking John’s home brew” presuppose that Martha has drunk John’s home brew. (For more information about presupposition triggers, see Levinson 1983: 181–5 and Suo 2000: 131–3.)

Semantic presuppositions form only “a small proportion of the usages associated with the ordinary language term” and have the property of remaining constant under a negation test (Levinson 1983: 168). It has been observed that semantic presuppositions triggered by linguistic structures are unlikely to be affected in translation, for linguistic items which give rise to semantic presuppositions are very similar in different languages, even when comparing various language groups (Levinson 1983: 216). For example, the sentence “She regretted going to Vegas” is usually translated as “她后悔去了拉斯维加斯” in Chinese. The trigger “regret” presupposes that something has been done and it is directly translated without being influenced by translation.

Taking into account the complexity of advertisement translation, which provides researchers with almost all the difficulties that are expected to be encountered in translation as mentioned in the section “Research topic,” and the importance of considering context as noted in the section “Presupposition revisited,” we will take a contextual perspective to semantic presuppositions. As mentioned above, semantic presuppositions in their strict sense refer to the logical relations between propositions and can be identified via a negation test. Considering the nature of translation, which involves various contextual factors, pure logic, or truth-value exploration in the semantic approach, is not complete or relevant enough to our study. Therefore, in this research, semantic presupposition covers implied claims or implications associated with linguistic expressions or structures that can be

understood by readers with the help of their reasoning and inference, which may be subconscious, and are not limited to logical relations.

3.3 Functions of presupposition in advertising

3.3.1 Functions of pragmatic presupposition

The following observations have been made in relation with pragmatic presuppositions in translation. First, translators may not share the knowledge “that the author presupposes their readers to have” (Durieux, cited in Fawcett 1997: 125). That would require translators to undertake special research. However, in most cases, translators merely carry out translation tasks based on their presuppositions about the target readers and context. Second, translators must estimate to what extent the target readers are likely to share their presuppositions, which is “a difficult judgment to make and involves a delicate balancing act” (Fawcett 1997: 125). Translators have two choices: either to patronize the target readers “by treating them as if they know nothing and lack the means to find out,” or to leave them “in the dark by not supplying what is needed to make sense of the text” (ibid.). In other words, in order to translate a text properly, the translator needs to know “not just what presuppositional information may be lacking in the target culture, but what presuppositions exist in that culture which may ‘proactively’ influence the translation” (Fawcett 1997: 126).

Therefore, pragmatic presuppositions play an essential role in translators’ decision-making processes as to what information to provide and how to do it. The pragmatic presuppositions discussed here cover much more than our definition, because they involve almost anything that is possibly related to translation or communication, such as the general knowledge target readers have and the information that is shared between translators and target readers. As noted, trying to balance these aspects is difficult and, to a great extent, translators have to rely on their own intuition or impressionistic judgment. Besides, explorations in this regard will be endless, because there is always more to notice in terms of target readers’ knowledge and culture. This is one of the reasons that we have chosen to specify and confine the components of presuppositions to the discussion of consumer needs, which are closely related to the function of advertisements and have been proved true by other studies. Therefore, the pragmatic presuppositions defined in this research are used to explain why the employment of cultural images in the target text, which are different from the

ones in the source, can achieve the same effect of arousing the readers' desire for what is advertised.

3.3.2 Functions of semantic presupposition

Semantic presuppositions work on readers' minds in a more direct way. Studies in psychology have found that people tend to confuse implications and assertions when recalling a passage (Cohen 1986: 41). Research findings of psycholinguistics also show that people make various inferences when reading or listening to a speech, which they very often mix with what is expressed when recalling the information; in other words, it is hard for people to distinguish between which part of the memory is their inference and which part is the expressed meaning of the sentences (Carroll 2004: 148–9). This point of receiver involvement is especially prominent in the advertising discourse. It is said that “vagaries in language” can guide people to “fill in the blanks of their expectations” (Lakhani 2008: 148). Therefore, words, “when combined with something that distracts, can paint a completely different picture and engage us deeply subliminally” (Lakhani 2008: 144).

Gardner (1975) describes different perceptions of advertising, including unconscionable lies, claim-fact discrepancy, and claim-belief interaction. Advertisements with unconscionable lies are completely false; those with claim-fact discrepancy can be properly understood with some qualifications; and those with claim-belief interactions combine the advertising campaign with consumers' beliefs and attitudes in a subtle way that leaves consumers with a deceptive idea without making any false claims. A study on the category of advertisements with claim-belief interactions carried out by Harris (1977) shows that, without pre-warning, most consumers tend to accept the implied claims in advertisements. For example, in the sentence “You will find it just right for your good taste,” there is an implied claim that you have a good taste. When recalling the message, readers may remember the implied claim as stated explicitly in the advertisement.

When part of the message is implied, audiences need to unpack the linguistic message in the commercial, and this mental exercise increases their involvement with the product. With semantic presuppositions, the advertising language becomes succinct and concise, forcing readers to unpack more on their own, thus increasing the advertisement's memorability. As a result, more important information can be given prominence. Another function of semantic presuppositions is to make the message more persuasive.

In the example (above), “You will find it just right for your good taste,” the advertisement does not flatter readers directly, but they receive the message, which appeals to their esteem needs. This function is referred to by Lakhani as “covert language in the persuasion community” (Lakhani 2008: 152). Therefore, semantic presuppositions play a number of important roles in advertising as they are used to provide indirect information and enhance the memory of the readers.

4. Reasons and effects of the mediation of cultural images

The mediation of cultural images in advertisement translation is intended to help promote a product or service in the target context. Whether the promotion is successful or not depends on the target consumers’ decisions and behavior, which are, in turn, the result of their needs and motivations. Therefore, revealing the inherent needs of the original consumers’ and those of the target consumers’ will help to analyze the reasons as well as the effects of mediating the cultural images in advertisement translation.

4.1 Corpus

There are various definitions of advertising. The American Marketing Association defines advertising as “any form of non-personal presentation of goods, services or ideas or action, openly paid for by an identified sponsor” (Kaptan 2002: 8). In general terms, advertising is an activity carried out by a corporation or an individual to transfer information to a large group of readers (and other types of audiences). Advertising has a clear purpose of promoting a product, service, or even an idea. As to the scope of advertising, it is used by the “length and breadth of society” (Farbey 2002: 3). In this study, advertising is considered in its broad sense as stated in the American Marketing Association definition. The examples to be analyzed in this study are chosen from a body of translated advertisements summarized by Li (2010), which covers a relatively comprehensive categorization of product or service advertisements. Our corpus is composed of 158 translated advertisements, covering such categories as car, taxi, cosmetic, lip stick, clothes, bank, government, university, supermarket, restaurant, subway, airline, cell-phone, computer, wine, juice, watch, jewelry, magazine, tourism, and recruitment advertisements. The mediation of cultural

images in advertisement translation can be seen in many advertisements, and three examples are discussed in the next section.

4.2 Mediation of cultural images

4.2.1 Example 1

The 1999 BMW 7 Series and its closest rival: a side-by-side comparison:

不管是黑马白马，领先的总是宝马。—BMW 7 Series (Li 2010: 18)
[*bu guan shi hei ma bai ma, ling xian de zong shi bao ma*; whether it is a black horse or a white one, it is always BMW that keeps ahead.]

The original English version of this commercial features the cultural image of the 1999 BMW as a symbol of quality and luxury. It implies that the consumers who buy cars of the BMW 7 series are superior and have good taste. The presupposition of the original copywriter is that the readers have aesthetic needs, actualization needs, and esteem needs, and that their desire can be aroused when those needs are addressed. The cultural image in the English version is altered in the Chinese translation. First, BMW is translated as “宝马” [*Baoma*; which means precious horse]. Its pronunciation is similar to BMW and its meaning also signifies speed and stability. The phonetic similarity of the brand name helps the readers to relate the Chinese translation to its English counterpart, and the transfer of the cultural image to a horse bears a special significance in Chinese. The translator most likely presupposes that tying the brand name with the image of a horse would arouse the readers’ aesthetic, actualization, and esteem needs—the same needs that are addressed in the source text. In addition, the target text echoes a popular saying: “不管黑猫白猫，抓住耗子就是好猫” [*bu guan hei mao bai mao, zhua zhu hao zi jiu shi hao mao*; whether it is a black cat or a white one, it would be a good cat as long as it catches mice.] This saying implies that one should overlook external appearances and focus on content and functionality (“Don’t judge a book by its cover”). The image of a cat in the saying is replaced with that of a horse and the syntactical structure “whether ... or” is kept in the Chinese version of the advertisement. Imitating the popular saying is presupposed to have a humorous effect which addresses the readers’ aesthetic needs. The Chinese version says that BMW will be always ahead of other horses (or cars) whether they are black or white. The connotation of the popular saying places the emphasis on the car’s performance, which appeals to the readers’ esteem and actualization needs. To generalize, both versions (in

English and Chinese) appeal to the readers' esteem, aesthetic and actualization needs; however, they do it in different ways, with the English version relying on the associations people usually make when hearing the name BMW, and the Chinese version transferring to the cultural image of good horses and resorting to a humorous effect by referring to a popular saying. In other words, from the analysis of the two versions we can see that translators have their own presuppositions as to how to appeal to similar needs of different readers according to a specific cultural background.

4.2.2 Example 2

Non-stop flight, non-stop comfort.

拥抱天地，写意飞翔。—Singapore Airlines (Li 2010: 21)

[*yong bao tian di, xie yi fei xiang*; embracing the sky and earth and releasing your emotions freely while flying]

In the second example, the English version does not possess any specific image and it merely repeats the expression “non-stop” which implies that the flight is convenient, efficient, and comfortable. Emphasizing these aspects, the copywriter addresses the readers' esteem and social/love needs, and his presupposition is that convenient and efficient service would imply to the readers a treatment of respect, good care, and friendliness. In addition, the English version is balanced and marked by an alliteration, with the repetition of the expression “non-stop” at the beginning of the two lines and the two words “flight” and “comfort” both ending with the sound [t]. Such formal beauty appeals to the readers' aesthetic needs. In the Chinese version, neither convenience nor comfort is mentioned, but a grander picture is presented and the passengers are told that they can embrace the sky and earth and enjoy the flying to their hearts' content. The two expressions in the Chinese version “拥抱天地，写意飞翔” [*yong bao tian di, xie yi fei xiang*; embracing the sky and earth and releasing your emotions freely while flying] emphasize the freedom, comfort, and pleasure passengers might feel. The translator presupposes a greater aesthetic need on the part of the target readers. This need is appealed to through the image of the pleasure and freedom that passengers might feel—which does not exist in the English version. In similarity with the English version, and still in the service of an aesthetic need, the Chinese version preserves the linguistic balance of the original: the two lines are of similar length, containing four Chinese characters. In this example, different needs are appealed to in the two versions (with

aesthetic needs common to both), whereas in the first example analyzed above, both versions address the same needs. Still, in both examples, a single need is appealed to through different methods for different readers, giving us some insight to the process of mediation of cultural images in commercial translation.

4.2.3 Example 3

Ericsson: Taking you forward.

爱立信: 以爱立信, 以信致远。Ericsson (Li 2010: 7)

[*yi ai li xin, yi xin zhi yuan*; To establish trust with love and to go far with trust.]

The English version only mentions that the cell-phone will take users forward. Forward is the keyword, which implies that users can expect new experiences when using the cell-phone. The readers are presupposed to have the actualization needs to make progress as well as cognitive and aesthetic needs to experience something new. Such needs are appealed to in a slogan composed of only three words. The simplicity in wording may cause the readers to think about what it means and helps them memorize the product, which contributes to the final purpose of promotion. In the Chinese version, the image in the English text is mediated and three aspects are emphasized: love, trust, and going far. “Ericsson” is transliterated as “爱立信” [*ai li xin*; To establish trust with love]. The original sound is kept, but new meaning is added. Love and trust are given prominence here. The slogan is designed in keeping with the implications of the brand name. Love and trust are repeated in both the brand name and the slogan. The relations between love and trust, as well as between trust and going far, are clarified in the slogan, which says that trust is established through love, and that only with trust can one really move ahead. Therefore, different from the English version, the Chinese text emphasizes trust and love. We can see that the readers are presupposed to cherish such qualities which are mainly related to their social/love needs. Besides, the Chinese slogan also covers the point of going far, which is similar to going forward in the English version and reflects the readers’ needs to realize their potential and achieve personal goals. To generalize, different readers are presupposed to have different needs or pay attention to different aspects of the same needs. Such presuppositions on the part of the translators are contributive to the fact that translations of advertisements often have different cultural images from their originals.

5. Inspiration to translators

Translations of advertisements are intended to realize the purpose of promotion, and arousing the readers' desire is essential for realizing this function. Accordingly, it is the translators' mission to appeal to the readers' needs properly in order to arouse their desire for the advertised product or service. During the process of translation, translators make their decisions according to their presuppositions of the target readers' needs and the proper ways to gratify these needs. Our analysis of the examples above demonstrates that although the needs that are addressed in Chinese and English advertising texts may often be the same, there are differences in terms of their emphasis on certain categories of need, or in terms of the methods that are used to address such needs across cultures.

First, translators need to consider their presuppositions about the target readers' needs and make conscious analysis or studies concerning the validity of their presuppositions. In some cases, different readers have different needs to be gratified. In Example 2, where the English readers' esteem, social/love and aesthetic needs are matched only by the Chinese readers' aesthetic needs, an image about the pleasure of flying is added in the Chinese version. In Example 3, where the Chinese readers' social/love needs are added to the actualization needs that are addressed in the English version, the image of going forward is changed into three images: love, trust, and going far in the target text. Such mediation is appropriate in the context of a Chinese cultural background. A quantitative study on the difference of needs appealing in advertisements and their translations that was carried out by Cui in 2011 demonstrates that Chinese readers tend to value social/love needs more than English readers (Cui 2011: 132). Therefore, the mediation of emphasizing trust and love in the Chinese translation of the Ericsson example is appropriate. Translators should be clear about the needs the text addresses, and consider consciously their presuppositions about the target readers.

Second, in some cases the original and target readers have similar needs, and translators need to pay attention to the proper ways of appealing to these needs. For the translation of advertising texts, "it is not only languages that vary across the globe; consumers' needs, and the way advertising appeals to these needs, also do" (Mooij 2004: 179). In Example 1, the English and Chinese readers' aesthetic needs, actualization needs, and esteem needs are addressed

in the two versions, but this is done in different ways. The English version mentions only one cultural image of the 1999 BMW, and the Chinese version adds to it a popular saying and images of a black and a white horse. In Example 2, both the original and target readers are presupposed to have aesthetic needs, but these needs are targeted in different ways. The English version mentions non-stop flight and comfort, and the Chinese version emphasizes freedom and pleasure. In addition, the linguistic form of advertisements, through which readers' needs are addressed, is designed in accordance with the specific cultural and linguistic characteristics. Only when proper forms are applied, including linguistic designs and cultural images which are presented through the wording of the text, can advertisement translations work. Therefore, translators should also consider their presuppositions about how to effectively appeal to different readers' needs.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we explore the mediation of cultural images and advertisement translation. We describe how cultural images are altered in advertisement translations and explain why such alterations are effective and justified. Addressing readers' needs is essential for arousing target consumers' desire for products or services that are being advertised. The three examples involving the translation between English and Chinese that are studied in this chapter show that the mediation of cultural images is related to translators' presuppositions concerning the needs of different readers and the best ways to address them. In one example, the two versions appeal to different needs, and in the other two, the same needs are addressed in different ways in the two versions. While the presuppositions of translators working in the field of advertisement translation are often subconscious, they can make conscious use of such presuppositions and consider rationally the validity of the presuppositions, with the functional goal of best promoting their product in the context of the target culture. In the future, more examples can be studied and quantitative analysis can be conducted in order to work out some of the general tendencies regarding the mediation of cultural images in advertisement translation.

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Glossary

- Aesthetic needs:** the desire for order, symmetry, closure, completion, system, and structure.
- Cognitive needs:** the need to know and understand, as well as impulses to satisfy curiosity.
- Conative needs:** a category of needs outlined in Maslow's theory of human needs. Conative needs cover such sub-categories as physiological needs for food and water, safety needs for the sense of security, social/love for communication with others, esteem needs for winning respect and recognition, and self-actualization needs for realizing one's potentials.
- Pragmatic presupposition:** any kind of background assumption a speaker or writer holds about the receiver. This also covers the common knowledge or background of the speaker and the hearer involved in the communication.
- Presupposition:** what a speaker or writer assumes the receiver of the message already knows.
- Presupposition trigger:** semantic presuppositions can be recognized via some linguistic expressions called presupposition triggers. For example, in the sentence "John saw *the* man with two heads," "the + a noun" carries the presupposition that there exists a man with two heads and it is a presupposition trigger.
- Semantic: presupposition** semantic relation between sentences or propositions. This implies that if proposition P presupposes proposition Q, then Q is true regardless of whether P is correct. For example, both the positive and negative forms of the sentence "John *managed* to open the door" presuppose that John tried to do so.

Abstracts

Christine Heiss: Multilingual Films and Integration? What Role Does Film Translation Play?

In this chapter I will attempt to shed light on various aspects of film translation. Based on the situation in Germany, where for over three decades multilingual films have played a significant part in high-quality film production, various issues will be examined. In my discussion of the role of film translation as a potential factor of integration in a rapidly changing multicultural society, I will examine such issues as translation modalities in AVT; the problem of the transfer of dialects and ethnic varieties in AVT vs. the right of ethnic minorities to “politically correct” translation; genre-related “politically incorrect” transfer of minority language and varieties found in comedies; reception in the target culture; and, finally, economic conditions. The discussion will take into account both sociolinguistic factors and relevant approaches of translation theory (Vermeer, House, Herbst, etc.).

Patrick Zabalbeascoa and Elena Voellmer: Accounting for Multilingual Films in Translation Studies. Intratextual Translation in Dubbing

This chapter examines the presentation of L3 theory within translation studies, its motivation, and its various components. This issue has been illustrated in previous publications (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2011) with examples and case studies (Zabalbeascoa 2012). Here we intend to validate our theory further by drawing examples mostly from the same film, Quentin Tarantino’s 2009 *Inglourious Basterds* and three dubbed versions, for speakers of German, Spanish, and Italian. The choice of this film is justified by its rich combination of different languages, dialects, and accents. The film clearly presents a challenge for anyone wishing to translate it because of its display of language variation. Our aim is not to evaluate these translations, but to show the validity of a

theoretical proposal previously applied to other audiovisual texts, and to present it as a useful conceptual tool for written texts as well.

Zoë Pettit: A South African Take on the Gangster Film Genre: Translating *Tsotsi* and *Hijack Stories* for an International Audience

This chapter compares the English subtitled versions of the South African film, *Tsotsi* (2005), released in the United Kingdom and the United States, with the subtitled and dubbed DVD versions released in France. The screenplay draws its inspiration from an Athol Fugard novel (1980), but has been adapted to present-day South Africa, centering on life in a township of Johannesburg. The characters speak Tsotsitaal, a mixture of various local African languages, Afrikaans and English. Code-switching is another feature of the original dialogues. The Audiovisual Translations of *Tsotsi* will be compared to the French subtitled and dubbed versions of another contemporary South African film set in Soweto, titled *Hijack Stories* (2000). The characters generally speak English, although codeswitching occurs frequently as well. The visual setting and thematic concerns of each of the films are similar. However, there are differences, with a higher frequency of dialogue in *Hijack Stories*, which explores questions surrounding a sense of belonging and personal identity in post-apartheid South Africa. Are similar translation strategies employed in both films? To what extent are the resulting translations defined by the signs that make up the audiovisual text? Such questions will be explored, while taking into account the multimodal nature of the audiovisual text.

Rocío Baños: Insights into the False Orality of Dubbed Fictional Dialogue and the Language of Dubbing

One of the main challenges of dubbing is to create dialogues that, being embedded in a foreign audiovisual framework of multiple signifying codes (Chaume 2004), sound spontaneous and natural in the target language. These dialogues must also comply with synchrony constraints and fit naturally with the lips of the actors on screen. In fact, as with non-translated fictional productions, the credibility and verisimilitude of dialogues is one of the

main criteria used to ascertain whether a dubbed production meets quality standards (Chaume 2006: 8–9). Bearing in mind the relevance of verisimilitude in dubbing, this chapter sets out to discuss the prefabricated nature of the language of dubbing, which has been highlighted by several scholars carrying out research in this field. Throughout the discussion, the need to adopt an interdisciplinary approach when analyzing and interpreting the original text will be emphasized. In addition to mastering the linguistic features available in their target language to mirror natural conversation, audiovisual translators should be familiar with scriptwriting principles, and with the specificities of non-translated fictional dialogue. Familiarity with the conventions governing the language of dubbing is equally important, especially considering that some linguistic features widely used in domestic productions are not acceptable in dubbed productions (Baños 2014). Drawing on the research carried out by the author and on the findings reported by other scholars in this area, this chapter will also provide an overview of the main trends and conventions that shape the language of dubbing.

Emilio Audissino: Dubbing as a Formal Interference— Reflections and Examples

Although not much in use in the United States, dubbing is widely used in European countries such as Germany, France, Italy, and a number of former Soviet republics. As a film scholar specializing in Hollywood cinema, I am used to watching Hollywood films in their original versions. As a native Italian speaker, I cannot help but notice the differences between the original films and the Italian dubbed versions. Inaccurate translations and bad dubbing can severely harm the film's original meaning on the one hand, and lead to aesthetic changes on the other. For example, an actor's persona or the depiction of a character can be modified if dubbed with a voice that is radically different from the original. The case of Marilyn Monroe is exemplary: the Italian dubbing was designed to make her sound definitely more stupid than in the original version—by changing her dialogue, and by choosing a more “goose-like” voice timbre and tone. I have studied the history and aesthetics of film dubbing, particularly dealing with the Italian context—and found Italy a fitting case study because it has a very active dubbing industry. In this chapter I will discuss the theoretical issues and the aesthetic consequences of dubbing, both in general—when the

translation is faithful and the dubbing is good—and in peculiarly bad cases—when either the translation or the dubbing, or both, are inaccurate.

Aline Remael, Luuk Van Waes, and Mariëlle Leijten: Live Subtitling with Speech Recognition—how to Pinpoint the Challenges

In order to meet government quotas demanding 100 percent subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing (captioning in the United States) the Flemish public channel VRT is currently increasing its use of live subtitling with speech recognition. The channel combines Softel Swift subtitling software with Dragon Naturally Speaking speech recognition software by Nuance. Speech recognition software has improved dramatically in recent years, but live subtitling with re-speaking remains a challenge in many respects. For now, the use of speaker-independent speech to text software is out of the question because of the nature of the audio output produced by television. Moreover, the reading speed required for verbatim subtitling is well beyond the possibilities of the average captioning target group (Romero-Fresco 2011).

Two crucial aspects of live subtitling with speech recognition that are in need of further improvement are the delay with which the subtitles appear on screen and the errors that appear in the on-screen-text due to system or human failures at different stages of the live re-speaking process (Luyckx et al. 2007). At Artesis University College and the University of Antwerp, a team of three researchers (who are also the authors of this chapter) is involved in ongoing research aiming to determine the causes of delay and error production in an attempt to improve the live subtitling process. They have been assisted by the re-speaking team at VRT, who have produced original live subtitling files and taken part in semi-experimental research, producing live subtitling under controlled conditions. In order to keep track of the different stages of the live-subtitling process and to identify the places where mistakes occur, a logging program called Inputlog was installed on the computers of the re-speaker. Inputlog is a keystroke logging tool developed by the researchers of the University of Antwerp that unobtrusively logs all keyboard and mouse activities. Inputlog enables researchers to merge these process data with the oral output of Dragon Naturally Speaking, which, in combination with a recording of the television output, yields very fine-grained data for analysis. This chapter will discuss a selection of the type of experiments

that have been carried out so far, the methodological choices, and some of the results obtained through quantitative multilevel statistical analysis as well as qualitative analyses of oral input and textual output.

Michael Raine: From Hybridity to Dispersion: Film Subtitling as an Adaptive Practice

In contrast to more pragmatic work on Audiovisual Translation, film subtitling has often been theorized from the field of literary translation studies, which in its contemporary form prizes a “foreignizing translation” that refuses the “mystification” of another text when rendered in a local language. This chapter claims that the critique of “domestication” is itself an “ideology of critical distance,” one that stems from the specific linguistic and material conditions of literary translation. Unlike literary translations, film subtitles never obliterate the original—they are not, in Benjamin’s metaphor, “shards” but a *glaze*: penetrating the film it overlays, preserving it as it changes it utterly, but also enabling worldly uses. This chapter proposes that if we pay attention to its specific conditions and uses, film subtitling can best be understood as an adaptive practice, continuous with, though different from, other forms of adaptation such as intermedial restaging, dubbing, and foreign language remakes. Working through both theoretical and historical perspectives, this chapter argues that English is not the dominant language of film subtitling, though it is often a *lingua franca*, and that the most “corrupt”—or at least delinquent—forms of subtitling can be as revealing as the most “abusive”—which is to say, mimetic. That tension between transformative corruption and faithful abuse is constitutive of the field of film subtitling: a choice that all distributors had to face when a new print was struck. The chapter concludes by arguing that the pressure to make those necessary and impossible choices is now abating as the subtitle itself disperses, no longer materially imprinted on the celluloid but overlaid, virtually and provisionally, in new media.

Erga Heller: When Fantasy Becomes a Real Issue: On Local and Global Aspects of Literary Translation/Adaptation, Subtitling and Dubbing Films for the Young

Many young readers meet fantasy stories via multiple-media channels: novels and comics, television series and movies, and related products such as role-playing or computer games, fan websites, and so on. In countries in which English is not the first language, fantasy books often have to be translated into local languages; television series and movies have to be dubbed and/or subtitled. Thus, the young tend to consume fantasy both as (a) an “original” story and its “adaptations” to other media, and (b) in its “source language” alongside its “target language[s].” Each new adaptation of a single “original text” is added to a cultural collection, which builds up as a structure of multiple-media channels. As a result, an original text and its literary adaptations, cinematic versions, and all its related products act as a system (Shavit 1981, 1986). Members of this system share a main plot or relate to the same characters but may be different in style, vocabulary, and their degree of ambiguity. These differences are not only the result of language crossing or different times of publication, but mainly a result of using different media (Díaz-Cintas 2009; Gambier and Henrik 2001). Translating a printed novel for young readers is different from subtitling a motion film or dubbing a family movie version for the entire family (Fischer and Wirf Naro 2012; O’Sullivan 2003). Along with formal translations, there is a large amount of open web activity written in English by young readers from all over the world. The participants in these world wide web activities use the “original text” as a referent known to all. They are capable of bridging both cross-language differences that are the by-product of the translation process, and interlingual differences that are by-products of different media (books, websites, television, film, etc.). This chapter focuses on three large “multiple-media channel” collections: (1) *The Chronicles of Narnia* by C. S. Lewis; (2) *The Spiderwick Chronicles* by Holly Black and Tony DiTerlizzi; and (3) *Arthur et les Minimoys* by Luc Besson, which was originally created as a French/English multiple-media channels collection. The chapter aims at illustrating the translators’ choices versus the young audiences’ preferences, marking the borders of “fantasy” in a translated world.

Delia Chiaro: The Eyes and Ears of the Beholder? Translation, Humor, and Perception

The translation of verbal humor is a notoriously complex task which is rendered even more problematic when it occurs within audiovisual products such as movies and television programs. Indeed, it would not be unfair to state that most humor based audiovisuals, such as films and television sitcoms, remain either unknown or unsuccessful outside their culture of origin, especially when the source product is couched in a language other than English. In fact, it would appear that screen comedies which are successful worldwide tend to originate in English and are, furthermore, mostly produced in the United States. Taking Italy as a benchmark, this chapter describes a research design aimed at gathering reactions of viewers to instances of verbally expressed humor occurring in a number of programs produced in the United States which have been translated and dubbed into Italian.

Alison Patterson and Dan Chyutin: Teaching Trauma in (and Out of) Translation: *Waltzing with Bashir* in English

Ari Folman's 2008 animated documentary on the Israel-Lebanon War, *Waltz with Bashir*, functions through its elaborate mechanism of the film's character's recall, as an anti-violence, anti-war text. After Folman's wide-ranging pursuits of his missing memories, the final, shocking videographic moment reveals what the protagonist has repressed: the memory of witnessing, as a 19-year-old IDF soldier, the aftermath of the Sabra and Shatila massacre. Yet the shock of that image, while widely discussed, has been under-criticized, being immediately (and perhaps too easily) associated with Barthes's *punctum* (Barthes 1982). We argue that the film's contextualization of these images suppresses the audience's own outrage and depoliticizes the specific event by systematically rendering it "documentary" and representing it through a therapeutic process of re-narration. Most importantly, Folman refuses a translation of the final scene, which would both implicate Arabs of the region in the abandonment of the Palestinian people, and specify, rather than obfuscate, the concerns that the Israeli narrator faces in the film. In our chapter, we will describe the process of teaching *Waltz with Bashir* to American (non-Hebrew and non-Arabic speaking) students. The result of this inquiry will support two claims: that the film's resolution turns a

particular conflict into a general statement that, to use Folman's words, "war is so useless that it's unbelievable"; and that this generalized understanding of war is attractive to audiences unfamiliar with the particular conflict, as it allows them—like the protagonist—to avoid the troubling specificities of the film's historical referent. The implications of these claims offer a unique platform for contemplating the *Waltz with Bashir* phenomenon, as well as broader ethical and political concerns surrounding filmic representations of (someone else's) trauma.

Li Pan: Mediation in News Translation: A Critical Analytical Framework

In this chapter, I develop a critical analytical framework for the discussion of mediation in news translation. Mediation, a term that betrays subjective implications, seems to contradict the "objectivity" or "impartiality" claimed by journalists. However, like any other kinds of information, accounts, or narratives, news reports can hardly be free from subjectivity and it is not rare to find the same news event represented differently even in the same language, leading to distinct interpretations by the reader. As for news translation, though the general public expects no mediation or intervention in the transformation of information from one language to another, there is no such guarantee in actual practice (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). With a focus on possible mediation in news translation, the framework in this chapter is designated not only to help to reveal "What" linguistic resources are deployed to facilitate such mediation, but also to seek "How" the mediation is made possible and "Why" it is perceived as necessary for the receiving community. I hope to provide the reader with a better understanding of the translator's role as mediator and negotiator in translating news discourse between different ideologies and cultures.

Tal Samuel-Azran, Amit Lavie-Dinur, and Yuval Karniel: Accent and Prejudice: Israelis' Blind Assessment of Al-Jazeera English News Items

To examine the interplay between ethnic bias and source credibility, we designed a blind experiment in which 112 Jewish-Israeli students rate the credibility and professionalism of videos broadcast by CNN, BBC, Fox News, and Al-Jazeera English (AJE) after removing identifying details. We then compared the results to a control group ($n = 99$) who viewed the raw videos. Both the experiment and the control group rated AJE's material significantly lower on credibility and professionalism in comparison to the other networks' materials. Further research revealed the reason for this result. Although AJE's materials were not labeled, announcers and other speakers (speaking in English) pronounced Arabic names and terms with a distinct Arab accent (i.e. correctly). Findings therefore highlight the pervasive ethnocentrism of international news viewership and offer support for a "hostile media perception" theory.

Chiara Bucaria: Trailers and Promos and Teasers, Oh My! Adapting Television Paratexts across Cultures

Recent years have seen the multiplication of sites and modes in which television can be consumed, which go "beyond the box" (Ross 2008) and extend, among others, to various portable devices and the web. Audiences—and younger viewers especially—have in many cases taken control of their television consumption not only in terms of what they watch but also of how and when they do so. For instance, technologies such as digital recording devices allow viewers to selectively access television content at their own convenience, regardless of the schedules and commercial breaks imposed by television networks and cable channels. The kind of audience and ratings fragmentation that has naturally ensued as a result has made it essential for the television distribution system to become more creative and engage potential viewers in new and enticing ways and over a number of different platforms. With a trend famously started in a systematic way by the hit television series *LOST* in 2004 (Gray and Mittell 2007), television programs, and series in particular, have moved beyond traditional marketing and advertising strategies to create promotional material that usually includes a number of different expansions or paratexts (Genette 1987;

Gray 2010) and overflows beyond the television medium *per se*. Such overflow might include anything from promos and trailers distributed on the Internet and dedicated websites to alternate reality games (ARGs), fan competitions and giveaways, flashmobs, celebrity interviews and appearances, behind-the-scenes specials, and so on. Audiences have also started to appropriate these new consumption modes and actively engage with their favorite television shows by creating various forms of user generated content (UGC), such as fanvids and fanfiction (Jenkins 1992). In an attempt to argue that the study of linguistic and cultural issues should occupy a more prominent role than the one generally granted to them in the literature on global media and the international circulation of media products (e.g. Straubhaar 2007; Harrington and Bielby 2008; Havens 2008), this chapter proposes to look at how expansions are adapted when television shows are imported into a different lingua-cultural system than the one in which those shows were originally created. By drawing on examples from both institutional content and fan created material, this chapter will look at what paratexts are privileged when English-language television shows are imported into the Italian market and what strategies are chosen for their linguistic and cultural adaptation. On a larger scale, this study will try to achieve a better understanding of the ways in which the strategies that accompany the adaptation of various expansions for Italian audiences help repackage and reframe the shows for the target culture, specifically in terms of genre and viewer expectations.

Ying Cui and Yanli Zhao: Mediation of Cultural Images in Translation of Advertisements—Alterations and Cultural Presuppositions

In the translation of advertisements, it is very often the case that cultural images in the original commercial will be altered somehow in the translated text. Some descriptive studies can be found in this area, but explorations into the reasons that cultural images are mediated in advertisement translation are lacking. This research focuses on advertising in newspapers and magazines, and aims to investigate the reasons for such mediation and its effects from the perspective of presupposition. The examples to be analyzed in this study are chosen from the bilingual advertisements collected in Li (2010) which cover a relatively comprehensive categorization of products or service advertisements.

Our corpus is composed of 158 translated advertisements, covering dozens of categories ranging from cosmetics to fashion, banking, technology, and transportation. The first section of the chapter introduces the research background. The second section describes our research topic, based on the review in the first section. The third section explains the concept of presupposition. The relevant theoretical approaches are briefly reviewed, the components and contextual sources of presuppositions are clarified, and the functions of presuppositions in advertisements and translation are illustrated. The fourth section analyzes three examples of advertisement translation, where cultural images in the original advertisements are either altered or replaced in order to cater for the target readers' needs and interests. The reasons and effects of altering cultural images in advertising translation are discussed, drawing upon the theoretical framework established in the third section. The fifth section is composed of some reflections on how to make conscious utilization of presuppositions in translating advertisements, particularly when dealing with cultural images in the advertising texts. This chapter, therefore, aims to explain (perhaps even to justify)—from the perspective of presupposition—the reasons that cultural images are seemingly manipulated and distorted in the translation of advertisements—and to provide practical suggestions for translators as well as (hopefully) a useful reference for translation scholars.

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