Yves Gambier and Sara Ramos Pinto (eds.)

Audiovisual Translation

Theoretical and methodological challenges

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Audiovisual Translation. Theoretical and methodological challenges
Edited by Yves Gambier and Sara Ramos Pinto

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Audiovisual Translation

Theoretical and methodological challenges

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Introduction

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1. Audiovisual translation and translation studies

Gone are the days when most articles about audiovisual translation (AVT) began by addressing the novelty of the field and the uniqueness of the audiovisual text. The place of AVT as an area of study within Translation Studies (TS) is now fully acknowledged and no longer causes eyebrows to be raised. For the past two to three decades, a considerable body of work has been collected, allowing us to gather information on different types of AVT (dubbing, subtitling, audio description, voiceover, etc.), the specificities of each medium, the practices and strategies implemented by translators to address specific issues (swear words, dialects, discourse markers, expressions of politeness, humour and cultural references, among others) and the impact and mediation of elements of different natures (technical, sociocultural and psychological). This has led to AVT's visibly higher profile within TS, as exemplified by the considerable number of publications, conferences and associations solely focused on AVT. In the last five years alone, around 50 books have been published on AVT, several journals have published special issues on AVT and regularly organised conferences have attracted hundreds of participants.

This exponential growth, however, does not negate the fact that it is still a very young domain of research currently exploring an incredible number of different lines of inquiry without a specific methodological and theoretical framework. Some have warned against the dangers of fragmentation and the proliferation of case studies which allow for an impressive collection of data in different contexts and domains, but not for in-depth analysis. This is perhaps to be expected – it is possibly even positive and desirable – when considering an area as vast and multidisciplinary as AVT (which now includes dubbing, subtitling, subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing, voice-over, live subtitling, audio description and surtitling). Whatever the case, in this volume we would like to take stock of different approaches to AVT and discuss the advantages, drawbacks and limitations of well-established approaches as well as highlight the potential avenues opened up by new approaches. Our main concern is not to question whether AVT has

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outgrown the limits of TS and become a field in its own right, but to acknowledge the work that has been developed and the ways in which it contributes to (and sometimes challenges) the more general discussion in TS. Paradigms in TS have changed – from the equivalence paradigm to the sociocultural paradigm and beyond, from the print culture paradigm to the digital culture paradigm – and AVT has been part of, and contributes to the evolution of a poly-discipline which has experienced an ongoing proliferation of scholarship and a diversity of orientations. AVT has been questioning and reframing concepts such as translation, text, sense, authorship, translation unit, etc. Of course, it is not possible to account for all the approaches and methodologies in one single volume, but we do hope this will be a first step towards a larger discussion regarding what is taken as AVT; the (in)adequacy of the methodologies imported from other domains and disciplines given the specificities of AV products; the need (or not) for a conceptual apparatus and framework of analysis specific to AVT; and the challenges of conducting research on AVT.

2. Research clusters

Without attempting to map the domain of audiovisual translation studies, we would like to highlight five different areas of research around which the work on audiovisual translation seems to cluster. It is not our intention to suggest that these are the only areas of research or that no overlap exists between them; however, in a volume aimed at recalling the type of research developed so far in AVT, we considered it important to identify those clusters and to question the reasons behind this specific clustering pattern and what it tells us about this area of research.

2.1 The so-called 'AVT translation problems'

A large proportion of the studies conducted on AVT are of a descriptive nature and focus on the 'product,' that is, on the analysis of existing translations. Focusing on the so-called 'problems' of translation such as the translation of humour, swear words, register or cultural references, these contributions have isolated strategies and procedures, identified patterns in those choices and developed typologies. Initially, most contributions were case studies based on one or two films but, in the last twenty years, there have been efforts to build larger corpora in order to enable the identification of patterns in a larger set of audiovisual products across genres, decades or countries.

With such a clear focus on the product, one could expect to find research available in different types of AV products and a fully developed framework of analysis

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capable of accounting for the multimodal nature of the AV product. However, the vast majority of the studies still focus on film (e.g., very little attention is given to documentaries) and are still restricted to an examination of the language content and form, frequently in almost complete isolation from its audio and visual context. Studies on audio description and subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing are exceptions to this (where in-depth analysis of such multimodal context came to highlight the degree to which it has been neglected in studies on dubbing, subtitling and voice-over), yet one cannot help but wonder why a truly multimodal framework of analysis has still not been developed within AVT, one capable of accounting for the different modes at play in the translated audiovisual product and the multimodal relationships established between them. The literary background of most scholars can be seen as an explanatory factor, but, furthermore, one cannot overlook the huge challenges involved in analysing a multimodal product (in terms of quantity of data and the varied nature of the different modes involved) and reporting on that analysis in written format. The inexistence of tools to support both the collection and (automatic) analysis of large multimodal corpora is arguably one of the biggest challenges to be overcome, but it is important to remember that similar problems have been faced before in TS and efficient corpus tools and analytical frameworks have been developed. What can we learn from film studies and multimodal analysis in other domains? What can we learn from disciplines working with big data which recurrently need to report on large quantities of data? How can we utilise existing digital tools, such as ELAN, used in other domains to help us analyse AV products?

2.2 Accessibility

Studies on accessibility focus mostly on investigating how (and whether) information disseminated through audiovisual products is accessible to everyone. The term is often used in AVT to refer to research and practice focused on audiences with specific disabilities, but here we take accessibility in a broader sense, including all types of audiences and the discussion of how accessible AV products are to those audiences. Much needed studies on reception by viewers with visual or hearing disabilities have been developed, but more attention is required regarding general audiences and the impact of factors such as age, level of education, source language knowledge or visual density level, to mention just a few. Some of the data collected on viewers' viewing ability and perception have already suggested that certain assumptions behind current industry norms and strategies need further empirical testing and demand a more systematic study. It is important to collect more information on: (a) the cognitive processes invoked when watching audiovisual products (including processing images in both viewing and translating);

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(b) the viewers' management of the interplay between visual, oral and aural information; (c) the impact of specific translation strategies on the viewers' cognitive load and interpretation, and (d) the viewers' perception/assessment of those strategies.

2.3 Process

Studies focused on the process are interested in investigating what happens in the mind of the translator and the cognitive processes activated when translating as well as the differences in performance between different types of translators (students, professionals, amateurs, fans, etc.), workflows (e.g., working with/without templates or scripts), IT tools and their impact on translation practice and workflows. Despite the development of cognitive approaches which utilise new tools such as think-aloud protocols, key-logging or eye-tracking, this is still a largely under-developed area which requires further attention. New developments such as machine translation, computer-assisted translation and cloud computing also greatly impact on the process, adding to the need for further research. It would be equally important to collect data on working conditions, constraints in distribution and the different agents involved in the process of selection, translation and revision.

2.4 History of AVT

Assuming a slightly different perspective, studies focused on history investigate contexts rather than texts, that is, the historical and sociocultural factors mediating the translation product, its production and its reception and how those changed over time. Digital and cloud technologies allow researchers to access unprecedented quantities of audiovisual products and their translations; however, there is a possible risk of losing crucial data on the pre-digital era of audiovisual translation. Access to data is undoubtedly one the main challenges faced by this type of study as it demands considerable archival research in libraries, cinemas or translators' personal archives, as well as the use of equipment and formats which are not readily available or easy to operate.

2.5 Language policy

The work developed on language policy has very clearly followed both the 'pure research' and the 'applied research' strands; thus, on the one hand, this has produced descriptive and historical work on how language policy has evolved (i.e., what impact does English currently have on the international exchanges of films, TV programs and series?) and, on the other hand, work focused on what translation

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should be, how it should be used and the development of tools to improve translation and workflows. The area of language learning is closely associated with this in the sense that advice can be given regarding any place AVT should or should not occupy in language teaching and learning curricula. In other words, what would be the sociolinguistic role of the AV translators towards minorities and in acquiring command of native and foreign languages?

3. Collaborative perspectives

Considering these five areas of research and the types of research being conducted, it is possible to recognise a certain tension between what James S Holmes presented as 'pure' and 'applied' research. The growing difficulty in securing funding for projects without an immediately apparent social relevance and/or business benefits is a cruel reality nowadays which could easily push academia towards developing action research only. We would, however, like to argue in favour of maintaining a good balance between these two poles – it is important to understand that the major leap forward yet to be taken by AVT is to be achieved only on the back of a serious theoretical discussion from which new analytical frameworks, methodologies and industry practices can be developed. The case study research which has caused some alarm bells to ring due to its small-scale and descriptive nature might seem repetitive and incapable of offering an in-depth analysis, but its relevance should not be ignored given the increased value of contrasting data regarding different countries, languages or historical periods, for example.

Another striking feature emerging from this brief glimpse of the AVT areas discussed above is the recent change regarding the type of projects developed and number of people involved. The proliferation of case studies can be seen as a natural result of research projects involving one single researcher, but it is becoming increasingly evident that the type of questions now put forward demand teams of researchers and, possibly, researchers from different disciplines. Both process- and reception-focused studies, for example, although focused on describing what happens, are often experimental in the first phase and face tremendous challenges regarding the collection and analysis of large sets of data. Very likely, this can only be overcome with the organisation of large projects developed by multidisciplinary teams (bringing together knowledge in multimodality, audiovisual translation, cognitive studies, statistics, etc.), and including a large number of participants, as well as private and public sector partners.

The funding necessary for large studies (as well as the challenges faced by academia in the pursuit of financial support for research) certainly enhances the appeal of a closer involvement with the industry. Some might point out that this

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seems to leave little space for anything other than applied, industry-driven research. This can, however, also be seen as an important step towards making AVT more visible to the audiovisual industry in the sense that data on the impact of translation on the reception, interpretation and enjoyment of a given AV product will highlight the importance of quality translation for the (commercial) 'success' of the product.

Building on the four interdependent types of sociologies formulated by Burawoy (2004), Koskinen (2009) proposed the following distinctions for areas of translation research and collaboration between academia and private and public sector partners:

Table 1. Division of academic labour in Translation Studies (Koskinen 2009, 15–26)

	academic public	**extra-academic public**
instrumental knowledge	Professional (Scientific) TS	Policy (Pragmatic) TS
reflexive knowledge	Critical TS	Public TS

In this context, **Professional TS** provides expertise, legitimacy, definition of problems and methods. **Pragmatic TS** focuses on solutions to specific problems defined by clients. A translation company might be interested in investigating the most efficient subtitling software. The European Commission might support research on the usefulness of subtitling for language learning before promoting multilingualism. **Critical TS** delves into assumptions, presuppositions of claims and hypotheses in order to avoid any form of dogmatism. **Public TS** is designed to reach different relevant audiences (local or national, active or passive, etc.) and initiate different lines of dialogue with those viewers, professional translators and neighbouring disciplines (pragmatics, experimental and cognitive psychology, linguistics, film studies, semiotics, sociology, literary studies, reception studies, history, web studies, etc.).

Not all scholars have the expertise nor are they necessarily interested or available to work in these four types; however, it is perfectly possible to be active in two or three sub-fields simultaneously or to work in larger teams capable of pursuing both theoretical and applied research as well as involving public and private sector partners (translation companies, broadcasters, distribution companies, etc.).

Bearing all this in mind, one thing appears to be true: AVT is a fertile ground of research with immense potential. Furthermore, it has reached a crossroad in relation to how that potential will be explored. We hope that steps are taken towards a more collaborative approach to research, both in terms of the interdisciplinarity of teams (strengthening existing theoretical frameworks and developing new ones) and in terms of moving towards greater collaboration with the private and public sector.

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It is along those lines that this volume aims to encourage further investigation in AVT. Here's hoping that the next volume will enlarge the articles' geo-linguistic and interdisciplinary landscape.

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Descriptive translation studies of audiovisual translation

21st-century issues, challenges and opportunities

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This chapter aims to identify theoretical and methodological issues, challenges and opportunities posed by the specific nature of research on audiovisual translation (AVT) developed within the framework of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). For this purpose, it offers a brief presentation of the overarching principles of DTS; a selective overview of research on AVT in the 21st century, considering the main achievements and challenges involved in such research; and a discussion of some theoretical and methodological issues, challenges and opportunities faced by Descriptive Audiovisual Translation Studies.

Keywords: Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), audiovisual translation (AVT), descriptive approach, translation research methodology, Translation Studies Bibliography

1. Introduction

This chapter intends to present a panorama of research on audiovisual translation (AVT) developed within the framework of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) during the 21st century. It thereby seeks to reflect upon theoretical and methodological issues posed by the specific nature of such research into the vast and rapidly growing gamut of audiovisual products resorting to translation.

The first part of this chapter briefly summarizes the main tenets of DTS; the second part offers a selective overview of research on AVT during the 21st century; the third part discusses selected problems and some prospects in descriptive AVT studies.

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2. Basic principles of descriptive translation studies (DTS)

DTS may be defined as a descriptive, empirical, interdisciplinary, and target-oriented approach to the study of translation, focusing especially on the role of translation in cultural history. Here is a selective presentation of the main principles of DTS:

a. The choice of the term '**studies**' instead of 'science' is a means of explicitly affiliating the discipline to the Humanities (Holmes [1988] 2000).
b. **Translation** is defined by Toury ([1995] 2012) as any text presented and functioning as a translation in a target context. This concept is therefore (un) defined as 'assumed translation,' which may, for instance, also include pseudo-translations (non-translated texts presented and received as translations). This object is further enlarged to cover translation as product (the translated text), as process (translating) and function (role and value) within its context, which also brings metatexts to the attention of research (e.g., paratexts, reviews and critiques, guidelines and specifications, codes of conduct and good practice). The object additionally encompasses all contextual variables that may have a bearing upon translation.
c. For a '**contextual**' study of translation, DTS tends to focus on the relations between textual and contextual variables, by resorting to concepts such as (poly) system, norms, laws or patronage; for example, the descriptive concept of the translational relationship between source and target text is contextually motivated instead of being speculatively and prescriptively stated a priori. Actual translation relationships result from culture-specific **translation norms**, that is, contextually valued models for performing the social role of translator. Identifying them becomes instrumental in laying bare a given sociocultural and historical community's self-definition within wider intercultural international (power) relations (as revealed, e.g., by varying degrees of tolerance to interference) (Toury [1995] 2012).
d. In reaction to previously dominant source-orientedness, the '**target-oriented**' approach of DTS means a shift of the main research focus to both the target text and context, which, however, does not exclude the source culture and text or the wider international context as being essential to understanding translation in context (Toury [1995] 2012).
e. Only an '**interdisciplinary**' approach can encompass such a complex object that beyond its linguistic nature is also considered in its historical, cultural, social, economic, political and ideological nature (Even-Zohar 1990).
f. '**Descriptive**' studies undertake to diagnose the status quo of translation in a given time (or time-frame) and space, and they have developed historically

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in explicit opposition to extant mainly prescriptive, speculative, evaluative approaches to translation, as well as to the predominance of applied studies (Toury [1995] 2012).

g. '**Empirical**' studies aim mainly to describe and understand but also to explain and predict, by formulating general principles, tendencies and regularities. Developing relevant methodologies, identifying pertinent profile and contextual variables, formulating and testing hypotheses, and devising operative categories and classifications are also paramount endeavors (Chesterman 2001).

These basic principles were mainly formulated with literary translation in mind. However, they have been widely applied to research on other text types and translation modalities.[1] Adopting them in research on AVT appears both to offer opportunities and to raise issues deserving further attention.

3. DTS Research on AVT: a selective overview

Let us now consider a selective overview of research on AVT in the 21st century, in order to reflect upon the main achievements and challenges of such research – but not without first considering the growing complexity of AVT.

3.1 The growing complexity of AVT

AVT, also referred to as 'media/multimedia translation,' 'cinema/film/screen translation,' 'versioning' or 'multidimensional translation,' may be considered a complex and diversified field for several reasons (see Gambier 2013, 46). Firstly, the complex nature of the audiovisual text needs stressing. It results not only from the integration of four main constituents – audio-verbal signs (words heard), visual-verbal signs (words read on screen), audio-nonverbal signs (sounds heard, including music and special sound effects), and visual-nonverbal signs (photographic and cinematic units, sequence of scenes, rhythm of image succession, use of camera, light and color) (Zabalbeascoa 2008; Gambier 2013) – but also from the variable contribution of each constituent to any specific AV text and even text-part. Secondly, the translated audiovisual text often encompasses all (or most) of the source AV text components to which the target text is added, thus forming a highly complex network deserving further study. Thirdly, audiovisual communication comprises an ever-evolving range of audiovisual text-types and genres, as well as audiovisual media and platforms created by swift technological change. Fourthly,

1. See also Assis Rosa (2010) and Ben-Ari (2013).

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technological innovation and progress force a constant catching-up-mode upon the AVT industry, stimulating the invention of more flexible, faster and more cost-effective AVT modalities (often combining human and machine translation) or the convergence of already existing modalities, thus creating newly complex hybrid forms of AVT.[2] Additional factors causing the innovation of AVT modes are the evolution of audience profiles (e.g., related to broadcasting vs. narrowcasting for minority groups with sensory impairments), strong demands within multilingual societies (e.g., bilingual subtitling in Macau, Belgium or Finland, or intralinguistic remakes using different national varieties), or a growing demand for instant access to information (requiring live subtitling, simultaneous interpreting or translation) (Gambier 2004; Bassnett 2015, 125ff.). Finally, the growing complexity of the communicative context of audiovisual translation requires a thorough redefinition for the purpose of performing AVT studies – involving, for instance, the identification of 'source' and 'target' contexts and of 'senders' and 'receivers' in a multilingual and multicultural context of high spatial mobility and far-reaching technology.

3.2 DTS research on AVT?

The *Translation Studies Bibliography* (TSB) was searched in April 2014 for the purpose of drawing a rough panorama of main trends evidenced by (descriptive) research on AVT since 2000 (Gambier and van Doorslaer 2003–2010).[3] In order to identify the possible relevance of DTS within recent publications in general, keywords and abstracts were first queried on '**DTS**' and '**descriptive**.' The searches for 'Descriptive Translation Studies' or 'DTS' returned 70 hits in keywords and 24 in abstracts; those for 'descriptive' returned 177 hits in keywords and 410 hits in abstracts. So, even if TSB keywords and abstracts do not appear to favor studies explicitly following the main tenets of DTS, they still stress the descriptive (vs. prescriptive) purpose of a high number of studies published since 2000. This may either point towards a lessening investment and appeal of research within DTS, or to such a strong tacitly accepted relevance of descriptive approaches, that this no longer requires explicit mention.

2. For a recent take on AVT modalities/modes see Gambier (2013).

3. This choice was only determined by availability at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon. BITRA (Franco-Aixelá 2001–2014) has very similar figures; only 'norm' and 'system' rank higher in abstracts (unfortunately, it does not allow for a comparable keyword search). The search of TSB took place between April 11 and April 24, 2015.

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Similar queries for the term 'audiovisual' returned 577 hits in keywords and 433 hits in abstracts; 'multimedia' returned 93 and 96 hits.[4] This may confirm suggestions that 'audiovisual translation' has gained ground against former alternatives (such as film, screen or multimedia translation) (see Gambier 2013, 46). Combining two terms in one complex search returned 22 hits for both '**audiovisual**' and '**descriptive**' in abstracts (7 in keywords); the search for 'multimedia' and 'descriptive' returned 2 hits in abstracts (1 in keywords) – these were studies on illustrations in printed advertisement or scientific-technical texts or on the contribution of DTS to AVT (namely, Pym 2001, on which more below). The only hit for the combined search of '**audiovisual**' **and** '**DTS**' or 'descriptive' was another article on the relevance of DTS for AVT (Díaz-Cintas 2004, on which more below).

Regarding AVT modalities, the main foci revealed by this survey have proven to be: subtitling (570/553 hits in abstracts/keywords), localization (320/280), and dubbing (313/292), closely followed by sign language interpreting (165/237). At a distance come audio description (11/99), voice-over (33/45), surtitling (33/40), SDH (26/0), fansubbing (13/17), and fandubbing (1/17). Searches for comparative studies of 'subtitling' and 'dubbing' (147/125) or of 'humor' in 'AVT' (0/42 hits), often mentioned as a repetitive focus of AVT research, as well as 'accessibility' (210/71) also rank high, which may be tentatively interpreted as indicative of the main 21st-century research trends in AVT.

Among the 22 descriptive studies of AVT, six are books (monographs or edited volumes) devoted to dubbing in regional television, motion picture translation in several countries, dubbing, subtitling and voice-over in screen translating, translation norms for humor, and subtitling and dubbing for TV. Among them, only two explicitly present a DTS purpose: the formulation of translation norms for the AVT of humor on TV, or the study of the function of dubbing in minority language TV. The remaining studies are either just loosely presented as describing a given AVT corpus or problem (predominantly humor) or appear to have an applied purpose – associated with motion picture translation and its implementation in foreign language classes, or with more practice oriented purposes (e.g., a handbook for screen translation). The remaining 16 articles focus on specific modalities, mainly subtitling and dubbing (also offering comparative studies), but also audio description (and audio narration) or AVT in general; they concentrate

4. Regarding the choice of 'audiovisual' or 'multimedia' translation, this chapter defines them as partly overlapping, following Gambier (2013, 46): the former term "brought to the forefront the multisemiotic dimension of all broadcast programs (TV, cinema, radio, DVD)," the latter "refers explicitly to the multitude of media and channels now used in global and local communication for different purposes (information, entertainment, education, advertising, etc.)"; the two do not coincide entirely since multimedia translation also includes, for instance, the translation of comics (multimedia, multimodal but not audiovisual).

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mainly on cinema/film and television, but they also examine museums, theatre and illustrations in printed material; seven are presented as studies of AVT norms (also including the concepts of strategies, methods, techniques, and constraints) and four explicitly mention their affiliation to DTS.

This brief survey concluded with a set of searches aimed at identifying the use of terms closely related to the conceptual framework of DTS (system, norm, law, universal, patronage, target) and the approach (empirical, descriptive, interdisciplinary) in studies published on AVT. The following table summarizes the number of hits for each term in abstracts and keywords:

Table 1. TSB searches for terms related to DTS concepts and approach

Hits in abstracts	Term	Hits in keywords
13	system	7
8	norm	19
3	law	0
11	universal	0
1	patronage	0
42	context	3
66	target	17
20	empirical	11
23	descriptive	7
14	interdisciplinary	0

DTS concepts apparently used more frequently are: target (66/17), context (42/3), norm (8/19), system (13/7), and law (3/0), with only one hit for patronage (1/0). The terms related to the DTS approach that are more often used are descriptive (23/7), empirical (20/11) and interdisciplinary (14/0). However, the term descriptive is used rather loosely for a study descriptive of an AVT corpus or of the solutions offered to a particular problem (humor) in an AVT corpus, rather than explicitly presenting a study applying a DTS target-oriented approach to translation regularities, motivations and consequences. The relatively minor importance of these hits in a database holding over 24.500 entries (April 2014) indicates that DTS apparently has only just started to be applied to AVT (see below).

4. DTS research on AVT: issues, challenges and opportunities

Our search of TSB identified two articles specifically devoted to discussing the relevance of DTS for research on audiovisual and multimedia translation: "Four

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Remarks on Translation Research and Multimedia" (Pym 2001) and "In Search of a Theoretical Framework for the Study of Audiovisual Translation" (Díaz-Cintas 2004).

4.1 Discussing the relevance of DTS on AVT

Pym (2001) addresses challenges to descriptivism posed by research in multimedia, or transcultural media, a term the author would rather use.[5] Focusing on risks of complex specialized research and offering constructive criticism, it does not shy away from suggesting some solutions too. Pym highlights the following issues: the risk of intellectual fragmentation resulting from the accumulation of isolated complex descriptions; the need for greater critical involvement by researchers, and the related need to address "socially lived problems in need of solution" (276); the problem of a myopic concentration on target-culture conditioning and the need to encompass "wide transcultural movements, the stuff of ideologies and market" (277); the imperative of redefining concepts such as culture (or system), sender and receiver, as well as the location of agents and determining factors of media translation (practitioners and researchers); the risk of strategic power agendas camouflaged behind "lab-coated" complex research and the need to acknowledge them and to unveil power-brokers and real stakeholders in the complex multimedia communication practitioner/research community (276). In summary, the article stresses the risks of merely accumulating fragmentary knowledge produced by apparently aseptic descriptive studies, instead of the promised generalizations and wider context-oriented studies; and it suggests that the solution is to produce more critically involved research on important, socially relevant or problematic issues – research that can make a difference.

Jorge Díaz-Cintas (2004) offers an analysis of the potential validity of the main conceptual framework of DTS for research on AVT. Among the main issues addressed, the article claims that the concepts offered by DTS initially referred almost exclusively to literary translation and need adapting, although it adds that the majority of concepts are operative in AVT research, as a set of heuristic tools opening up new possibilities for research. It stresses the need to reformulate the polysystemic concepts of primary (innovative and central) and secondary (conservative and peripheral) practices, so as to make them applicable to AVT, where

5. On this preference, see Pym (2001, 280–282), where the author explains his understanding of the complexity of multimedia translation as an intercultural field, also because of the multiple possibilities created by technology (e.g., the choice of the sound channel enabling viewers to watch different dubbed versions of a program).

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counterexamples allegedly abound.[6] The article further considers the concept of initial norm (adequacy and acceptability) insufficient to deal with AVT because "the value of the image tends to take precedence over the word" (Díaz-Cintas 2008, 26).[7] The stress upon the study of the historical variability of translation norms is also said to pose the risk of designing overambitious descriptive projects aimed at describing AVT corpora that may prove too big due to a high number of texts or the consideration of several decades.

In general, however, this chapter mainly identifies opportunities for research in AVT as a result of the application of DTS, stating that it offers an effective conceptual framework moving beyond the consideration of the merely linguistic profile of AVT and encompassing an extensive network of contextual features. It stresses the relevance of three concepts: polysystem, translation norm, and patronage. First, the concept of polysystem applied to AVT is highlighted as particularly helpful and promising, by drawing attention to the study of the translated AV system as part of the wider target AV system (encompassing both high and low culture), and enabling the consideration of the diversity of media and genres in the field of AVT as well as the consideration of further dimensions beyond the merely linguistic one. It thereby opens up the field to also comprehend sociocultural factors, professional factors, power struggles between systems and modalities, national practices and preferences regarding AVT, or comparative studies of different systems (e.g., the AVT and literary translation systems). Second, the DTS concept of norms (preliminary and operational) is considered particularly useful to direct research projects on AVT, with the purpose of mapping the historical variability of AVT practice and understanding its meaning within its historical context, since it also enables the unveiling of the intervention of several agents specific to AVT (laboratories, production and distribution companies, dubbing actors and directors, technicians, adaptors, etc.). Finally, the chapter also highlights the value of the concept of patronage to focus on extra-linguistic dimensions relevant to AVT, enabling contextual studies aimed at describing the influence of censorship and

6. The association of innovative to central and conservative to peripheral systems criticized by Díaz-Cintas (2004, 23) is really only one of the possibilities mentioned by Even-Zohar (1990, 46), who states that this association "depends on the specific constellation of the polysystem under study."

7. This requires further clarification which may involve, for instance, enquiring for whom the image takes precedence over the word (the director, the AVT translator considering the AV source text, the viewer watching the translated AV target text, etc.). Especially when one considers the growing number of subtitled programs by subtitlers who only have access to the word (the template), as presupposed by the first recommendation in the *Code of Good Subtitling Practice* (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998), or the increasing use of software combinations such as discourse recognition and machine translation for SDH, this statement appears too vague.

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legislation, governmental authorities, TV channels and laboratories, educational institutions, production and distribution companies, audience preferences, and the like.

4.2 Main challenges to the successful application of DTS to AVT

Besides the thought-provoking issues and opportunities mentioned by these two articles, the following main challenges to the successful application of DTS approaches to research on AVT are also worth stressing. First and foremost, the **semiotic complexity of the audiovisual text** poses significant difficulties to a systematic descriptive empirical approach. As often stated, DTS developed mainly with literary translation in mind and consequently its conceptual framework was designed for a different object and in some cases requires adapting. Adaptation is underway[8] and has already opened up new opportunities for research. Let us not forget that it is DTS that brought ('low-brow') AVT to the attention of academic research, which (not without considerable resistance) was led to consider first translation, then literary translation, then also the whole gamut of AVT to be worthy of its attention. On the other hand, this main conceptual framework grew out of "a structuralist movement in comparative literature" (Pym 2001, 277) and will probably need further adjustments when other disciplines, research questions and purposes are brought to tackle AVT.

The main difficulties posed by the semiotic complexity of audiovisual texts may be interpreted in terms of three main issues. Firstly, from the point of view of the researcher, far from simply stressing the multimedia and multimodal nature of the AV source text without further consideration, it appears vital to identify the different roles played by the various modes and signs in the production of meaning (by viewers and translators) and in translation decisions, as currently carried out by research on reception. Specific AV texts or text-parts may be more or less 'verbal' or 'nonverbal,' more or less 'audio' or 'visual,' allowing for different combinations, turning multimodality into a matter of degree and bringing about the need to map each text or even text-part along at least these two continua (Zabalbeascoa 2008, 25–29) and to continue studies on reception. Though defying generalization, this stresses the need to further consider predominant proportions for different media or genres, and different cultural and historical contexts. Further studies of translation decisions are also needed to identify the actual role played by (non-) verbal visual/audio components in AVT products and processes. The matter of how to map classification units for the purposes of analysis and devising operative

8. For a reflection on the AV text, see Delabastita (1989), Zabalbeascoa (2008) and Gambier (2013).

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classifications for the description of AV textual regularities is far from settled. Generally, the criticism of a strong verbal or linguistic bias is still frequent. In response to it, some stress the need to analyze each frame in terms of all the semiotic modes involved. Others state the imperative of necessarily adapting and simplifying multimodal transcription (Taylor 2003; Baldry and Thibault 2006). Second, from the point of view of the professional, the consideration of non-verbal components is all too often reduced to the question of how to create (as much as possible) a synchronous target text (be it subtitled, dubbed, voiced-over or interpreted). It is, however, still not clear whether the AV translator focuses on translating the verbal component (oral and written text) or whether non-verbal components (both audio and visual) are equally important or even more important for the audiovisual translation process. Last, the synchronous target text produced by the AV translator is only one (additional) constituent of the final product, the translated audiovisual text. Research still has to move beyond the comparative analysis of source and target texts, beyond their consideration within a target or international context in order to tackle this further complexity of the translated audiovisual text. It corresponds to a new texture of verbal and non-verbal, audio and visual, source and target components, deserving further attention from both practitioners and researchers. Perhaps also due to the higher complexity it exhibits, this hybrid AV translated text has seldom received attention as a new multi-semiotic network, and this attention needs to be aimed at both its production and reception.

The DTS principle of refocusing the studies on AVT mainly upon the target **context** to produce "broadly systemic target-based descriptions" (Pym 2001, 276) has generated considerable knowledge on the hitherto vastly unknown field of AVT and its relevance for contemporary cultures. Besides the obvious benefits to the understanding of motivations and consequences in a field strongly marked by international agents, considering a wider international context also raises some issues. It is clearly beneficial for the study of AVT to consider national audiovisual polysystems encompassing both translated and non-translated systems, and to perform comparative studies. A stronger focus on the contextual influence by a network of agents involved in the production of translated audiovisual products and genres resorting to different modalities may prove particularly helpful in describing its specificities. However, given the complexity of the network of agents and contexts involved in AVT, the empirical study of contextual variables also poses the additional problem of earmarking those which prove to be particularly relevant for the descriptive study of regularities in AVT.

The need to move beyond case studies and atomistic descriptions in order to identify regularities (universals, laws, norms, strategies/procedures, translation units) entails additional difficulties associated with creating, accessing and analyzing **multimedia corpora**. The need to develop AVT corpora (considering

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different media, language pairs, AVT modalities, and corpus types – monolingual, multilingual, multi-semiotic, parallel, comparable corpora –, etc.) as well as specific tools for qualitative and quantitative analysis, and to make them available to the community of researchers are problems that have to be solved in order to achieve the purpose of a comprehensive and systemic description of translational regularities in AVT. The descriptive analysis of wider corpora and their contexts is further complicated by the need for more effective hardware and software permitting semi-automatic qualitative and quantitative analyses and, perhaps even more so, by thorny issues related to the copyrighting of audiovisual materials preventing the creation of AVT corpora for systemic descriptive research purposes, and the dissemination of such research.[9] Given the diversity, complexity and hybridity of the object, the possibility of developing an encompassing descriptive approach and the need to consider methodological and theoretical specificities related to medium, modality and contextual features of AVT pose a further difficulty. Last, despite the availability of alternative AV platforms, the still predominant use of print to present and disseminate descriptive studies of AVT (papers, monographs, theses) imposes a very serious constraint on research.

The **very intricate landscape of audiovisual and multimedia communication** brings further complexity to context-oriented research in this field, not only because "technology gives us more possibilities than those included in the field of research" (Pym 2001, 280) but also because it becomes more difficult to classify audiovisual and multimedia communication in terms of well-known but perhaps too simple communication models; for instance, identifying 'sending' and 'receiving' national systems appears far from straightforward with international media.[10] This may call for a redefinition of culture or system and the adaptation of existing models or the development of operative communicative models applicable to the contemporary complex and increasingly hybrid mediascape.

The **interdisciplinarity** of DTS raises additional problems because comprehensive studies of a polysystem are best performed by team research projects. However, several potential obstacles have to be faced here: the entry into the academic world still depends strongly on the mandatory presentation of individual and time-restricted projects (M.A., doctoral and post-doctoral theses); in some cases, academic evaluation is diffident of joint or collaborative publications; interdisciplinary approaches usually do not fit well in the taxonomies of disciplines

9. Difficulties faced by the AVT researcher concern limited access to products, strict copyright rules on the length of quotations allowed, and the impossibility to create free online corpora for a research group or the wider AVT research community.

10. Pym (2001, 278) mentions foreign-language programs translated into German and transmitted by German broadcasters via satellite to European countries.

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for the submission of a research project; and, finally, it appears difficult for such projects to be duly assessed by mainly single-discipline-oriented evaluation panels for the purpose of obtaining academic degrees, achieving career advancement or funding. This applies to Translation Studies in general, whose interdisciplinary nature has often worked against it where assessments were done by panels of Linguistics or Literary Studies experts; but this state of affairs appears to be even more detrimental to AVT studies and projects, which so often state their wish to go beyond merely linguistic approaches and which are barely awarded an academic status similar to that of literary translation. Additionally, the initial idea of anchoring DTS within the Humanities appears to be reductive given the growing dependence of interdisciplinary AVT research projects on fields such as computer science (cf. the development of software for the storage, compilation, analysis and automatic/semi-automatic classification and tagging of growing multilingual and multisemiotic corpora) and on statistics (cf. the need for statistical analyses to identify relevant regularities), to name but those examples.

Given the growing difficulty of access to funding for research projects and also considering the growing encroachment of a utilitarian scientific discourse, descriptive research on AVT has another challenge to address, namely, the financing of pure or fundamental research (as opposed to more 'applied' studies). Given the current importance attributed to the immediate social relevance of research, it seems difficult to move beyond the already predominantly applied nature of collective efforts to define standards, codes of good practices regarding specific AVT modalities, or more or less individual efforts to build better translator training programs and units for AVT modalities. Prescriptive and applied studies of socially relevant or problematic issues are persistently called for (see Pym 2001, 276). Fundamental systemic descriptive and empirical research on AVT as product, process and function may be clearly instrumentalized in the medium or long term for the applied purpose of producing better AVT practice or training better AVT translators. Research is producing an increasingly informative and thorough diagnosis of how AVT works in national and international contexts. It is formulating and testing more translation norms for several AV text types, genres, media, platforms and AVT modalities for different cultures. As this information is made available and applied, both translation practice and training can become more functional, efficient and effective. But fundamental or pure descriptive research should still be valued per se, irrespective of the (manifold and perhaps very promising) applied purposes it may eventually be used to attain.

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5. Towards a conclusion

The current global atmosphere appears to be dominated by a very prolific text production which is often overly evaluative, speculative, subjective and critical – for instance, in social media and blogs. Even in the context of academia, the pendulum appears to be swaying in the direction of committed applied approaches. This trend also becomes apparent whenever public funding is announced first and foremost for socially relevant, and therefore mainly applied/prescriptive research projects on socially problematic issues. Against this background of an overvaluation of societal impact and prescriptive approaches, DTS seems to have lost some of its appeal, even if its main conceptual framework has barely started to be applied to the expanding field of AVT. It appears redundant to state that before suggesting relevant, important and lasting changes to a given system, one has to first understand (and be able to explain and predict) how it functions, or that a monopoly or strong predominance of applied research was what initially drew several researchers to place their bets on DTS. The potentialities and limitations of research on AVT following a descriptive approach, as briefly sketched by this chapter, are mainly to be considered open questions in an ongoing discussion on the search for further relevant paths for empirical, descriptive context-oriented fundamental research on AVT.

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Machine translation quality in an audiovisual context

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The volume of Audiovisual Translation (AVT) is increasing to meet the rising demand for data that needs to be accessible around the world. Machine Translation (MT) is one of the most innovative technologies to be deployed in the field of translation, but it is still too early to predict how it can support the creativity and productivity of professional translators in the future. Currently, MT is more widely used in (non-AV) text translation than in AVT. In this chapter, we discuss MT technology and demonstrate why its use in AVT scenarios is particularly challenging. We also present some potentially useful methods and tools for measuring MT quality that have been developed primarily for text translation. The ultimate objective is to bridge the gap between the tech-savvy AVT community, on the one hand, and researchers and developers in the field of high-quality MT, on the other.

Keywords: machine translation, translation quality, evaluation, audiovisual translation

1. Introduction

Audiovisual translation (AVT) has become a fundamental necessity in the 21st century. Media trends such as VHS and LaserDiscs have come and gone, and translation tools have progressed from typewriters to fully integrated real-time web-based translation environments. Our world is becoming ever smaller, while the demand for information in every corner of the globe is growing. Consequently, the sheer volume of data that needs to be accessible in most regions and languages of the world is rising dramatically: every minute, 300 hours of video material is being uploaded to YouTube.[1] Even assuming that only a small fraction of this content is

1. https://www.youtube.com/yt/press/en/statistics.html

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of interest to a broader global audience, the effort required to publish it in multiple languages is a tremendous challenge. This has been recognized and acknowledged by research bodies and governments that have supported early-adopter projects involving automatic AV translation. Such projects include MUSA[2] and eTITLE,[3] which have used rule-based MT combined with translation memory to investigate the potential of these tools for AVT; SUMAT,[4] which has trained statistical machine translation engines on subtitles in seven bi-directional language pairs and performed an extensive evaluation of the resulting MT quality; EU-Bridge,[5] which has focused on further advancing the state-of-the-art in automatic speech recognition combined with MT with a view to applying this technology in several domains, including AVT; HBB4ALL,[6] which, although mainly focused on accessibility, has carried out research into the reception of automatic interlingual subtitles; and ALST,[7] a project whose aim was to implement existing automatic speech recognition, speech synthesis and MT technologies in audio description and voice-over, part of which included quality assessment of voice-over scripts produced using MT and post-editing.

The emergence of new technologies has also had a significant impact on the translation of text content. In technical translation, translation memory systems (TMs) and integrated terminology support have become indispensable when it comes to ensuring language consistency and streamlining the translation process. Automatic (or machine) translation technology (MT) is one of the most recent developments in the translation equation, and it is still too soon to know just how and to what extent this technology will support the creativity and productivity of professional translators in the future. However, MT is certainly more widely used in text translation than in AV translation, where its application is, as yet, rare.

Machine translation output generally requires substantial editing effort to be fit for publishing. Its quality depends on factors such as language pair, domain and genre, and similarity of the text to be translated and the material for which the machine has been optimised. EC-funded research on improving MT output has a long history. The most recent research projects in this field include QTLaunchPad,[8]

2. http://sifnos.ilsp.gr/musa/index.html

3. http://www.upf.edu/glicom/en/proyectos/proyectos_finalizados/e_title.html

4. http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/ict/language-technologies/project-sumat_en.html

5. https://www.eu-bridge.eu/

6. http://www.hbb4all.eu/

7. http://ddd.uab.cat/record/137941?ln=en

8. http://www.qt21.eu/launchpad/

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QTLeap,[9] and QT21,[10] as well as applied research projects involving industry such as MMT.[11]

The use of MT is increasingly popular for 'gisting' (information-only translation) through free online systems such as Google Translate or Bing Translator. Google alone automatically translates roughly as much content in one day as all professional translators translate in an entire year, and is used by more than 200 million people every month.[12]

This type of translation is not only helpful for users in search of information on the internet but also for intelligence services and other bodies that need to determine which documents are relevant and require higher-quality translation. As the purpose of gisting translation is different from that of high-quality translation destined for publication, MT systems built for the former are not well suited for supporting professional translators in the latter (although they are used by translators today, often without being acknowledged as a resource).

The goals of this chapter are twofold. First, we discuss MT technology and why its application to AVT scenarios is particularly challenging. Second, we present some methods and tools for measuring MT quality that could prove useful to the AVT community – tools that have been developed for text translation. The ultimate objective is to bridge the gap between two worlds: that of the AVT community and that of researchers and developers in the field of high-quality MT. Closer cooperation between these two constituencies will promote innovation and improvement in the implementation of MT technologies, eventually providing access to increasing amounts of multimodal content in as many languages as possible.

In Section 2, we provide a high-level overview of the technical ingredients of MT systems that should help the reader when we explain the limitations and prospects of using MT in the context of AVT in Section 3. Section 4 provides an overview of tools and techniques for measuring MT quality. Section 5 closes this chapter with a short summary.

2. Background: Statistical Machine Translation in a nutshell

This section gives a very brief introduction to the technical components of MT systems in order to provide a basis for discussion in subsequent chapters. *Statistical*

9. http://qtleap.eu/

10. http://www.qt21.eu/

11. http://www.modernmt.eu/

12. http://googleblog.blogspot.de/2012/04/breaking-down-language-barriersix-years.html

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MT systems (SMT) such as Google Translate, Microsoft Translator, and open-source Moses systems represent the most widely used approach to MT today.[13] These systems use complex algorithms that learn how to transfer strings from one language to another using the probabilities derived from parallel bilingual texts. The basic components of such systems are:

1. A *phrase table*, a database containing words or phrases in the target language and the probability that they correspond to words or phrases in the source language.
2. A *re-ordering model* with probabilities for different word orders in the two languages.
3. A *monolingual language* model containing probabilities for sequences of words (n-grams) in the target language.

The statistical probabilities are learnt automatically through the analysis of large parallel corpora that contain sentences in the source language and their respective (human) translations in the target language. Simply put, these probabilities are estimated as relative frequencies of bilingual/monolingual words and phrases in the given texts where phrases are defined as simple groups of words, without taking into account any linguistic aspects. Essentially, the components learn how words they have seen have been translated, how the word order of the source and target language differed in these translations, and what words are likely to appear next to each other in the target language.

As a general rule, the more training material that is available, the better the translation results will be. The more similarities between the training material (domain, sentence structure and length, etc.) and the texts to be translated, the higher the translation quality. Ten to twenty thousand training sentences may produce good results for some applications, text types and language pairs, while others may require much more material to achieve useful output.

In this statistical translation paradigm, the complex interplay of the different components produces translations that can sometimes be puzzling at first sight, as in (1), where the polarity of the German question has been reversed:

(1) Source: *Was stimmt?* [What is right?]
Online MT: What is wrong?

It is very difficult to trace why a certain translation has been produced by MT algorithms. In the example above, the most probable reason is that that the *translation probability* for *stimmt* was erroneously influenced by the more frequent

13. *Rule-based MT systems* such as SYSTRAN and Lucy LT do not play a major role for translating AV content.

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appearance of the negated *stimmt nicht* in the training data. In this case, it is purely accidental that, while the above translation itself conveys the opposite meaning on its own, it may be semantically acceptable in certain contexts. It is also possible that the given translation appeared in the training data.

One common misconception is to think of the statistical systems anthropomorphically and observe that, for example, the system 'did not see' that X is plural, or that it 'missed' an embedded sentence, etc. The systems (in their simplest and very common form) do not have any explicit linguistic intelligence whatsoever: they do not 'know' what a part of speech is or what negation is, for example.

While the basic principles are easily explained, SMT systems are highly sophisticated, both in terms of mathematical and algorithmical complexity, as well as in computing power and the required data resources. SMT is an active field of research that is exploring several approaches to improve the state of the art, such as adding linguistic and semantic knowledge to systems and enhancing the mathematical models.

2.1 The challenge of assessing MT Quality

MT systems are frequently confused with translation memory systems (TMs). In a way, MT can be seen as an extension of TM technology. However, while TMs only retrieve *existing* translations previously produced by humans, MT is able to flexibly generate *new* translations based on these translations.

One major practical drawback is the fact that the usefulness or 'fitness for purpose' of a given machine translation is difficult to estimate. As a consequence, post-editors are often confronted with MT output that is not useful, which decreases productivity and efficiency. To remedy this situation, a research approach, known as *quality estimation*, is currently being developed to assess the quality of MT output (see Section 4).

It is interesting to note that, despite the relatively high level of technological support for the AV translator (e.g., specialist subtitling software and software for the preparation and recording of dubbing scripts), the actual act of translation remains fairly unsupported in this domain. AV translators do not routinely use TMs, despite their widespread use in text translation.

2.2 What MT does best and why

Like other technologies, MT improves with use. If workflows are set up well, the selection or rejection of MT suggestions by professional translators and the respective post-edits serve as feedback for continued system development and improvement.

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Machine translation works especially well in cases where the source and target languages are quite similar in terms of structure, morphology, concepts, etc. For example, a Spanish-to-Portuguese system will generally be easier to develop and will provide higher quality than a system translating from Swahili to Japanese. Another decisive factor is the availability of large amounts of parallel bilingual texts that are similar enough to the material to be translated with respect to domain, text type, etc., so that the systems can extract all of the relevant information.

By nature, MT has a better chance of success processing grammatical and syntactic phenomena that are within a short distance of one another in the sentence (such as noun-verb agreement in English), than it does processing phenomena that span longer distances, such as verb phrases in German whose components can be split over entire clauses. Likewise, phenomena that require extralingual knowledge like discourse and world knowledge when translating (e.g., ambiguous pronouns) exceed the capabilities of the current state-of-the-art.

Interestingly, however, shorter distances do not generally improve results for AV translation using MT, as the spoken text often relies on inferences and context and contains many condensed and incomplete phrases and expressions, as in (2):

(2)	AV transcription:	Your mother's house?
	MT (DE):	*Ihrer Mutter Haus*? [Your mother house?]
	Full sentence:	Are we meeting at your mother's house?
	MT (DE):	*Treffen wir uns im Haus Ihrer Mutter?* [Are we meeting in your mother's house?]

Although neither German machine translation is perfect, the one based on the short AV transcription is incomprehensible while the translation of the more verbose original sentence conveys the meaning quite well. A similar result is seen in (3):

(3)	AV transcription:	*Wieder ein Wochenende vorbei*. [Another weekend gone by.]
	MT:	Again a weekend pass.
	Full sentence:	*Das Wochenende ist wieder vorbei*. [The weekend is over once more.]
	MT:	The weekend is over again.

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3. Problems impacting the automatic translation of subtitles

AVT poses a number of particular challenges for MT.[14] Most MT systems have been developed using large databases of translated *written* (vs. originally *spoken*) texts that are grammatically correct, with proper punctuation, capitalization, etc. In addition, MT is used most frequently for technical texts where the vocabulary and structures are highly predictable and often restricted.

By contrast, AVT of subtitles and dubbing scripts, by its very nature, deals with written representation of spoken dialogue and has characteristics that can make it difficult for MT. (Note, however, that dubbing scripts are "written to be spoken," a phenomenon termed "prefabricated orality" by Chaume [2004]). This situation creates a whole set of new challenges for MT. In Section 3, we will illustrate some of these challenges as starting points for more systematic future investigations.

If the MT engine translating the text has been trained on traditional written text, the features used in spoken text may not be represented accurately in the training data and the engine will therefore have no relevant examples from which it can produce an accurate translation. It is therefore important for the quality of MT that any system intended for use on AV material be trained using AV texts. One issue that arises here is the relative difficulty of obtaining such a corpus, particularly in lesser-resourced language pairs (Bywood et. al 2013).

3.1 Domain and genre

One problem facing the use of MT in AVT is that AVT is an 'open' domain, in that audiovisual content covers the broadest spectrum of subject matter possible, from a very precise and lexically challenging technical documentary to tabloid celebrity news. As a result, even large amounts of content are often insufficient to satisfyingly calculate predictability owing to the inconsistent nature of the content at all levels, including grammar, structure and vocabulary.

3.2 Lack of visual context

Competent AVT requires a knowledge of the visual context in which the source text is embedded (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007, 51), information to which an MT system has no access. A simple example of this is the translation of the English word *hello* into Italian. In most cases, this word would be translated as *ciao*, as a

14. In this chapter, we will concentrate on the translation of subtitles. We will not address the issue of condensing text. Although automatic text summarization and shortening techniques exist, we believe it is too early to discuss them.

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greeting during an informal meeting for example, whereas *pronto* would be the correct translation for a greeting over the phone. In this example, the previous utterance may provide some contextual clues about the respective scenario, but MT technology that uses such inter-sentential context cues for translation is still in its infancy. Example (4) is another example taken from the SUMAT project, this time from Swedish subtitles:

(4) Source: The reactions I got in the market **stalls** with the fishermen.
Translation: *Reaktioner på marknaden* ***toaletter*** *med fiskarna.*
Back translation: Reactions on the market **toilets** with the fishermen.

Here the word *stall* has been wrongly translated by the system as *toilet* in the absence of the context that is available to the professional translator.

3.3 Oral style

As is well documented (e.g., Rubin 1978), spoken language and written text have many differences. For example, spoken language has a much higher percentage of grammatically incomplete phrases, is more likely to rely on actual physical context (e.g., using a pronoun such as *that* to refer to a noun), and is generally more informal. In addition, the lexicon of spoken text (in general) is different from written text, with much more use of verbal discourse markers (such as *you know*, *uh-huh*, or *right?*) that are not generally found in written text, in addition to slang and colloquialisms. Take, for example, (5), which has been translated using an online MT system:

(5) Source: *Was für'n Mädel?* [What girl?]
MT: What for's girl?

If we return the condensed pronoun to its full grammatical form, as in (6), then the online MT system provides us with a translation which, whilst not correct, is easily post-edited to form a correct subtitle by the simple removal of the article *a*.

(6) Source: *Was für ein Mädel?*
MT: What a girl? (correct: What girl?)

Closely related are colloquialisms such as that seen in (7):

(7) Source: Guy seemed **high as a kite** every time I met him.
MT: *Guy schien* ***hoch wie ein Drachen****, jedesmal wenn ich ihn traf.* [Guy seemed high as a kite (child's toy), every time I met him.]
Human: *Jedes Mal, wenn ich ihn traf, schien er* ***voll zugedröhnt*** *gewesen zu sein.* [Every time I met him, he seemed to be totally stoned.]

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One possible solution is to use corpora made up of subtitles, thus capturing many of the disfluencies, colloquialisms, and oral features that prove problematic for systems trained on general written text. Although such corpora are not widely available, when they are, systems trained on them show promise, as in (8) from the SUMAT project:

(8) Source: I'll have a go.
MT (SUMAT): *Je vais essayer.* [I will try.]
Online MT: *Je vais avoir un aller.* [I will have a to go.]

SMT is actually well suited for dealing with these issues, if there is sufficient training data available.

3.4 Lack of context

Closely related to the previous point, spoken text tends to consist of short segments. While not problematic per se (shorter segment length generally correlates with better translation quality), spoken segments are more likely to rely on context that is not available within a single segment to be intelligible. Since MT engines generally do not look beyond single segments, this important context will not be accessible to them. For example, consider the spoken-style text in (9):

(9) Source: You're asking about the accident? Well, there was a man on 42nd Street. Down by the bridge. Big fellow. He saw it.
Online MT: *Sie sind über den Unfall zu fragen? Nun, es war ein Mann auf der 42. Straße. Down by die Brücke. Big Kollegen. Er sah es.* [You are about the accident to ask? Well, there was a man on 42nd Street. Down by (untranslated) the bridge. Big (untranslated) colleague. He saw it.]

The *it* in the final sentence of the spoken example does not have context within a single segment, and the system translates it as *es* (neuter gender), rather than the correct *ihn* or *den* (masculine). Such results are common when the translation of a word depends on a context that may be a number of sentences removed from the word. For similar reasons, it also partially translates *Big fellow* as *Big Kollegen*, which might imply that the individuals are work colleagues, even though the context makes it clear the speaker does not know the man. A more appropriate translation would be something like *großer Kerl* [big bloke]. By contrast, a written description would probably be more like (10):

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(10) Source: There was a big man on 42nd street by the bridge who saw the accident.
Online MT: *Es war ein großer Mann auf der 42. Straße an der Brücke, die den Unfall gesehen.*
[There was a big man on 42nd Street on the bridge, who seen the accident.]

While (10) shows other problems – like using the feminine relative pronoun *die* instead of the masculine *der* to refer to the man and a missing main verb in the relative clause ('seen' vs. 'has seen') – it is generally more intelligible than (9).

Similarly, English *you* can be translated as German *Sie* (formal), *du* (informal singular), *ihr* (informal plural) or *man* (impersonal pronoun), and the choice often depends on macro-level context (e.g., knowledge of who is speaking with whom) that cannot be easily derived purely from the source text. An example can be seen in (11), where the German pronoun *sie* can mean *she* or *they* and the MT system gets the wrong one (although here the verb *hat* makes it clear which meaning is correct):

(11) Source: Denn **sie** hat dich auf die Idee gebracht.
[Because she gave you the idea.]
MT: For **they** gave you the idea.
Human: Because **she** put you up to it.

4. Measuring Machine Translation quality

A translation must be 'fit for purpose,' that is, it must fulfil certain objectives as determined by the parties involved. For much user-generated content, the level of expectation is much lower than it is for television broadcast or DVD publishing. As in the text world, it is important to be clear about what form 'acceptable quality' takes in each case. The processes, tools and metrics used to measure translation quality (if it is measured at all) for a particular purpose vary depending on the desired outcome of the task and the constituency performing it.

4.1 Quality evaluation in MT Research

The assessment of MT quality in research is almost always based on input by professional translators or post-editors in various forms. These are the most common forms of evaluation currently applied:

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1. *Automatic evaluation of MT output based on algorithmic comparisons of MT output with (professional) human reference translations* (e.g., Papineni et al. 2002; Banerjee and Lavie 2005). This method is fast and repeatable and can apply and improve upon automatic metrics using previous results.
2. *Automatic evaluation without human reference translations for the given MT output, commonly known as quality estimation* (e.g., Shah et al. 2013). This method requires a trained system (based on human translations) and uses rankings or scores assigned by professional translators (to previous alternative translations) to improve quality estimation metrics.
3. *Ranking of MT output from different systems by human evaluators.* Ranking is performed, for instance, by NLP researchers in some of the shared tasks[15] of the Workshop of Statistical Machine Translation (WMT). Avramidis et al. (2012) report a study where ranking is performed by professional translators. This method provides information about the relative performance of certain systems or system variants.
4. *Post-editing of MT output by human evaluators.* Post-editing is performed, for instance, by NLP researchers in some of the shared tasks of WMT. Avramidis et al. (2012) report a study where post-editing is performed by professional translators. This method measures different aspects of post-editing efficiency (time, number of edits, etc.) and processes the acquired data, for instance, to analyse the types of edits that are most frequent (e.g., word order, morphology, insertion, etc.).
5. *Error annotation of the MT output by human evaluators* (see, e.g., Vilar et al. 2006 where annotation is performed by NLP researchers; in Lommel et al. 2014, annotation is performed by professional translators). This method can provide detailed error analysis of the MT output, including specific accuracy and fluency errors in addition to word order and distance. This information can then be used to improve MT systems.

All methods have been and continue to be applied in the case of MT for subtitling. As described above, it is not particularly easy to acquire parallel corpora containing AV material. There are issues around the ownership of subtitles and dubbing scripts which make collecting quality corpora of any size problematic, and companies are hesitant to share material with researchers. For this reason, the evaluation of MT using reference translations can be a challenge. Quality estimation has been used successfully in the SUMAT project, where previously annotated subtitles were used to train the system to isolate poor-quality subtitles and discard them, supplying the post-editors simply with a box containing the text "FILT" instead (Etchegoyhen et

15. http://www.statmt.org/wmt15/

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al. 2014). All the other forms of evaluation described above were also used in this project, which performed the largest scale evaluation of MT for subtitles to date. However, a particular issue facing AVT is the scarcity of post-editors to provide input for the respective metrics. Since MT is not commonly used in AVT, there is a lack of trained post-editors who can work with AV texts, although training programmes are on the horizon and research (De Sousa et al. 2011) has demonstrated considerable promise in integrating MT, human translator technology, and post-editing.

The first two evaluation methods described above are used to evaluate and estimate the overall performance of a particular system and language pair, often for a particular domain, as well as to compare systems to one another. Automatic evaluation metrics that fall into these categories include BLEU scores (Papineni et al. 2002), F-scores (Popović 2011b), METEOR (Banerjee and Lavie 2005), TER and other similar metrics. They can also be used to estimate certain quality aspects. Quality estimation without a professionally translated reference is a relatively new and challenging approach to MT quality evaluation (e.g., Shah et al. 2013). Roughly speaking, the idea is to build a system that uses methods (i.e., algorithms, linguistic tools, training data, etc.) different from those the MT engine itself used, to assess the MT output. The systems have been designed for different tasks such as automatic ranking of several alternative MT outputs, or estimating the post-editing effort or overall quality of a given MT output. Usually, the systems are trained on human-generated data such as existing human rankings, gradings of system outputs, etc. Automatic analysis of post-edits is also employed (see Popović 2011a) and can provide insights.

The NER model (Romero-Fresco and Martinez 2015) implemented in the NERstar tool is one of the first AVT specific metrics. It was not designed for assessing MT, but for assessing the accuracy of re-spoken subtitles when compared to the original spoken text. The model is appealing as it only takes into account two types of errors: those made by the human re-speaker and those made by the speech-to-text system. Additional weights indicate the severity of the respective errors. While this tool is a good candidate for everyday quality assurance in computer-aided subtitling, it does not lend itself to assessing MT quality with the goal of improving the MT engines. For this, we need more fine-grained analysis of MT errors.

4.2 Multidimensional Quality Metrics (MQM)

One promising approach for the close analysis of errors in AV translation that comes from text translation work is the Multidimensional Quality Metrics (MQM) framework (Lommel et al. 2014).[16] Originally developed in the EU-funded

16. http://www.qt21.eu/launchpad/content/multidimensional-quality-metrics

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QTLaunchPad project and based on an examination of existing translation quality metrics, MQM was created to address the need for a way to objectively describe translation errors that was also flexible enough to address specific needs. MQM consists of over 100 translation quality *issue types* that can be used to describe specific problems in translated texts. These issue types are arranged hierarchically, to allow for different levels of granularity in describing issues found in the text.

Figure 1 shows a relatively complex MQM metric used to do detailed analysis of MT errors. The issues in ***bold italic*** are ones that are not in the basic MQM set but instead represent custom user extensions. They do not contradict MQM because they simply provide additional granularity and can be considered types of their parent issue. In this case they provide additional information on problems with 'function words,' such as prepositions, articles, and 'helper' verbs. This metric focuses heavily on grammatical features and on specific types of Accuracy problems.

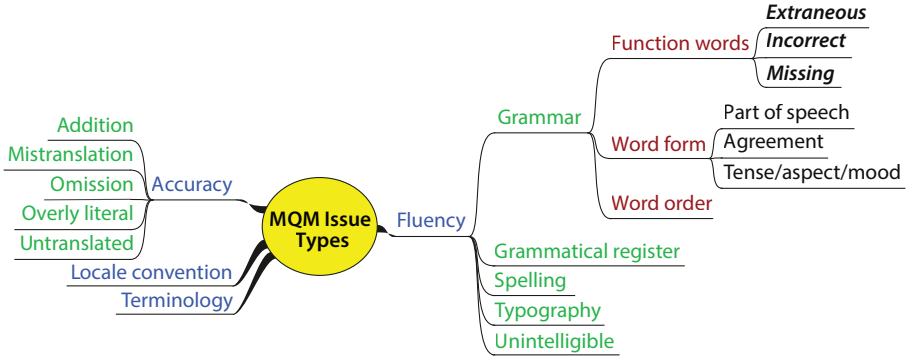

Figure 1.

By contrast, Figure 2 shows a much simpler metric that might be suitable for evaluating MT used for AV:

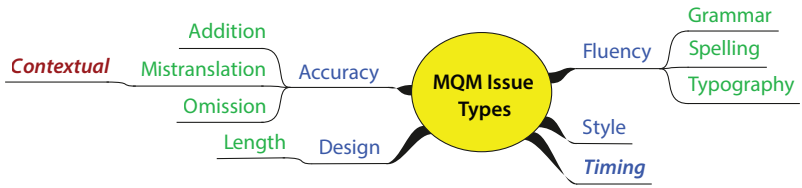

Figure 2.

This metric is intended for AV translation in general (not just for MT). It adds *Style* (a basic MQM type) that would be highly relevant to AV translation, and removes a number of categories unlikely to be particularly relevant. It also has much less emphasis on *Grammar* and two custom types are added:

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a. *Contextual*, for translations that are contextually incorrect.
b. *Timing*, for cases where the translations appear at the wrong time.

As can be seen, the advantages of MQM are that it provides a standardized vocabulary for describing errors and that it allows users to create task-specific metrics (e.g., a metric for evaluating news captions is likely to be quite different from one used to evaluate legal translations). In addition, MQM can be extended to support issues not present in the master vocabulary. MQM is implemented in the open-source translate5[17] editor and is being used and further developed within the QT21 project. Current work on MQM aims to extend it for additional translation types, including AV translation.

5. Summary

In this chapter, we have tried to pave the way for closer cooperation between AVT specialists and MT experts in order to promote research on higher quality MT for AVT. We have provided some background on the purpose of MT technology currently used in text translation and have discussed some of the challenges when using this technology for translating subtitles. In conclusion, we have provided an overview of MT quality evaluation methods and proposed an extension to the Multidimensional Quality Metrics MQM to include AV-specific issue types.

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17. http://www.translate5.net/

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The multimodal approach in audiovisual translation

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This chapter will explore the multimodal approach to audiovisual translation (AVT). It must first be stressed, however, that most research on multimodality has not as yet focused on questions of translation. *The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis* (Jewitt 2009), which contains articles by most of the leading figures in the field, while representing a major step forward in multimodal studies, does not tackle translation head on. The word 'translation' does not even appear in the index. Over a relatively short time span, most of the major contributions to the field have been more purely linguistically based and intent on providing keys to the understanding of the interplay of semiotic resources such as words, images, gesture, music, light, etc. (see O'Toole 1994; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Martinec 2000; Unsworth 2001; Baldry and Thibault 2006, etc.). The work of these scholars, however, has provided an impetus to developing ideas on how to exploit multimodal analyses in the area of AVT. Thibault's work, for example, on the 'multimodal transcription' provided this author with the basis for investigating how the integration of semiotic modalities in a film text could assist the subtitler in making those all-important decisions on what to retain and what to discard when faced with time constraints. Other scholars have studied the co-articulation of words and image in their discussion of how different modalities realize social functions and make meaning (O'Halloran 2008; Bednarek 2010), emphasising the importance of supplementing purely linguistic analyses with studies of all the other semiotic resources that make up a multimodal text. Findings will inevitably be reported verbally but the analyses need to explore the concept of integration and how other resources can interact with language and, crucially, how translators can be made sensitive to the entire semiotic impact of a multimodal text.

Keywords: multimodal texts, audiovisual translation, multimodal transcription, modes, access

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1. Introduction

> Multimodality and multimodal texts have been described in the literature as, respectively, "the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001, 20) or "texts which combine and integrate the meaning-making resources of more than one semiotic modality – for example, language, gesture, movement, visual images, sound and so on – in order to produce a text-specific meaning" (Thibault 2000, 311). This is not a new field of study in that everything is to some extent multimodal, but in the modern world, archetypal multimodal texts such as films, television programmes and websites, have greatly broadened the scope of such studies. The concept of multimodality cuts across every discipline, and as every discipline can be subject to translation from one language to another, its importance in Translation Studies is now recognised. (Taylor 2013, 98)

The above paragraph sets the scene for an exploration of the multimodal approach to audiovisual translation (AVT). While most scholars involved in Multimodality Studies have not yet ventured into the field of translation, as can be seen from a glance at the topics covered, for example, in *The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis* (Jewitt 2009), some have in fact ventured into this field (Baldry 2000; Taylor 2003 and 2004; Gambier 2006; Perego 2009; Burczynska 2012). Indeed, in the wake of a number of seminal works on the understanding of the interplay of semiotic resources (spoken or written words, images, gesture, gaze, paralinguistic features such as intonation and volume, music, light, perspective, and other film techniques such as fade-outs, flashbacks, etc.) (see O'Toole 1994; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 2001; Martinec 2000; Unsworth 2001; Baldry and Thibault 2006; O'Halloran 2008; Bednarek 2010 – to mention just a few), ideas have been developed as to how to exploit multimodal analyses in the area of AVT. The effect on AVT of studies on multimodality has also now been evidenced in a number of conferences over the last decade or so[1] and this trend is destined to continue.

This chapter will first examine how multimodal texts can be analysed from a narrative, linguistic, semiotic, and cultural point of view, and then move to attempts that have been made to harness the various semiotic modes operating in a multimodal text. This has been attempted, for example, through the use of the multimodal transcription, through audio description analysis and by cognitive insight. The limitations of these approaches will then be discussed, especially in the light of the future directions that multimodal studies and AVT are likely to take.

1. For instance, MuTra 2006, Languages and the Media, Media4All, InATra 2014.

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2. Multimodal text analysis

Text analysis should be a prelude to any serious translation task, and in the case of multimodal texts, such analysis should move away from exclusive reference to words, clauses and sentences and recognize other well-established meaning-making units, forming part of what is now referred to as film language or cinematic language (Pettit 2013). However, the most important message to be stressed here at the outset is that it is the integration of all the semiotic modes in a multimodal text that creates meaning and, although that meaning is translated into words, it is the task of the audiovisual (AV) translator to find the wording in his/her language that best expresses that integration of semiotic forces. Identifying the various semiotic resources is an important step, but they cannot be listed or categorized in a meaningful way without cross reference to each other. A methodology based on such referentiality has not yet been perfected, though progress is being made (see Section 4). In the meantime a number of useful notions can be discussed.

2.1 Narrative considerations

Films and television series generally tell stories, and tell them in a multimodal way (Remael 2008). Without going deeply into narrative theory, the stories involve characters with all their individual traits, the actions they perpetrate and changing spatio-temporal settings. The audience, through the activation of mental frames (as discussed by Fillmore 1982 [2006], Minsky 1986, and many others since) while watching the various phases of a film, have expectations as to how the narrative will develop and these expectations are met (or not) by a combination of semiotic clues. An understanding of story creation and of how his/her target audience expect stories to unfold should thus form an important part of the screen translator's toolkit. All translations involve some level of reformulation from a source text and the AV translator must make decisions to ensure that he/she finds the words that successfully render the effect of the whole semiotic event in the target language and for the target culture.

Screenplays

A screenplay or film script, as opposed to the mere transcription of dialogue, can be instructive in entering into the spirit of a film text. This is because the scriptwriter has a mental image of what he/she wishes to portray, and it is in the 'stage directions' and descriptions that this is most evident. Take the following small extract from the harrowing opening scene of Quentin Tarantino's film *Inglourious Basterds*:

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(1) FARMER
(to Julie)
Julie, get me some water from the pump to wash up with, then get inside with your mother.
The young lady runs to the water pump by the house. She picks up a basin, and begins pumping, after a few pumps, water comes out splashing into the basin. The French Farmer sits down on the stump he was previously chopping away at, pulls a handkerchief from his pocket, wipes sweat from off his face, and waits for the Nazi convoy to arrive. After living for a year with the sword of Damocles suspended over his head, this may very well be the end.

Tarantino has wished to create the anguish affecting a man who is hiding an entire Jewish family in his house in Nazi-occupied France. The whole dialogue with the Nazi officer that follows is diffused with fear and self-disgust on the part of the man and malevolent irony on the part of the Nazi officer manifested in both cases in words and body language. Different languages use different discursive patterns to express such characteristics and the AV translator must adjust his/her style and wording, avoiding the traps inherent in maintaining the source text pattern, and accounting also for the body language and facial expressions. Gambier (2006, 7) even suggests that the practice of writing screenplays can lead to a greater understanding of the genre and to a more sensitive evaluation of the language to use (see also Cattrysse and Gambier 2008).

2.2 Linguistic considerations

Many of the approaches to AVT have so far concentrated on strategies designed to confront the various problem areas a translator may have to deal with, but focused on linguistic solutions. Variations on the themes of condensation, paraphrase, equivalence, expansion, etc. have been taxonomically categorized by a number of scholars (Ivarsson 1992; Gottlieb 1992; Lomheim 1999) and have earned deserved credit. Yet these approaches, at least on the surface, do not delve deeply into the myriad aspects of the multimodal text. The linguistic theories on which translation has been based need to be extended more fully to the multimodal sphere. The concepts of coherence and cohesion, for example, with reference to the written and spoken word, are crucial to an understanding of multimodal texts. A film is judged to be coherent if the semantic content of both the aural and visual elements combine to provide a clear understanding of the narrative or plot. Bordwell (2008, 98) speaks of "the process by which the film prompts the viewer to construct the ongoing fabula […] the equivalent of the tourist's guided path through a building."

Cohesion has been studied usually in terms of text-internal connections, as the linguistic technique used to reinforce coherence. But the text to be translated

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needs to be analysed in terms of all its cohesive ties, not only within the words themselves but between the words and the images and also other parts of the soundtrack. If that multimodal cohesion is upset in a translated text, then comprehension will be affected. By way of example, in an episode of the series *Friends* (season 1, episode 4) the characters Chandler and Joey find themselves trying to convince their depressed friend, Ross, to go to an ice-hockey match. The latter finally agrees to go, with the proviso that the other two buy him a 'big foam finger,' a culture-bound artefact consisting of a large foam-rubber glove in the colours of a sports team. The translation in Italian of this item, following the logic of 'equivalent effect,' referred to a *birra gigante* (a large beer). However, this being a multimodal text, in the next scene the boys are seen entering the stadium and the audience laughs as Ross iconically waves his 'big foam finger' (and not a beer). In this case the symbiosis of the words, the image (the gesture) and the other sound element (the laughter) should have suggested a different solution.

2.3 Semiotic considerations

The key concept for AV translators is then that semiotic resources other than words can be seen to complement a verbal message or even to emphasise it. Taking gesture, movement and facial expression as examples, the whole gamut of human emotions can be expressed through such means, enhanced by or enhancing the verbal component. The rage expressed by Jack Nicholson in *The Shining* (Kubrick, 1980) is most forcefully expressed by his facial contortions. The happiness expressed by the dancers in the final scene of *Slumdog Millionaire* (Boyle, 2008) transcends the words. Such expressions of emotion involve the audience in what Fryer and Freeman (2013, 15) refer to as 'presence,' a key to involvement in an audiovisual product. The term refers to a sense of physical space and engagement on the part of the viewer, a sense that all the semiotic resources are being perceived. In the case of translation for subtitling, a realization that other semiotic modalities are carrying the cognitive load triggers the option of reduction, whereas for the dubbing translator, timing and lip movements, particularly in close-ups, need to be considered such as those featuring the afore-mentioned Jack Nicholson. At times the dubber needs to add to or change the wording in order to maintain synchrony. But whether it be for dubbing or subtitling, the ability to identify different aspects of meaning in different modes and to be sensitive to the atmosphere, the tensions and the emotions that multimodal texts can engender are essential requisites. As Gambier (2013, 8) points out, "once the functions of the verbal aspect in the audiovisual flow […] and the interplay between what is said and what is shown have been understood, only then can the translator decide what strategies to employ." Translating into his or her native language, and given a certain experience in

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working with multimodal texts, the translator needs to absorb all these elements in the search for the appropriate wording of the target text.

Audio description

Returning to the insights to be gleaned from script reading (and writing), this methodology can be taken a step further by considering the examination of audio description scripts. Audio description (AD) consists in the provision of a verbal version of a visual text for the blind and sight-impaired, most succinctly described by Snyder (2005, 15) as "the visual made verbal." A description of the visual components of a film or similar product is provided in the gaps between the turns in the spoken dialogue and between the dialogue and any other important sounds such as music. Clearly the focus of the audio describer is principally on the non-verbal features of an audiovisual text. Because of time constraints, the audio describer generally has to identify the most salient items for the description. Here there has been assistance from eye-tracking studies (see Kruger, in the present volume, for an ample bibliography) which have succeeded in pinpointing where attention is focused while watching audiovisual texts, and reception studies designed to gauge the preferences of end users (see Mazur 2014). The translator can certainly profit from these findings to ascertain which non-verbal resources have an important role, and to what extent they may assist him/her in their search for the most effective translation solution.

2.4 Cultural considerations

As with all kinds of translation, and as mentioned above with regard to body language, AV translators need to be careful in dealing with cultural differences between nations/languages/communities. As film, for example, often represents (or misrepresents) the culture of a nation, even at the level of cowboys and Indians reflecting America – it can be seen as a microcosm of society. Much has been written on the general topic and a lot of material has been published on AVT and cultural problems (Bruti 2006, Ramière 2006 and Gambier 2008, to mention just a few). Pedersen (2011) talks of "extralinguistic cultural references" and "translation crisis points" and these terms serve nicely to cover the kind of pitfalls facing AV translators. Taking as an example, the American TV series *The West Wing*, this multimodal text is full of 'extralinguistic cultural references,' some referring verbally to such national features as weights and measures and street names, but others are referenced by other semiotic modes. Episode 10 (season 1), for example, begins with slow-moving camera coverage of the monument to Korean War victims in Washington, something which is integral to the story being relayed in this episode. A subtitle can carry this information, or a caption in a dubbed version. But to

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deal successfully with such culture-bound scenarios, the translator has to rely on his/her encyclopaedic knowledge wedded to his/her cultural awareness as well as an understanding of the knowledge limits of a (potentially vast) audience. So, as well as providing denotative information in a caption, the translator has to decide how much to localise or foreignise all the succeeding dialogues that deal with the subject of 'Korea' culminating at the end of the episode with the official military burial of a Korean War veteran. This multimodal text provides all the ingredients of US patriotism, military precision, pathos and sentimentality, emanating from an array of semiotic modalities. The skill the AV translator needs here is how to transfer all the semiotic signs into his/her language. While individual situations can be recognised, commented on and solutions applied, a more holistic approach is really required if multimodality is to provide valid input for AVT.

3. The multimodal transcription

As a way of getting to grips with multimodal texts, one development, that of the multimodal transcription as first devised by Thibault (2000), has been adapted for AVT research (Taylor 2003), and has proved useful in sensitizing students to the intricacies of translating screen texts. The transcription consists of a grid divided into rows and columns which contains a description, screenshot by screenshot (at pre-determined intervals), of what can be seen in the unfolding of a film sequence, what is happening and what sounds can be heard. Figure 1 shows a very simple example from the Italian film *La vita è bella* (Benigni 1997).

The information provided can indicate to a translator whether meaning is imparted via semiotic modes other than words and thus economise with, for example, subtitles and thereby lessen the cognitive burden on the viewer. In the case above there is time over the three screenshots, which are printed at one second intervals, to actually give a fuller version than the original, providing extra potentially useful information. If time had been a factor, the subtitle could have simply read "Where is he going?" as the person in question can be seen, and the reply simply "In another team." Guido's movements indicate at what precise point the cue for the next title should occur.

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VISUAL FRAME	VISUAL IMAGE + KINESIC ACTION	SOUNDTRACK	SUBTITLE
	Guido, son and other prisoner in civilian clothes accompanied by guard. Guido takes son's hand. Both men look at the boy. The guard observes the scene.	Guido's son speaks. "Dove va lo zio?" Sound of walking. Soft music in background.	"Where is Uncle Eliseo going?"
	Another prisoner becomes visible. Guido turns towards Uncle Eliseo.	Guido's son speaks. "Dove va lo zio?" Sound of walking. Soft music in background.	"Where is Uncle Eliseo going?"
	A fourth prisoner comes into view. Guido turns back to his son. The guard walks on.	Guido replies to his son. "Altra squadra. Tutto organizzato, no?" Sound of walking. Soft music in background.	"He's on another team. It's all organised."

Figure 1. Multimodal transcription from *La vita è bella*

4. Limitations and future directions

The general conclusion to be drawn at this moment in time is that many of the methodologies applied to AVT, however useful, have not fully exploited the multimodal nature of screen texts. However, as scholars take stock of the situation, new approaches are emerging. For example, the investigation of the 'way' visual elements are shown, and not only what is seen, is the subject of a recent article by Wilken and Kruger (2016) as the authors discuss the question of immersion, for instance in identifying with characters, and the effect of such stylistic considerations on viewers. Bateman (2009, 158) pursues the idea that "there are re-occurring, structurally recognizable filmic articulations that appear to serve re-occurring communicative functions." Thus it may be possible to track the co-deployment of semiotic resources as they reappear in film after film so as to understand better just how filmic representation works.

As regards the multimodal transcription, as an attempt to put some order into the understanding of blended semiotic resources, it is clear that this method, even

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though very useful as an introduction to multimodal properties, is totally impractical for a description of a whole film, or of any audiovisual texts of more than a few minutes' duration. For this reason the concept of phasal analysis (Gregory 2002; Malcolm 2010) could prove a useful adjunct to multimodal transcription theory and provide a more manageable tool of analysis. This approach enables the translator and the researcher to identify homogeneous 'phases,' both continuous and discontinuous, within a multimodal text and to recognize register changes, character traits, and elements of cohesion and coherence that, if ignored, could lead to inconsistencies in translation. Gregory initially, and Malcolm later, referred essentially to written texts, or written transcriptions of oral texts, but the basic theoretical tenets are equally relevant to multimodal texts. Taking a television soap opera as an example, several subplots are presented at the same time, or within the same episode. These are generally written and rehearsed as single continuous stories and then split up in each episode in a discontinuous fashion. Thus a series of semiotic modalities can be identified as forming each plot – the same characters in the same clothes, the same basic discourse, the same backdrops, perhaps the same musical background, and so on. Similarly, in a single feature film the action may move backwards and forwards between scenes that are recognizable by the coming together of various semiotic modes (characters, action, music, accents, discourse type, etc.). The recognition of these features on the part of the translator should ensure that the translation is cohesive and coherent in and between its various 'phases.' When dealing with series that consist of literally hundreds of episodes, and the DVD box-set market shows how common such products are, it is vitally important to carry over the 'phasal analysis' technique to every episode in the series. Although much further research is required, the technological advances that have accompanied the growth in multimodal research, providing us with multimodal corpora and relational databases, will undoubtedly assist this process.

Baldry (2002) explained the future possibilities offered by the creation of relational databases enabling the formation of corpus-based alignments of words and other semiotic modes on the model of purely linguistic concordances. The MCA system was his first attempt to incorporate a relational database into a corpus system allowing users to search the corpora and find alignments of wording with other semiotic resources such as gesture. This concordancing technique was then applied to subtitling, leading later to a discussion of "new relationships between subtitles, source texts and the process of translating the source text" (Baldry 2005, 112). Now, interest has turned to referencing systems and the interplay of screenplays, storyboards and film transcriptions as guides to the understanding of the multimodal nature of such products (cf. Gambier 2006). What is in the pipeline, and which will be illustrated in a volume (Taylor 2016) focusing exclusively on the *In Excelsis Deo* episode of *The West Wing*, is a multisemiotic referencing system

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Table 1. Part of a multisemiotic referencing system

Person	**Thematic**	**Teaser**			**Act 1**					**Act 2**								**Act 3**				**Act 4**		
		Scene			Scene					Scene								Scene				Scene		
		1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
President (Bartlet)	Xmas celebrations	✓ mural room								✓ mural room				✓	✓				✓							✓
Toby	Organizing funeral		✓ hallways		✓ Park			✓ Toby 's room								✓				✓						✓

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where a grid with rows and columns (pace the multimodal transcription) will chart acts and scenes (to borrow some theatrical terminology) on one axis while characters, thematics and circumstances are mapped on the other. A very simple section is shown in Figure 2 indicating characters and what they are involved in doing, when and who with, and in what circumstances – a first step on the road to interactive computer-managed referencing systems.

It is hoped that such developments as those described above can show how multimodality can help the translator, who needs to be aware of the myriad properties of multimodal texts, can help the student by providing tools to assist in understanding such texts, and can help the researcher in performing ever more efficacious analyses of audiovisual material.

5. Conclusion

The fact that both Audiovisual Translation Studies and Multimodality Studies have blossomed in recent years has not yet resulted in a consolidated integration of the two disciplines, though the wheels are definitely in motion. Multimodal text analyses point to the importance of the interplay of semiotic resources in AV products, and a number of scholars have attempted to go beyond the translation of the solely verbal element of a screen text. Although awareness of the importance of all the semiotic modalities in play has been recognized by scholars, this awareness has not necessarily filtered through to professionals in the field. Audiovisual translations still manifest themselves in written scripts and lack of attention to all sources of meaning is apparent in many translated texts such as those mentioned in this chapter. But much progress has been made, at least at a theoretical level. This chapter has considered the effects and benefits of multimodal text analysis, the attempts to represent multimodal features in the multimodal transcription, the contribution of phasal analysis, the consideration of cultural issues, the contribution of script reading and writing, and the relevance of audio description and eye-tracking in establishing salience. As the theoretical and practical teachings of such areas in higher education begins to produce fully educated and trained professionals, then AVT will benefit from being conducted by people with a fuller understanding of multimodality. At the same time, technological developments and computer-assisted translation methods will play their part. Work is progressing, as mentioned above, on the creation of relational databases and referencing systems. When such techniques allow us to align all the semiotic resources in a text and see how they interact, calculate accurately to what extent such interactions are repeated and predictable, and how different combinations affect meaning, we shall be on the way to harnessing our understanding of multimodality and how to translate accordingly.

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It will still require, however, that sensitivity towards the translator's language and culture and the cognisance of to what extent the source text has to be adapted, or not, in order to capture the whole multimodal experience.

To end, consider this passage from the current best-selling novel *Gone Girl* by Gillian Flynn (2013); the main male character, Nick, is at the end of his tether as his marriage and legal situation spiral out of control:

> I poured a drink. I took a slug, tightened my fingers around the curves of the tumbler, then hurled it at the wall, watched the glass burst into fireworks, heard the tremendous shatter, smelled the cloud of bourbon. Rage in all five senses. (399)

The book has now become a best-selling film, and will be translated into many languages, especially in its DVD version. It would be interesting to check to what extent the translator into French or Icelandic or Tagalog has considered how the effects transmitted via the various semiotic modes would affect what a Frenchman, an Icelander or a Philippino might say in the surrounding dialogue, and how they would say it, when "all five senses" are bombarded in the multimodal version of *Gone Girl*.

Such films, and other audiovisual products, are constantly being produced and translated into the many different languages alluded to above, and at an ever faster rate. If translation is based merely on the transcription of dialogues, viewers may well be cheated of a total filmic experience. It is to be hoped that the results of research into the multimodal components of filmic material can reach those responsible for the translated products and get them to provide a more complete representation of all the meanings contained in a multimodal text. The authors of the contributions to this volume are certainly working in this direction.

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Action research

So much to account for

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In this chapter Action Research (AR) is addressed to determine its limitations and affordances as a research approach in audiovisual translation studies. A specific case of Participatory Action Research (PAR) is presented in the context of a Museum Project in Portugal – the MCCB project –, serving as a focus for the discussion of the main characteristics of AR: planning, putting into action, reflecting upon and starting anew, in spiralling continuums that start with the AR project itself but that go beyond it to spin off into new research and development projects.

Keywords: action research (AR), participatory action research (PAR), experience design, museum, access, audiovisual translation

1. Introduction

When, in 2009, Gambier addressed the "recent challenges in research on audiovisual translation" he ended his work by stating "it is time to train researchers beyond the traditional 'textual' paradigm" (Gambier 2009, 24) in what might be understood as a call for approaches that will account for more than products and the outcomes of translation practice. This closing statement might also be read as a demand for a better understanding of 'the process,' of 'the agents' and of 'the systems' involved in the numerous translation types that are now fitted under the "dynamic umbrella [of] audiovisual translation" (Orero 2004, vii). As posited by Cravo and Neves (2007), Action Research (AR) could be a valuable tool when researching into translation (in general), training translators or teachers of translation – and even more so when these are within audiovisual translation (AVT), given the complex multimodal, multimedial and multidisciplinary nature of the domain. Accounts of how AR served the purpose of getting a comprehensive understanding of an AVT type may be read in "'There is Research and Research': Subtitling for the

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Deaf and Hard of Hearing" (Neves 2007a) and "Subtitling Brazilian Telenovelas for Portuguese Deaf Audiences: An Action Research Project" (Neves 2007b). In that particular context, subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH) was researched in the process of being introduced on Portuguese commercial television stations, subtitlers were trained for the purpose, deaf viewers were 'led' to appreciate the service, and all those involved were 'empowered' to continue their (individual and collective) learning processes once the project was over.

The above-mentioned experience will have been one of the first AVT AR projects to have been made known and, since then, very little has been written on the topic of AR as a research approach of any interest to the field. It is known that AR has been mainly used by researchers working on accessibility, as is the case of Agnieska Szarkowska, also addressing SDH, and Agnieszka Walczak, working on audio description for children, both from Poland; and Emmanouela Patiniotaki, addressing accessible e-learning, in Greece and the UK, for instance. An article by Bogucki (2010) on "the application of Action Research to Audiovisual Translation," calls readers' attention to the "versatility" of AR (16), but gives no further evidence of how AR might have been implemented or how it might contribute towards a better understanding of AVT.

After the SDH (2000–2005) study, other AR projects were carried out in Portugal. Various projects took place while working on implementing audio description on Television, DVD, the theatre and in cultural venues; and one particularly successful AR project came about within the context of making a museum, the Museu da Comunidade Concelhia da Batalha (MCCB), accessible to all through multisensory communication strategies.

The Audio Description and Museum projects were closely linked and were made up by a number of independent and yet interrelated sub-projects. In each case, a need or problem was identified and felt, various partners came together towards finding solutions, and a researcher – with theoretical knowledge and practical competencies – was called upon to find and test such solutions whilst researching and reflecting upon them and helping those with less experience to do so too. Once the problems were clearly stated and the possible solutions were identified, each project was openly addressed as an instance of AR and took up the tools – direct observation, interviews, questionnaires, case studies, personal logs… – considered to be the most adequate for each case. The wide scope which AR allows for, providing the 'big picture' of what is being studied, calls for special care to ensure rigour and trustworthiness. This meant using mixed methods and carrying out qualitative and quantitative studies on specific issues. It also meant gaining a progressive knowledge of the whole by addressing specific and yet multiple issues in each research cycle. Triangulation was always used to guarantee validity and reliability, for it was clear from the start that the mainly qualitative

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approach of AR in complex multi-layered contexts such as these called for special attention to accountability. As Morse et al. (2002, 13) clearly posit: "the rigor of qualitative enquiry should be beyond question, beyond challenge, and provide pragmatic scientific evidence that must be integrated into our developing knowledge base." This will always be what distinguishes between simple practice and AR: the achievement of practical and tangible results with an impact on people's lives and a systematic enquiry experience that can also feed into the knowledge base of the scientific fields involved through the use of established (and challenging) scientific methods.

The above-mentioned projects, carried out in Portugal between the years of 2007 and 2014, are considered 'complete' on the part of the AVT researcher, but many of their cycles are still ongoing, now in the hands of the initial partners and a few have even been taken up by new academic and non-academic partners, who have since come on board creating new AR projects of their own. This proves that, once activated, and if seen as a valuable mode of enquiry to those involved, AR has a long after-life. In the event that it loses its scientific/academic slant, should the academic partners leave the group and should the project no longer feed into classic academic dissemination patterns, it will continue to stimulate reflexive practice and be the hub for further research on the part of the non-academic partners involved, given that, as Stern (2013, 228) clearly puts it, AR is "collaborative, responsive, democratic, developmental and capacity building" and it inevitably stimulates (personal or collective) reflexive habits:

> Not only the results, but also the process of knowledge generation is important, because if successful, it can lead to the formation of communities of practice and furthermore to the dissemination of methodological know-how, which can be used by the empowered participants for their own research projects. (ibid.)

All the above-mentioned projects offer ample evidence of the value of AR as 'useful research' that has been empowering and that has had a real impact on all those who were directly or indirectly involved while proving to be equally productive for the study of AVT. It may even be added that one of them, in particular, may well be opening new avenues for AVT, given that it addresses the overall museum experience on the basis of the interpretation/translation strategies taken. The MCCB project allowed AVT to go beyond its (multi)media technological nature to show how it can be the driving force of multimodal, multisensory communication and a valuable framework for the activation of 'museum experience design.' The multidisciplinary nature of the MCCB project – as will be seen below – may clarify how AR may be contributing towards expanding frontiers for AVT, by bridging disciplines and allowing for experimentation that might have been off-boundaries should other, 'traditional' product-based forms of research have been taken.

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2. The MCCB project, a case for Participatory Action Research

The MCCB – Museu da Comunidade Concelhia da Batalha (www.museubatalha.com) – is a small community museum, based in the Portuguese village of Batalha, known for its Monastery, acknowledged World Heritage, which brings to the region visitors and tourists from all over the country and the world. When, in 2009, the Batalha Municipality decided to set up this museum it was concerned with finding a way to make such a small local museum special and attractive. This initial problem – as good as any that triggers AR processes – would become the driving force for all those involved. A solution to the problem of making this museum special was to be found in 'translation' and in 'accessibility.' The museum as a whole was to be addressed as a 'text' to be experienced by all through the application of multimedial, multimodal and multisensory communication strategies. The AVT researcher was brought in as a major partner in the development of a strategy that would bring together the different aspects of setting up a new all-accessible museum: architecture, museology, museography and governance within this overall philosophy of 'the museum as a multi-layered text to be experienced by all.' The challenge was taken in the guise of PAR, in which the AVT researcher's role was to develop communication strategies, design models, test materials and arrive at solutions for the multiple 'new problems' that came to be in the process. This was carried out repeatedly in a "spiral of self-reflective cycles," that in Kemmis and McTaggart's (2008, 276) words involve "*planning* a change; *acting and observing* the process and consequences of the change; *reflecting* on those processes and consequences; *replanning*; *acting* and *observing again*; *reflecting again*, and so on…"

In this particular case, the research opportunity came to the researcher, a situation that is seldom found in conventional research contexts, in which researchers set out looking for a topic to work on. The research topic grew out of the social environment, the researcher's natural habitus. The researcher understood the project both as a scientific endeavour and as a 'service' to the community. This feeling of 'making an impact' is highly stimulating and provides research with an immediacy and purpose that are rarely felt in the Humanities. Every decision had a real impact on the whole team, very often implying change to the way things were being done by specialists on the ground and also had a great impact on financial and political decisions. This demanded that every move be carefully weighed against its consequences.

It needs to be clarified that, as usually happens with PAR, in the MCCB project each collaborator had a distinct reason for taking part. The group's main goal was not to understand the AVT processes as such, but to use AVT as a means to achieve the collective goal. The study of AVT was the purpose of the lead researcher alone. In the course of the project other collaborators took on research projects

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of their own, in their specific fields, and took the lead in certain cycles. This shared responsibility turned each researcher into a facilitator, as Burns (2007, 154) puts it, "mobilising passion and building trust." Such companionship allowed the AVT researcher to touch new grounds. Working and compromising with collaborators from other fields often challenged set beliefs and made everybody think beyond to find solutions that would be acceptable to all. This would have a direct impact on the AVT products that were developed and tested in the process: descriptive guides, tactile replicas, multiformat and multimedia analogue and digital content, among others. Each step of the way was addressed as a distinct cycle requiring meticulous planning, development and evaluation. Having the opportunity to debate issues with specialists from other fields and with (end-user) consultancy groups opened the world of traditional introspective solitary research work to one where new ideas were generated and tested collaboratively and addressed from different angles. This dialogic approach to discovery allowed the AVT researcher to challenge traditional notions of subtitling and audio description, for instance, as well as to test ways in which the audiovisual digital materials can work together with analogic tangible realities, where auditory, visual and kinesic information came together as a translational/interpretative whole, given as 'open' to new interpretations by each user.

At times inevitable questions were raised: What makes this project 'research'? In what does it differ from a simple 'translation assignment'? Stern (2013, 217–218) responds to questions such as these by clarifying:

> What distinguishes action research from approved professional practices, consulting or daily problem-solving is the emphasis on scientific study, i.e. systematic research of a problem, theoretical deliberations about the validity and applicability of results and sharing the knowledge within and beyond the scientific community.

It was clear then and now, that both for the AVT researcher and for the various partners who addressed themes of their own interest, the MCCB project created ample space for 'scientific study.' The outputs were varied in nature and, among them, the fundamental criteria of dissemination and replicability were observed. Within the quality criteria that are expected from any valid research project, this one was based on theoretical knowledge that became, as also mentioned by Stern, "the source of practical ideas for action," and observational data of practice became "the basis for reflections and theoretical deliberations" (221).

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3. Contributions towards AVT studies and beyond

If we are to ask what this specific project has brought to furthering knowledge in the field of AVT, the answers may be listed as follows:

a. It opened the scope of research on AVT in a lesser explored domain: the application of AVT to cultural venues and museums.
b. It allowed for specific work on descriptive audio guides and audio description (Neves 2012, 2013), which later fed into the ADLAB project and is reflected in Section 3.4.2 of *Pictures Painted in Words. ADLAB Audio description Guidelines* (ADLAB 2014).
c. It allowed for experimentation with new approaches to audio description by introducing the notion of 'soundpainting' (Neves 2010).
d. It allowed AVT to act as the driving force of a holistic multimodal approach to communicating the museum, by addressing the museum as a multi-layered text that needs to be 'translated for all.' Action in the MCCB project addressed every aspect of the communicating chain, from the museum's presence on the Web, to its marketing and merchandize, and to all the communication strategies in the museum itself. All materials were designed to be accessible and multi-format; the underlying principle being that everybody has to find information that complies with their personal needs (adaptable hardcopy or responsive digital materials provided in different formats and languages – e.g., print and digital formats, Braille, Sign Language –, in short, information to be read, heard, viewed or touched); it imposed changes on the architectural and exhibition structure, bringing effective communication strategies to the fore; and within a framework of Participatory Experience Design (Styles 2010), AVT became central setting standards for 'translating the museum for all.'
e. A further and equally important contribution to the field was the opportunity to place AVT as a topic worth addressing in Museum Studies. The outcomes of this project have been discussed in numerous international forums, conferences and specialized meetings addressing museology, tourism, education and governance and are also to be read in non-AVT related publications such as the *ICOM news bulletin* (Neves 2011), the *Design for All Journal* run by the Institute of India (Neves 2012) or the reputed Portuguese publication *Revista Turismo and Desenvolvimento* (Lima Devile et al. 2012).

Beyond audiovisual translation studies, the MCCB project has had a ripple effect in the sphere of Museums and Access. The concept has since been replicated in other museums in Portugal (e.g., Museu de Condeixa; Museu de Leiria) and in Brasil (e.g., O Memorial do Anglo da Universidade Federal de Pelotas), and researchers in Museum Studies from countries such as the UK, Belgium, Poland,

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Italy and Spain have come to the small community museum in Batalha to gain insight on how to set up a museum that 'speaks' to its visitors and allows its visitors to live a unique personal experience; many of them too have integrated their findings in their own research projects (e.g., Rocha 2014, Martins 2015). The MCCB is also frequently showcased as an instance to be followed for its best practices (e.g., ICOM 2012, ANACED 2014).

Further acknowledgment has come in the guise of awards by national and international bodies: Prémio Melhor Museu Português [Best Portuguese Museum] awarded by APOM - Associação Portuguesa de Museologia [Portuguese Association for Museums] in 2012; Prémio Acesso Cultura [Access to Culture Prize] awarded by the Acesso Cultura [Association for Access to Museums] in 2014; and, at an international level, in 2013, the Kenneth Hudson Prize, by the European Museum Forum. This prize took the MCCB to a global level and, in so doing, is promoting practices that have AVT as a driving force for communicating the museum.

The fact that the MCCB has gained such acknowledgement may be one of the reasons why the museum did not close down shortly after being established when the country was hit by the financial crisis. It might well be what is still stimulating new AR cycles, proving that there is still much to be done and learned at the MCCB, even after the initial project has come to an end.

4. Limitations and affordances of AR – a personal perspective

An advocate for AR in AVT could easily list all its affordances; but critical thinking requires an understanding of this approach's weaknesses. As happens with many other research approaches, in AR weaknesses and strengths seem to be strongly interrelated.

Often, AR is criticised for a number of reasons that Kemmis and McTaggart (2008, 284) synthesize in four key foci:

a. Exaggerated assumptions about how *empowerment* might be achieved by action research
b. Confusions about the role of those helping others to learn how to conduct action research, the problem of *facilitation*, and the illusion of neutrality
c. The falsity of a supposed *research-activism dualism*, with research seen as dispassionate, informed, and rational and with activism seen as passionate, intuitive, and weakly theorized
d. Understatement of the *role of the collective* and how it might be conceptualized in conducting the research and in formulating action in the "project" and in its engagement with the 'public sphere' in all facets of institutional and social life.

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It is also often thought that AR is highly practice-oriented; that it is more about the journey than the outcomes; and about personal involvement and social change. To this it is added that, whichever the route taken – First Person Research, Practitioner's Research or Participatory Action Research –, the researcher is always actively implied; the agent and the action are both the object of the research itself. It is believed that personal engagement may endanger objectivity and detachment, deemed essential to positivist thinking. As Reason and McArdle (2004) note, AR is more in line with constructivism and draws on a wide field of influence, including critical thinking (Kemmis 2001), liberationist thought (Freire 1970), pragmatism (Greenwood and Levin 1998) and even feminism (Stanley and Wise 1983; Maguire 2001), and appears to have its focus mainly on empowerment and personal and social growth. These very reasons lead to yet another point of criticism: its specificity and limited scope when trying to find "an appropriate solution for a particular dynamics at work in a local situation" (Stringer 2013, 6). But then, isn't all research about 'a specific case'? In fact, most studies in AVT that do not take an AR approach are even more specific, a particularity that Gambier (2009) sees as a limitation in the field. Even if AR grows and develops within a specific context, its holistic systemic nature allows for insights into the multiple polysystems involved, not often available to researchers.

Even though AR is "conducted *by, with* and *for* people, rather than […] *on* people" (Reason and McArdle 2004, 114), it is most revealing about people and it gives the researcher entrance to spaces that are often off-boundaries. This means that AR has an affordance that could be of particular interest to AVT studies: tapping into people and processes. By *people* we mean (a) the translators and (b) the end-users; and by *processes* we mean (a) translation (production) and (b) usage (reception). The fact that the researcher is part of the 'research object' and a member of the group/team working towards solving a problem and generating knowledge brings in the "reciprocal cooperation and trust" that Gambier (2006, 6) sees as fundamental to ensuring "quality." This also allows the researcher to gain insight into the whole translation process and offers valuable opportunities for a better understanding of its 'consequences' at reception stage.

As far as it is known, so-called First Person AR, in which individual researchers "foster an inquiring approach to their own lives, to act awarely and choicefully, and to assess effects in the outside world while acting" (Reason and McArdle 2004, 114) has not yet been undertaken by professionals or researchers working in AVT. This is probably so because not very many practitioners have the time or the inclination to engage in critical self-analysis and not many AVT researchers are aware of the potential of AR, perhaps because, unlike teaching or nursing, AVT is seldom seen as 'intervention.' Furthermore, as Maier posits (2007, 1), "translation scholars have not shown sustained interest in either the translator as an individual

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or the complex effect that translation and continual intervention can have on the individual."

First Person AR could fill the gap in knowledge on how translators work and could bring relevant information about what translators think of themselves and of their work, adding valuable information that might complement studies that presently focus on "keystroke logs, eyetracking data, and time lag measurement, to questionnaires, interviews, tests, and retrospective, among others" (Halverson 2011, xi). Entrance to translators' 'black box' may be gained by analysing 'action research logs' (a fundamental tool in any AR project), hundreds of pages that account for the problems, the processes and the solutions – valuable "raw material" Munday (2007, 5) for further research.

Even if in recent years empirical and applied research have gradually grown in the study of AVT issues, most studies on AVT still fall within the framework of Descriptive Studies. By taking a step beyond mainstream studies, AR may add a (social and collective) purpose to the production of knowledge. To quote Ferrance (2000, 2–3):

> Action research is not a library project where we learn more about a topic that interests us. It is not problem-solving in the sense of trying to find out what is wrong, but rather a quest for knowledge about how to improve. Action research is not about doing research on or about people, or finding all available information on a topic looking for the correct answers. It involves people working to improve their skills, techniques, and strategies. Action research is not about learning why we do certain things, but rather how we can do things better.

And AVT, and Translation Studies at large, will certainly benefit from any research approach that helps to enrich theory whilst improving praxis.

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From Translation Studies and audiovisual translation to media accessibility

Some research trends

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Recent developments in Translation Studies and translation practice have not only led to a profusion of approaches, but also to the development of new text forms and translation modes. Media Accessibility, particularly audio description (AD) and subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing (SDH), is an example of such a 'new' mode. SDH has been evolving quickly in recent decades and new developments such as interlingual SDH and live subtitling with speech recognition bring it closer to established forms of translation and interpreting. On the one hand, interlingual SDH reintroduces Jakobson's (1959) 'translation proper' while the use of speech recognition has led to the creation of a hybrid form that has affinities with both subtitling and interpreting. Audio description, for its part, cannot even be fitted into Jakobson's 'intersemiotic translation' model since it involves translation from images into words. Research into AD is especially interesting since it rallies methods from adjacent disciplines, much in the same way that Holmes ([1972] 1988) described TS when it was a fledgling discipline. In 2008, Braun set out a research agenda for AD and the wealth of topics and research approaches dealt with in her article illustrate the immense complexity of this field and the work still to be done. Although AD and SDH research have developed at different paces and are concerned with different topics, converging trends do appear. Particularly the role of technology and the concept of multimodality seem to be key issues. This chapter aims to give an overview of current research trends in both these areas. It illustrates the possibilities of technology-driven research – particularly popular in SDH and live-subtitling research – while at the same time underlining the value of individual, human-driven approaches, which are still the main 'modus operandi' in the younger discipline of AD where much basic research is still required.

Keywords: Translation Studies, audiovisual translation, media accessibility, subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, audio description

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1. Introduction

Translation Studies (TS) has gone through many turns since Holmes presented his seminal outline on "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" in 1972. Today the 'technological turn' appears to be dominant in TS, but research foci and their related research methods and questions are, to a large extent, accumulative phenomena. This accruement of approaches goes hand in hand with an increasing number of variables, mostly connected to digitization and the proliferation of target readers or audiences with different requirements. One central feature of this evolution is the 'explosion' of the boundaries of text (written and/or spoken) and the related ongoing development of new text forms and (their) translation modes.

Consequently, defining what is and is not a form of translation has become a more futile enterprise than ever. Even defining TS concepts appears to have become a major challenge because of the frequent interdisciplinary approach to many translation-related phenomena. The technological turn seems to have exacerbated this. Technology has turned citizens into netizens, and readers of texts and translated texts into producers of texts and translated texts – for instance, through crowdsourcing (O'Hagan 2012). At the same time, economic motives are not the only driving force behind these crowdsourcing processes. The use of both quicker and cheaper technological applications also plays a role and these, too, sometimes impact negatively on quality. Nevertheless, many positive developments are also evident. New technologies and human-driven approaches to translation challenges are also being used for the promotion of human rights – including the rights of people with disabilities. Examples of this can be found in the areas of language learning (see, e.g., the Clipflair project at www.clipflair.net), the promotion of literacy, and narrowcasting for specific groups. The list of positive outcomes of the technological impact on these areas is probably just as long, but opinions on the matter differ (Cronin 2013).

Two positive outcomes in the form of 'new' text types dating from the second half of the twentieth century that concern us here promote the rights of people with disabilities and constitute a fitting illustration of the accumulation of approaches and variables in TS and AVT outlined above – subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing (SDH) and audio description (AD) for the blind and visually impaired. SDH and especially AD are the research domains at the centre of the present chapter.

Subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing has existed since the advent of Teletext or Ceefax (i.e., the 1970s) and research into this translation mode has progressed both quantitatively and qualitatively at different paces in the various countries of Europe and on other continents in the past decade and since the survey drawn up by Remael in 2007. However, today's variety of approaches is still linked

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to differences in long-standing traditions (such as dubbing versus subtitling). It is also connected to varying national legislation and funding, and often depends on whether the translation is destined for DVD, television, the internet, hand-held devices or other media. The list of reasons for the variation is almost endless.

A similar degree of fragmentation applies to AD. It is to a large extent caused by the same variables and linked to the different stages of development with regard to AD services in different countries or regions. Even if AD is gradually becoming a standard access service in many European countries and elsewhere, much still remains to be done. AD for television and film is obviously the most widespread mode, but access services are slowly finding their way into other areas as well, such as the theatre, opera and sports events, to name just a few. The implementation of legislation and the development of guidelines are closely following practice, and most European countries today have some kind of regulation for the provision of AD as well as local guidelines, even if these differ greatly (see the European ADLAB project at www.adlab-project.eu; Maszerowska, Matamala and Orero 2014).

Research is developing in interaction with all these trends, and a few key developments are considered below. However, given the limited scope of this chapter, we will focus on the more recent developments in SDH research today (as compared to Remael 2007) while giving a comprehensive account of research trends in the younger of the two disciplines, AD.

2. Subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing

The terminological quibble between Europe (which speaks of subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing) and the USA, Canada and Australia (which speak of 'captioning' for this target group, and use 'subtitling' only for interlingual translation), has not really been resolved and may have an effect on short and long-term developments in subtitle research and development. This is because the issue is not a purely terminological one: in Australia, the USA and Canada captioning is verbatim and this kind of intralingual subtitling allows for greater flexibility in the application of, for instance, speech-to-text technology than edited SDH, since there is little need for rewriting or text reduction which constitutes additional processing. This is an important aspect because, notwithstanding all the variations in the ways in which subtitles for the deaf and hard-of-hearing or captions are produced at present, it is clear that this translation mode is here to stay. Furthermore, as the number of audiovisual productions and the variety of different devices for watching them continue to grow, so too will the demand for SDH continue to rise – even if we do not reckon with rising quotas imposed through government regulations, which may not be developing at the same pace everywhere.

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The audiovisual translation industry is therefore looking to academia and also to technology for the development of (new) cost-cutting options that may enable it to meet the demand for the above-mentioned accessibility services at a reduced cost. This has resulted in the establishment of various large EU-funded projects. SUMAT, for instance, focused on interlingual standard subtitling and has investigated the possibility of using machine translation and post-editing for subtitling (http://cordis.europa.eu/project/rcn/191741_en.html). SAVAS aimed to develop automated intralingual subtitling application scenarios, using speech recognition technology (http://www.fp7-savas.eu/savas_project). Such projects always involve a consortium: partners from the industry that can supply the enormous amounts of real-life big data required for the development of any form of machine-based or aided translation, software developers, and university departments involved in computational linguistics and related areas, among others. The advantage of such projects is that larger corpora and several parties collaborate on innovative approaches.[1] Another consequence may be that the outcome of such research and technology will determine the type of subtitling users will receive, for instance, verbatim captioning rather than edited subtitling, because – as indicated above – editing involves an additional processing step.

Still, more small-scale research in SDH is underway, witness the many PhDs into various aspects of SDH. In addition, the themes of publications from earlier decades are continuing to be researched, often from different angles, reflecting the varying uses being made of subtitling referred to above. This is borne out by a comparison of existing publications and themes discussed at the Media for All conference in Dubrovnik in 2013. The most recurring themes are: nation-bound studies into local practices, SDH for children (including didactic angles), training requirements in SDH, expanding target audiences for SDH, layout and formal characteristics of the translation mode (including icons and punctuation), quality control, linguistic issues such as cohesion and explicitation, the challenges of interlingual SDH and live subtitling through speech recognition (see http://mediaforall5.dhap.hr/ and Pereira and Arnáiz Uzquiza 2010 for a comprehensive bibliography).

One notable development is the research progress in live subtitling with speech recognition for intralingual subtitling. It has managed to pinpoint the challenges for respoken subtitles (Romero-Fresco 2011; Van Waes et al. 2013; Remael

1. The regrettable side of such developments, according to some scholars who have now become more 'traditional' researchers in the humanities, is that such approaches prohibit the development of basic and smaller-scale research. The reason for this resides partly with developments within academia, where scholars are under increased pressure to procure major international projects that generate income for their institutions.

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et al. 2014) and has offered solutions in terms of subtitle lay-out (based on reception research with eye-tracking research) that have been taken up by the industry in the UK (Romero-Fresco 2009). Further, it has produced a software-based and manageable quality control system that is now being promoted by OfCom, the independent regulator and competition authority for the UK communications industries (see the NERStar website at http://www.speedchill.com/nerstar/index.php/publications.html). The research results of projects like SAVAS, mentioned above, will no doubt also contribute to the production of automated or semi-automated live subtitles. Having said that, interlingual (as opposed to intralingual) live subtitling still presents a major challenge for technology-based solutions.

Interlingual live subtitling (for the deaf and hard-of-hearing and for other audiences) is an area that remains relatively under-researched,[2] although demand is increasing exponentially, especially in those parts of the world traditionally known as 'subtitling countries.' The affinities of interlingual live subtitling and simultaneous interpreting were already discussed by van der Veer (2007), who points out that the combination of live performance with simultaneous interpreting making use of speech technology constitutes the challenge. Verbatim intralingual live subtitling can be produced automatically today without the intervention of human translators, at least in controlled environments without interfering background noise (see the ITU website at http://www.itu.int/en/ITU-T/focusgroups/ava/Pages/default.aspx, for contacts). Consequently, the practice might be commercialised soon enough. Interlingual live subtitling is another matter, however. Moreover, the development of research in this domain is not without problems either. One difficulty encountered by the team working on intralingual live interpreting at the University of Antwerp (Van Waes et al. 2013; Remael et al. 2014), wishing to extend their research to interlingual live subtitling, and, in particular, to a study of the cognitive load involved, was the lack of real-life material available from the university's main research partner, the Flemish public broadcaster VRT. The production of (slightly) edited interlingual live subtitles lies outside the scope of machine translation so far, since little to no time is available for the degree of post-editing that would be needed (taking into consideration the results of the EU-funded SUMAT project on pre-prepared subtitling; see, for instance, Bywood et al. 2013). Research on live interlingual subtitling is also outside the scope of automatic intralingual captioning since automatic text reduction (which is feasible) would, again, have to be combined with machine translation producing edited interlingual subtitles.

2. There is a one-day symposium series devoted to live subtitling in general. The fifth symposium of this series, entitled "Respeaking, Live-Subtitling and Accessibility," took place at the Università degli Studi Internazionali di Roma on 12 June 2015.

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In brief, the different needs in the domain of SDH/captioning in various regions, the diversification of users as well as technological advances are impacting on both practice and research in different ways while producing variants on existing SDH/captioning solutions. Sometimes the scope of the research required seems to lie beyond the capacities of individual researchers. In addition, universities require external funding, so an increasing number of larger projects involving multiple parties are evolving. Such technology-based research addresses the need to produce more translations in less time and at less cost and it is producing significant results, at least in these terms. However, technology also has its limitations, as the case of interlingual live subtitling has shown; time will determine which areas of practice and research will remain more human-driven.

3. Audio Description

Many of the above issues are pertinent to AD as well, although this translation mode is in an earlier research stage, which influences research themes and the type of research conducted. AD, too, emerged under the (growing) influence of narrowcasting and technological advances. Therefore, it is at the forefront of TS and AVT research, much like the more technology-driven developments in subtitling. At the same time, however, AD is a practice and a field of study that is struggling in its transition to a fully fledged discipline. Compared to subtitling/SDH, developments in this domain are slower on all fronts: less legislation is in place to dictate quotas, less pressure is exerted by users, less development of technological solutions is emerging for the study and production of AD beyond that of recording and broadcasting with synthetic computer voices. Basic research providing insight into how AD actually works is moving slowly. In 2008, Braun set out a comprehensive research agenda for AD. The wealth of topics and research methods covered in her article illustrates the plethora of approaches and the increasing number of variables that impact on AD research.

However, a quick glance at the research conducted since Braun's 2008 outline shows that the basic research themes – what, when and how to describe – remain the focus of most research even today. These themes are approached from a range of different disciplines. Firstly, basic principles from Narratology and Relevance Theory have been used to investigate why certain information needs to be prioritised in AD, an issue that research is only beginning to tackle today (Vercauteren 2012; Vandaele 2012). Secondly, Film Studies is being consulted to address a few particularly thorny issues regarding how visual versus verbal signs create meaning (Hirvonen 2013a and 2013b). This in turn relates to the characteristic debate on the degree of interpretation that might be acceptable in AD with regard to facial

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expressions and emotions for instance (Igareda 2011) or film techniques (Orero 2012). Another pertinent research question in this context is how sound and music function in AD (see Igareda 2012 for the latter, as well as Remael 2012b and Fryer 2010 for sound and AD). Furthermore, (Text) Linguistics and Discourse Analysis have contributed to the analysis of the lexico-grammatical features of AD in different languages and cultures (Salway 2007; Arma 2012; Reviers et al. 2015). These studies with a linguistic focus have demonstrated that a 'language of AD' with specific lexico-grammatical features related to the narrative function of the text does indeed exist. A combined cultural-linguistic approach can be found in the Pear Tree Project (Mazur and Chmiel 2012), which aims to uncover the influence of varying audiovisual traditions on the reception and production of AD. Finally, while most research in the field focuses on AD for fiction film and television, as these are the most popular genres, other AD modalities gain more attention and require the introduction of even more disciplines, such as opera and theatre studies (e.g., Weaver 2010 and Cabeza-Cáceres 2010 for opera; Holland 2009 and Reviers 2012 for theatre) and museology (e.g., Neves 2012 for AD of visual arts).

A consequence of this interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary approach seems to be the fragmented and heterogeneous nature of AD research, which still fails to create the tight and coherent body of literature required for a mature discipline. However, in current publications two aspects frequently recur: the importance of reception research and multimodality. This could be interpreted as an attempt to streamline research approaches on the one hand, thus making results more compatible, and also as a step in identifying primary research questions on the other hand, leading to a clearer focus. As in the case of SDH, the role of technology and quantitative research in these developments is significant.

Several scholars (e.g., Braun 2008; Remael 2012a) have highlighted the importance of reception studies. Many of the (often preliminary) conclusions reached by current studies need to be tested with blind and visually impaired audiences to confirm their validity and create a better understanding of what is effective and what is not. However, there are methodological challenges, as discussed by Chmiel and Mazur (2012), such as low participant rates and the influence of memory on responses. Moreover, the test focus has shifted: where initially only user preference was tested, researchers have identified the need to test comprehension and engagement empirically as well (e.g., Fryer and Freeman 2012).

Furthermore, while many scholars paid lip service only to multimodality in the past, today the multimodal nature of all texts is recognised and reckoned with more often (O'Sullivan 2013; Kaindl 2013). Indeed the boundaries of text have 'exploded' and texts are now seen as forms of communication employing one or more of four modes: visual non-verbal, visual verbal, aural non-verbal, aural verbal (Zabalbeascoa 2008). Nevertheless, TS has struggled at times to incorporate

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multimodality in theories of translation (O'Sullivan 2013), especially with regard to finding an adequate and critical vocabulary/terminology. The same is true for AVT research (see the ongoing terminological discussions around SDH). More specifically, scholars have raised the concern that a lack of a consistent (translation-oriented) framework prevails for the analysis of multimodal texts and that too often the verbal aspects of AVT are highlighted at the expense of the visual non-verbal and aural non-verbal aspects (e.g., Gambier 2013). So it seems that the multimodal nature of the text is simply not taken into account sufficiently in theoretical approaches and research designs within AVT.

In this context, and specifically in relation to AD, Orero (2012) points out that, strange as it may seem, little attention has been devoted to how audiovisual texts such as films are understood or 'read' by the viewer. There seems to be no unambiguous way to interpret signs in films, since images work at multiple levels and interact in a complex way with sound and dialogue, which is why AD especially would benefit from a closer and less superficial reading of audiovisual materials than the current AD guidelines suggest (Orero 2012). What is more, little is known about the multimodal functioning of the target text either, that is, how the audience uses AD in interaction with music, sound and dialogue to (re)create a coherent message (see Braun 2011 on coherence). In other words, it appears that AD research is in need of an integrated approach, in which, for instance, insights from Film Studies, Multimodality Theory and Linguistics are combined in order to enhance the understanding of the construction of multimodal meaning in AD (see, e.g., Hirvonen 2013b). The realisation of such an approach, however, raises multiple conceptual, practical as well as technological challenges (see also Taylor in the present volume on Multimodality).

Finally, technology might offer solutions for the problem of the study of multimodality and help the field move beyond research based on individual case studies. Technology facilitates the processing of large amounts of real-life data in corpora, following the example of SDH research as described above, and promotes detailed mark-up and annotation for automatic and in-depth statistical analyses. Especially the development of multimodal corpora, also a topic in subtitling research, seems to open up exciting new avenues for research into AD (e.g., Hurtado Jimenez and Soler Gallego 2013 for the TRACCE project and Freddi and Pavesi 2009 for the Pavia Film Corpus), though there are some drawbacks since corpus compilation and annotation are extremely time-consuming and real-life material is sometimes hard to come by due to copyright issues. Innovative techniques can provide valuable new *types* of data. Eye-tracking techniques (used, e.g., in research testing lay-out preferences in SDH) can corroborate findings based on Narratology and Relevance Theory with regard to content prioritisation for AD. This technique has already been used to gain more insight into how viewers use visual cues to

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construct a narrative in audiovisual products (Kruger 2012), or to assess the importance of visual details (Orero and Vilaro 2012).

Technology is also changing the face of AD practice, albeit on a smaller scale compared to the technological developments in SDH practice sketched above. New technologies are being used to facilitate access to AD services – such as the use of mobile devices for the distribution of AD (see, e.g., the Earcatch project: http://earcatch.nl/). Parallel to developments in SDH, the industry is turning to technology to try and make the production of AD more cost-efficient. Examples are the application of text-to-speech (TTS) technologies for voicing ADs and for creating audio subtitles (AST). AST is especially relevant for subtitling countries as a viable method for making multilingual and foreign products accessible (see Szarkowska 2011 and Szarkowska and Jankowska 2012 for more on TTS, and Braun and Orero 2010, Remael 2012a and Remael and Reviers 2015 for more on AST).

Another area of research, gaining specific interest from the industry, is the translation of ADs from one language into another (Remael and Vercauteren 2010). The exploration of the possibilities of machine translation for AD has only recently been initiated (see the ALST project; Matamala 2016). All these domains are waiting for more systematic development and scientific exploration.

4. Concluding remarks

Continuous developments in text types and translation modes, such as the ones described above, blur the borders between what is traditionally considered (audiovisual) translation and media accessibility. They reintroduce Jakobson's 'translation proper' within intersemiotic translation as SDH is developed interlingually as well as intralingually and AD is combined with audio-subtitling for multilingual or foreign language productions. Even if the trends and research foci in AD and SDH research are quite different, as illustrated above, convergences are also evident, especially with regard to the increasingly prominent role of technology in AVT research, which in turn seems to favour more large-scale projects and is changing researcher profiles. SDH research has shown that purely technology-driven approaches yield very interesting results but can have their limitations in terms of concrete applicability without human intervention. As technology-driven approaches are only being introduced into AD research as we write, focusing on the requirements for human-machine interaction in research designs from their inception may well be advised, especially in view of the semiotically complex production of AD. Consequently, increased insight and approaches that promote interaction between human-driven and technology-driven solutions deserve high priority. Such developments would make the most of technological advances,

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including the management of big data, thereby counterbalancing and supplementing the more fragmented research based on case studies still prominent in both SDH and AD today. These studies in turn are able to yield research questions that could be explored effectively on a larger scale. Another role that technology can play is to help integrate multimodality into research methods for both SDH and AD, for instance, through the design of computer interfaces that facilitate the study of semiotic interaction and cohesion (see, e.g. Reviers 2016).[3]

To conclude, this outline illustrates the need for more integrated research approaches that successfully mobilise different disciplines and combine technology-based applied research methods with more basic research, which remains valuable for young disciplines such as AD and SDH. Moreover, it highlights the benefits of close cooperation between industry and academia for all parties, including users of media accessibility services.

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3. The PhD project by Reviers (see also: www.uantwerpen.be/nina-reviers) develops the first corpus of Dutch Audio Descriptions. One of its goals is to see how concepts from traditional corpus linguistics can be combined with Multimodality Theory to gain more insight into the lexico-grammatical patterning and cohesive devices used in this type of audiovisual translation and to what extent computer-aided text analysis techniques can contribute to it. See also Reviers (2016).

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Imagined spectators

The importance of policy for audiovisual translation research

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This chapter considers theoretical and methodological questions of language and translation policy in the dissemination of audiovisual products across languages. This is an area where scholarly research is inevitably playing catch-up with rapid change both in the language industries and in film and television production. For example, we have a general sense of 'dubbing territories' and 'subtitling territories' but in reality the picture is more complex. Norms changed in the course of the home entertainment revolution, with the arrival of the DVD format in the late 1990s ostensibly increasing viewer choice and flexibility of translation provision. The relocation of much audiovisual material to an online environment has also generated fundamental changes in the way that works circulate, with volunteer translators and automated translation processes playing a larger role. Policy developments in access translation have meant that there have also been great changes relatively recently in the availability of SDH subtitling, audio description and other modes of access translation.

This is a very broad field which raises many compelling research questions. At the same time, its very breadth does not lend itself to a comprehensive overview. The chapter will therefore aim to provide an orientation to, rather than a summary of, the theoretical and methodological challenges of research on this topic.

Keywords: translation policy, audiovisual translation, dubbing, subtitling, norms

1. Introduction: what is audiovisual translation policy?

Translation policy exists in a rather fuzzy state within Translation Studies. As Reine Meylaerts points out in her entry on the topic in the John Benjamins *Handbook of Translation Studies* (2011), it has not been a traditional focus of research in the

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area, although it is present in the work of foundational figures in the discipline including James Holmes, José Lambert and Gideon Toury. In a 2002 review of Peter France's *Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, Dirk Delabastita (2002, 162) identifies policy as an area where there are gaps in coverage. In 2006, Yves Gambier observed in an overview of the state of the art in audiovisual translation (AVT) research that "demeurent encore sous-estimés les rapports entre politique linguistique, statut des langues et choix du doublage" [the relationships between language policy, language status and choice of dubbing are still under-studied] (Gambier 2006, 275);[1] his overview of subtitling in the same article (274) gives a list of current areas of research from which policy is conspicuous by its absence. In the intervening decade the situation has improved to some extent, as we will see below.

One of the issues in talking about 'translation policy' is how to define its scope. James S Holmes, in his article "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (first delivered in 1972), sees translation policy as part of applied Translation Studies:

> The task of the translator in this area is to render informed advice to others in defining the place and role of translators, translating, and translations in society at large: such questions, for instance, as determining what works need to be translated in a given socio-cultural situation, what the social and economic position of the translator is and should be, or [...] what part translating should play in the teaching and learning of foreign languages. (Holmes 2000, 182)

Holmes' focus is on the translator as expert professional, rather than on the researcher, and on the impact of research outside the academy, rather than on translation policy as an object of research. However, since then, much policy-related research has developed along descriptive rather than applied lines; according to Jeremy Munday (2008, 12), 'translation policy' would "nowadays far more likely be related to the ideology, including language policy and hegemony, that determines translation."

In recent Translation Studies the restricted definition of policy as "the conduct of political and public affairs by a government or an administration, i.e. [...] political or public practices as implemented in legal rules" (Meylaerts 2011) co-exists with a more general usage which sees norms and translation policy as being on a continuum in relation to each other. José Lambert (1994, 23) adopts a broad concept of translation policy in assuming "that the institutional frame within which translations [and other transfer channels between languages] operate has an impact on the translation (transfer) strategy." One of the recurrent issues in policy research is whether specific policies can be found in written form. As Maisa

1. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

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Nakkula observes in a 1996 article on subtitling on Finnish television, "la décision de principe, stable, continue, pour tel ou tel mode de conversion linguistique est rarement explicitée: en général, une politique de traduction se forme peu à peu" [the stable, lasting decision in favour of one or another mode of translation is rarely made explicit: in general, a translation policy forms gradually] (1996, 101).

Gideon Toury explicitly links norms and policy through the idea of preliminary norms. For Toury, translation policy is constituted by

> those factors that govern the choice of text types; or even of individual texts, to be imported through translation into a particular culture/language at a particular point in time. *Such a policy will be said to exist inasmuch as the choice is found to be non-random.* Different policies may of course apply to different subgroups, in terms of either text-types (e.g. literary vs. non-literary) or human agents and groups thereof (e.g. different publishing houses), and the interface between the two often offers very fertile grounds for policy hunting.
>
> (Toury 1995, 58; emphasis added)

This approach has been picked up by many subsequent researchers.[2] The present chapter will look both at "public practices as implemented in legal rules" and at research which takes its lead from Descriptive Translation Studies in extrapolating policies and norms.

The choice of texts and text types, of course, also involves choices about source language. Target-language policies seem to have more visibility than source-language-oriented policies. A key area is translation into minority languages (Agost 2004; Moal 2013; O'Connell 1994, 2000; Vandekerckhove, De Houwer and Remael 2009). O'Connell (1994, 371) identifies three functions of minority language subtitling:

a. language maintenance/language planning;
b. language revival/promotion;
c. fulfillment of broadcasting obligation while attracting as large an audience as possible.

In this field, we see a combination of empirical research on the reception of AVT in minority or regional language contexts (e.g., Vandekerckhove, De Houwer and Remael 2009; von Flotow 2009) and work explicitly aimed at informing policy (e.g., O'Connell 1994). An excellent historical study is Gabrielle Chomentowski's

2. For instance, in her entry on "Editorial Policy" in the John Benjamins *Handbook of Translation Studies*, Gisèle Sapiro (2012, 32) observes that "these policies, which are partly conscious and partly unconscious, can be reconstructed on the basis of archives, interviews and a quantitative analysis of publishers' lists or of the table of contents of journals, through which the coherence and evolution of these policies can be observed."

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comprehensive account, published in 2014, of language and translation policy in Soviet cinema in the late silent and early sound era, which shows how the many languages of the Soviet peoples posed a problem for Soviet cinematographic production and for the execution of government policy, partly because the attitude of the government to language maintenance and language revival changed over the period under study.

In the workflows of globalization and localization, 'policy' may also include such configurations of target languages as DVD language menus; for instance, the inclusion of French and Spanish subtitles on Region 1 DVDs prepared for the North American market (Ďurovičová 2010, 110–111). As Minako O'Hagan (2007, 162) observes, although DVD theoretically allows for a large number of translations to be included, "this capability is restricted by the region coding and the decisions made on region-specific translation versions." Although the importance of the DVD medium for AVT research has been widely acknowledged (e.g., O'Hagan 2007), Ďurovičová is one of very few to have addressed the theoretical and political implications of language policy on DVD. Target language choices such as those on a DVD menu contribute to the construction of an 'imagined community' in the sense in which Benedict Anderson (1991) uses it. The use of Spanish as well as French on Region 1 DVDs, which belies the fact that Spanish is not an official language of any country in Region 1, "surely reflects the demographic and commercial realities within the officially monolingual United States" (Ďurovičová, 111). DVD is a fruitful area for research in translation policy, though it is being rapidly superseded by other platforms including streaming video. As this chapter was in preparation, I came across a promotional video on the web for the 2013 Disney animated feature *Frozen*.[3] The video featured a montage of twenty-five recordings in twenty-five different languages of the song "Let It Go." The twenty-five languages were English, German, Mandarin, Swedish, Japanese, Polish, Hungarian, Catalan, Italian, Korean, Serbian, Cantonese, Portuguese, Bahasa Malaysia, Russian, Danish, Bulgarian, Norwegian, Thai and two versions of Dutch (from Flanders and the Netherlands), French (from France and Canada) and Spanish (Castilian and Latin American). This language selection raised a number of interesting questions. On what basis are dubbing languages identified by a huge multinational such as Disney? On the basis of size of territory? Or on the basis of cinema infrastructure and GDP? What other languages does Disney routinely use as localizing languages? In fact, it later became clear that the film had been fully dubbed with voice casting for the singing in fully forty-one languages

3. At the time of writing the video can be found under the title "Disney's Frozen 'Let It Go' Multi-Language Full Sequence" on the Walt Disney Animation Studios YouTube channel at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OC83NA5tAGE (last accessed 29 February 2016).

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(Keegan 2014).[4] This compares with some 15 target languages for the major release *The Lion King* in 1994 (ibid.). This growth in globalized translation flows indicates some of the ways in which thinking about translation policy can open up research in AVT and encourage interdisciplinary research, for instance, with film and media studies. The choice to leverage the studio's translation policies as a way of publicizing the film is also potentially of significance both for the visibility of AVT and for our understanding of the complex relationships between translation and the international circulation of film.

2. Dubbing or subtitling?

One of the major preoccupations of research within AVT has been the identification of specific territories with particular forms of AVT which has implicitly always been a question of policy. Traditionally (see, e.g., Dries 1996; Gottlieb 1998), the geography of AVT has been mapped as a combination of dubbing territories (traditionally, French, German, Italian and Spanish-speaking countries); subtitling territories (generally smaller language markets such as Greece, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries); voiceover territories (including Russia and Poland); and exporting territories (the English-speaking nations which are overwhelmingly net exporters of audiovisual products). But this handy taxonomy hides great complexity, notably, different policies for theatrically exhibited film and for television. Delia Chiaro (2009) and Henrik Gottlieb (2012) both underline the complexity of the audiovisual map. Gottlieb (2012, 45) outlines a range of "usage scenarios" for AVT, taking into account that individual territories often have more than one potential target language; that territories may be subtitling from and into languages both of which are 'domestic' languages; or that access forms of AVT also have to be taken into account. His survey is not systematic, but points to the maturity of this field of research, in that we now have a more granular understanding of the factors at issue in descriptive studies of translation policy. Chiaro (2009, 143–144) supports this view that the AVT 'map' is both complex and dynamic, pointing out, for instance, that subtitling is in rapid expansion, even in dubbing territories, due to changes in broadcast technology and market pressure for simultaneous release of audiovisual products across multiple territories.

A key moment for policy in audiovisual translation, and one which is increasingly well documented, is the coming of sound to cinema in the late 1920s. This raised a number of policy issues, notably, the strategies adopted by the major film producing nations for the circulation of their products overseas; and the policies

4. I am indebted to Jayne Fox for drawing this article to my attention.

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of importing nations whose film industries were potentially threatened by imported film, particularly from Hollywood (Maltby and Vasey 1994). Much of what was initially written on Hollywood's response to the coming of sound focused on the multilingual versions of 1929–1931, but there have also been important recent territory-specific studies on the development of dubbing and/or subtitling such as Chomentowski (2014), Cornu (2014), de Luna Freire (2015) and Mereu (2013).

One of the early questions asked by Audiovisual Translation Studies was *why* specific countries chose to opt for dubbing or subtitling. Martine Danan (1991) offered an influential theoretical overview, namely that dubbing was characteristic of "a strong nationalistic system" which "tends to be closed and reject or limit outside influences" (612). Subtitling, on the other hand, "indirectly promotes the use of a foreign language as an everyday function in addition to creating an interest in a foreign culture"; it therefore "corresponds to a weaker system open to foreign influences" (613). This view is still very widely accepted, given the compelling evidence of the right-wing repressive European regimes of the mid-twentieth century. It cannot, however, be seen as monolithically applicable to all contexts. For example, Gabrielle Chomentowski (2014, 309) reports that subtitling

> est privilégié en URSS jusqu'en 1938, à la fois pour des considérations financières, pratiques et idéologiques (le contenu des sous-titres semble aux autorités plus facile à contrôler que le doublage, dans lequel celui qui double peut user d'intonations plus ou moins expressives) [is the preferred mode in the USSR until 1938, at once for financial, practical and ideological reasons (the content of the subtitles seems to the authorities easier to control than dubbing, in which the dubbing actor can use more or less expressive intonations)].[5]

In his recent work *Audiovisual Translation: Theories, Methods and Issues*, Luis Pérez González transmits an apparently well-known example of an abrupt change in translation policy under the Soeharto regime in Indonesia in 1996. Having issued a decree that dubbing should henceforth replace subtitling in foreign films broadcast on television, the government reversed this decision a few months later on the grounds that viewers were too prone to identify with dubbed films:

> Wherever Indonesians view television, films or other broadcasts where the original language has been changed into our national language, those Indonesians will think that the performances in those media constitute a part of themselves. As if the culture behind those performances is also the culture of our people.
>
> (quoted in Pérez González 2014, 22)

This supports the view that there is a greater diversity of motivations underlying national policies than Danan's formulation may initially suggest. Although there is

5. Unfortunately, Chomentowski does not provide a reference for this observation.

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compelling evidence that "dubbing was often the result of an overt governmental policy in a nationalistic environment" (Danan 1991, 611), we must also recognize very strong protectionist and financial incentives for dubbing, inasmuch as insisting on dubbing being done in the target language territory helped to safeguard jobs in the film industry; on the Italian context, for instance, see Mereu (2013, 17–20) and Redi (2014, 402).

3. Methods

As with other areas of Audiovisual Translation Studies, a small-scale case study methodology focusing on linguistic comparisons has often been adopted. Many studies have extrapolated policies from data readily available, consistent with Lambert's suggestion (1988, 131) that "dominant rules in translational policy might be observed in the language(s) used by mass media." Important early collections involving extensive descriptive work providing an overview of implicit or explicit policies include Gambier (1996) and Gambier and Gottlieb (2001).

Archival research methods have assumed an increasingly important profile in researching the area of policy. The TRACE project in Spain, which had a basically descriptive methodology with a strong focus on textual comparison, and which included strands on cinema and television, also drew for context on the very rich AGA (Archivo General de la Administración) archives to look at censors' reports as representative of the impact of policy on the production of translations. And of course it is not only target-language censorship which has an impact on screen translation; the films of Billy Wilder, for instance, which have been considered by Jeroen Vandaele (2015), were already affected by the Hollywood Production Code at the production stage. Source-culture contextual factors could have an explicit as well as implicit impact on translation choices, inasmuch as, in Spain for instance, the rating given to a film by the Legion of Decency may have affected the decision as to whether or not to subject it to prior censorship (Camus Camus 2008, 77–78; Garnemark 2013).

Reception studies are also important as a way of establishing the impact of media policies and potentially as a way of guiding future policy. Vandekerckhove, De Houwer and Remael (2009) conducted a large-scale research project with viewers across Flemish-speaking Belgium to understand issues around subtitling and regional language varieties. This data was quantitatively presented.

A further example of an empirical study, on the production side this time, is Alfaro de Carvalho's (2012) qualitative study on language control policies in television subtitling in Brazil which gathers data from professionals in the sector. This study illustrates an important issue in this kind of empirical research which is

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that data held by major operators in the audiovisual field such as broadcasters and distributors may be commercially sensitive and their legal departments may block attempts to access this data (474). A more pragmatic, but equally relevant, issue for such research is that even where access is possible, for instance, through archival holdings, broadcasters and distributors may not keep records in a form which is helpful to researchers. In his account of a research project into the dubbing of Japanese anime into Afrikaans on SABC in South Africa in the last years of apartheid, Cobus van Staden (2014, 5) relates how he failed to locate a key document, containing their new editorial language policy, released by the SABC in 1995; it did not seem to be in the broadcaster's own archive.

Practitioner research has always been an important element of audiovisual translation studies; many of the early researchers in AVT were themselves professional subtitlers or dubbing scriptwriters (Helene Reid, Robert Paquin and many others) and this tradition continues (on the question of translation policy see, e.g., Paquin 2000; Alfaro de Carvalho 2012; Artegiani and Kapsaskis 2014; Cornu 2014). Practitioners have the marked advantage for policy research of having access to valuable primary documents as well as to observational experience of policies in use. Of course, many projects combine archival elements, textual comparison, a practitioner perspective, and/or empirical methods.

It is worth noting that important research into translation policy takes place outside the university environment. Lucy Mazdon and Catherine Wheatley (2013, 149–50) describe a 1970 survey carried out by the magazine *Films and Filming* which asked distributors whether they could envisage playing both dubbed and subtitled prints of films in the cinema. The problem, in a net exporting nation where almost all films shown were in English, was that in any given region, audiences were very unlikely to be large enough to support the circulation of films in more than one format. Distributors were divided on the acceptability to audiences of the two modes of translation (particularly dubbing). In practice, both dubbed and subtitled prints have circulated in the UK: dubbed prints particularly in rural areas, subtitled prints in metropolitan centres. A more recent small-scale 2010 survey of cinemagoers at UK cinemas showing dubbed and subtitled prints of *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* (OTX and UKFC 2010) concludes that both dubbed and subtitled prints are required to maximise audiences for foreign-language film in the UK.

4. Future directions and challenges

This section seeks to outline the implications of what has been said above for future research in AVT policies. It does so for convenience under a series of headings.

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a. **Broadcast medium**: Although much of the early work on AVT was done on films, when it comes to thinking about AVT policy, television is perhaps the most important medium, regulated as it is by national requirements and stipulations.[6] These include issues around access forms of translation: making a specific proportion of broadcast content available with subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing, sign language interpreting and audio description. See, for instance, the 2015 Ofcom guidelines in the UK, which stipulate that for most television channels, 5% of material must be signed, 10% audio described, and 80% subtitled. They also include certain guidelines around minority languages (cf. O'Connell 1994; Mac Dubhghaill 2006) and may also have implications for public literacy (Pearson 2006). As a medium which reaches a more general audience than either films exhibited theatrically or films on DVD, television may also be held to different standards of decorum and different definitions of acceptability (Morgan 2001; Alfaro de Carvalho 2012). Where streaming video fits in this landscape has yet to be thoroughly researched. Current technological developments in television which will use smart technology to make television even more responsive to individual viewers (Hughes et al. 2015) are also likely to require new research questions and methods.
b. **Region coverage**: There are many gaps in coverage of policies. Some languages have been fairly well covered; others hardly at all. Taking the broader view of policies as emerging from observation of practice, the tradition of the *lektor* [voice-over actor] in Poland, for instance, has been little touched on. A recent article on live interpreting of film at film festivals in the USSR (Razlogova 2015) is one of the few pieces of research to cover this fascinating area.
c. **Industry conditions**: these are also a function of policies (union pay agreements; national legislation; protectionism, or its absence). Rates of pay, degree of labour organization and cultural capital all have a role to play in the stability of the conventions and practices which obtain in the industry. In research to date, these aspects of policy have not been extensively researched, though they are touched on in the Media Consulting Group and Peacefulfish report (2007).
d. **Research partnership**: researchers working without access to industry or practitioners are increasingly limited in the scope of their research. Policy research needs to go more deeply into the factors governing decision-making for distributors, producers, exhibitors. At the moment, such information is occasionally available in snippets in industry publications,[7] but to be useful for research, more substantial primary data needs to be identified. Researchers need

6. For Ofcom regulations on the requirements on UK broadcasters, see Ofcom (2015).

7. Examples include Dinhofer (1981) and Halligan (2000) on the efforts of the US majors to change audience habits by releasing dubbed Spanish prints in Puerto Rico, or subtitled prints

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to identify repositories of documentation which may shed light on language policy or film policy that in their turn have influenced translation practices. If we think of 'policy' as including the broad mass not only of legislation but also of guidelines, stylesheets, codes of practice, codes of conduct, regulations, internally circulated documentation, public statements, etc., then there is a large body of material out there to examine. If we think of policy in broader terms as something which can be extrapolated from, for instance, textual evidence, the body of material is potentially infinite.

e. **Crowdsourced and user-generated forms of AVT** emerge in a particular regulatory environment (copyright law; regionally restricted availability of audiovisual products). Fansubbing groups can also have their own policies, which may or may not align with policies in the profession. They may also in turn be co-opted by more established and official entities in the industry (see, e.g., the instance of reported use of fansubs for streaming video by Netflix, as discussed in Ernesto 2012).

f. Methodologically, more **audience/reception research** will be fundamental in order to assess the impact of policy. The digital revolution has meant that the choice of modality is now very often in the hands of the viewer who, for instance, downloads or otherwise cues a set of subtitles or, on DVD and now on television, a dub track in the chosen language. Even where it is available, data on this kind of usage recorded by broadcasters and distributors is likely to be commercially sensitive; researchers will need to do much more audience research in order to understand viewer responses to available modalities of translation. Similarly, we must look to much more research with translation and distribution companies.

5. A broad or narrow definition of policy?

One of the issues which will need to be addressed by future research into policy is the porousness of the concept. As Reine Meylaerts (2011) observes, it can be made to refer to almost any aspect of choice in translation, and "this all-encompassing character is obviously the concept's Achilles heel, draining it of its specific meaning and thus of its added value compared to more successful alternatives like 'strategies' or 'norms'." Theo Hermans (1991, 163) has argued that "norms cover the entire range between conventions and decrees." Policy falls somewhere between these two. So how to disentangle policy and norms? Clearly, the Party resolutions discussed

of *Evita* across Europe, including dubbing territories; or Halligan (2000) on the changes in the proportion of dubbed and subtitled prints of major films released in France and Denmark.

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by Gabrielle Chomentowski constitute policy in the narrow sense outlined by Meylaerts above: "political or public practices as implemented in legal rules." How effectively these rules are then implemented is a separate question. But as indicated earlier in this chapter, such rules are not always easily available in text form. For instance, on 22 October 1930, the S.A. Agenzia Cosmos, associated with the Italian Ministry of the Interior, instructed that no film which contained "del parlato in lingua straniera, sia pure in qualche parte e in misura minima" [foreign-language speech, even in parts and in the slightest degree] could be exhibited (Mereu 2013, 9). Riccardo Redi (2014, 395) points out that this was not in any law or decree, but in a simple ministerial circular. And Carla Mereu (2013, 9) points out that although the text is available in subsequent publications, her archival research has so far failed to trace the original document. Nevertheless, this was clearly treated as seriously as a government decree; between November 1929 and August 1933, Mereu counts 486 sound productions of all types which were released in Italian cinemas with the spoken sounds removed and Italian intertitles added (9–10).

One may also ask whether a consistent, marked practice by a director or exhibitor may also be included within a policy research framework. For instance, an individual cinema might choose to adopt a specific source language or set of source languages for film, as with the Julian Theater in Chicago, which showed only Scandinavian films, mostly with subtitles, from 1930 to 1940 (Colvin 2013). The committee at Anthology Film Archives in New York and Henri Langlois at the Cinémathèque are often said to have projected films without subtitles (see Razlogova 2015, 68). In a recent study, Benoît Turquety (2015) argues that the filmmakers Straub and Huillet espouse a specific policy about the translation of their films which is consistent with their overall aesthetic position and which they prioritize even over the exigencies of funding, which are one of the most powerful drivers of AVT policy. I would argue that all of these phenomena could properly be considered under the heading of translation policy and they offer fruitful future avenues of research, for instance, into the programme synopses and improvised intertitles of the Film Society (1927–1939) or the headphone commentaries of the National Film Theatre in the UK (see Butler 1971, 120–2).

Perhaps the best pragmatic way of dealing with the issue of policy in AVT is to consider it as an essential contextual element of any study in audiovisual translation. If a written policy exists on the part of any entity, whether governmental or not, it is part of due diligence on the part of a researcher to at least attempt to track it down, and to account for its location, or non-location, as part of writing up the research.

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6. Full circle: Holmes' concept of translation policy

As will be seen from the above remarks, one strong pattern in AVT policy research to date is its descriptive nature. Although researchers are also clearly aware of the potential for influencing policy, it seems that research to date has not particularly focused on the relevance to developing policies in the audiovisual field, though accessibility may be an exception here (e.g., Romero Fresco 2013). Ideally, AVT research should be relevant enough to current practice that translation scholars would be in a position to contribute to policy (e.g., Artegiani and Kapsaskis 2014) and we should be setting ourselves the challenge to do so. Policy is one area in which Translation Studies has the potential to demonstrate real and immediate relevance to practice in the wider world.

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Psycholinguistics and audiovisual translation

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Psycholinguistic investigations of translated audiovisual products have been conducted since at least the 1980s. These mainly concerned the role of subtitles in the processing of language in the context of language acquisition, literacy, and education. This chapter provides an overview of some of the most productive lines of research from a psycholinguistic angle in audiovisual translation (AVT), focussing on studies that investigated the positive effects of subtitles on language performance, but also on a growing body of behavioural research on the cognitive processing of the language of subtitles. The chapter evaluates a number of methodologies in some of the most prominent studies on the processing of subtitles, primarily making use of eye tracking, and then provides some thoughts on future directions in psycholinguistic studies on the processing of the language of AVT.

Keywords: audiovisual translation (AVT), psycholinguistics, eye tracking, cognitive load, reading research

1. Introduction

The link between audiovisual translation (AVT) and psycholinguistics centres on the various ways in which language is foregrounded in AVT, making this mode a useful context for studying the way individuals process language. In AVT, the processing of language is complicated by the fact that this processing occurs alongside the processing of a number of other codes due to the multimodal nature of the audiovisual text.

AVT could be said to concern the linguistic representation of channels that are not accessible to different users of audiovisual texts in such a way that the text becomes accessible. This includes the representation of:

– dialogue for audiences who cannot understand the language of the original: visually in interlingual subtitling or aurally in dubbing and voice-over;

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- dialogue and sounds for viewers with hearing loss: visually through captioning (intralingual or interlingual subtitles);
- visual signs and ambiguous sounds for audiences with sight loss: aurally through audio description (AD) or audio narration.

AVT products are also used by audiences who have access to all the channels, but who need support in terms of language variation, language proficiency, or comprehension that can be obtained from subtitles (same language or translation); or support in understanding visual scenes that can be obtained from AD.

In essence, then, AVT requires users to process language added to an existing audiovisual text in order to gain or enhance their access to the particular text. The resultant foregrounding of language through AVT has also yielded a wealth of material for use in language acquisition and language comprehension contexts, as well as in other educational settings.

The main ambit of psycholinguistics includes issues relating to language acquisition, language comprehension, language production and language processing in the mind or the brain (VanPatten 2014). VanPatten states this even more succinctly, saying that "whereas linguistic theory is centred on representation, psycholinguistics is centred on processes and processing" (2).

With its long history (dating as far back as the first half of the twentieth century), psycholinguistics has developed extremely useful methodologies for investigating the way in which language is processed, ranging from behavioural studies used to infer how language is processed in the brain to more recent developments in eye tracking and neuroimaging that make it possible to obtain more direct and on-line measurements of language processing. In the words of Pulvermüller (2009, 119), "studies of brain correlates of psycholinguistic processes can complement behavioral results, and in some cases [. . .] can lead to direct information about the basis of psycholinguistic processes."

On the one hand, research in the field of AVT has therefore already been tied intimately to psycholinguistic research, evident in the strong line of research on the role of subtitles in comprehension, language acquisition, and language processing. On the other hand, there is still much scope for application of methodology that is already well established in some areas of psycholinguistics in research on AVT. One example of this is the well-established field of reading research with the aid of eye tracking that faces many obstacles when applied to the study of subtitles. This is as a result of the dynamic nature of the audiovisual text that makes the majority of methods used in static reading difficult to apply.

The substantial body of performance research that will be referred to in this chapter, as well as that of behavioural or physiological eye tracking studies that has produced an equally impressive body of works, can be supplemented by direct,

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objective measurements of cognitive processing through neuroimaging (EEG) and by developing reliable methods of applying reading statistics to dynamic texts. The chapter will therefore begin with an overview of performance and reception studies, then move to behavioural physiological studies before suggesting methodological directions for AVT in terms of the study of the processing of the language of AVT.

2. Performance and reception studies

The benefits of subtitles in various contexts is well documented. Most of these studies focus on reading and listening comprehension, vocabulary acquisition, literacy and academic literacy. All of these areas are important from a psycholinguistic perspective, and indeed, some very good results were reported over the years.

Vanderplank (1988, 1990), Markham (1993, 1999) and Danan (2004) found an increase in comprehension as a result of exposure to subtitled video. Similar positive results were obtained in the use of subtitles in the work of Garza (1991) and Bird and Williams (2002) who found that subtitles assist in bridging the gap between reading and listening and help students to acquire vocabulary in context. These studies all seem to support the idea that subtitles aid comprehension and also vocabulary acquisition.

However, in other fields in educational psychology, researchers also seemed to qualify these positive findings. For example, Diao et al. (2007) found that "listening with the presence of a script and subtitles led to better understanding of the scripted and subtitled passage but poorer performance on a subsequent auditory passage than listening with the auditory material only" (2007, 237). Also, the impact of subtitles on learning shows a direct correlation with the academic and literacy levels of participants, making it more useful for learners who are already stronger.

In an overview of research on subtitles in language learning Vanderplank (2013, 5) qualifies the positive findings in some contexts with references to findings that point to the fact that subtitles are not automatically and overwhelmingly useful in language learning: "in general, and rather to my disappointment, there was no 'free ride' for learners. Tasks, strategies and focused viewing were required to extract language and content [...] Those who 'sat back' and watched programmes retained and recalled little or nothing of the language."

The greatest concern with most performance and reception studies involving subtitles is the fact that it is virtually impossible to control for the variable of reading (whether or not participants read the subtitles when they are present, and how thoroughly the subtitles are read) or the variable of source of information (whether subjects received information in the subtitles or through the auditory

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channel or in other visual signs where more than one source of information is present). This very fact means that there is very little to be added in AVT research by more studies trying to determine the impact or effect of subtitles on comprehension or language learning, unless this can be related directly to the processing of specific language. Which brings us to the rich field of physiological studies, where we will focus primarily on subtitle processing through eye tracking – an avenue that lends much depth to the psycholinguistic study of the processing of the language of subtitles.

3. Physiological studies

In contrast to performance studies like the ones discussed above, behavioural or, more specifically, physiological studies, shift the focus from the impact of subtitles on various aspects related to language and comprehension, to an investigation of what happens during the processing of subtitles. In other words, how does subtitling affect the behaviour of viewers? As a result of the limitations of performance studies in terms of pinpointing the way in which subtitles affect language processing, this is a particularly useful avenue to explore in terms of future methodologies in AVT research. In particular, psycholinguistic research making use of electroencephalography (EEG) in studying event-related potentials (ERPs), functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), and certain measurements obtained by means of eye tracking (specifically pupillometrics) provide ways of obtaining direct objective measurements of cognitive processing of language, with the added advantage of providing real-time measurements. Other eye tracking measurements such as the movement of the eyes when reading (where and for how long viewers look), provide real-time, objective data, but these measures only provide indirect data on cognitive processing.

Eye tracking is the only one of the above methods that has been used fairly extensively in research on AVT, and then mainly as indirect objective measurement of cognitive activity. Nevertheless, all the direct objective measurements mentioned here would doubtlessly add significant value to our understanding of the way the language in AVT products (also AD, dubbing and other modes in AVT) are processed. Most eye tracking studies in the field only consider the indirect measurement of cognitive activity based on the eye-mind assumption that the mind attends where the eye fixates (Just and Carpenter 1980).

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4. Eye tracking

Eye tracking has been used as experimental method to investigate visual cognitive processing as long ago as the 1870s, and the mode has been used extensively in psycholinguistic research for more than 40 years to study reading comprehension (Keating 2014, 69). One of the key figures in this research is Keith Rayner and colleagues (see Rayner 1998 for an overview of the first 20 years of eye tracking research in reading). In spite of the depth and breadth of knowledge accumulated over this period on static reading, eye tracking studies in the field of second language acquisition only really emerged in the late 1990s with an increase in interest particularly in the past five years (see Keating 2014 for a discussion of the most significant eye tracking studies in second language acquisition). As pointed out by Keating (2014, 70), "given that eye-tracking provides a fine-grained measure of real-time language processing and is capable of detecting subtle differences between native and non-native language processing, it is likely that this method will continue to gain momentum in L2 psycholinguistic research." This is doubtlessly also the case in AVT, particularly if the processing of language can be investigated with more rigour.

In the field of AVT, Géry d'Ydewalle and colleagues in Belgium have been involved in psycholinguistic studies on the processing of subtitles using eye tracking since the late 1980s. To date, a number of studies have appeared in which eye movement was analysed in an attempt to understand how subtitles are processed; these include d'Ydewalle and Gielen (1992), d'Ydewalle and De Bruycker (2007), Specker (2008), Perego et al. (2010), Bisson et al. (2012), Ghia (2012), Rajendran et al. (2013), Krejtz et al. (2013), Kruger (2013), Kruger et al. (2013), Winke et al. (2013), and Kruger and Steyn (2014). Some of the most dominant foci in these studies include the difference between the way one and two-line subtitles are read, the attention distribution between the subtitles and the rest of the screen, and the effort involved in reading subtitles (see Kruger and Steyn 2014 and Winke et al. 2013 for an overview of some of these studies). Very few of the studies go beyond the mere quantification of attention to a study of the processing of specific elements in the language of subtitles, although a number of very important insights have been gained.

In their 2007 study, d'Ydewalle and De Bruycker investigated the eye movements of children and adults when viewing television subtitles. More specifically, the study went further than many previous studies using eye tracking to study subtitle processing in that it did not merely compare attention to subtitles with attention to the image. In this study, an attempt was made to determine whether participants read the subtitles in a regular, word-by-word manner. This was done by calculating "the number of fixations in the subtitle, the fixation duration, the

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saccade amplitude, the number of regressive eye movements in the subtitle as well as how often the subtitles were completely skipped" (197). They also counted the number of shifts between subtitle and image. In so doing, this study for the first time distinguished looking at subtitles from reading subtitles, albeit still in a rather rudimentary manner and with nothing near the amount of detail achieved in studies on reading of static texts.

To determine whether reading took place they looked at measures of attention allocation (indicated by the percentage of subtitles skipped, latency time to first fixation, and percentage of time spent in the subtitle area); the characteristics of fixations in subtitles (the number and duration of fixations as well as the word fixation probability based on fixations per word); and the characteristics of saccades (amplitude, horizontal direction and vertical direction in shifts between image and text). This allowed them to determine whether subtitles were read by the two groups in the two conditions. As such, the study is a significant step towards arriving at useful data on how subtitles are processed, but nuanced interpretations are still lacking in that the findings are based on broad and fairly crude measurements of regular reading.

However, the study by d'Ydewalle and De Bruycker (2007) provides a solid foundation for future research in AVT because of the fact that they provide further evidence for their earlier findings that subtitles are read automatically (see d'Ydewalle et al. 1991). They concluded that there is little difference in reading behaviour between adults and children, but that reversed subtitles (into foreign language) were not read to the same degree as standard subtitles (skipped more often, fixated less times and for shorter periods). What was not done satisfactorily in their study was to correlate reading with other measures like performance.

Specker (2008) investigated the reading of scrolling or upward-rotating three-lined captions that were produced by means of respeaking. She looked at fixation counts and average fixation duration, but also successive fixations, and then inspected fixation plots for individual subtitles, yielding very good qualitative interpretations of the reading of subtitles in thorough multimodal analyses supported by comprehension data. By making use of such methods, she comes closer to describing reading behaviour in the presence of subtitles, although the small number of respondents as well as the nature of the subtitles (scrolling, three-lined rather than chunked, two-lined subtitles) means that her methodology is not necessarily suitable to studies on more conventional subtitles.

Like d'Ydewalle and De Bruycker (2007), Bisson et al. (2012) investigated the processing of native language (NL) and foreign language (FL) subtitles. They compared standard (FL audio and NL subtitles), reversed (NL audio and FL subtitles), and intralingual subtitles (FL audio and FL subtitles). They looked at fixation count, total fixation duration, average fixation duration, number of skipped subtitles and

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proportion of successive fixations (or the number of successive fixations divided by the number of fixations). These measures mean that – like d'Ydewalle and De Bruycker (2007) and Specker (2008) – they make an attempt to measure not only attention to subtitles but reading behaviour, although at a very basic level. They found no significant difference between the processing of standard (FL to NL) and intralingual (FL to FL) subtitles in terms of any of these measurements, but participants spent more time looking at the image in the intralingual mode, and spent less time reading subtitles in the reversed (NL to FL) condition. There are some suggestions that there are bottom-up factors, such as the saliency of text, that draw visual attention for reasons other than top-down cognitive processing, but it is evident that more work is required on exactly what information is extracted from subtitles as opposed to other sources.

A number of eye tracking studies investigated the way eye movements are affected by aspects such as line division, translation strategies, and shot changes. Perego et al. (2010) investigated the impact of text chunking on subtitle processing by dividing the screen into the subtitle area and the screen area with a threshold line, and then analysing fixation counts, total fixation time, average fixation duration, saccade length and shifts between subtitle and image areas. In the first place they determined that the processing of subtitled film is cognitively effective in spite of the added cognitive load of subtitles. They also determined that text chunking does not impact negatively on subtitle processing, which contradicts most guidelines on subtitling practice. It has to be conceded that they only manipulated chunking within the same subtitle and not between subtitles, and only looked at a total of 28 subtitles, which somewhat mars the generalizability of their findings, but this remains a very thorough psycholinguistic study.

Similarly, Rajendran et al. (2013) investigated the impact of text chunking on subtitle reading by looking at mean fixation durations, proportion of gazepoints and fixations in the subtitles, and number of times a viewer's gaze jumped from scene to subtitles and vice versa (saccadic crossovers, or glance count/revisits) in the context of live subtitles. By comparing different segmentation styles (namely no segmentation, word-by-word, chunked by phrase, and chunked by sentence), they determined that text chunking by phrase or by sentence resulted in more effective processing indicated by a reduction in the amount of time spent on subtitles and number of shifts between text and image. Although they present a very compelling argument, more detailed psycholinguistic analyses over longer texts are required in order to arrive at a better understanding of linguistic processing of subtitles with different chunking.

Ghia's study (2012) is a good example of a combination of quantitative and qualitative measures in eye tracking. She compared the intensity of visual activity in subtitle reading between literal and non-literal translations into English of

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Italian audio seen by Italian participants by analysing gaze paths to determine deflections between subtitles and image as well as fixations on specific words and regressions. She found more deflections in the non-literal translations. By looking at the influence of information in both dialogue and subtitles, her study sheds some light on cognitive processing in the presence of two sources of information that are mapped onto each other by viewers. Since she extracted the data by replaying the gaze of each participant, her study was necessarily limited in terms of number of participants and duration of the clip, but it provides very useful information as a starting point for future quantitative studies to investigate the same aspects.

Winke et al. (2013) investigated the reading of subtitles by English students of different second languages to determine the extent to which the relationship between L1 and L2 affects reading. To do this, they compared the eye movements of students of Arabic, Spanish, Russian and Chinese looking at SLS in these languages. This is an interesting study in that it represents the first attempt to look at the impact of different languages on subtitle processing. According to Winke et al. "the cognitive effort involved in attending to and parsing language may affect the learner's ability to use and benefit from captions" (255). Accordingly, they find that learners of Arabic spent more time looking at the subtitles than learners of Spanish or Russian. Furthermore, learners of Chinese spent less time on subtitles in the case of unfamiliar content. From their findings they suggest that differences between languages being learned may constrain the benefits of same language subtitles in language learning, mainly because of cognitive load. Their study once again mainly looks at the amount of time spent in the subtitle as opposed to the rest of the screen and does not come any closer to answering these questions. Therefore, although it also signals important areas of investigation in AVT, the study has too wide a range of potentially confounding variables to show any more than that orthography and proximity of L2 to L1 make a difference to the amount of time spent on subtitles, and therefore on cognitive load.

Kruger et al. (2013) takes the measurement of cognitive load in the presence of subtitles a step further by comparing a number of different measures of cognitive load. In their study of the processing of subtitled educational videos in English with English subtitles by ESL students, they measure cognitive load by means of pupillometrics, self-report scales, and engagement and frustration levels using EEG. They found that participants who saw the subtitled video had lower cognitive load than their colleagues who saw the un-subtitled version. Also, the un-subtitled condition resulted in significantly higher frustration levels as measured by means of EEG, which also correlated significantly with participants' self-reported frustration levels for the subtitled condition. By combining direct and indirect measures of cognitive load, their study brings us closer to an understanding of possible reasons for benefits reported in earlier studies, although the use of both pupillometrics and

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affective EEG measures used in that study are problematic. In the case of pupil dilation, constantly changing levels of luminosity result in changes in pupil diameter that are unrelated to cognitive load. In the case of the EEG measure of frustration, this measurement has not been validated for use in reading.

Krejtz et al. (2013) use eye tracking to investigate one of the central suppositions of subtitling that also finds its way into most standards or guidelines for subtitling – namely, that subtitles should not stay on screen across shot changes as the change in the visuals will automatically fool viewers into thinking that the subtitle has also changed, causing them to re-read the subtitle. In addition to the measures found in most other eye tracking studies on subtitle reading (such as fixation count), they also looked at the first fixation duration, subject hit count and transition matrix before, during and after shot changes in subtitles that stay on across a shot change. Although they do find that some viewers do move their eyes to the beginning of the subtitle after a shot change, most viewers do not reread the subtitle but simply resume reading as before. In their study, only one third of participants looked at the beginning of the subtitle after a shot change, and of these, only around 10% reread the subtitle. What makes this very thorough study even more interesting is the comparison of Deaf, hard of hearing and hearing viewers, and the finding that there was no significant difference between the different groups in terms of re-reading subtitles after shot changes. Another interesting finding is that the first fixation duration after the shot change was significantly longer than before the shot change, which seems to be an indication of increased cognitive load in the presence of subtitles that stay on over shot changes even if they are not reread. The study provides a very useful methodology for studying a number of psycholinguistic processes concerned in subtitling standards and could well be the first of many studies interrogating the validity of rules used in various contexts. The methodology could, however, be improved if the reading could be quantified more accurately.

Kruger and Steyn (2014) present a reading index for dynamic texts (RIDT) in just such an attempt to quantify subtitle reading. The index makes use of fixations per standard word, corrects for regressions, and takes into account the average perceptual range during reading (how many characters a typical reader can read to the left and right of any given fixation). The index makes it possible to calculate not only to what extent a particular subtitle was read by viewers, but also to correlate the reading of subtitles with performance measures. Although they could not find any significant difference in the performance of participants (in a post-test) who saw the videos with subtitles and those who saw the videos without subtitles, they did find a significant positive correlation between performance and reading as measured by the index. With this development in methodology, it becomes possible to investigate the processing of subtitles over extended texts more reliably than in many previous studies.

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5. Conclusion: future psycholinguistic methodologies for AVT

The large number of experimental studies on AVT that has appeared in the last decade with a sharp increase in the past five years, also in hitherto fairly peripheral areas like the psycholinguistics of language processing in subtitle reading, is a clear sign that this field within Translation Studies has matured. The high standard of many recent behavioural studies appearing in prominent journals in the fields of eye movement studies, media psychology, reading research, education, and educational psychology also serves as an indication that the field is embracing interdisciplinary developments, and no longer only borrows from neighbouring disciplines, but actively contributes to them.

The fact that the language of AVT products like subtitling and AD inevitably competes with other, often primary, sources of information in different semiotic channels, means that psycholinguistic research has a lot to contribute in this field. The one thing that has become clear in recent years is that we still have only a very basic sense of how individuals process the language of AVT; a much less nuanced understanding than, for example of the processing of static text, or multimodal educational material. However, as a number of recent studies have shown, we are on the brink of a much clearer understanding of how subtitles are read, also in complex multilingual contexts, or with complex relationships between the language of the subtitles and the native language of the viewers.

In terms of subtitling, a systematic research agenda has to be followed to interrogate these assumptions using a wide range of direct, objective measurements of cognitive processing and cognitive load such as pupillometrics, EEG and fMRI. However, we should also continue using indirect measurements of cognitive processing that can be obtained (as has been shown in a number of studies here) from eye movement data including first-order data such as fixations (count, duration) and saccades (between subtitles and image, for example, but also within subtitles), as well as second-order data such as transition matrices and a combination of these measures in reading indexes developed specifically for extracting reading data for large samples. These increasingly robust quantitative methodologies, also when used alongside well-established qualitative measurements on the psycholinguistics of AVT products, have a lot to offer to the field of AVT research and provide a strong link between this field within Translation Studies and various theoretical and applied linguistic disciplines.

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Cross-cultural pragmatics and audiovisual translation

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In this chapter, audiovisual translation (AVT) is considered contrastively from a cross-cultural pragmatics perspective, in its uses of language across languages and cultures. This inevitably broaches questions of linguistic and cultural representation, critical in a world in which the global availability of cultural products is ever greater. They are a main focus in this chapter, with related questions about the development of subtitling and dubbing language as idiosyncratic varieties and expressive media, and implications for representation and its impact on audiences. AVT research has had many challenges to confront in its early days and these are relatively uncharted territories. Yet current developments like fansubbing and other crowdsourcing activities are re-defining the name of the game and heralding significant changes, in AVT practices and in the ways they and the products and responses they generate are accounted for in research (as evidenced in emerging re-evaluations of quality and subjectivity, e.g.; see Pérez-González 2012, 2014). These are central concerns in mapping the way forward.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, cross-cultural pragmatics, linguistic/cultural representation, pragmatic situatedness

1. Introduction

This chapter approaches audiovisual translation (AVT) from the perspective of cross-cultural pragmatics – the branch of pragmatics that considers language use across languages and cultures from a comparative or contrastive point of view.

A fundamental issue is how interpersonal meaning and narrative texture are conveyed interlingually through AVT practices, specifically here subtitling and dubbing. Linguistic and pragmatic specificities of source and target languages are determining factors, as are the standard constraints affecting language choice in these modalities – space and time, synchrony, the intersemiotic shift from speech

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to writing and legibility for subtitling, and questions of audience design. Dealing with interlingual transfer in AVT from a contrastive pragmatics perspective also inevitably broaches questions of linguistic and cultural representation, critical in a world in which the global availability of cultural products is ever greater and responses to otherness make the headlines almost on a daily basis.

Research into these various aspects has been limited, perhaps because of the challenges it raises in terms of description and empirical testing: there have been few studies of how communicative practices are depicted interlingually in subtitling and dubbing, let alone of the pragmatic impact of these and other forms of interlingual accessibility practices on audiences' responses. Issues are not just interlingual. Film dialogues, as fictional accounts of naturally occurring speech harnessed to film narratives, are themselves representations – intralingual ones. Central to a cross-cultural approach to the pragmatics of AV text is thus the task of capturing the complex three-way relationship between naturally occurring speech and its representations in source and target fictional texts/dialogues. Related questions about subtitling and dubbing as idiosyncratic language varieties and expressive media in their own right and their implications for representation and audience responses are also critical in this review.

The first section maps out main features of pragmatics and cross-cultural pragmatics approaches to AVT from the two main perspectives outlined above – narrative texture and linguistic and cultural representation – as a preamble to considering the challenges they raise, and their potential for AVT as a field, in the light of the new developments that have been shaking its foundations and norms. What is arguably at stake is a reconceptualization of AV texts as texts with a capacity to establish their own pragmatic settings and thereby demonstrate a diverse and flexible potential to alert viewers to otherness – a potential which is increasingly in evidence in emergent crowdsourcing practices.

2. Pragmatics and cross-cultural applications to audiovisual translation

2.1 Linguistic background

Pragmatics is concerned with how language is used in social contexts and how participants in communicative situations generate (convey and manipulate) meaning, and comprises four main areas of study: the study of speaker meaning (what speakers convey), of contextual meaning (what the context conveys), of how more gets communicated than is said, and of the expression of relative distance (Yule 1996, 3). All are potentially a locus of difference when attention is on how meaning is constructed by speakers from different cultures, that is, approached cross-culturally.

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From this cross-cultural perspective, which Yule (1996, 87) describes for pragmatics as "the study of differences in expectations based on cultural schemata," speakers' cultural preferences may thus need to be completely reassessed across linguistic and cultural contexts, from any of the different angles of approach or theoretical underpinnings that have shaped pragmatics since it developed as a subfield of linguistics in the 1970s:

- Gricean pragmatics, with its underlying principle that people involved in conversation cooperate with each other in most circumstances (Grice 1975) – but is that so in all languages or cultures? – and related questions of implicature and relevance;
- speech act theory (Searle 1969): how are speech acts and speech events like greeting, thanking, apologising, requesting, etc. enacted, linguistically realised and responded to across languages and cultures?
- conversation analysis (CA) and turn-taking and repair practices (Sacks et al. 1974): who talks when, what is the value of, for instance, silence, interruption or overlap in verbal exchanges, how are they oriented to in different contexts, is the socially prescribed right to talk in any case in evidence in all?
- politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) and face-saving practices (one's own and that of others), with later (less ethnocentric) developments making greater room for situatedness and the local negotiation of rapport (e.g., Spencer-Oatey 2000).

Not all can be covered here, let alone accounted for in full, but this bird's eye view is an index of the diverse types of studies that communicative practices in film dialogues and their interlingual representations can apply to, and of the broad range of features they may encompass. This is also illustrated in the types signposted for debate in contrastive pragmatics work on politeness, for example: greater or lesser preference for positive or negative politeness in given societies, tolerance of small talk and phatic exchange, reliance on routine formulas, conventional usage of formal and informal pronouns of address, honorifics and personal reference in general, preferences for conventional or non-conventional politeness, the choice of a particular language (Hickey and Stewart 2005, 1). More generally, directness/indirectness is a commonly recognized candidate for difference across cultural contexts and value systems, and one of five dimensions of cross-cultural difference between English and German, for example (the four others being orientation towards self vs. other, content vs. addressees, explicitness vs. implicitness, ad hoc formulation vs. verbal routines) (House 2005).

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2.2 Applications to AVT – concerns, methodologies, basic issues

In AVT, there are two main types of studies involving pragmatics, de facto cross-culturally when transfer is interlingual:

- Studies that explicitly identify themselves by reference to pragmatics concerns and frameworks, more or less broadly, such as Hatim and Mason's early 1997 milestone study on politeness in screen translating, and, among others: Bonsignori et al. (2011) on greetings, leave-taking and good wishes in dubbing; Bruti (2009a, 2009b) on compliments and insults in subtitling and dubbing; Chaume (2004) on discourse markers in subtitling and dubbing; Desilla (2012) on implicature in subtitling; Greenall (2011) on swearing and implicature in subtitling; Guillot (2007, 2010) on orality and interpersonal address in subtitling; Mattson (2009) on discourse particles in subtitling; Pavesi (2009a, 2009b, 2014) on orality, pronominal reference, demonstratives in dubbing; Pinto (2010) on advice in subtitling. Such studies are still relatively few in number by comparison with work on other aspects like culture-specific reference.
- Studies that integrate a pragmatics dimension incidentally, explicitly or implicitly, like the many devoted to dialects and non-standard language varieties – where sociocultural factors inevitably link to language in use in specified contexts, thus involving pragmatics – or to humour or to orality features in subtitles: for instance, Forchini (2013) on familiarizers in dubbing; Longo (2009) on dialects in subtitling; Matamala (2009) on interjections in dubbing; Romero Fresco (2009) on naturalness in dubbing. Studies of this type are more widespread but more piecemeal.

The examples below focus primarily on the first type, by way of giving an overview of the kinds of concerns addressed, objectives pursued and methodologies developed, with work illustrating two different approaches. They initially apply just to subtitling, where features of the medium magnify concerns.

2.3 Case and corpus-based studies, from narrative texture to cross-cultural representation

Both examples relate to the theme of politeness, the mainstay of most AVT studies with a pragmatics underpinning, in its general technical sense, that is, as covering all aspects of language usage that serve to establish, maintain and modify interpersonal relationships between text producer and text receiver.

In the first example, Hatim and Mason's (1997) landmark case study for subtitling, politeness is dealt with as an integrated phenomenon, to assess how

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interlingual pragmatic shifts may affect characterization and film narrative. Hatim and Mason consider how the interpersonal dynamics between characters is depicted in source dialogues and their subtitles, and conclude that the dynamics created in subtitles may be substantially different from that originally intended (1997, 89). This is traced, in their case study, to differences in the textual encoding of politeness – lexical choices, sentence form (imperative, interrogative), unfinished utterances, intonation, ambiguity of reference – in the dialogue of the French film *Un cœur en hiver* (dir. Sautet, 1992), and in their cumulative implicated meaning. Thus, in the utterances shown below under example (1), elided sequences in the source dialogues become spelt out in the subtitles, hesitation features are omitted, questions turn into assertions. In the analysis of Hatim and Mason, tentativeness morphs into assertiveness, showing a completely different politeness strategy for the character depicted from the off-record self-effacing defensiveness in evidence in the ST, where it deflects the direct threat to face strategy that the female protagonist uses to provoke him.

(1) (from *Un cœur en hiver*) (Hatim and Mason 1997, 85)

i. *oui* ***m…***
[yes **b**…]
Yes, but …

ii. *vous* ***n'****avez* ***pas*** *joué un peu vite****?***
[did you not play a little fast?]
You took it a bit fast.

iii. *oui si ça ne …*
[yes if it d_{neg}…]
If you wouldn't mind.

iv. *non* ***mais j…*** *je dois vous laisser travailler. Au revoir.*
[no **but** I_{elided}… I must let you work. Good bye]
No, I must let you work. Good bye.

In the second example, Derrin Pinto's 2010 study of advice in English subtitles of Spanish films, the focus – on speech acts – is more specific. The objective is also different and overtly cross-cultural. Pinto addresses a specific question, namely, why students in the U.S. should comment, after viewing films from Spain, that Spaniards seem vulgar and rude. He analyses 218 occurrences of advice in a corpus of twelve contemporary films in Spanish, and concludes that there is unintended impoliteness in the subtitles in English. This is shown to result from the following main factors: increased level of directness and elimination of mitigating elements in the shift from oral dialogue in Spanish to written subtitles in English, as shown in example (2) below for two of the five types of feature analysed (Head Act and downgrader to the Head Act). In (2) i. there is a change of category in the

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expression of the speech act verb (Head Act) from what is termed 'conventionally indirect' to 'strong direct' – with a shift from a question in the negative proffering advice indirectly to a direct order imperative. In (2) ii. there is no downgrader mitigating the suggestion performed:

(2) (from *Mataharis*, dir. Bollaín, 2007, and *Tiempo de tormenta*, dir. Olea, 2003, respectively) (Pinto 2010, 267–268)

i. **¿Por qué no te pones** las gafas?
[**why don't you put** your glasses on?]
Put your glasses on

ii. **A lo major** si tuvieras otro hijo
[**maybe** if you had another child]
If you had another baby

The resulting directness, traced to the deletion of mitigating features and form shifts, is at odds with English practices, where prototypical requests and face threatening acts are documented as conventionally indirect, and often rely on multiple downgraders to reduce levels of imposition (Pinto 2010, 259–262). This directness is the by-product of modality constraints and does not reflect the source Spanish either, however, and fuels Pinto's concern that speakers of Spanish may be unwittingly and stereotypically perceived as rude.

These examples of a case study and a corpus-based study – the first dealing primarily qualitatively with politeness as an integrated phenomenon in situated dialogue in one film, the second primarily quantitatively with a particular speech event across several films – represent two standard types of approach, typical of AVT research generally.

While they harness pragmatics to different ends and are interested in the implications of intermedial and interlingual shifts for different reasons, they identify similar types of modality-related issues. Reduction is the most conspicuous for subtitling and a main factor affecting pragmatic encoding in AVT, one of several cumulatively shaping the cross-over of pragmatic conventions and representation, and debates about them.

3. Limiting factors

As ever with subtitling, a core issue is that encoding politeness features (or humour, orality, etc.) often takes more words than there is room for on screen in the time available for display or than are needed to safeguard readability. As widely documented (e.g., in Hatim and Mason 1997), the first elements to be sacrificed are linguistic features with expressive and pragmatic value or functions but no

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clear overt meaning, as in (2) and (1) iii. and iv. above, with simplicity also preferred – shifts from complex to simple syntactic structures, for example, like the shift to direct imperative in (2) i., and to a simple assertion from a mitigated question in the negative in (1).

The overarching concern for AVT from a pragmatics perspective is *encoding*, however, and the forms it may take. While space and related constraints may call for reduction, other considerations like legibility, may result in simplification, as just noted, or expansion, as seen in examples (1) i. and iii., where elided source items are expanded to full forms in the target text, with comparable impact on characterisation and narrative. Both expansion and reduction in this case cumulatively contribute to the politeness shift when considered cross-culturally, with the other features also discussed above – shift from question to assertion, from negative to affirmative.

Additional factors documented to promote idiosyncratic pragmatic representation in both source and target dialogues include audience design and the need to keep discourse coherent, both for exchange participants on-screen (diegetically) and to keep overhearing audiences in the loop. This point, highlighted in Hatim and Mason's contextualised analyses, magnifies the critical relevance of the broader (linguistic and non-linguistic) prior context for local choices. Their pragmatic import is returned to in the next section.

Tensions between source and target dialogues run deeper than reduction and encoding, and raise questions which have yet to be fully addressed in the field, but have been covertly raising their heads in observations in both explicitly and implicitly pragmatic studies, and for both subtitling and dubbing. Bruti has dealt with both, with application to the compliment speech act in subtitling (2009a; seven-film corpus) and to compliments and insults in dubbing (2009b; Pavia corpus), in hybrid studies of narrative texture and representation, and provides other kinds of insights in these respects. Her studies, too, identify a marked preference for omission and reduction in subtitling, but nuance this with additional observations. Like Pinto, Bruti points to interlingual representational shifts, in the focus of compliments, for example (from performance in English to personal qualities in Italian, e.g., 'That was great' to '*Sei stata grande*' [you were great]; from *Tootsie*, dir. Pollack, 1982 [Bruti 2009a, 232]), in this case adapted to TL practices. Her comments also draw attention to distinctive uses of language in film contexts and to the locally negotiated thus contextual nature of politeness therein: to a more varied repertory of linguistic expressions in representing compliments than the few stereotypical formulae identified in sociolinguistic studies; to the recurrence of some adjectives (like 'brilliant', 'cute', 'terrific') (and the lesser frequency of semantically vague adjectives such as 'nice'); to greater explicitness in the target text in some cases, reinforcing what is conveyed visually or paralinguistically in the

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source, and translating the global essence of the original text rather than a local chunk (Bruti 2009a, 238). For dubbing she further stresses, with standard issues of lip synchrony, the likelihood of misapprehensions of pragmatic value when politeness/impoliteness markers are dealt with out of context: politeness, as situated and locally negotiated, needs to be considered in whole interactions rather than just individual speech acts or utterances (in line with recent theory; e.g., insults can create rapport in some contexts) (Bruti 2009b, 163).

Situatedness, the idiosyncratic nature of AV language in filmic contexts, pragmatics shifts and their impact on narrative texture and linguistic representation: in these broad factors outlined with this sample overview of studies with an explicitly pragmatic perspective are encapsulated both the challenges and the potential of film and AVT language. They are addressed next in terms of the fundamental debates they embody, and as a platform for mapping the way forward.

4. The pragmatics of AV texts: challenges and potential

4.1 Pragmatic and representational shifts – the conundrum of cultural a-synchrony

The first debate is captured in the challenges of cultural a-synchrony,[1] always present, rarely addressed explicitly. A core issue is the extent to which target texts mirror source text practices, or are adapted to target communicative preferences and expectations, in other words, are 'domesticated' for target audiences – a basic dilemma in Translation Studies. It is contentious either way.

The inescapable co-presence of a context associated with a particular language/culture (e.g., Spanish in Pinto, English in Bruti above) and target text in a language in which verbal practices and orientations may be different (English in Pinto, Italian in Bruti), inevitably raises questions, whatever strategy is used. Is it appropriate to assign to native speakers of English the practices of speakers of Italian, for example, as in the case with compliments and the focus shift discussed in Bruti, thus to lead audiences to a) assume that there is a match across English and Italian, and b) respond in relation to expectations set by their own language and experience? The practice, acknowledged as common in dubbing (Pavesi 2014) has, at worst, been robustly reproved as "corrupt" (Nornes 1999). On the other hand, what is at stake when the practices depicted are at odds with TL practices and expectations is laid bare in Pinto's examples and stereotyping concerns,

1. Term used in Manhardt (2000) to refer to the cultural mismatch between the source languages and cultures seen and/or heard on screen in films and representations in target languages.

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aggravated when practices are also at odds with source dialogues' representations. It is expressed in the simple question he raises: what is a 'good' subtitle or 'good' dubbing practice from a pragmatics perspective? For Pinto (2010, 271), an utterance that is not taken as impolite in the source language should not become impolite in the target language. How is this (to be) achieved, and how is it dealt with in practice, in view of cultural a-synchrony and modality constraints? What is the extent, and impact on audiences, of pragmatic acculturation, and of pragmatic misrepresentation? How could or should resulting considerations inform translators' practices?

This basic conundrum for pragmatics approaches to AVT sets the agenda for research, as we are a long way from having enough empirical data to cope with the questions it begs and reliably to inform discussions. On the other hand, the work currently emerging and overtly or covertly casting further light on the nature of AV language has been paving the way forward, with both caveats to be mindful of and alternative outlooks on staple issues. Loss is one, representational capacity another.

4.2 Audiovisual language in filmic contexts – the 'other' space of language

The second main debate sets the ubiquitous question of loss against linguistic creativity. Loss in AVT is inevitable – being a de facto by-product of technical and multimodal synchrony constraints, and cross-linguistic and cross-cultural difference. Inevitably also, subtitling and dubbing language has a life of its own, like film language generally. All mirror naturally occurring speech to an extent. They also have a creative potential that is part and parcel of achieving narrative efficiency in highly constrained contexts, with all this entails: producing effective spoken-aloud fictional written exchanges with extradiegetic functions for audiences; the additional twist of the shift back to writing for subtitling and of lip-synchrony for dubbing; and the need to be attuned to what is otherwise conveyed visually and aurally in the multimodal context of films. This idiosyncrasy, broadly acknowledged in most AVT studies, may prove to be as much a gift for representation as the plight it has been seen to be in loss debates.

Empirical evidence has been building with corpus work and (four-way) systematic comparisons of naturally occurring speech and film dialogues in source and target languages. It is gradually providing a picture of degrees and patterns of (mis-)alignment, and a platform for appraising their implications for intra- and interlingual representation (see volumes such as Baños et al. [2013] and Freddi and Pavesi [2009], showcasing work with the Forlì and Pavia corpora of AV texts). Creative specificity is seen in the capacity of selected target language features to express pragmatic meaning and sociolinguistic variation symbolically, as observed

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by Maria Pavesi for dubbing across a range of features, for example: they are shown to work as non-random privileged carriers of orality (2009a), as markers of otherness (pronominal use; 2009b), or as sites of cross-linguistic variation (demonstratives; 2014).

For subtitling it is illustrated in the archetypal 'Carla? Where's Le Henry?' example (from *Sur mes lèvres*, dir. Audiard, 2001) discussed in Guillot (2010, 2012) and the internal pragmatic settings it draws to attention, achieved by an interplay of different features, including punctuation: the Christian-name mode of address and the first question mark and associated rising intonation and pause give the prompt for attention a caring attentiveness that pre-mitigates the ensuing request and deflects from taking its overt formal directness at its face value (compare with 'Carla where's Le Henry?' or 'Where's Le Henry?'). Possible misguided perceptions of communicative practices in the source language (of French as direct and rude in relation to English) are thus kept at bay: as in Pinto's examples for advice, the source dialogue request is in fact overtly and heavily mitigated (*Carla / je vous demandais où était Le Henry* [Carla / I was asking you where le Henry was]).

In all this, and as underscored in Pavesi (2009a), non-randomness is key: internal pragmatic settings depend on the cumulative impact of features working together in integrated combinations, in this instance on the markedness of the first name address 'Carla,' a conspicuous shift at this point from the 'Miss Behm' title-plus-surname address used until then by the same locutor as the expected mode in the French work context and for the type of relationship depicted (boss/PA). This is situatedness, but different in nature from the locally contextual kind alluded to for individual interactions as discussed by Bruti: it spans the full set of dialogues, with conventions established early on and adhered to and developed throughout (see, e.g., Guillot 2010 for cues triggering the experience of T/V pronominal shifts in English from French). This kind of medium situatedness and pragmatic singularity is also built in conversational routines with a chiefly phatic role in naturally occurring speech: thus, greetings and leave-takings or openings/closings in phone exchanges, when present in film dialogues, are adapted to fulfil the narrative functions that justifies keeping them at all. 'Hi' and 'Hello' can be observed to index internally set types of rapport or circumstances, for example. This is in evidence in the subtitles of two French and one Spanish films (*Caché*, dir. Haneke, 2008; *Paris*, dir. Klapish, 2008; *Volver*, dir. Aldomovar, 2006) in which greeting scenes are clearly engineered to set up plots and sub-plots, and pragmatic settings are manipulated to this end (Guillot, 2016). Indexing of this type is a key factor to take into account in interpreting qualitative and quantitative data, like the relative distribution of greeting terms or qualitative asymmetries for greetings/leave-takings as compared in Bonsignori et al. (2011) in English films, their dubbed dialogues in Italian and original dialogues in Italian films.

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5. Pragmatic perspectives in AVT – making linguistic and cultural representation matter

Like film language generally, subtitling and dubbing have a capacity to generate internal systems of pragmatic representation and modes of interpretation, to work as a code in their own right. This capacity can be harnessed to contend with the conundrum of cultural a-synchrony and modality constraints, in research and practice. It is possibly also a means of capturing otherness in communicative practices, not literally, but at least in their 'pragmatic essence,' as the native equivalent of what Yule describes as "pragmatic accent" for non-nativeness (1996, 88).

There has been recurrent evidence of this expressive potential of AVT. It comes up increasingly frequently in studies with or without an identified pragmatic focus, if only implicitly sometimes – for example, in Gartzonika and Şerban (2009) and Longo (2009) for non-standard language and dialects in subtitling (see Guillot 2012), in Casarini (2012) for Net lingo in dubbing, in De Meao (2012) for dialects in subtitling, in Ranzato (2010) for dialects in dubbing, in Romero Fresco (2009) for features of dubbese, and in others. It is also given an expression and greater latitude in fansubbing/fandubbing amateur interventionist mediation, for better or for worse, but in a recognised challenge both to traditional practices and to the notion of quality as generated from an audience base (Pérez-González 2012).

The pragmatic underpinnings of AV and AVT language are still largely to be mapped out, however, and are complex to account for. This brief overview cannot begin to do justice to the multiplicity of factors and features involved, nor to the analytical scope and depth of the work it used as examples. A major contribution of pragmatics approaches has been to bring to AVT research the theoretical and methodological know-how of linguistics, and resources for identifying issues and rationalizing observations and findings. Streamlining them to generalizable and functional results is one of the main challenges ahead.

Corpus-based work provides an effective platform for building on the critical insights it has already begun to produce, with contrastive work across naturally occurring speech and its intra- and interlingual representations. It will have to be mindful of evidence from situated analyses in full film contexts/dialogues sets, as will case studies of the misleading tendency to deal with decontextualized text segments. Much more data are needed, however. We need more full transcripts of film dialogues and corresponding subtitles and dubbing, and across more pairs of languages, to remedy the prevailing English/other language asymmetries and to generate enough evidence for a more robust understanding of the representational potential of AVT and its manifestations across speech features and events, genres and languages. A more coordinated effort is also needed to make data accessible to

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a larger constituency of researchers and achieve the critical mass to make a difference to research, and to its applications.

A crucial step is to document practices and strategies systematically – both on their own pragmatic terms (i.e., as experienced by audiences with no access to source dialogues) and by reference to evidence from naturally occurring speech, where available – to make better critical sense of the pragmatic know-how invested in professional practice (see, e.g., Bannon [2009] 2013); to inform translator training and the pedagogical use of film materials for foreign-language learning/teaching and training in intercultural communication; as a resource for cross-cultural pragmatics itself where evidence is still patchy; to appraise audience responses to linguistic and cultural representation and the impact of foreign films in shaping their publics' sense of otherness. Individual variability and viewers' socio-cultural heterogeneity make reception studies with these objectives methodologically very complex, but they are overdue. Hatim and Mason's early (1997) call for audiences' impressions of interlingually projected pragmatic meaning in films to be empirically tested has begun to be heeded (see, e.g., Antonini and Chiaro 2009). The multifarious and boundless dissemination of cultural products on the global scene and the imponderables of its cross-cultural influence make the research urgent.

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The importance of being relevant?

A cognitive-pragmatic framework for conceptualising audiovisual translation

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Inspired by the belief that cognitive and pragmatic models of communication and discourse processing offer great potential for the study of Audiovisual Translation (AVT), this chapter will review such models and discuss their contribution to conceptualising the three inter-related sub-processes underlying all forms of AVT: the comprehension of the multimodal discourse by the translator; the translation of selected elements of this discourse; and the comprehension of the newly formed multimodal discourse by the target audience. The focus will be on two models, Relevance Theory, which presents the most comprehensive pragmatic model of communication, and Mental Model Theory, which underlies cognitive models of discourse processing. The two approaches will be used to discuss and question common perceptions of AVT as being 'constrained' and 'partial' translation.

Keywords: Relevance Theory, Mental Model Theory, multimodality, audiovisual translation, audio description

1. Introduction

Many forms of audiovisual translation (AVT), especially subtitling, dubbing and voiceover, are primarily concerned with the translation of verbal language, be it from one language into another or from spoken into written language. Only subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH) and audio description for the blind and partially sighted (AD) systematically require inter-modal transfer. However, given that the film dialogue or narrative, which is the object of translation in subtitling, dubbing and voiceover, is part of a multimodal discourse (i.e., a film or performance), these forms of AVT also require the translator to be aware of the other modes. At the same time, one of the challenges that all forms of AVT

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share is that the translator has control over only some elements of the multimodal discourse. The visual images are normally a 'given' and cannot be altered in the process of translation. Other challenges include the time and space limitations for the translated elements and requirements to achieve intermodal synchronicity (most prominently in dubbing), calling for appropriate strategies of information selection, condensation and/or omission. Although not exclusive to AVT, these challenges have led to AVT being conceptualised as 'constrained translation' (Bogucki 2004) and 'partial translation' (Benecke 2014). This chapter argues that cognitive-pragmatic models of discourse processing enable us to re-evaluate these perceptions. It examines the potential of Mental Model Theory (Johnson-Laird 1983, 2006) and Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995) for this purpose. Although these models have so far mainly been used to explain monomodal verbal discourse and monomodal translation, it will be shown that they can be applied to multimodal discourse as such and to AVT, and that the benefits of their application to AVT are wide-ranging.

Section 2 provides a brief introduction to the two models and considers their applicability to multimodal discourse. In Section 3, the cognitive-pragmatic framework will be used to conceptualise the processes of discourse comprehension and production taking place in AVT, and to challenge common perceptions of AVT as being 'constrained' and 'partial' translation. Section 4 evaluates the approach and outlines questions and opportunities for further research in a cognitive-pragmatic framework.

2. Modelling discourse processing

Mental Model Theory (henceforth MMT) and Relevance Theory (RT) have been developed separately but they have complementary strengths which can be combined to conceptualise how we process texts and the discourses arising from them.

2.1 Mental Model Theory and Relevance Theory

MMT is essentially a theory of human reasoning (Johnson-Laird 1983, 2006). One of its basic postulates is that "when individuals understand discourse, or perceive the world, or imagine a state of affairs […] they construct mental models of the corresponding situations" (Bell and Johnson-Laird 1998, 27). Mental models represent possibilities of how things could be in a given situation. In the process of reasoning and understanding, we draw conclusions about the plausibility of different possibilities based on what we know.

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Cognitive models of (verbal) discourse processing have built on MMT to explain how we create mental models of situations described in texts (Brown and Yule 1983; Van Dijk and Kintsch 1983; Herman 2002). The beginning of a novel, for example, normally gives rise to several possibilities (i.e., mental models), but as the novel unfolds the recipient seems to settle on one of these in his/her interpretation of the textual cues in light of his/her prior knowledge, the socio-cultural context of reception, and expectations raised by paratextual material such as reviews and/or the literary genre. Through its focus on the different sources of cues for comprehension, MMT provides a useful starting point for analysing how recipients process discourse, including in the context of translation. RT is complementary in that it elaborates on some of the details of this process.

RT postulates that verbal utterances are normally under-specified (e.g., by containing ambiguities that have to be resolved) and that recipients need to develop them into full-blown semantic representations (propositions) in order to retrieve the intended meaning (Sperber and Wilson 1995). According to RT, this involves retrieving the explicit and implicit assumptions the speaker makes when producing an utterance (i.e., *explicatures* and *implicatures*). Recipients normally begin by recovering the explicatures (e.g., through reference assignment, disambiguation and pragmatic enrichment of the utterance in question) as a basic level of interpretation and then retrieve one or several implicatures. RT claims that both explicating and implicating are highly inferential processes in which the recipient's 'cognitive environment' (i.e., the mental representation of everything s/he perceives or infers from the physical environment), his/her knowledge and cultural experience, and the context s/he construes, play a significant role.

Equally important, RT asserts that these processes are guided by the human tendency to maximise relevance (Cognitive Principle of Relevance), which acts as a 'mechanism' that prevents discourse recipients from infinite processing. As a consequence, RT argues, comprehension is based on the assumption that the speaker has an interest in being understood and chooses the optimally relevant way of communicating his/her intentions (Communicative Principle of Relevance). In accordance with this, recipients stop processing an utterance as soon as they derive an interpretation that they find sufficiently relevant. They are entitled to regard this interpretation as the optimally relevant interpretation as it provides the best balance between processing effort and effect. Utterances which require a high processing effort to reach this point normally yield greater meaning effects (e.g., non-literal meaning, poetry). They are often richer in 'weak,' that is, more individual implicatures.

RT and MMT show that discourse processing yields uncertainties; they explain why individual recipients draw different conclusions from the same premises and why communication may be unsuccessful. But by emphasising the subjectivity of

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discourse interpretation, the two models also allude to the potential for creativity, which can be exploited in making sense of art and in translation. The next section discusses how MMT and RT can be applied to multimodal discourse, as a prerequisite for deconstructing the processes in AVT in Section 3.

2.2 Multimodal discourse

MMT claims that mental models can be created on the basis of visual perception as well as verbal discourse, emphasising that "[m]odels of the propositions expressed in language are rudimentary in comparison with perceptual models of the world, which contain much more information – many more referents, properties, and relations" (Johnson-Laird 2006, 234). Sperber and Wilson (1995, 57) do not have much to say on visual or multimodal discourse, but from their claim that visual images as "non-propositional objects" do not have explicatures and given the importance of explicatures in RT, the theory might appear less applicable to multimodal discourse. However, various suggestions have been made to adapt RT to the analysis of multimodal discourse, arguing that visual images may give rise to both explicatures and implicatures (e.g., Braun 2007a; Forceville 2014; Yus 2008).

One question is then how, according to these models, meaning arises from multimodal discourse and specifically in film. The characteristics of the different modes of communication provide a useful starting point. As Kress (1998) notes, verbal discourse unfolds temporally and sequentially, while the visual mode presents information spatially and simultaneously, making it efficient for communicating a large amount of information. The verbal mode explains, describes, narrates and classifies; visuals display and arrange elements in space. However, because film also "sequentialises and temporalises visual images" (Kress 1998, 68), it can be said that meaning in film essentially arises from visual-verbal co-narration; sound effects and music further contribute to this. In the opening scene of *Notting Hill*, for example, a montage of Julia Roberts alias Anna Scott showing scenes of her glamorous life and successes is pervaded by the music, rhythm and lyrics of the Aznavour song "She" to 'tell' us her story and introduce her as a superstar. Notably, the song's famous refrain (a drawn-out "she") coincides with close-ups of Anna's face as she smiles into the paparazzi's cameras or waves at the cheering crowds. In the next scene, the male protagonist, Hugh Grant alias bookshop owner William Thacker, speaks in his own voice as he is walking us through Notting Hill to introduce us verbally and visually to his more ordinary life, friends and neighbourhood.

As Lemke (2006) asserts, when different modes of expression are combined, their meanings are not simply added to each other; they contextualise, specify and modify each other. Thus Anna Scott is not simply *identified* in the opening

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scene. The explicatures and implicatures arising from the song lyrics, the cheers of fans, the flash photography, the close-ups of Anna's face and her appearance on the covers of glossy magazines create a mental model that *glorifies* her, whilst the inferences encouraged by William's casual tour of Notting Hill, supported by the expectations arising from the genre of romantic comedy, suggest that he is an 'ordinary guy.'

Johnson-Laird (2006, 233) maintains that the cognitive processes involved in integrating cues from different sources into mental models are not well understood yet. Arnold and Whitney (2005, 340) believe that we have dynamic strategies for "weigh[ing] all the available cues according to their relative reliability." The stages of explicating and implicating assumed in RT may provide a basis for elaborating on this in the future, but the crucial point here is that a cognitive-pragmatic framework of discourse processing highlights the important role of the recipient's cognitive environment (see Section 2.1) in identifying and interpreting the cues from different modes and the cross-modal relationships that contribute to meaning in multimodal discourse. Many of the explicatures and implicatures arising from the introduction of Anna Scott in *Notting Hill* will be based on fairly universal knowledge about superstars. Most viewers will also be able to create meaning from William's comment that Notting Hill has street markets "selling every fruit and vegetable known to man." By contrast, knowledge about the district's evolution into a trendy part of London may be less widely available, but where it is, it could aid the interpretation of the visual snapshots of Notting Hill and add detail to modelling William's character. Differences in the recipients' cognitive environments will thus lead to intersubjective differences in discourse interpretation. Equally important, these differences are likely to be magnified when visual images are involved, as visual meanings are "construed largely as a result of tacit learning," making them "more open to idiosyncratic interpretations" (Jamieson 2007, 34) or, in RT terminology, 'weak implicatures.'

This brief discussion suggests that although cognitive-pragmatic accounts of multimodal discourse processing are not very well elaborated yet, their specific value lies in emphasising the complexity of this process. As will be argued in the next section, they therefore provide a useful basis for theorising about AVT in a way that is different from merely highlighting its constraints.

3. Modelling Audiovisual Translation

Cognitive-pragmatic frameworks have traditionally focused on monolingual communication, but their application to translation and interpreting (e.g., Braun 2007b; Gutt 2000; Kohn and Kalina 1996; Setton 1999) highlights their explanatory

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potential for translation in the broader sense. Moreover, there is a growing albeit still fragmented body of research using these frameworks to investigate individual forms and aspects of AVT. Kovačič (1993) was the first to discuss subtitling strategies (especially reduction) in terms of RT, emphasising the potential role of Relevance in the subtitler's decision-making process. Bogucki (2004) refers to RT mainly to characterise subtitling as 'constrained translation.' Martínez (2010) applies RT to the analysis of humour in AD. Desilla (2012) investigates the functions of implicatures in subtitled film, based on an RT framework. Braun (2007a, 2011) uses both MMT and RT to analyse discourse processing in AD, focussing on how comprehension and coherence are achieved in audio descriptive translation. Building on this work, Fresno (2014) and Vercauteren and Remael (2014) investigate character construction and spatio-temporal settings in AD respectively. This section will explore what MMT and RT offer for conceptualising AVT by examining two of the common assumptions about AVT, namely, that it is constrained and partial translation.

3.1 AVT as constrained translation?

On the face of it, AVT replaces selected elements of the multimodal source discourse (e.g., original film dialogue with the dubbed version) or adds elements to it (e.g., subtitles or audio descriptions), so that the translator seems to be forced into an 'atomistic' approach to translation. Moreover, the translator only has partial control over the multimodal discourse. It is not difficult to see how this situation along with the time and space limits in AVT has given rise to a view of AVT as constrained translation in which the translator is ultimately left with few options but to reduce, condense and omit information while some messages are inevitably lost. Bogucki (2004) has gone further by proposing that the (Communicative) Principle of Relevance itself acts as a 'meta-constraint' for the subtitler, that is, as a filter ensuring that "what is lost in the process is irrelevant." However, RT and MMT can be used to show that the label 'constrained translation' is debatable.

The first point to note is that the search for optimal relevance in the comprehension process is not aimed at 'filtering' out irrelevant information. According to RT, recipients are encouraged to believe that all elements of the discourse they process are optimally relevant. The discourse interpretation is driven by this search. The possible conclusion that an element is not relevant is, if anything, a less desirable result of communication.

An important issue here is processing depth. Brown and Yule (1983) argue that recipients are able to adjust the depth of processing. A viewer with a cursory interest in a film will invest only minimal processing effort and accept a shallow mental model as optimally relevant. S/he may gloss over some elements of the discourse and discard them as irrelevant. Requiring a more detailed understanding

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of the film, the audiovisual translator will use more effort to achieve the point of optimal relevance for her/himself but the greater processing depth makes it less likely that s/he will interpret individual elements as being irrelevant to the discourse. As the discussion of the opening scene of *Notting Hill* shows, the more a recipient engages with it, the more likely s/he is to discover the relevance of each element to the filmic discourse.

When scenes like this one, where song lyrics compete with fast-moving images and credits, leave little room for AD, the describer needs strategies for selecting and prioritising information. Similarly, when fast-paced film dialogue requires reduction in the subtitles, the subtitler needs to resort to strategic options such as maximising complementarity between subtitle and image, by omitting visual-verbal redundancies, or maximising coherence between subtitles and images by omitting verbal elements that do not contribute to this. None of this is a case of filtering out irrelevant information. Rather, the process involves an in-depth analysis of the visual-verbal relationships (see also Dicerto 2015) and an assessment of different translation strategies in light of audience requirements.

Whilst Diaz Cintas and Remael (2007, 49) bemoan that "subtitlers will never have enough time to carry out an in-depth script analysis," cognitive-pragmatic frameworks emphasise the importance of exactly such an analysis and more – a multimodal analysis. Conclusions about the relevance of a particular discourse element will not normally emerge until the completion of this analysis and can only be drawn in relation to the chosen translation strategy. A view of AVT as constrained therefore seems to ignore the complexity of the comprehension process in AVT. Moreover, the specific translation strategies required in AVT arguably pose a further challenge for the translator, calling for deep processing in the target text production phase as well.

Equally important with regard to the target text production is Gutt's (2000) observation that translation involves not only identifying the explicatures and implicatures in the source discourse, but replacing and/or 'redistributing' them in the target discourse to provide for differences in the source and target recipients' cognitive environments. This process seems more complex in AVT than in monomodal translation, because the different modes in film are intertwined, whilst the translator cannot manipulate all modes. When a visual image carries culture-specific information or is linked with the film dialogue in a specific way, the subtitles may have to be phrased so as to convey visual implicatures that the target recipients would not be able to derive. Similarly, as Braun (2007a) notes, the richness of visual images raises the question of whether audio descriptions should verbalise the explicatures arising from the images, leaving it to the audience to derive appropriate implicatures, or whether the description should verbalise the implicatures to save time.

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These considerations suggest that the translator's responsibility for enabling the recipients to create an appropriate mental model of the discourse is higher in AVT than in monomodal translation. This is exacerbated by the fact that films often exploit weak implicatures, leading to increased scope for idiosyncratic interpretation. In AD, the richness of visual images, which requires the describer to be highly selective, creates a further challenge, which also leads to the question of whether AVT is partial translation.

3.2 AVT as partial translation?

The cognitive-pragmatic framework encourages a holistic view of discourse comprehension. As was shown in Section 2.2, the mental models that we create based on film combine input from different modes of communication in addition to combining this input with appropriate world knowledge and expectations generated from a range of sources. In light of this, the concept of 'partial translation' also creates an image of AVT that may not account for all its complexities.

A further example can illustrate this. In an interrogation scene in *The Lives of Others*, an East German Stasi officer accuses a detainee of helping a friend with what he describes as "Republikflucht begehen" ('commit [the act of] leaving the Republic [i.e., East Germany]'). For German audiences, the use of "begehen" ('commit') marks the action of leaving East Germany as a crime, because the verb strongly collocates with crimes. German audiences would therefore derive the explicature that this means 'committing the crime of fleeing East Germany.' By virtue of implicature, this provides a powerful clue to the totalitarian regime, which restricted the freedom of movement of its citizens. For those who know that "Republikflucht begehen" was the official phrase the former East German regime used for this 'crime,' the clue will be even more reliable, in other words, the meaning effect is likely to be higher. The English subtitle ("flee the republic") appears to be 'weaker' (viz. partial). Arguably, however, the atmosphere of confinement is clear from the visuals, especially from the opening scene, which shows the detainee in a detention centre with inhumane conditions. Moreover, the detainee is 'dehumanised' by being addressed with a number. So, although English-speaking audiences may not be familiar with the details of the former East German regime, the simplified rendition combined with the visuals and the co-text (addressing the detainee as a number) may suffice to enable them to retrieve appropriate implicatures and to build a relevant mental model. However, to create this solution, the translator will have had to take into account the context of the film and the contribution from all modes, and assess the knowledge of the target audience.

Similar considerations apply to AD. Although the richness of visual images makes it normally impossible to describe them in full, the label 'partial translation'

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(Benecke 2014) may not capture the essence of AD. In *Avatar*, for instance, we can safely assume that the producer thought showing the mysterious Pandora moon in detail was the most relevant way of introducing it to the audience (given the considerable financial investment into the motion capture techniques used for this). However, this does not mean that recipients can understand the visual stimulus only if they have a full account of it. The images are highly redundant. By highlighting selected details, the audio describer can supply cues that enable blind recipients to activate relevant knowledge and create a relevant mental model. The Principle of Relevance guides this process, but once again, it is not simply a tool of enabling the audio describer to distinguish between 'relevant' and 'irrelevant' information. The describer is as much subject to the human search for optimal relevance as any other viewer, that is, s/he will consider all elements of the multimodal source discourse in the hope to find a relevant interpretation. Only then will s/he be able to select the cues that are most likely to support the creation of an appropriate mental model in the blind audience. Given Brown and Yule's (1983) observation that understanding often works by analogy, the use of descriptions likening the mysterious habitat to familiar entities in our world (such as "spirals like concentric up-side-down parasols", "hammer-headed creature" to refer to the shape of an exotic plant and animal respectively) seems to be an effective way to create meaning for no unjustifiable effort.

A different but equally important dimension of the discussion of AVT as partial translation is the debate revolving around verbatim subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing, arising because of media access rights issues and the possibility of machine-based subtitling (Gambier 2009). MMT and RT can be used to clarify misconceptions here, especially the misconception that a verbatim rendition is necessarily the optimally relevant rendition.

4. Evaluation and conclusion

Gutt (2005) has argued that an investigation of the 'cognitive factors' underlying translation is an important prerequisite for investigating other factors, including socio-political factors of translation. It was with this proviso that this chapter has aimed to outline the value of a cognitive-pragmatic framework for conceptualising AVT. By highlighting both the interpretive element present in all mediation activities, the complexity of the processes involved in AVT and in the reception of the multimodal product by the target audience, this framework creates a fruitful basis for discussing a range of socially relevant issues in relation to AVT, including questions about the 'status' of AVT itself, as discussed in Section 3, and issues such as 'objectivity' in AD or verbatim rendition in SDH. The framework also draws

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attention to the skills, training and creativity required for AVT, and can supply robust arguments for a debate about the working conditions including remuneration.

The arguments will be stronger if the complexity of AVT can be underpinned empirically. A cognitive-pragmatic framework supports qualitative and quantitative approaches to the analysis of empirical material, and as Desilla (2012) shows, the models outlined here offer a sound basis for systematic micro- and macro-analytical investigations of AVT from a range of perspectives.

The first perspective is perhaps that of multimodal processing itself. Multimodality research is likely to generate new insights for AVT, but the study of multimodality itself needs to be developed further to improve our understanding of how exactly cues from different modes work together in multimodal comprehension processes. AVT can serve as a test bed for multimodality studies, and cognitive-pragmatic approaches can play an important role in this. Aided by available software for multimodal transcription and analysis, they provide a framework for combining qualitative and quantitative analyses of multimodal discourse processing and AVT. Such analyses can be enriched with introspection by translators and target audiences to elicit information about comprehension processes and translation strategies, and complemented by more recent methods such as eye tracking (e.g., Kruger 2012; Orero and Vilaró 2012) for additional insights. One specific advantage of pragmatic-cognitive approaches here is that they make it possible to combine process-oriented studies and reception studies in the same framework.

Apart from generating new insights into multimodal meaning-making and mediation, this line of research can also feed into sociological and pedagogical studies of AVT, especially studies of possible correlations between the profile and training of the audiovisual translator and the quality of the AVT solutions. What is of particular relevance are investigations of whether and how a translator's multimodal literacy and awareness of cognitive-pragmatic frameworks impacts on his/her solutions.

In addition to these lines of research, a cognitive-pragmatic framework can also support research into alternative approaches to audiovisual translation practice, especially research that challenges practices which contribute to the perception of AVT as constrained. Conventional approaches to AVT such as the two-line rule for subtitles or the convention not to talk over music in AD could be or have been challenged empirically, for instance, by fan or abusive subtitling or, less radically, through alternative ways of audio describing film (McGonigle 2013), opera (Matamala and Orero 2007) and theatre (Fels et al. 2006). A cognitive-pragmatic framework can be used to experiment with different approaches and versions, and to analyse potential differences in the users' perception.

Finally, a cognitive-pragmatic framework can be useful for researching human and machine-based approaches to AVT. Given its potential for deconstructing the processes involved in AVT, a cognitive-pragmatic research paradigm could

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be particularly useful in exploring the affordances of each approach. This could include comparing the reception of human and machine-based translations, and investigating how human and machine-based AVT can complement each other, but also highlighting where and why human input is – and, for the foreseeable future, will be – necessary in this process.

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The 'engendering' approach in audiovisual translation

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Within academia gender analysis has been circumscribed mainly to Social Sciences. For years the focus of this analysis has been on the unbalanced representation of men and women as perceived through the use of the (sexist) grammatical and linguistic patterns of a language – for example, in literature – and the use of the images selected to portray male and female bodies – in the case of the mass media. With time, an interest in the implications that also the translation of written and audiovisual texts may have on the representation and perception of gender has grown, and attention has gradually shifted from the literary translation field to the audiovisual one. In the last decade, the study of audiovisual translation discourse from a gender perspective has ranged over a number of genres (TV series, films and commercials) and has resulted in a fruitful debate around the manifold approaches from which gender bias may be investigated, questioned and eventually reversed. In particular, De Marco (2012) has shed light on how much the consideration of audiovisual translation (AVT) as a social practice may benefit from implementing theories inherent to the multifaceted disciplines of Linguistics, Gender Studies, Film Studies and, obviously, Translation Studies. The present chapter discusses the extent to which such an interdisciplinary and 'engendering' approach may contribute to building a valid methodological framework within which AVT can be explored. At the same time, it highlights the limitations entailed by the difficulty of applying the same approach to the study of such a practical area – AVT – in which gender priorities are not perceived as important as other professional priorities.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, gender awareness, gender mainstreaming, intersectionality, interdisciplinarity

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1. Gender and audiovisual translation: an overview

The growth of audiovisual translation (AVT), not only as a professional activity which has found a fertile ground for establishment in the developments of the DVD and digital industry, but also as a scholarly discipline, has involved a shift in the research approaches adopted to explore this activity/discipline. In the past twenty years we have witnessed a multiplication of foci in the analysis of audiovisual programmes and their translations. We have enlarged the study of the technical dimension of these texts (Gottlieb 1994) and the peculiarities of – and challenges posed by – different AVT modes (Agost 1999; Pettit 2004) with the study of their social dimension, in terms of both the diverse social needs of some sectors of the audience that AVT may serve (Matamala and Orero 2010), and the economic and ideological hurdles which affect the distribution and translation of these texts (Hernández Bartolomé and Mendiluce Cabrera 2005; Díaz Cintas 2012).

This interest in AVT beyond the technical dimension – which started to sprout already in the 1990s (Delabastita 1989; Ivarsson 1992) – ran parallel to the development of another new object of research, namely the intersection between translation and gender. Many are the publications which have explored this relationship from multiple angles and which, as a consequence, have resulted in heated debates around the extent to which translation discourse may contribute to counterbalancing the (mis)representation of women that has been provided for centuries in literature and other cultural manifestations (Chamberlain 1992), the need to revert this (mis)representation through feminist interventionist strategies (von Flotow 1997) and more inclusive language practices (Castro 2013), as well as the importance for translators to be fully aware of the ideological stand they take when transferring the messages of texts (Godayol 2002). These studies have made a substantial contribution to the understanding of translation as a means of subversion of dominant, androcentric positions, but have had literary texts as main corpus of analysis.

Despite the above-mentioned concurrence of sociological developments in AVT and Translation Studies, and despite gender dynamics having been extensively investigated in cinema and more generally in the mass media, we have to wait until the first decade of the 21st century to find scholars establishing a direct link between gender and AVT. If we look back at the case studies carried out in this period, we come across publications which explore gender issues in different audiovisual genres: films (Baumgarten 2005) and sitcoms (Toto 2009; Feral 2011; Ranzato 2012). These studies provide an interesting cross section of how far the manipulation of certain gender-related allusions can go, and the impact that such

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manipulation can have on the audience's perception of the portrayed reality.[1] The last three studies seem to share some important elements: the focus of analysis is on the linguistic dimension of the selected programmes; they all show that there is a tendency to naturalize expressions which have marked feminist allusions (in Feral's case) or cultural references to gay speech (in Toto's and Ranzato's case); this tendency occurs more often in dubbing than in subtitling and usually in Romance languages, such as French and Italian. Also, they highlight another important shift in attention. While the great majority of gender-focused studies on literary translation have women as category of analysis, or as main performers of this analysis, in the aforementioned case studies of audiovisual texts the language of both women (Feral 2011) and gay men (Toto 2009; Ranzato 2012) comes under scrutiny. This points out a relevant, though often forgotten, dimension of gender analysis in translation, namely, that gender is not just about male dominance over women globally perpetrated by a patriarchal model, but rather about the "ways in which [men and women] think about their lives, the kinds of opportunities they enjoy, and […] their ways of making claims" (Rosaldo [1980], quoted in Kabeer [1994, 54]). Consequently, gender concerns are perceived – and need to be put forward – by both women and men, and masculinity needs to be examined "not as a direct oppressor of women, but as a category of definition itself" (Jeffords [1989], quoted in Wiegman [2001, 368]).

At the same time as these case studies came out, another piece of research entered the collection of publications which has openly promoted an 'engendering' approach in the study of AVT, namely, *Audiovisual Translation through a Gender Lens* (De Marco 2012). Surprisingly, at the time of writing the present chapter, this is still the only monograph entirely devoted to the challenges posed by the interconnection between gender and AVT, thus offering the only opportunity to weigh the pros and cons of adopting this approach in the study of AVT.

In this monograph, gender hierarchies in audiovisual texts are dissected crosswise, that is, by offering alternative frameworks for different levels of analysis. In order to address the issue of the ideological mediation across different cultures, in this book a corpus of ten contemporary films is examined in three languages (English as source language and Italian and Spanish as target languages).[2] The tri-dimensional nature of the audiovisual text is addressed by exploring gender bias not only through the linguistic dimension (what the characters say and how

1. Baumgarten has mainly analyzed James Bond films, whereas Toto and Ranzato have analyzed the sitcoms *Will & Grace* (2003–2005) and *Sex and the City* (1998), respectively.

2. The films analyzed are: *Working Girl* (1988), *Pretty Woman* (1990), *Sister Act* (1992), *Mrs Doubtfire* (1993), *Erin Brockovich* (2000), *East is East* (1999), *Billy Elliot* (2000), *Bridget Jones's Diary* (2001), *Bend it like Beckham* (2002) and *Calendar Girls* (2003).

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they address each other), but also through the visual (how they are portrayed on the screen) and audio ones (what kind of alteration the pitch of their voices may undergo in the dubbing process). Lastly, although most of the characters starring in the selected films are women, femininity is scrutinized alongside masculinity and in relation to other important aspects of gender identity: social status, sexual orientation and ethnicity.

For such a diverse spectrum of elements, the author relies not just on a theoretical framework drawn from Translation Studies, but on a wider one which crosses all the disciplines that this book encompasses. With regards to the linguistic dimension, different contributions made by feminist scholars in the field of Linguistics (Code 2000; García Meseguer 2002; Coates 2004) are gathered. These scholars have unmasked the sexist patterns inherent in languages which result in triggering derogatory social behaviours (Lledó Cunill 2004). Reference is also made to the campaigns in favour of the implementation of inclusive practices spread through institutional guides for the use of non-sexist language (Sabatini 1987; Doyle 1998). These arguments are deployed along relevant considerations about stereotypes – which can turn risky because of "who controls and defines them [and] what interests they serve" (Dyer 2002, 12) – and about symbolic violence (Bourdieu [1998] 2000), which works at a subconscious level and is therefore difficult to fight.[3] When the notion of gender is applied to that of stereotype it is easy to verge on symbolic violence, as gender stereotypes "easily engender prejudices, and prejudices tend to be silently instilled in our minds and […] catch on dangerously" (De Marco 2012, 95).

In terms of visual analysis, a solid framework is found in the work of some of the most relevant feminist Film Studies theorists, such as Mulvey (1975, 2003), De Lauretis (1987) and Kuhn (1991). These theorists stood out for their insights into the ways in which Western narrative cinema – which is notoriously at the service of economic interests that fuel patriarchal values – uses images and sounds to instill and nurture androcentric and heteronormative expectations in the audiences. The selected corpus, consisting of commercial Anglo-American films, lends itself to a full application of these theories, although some of the traditional mainstream roles that male and female characters play are also openly questioned, thus resulting in overturning the well-known equation highlighted by many feminist scholars: narrative cinema = prominent male gaze = objectification and subservience of the female body.

3. By symbolic violence it is meant the set of verbal and non-verbal threats which defines any symbolic dominant position: of men, aristocrats, chiefs, etc. (Bourdieu 1998, 49).

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Finally, the focus of analysis regarding the audio dimension of this corpus is the pitch of the voice of both male and female characters. Drawing mainly on Cameron's (1992) and Chion's (1999) theories about the impact of voice on the audience's perception of the characters' roles, the voice is also seen to become a factor of gender discrimination and control of the viewers' expectations, especially when it comes to the representation of female and gay characters.

It is clear from this overview that the study promotes an intersectional reading of gender dynamics in audiovisual texts. It is intersectional not only because – as stressed at the outset – it takes into account all the facets of identity which *intersect* with gender, but also because it unmasks how these dynamics articulate with the three dimensions of audiovisual texts all together. At the same time, this thematic and structural intersectionality merges with an interdisciplinary approach when discussing the theoretical framework. This approach turns to be useful if we appreciate that, due to its multilayered nature, AVT shares some common grounds with disciplines such as Linguistics (and its interconnection with Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis), Film Studies and Cultural Studies. These disciplines all have a strong feminist legacy; therefore their influence cannot be neglected when we probe into the ways in which gender representations take shape in AVT.

2. The drawbacks of engendering audiovisual translation

The merits and feasibility of such a complex approach will be discussed in Section 3, but some limitations need to be pointed out at this stage. It has been previously stated that although some of the most recurrent gender stereotypes are questioned in the corpus examined in De Marco (2012), the representation of male and female characters offered therein is in fact somewhat mainstream. As a consequence, drawing on feminist theories (Mulvey 1975) which denounce the mainstream-ness (i.e., the male-centered-ness) of the cinema gaze may appear to be a taken-for-granted approach. In another study (De Marco, 2014–15) this limitation has already been stressed, together with the possibility of drawing on alternative interpretations to the ones proposed by Mulvey. These interpretations – developed, for example, by Evans and Gamman (1995) and Mackinnon (1999) – present women as not the only 'to-look-at' object, and the cinema gaze as mutual, contradictory and shifting.

However, it is also worth pointing out that the aforementioned corpus is made up of mass-marketed films which tend to provide a more canonical representation of gender. Therefore it is very likely that the translated versions of these films also maintain – and sometimes even enhance – the stereotypes which support such canonical representation. On the contrary, independent films, which usually tend to

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promote less canonical portrayals (of gender, amongst other things) that challenge mainstream cultural values, would be more suitable for suggesting alternative readings. They would disclose how different cultures tackle the challenging social issues therein disclosed, and show whether these cultures are open to welcome this challenge by giving up language practices which encourage biased behaviors. In other words, it would be interesting to see whether something similar to what happens in the translation of literary texts with an overtly gender-inclusive language also occurs in the translation of 'gender-friendly' audiovisual texts. In this respect, Castro (2013, 43) argues that "quite often these translations also incorporate sexist elements when having to render an overtly inclusive source text written from an explicit feminist position (consciously applying strategies for non-sexist language)." She goes even further and stresses that when translators try to promote gender-inclusive practices, their work risks not being published.

The issue with independent films, however, is that because they do not easily encounter the financial support of the big studios, due to the non-mainstream messages they tend to promote, they are produced with low budgets (Hall 2009). As a result, they hardly cross the boundaries of the country in which they are shot and are not translated in other languages either. This explains why most studies so far which have implemented a gender approach in AVT rely on films or sitcoms addressed to large audiences and which have been broadcast internationally.

This difficulty in getting to the bottom of the reasons why only certain films are distributed/translated, and the suspicion that translators may feel pushed into perpetrating gender-exclusive/offensive practices, unmask a more subtle problem. This turns to be another drawback when investigating gender issues in AVT: the lack, or lack of knowledge, of a gender policy implemented within the audiovisual industry. Many Translation Studies scholars have touched upon the issue of the factors which determine which works are worth translating and how – e.g., Danan (1991), Toury ([1995] 2012), Díaz Cintas (2004) – and upon the extent to which the invisibility and underpaid status of translators, and of women translators in particular, prevent them from confidently using approaches which depart from the canonical gender-normalising practices (Wolf 2006). Within the AVT industry, the situation looks even harder to tackle, as it is well-known that a wide range of professional figures take part in the translation process. Therefore, it becomes challenging to identify who is ultimately responsible for the way in which audiovisual programs are broadcast and translated. The mass media have often been targeted as being carriers of (gender) stereotypes in Western countries. Despite some important social changes that have happened in response to feminist critiques and campaigns against sexist advertisements (Gill 2007), finding the measures to op-

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pose this trend which has the unpleasant effect of preserving social inequalities does not appear to be a straightforward task.[4]

In contexts other than translation (e.g., in economic development, education) where gender equality is perceived as one of the primary goals, the concept of policymaking is linked to that of gender mainstreaming, that is,

> a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.
>
> (International Labour Office 1998)

According to Squires (2009, 55), "mainstreaming questions the presumed neutrality of bureaucratic policymaking, highlighting the way in which apparently impartial policies might reproduce existing inequalities by failing to address their structural impact." In light of this remark, one may assume that the gender policy enforced by those who control the mass media information is only apparently impartial. This means that although the mass media give space to information about gender concerns and campaigns promoting gender equality, in fact the representation of gender relations and identities given in most films and commercial advertisements is far from being balanced. As such, this policy appears neutral to the concerns that men and women need to express and, as a result, becomes difficult to address.

3. The contributions of engendering AVT: concluding remarks

Despite these difficulties and the limits that analyzing audiovisual programs from a gender perspective poses, the approach put forward in De Marco (2012) makes a significant methodological contribution. It has already been pointed out that this approach is interdisciplinary and intersectional and that this suits well the semiotic nature of the programs examined.[5] In Section 1 we referred to the range of disciplines with which AVT is prone to interconnect due to their hybrid nature, in particular Film Studies and Linguistics. There is a branch of Linguistics

4. Due to the latest technological developments in the way information is made accessible to people, the concept of 'mass media' has been recently challenged. In this chapter this term is used in a wider sense, that is, to refer to both 'traditional' and 'new' sources of information, such as newspapers, magazines, television, Internet video-sharing websites, social media platforms, etc.

5. Intersectionality is a concept introduced by Crenshaw (1991) and initially defined as "the various ways race and gender interact to shape multiple dimensions of black women's employment experiences, moving away from what was perceived as a mono-focus approach on white middle-class women's interests" (Bagilhole 2009, 51).

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– Discourse Analysis – which may prove particularly functional to AVT. One of the concerns raised in *Audiovisual Translation through a Gender Lens* is that many positive social and political changes in favour of gender equality have occurred, but that these achievements are not always reflected in the use of language. Discourse Analysis helps establishing links between discursive changes and social changes and, in fact, has already turned out to be useful in the study of gender (Litosseliti 2006), as well as in that of gender in the media (Kosetzi 2008). Therefore, it is not difficult to also identify a kinship between Discourse Analysis, gender and AVT.

The concept of intersectionality has been at the heart of the debates centered around equality policies, and has been proposed as an approach to address the complex nature of discrimination. In this way, it has been used in disciplines and contexts where gender issues are at stake. Audiovisual communication is certainly one of these contexts. In this respect, we can benefit from the insight offered by Pellegrino (2009) who considers an intersectional approach to be the way towards the overthrow of the stereotypical representations offered in the mass media. She stresses the etymological meanings that the term 'communication' has: (1) sharing common worlds, (2) exchanging and (3) overcoming and reinforcing barriers. Among these, the third one is the meaning which the mass media seem more prone to display, with their "strong normative and normalizing functions with reference to individual and collective identities" (95). In order to recover the positive value of communication, she advocates studying gender and communication transversally as this problematizes "how power structures are linked together preserving social, political and economic inequalities" (94). In the end, an intersectional approach helps disclose the heterogeneity of gender identity, and this heterogeneity is also reflected in the diversity of the current societies that the mass media constantly pervade and represent.

Although Pellegrino does not talk about AVT, in some way her insights fit well with the argumentation built up in *Audiovisual Translation through a Gender Lens*. Both scholars layer the analysis of gender in order to bring to the surface the distinctive features of its complex nature. They both believe in the power of verbal and audiovisual communication to challenge the stereotypical way in which people talk about gender, and the way in which gender is represented through the mass media. However, Pellegrino sees in the emerging forms of communication (such as blogging and online activism) an alternative tool to challenge the gender-biased models embedded in traditional mass media. Instead, De Marco sees an alternative with a wider scope in the way audiovisual programs are translated, as AVT leaves room for articulating gender discourse within the tridimensional dimension of audiovisual texts and through multilingual mediation.

From the discussion carried out so far, it seems that 'intersectional' and 'interdisciplinary' are the key words for those scholars who intend to deepen the

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gender/AVT relationship. The advantages of these approaches have been widely stressed, but they could appear too abstract in the present context in which AVT is facing new technological challenges, mainly in the field of accessibility. As a result, it might be suggested that prominence should be given to more practical and urgent social needs. Integrating gender issues in the study of AVT from an intersectional/interdisciplinary perspective does not mean straying from the reality. On the contrary, it means drawing this field (AVT) nearer to some of the actual needs of modern societies, as gender is a cross-cutting theme which affects everyone, all spheres of life and, although to a different extent, most disciplines and professions. This explains the rationale behind the title of this chapter. It is not accidental that the expression '*en*gendering approach' has been preferred to the more common 'gender approach' widely used in the last few years. The verb 'to engender' means to cause, to raise/originate something, but recently it has increasingly been used in sociological studies and economic development studies to stress the centrality of gender concerns in our societies. As a matter of fact, 'engender' features in the titles of many projects which target gender equality principles. The 'engendering approach' endorsed in De Marco (2012) and reiterated in the present chapter, keeps both nuances: that of raising awareness about gender issues in an unconventional territory (AVT), and that of making gender issues an integral dimension of the duties of both professionals and scholars who run through that territory. Engendering AVT means not only to talk about gender in translated audiovisual programs, but also to use these programs as a privileged point to ascertain how gender unbalances are activated, and how they can be challenged and eventually reversed.

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The exponential growth of Audiovisual Translation (AVT) in the last three decades has consolidated its place as an area of study within Translation Studies (TS). However, AVT is still a young domain currently exploring a number of different lines of inquiry without a specific methodological and theoretical framework.

This volume discusses the advantages and drawbacks of ten approaches to AVT and highlights the potential avenues opened up by new methods. Our aim is to jumpstart the discussion on the (in)adequacy of the methodologies imported from other disciplines and the need (or not) for a conceptual apparatus and framework of analysis specific to AVT.

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