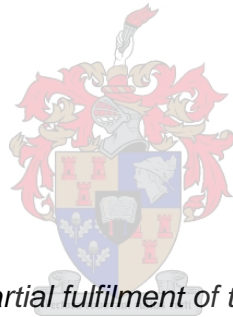


**Winged words: A descriptive and quantitative study of
figurative speech in the subtitles of *7de Laan***

by
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*Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Philosophy in Translation in the Faculty of Arts
and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University*

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Declaration

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Abstract

This study investigates subtitling in *7de Laan*, comparing episodes from 2007 to episodes from 2010 with a focus on figurative language. It is a quantitative, descriptive study and aims to determine the overall adequacy or acceptability of the subtitles, the translation strategies used, how figurative language and language varieties are translated and compares findings from 2007 to those of 2010 to establish whether there has been a change in approach over this period.

The source text, *7de Laan*, is discussed in Chapter 1, which also outlines how the study will proceed, the research problem and the research questions. Chapters 2 and 3 are the literature review of the relevant theories. Chapter 2 covers Descriptive Translation Studies and the translation of figurative language. The challenges particular to subtitling, specifically the constraints of the medium, are discussed in Chapter 3.

The following two chapters are the analysis and each begins with the methodology used for that analysis. Chapter 4 is a macrolevel analysis of the corpus and determines the acceptability/adequacy of the subtitles, their governing translation norms and analyses the translation strategies used. More specific questions are answered in Chapter 5, which analyses the translation of figurative language, the representation of language varieties in the subtitles and the influence catering for a hearing-impaired audience has on translation decisions.

The findings indicate that the subtitles of *7de Laan* are mostly acceptable and that acceptability increases in 2010. The translation strategies used and their frequency of usage are similar over the years. However, there are slight changes: in 2010 there is less literal translation, more omission and fewer figurative-specific translation strategies are used. The findings further show that there is less figurative language in the subtitles in 2010. Additionally, there is a tendency of levelling out figurative language in both years which increases in 2010. The analysis of language varieties indicates that for sociolects, age markers influence the subtitles more than race markers do. Idiolects are rendered but how much of an idiolect is rendered depends on its markers. The analysis also finds that subtitling for hearing-impaired audiences is a significant factor in the translation process over and above the spatiotemporal constraint of subtitling.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie ondersoek die onderskrifte van *7de Laan*. Dit vergelyk episodes van 2007 met episodes van 2010 en fokus op figuurlike taalgebruik. Die ondersoek is kwantitatief en beskrywend en wil die algehele geskiktheid (adequacy) of aanvaarbaarheid (acceptability) van die onderskrifte vasstel, asook die vertaalstrategieë wat gebruik is en die wyse waarop figuurlike taal en taalvariëteite vertaal word. Die bevindinge van 2007 word vergelyk met dié van 2010 om vas te stel of die vertaalbenadering in die tydperk verander het.

Die bronteks, *7de Laan*, word in hoofstuk 1 bespreek, wat 'n oorsig gee oor hoe die studie verloop, die navorsingsprobleem en die navorsingsvrae. Hoofstuk 2 en 3 is die literatuurstudie van die relevante teorieë. Hoofstuk 2 dek beskrywende vertaalstudies (Descriptive Translation Studies) en die vertaling van figuurlike taal. Die probleem eie aan onderskrifte, veral die beperkings in die vertaalproses, word in hoofstuk 3 bespreek.

Die volgende twee hoofstukke bestaan uit die ontleding en elke hoofstuk begin met die metodologie wat gebruik is vir daardie ontleding. Hoofstuk 4 is 'n makrovlakontleding van die korpus en bepaal die geskiktheid/ aanvaarbaarheid van die onderskrifte, oorheersende norme en ontleed die vertaalstrategieë wat gebruik is. Meer spesifieke vrae word in hoofstuk 5 beantwoord, wat betref die vertaling van figuurlike taal, die oordra van taalvariëteite in die onderskrifte en die invloed van die inagneming van gehoorgestremde kykers op vertaalbesluite.

Die bevindinge dui aan dat die onderskrifte van *7de Laan* meestal aanvaarbaar is en dat aanvaarbaarheid in 2010 toegeneem het. Die vertaalstrategieë en die frekwensie van die gebruik daarvan het oor die jare nie veel verander nie. Daar is egter klein veranderinge: in 2010 is daar minder letterlike vertalings, meer weglatings en minder vertaalstrategieë wat spesifiek op figuurlike taalgebruik gemik is. Die bevindinge dui ook aan dat daar minder figuurlike taal in die 2010-onderskrifte is. Die ontleding van taalvariëteite toon dat, ten opsigte van sosiolekte, ouderdommerkers 'n groter invloed op onderskrifte het as rasmerkers. Idiolekte word wel verteenwoordig, maar die mate daarvan word deur die idiolekte se merkers bepaal. Die ontleding dui ook aan dat onderskrifte wat gerig is op gehoorgestremde kykers, 'n groot faktor in die vertaalproses is, benewens die tydruimtelike beperking van onderskrifte as sodanig.

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List of abbreviations

AVT	audiovisual translation
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
SC	source culture
SDH	subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing
SL	source language
ST	source text
TA	target audience
TC	target culture
TL	target language
TS	translation studies
TT	target text

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction and background information

This study will examine how figurative language is translated in the subtitles of *7de Laan*. I will start by providing background information on soap operas and subtitling, as a type of screen translation.

Soap operas, or soaps, are so called because when they originally started out on radio in the 1920s, the main sponsors of the programmes were soap manufacturers (Ang 1985:54). With the advent of television this genre was no longer broadcast on radio stations and “took on a new and flourishing existence” on television (Ang 1985:54). According to Marshall and Werndly (2002:45), soaps are the “most ubiquitous form” of domestic drama on television.

Soaps centre on daily life, ordinary people and how the characters interact in various melodramas – be they domestic, romantic or workplace oriented (Cantor & Pingree 1983:20; Marshall & Werndly 2002:45). This genre is characterised by its focus on human relations in a certain community (Ang 1985:54; Marshall & Werndly 2002:45). Due to the fact that the relationships between characters are foregrounded, interpersonal relationships are of importance (Richardson 2010:106), as is the way these relationships are established – through conversation in the form of scripted dialogue.

As Cantor and Pingree argue (1983:24), most of the plot development in soaps takes place through dialogue. The scripted dialogue is termed ‘represented talk’ (Marshall & Werndly 2002:77) and is used and “calculated for interpersonal effect” (Richardson 2010:106). It is through dialogue that characters’ interpersonal relationships are established and changed depending on the “particular interactional circumstance” (Richardson 2010:106).

Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:8) claim that a “common companion of the image since the 1930s has been the word, and with the word comes the need for translation”. Within translation studies there are various types of translation, amongst which are literary, technical, and audiovisual translation. Audiovisual translation¹ includes subtitling and revoicing (Neves 2007:252; Pérez-González 2009:14-17). Revoicing entails dubbing and voice-over (Pérez-González 2009:14-17) and there are two main types of subtitles: intralingual and interlingual (O’Connell 2007:125; Pérez-González 2009:14-15).

¹ Further discussed in Chapter 3.

Intralingual subtitles are done in the same language as the source language of the spoken dialogue. They include explanatory subtitles which display transcriptions of relevant sounds which hearing-impaired people are unable to hear (Pérez-González 2009:15). Interlingual subtitles provide translation from the source language of the dialogue into the target language of the subtitles. Source text speech is translated and presented in subtitles (Pérez-González 2009:14).

Subtitling is a constrained type of translation, with technical constraints of the medium limiting it in certain ways. The most prevalent constraints are those of the time in which the subtitles are to be read, and the space available to display them (O'Connell 2007:129). In terms of time, people speak faster than they read and the spatial constraints are that the subtitles are displayed within a limited space. Generally at most two lines are used at the bottom of the screen, as is the case with *7de Laan*.

This study will look at subtitling as a type of constrained translation, with a focus on the translation of figurative language use in *7de Laan*. Figurative speech, or Newmark's (1981:84–87) definition of 'metaphor'², includes not only metaphors, but also other instances of idiomatic speech. Dagut (1976) asks "Can 'metaphor' be translated?", (Dagut 1976). This study aims not to answer 'can' but show that it has been done and also examines whether the subtitles have the same intended effect as the dialogue.

Newmark (1981:84) illustrates the complexity of metaphors in that he describes them as a way to "describe an entity, event or quality ... in a more complex way than is possible by using literal language". He further states (1981:84) that

words in context are ... [not] the same symbols as individual words, but components of a larger symbol which spans a collocation, a clause or a sentence, and is a different symbol than that of an isolated word.

In this description, he demonstrates the difficulty with which culture-specific metaphors and idiomatic figurative speech are translated. The difficulty of translating metaphors is compounded by the technical constraints of subtitling.

² Further discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.

There are also subtitles that are intralingual in nature, meant for people who are hard of hearing. This entails external, non-verbal elements that influence the cohesion of the plot which are transcribed in the subtitles, such as a phone or doorbell ringing.

The source text (ST) consists of scripts of *7de Laan* episodes. The corpus comprises ten episodes, five each from 2007 and 2010 (episodes 1561–1565 and 2321–2325). The scripts of each year are consecutive and represent a week's viewing.

1.2.1 The translation process

I received the relevant subtitled episodes as they would appear on TV from the company that does the subtitles, Vista 1TV (Niewoudt 2011a). This means the subtitles are not analysed in isolation in document form, but as they would appear on the screened version.

The translations are done by a group of people: a project manager, two subtitlers and an editor (Roets 2011, see Addendum A2). The two subtitlers who do the translations are both bilingual and neither is professionally trained. The subtitles are then edited by either the editor, who is English, or the project manager, who is Afrikaans. Both have practical experience but with no formal translation or editing training, and the project manager has been doing subtitles for the SABC since the 1970s.

After the subtitles have been edited, they are reviewed by a language practitioner and an artistic advisor ('artistiese raadgewer'). The project manager then does a final check to ensure that all the non-verbal audio information necessary to understand the plot is presented in the subtitles so that the hearing-impaired viewers can access them. During this final check the project manager may also further shorten or reword the subtitles.

1.3 The research problem

The main research problem of this study is to identify, describe and categorise the strategies used in the translation of dialogue, especially figurative speech, into subtitles in *7de Laan*. 'Figurative speech'³ refers to metaphors, idioms and other instances of idiomatic language use.

In addition to this, other problems that will be addressed are the:

- acceptability or adequacy⁴ of the translations in the target language and culture;

³ The types and definition of 'figurative speech' is discussed in detail in Section 2.3.2 in Chapter 2.

⁴ See Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.4 for definitions of these terms.

- identification of characters through speech, in terms of sociolinguistic factors, and whether this is reflected in the subtitles;
- distinctive speech patterns, such as broken language use or continual mixed metaphors, and whether this is reflected in the subtitles;
- adaptation, if any, in strategies used in 2007 and 2010.

1.4 Research questions

In order to address the research problem, various research questions will be investigated. These questions will look at both the macrostructure of the texts as well as a few more specific considerations. The macrostructure has to do with overall formulation: context, genre, function, culture, adequacy and acceptability; and the more specific considerations have to do with decisions regarding syntax, word choice (including terminology and culture-specific words), characterisation and figurative language.

On the macrolevel:

- Are the translations acceptable or adequate?
- How, and which, constraining factors⁵ of subtitling influenced the translations?
- Which translation strategies were used?
- Which norms⁶ governed the translation process?
- Is an adaptation in translation strategies evident in comparing 2007 to 2010?
- If so, what are the possible reasons?

More specific questions:

- How is figurative speech translated?
- Are the distinctive ways of speaking of some characters represented in the subtitles?
- How does the representation in the subtitles of characters from different sociolinguistic groups, specifically in terms of race and age, differ?
- How do the subtitles cater for hearing-impaired viewers and how does this influence the translation approach?

1.5 Methodology and chapter division

After this introductory chapter the study will be distributed over five further chapters.

⁵ Constraints will be defined and discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.

⁶ Norms will be discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.5.

In the following two chapters, Chapters 2 and 3, the theories that will be used and previous research done in the relevant areas will be presented in the form of a literature study. The theories that will be discussed are Descriptive Translation Theory (DTS), the translation of figurative language and subtitling.

Because this study is mainly descriptive, Toury's DTS (Toury 1980; 1985; 1995a) will be the major translation theory used. Other important theorists in relation to DTS are Chesterman (1993; 1997; 2004) and Hermans (1985; 1999). The relevant theories relate to the description of a translated product and translational norms. The translation of metaphors and figurative language is problematic in itself in the field of translation, and theories in this regard will therefore be discussed separately. Lastly, the factors specific to *7de Laan* will be considered in a look at subtitles in television programmes and the way language is used in *7de Laan* to typecast characters (Stell & Feinauer 2005). DTS and figurative language will be discussed in Chapter 2.

In addition, the type of translation in focus, subtitles, is subject to particular constraints of the medium and for this reason, the theory of subtitling will be discussed. Prominent authors on subtitling who will be included below include Díaz Cintas (2003), Díaz Cintas and Ramael (2007), Díaz Cintas & Anderman (2009), Gambier and Gottlieb (2001), and Delabastita (1989; 1997). This will be set out in Chapter 3.

These theories will then be applied to the target text (TT) in the subsequent chapters. This study has two levels of analysis: the macrolevel (Chapter 4) and the microlevel (Chapter 5). In addition, there will be a comparison of the strategies used in terms of sociolinguistic differences (Chapter 5) and between those used in 2007 to those used in 2010 (Chapter 4).

While the study will have an empirical qualitative aspect – categorising the translation strategies, it will mainly be a quantitative analysis – determining the acceptability or adequacy of the translations and the frequency of translation strategies used. Once the acceptability and adequacy have been established, I will look at the norms that governed the translation process. I will then compare the translation strategies, acceptability/adequacy and norms of 2007 to those of 2010 to determine whether there has been a change in the translation approach.

Chapter 4's discussion will thus be divided into four main subsections. The first section (4.3.1), in accordance with Toury's theory, will first look at the target text (TT) on its own. As mentioned in Section 1.2 above, the source text (ST) consists of ten scripts of *7de Laan* episodes. The

target text (TT) is the subtitles of each script, as they appear on the screened version and not just as a document. However, the subtitles have been transcribed for ease of access. By looking at the TT as it functions in the target language and culture, its acceptability or adequacy can be determined. This is a discussion of the macrolevel of translation and is the qualitative aspect.

In the second section of the fourth chapter (Section 4.3.2) I will compare the TT to the ST. In the comparison I will look at what Toury (1985:25) refers to as translational solutions (the TT) and translational problems (the ST) which includes identifying the units of translation. This has to do with correlating segments of translation to corresponding source text segments (Toury 1985:25, 28). I will identify, describe and categorise the translation strategies used in translating the Afrikaans dialogue into English subtitles. I will also do a quantitative analysis to determine which strategies were used most often. This analysis will be mindful of the constraints of subtitling and how the translations function in the target language and culture.

A comparison of the TT to the ST will also look at which norms governed and constrained the translation. These norms include Toury's preliminary and operational norms (Toury 1995b:202-204), and Chesterman's expectancy norms (Chesterman 1993:8-11). The discussion of the norms as applicable to *7de Laan* will make up the third section (4.3.3) of Chapter 4.

The last section of the analysis in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.4, will be a comparison of all the elements already discussed between 2007 and 2010. This will be done in order to determine if there have been any changes over the years and what those changes are.

In Chapter 5 an analysis of the ways figurative language has been translated will be presented in Section 5.3.1. I will look at which translation strategies are favoured and why, as well as whether this has changed from 2007 to 2010.

I will also compare the acceptability/adequacy of the different sociolinguistic groups, in terms of race and age group, to the overall acceptability/adequacy established in Chapter 4. In addition, I will compare the ST and TT of characters who have a distinctive way of speaking to establish whether their individual speech patterns are reflected in the subtitles. This analysis of two types of language varieties will be presented in Section 5.3.2. The use of subtitles to reach hearing-impaired viewers will also be investigated in Section 5.3.3.

The sixth chapter will present the findings, conclude the study and point to possible further research in this field.

1.6 Summary

There are previous studies on subtitling in South Africa (Kruger & Kruger 2001, 2005 and various conference papers delivered by Kruger 2000 – 2006 (North-West University 2009)), as well as on *7de Laan* (Fernandes 2003; Stell & Feinauer 2005) and the translation of figurative speech (Dagut 1976; Dickins 2005), but this study will focus on the translation of figurative speech in subtitles.

With this study I aim to determine the acceptability or adequacy of the translations, describe and categorise the translation strategies used, and to look at various factors that may have had an influence on the choice of translation strategy, such as constraining factors of subtitling and characters' sociolinguistic background.

This will be done in a descriptive and quantitative way, based on Toury's DTS and Chestman's expansion of Toury's norms, in order to solve the research problem, by way of answering the research questions. But first the relevant theories will be set out in the following two chapters by means of a literature study.

Chapter 2: Literature study – Descriptive Translation Studies and translating figurative language

2.1 Introduction

As noted in the first chapter, this study will take a descriptive look at the translation of figurative speech in subtitles. Therefore the literature on the relevant theories will be expounded on in this chapter and the following one. These theories are Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), the translation of figurative speech and subtitles. All three theoretical areas need to be discussed because, as Delabastita (1989:201) claims, anyone doing research in the field of translation has to have and combine his/her “knowledge of the specific technical and semiotic constraints that each mode involves” with what the researcher knows “about translation processes in general”. The “mode” in this study is subtitles and “translation processes in general” is a combination of DTS and the translation of figurative language. Subtitles will be dealt with in the following chapter.

This chapter will look at DTS and the translation of figurative language. The discussion on DTS will cover the main theorists', Toury, Chesterman and Hermans, approaches and look at norms and the notions of adequacy and acceptability in detail. In the discussion on figurative speech, the various definitions of figurative speech, including the one that will be used for this study, will be looked at. In addition the approaches in translating figurative language will be discussed.

Dagut's (1976:21) stance on metaphors illustrates the merit of it being an object of study: metaphor is “central to all forms of language use” and it is in metaphors that “interlingual incongruence[s]” are manifested. Dagut's argument shows that metaphors, and by extension for the purpose of this study, figurative language is present in all language use. I will focus on figurative language because it will definitely be present, as Dagut says, and as it is a challenging element in translation which means the way they have been dealt with will be an indication of the overall translation approach.

2.2 Descriptive Translation Studies

As stated in the previous chapter, this study is descriptive, not evaluative, and therefore the translation theory that will be used is DTS. This section will look at the three main proponents of DTS: Toury, Chesterman and Hermans. It will also take a closer look at the notions of acceptability and adequacy, and norms (in Sections 2.2.2.4 and 2.2.2.5 respectively), two of the main concepts coming from DTS.

Toury (1995a:10) divides Translation Studies (TS) into two main sections: “pure” and applied. Toury puts DTS as part of the descriptive branch of “pure” translation studies in a tree diagram, illustrating the “pivotal position of DTS”. The other branch of “pure” translation studies, i.e. what DTS is *not*, is the theoretical approach (Toury 1995a:10). The theoretical branch has to do with the possible and likely laws about the relationship between all the variables involved in translation (Toury 1995a:15-16) while the applied branch has to do with “factual knowledge accumulated in actual studies” (Toury 1995a:16).

According to Díaz Cintas (2004:26), DTS “marks a departure from previous analytical studies” which focus on examining the degree of equivalence between an original and its translation, usually with the focus on the ST. This study takes a target-oriented approach as it focuses on the TT (target text) and TC (target culture) in its analysis. In contrast, source-oriented approaches focus much more on the ST and sometimes tend to ignore the TT and TC (Toury 1981:14) and are more prescriptive (Toury 1981:9). In DTS, translations are not judged as correct or incorrect; DTS aims to explain why a translation has been translated in the way that it has been (Díaz Cintas 2004:26).

Gideon Toury developed DTS from Itamar Even-Zohar’s Polysystem Theory, therefore the following section will take a brief look at Polysystem Theory, how DTS developed from it and how DTS fits into it.

2.2.1 Origin and main points

2.2.1.1 Origin in Polysystem Theory

Toury states that when examining a translation with a descriptive approach, the first issue to be addressed is whether the target culture sees it as a translation and where it is positioned in the target literary polysystem (Toury 1981:17). But what is a polysystem?

Polysystem theory was not originally developed for translation studies. Even-Zohar (1990:11) postulates that if structures and systems do not have to be homogenous then “a semiotic system can be conceived of as a heterogeneous, open structure. It is, therefore, very rarely a uni-system but is, necessarily, a polysystem – a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent”.

Chang (2001:317) summarises polysystem theory as a “theoretical framework for the descriptive study of literature and language in their cultural context.” Already the link to DTS is evident with the mention of a descriptive study and the relevance of cultural context.

Polysystem theory has to do with the relationships between elements, their position in the system, how they relate to other elements and where they are in the network (Hermans 1999:106-107). According to Even-Zohar (1990:27) the term “system” is a type of shorthand signalling an “assumed set of observables supposed to be governed by a network of relations” and from this ‘system’ hypotheses can be drawn regarding “systemic relations” (Even-Zohar 1990:27). He further says that a “literary system” is a system as described above in which the systemic relations are of a literary type (Even-Zohar 1990:27). Following this reasoning, the different types of systems are distinguished in terms of the relationship between the elements of a system.

Polysystem theory positions translation as a cultural activity, integrating translation “into broader sociocultural practices” which looks beyond the source text (ST) for factors influencing translation (Hermans 1999:110). Hermans (1999:110) claims that the introduction of polysystem theory to translation studies facilitated the cultural turn in translation studies, where culture is recognised as being a factor in the translation process.

With the notion of overlapping systems, translation is not separated from original literature (Even-Zohar 1990:13). Polysystem theory integrates the different systems of literature: original or translated, canonised and non-canonised as well as different genres. This means that translated literature cannot be studied, or be produced, in isolation. As Even-Zohar (1990:13) states “integration now becomes a precondition ... for an adequate understanding of any semiotic field.”

After Toury’s initial introduction of DTS in the 1980s, Even-Zohar (1990:45) questions the merit in a shift from viewing translation in terms of individual translated works to viewing translated works as a system. Translated literature is usually in a peripheral position in a literary system, according to the findings of Even-Zohar’s research, as well as the work of other scholars in translation studies (Even-Zohar 1990:50). If translated works (or translated literature) are seen as peripheral, Even-Zohar (1990:48) argues, then translated literature constitutes a peripheral system in the literary polysystem.

Within a literary polysystem, translation is its own system with different levels (Even-Zohar 1990:49). In the translation system, there is a centre, a periphery and everything in between. Even-Zohar argues that the status of translated literature is determined by the text's literary contacts, who translated it or who wrote the foreword, and what the translation's source text is (Even-Zohar 1990:49). The issue of what is, or is not, considered a translation "work cannot be answered a priori in terms of an a-historical out-of-context idealized state" (Even-Zohar 1990:51). This is determined by looking at the possible translation and the operations which govern the polysystem, thus translation is not something with definite unchangeable boundaries, but "an activity dependent on the relations within a certain cultural system" (Even-Zohar 1990:51).

Even-Zohar (1990:48) goes on to claim that peripheral systems have no influence on "major processes" in the polysystem, and they are based on processes and norms established by the system in the centre, the "dominant type", of the target literature. The system in the centre of a polysystem is usually what is considered the "most prestigious canonized" works (Even-Zohar 1990:17). However, as Toury distinguishes, translated works may either be translated according to the dominant processes in the target or the source literature. This he labels as either adequate or acceptable, concepts that will be discussed in Section 2.2.2.4.

2.2.1.2 Source versus target orientation

DTS differs from other translation theories in that most other theories are source text (ST) oriented and are, as a result, prescriptive while DTS is target text (TT) oriented (Toury 1981:9). ST-oriented theories may totally disregard the TT, the target culture and "the entire network of constraints within which [the TT] is produced" (Toury 1981:14).

While ST-oriented theories are prescriptive, DTS does not aim to be evaluative. Rather DTS research is conducted in order to discover what lies behind translation, what translation is and not to proclaim what is or should be (Hermans 1999:35). Hermans (1999:35) agrees with Toury in that DTS moves away from applied research in translation theory to 'pure' research, where applied research is done in order to form guidelines for translating or criteria for evaluating translations while pure research is done "for its own sake" (Hermans 1999:35).

The TT-oriented approach looks further than individual translations to corpora of translations, in their environment, their literary polysystem of the target language (Toury 1981:16). In fact, in terms of translation and polysystem, Toury (1985:19) argues that "DTS starts from the notion

that any research into translation... should start from the hypothesis that *translations are facts of one system only: the target system.*"

Toury suggests that the major way to learn which mental processes took place during translation is "through a retrospective reconstruction on the basis of the (translational) relationships between the observable output and input of single processes" (Toury 1985:18). That is, to work back from the TT to the ST and looking at how they relate to each other, as whole texts and on smaller microlevels, such as phrases. This is how this study will proceed, the methodology of which is explained in Chapter 4.

Toury justifies basing a study on the TT as he believes "[i]t is only reasonable to assume that any research into translations should start with observational fact" which is the translation itself (Toury 1985:18). In this way a researcher goes from the facts of the TT and can reconstruct the "non-observational" facts of the mental processes, norms, etc. (Toury 1985:18). The translation process itself can only be reconstructed and studied indirectly (Toury 1980:82). This reconstruction is based on the relationship between "observable input and output" (Toury 1980:82), which are the ST, TT and metatexts.

2.2.1.3 The importance of context

Hermans (1985:10) defines DTS as a "descriptive, target-oriented, functional and systemic" approach to translation, with an interest in "the norms and constraints that govern the production and reception of translations" (Hermans 1985:10-11, 1999:7). DTS does not prescribe what future translations should look like, nor does it judge any existing translation. Instead this approach looks at the TT "as it is" (Hermans 1985:13) and from there determines which factors made it what it is (Hermans 1985:12-13). This means that the researcher should not have any preconceived ideas about what "constitutes" a translation, or what makes a text a translation or non-translation as any preconceived ideas would be "normative and restrictive" (Hermans 1985:13) and would not aid the description process.

Descriptive translation studies does not focus on what translation should or could be but on what it is, what "it appears to be, how it presents itself to us" (Hermans 1999:6). As Hermans points out, the word 'descriptive' shows that the approach is concerned with translation "as it actually occurs" (1999:7). And because DTS looks at observable facts, it is an empirical approach to translation (Hermans 1999:7).

In determining the factors which shaped the translation, which is one of the aims of DTS as mentioned above, the researcher should look at the intended function of the translation (Hermans 1999:39). This means that the study should start by looking at the TT. The target-oriented approach is mindful of the complex interaction between various functions, intentions and constraints in terms of the translation's "cultural, social and historical context" (Hermans 1999:39) and the influences they have on the translator's actions. With this emphasis on function Hermans argues that

Without such intentionality, without taking account of the function which the translation is meant to serve or the problem it is trying to solve, the translator's choices appear whimsical, or pointless, or wholly idiosyncratic. (Hermans 1999:39)

While a target-oriented approach starts in the TT, so does the translation process itself, in a way. Since translations are usually commissioned and produced for a certain consumer in the target, receiving culture, it is with them in mind that the translator should make his/her choices (Hermans 1999:40). Translation choices are usually based on the translator's judgements regarding the "perceived" needs and expectations of the target audience (Hermans 1999:40).

Hermans argues that a mere description of a TT is not an adequate study, that the description has to have some sort of purpose, "such as explanation" (1999:102). This means that the TT, its description and related translation phenomena need to be contextualised in order for them to be purposeful (Hermans 1999:102). While Hermans (1999:102) claims that "there is no necessary connection between polysystem theory" and descriptive, empirical translation studies or seeing translation as a cultural practice (Hermans 1999:102), the need for contextualisation provides that connection. It is by placing a TT in a system/polysystem and recognising the value of culture that translation phenomena can be put into context and have meaning.

It is by looking at shifts on the microlevel and establishing patterns there, that leads to macrolevel shifts, which are one of the focal points of the DTS approach (Hermans 1999:60). This study proceeds in a similar fashion, with micro- and macrolevel shifts which will be analysed in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

Hermans summarises DTS by highlighting two of its main contributions: translation cannot be defined a priori, based on theoretical assumptions, but only by direct observation of the available facts; secondly, that translation occurs in a context, in a culture and is therefore socially relevant (1999:159). It is this second principle that led to translation being seen as "a

complex transaction taking place in a communicative, socio-cultural context” (Hermans 1999:26).

2.2.1.4 Norms as the translation relationship

Hermans summarises both Toury’s and Chesterman’s views on equivalence, which have been discussed above (in 2.2.2.5.3 and 2.2.2.5.4). Toury sees ‘equivalence’ as a “functional-relational concept” (Toury in Hermans 1999:97) which represents any relationship between a TT and ST, and which exists between all translations and their sources (Hermans 1999:97). Chesterman, on the other hand, is of the opinion that the notion of equivalence has gradually lost meaning, “to apparent vacuousness” (Chesterman in Hermans 1999:97). Hermans himself agrees with Chesterman on this point and argues that the notion of equivalence has been “progressively questioned and hollowed out” (Hermans 1996:25) and in its place ‘norms’ have come to describe the relationships between TTs and STs (Hermans 1996:25).

However, Hermans (1999:98) points out that translation is “routinely” associated with equivalence. This he attributes to the image and “culturally defined notions” of translation (Hermans 1999:98). He claims that as long as there is nothing seemingly incongruent to “jolt us out of our willing suspension of disbelief” we, readers of translations, assume that the translation is “‘as good as’ and therefore equivalent to” the ST (1999:98).

While Hermans does not provide any new theories or aspects of DTS as such, he summarises and criticises other translation scholars, specifically those with a DTS approach. He is an important scholar in DTS because of the way he pulls the DTS theories together; in addition he put together and edited one of the first DTS-specific volumes, *Manipulation of literature* (1985). From Hermans’ summary of DTS provided above, I will now proceed to discussing the details of Toury and Chesterman’s arguments.

2.2.2 Toury

2.2.2.1 Process as locus of study

The focus of DTS is not what translations should be or whether something is translatable, but what they actually are by focusing on existing translations, actual translation products (Toury 1980:7). Toury (1985:21, italics in original) states the subject matter for descriptive studies in the DTS framework “consists first and foremost of *functional-relation concepts* (rather than their surface textual-linguistic representations)”. These functional-relation concepts include linguistic

units in relation to their positions in the translated text as a whole, the translated text in relation to the target systems(s) in which it is located, and the translated text in relation to its source (Toury 1985:21). In this definition it is clear that the relationships between elements both within a system and between the source and target texts are of importance.

According to the typology set up by Toury (1980:65), each branch of translation studies has its own type of TT-ST relationship and criterion that sets it apart from the others. The type of relationship found in DTS, as discussed above, is the existing relationship between TT and ST and actual, not hypothesised or prescriptive, equivalence. The criterion he lists for DTS is that it is an empirical study. This is because of the nature of DTS, that it is descriptive and based on observable entities such as texts, facts, relationships, and so on.

While DTS is TT-oriented, Toury (1995a:36) stresses that a descriptive study should not only focus on the TT. The descriptive approach is target-oriented because it is in the target text that the analysis begins, but this does not mean that observations should be “exhausted” (Toury 1995a:36) in the target text. This is where the relationship between ST and TT comes into play.

While this approach looks at the target text for the analysis, the “locus of study” (Toury 1995a:172) is not the text itself. Rather it is “what the texts can reveal as concerns the *processes which gave rise to them*” (Toury 1995a:172, italics in original). The process includes the options available to the translator during the translation process, the choices the translator made, the constraints which affected the decision-making (Toury 1995a:172), the translation strategies used to get from the ST to the TT, and consequently the relationship between the ST and TT (Toury 1995a:13).

In DTS, the initial stages of the study focus on the target text and the source text is set aside for this time and may not even be at hand at this time (Toury 1985:23, 1995a:72).

The target polysystem determines the translation process because a translation has a certain function and it is this function that determines what the translation looks like. For this reason translators “operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture *into* which they are translating” (Toury 1985:19, italics in original), that is to say the TC. That means that the translation process and product are determined by its function which is in turn determined by the target system and culture (Toury 1980:82). The function that the translation aims to serve determines the translation strategies, the translation process and the final product (Toury 1995a:12). In an attempt to descriptively account for the function, product and process of a

translation, they should be seen “as facts of the culture which hosts them” (Toury 1995a:24), the target culture and polysystem. For the TT analysed in this study it is not necessarily the function of the TT that influences the translation but the mode and form. Additionally, it is not so much the TC that informs translation as it is the TA – specifically the hearing-impaired members of the audience (Roets 2011). This will be discussed further in Chapters 4 and 5.

Toury (1995a:71) advises that in studying translations, the researcher should first look at the translation(s) to determine its acceptability from its position in the target polysystem, which is what will be done in this study in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1. He argues that this is especially important when the norms governing translations are not the same as the norms governing the original (Toury 1995a:71), as is the case with subtitles. In subtitled programming, specifically *7de Laan*, the ST is spoken dialogue while the TT is typed text comprising representations of the dialogue as paralinguistic information. The ST and TT have different governing norms by virtue of their different modes, including different levels of expected formality (Wurm 2007:120; Hatim & Mason 1997:430). The added constraints of the maximum length of subtitles and viewers’ reading speeds (Luyken, Herbst, Langham-Brown, Reid & Spinhof. 1991:43) are further examples of factors that influence the TT but not the ST. Subtitle-specific norms and constraints are discussed in further detail in the following chapter, Section 3.3.

2.2.2.2 Functional equivalence

Translation could be broadly defined as the replacement of an ST, a text encoded in the source language (SL), by a TT, a text encoded in the target language (TL), provided that there is a certain relationship between the two texts (Toury 1981:10). Following this definition Toury (1980:63) identifies three conditions to ensure a text is a translation: two languages, two messages and a relationship between the two messages.

This relationship is referred to as one of ‘equivalence’. ‘Equivalence’, as it is used in this sense, is a descriptive term and refers to a concrete object; the existing, observable relationships between a ST and a TT. ‘Equivalence’ can also be used as a theoretical term to signify an abstract, ideal relationship between ST and TT (Toury 1980:65, 1981:13).

Toury (1981:21) then argues that the term ‘translation equivalence’ in DTS is a functional concept because there are many types and degrees of relationships between TTs and their STs. He argues that the only way for all translations to be categorised under a term as broad as ‘equivalence’ is to see the translations as “functionally equivalent” (Toury 1981:21). The term

'equivalence' in DTS is therefore a functional concept. It is this functional concept of equivalence which is to be understood when the term is used, as opposed to the theoretical notion of absolute equivalence.

However, while there is a relationship between the TT and the ST which is called 'equivalence' this does not "presuppose" a particular type of TT-ST relationship (Toury 1981:20). It indicates that there is definitely a relationship between the texts; if a text is a translation then it has some type of relationship to its ST. The relationships between ST and TT are "observable facts" (Toury 1981:20) which, Toury (1981:20) states, "lend themselves to direct analysis and description".

In terms of a TT being a translation and the relationship between ST and TT, which is referred to as translation equivalence, functionality is key. What is of importance is that a TT functions as a translation and that the relationship functions as translation equivalence, that the texts are functionally equivalent (Toury 1981:21). Toury argues that if equivalence is assumed between TT and ST, as it is in this approach, the object of study should not be whether the TT and ST are equivalent but "what type and degree of translation equivalence they reveal" (Toury 1981:21).

Toury looks at the coupled pairs of translation solution, the TT, and translation problem, the ST. Each pair has its own translation relationship and only once the relationships of the entire corpus are compared and the most frequent relationship of equivalence discovered, is the notion of translation equivalence introduced (Toury 1985:36). This suggests that each coupled pair has its own relationship of equivalence which is the translation relationship, but the overall relationship, the dominant one in the text or corpus, is seen as the text's translation equivalence. Thus, equivalence is not "one target-source relationship at all" (Toury 1995a:86), but a set of relationships. Translational norms are the major determining factor in which relationships – both type and degree – between TT and ST are seen as relationships of equivalence (Toury 1980:115). Thus the study of norms is an important step in establishing "how the functional-relational postulate of equivalence has been realized" (Toury 1995b:204). Norms are discussed in detail below (Section 2.2.2.5) and the norms governing the translation of *7de Laan* are analysed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.3).

By looking at which types of relationships there are between a TT and ST, researchers are able to differentiate between types of translations (or translation *strategies*), including literal, word-for-word, paraphrasing, adaptation, reproducing the general idea, as well as between translation

strategies for specific items, such as addition, omission or mistranslation (Toury 1980:92-93). The translation strategies used in this study will be enumerated in Section 2.3.4 of this chapter and analysed in Chapter 4, when looking at how they can be applied to the subtitling in *7de Laan*. Toury (1980:107) notes that the relationship between TT and ST for each unit or translation pair may be functional, formal (i.e. relating to form) or a combination of the two. The TT and ST are related in terms of function and not necessarily in terms of material expression, form or textual-linguistic presentation (Toury 1980:68). Toury (1980:68) asserts that the only constant defining characteristic of TT-ST relationships is that they are functional.

2.2.2.3 Translation pairs and translation relationships

Toury (1985:26) proposes that the TT be seen as the translation solution and the ST as the translation problem. He further proposes looking at specific units in each text in order to establish “the coupled pair of ‘problem + solution’” (Toury 1980:87). The coupled pairs provide the units for comparative study, including this study, and are “also the textual-linguistic level where the relationships are of the highest relevancy” from the point of view of the translation being studied (Toury 1980:87).

Toury notes that a target solution does not imply the existence of a “corresponding” source problem but that the two are “mutually established” during comparative study and “inevitably present themselves as a *coupled pair*” (Toury 1985:25, italics in original; cf Toury 1980:84, 1995a:77-78). This means that translation problems are only seen as problems once there are “translation phenomena” in the TT which are established as their solutions, including omission or ‘zero’ solutions (Toury 1980:84). Another way of expressing this is that translation phenomena become solutions when they are mapped onto the TT’s assumed source, which then determines the problem in the ST simultaneously (Toury 1995a:77). Translation problems are established in a comparative analysis and not only “on the basis” of the ST (Toury 1995a:78).

Translation units relevant to the comparative study are established as the TT is mapped onto the ST. Units cannot be established for each text in isolation, instead segments of the TT and ST are to be defined “*simultaneously*, determining each other” (Toury 1995a:89, italics in original). For this reason the units for comparative analysis are coupled pairs of TT and ST segments (Toury 1995a:89). The members of a pair do not need to be the same in terms of rank or scope (Toury 1995a:89).

It is important, if the researcher aims to look at more than the acceptability or adequacy of a TT, that the researcher compares the TT and ST to look at their existing relationship. In descriptive studies it is assumed that a text is a translation and therefore has some type of relationship of equivalence to the ST, as discussed above. This assumption implies “that there are accountable relationships which tie it to its assumed original” (Toury 1995a:35). But it is important to note that the relationships which exist between the texts or segments of the texts may be different to the postulated relationships (Toury 1995a:35). As Toury (1995a:78) puts it “facts which seem to present no initial difficulty may nevertheless turn out to have constituted a problem under a reconstructive observation”. This is why a comparison is important: to reconstruct problems and determine the relationship between coupled pairs. When mapping a translation onto a source, the two texts as wholes are not mapped onto each other; segments of the translation are mapped onto segments of the source (Toury 1995a:88).

Translational relationships can only be described once the units of study, translation pairs, have been defined (Toury 1980:86). There is more to establishing translation pairs than finding units for comparison. One of the main objectives is to determine the translation shifts that took place between the ST and TT, and to describe and explain the translational relationship of each pair and their members (Toury 1985:34). This relationship may be in terms of “substance units or functional elements” (Toury 1985:36) at the linguistic or the textual level (cf. Toury 1985:35). This means that translational relationships between coupled pairs may be formal, functional or a combination of the two (Toury 1985:36).

In the discovery of the type of equivalence between TT and ST, the relationships between coupled pairs “underlie any generalization” (Toury 1995a:89) about the relevant type of translation equivalence (Toury 1995a:89). By identifying translation shifts between translation problems and their solutions it is possible to determine the relationships for each coupled pair and then compare the relationships in search of a pattern (Toury 1995a:107). On the basis of any patterns that recur “the pertinent norm of equivalence and the underlying concept of translation” (Toury 1995a:107) may be established.

These translation shifts between the ST and TT mentioned above are the translation strategies employed, and will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Translation strategies are determined by comparing each translation segment, the ST and TT, of a coupled pair. This will be done for this study as well and the translation strategies applicable to this study’s corpus are listed in Section 2.3.4. Translation strategies inform translation relationships which are part of determining the

overall equivalence relationship of a text. However, this study's aim is not to determine the equivalence relationship of the ST and TT, but rather to see how the TT functions in the TC. Therefore, part of the evaluation of the TT, as found in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.1), will be determining whether the TT (by analysing particular TT segments) is SL/SC- or TL/TC-oriented. This is also known as adequate or acceptable respectively, concepts which are discussed in detail in the following section.

2.2.2.4 Acceptability and adequacy

Toury introduces the notions of 'acceptability' and 'adequacy' to translation studies as polar alternatives in a translator's approach to translation. He argues that "[i]t is well known that" translation entails a tension between the "two incompatible postulates" of adequacy and acceptability (Toury 1980:75). This tension stems from what he calls the initial norm, where the translator chooses to either follow the norms of the ST or the TL during translation (Toury 1980:54). The terms 'adequate' and 'acceptable' are a type of shorthand way of referring to source-oriented or target-oriented translations (Lambert & Van Gorp 1985:45).

Should the translator choose to follow the ST, whether this choice is an overall strategy or only applied to certain sections of the translation, the TT would follow the norms and textual relations of the ST and therefore the norms of the SL and the source literary polysystem (Toury 1980:55). Toury (1980:55) refers to this as the "pursuit" of an adequate translation. Toury (1995b:201) adopts Even-Zohar's use of the term 'adequacy'. An adequate translation may not be compatible with the norms for literature or translated literature of the target language (Toury 1980:55). An adequate translation is a representation of the "textual relationships of a source text" in the TL, obeying the rules of the TL (Even-Zohar in Toury 1995a:56, Toury's translation). Adequacy, as a translation strategy, is also the principle of a "source-text-oriented translation" (Hermans 1999:56). Despite an alignment with source norms, rule-governed translation shifts may still occur. These shifts may be the obligatory shifts that are a result of "inherent systemic differences between the two languages" or literatures involved (Toury 1980:55). Because they are obligatory these types of shifts do not influence the adequacy of a translation.

However, should the translator decide on the second option, following the norms of the TL and target literary polysystem, the translation is deemed to be 'acceptable' (Toury 1980:55). An acceptable translation means that the TL's linguistics and literary norms are triggered, set into operation and adhered to. This means that some ST features may be suppressed or reshuffled, or some features may be added to make the TT more acceptable in the target pole (Toury

1995a:171). The extent to which a translation adheres to the norms of the target literary polysystem determines its acceptability (Toury 1980:55). Thus the translator has a choice between an adequate or an acceptable translation respectively, which are opposite poles of a continuum (Toury 1980:55) and the choice can lie anywhere between these poles.

Toury argues that no translation is entirely acceptable or entirely adequate (Toury 1981:23; cf. Munday 2008:111). Lambert and Van Gorp (1985:46) agree with this view in that they believe “no translational activity is completely coherent” regarding acceptability versus adequacy. A translation cannot be entirely acceptable because “it owes at least something to the alien adequacy pole” (Toury 1981:23). Neither can it be entirely adequate because of the “obligatory pole of acceptability” (Toury 1981:23) which may refer to the fact that it is accepted as a translation in the TL even though it adheres to SL norms. A text can be looked at in terms of which pole is the dominant one (Lambert & Van Gorp 1985:46). Because of the adequate-acceptable continuum, “one of the main objects of translation analysis” is to determine where on the continuum a translation lies, what compromise there has been between the two poles (Toury 1981:23).

Nord (1991:99) points out that this choice of which pole a translation should be oriented to exists because translation is an act that mediates between two cultures each with their own conventions. Translation then always entails two sets of conventions: source-culture and target-culture conventions. The translation conventions, which are “conventions *for translation*” (Nord 1991:99, italics in original), determine which set of conventions, in what situation, is dominant for a specific translation (Nord 1991:99).

The decision between adequate and acceptable, while a product of the initial norm, is not necessarily the first chronological decision the translator makes. Rather it is the first choice in terms of logic as it determines the general approach taken by a translator regarding the translation of a particular text (Toury 1980:55). Toury (1980:55) notes that this initial choice “may reappear ... in the later stages of the translating process as well”, either consistent or inconsistent with the approach chosen for the text as a whole, in the smaller units and details of the text. Lambert and Van Gorp (1985:46) agree that the choice between acceptable and adequate leads to “more concrete questions” regarding priorities “at different levels of both systems.” A text’s position between the poles may be determined by establishing the TT in the target literary polysystem in terms of its acceptability in the target pole and by comparing the TT to its ST (Toury 1981:23).

The acceptability of a TT is established by comparing it to original TL texts in the target literary polysystem, and comparing systems within the polysystem to each other (Toury 1995a:74). It is for this reason that in the initial stages of a descriptive study, including this one, there is no need for a source text to do a comparison (Toury 1995a:74). Toury (1995a:74) does note, however, that the relationship between TT and ST, “the relations which tie [them] together”, forms part of the target culture’s notion of what constitutes a translation, and is therefore of importance and not ignored.

As mentioned earlier, the ‘initiality’ of the initial norm comes from the fact that its focus is on the general macrolevel, compared to other norms which relate to more specific microlevel aspects (Toury 1995a:57). However, even if there is no clear macrolevel choice or tendency, microlevel decisions can still be described in terms of adequacy or acceptability. Conversely, if the translator does make a decision to orientate the translation towards the conventions of either culture, it does not necessarily mean that all micro, “lower-level” decisions will follow it completely (Toury 1995a:57; cf. Toury 1995b:201). In addition, while the theoretical choice seems polar, Toury (1980:55, 1995a:57) notes that in reality lower level translation decisions will generally be a combination of the polar opposites implied by the initial norm.

2.2.2.5 Norms in DTS

The concept of norms was introduced by Toury into translation studies, using them in his descriptive approach as “operational tools” (Hermans 1996:25). Translational norms govern the translator’s process of decision making while translating and therefore determines what type of equivalence relation there is between ST and TT (Hermans 1996:25). There are different types of norms, which will be discussed in more detail in the following two subsections. Norms are relevant to DTS because one of the aims of DTS is to “reconstruct the norms” that were “in operation during the translation process” (Munday 2008:113).

Norms act as models “supplying performance instructions” (Toury 1980:56) that are restricting factors during the translation process, making certain options available and others unavailable (Toury 1980:56). The norms that are in operation govern translators’ choices (Díaz Cintas 2004:26) and are expressed in the product. Norms are not observable and can therefore not be studied directly; however, the product of norms, in this case translation products, can be studied (Toury 1980:57).

Translational norms are actually a type of compromise between all the relevant norms for a translation, both as process and product (Chang 2001:321). Translation norms may conflict with other norms, such as norms for the genre, target polysystem and source polysystem (Chang 2001:321). These norms “pull the translator in different directions, and reach an equilibrium” (Chang 2001:321) resulting in the overall system of norms applicable to a translation.

The notion ‘norms’ can be seen either from a prescriptive, normative point of view, or a descriptive one (Hermans 1999:73). Since this study makes use of the DTS approach, the view this approach takes of norms is that they are descriptive “objects of study” (Hermans 1999:73). Norms, in DTS, are studied and analysed in terms of how they influence the translation process and are consequently discussed as being “non-normative” (Hermans 1999:73). Therefore, in this translation approach, norms are not rules or guidelines for what translators should do and how translations should look (Hermans 1999:73). Toury (1980:57) suggests that norms be considered as “*a category for descriptive analysis of translation phenomena*” (italics in original).

Translation norms “broadly describe” what should be selected, how translators should handle the material and how the target audience will receive the translation (Hermans 1996:42). Norms play a part in “how to see [the translation] through” (Hermans 1996:28), namely the actual translation process which requires the translator to continuously make various decisions on various levels and is a norm-governed activity (Hermans 1996:28). Norms are not true or false and they do not represent statements on the “existing states of affairs” (Hermans 1996:36), they specify what should happen and how things should be (Hermans 1999:84; cf. Hermans 1996:36). Norms are “social and cultural realities” (Hermans 1996:27) which operate in the context of a cultural domain, the domain of literature or a system in a polysystem (Hermans 1996:35). As a result of the social pressure of norms and the fact that translation takes place in the “context of existing social structures”, translators are agents whose actions “are neither entirely free nor predetermined” and may not always be conscious or rational (Hermans 1999:80).

Some of the characteristics of norms as set out by Hermans (1996:32, 1999:83) include that they can be strong or weak, have a narrow or broad scope, be positive or negative (obligations or prohibitions respectively) and may or may not be formulated overtly. Norms are “historical entities” and are therefore “subject to change as they adjust to changing circumstances” (Hermans 1999:74). Norms “limit the individual's freedom of action, provided the

individual agrees to be so constrained” (Hermans 1999:74). That is, norms govern and constrain translators’ behaviour (Hermans 1996:25).

While norms govern the decision-making process and influence audience expectations, they are also criteria according to which translations are evaluated within a community (Toury 1995a:55). Translation choices which do not conform to the existing norms are possible and do not “invalidate the norm” (Hermans in Toury 1995a:55). However, there would usually be some kind of “price to pay” for choosing a “deviant” option (Toury 1995a:55), such as other members of the community re-evaluating the translator, or, as is possible with subtitles, members of the audience may distrust the subtitles. However, without norms “all deviations are meaningless and become cases of free variation” (Wexler in Toury 1980:52).

2.2.2.5.1 Toury’s norms

All translation is norm-governed behaviour. But this does not mean that all types of translations subscribe to the same norms or have the same conditions that apply to them (Toury 1995b:202-202). As has been noted, norms are specific to a culture and a historical time. As a result of the socio-cultural specificity of norms, any similarity between cultures or systems is coincidental (Toury 1995a:62). Alternatively it may be the result of “continuous contacts” between subsystems or cultural systems (Toury 1995a:62), as is the case in South Africa, specifically between English and Afrikaans. Nevertheless, similarities between systems may only appear to be so. This is because norms have significance only in the system in which it is “embedded”, while the product of the norm – the norm’s “external behaviour” – may seem the same, the systems in which they occur are still different (Toury 1995a:62).

It is important to note that it is not the behaviour, the norms of the translation process, which is available for study, but the products of the behaviour, as norms are “not directly observable” (Toury 1995b:206). Toury (1995b:206) argues that there are two possible types of sources that can be consulted in the reconstruction of norms: textual and extratextual sources. The unobservable norms and the decision-making process take place in the translator’s mind and are therefore “hidden from view” (Hermans 1996:28). Researchers and others have no direct access to the translator’s mind but can “try to move closer to it” (Hermans 1996:28) by the input and output of the translation process, the ST and the TT, and from there make “retrospective inferences” (Hermans 1996:28). As Hermans (1999:79) states, the first step towards an explanation of a translator’s choices and decisions is norms.

While norms are studied and reconstructed, they are not directly observable. Sources are used to determine, or collect evidence of, norms – textual and extratextual⁷ source as discussed above – and each source type has its own challenges (Hermans 1999:85). Determining norms from textual sources, the translation itself, is preferred, but as Hermans (1996:39) points out “[t]racing actual decisions and regularities does not tell us why the decisions were made and what induced the regularities.” As for extratextual sources, Hermans (1996:39) claims “there may be a gulf” between norms or norm-governed behaviour and statements about norms. In other words, there might be a big difference between what is said about norms and what the norms actually are.

Textual sources are the TTs, which are the “results” (Toury 1980:57) or “*primary* products of norm-regulated behaviour” (Toury 1995b:207, italics in original), and can be seen as an “immediate” (Toury 1995b:207) representation of norms. Extratextual sources are statements made about the translation by translators, editors and other involved parties (Toury 1995b:207) and are therefore often “partial and biased” in their attempts to formulate norms (Toury 1995a:65). Extratextual sources are usually “semi-theoretical or critical formulations, such as prescriptive “theories” of translation” (Toury 1995b:207). They are “[n]ormative pronouncements” and are by-products of norms (Toury 1995b:207). Toury (1980:57) warns that these sources should be treated with caution. Thus, while Toury’s norms are to be applicable to the translation process, the translators’ behaviour and choices are derived and reconstructed from the TT, the textual sources. The textual sources available for study for this research are the episodes of *7de Laan*. The only extratextual source for this study is personal communication with the project manager of the subtitling.

Aside from differentiating between the strength of norms, their prescriptive forces on a graded continuum, Toury distinguishes between three types of translation norms, each operating at different stages of translation (Munday 2008:112): preliminary, initial and operational (Hermans 1999:75-76). Of these, this study will look at the initial and operational norms. I will look at a sub-norm of the operational norm, the matricial norm, and the initial norm, where the translation lies between acceptability and adequacy. The definitions of these types of norms will be discussed when the norms governing the translation of *7de Laan* are determined, in Section

⁷ A note on terminology; while Chesterman uses the terms ‘textual’ and ‘extratextual’, Hermans (1999:85) refers to the ‘extratextual’ sources, such as statements and comments by translators, readers and critics, as ‘paratexts’ and ‘metatexts’.

4.3.3 of Chapter 4. I will also look at how Chesterman's expectancy norm influences the translation of *7de Laan*. Chesterman's norms will be discussed in the following section.

2.2.2.5.2 Chesterman's norms

According to Chesterman (1997:54), norms describe "particular practices within a given community". He describes a norm as a "consensus of opinion about what something should be like, how it should be done" (Chesterman 1997:3). A norm statement, or formulation of norms, describes, not what the consensus should be, but what the consensus is (Chesterman 1997:3). Similarly, Hermans argues that the "content of a norm" is the concept of what is correct. This perception is established in a community's ideology and conveyed to the members of the community (Hermans 1996:36). What constitutes a 'correct' translation, behaviour or usage, in turn, is a "social, cultural and ideological construct" (Hermans 1999:84, cf. Hermans 1996:36). If the translator translates according to the prevailing norm, that is translates 'correctly', then the translator and the translation will be in accordance with "the relevant, canonized models" (Hermans 1996:37).

While norms may be considered to be helpful in that they have a "contributory effect" as a result of "their function as expectations" they may also be seen in a negative way as constraints or restrictions that may be "challenged or overruled" (Chesterman 1997:56). Thus norms are both guidelines and constraints (Chesterman 1997:78).

Translation norms are norms which function as "solutions to problems posed by certain interaction situations" (Ulmann-Maraglit 1977 in Chesterman 1997:63) because they are in place to "regulate" the communication process in a situation where communication would otherwise not be possible (Chesterman 1997:63). Chesterman (1997:59) does concede that there may be other factors involved in giving a text "translation status" such as a client explicitly stating the norms governing what makes a translation (Chesterman 1997:59).

As Toury discusses the varying prescriptive forces of norms, Chesterman (1997:58) states that norms have "fuzzy" boundaries, that norms are not absolute (Chesterman 1997:136). It is an inherent quality of norms in that they do not have "rigid lines of demarcation between permitted and non-permitted usage" and some norms seem stronger than other (Chesterman 1997:58). An example of the varying strength of norms that Chesterman (1997:58) provides is that stylistic or lexical norms may sometimes be broken with less of a negative reaction than if grammatical norms were broken.

Chesterman's approach to the categorisation of norms differs from Toury's. While Toury has the three main categories of initial, preliminary and operational, Chesterman's division is social, ethical and technical with the technical norms covering the same area as Toury's initial and operational norms (Chesterman 1997:64).

The social norm has to do with the interpersonal relations, the ethical norm is concerned with ethics and the four values of clarity, truth, trust and understanding. The content of the ethical norms is that if a translator does break norms, it should be done in a way that the target audience is able to recognise that a norm has been broken (Chesterman 1997:58). Technical norms govern the actual translation process (Hermans 1999:7) and are divided into process and product norms. Process norms in turn have three sub-categories: accountability, communication and relation. As technical norms have various sub-norms that govern the translation process, they, particularly the product sub-norm as it pertains to this study, will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3.3.

According to Chesterman (1997:69), the accountability and communication norms are not translation-specific; it just so happens that they can be applied to translation theory. However, the third process norm is translation-specific and also applies to other types of rewriting and actually highlights the differences between types of rewriting and other communication processes (Chesterman 1997:69). This norm is the relation norm which requires that the translator behaves in such a way that the translation process results in the establishment and maintenance of "an appropriate relation of the relevant similarity" between the ST and TT (Chesterman 1997:69). The 'relevant similarity' may be formal, stylistic, semantic or the overall effect (Hermans 1999:78).

As can be seen from the fact that Chesterman discusses norms, he also sees TS as descriptive. Chesterman (1997:52) argues that TS has to be descriptive if it is to be a scientific undertaking. Thus, his view is similar to Toury's empirical approach. While Toury is the main proponent of DTS, Chesterman also discusses the notions set forth by Toury, albeit using different terminology or with a slightly different approach. For example, Chesterman's 'observable regularities' are similar to Toury's reconstruction of norms and are discussed below (2.2.3.1).

2.2.3 Chesterman

2.2.3.1 General descriptive laws

Chesterman is also a proponent of the descriptive approach. He states that “[i]f translation theory ... is to be a genuinely scientific undertaking, it must of course be descriptive” (Chesterman 1997:52). He believes that one of the things translation theory is, is a “normative science” with the aim of describing, understanding and explaining translation norms (1997:54). His emphasis on translation studies as scientific undertaking echoes Toury’s notion of DTS being an empirical approach.

Chesterman defines translation as “any text that is accepted in the target culture as being a translation” (1997:59). He then offers an alternative, broader definition of “any text which falls within the accepted range of deviance” as defined by the target-culture’s product norm of translation (Chesterman 1997:59).

Translation is a process, “a form of human behaviour” (Chesterman 1993:2) and because of this a theory of translation should aim to discover what Chesterman calls “the laws of this behaviour” (1993:2). With the term ‘law’ he means patterns, or “observable regularity” (1993:2), which are descriptive and empirical explanations of translation behaviour. This type of law Chesterman refers to as “general descriptive laws” (Chesterman 1993:2). Similar to Toury, the focus of study in this approach is on the translators’ behaviour and the final product, the TT, which is a translation and is accepted as one in the target culture (Chesterman 1993:2).

2.2.3.2 Equivalence priorities

Chesterman points out that there is no “universally accepted” definition of a translation but that it is a target-culture-bound definition (1997:179). The definition of translation depends on what is accepted as one at a specific time in a specific target culture (Chesterman 1997:179). He argues that the minimum requirement for studying a translation, in order to determine its concept of equivalence, is that the translation conforms to the target culture’s norms of translation and is accepted in the TC as a translation (Chesterman 1997:62). For Chesterman (1993:3) the only condition that seems necessary for a text to be deemed a translation is that there should be “*some perceived relation*” (italics in original) between the TT and ST.

Chesterman proposes using three sets of texts to assess a translation: the translation and two related texts which he terms the ‘reference corpora’ (Chesterman 2004:6). The reference

corpora are made up of the ST and original texts in the target language (Chesterman 2004:6). The notions of 'faithful' and 'beautiful' have to do with this comparison. The relationship between the TT and ST is that of equivalence and its variations, which is where the notion of faithfulness comes in. The relationship between the TT and original TL texts has various names including naturalness and acceptability (Chesterman 2004:6). Chesterman refers to this relationship as 'textual fit' (2004:6), and it is in terms of this relationship that a TT is judged as being beautiful or not.

Chesterman (1997:9) does not believe that equivalence is "a useful concept in translation theory". This is because there are various subtypes of equivalence and thus the idea of absolute equivalence is an unattainable "red herring" (Chesterman 1997:9). The subtypes include a binary distinction between two main types of equivalence such as semantic vs. communicative and overt vs. covert equivalence (Chesterman 1997:9). Chesterman does not provide a definition for 'equivalence'. He views equivalence as one of the goals of studying translation. He argues that "discovering the precise nature of the required intertextual relationship" between texts "is a valid goal" in certain types of translation research (Chesterman 1997:62).

Chesterman (1997:69) believes that the notion of equivalence is "too narrow" because of the different types of equivalence. For this reason he believes that the translator should determine the appropriate type of relationship equivalence depending on the text-type, the original author's intentions, the needs of the target audience and the directives of the commissioner (Chesterman 1997:69). Following this, each translation has its own "equivalence priorities" (Chesterman 1997:69), or types of equivalence that are relevant.

According to Chesterman (1997:70), "[s]implified binary distinctions" of equivalence "are only of limited use" to the translator when deciding on the type of equivalence that is appropriate. The types of equivalence Chesterman (1997:69) lists are: formal, stylistic, semantic and effect. He points out that different text-types may require different types of equivalence. Short stories and poems may place the emphasis on "stylistic similarity", technical articles on semantics, and tourist brochures and advertisements on the same effect (Chesterman 1997:69). Chesterman (1997:70) stresses that equivalence, even though it is "inevitably partial", is only one type of relationship that may exist between a TT and ST. Another type he mentions is 'optimal similarity' (Chesterman 1997:69). This shows that Chesterman and Toury's definitions of equivalence differ; according to Chesterman there are different types of equivalence and equivalence is one

type of TT/ST relationship, while Toury (1981:21) argues that all translations are functional equivalents of their respective STs (also see Section 2.2.2.2).

As has already been discussed, the basic condition for a text to be a translation is that there is some kind of relationship between it and its ST. Chesterman (1997:178) argues that that responsibility lies with the translator, who should translate so that “an appropriate relation is established and maintained between” TT and ST. This type of relationship, linked to the notion of equivalence, has been traditionally governed by the value of faithfulness to the ST. Chesterman (1997:178) suggests that the value governing the relationship between a TT and a ST should be that of truth. What the value of truth means for Chesterman (1997:180), is that there must actually be a relationship between two texts and that the relationship has to be true. However, how the “true relation” is expressed depends on the relevant “situational conditions” (Chesterman 1997:180). The value of truth governs the accountability norm, and has been discussed in detail in 2.2.2.52 above.

2.2.4 Summary of DTS

This half of the chapter provided some background to DTS and explained the concepts from DTS that are relevant to this study by looking at what the main proponents of DTS wrote: Toury, Chesterman and Hermans. The background information included a look at how DTS originated in the polysystem theory and show that DTS has, as the name says, a descriptive and not a prescriptive view of translation. The concepts discussed in detail that are relevant to this study are the notions of adequacy and acceptability, that ‘equivalence’ denotes functional and not absolute equivalence, norms and translation pairs.

Translation pairs are established in order to examine translation relationships, which is what will be done in Section 4.3.2. The types of translation relationships present in this study’s corpus, in the form of translation strategies, will be enumerated below (Section 2.3.4).

2.3 Translation of figurative language

2.3.1 Introduction

The translation of figurative language is not only a lexical issue, but also a cultural one. This compounds the difficulties translators face and illustrates why it is worth studying. Chesterman (1997:185) talks of ‘culture bumps’ which he defines as features of the ST which are culture-specific to the SC which hinder intercultural communication and prevents it from going smoothly

(Chesterman 1997:185). If an ST item which is a culture bump is translated literally, comprehension will be impeded and may result in a misunderstanding (Chesterman 1997:185). He states that all types of culture-bound terms are examples of culture bumps, but highlights allusions as good illustrations thereof. This is because allusions, and in the same vein I believe figures of speech, are often “source-culture-bound” (Chesterman 1997:185). In order to understand a culture bump, a translator’s “understanding thus requires a familiarity with the original text referred to” (Chesterman 1997:185).

This section looks at the various definitions of metaphor and figurative speech discussed in the literature and how these elements are translated, as well as the strategies and approaches employed by translators.

2.3.2 Typologies of figurative speech

This study will look at the translation of figurative language in general. Because of the specificity of ‘metaphor’ the definitions, composition and characteristics of figurative speech will also be discussed. The definition of ‘figurative speech’ as used in this study in the following chapters will encompass aspects of both terms: metaphor and figurative speech. From the typologies of figurative speech in the literature I will draw up a working definition of figurative speech relevant to this study.

Newmark’s typology⁸ of metaphors is often used to categorise metaphors. As Dickins (2005:263) argues, Newmark’s typology is the “most practical and wide-ranging” in terms of translation analysis, as well as the most criticised. Before this typology is discussed, the terms Newmark uses in his discussion of metaphors need to be defined. Newmark (1980:93, 1981:85) uses the following terms: object, image, sense and metaphor. The object is the item the metaphor describes, the image is the term with which the object is described (referred to as ‘vehicle’ by some scholars), and the sense is which aspects the object and image have in common (referred to as ‘tenor’ by some scholars)⁹. Metaphor is then the words taken from the image (Newmark 1980:93; 1981:85). For example, a metaphor from the corpus of this study is: *kortom: ek is by ’n kruispad* in the ST which is *in short ... I’m at a crossroads* in the TT. The object is that the speaker needs to make a decision, the image is a crossroads (where two or more roads meet and one has to be chosen), and the sense is having options available with the implication of finality once a choice is made.

⁸ Dickins’ (2005:228–269) discussion of metaphor is similar to that of Newmark.

⁹ Alvarez (1993:480-481) also discusses metaphor using similar terms.

In Newmark's (1980:93; 1981:85) typology, he suggests that there are five types of metaphors: dead, cliché, stock, recent and original¹⁰. Dead metaphors are one-word metaphors, or metonyms, and polysemous words (Newmark 1980:94, 1981:86). Newmark (1980:94) points out that dead metaphors are not considered part of translation theory as they deal with standardised translation equivalents, while translation theory has to do with choices, e.g. *the hands of a clock* will always be translated in Afrikaans as *die arms van 'n horlosie*. Dead metaphors are made up of one word, which is the figurative sense of a word that has come to have a specific meaning for which there is a particular translation. It is figurative, but not metaphorical (Newmark 1980:93), just as the speaker in the above example was figuratively tied up at the factory. 'Tied' is also used as a dead metaphor in a phrase such as 'my hands are tied', meaning that the speaker cannot change a given circumstance. Therefore, dead metaphors are more technical because polysemous words have set, sometimes technical, meanings. Snell-Hornby (1988:57) rejects Newmark's notion of the one-word metaphor based on the approach that metaphor is text (Snell-Hornby 1988:57). In a phrase where one word has a metaphorical sense, such as a simplex metaphor, it is the entire phrase that is metaphorical and on that basis the one-word metaphor no longer exists (Snell-Hornby 1988:57).

The second type of metaphor is cliché, which Newmark (1981:87) describes as "a murky area between dead and stock metaphor". Clichés are "stereotyped collocations" (Newmark 1981:87) and Newmark identifies two types, which he calls simplex and complex metaphors (cf. Newmark 1980:94). Simplex metaphors consist of a figurative adjective and a literal noun, he provides 'filthy lucre' as an example, and complex metaphors consist of a figurative verb and a figurative noun; 'explore all avenues' is an example (Newmark 1981:87). Newmark further states that the over- or misuse of certain vogue words results in them becoming clichés (Newmark 1981:87).

Stock metaphors may have cultural, universal or personal aspects (Newmark 1980:95, 1981:87). The cultural aspects may refer to cultural distance or cultural overlap, and universal aspects may not necessarily be universal but at least be widely spread (Newmark 1981:87). Many stock metaphors are clichés (Newmark 1981:87). Once again he makes a distinction between simplex and complex stock metaphors (Newmark 1981:87). It is under the discussion of stock metaphors that Newmark (1981:88-91) lists his proposal for the procedure of metaphor translation, which will be discussed below in Section 2.3.2. In the translation of stock metaphors

¹⁰ Van den Broeck (1981:74-75) similarly categorises metaphors into three categories based on how institutionalised they are.

the image can be retained in the TL; that is to say that the metaphor has been rendered semantically and not literally (Newmark 1981:88).

Recent metaphors are metaphorical neologisms which include general technical terms (Newmark 1981:91). When this type of metaphor is translated, if there is no accepted TL equivalent, Newmark (1981:91) suggests that the translator should either describe the object or “attempt a translation label in inverted commas” (Newmark 1981:91). A translation label is a type of paraphrase in the TL. The spatial constraints of subtitling do not really allow for translation labelling. However, an example of a metaphorical neologism in the TT, taken from this study’s corpus, is the subtitle *sorry to be a Moaning Minnie* as a translation of the ST *jammer om so ’n klakous te wees*. ‘Moaning Minnie’ is not a usual TL expression, but as it follows the formulation of an expression like ‘plain Jane’, it is easily recognisable as figurative language.

The final metaphor in Newmark’s typology is original metaphor. The image of an original metaphor, Newmark (1981:93) suggests, should usually be transferred. An original metaphor is more likely to “have fewer local cultural associations than an idiom” (Newmark 1981:93) and as a result can be transferred more easily. But original metaphors do present difficulties in that some of them, “the best ones” according to Newmark (1981:93), are complex and have double meanings (Newmark 1981:93).

Newmark distinguishes between simplex and complex metaphors. In this distinction he looks at how many elements of a phrase are metaphorical or figurative. Simplex metaphors consist of one figurative word and one or more literal words (Newmark 1980:94). Complex metaphors have at least two figurative words and range from two-word phrases to idioms, through to most proverbs and even to entire poems and possibly allegories (Newmark 1980:94).

In translation, more than just looking at categories of metaphors, it is important to look at the uses of metaphor, that is “the effectiveness of metaphors in actual communication” (Van den Broeck 1981:76). In terms of translation, whether a metaphor is functionally relevant, that is to say “relevant to the communicative function of the text in the situation” (Van den Broeck 1981:76) or not, plays a role in translating decisions. A metaphor may or may not be functionally relevant. One that is not functionally relevant is one that has been produced unconsciously or that is “totally random or irresponsible” according to Van den Broeck (1981:76). This view of functional relevance could arguably be equally applicable to other forms of figurative speech and wordplay. From this, Van den Broeck looks at the function, the communicative purpose of

metaphor, as he argues that the “use of a metaphor is closely related to its function” (Van den Broeck 1981:76).

Sometimes certain original metaphors are taken up by an increasing number of speakers resulting in a loss of their uniqueness once they are part of “the established semantic stock of the language and being recorded as such in the dictionary” (Dagut 1976:23). This is what Dagut (1976:23) calls a shift from performance to competence and it is this shift, Dagut argues, which results in either polysemes or idioms depending on the nature of the metaphor. If it is a simplex metaphor, a metaphor made up of one lexical item, then the shift to competence results in the creation of a polyseme (Dagut 1976:23). A polyseme is a word with the same spelling and pronunciation, but with different related meanings (Delabastita 1997:5). On the other hand if the metaphor is complex, consisting of more than one lexical item, then the result is an idiom. Therefore Dagut (1976:23) sees polysemes and idioms as an ‘effect’ of the ‘cause’ of metaphor. However, they have “semantic regularity” as opposed to the “anomaly” of metaphor (Dagut 1976:23).

Both Newmark and Dagut have referred to metaphor as a verbal or linguistic entity. Zabalbeascoa (2004:100) argues that metaphors, or “metaphorical expressions”, can be supported by non-verbal signs or even be entirely non-verbal. Importantly he notes that metaphor “is a feature of both literary and nonliterary language” (Zabalbeascoa 2004:100).

Zabalbeascoa’s (2004:100) composing elements of metaphor, that is metaphor in the specific sense as used by Dagut to indicate an original metaphor, includes two entities that seemingly share one or more common characteristics. These entities may be physical or abstract, one entity is what is being referred to and the other is the “referent of an expression” that refers to the first entity in such a way that a metaphorical effect is created (Zabalbeascoa 2004:100). Zabalbeascoa (2004:100) restates it using Goatly’s terminology: the first entity is the ‘topic’ – Newmark’s ‘object’ which is the “actual unconventional referent”, the other entity is the ‘vehicle’ – Newmark’s ‘image’, and ‘ground’ – Newmark’s ‘sense’ – is the similarities or analogies between the topic and vehicle.

Zabalbeascoa (2004:104) suggests looking at metaphor and any accompanying elements, which is “whatever it might be coupled to” and what he refers to as ‘x’, as features of a text and not as units of a text. This means that a textual metaphor will not be seen in isolation, as a unit in and of itself, but that it may or may not be coupled to or have accompanying feature(s) (Zabalbeascoa 2004:104).

In the translation of metaphors Zabalbeascoa (2004:104) notes that the identification of metaphors, or “treating certain expressions as being metaphorical” is subjective. He also points out that ‘metaphor’ can be seen as a linguistic property, a text function, a literary device or as a means of conceptualisation (Zabalbeascoa 2004:104). This means that metaphors are not ornamental but may serve “various functions and textual metafunctions” (Zabalbeascoa 2004:100).

Steen (2002:20) proposes a relatively wide definition of metaphor, specifically in comparison to the linguistic notion of metaphor, and in addition to the prerequisite non-literal “conceptual mapping” includes anything that can be analysed as a metaphor in accordance with the conceptual mapping. The manifestation of conceptual metaphor, as Steen (2002:21) defines it, as well as divisions of metaphor includes linguistic metaphors, similes, analogies, extended non-literal comparisons, allegories and personification. This wide range of types and division in the identification of metaphor is a result of the wide conceptual definition, and means that all the listed manifestations are to be analysed as metaphors (Steen 2002:21). Steen (2002:25) summarises a broad definition of metaphor as a non-literal “mapping of correspondences between two conceptual domains” (Steen 2002:25). Thus metaphor is a comparison of a similarity of some sort, as is evident in all the manifestations listed above.

This study uses a fairly broad definition of metaphor, which includes metaphor and all its derivatives discussed in this section, instead employing the term ‘figurative speech’. The most prevalent types of metaphor in this study are Newmark’s dead and stock metaphors.

I looked at the definitions and types of metaphor and figurative speech as proposed in the literature on the translation of these types of language use and the translation thereof will be discussed below. My working definition of figurative speech for the purposes of this study is a combination of metaphor and its derivatives and wordplay. Thus it will look at the translation of metaphors (from dead to original), polysemes, idioms, proverbs, similes and analogies.

2.3.3 Translation of figurative speech

As I will be looking at figurative speech which consists of metaphor and its derivatives, or “other types of semantic extension” (Dagut 1976:32) such as idiom and polyseme I will look at how they are approached in translation as proposed by various translation scholars. The strategies taken from the literature that are applicable to this study are set out in Table 2.1 below.

A difficulty in the translation of idioms that have both literal and figurative meanings is that some of the relevant, functional features of the idiom may be linguistic and may not have a corresponding feature in the TL (Catford in Van den Broeck 1981:83). For this reason, Van den Broeck (1981:83) argues that idioms and polysemes are “the very limits of translatability” as there are rarely corresponding idioms or polysemes with total overlap of literal and figurative meanings. This is as a result of the differences across languages in the forms of and relationships between items (Van den Broeck 1981:83).

Dagut (1976:28) argues that the extent to which the metaphors’ “cultural experience and semantic associations” are shared by the SL and TL communities is the determining factor in translatability¹¹. Snell-Hornby’s (1988:59) definition of what makes a metaphor ‘translatable’ is whether its literal translation “recreate[s] identical dimensions”. She goes on to say that the translatability of a metaphor – whether it should be translated or how difficult it is to translate – is not governed by a set of rules, but depends on the structure and function of a particular metaphor in the text (Snell-Hornby 1988:59, 62).

On the contrary to what has been argued above, that metaphors or certain metaphors cannot be translated because of their culture-specificity and connotations unique to that culture, Toury (1995a:84) claims that the use of metaphors in a TT may be reduced or even prohibited by certain target norms and not because of the nature of the ST metaphors. This is a possibility for this investigation, as the space and time available in subtitles are limited¹² which consequently means that equivalent TL figurative language that is too long may have to be reduced in order to fit in the subtitles.

While metaphors may not be completely untranslatable, they are “challenging” (Monti 2010:208). What makes them so challenging, Monti (2010:202) argues, is that metaphors are linguistic phenomena “exposing cultural-linguistic constraints in unparalleled ways”, as well as the quantity of information present in a metaphor and “the forces setting this information in context” (Monti 2010:208). Dagut stresses the importance of semantic associations (Dagut 1976:30) and cultural context (Dagut 1976:32) in the translatability and translation of metaphor. He claims that there are some metaphors which are translated more easily than others, “thanks to cultural and lexical congruencies” between the SL and TL (Dagut 1987:82).

¹¹ Schäffner (2004:1253-1258) also looks at translatability.

¹² These constraints are detailed in the following chapter, Section 3.3.3.

Monti (2010:194) states that metaphor has come to be seen as a translation problem, one that “defies any strictly linguistic perspective on translation”. Monti (2010:199) claims that in Mason’s argument “metaphor epitomizes the conception of translation as a problem” because metaphors highlight linguistic and cultural issues. Metaphors thus expose cultural-linguistic constraints of translation (Monti 2010:202). Snell-Hornby (1988:57) argues that the sense of a metaphor is “frequently culture-specific”. This is because different languages, and different cultures, conceptualise and create symbols in different ways¹³ (Snell-Hornby 1988:57).

In order to understand the cultural symbolism of a metaphor, Appiah (1993:423) suggests looking at figurative utterances, such as metaphor and proverbs, as well as literal meanings, in order to understand the broader sense of meaning of such an utterance. He argues that in order to understand a figurative utterance

we must usually first know its language well enough to be able to identify what the intentions conventionally associated with each of its sentences are: that we must begin with the literal meanings of words, phrases, sentences. (Appiah 1993:423)

If it is not possible to find a TL sequence that conveys the same intention as that of the SL, it may be because the notion expressed, or the “social practice” in which the utterance is rooted, is not present in the target culture (Appiah 1993:425).

The culture-specificity of metaphors, as more than mere linguistic decoding, is emphasised when Dobrzyńska (1995:598) states that the “[i]nterpretation of metaphors is strongly culturally conditioned”. Further, it is pointed out that metaphors carry certain connotations and are based on stereotyped associations which are “inscribed into the given linguistic system, and do not exist outside it” (Dobrzyńska 1995:598) and are obvious to the speakers of that language. While metaphors of a language may not exist outside that language, they do have equivalents in other languages (Dobrzyńska 1995:598).

Dobrzyńska (1995:569) notes that in translation it is not just the metaphor’s sense which has to be conveyed to another linguistic system, but also another cultural background and value system. In Dobrzyńska’s (1995:603) discussion, the focus is on semantic adequacy in the translation of “metaphorical phrases”. When translating, the TT metaphor should convey the sense of the original, and Dobrzyńska (1995:596) notes that the translator and the audience’s associations should be similar in order to ensure that the intended sense is conveyed. Therefore

¹³ Rabassa (1989:1-10) makes a similar argument.

the mutual expectations, or “overlapping [the] respective associative fields”, of the translator and audience is important (Dobryńska 1995:597).

Mason (1982:140) sees two distinct problems in the issue of metaphor translation: the problems with metaphor and the problems of translation. Therefore, Mason (1982:141) argues, the issues of metaphor translation are “a function of the problems involved in translating in general” and not a metaphor problem. Mason (1982:141) goes on to state that any problems encountered with metaphors are problems of interpretation which should be overcome before the translation of the metaphor is considered. Mason suggests that metaphors should be interpreted in context of the whole text, thus dealing with problem one, and then be translated accordingly, solving problem two (Mason 1982:142).

The importance of context and intention in metaphor translation should not be forgotten. Zabalbeascoa (2004:110) cites, as an example, the translation(s) of ‘dragon’ that are subject to separate and different analysis depending on whether ‘dragon’ is meant as a metaphor, insult, joke, allusion, etc. Mason (1982:143) is of the opinion that words and metaphors with “rich culture specific connotations” could be translated successfully by using a new TL metaphor. Mason (1982:143) believes that a “simple word-for-word translation” will not suffice. Mason (1982:149) advises that each metaphor should be treated in isolation and the textual context in which it occurs must be taken into account. Furthermore Mason (1982:149) suggests that each component of the metaphor should be understood and “dealt with” in terms of its cultural connotations before the metaphor as a whole is translated. However, Mason (1982:145) does not advocate translating metaphor by attempting to create a similar effect in the TT or for the target audience and suggests that this approach be used “with the greatest caution”. This is because no two readers, even SL readers, will interpret a text in the same way (Mason 1982:145) and therefore the effect it produces differs from person to person. In order to avoid this problem, Mason (1982:145) proposes the translator remain “as faithful to the SL text as possible, so that none of its potential for receiving different interpretations is lost”. In addition, Mason (1982:146) notes that a similar effect for the target audience may be impossible to achieve because that particular effect may not exist in their frame of reference.

Appiah (1993:425) claims that the reason there is no ‘perfect translation’ is not that there is a set of requirements that cannot be met, but because there is no definite set of requirements. The aim of translation is to create a new text that has the same significance to its audience as the original has for the original audience (Appiah 1993:425). However, he goes on to say, in “literary

judgement” there is always the possibility of a new reading, of new aspects of the text being deemed important (Appiah 1993:425). This, I believe, is another reason that there is no perfect translation – interpretations can differ.

Discussing translation strategies, Dobryńska (1995:599) claims that the choice depends on text-type and the function the metaphor is to serve in the TT. It is further noted that a metaphor cannot always be translated with another metaphor as there is the risk that a translated metaphor may be incomprehensible to the target audience or may be interpreted in a way that was not intended with the original (Dobryńska 1995:600). In certain metaphors the vehicle of the metaphor may have a literal equivalent in the TL, but which does not have the same connotations of the vehicle in the SC (Dobryńska 1995:602), and can therefore not be translated literally.

Similarly, Dagut argues that even though some metaphors are more easily translated than others, the translator will still have to decide whether to translate the metaphor as it is or to replace it with figurative or explanatory phrases. Explanatory phrases is the metaphor being “replaced in TL by various degrees of non-metaphor” such as polyseme, idiom, paraphrase or explanation “with the consequent loss of dynamic effect in each case” (Dagut 1987:82). I use this as a strategy in my study, what I refer to as ‘rhetorical language’. Therefore, the strategy of rhetorical language refers to the use of a different type of rhetorical device in the TT than is used in the ST. For example, a metaphor in the ST might be rendered using rhetorical language in the TT; *face it pop, jy’s lankal oor die muur/face it doll. You’re a has-been.*

Alvarez (1993:482) argues that metaphorical derivatives, polyseme, idiom or proverb, are translated by selecting an equivalent polyseme, idiom or proverb in the TL. In cases where a TL equivalent is not available for an SL item, the translator should look at substitution procedures and render the sense but not the form of the SL item. Thus he concludes that the translation of metaphorical derivatives “is essentially the same process as the translation of any other component of the SL system” (Alvarez 1993:482). This is similar to Mason’s view set out above, that metaphor is just another element of language to be translated.

Van den Broeck (1981:85) states that it is “quite acceptable to assume” that the way metaphor is actually translated is closely related to rules and norms, and that Toury’s initial norm is useful for distinguishing between basic attitudes. He goes on to say that in practical translation usually neither one of the extremes – SL or TL-oriented translation – is adopted and the translator usually makes use of a combination of the two (Van den Broeck 1981:85). However, Van den

Broeck (1981:85) does provide a description of metaphor translation for each one of the basic choices as stated by the initial norm.

If the translation follows the SL norms, the metaphors tend to be translated *sensu stricto* even if the translated TL product may be “incompatible” with the target norms (Van den Broeck 1981:85). Van den Broeck (1981:85) refers to this type of translating as a “retentive mode of translating” and claims that it is this mode of translation that results in alienating, exotic translated metaphors. On the other hand, if the translation follows TL norms, it is likely that the original metaphor will be translated in such a way that the TL metaphor is equivalent or corresponds to it, and will often be adapted. The main mode of translation for this pole is substitution, which adapts the metaphor to the norms of the target system and determines the acceptability of translation equivalents (Van den Broeck 1981:85).

Monti (2010:199) believes that in perspectives that see metaphor as a translation problem, too much focus is placed on translation problems and not enough on solutions. He looks at Toury’s target-oriented approach for a view of translation, and metaphor translation, as a solution (Monti 2010:199). Monti claims that Toury’s approach is a “decisive, albeit isolated, change of perspective” (2010:199). Toury shifts the focus of translation from the source to the target pole and in so doing “allows a revision” of the notion of metaphor translation as solution and not a problem (Monti 2010:199). This shift also dismisses the question of translatability: whether or not a metaphor can be translated is not the issue since they are translated in some way, omission included (Monti 2010:200).

From what has been discussed in this section, it can be seen that the notion of the translatability, for most scholars, is linked to culture-specificity and cultural overlap. However, I also believe, as Monti and Toury do, that omission *is* a solution to the problem of figurative language in the ST. Thus the focus is not on the translatability of specific instances of figurative speech. In other words, whether or to what extent a type of figurative language can be translated is not important. Rather the focus is on how figurative language has been translated. Solutions should keep the context and effect or intention of the instance of figurative speech in mind. This is because what is being said or meant is more important than the way it is formulated. The intention of the figurative speech, together with the importance of culture, should inform the TT formulation so that the TT is understandable to the TA.

Translation solutions can be chosen from a range of various translation strategies available. I have mentioned a few translation strategies for figurative language above. All the translation

strategies, not only those specific to figurative language, will be listed below in Table 2.1 and examples of each will be presented in Chapter 4, Table 4.5.

2.3.4 Translation strategies

I compared translation strategies set out in the literature by various authors and collated them into a list of strategies, as many of them overlap and describe similar strategies. After analysing the translation pairs and determining which strategies were applicable to each pair I discovered that several of the strategies were either not applicable to this corpus or were not useful in terms of analysis, resulting in 24 strategies used in this study. These strategies and some of the authors who mentioned them are tabulated below in Table 2.1. Examples of the strategies from the corpus can be found in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.

I divided the translations strategies into four categories: general language use, figurative language, cultural items and wordplay. Wordplay is included here specifically with one character, Oubaas, in mind and only has one strategy, namely to maintain humour. The following table shows the translation strategies used in this study, indicated in bold, and their equivalent strategies from the literature in the adjacent columns. This includes the author, the name they use for the strategy and where their discussions on each strategy can be found.

Strategy	From the literature: authors and their term¹⁴	
addition	Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007:202, 207): addition	Bogucki (2004:129): addition
cultural neutralisation	Karamitroglou (1998): neutralisation / explanation	
cultural transfer	Karamitroglou (1998): cultural transfer	Katan (2004:202): chunk sideways
explication	Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007:202, 203): explication	Chesterman (1997:108): explicitness change
grammar shift	Vinay & Darbelnet (1960:50): transposition, grammar shift	Chesterman (1997:94, 96): phrase structure change
hypernym	Katan (2004:200): chunking up	Fawcett (1997:21): hypernym
hyponym	Hermans (1999:59): hyponymy	Katan (2004:205): chunking down
implication	Toury (1980:102): Implication	

¹⁴ I have only included a maximum of two authors; most of these strategies are listed by several authors.

Strategy	From the literature: authors and their term	
literal	Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007:202): calque / literal translation	Vinay & Darbelnet (1960:48): literal translation
loan/calque	Chesterman (1997:94): loan, calque	Vinay & Darbelnet (1960:47): loan / calque
maintain humour	Gottlieb (1997:210): adapted to maintain humour	Offord (1997:241): imitate technique
metaphorical modulation	Gottlieb (1997:210): verbatim (literal) translation of wordplay (wordplay is disregarded)	Alvarez (1993:486): modulation (same words, different connotations)
modulation	Bogucki (2004:129): modulation	Vinay & Darbelnet (1960:51): modulation, perspective, cognitive shift
no conjunction	Hermans (1999:60): mutation	
non-figurative to figurative	Toury (1995 in Schäffner 2004:1257): non-metaphor to metaphor	Toury (1980:102): the occurrence of linguistic-textual substance in TT, which has no counterpart, thus no motivation, in ST.
non-rhetorical	Veisbergs (1997:166): analogue idiom transformation (similar expression, not an idiom)	Zabalbeascoa (2004:109): non-rhetorical: literal language
omission	Gottlieb (1997:210): not rendered	Newmark (1980:97): deletion
paraphrase	Chesterman (1997:101, 104): paraphrase	Bogucki (2004:127): paraphrase
rhetorical language	Newmark (1980:96): metaphor to simile	Zabalbeascoa (2004:109): non-metaphor, rhetorical (hyperbole, simile, literal description)
same figurative language	Dobrzyńska (1995:599): equivalent metaphor	Newmark (1980:96): replace image with standard TL image
SL image	Newmark (1980:95): reproducing the same image in the TL	Van den Broeck (1981 in Schäffner 2004:1256): substitution (similar tenor, different vehicle)
synonym	Chesterman (1997:101, 102): synonymy	Fawcett (1997:21): synonymy

Strategy	From the literature: authors and their term	
transliteration	De Vries & Verheij (1997:72): transliteration	Karamitroglou (1998): transposition (literal translation)
transposition	Vinay & Darbelnet (1960:52): adaptation, cultural equivalent	Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007:202, 204): transposition

Table 2.1 Translation strategies used in this study and their sources

I used the term ‘transposition’ as it is used by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:202, 204) who use the term to refer to what Vinay and Darbelnet call ‘adaptation’ and ‘cultural equivalent’. While grammar shift is a shift in grammatical category or sentence type, transposition denotes idiomatic equivalence in the TL. An example of transposition, taken from the corpus, is as *ons twee-twee stort* in the ST which is *if we shower in twos* in the TT. An example of grammar shift is the question *Waar kom jy aan sulke snert?* in the ST which is translated by the one-word exclamation *bull!* Examples of the other strategies are tabulated in Table 4.5 in Section 4.3.2. Furthermore, it should be noted that not all the strategies are applicable to figurative language. The strategies applicable to figurative language are listed in Table 5.1

2.4 Summary

This chapter explained the descriptive aspect of this study. This study is quantitative and aims to retrospectively reconstruct the translation choices and determine the norms governing the translation. In order to do this it should be kept in mind that in DTS ‘equivalence’ is a functional relationship, that a translation falls somewhere between acceptability and adequacy and that translation pairs are the starting point of a comparative study. This study’s comparison will also be done with translation pairs and will be set out in Chapters 4 and 5.

I have also discussed the specific problem of the translation of figurative speech. There are many types of figurative speech and the definition applicable to this study is a fairly wide one which includes all Newmark’s types of metaphor. Translating figurative speech is problematic because of its culture-specificity. There are several ways of dealing with this problem, by way of translation strategies. The strategies used in this study are listed above and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. The next chapter will be dedicated to the particular type of translation being studied, namely subtitles.

Chapter 3: Literature study – Subtitles

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter covered DTS and the translation of figurative language. This chapter will look at the particular mode of translation under study – subtitling. The nature of subtitles, their norms, conventions and constraints will be looked at. The intersemiotic nature of subtitles will also be examined. This chapter concludes with the findings of previous studies similar to this one, dealing with the translation of figurative speech in subtitles, and the state of subtitles in South Africa.

Like DTS, audiovisual translation (AVT) has norms and conventions, which will be discussed in detail in Section 3.3. Other concepts shared by DTS and AVT are system and the notion of acceptability/adequacy. Rosa (2001:213) writes about the TT system in AVT, Delabastita (1990:100, 104) talks about the target system and the target film and TV system as well as the systems of cultures (Delabastita 1989:210), Luyken et al. (1991:43) speak of a subtitling system, and Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007:45–47) mention the sign systems present in films and other audiovisual material. Gambier (2003:179) states that ‘acceptability’ is the “key word in screen translation”. Díaz Cintas (2004:29) looks at acceptability/adequacy as they apply to AVT and Boguki (2004:44–47, 76, 132) discusses how acceptability and adequacy apply to subtitling. Furthermore, Díaz Cintas (2004:21–30) applies DTS to AVT and analyses the relevance of norms and the notions of acceptability/adequacy in AVT. Thus it can be seen that AVT is mapped, by use of the same concepts, as part of DTS.

Subtitles, the focus of this study, fall under a particular type of translation known as screen translation (O’Connell 2007), media translation, multimedia translation, audiovisual translation (O’Connell 2007:123), or language transfer (Luyken et al. 1991). Gambier (2003:171) tracks the change in terminology, stating that ‘film translation’ was used before television, video, and now DVD, became popular when ‘language transfer’ was still the main focus in TS as part of the linguistic approach. With this term the focus was on language, even though language is supplemented by pictures and sounds, which is why ‘audiovisual translation’ was introduced (Gambier 2003:171). For this reason, as well as the fact that the translation is from spoken dialogue to written text, the term ‘audiovisual translation’ will be used in this study to refer to the field as a whole, while ‘subtitling’ will refer to the particular type of AVT under study in this investigation. Audiovisual translation (AVT) is the translation of audiovisual products, which are

products that are made up of several codes which need to operate simultaneously for the production of meaning (Chiaro 2009a:169). Such products include films, operas, plays and video games (Chiaro 2009a:170).

What makes AVT a particular form of translation is that the translator only translates the verbal component, while the process is often constrained by the visual component, because the verbal is highly dependent on the visual (Chiaro 2009a:170). All the constraints which influence subtitling will be discussed in detail below (Section 3.3.3). Another distinctive feature of AVT is that the translator produces subtitles, “but there is no one particular client” (James 2001:151). This may put extra strain on the translator, because while a certain film¹⁵ may appeal to a certain demographic group, the audience may consist of people of different ages, literacy levels, hearing abilities, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and so on. In addition, as James (2001:151) points out, “different clients have different expectations”.

AVT includes subtitling and revoicing (Neves 2007:252; Pérez-González 2009:14-17). Revoicing entails both dubbing and voice-over (Pérez-González 2009:14-17) and there are two main types of subtitles: intralingual and interlingual. (O’Connell 2007:125; Pérez-González 2009:14-15). Chiaro (2009a:170) identifies dubbing, voice-over and subtitles as the most common types of AVT. In addition there are subtitles done by non-professionals, which are termed ‘fansubs’. The differences between subtitles, surtitles and intertitles will be discussed later (in Section 3.1.1).

The development of subtitles began with the first movies and their use of intertitles. Because early films were silent, intertitles were used when necessary to supplement “the linguistic elements of early films” (O’Connell 2007:122). Intertitles could thus be considered the origin of subtitles. However, when films started including sound, the so-called talkie, Hollywood films presented a language barrier for European audiences and thus dubbing and subtitling grew rapidly in Europe (O’Connell 2007:122). As Pérez-González (2009:13) states, mainstream forms of AVT as we know it now, subtitling and dubbing, “were born on the back of sound motion pictures”. Simply stated: “A common companion of the image since the 1930s has been the word, and with the word comes the need for translation” (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:8).

¹⁵ A note on terminology, the term *film* is used in this study in a general sense, in order for it to include television programmes. Thus ‘film translation’ also refers to the translation of television programmes, unless otherwise stated. See also Delabastita (1989:195).

A definition of subtitles may be a translation practice consisting of the presentation of written text, usually on the lower part of the screen, which attempts to relay the speakers' dialogue, information in the soundtrack (songs, off-screen voices), and discursive elements in the image (letters, posters, etc.) (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:8; Díaz Cintas 2003:195). Chiaro (2009b:141-142) defines subtitling as written translation of dialogue superimposed on the image, and is thus visible on screen. Gottlieb's (in Chiaro 2009b:148) definition goes a bit further and states that subtitling is a verbal message in filmic media rendered in a different language by way of one or more lines of text which appear on screen in sync with the original dialogue, that is, the ST.

Remael (2003:226) believes that the central concern of subtitling is to "render different types of speech in two lines of concise and intelligible writing with minimal loss of informative content". Remael (2003:226) does mention other concerns of subtitling, such as synchrony between image and dialogue, and the representation of register, slang and linguistic idiosyncrasies. Remael's concerns are similar to two of the three fundamental issues of AVT highlighted by Gambier (2003:172): the relationship between the image, soundtrack and subtitles and the relationship between the spoken and the written elements. Gambier's (2003:172) third fundamental issue is the relationship between the SL and SC (source culture) and the TL and TC (target culture).

3.1.1 Types of subtitling

It has already been mentioned that there are various types of subtitles and other types of AVT from spoken to written such as surtitles and intertitles. Where the text is situated, the localisation, determines which type it is; subtitles are underneath the image, intertitles are between images and surtitles are above the image (Bartoll 2004:55).

Intertitles have been discussed above, and are the linguistic supplement in silent films and not a translation, though they can of course be translated themselves. Surtitles are more similar to subtitles in that they are translations, and they also are a written representation of spoken dialogue or other form of voice track (O'Connell 2007:123), such as singing and are consequently used mainly in operas.

The way the subtitles are translated – using full sentences or only key phrases – categorises them as a certain type: either traditional, which is full sentence subtitles, or reduced, which are subtitles made up only of key phrases (Luyken et al. 1991:41). Traditional subtitles, in addition

to being full sentences, are synchronised to the dialogue (Luyken et al. 1991:41). This type is the most common form of subtitle (Luyken et al. 1991:41) and is the form used in *7de Laan*.

There are other ways of classifying subtitles and Gottlieb (in Bartoll 2004:53-54) notes that most classifications focus on two aspects of subtitling: the linguistic and technical aspects.

Linguistically subtitles are characterised either as intralingual or interlingual. Intralingual subtitles are subtitles which use the same language as the original dialogue. This type of subtitle is for hearing-impaired people of the same language, or for people learning the language (Bartoll 2004:53; De Linde & Kay 1999:2). Interlingual subtitling is between two languages (Bartoll 2004:53), where the subtitles are aimed at the TL audience.

Interlingual subtitles mean translation from a SL in the dialogue to a TL in the subtitles (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:17). Pérez-González (2009:14) defines interlingual subtitles as translated ST speech presented in subtitles. With interlingual subtitles, the translation – the subtitles – does not replace the ST. Both the ST and the TT “are present in synchrony in the subtitled version” (Georgakopoulou 2009:21). Gottlieb (in Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:17) refers to this type of subtitling as ‘diagonal subtitling’ because there are two shifts that take place: between languages and between modes, spoken to written. It is the change between two dimensions that is diagonal; by the same token Gottlieb refers to intralingual subtitling as vertical subtitling (Bartoll 2004:54). In vertical subtitling the oral discourse, as well as other features of the soundtrack, are transcribed and there is a change in only one dimension.

Interlingual subtitles are not suitable for hearing-impaired viewers for two reasons: only what is spoken is in the subtitle and this type of subtitle has “high presentation rates” (De Linde & Kay 1999:74), which requires a faster reading speed than most hearing-impaired viewers can accomplish. The features of intralingual subtitles and the needs of hearing-impaired viewers will be discussed below.

Further, Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:13) mention two types of interlingual subtitles: one for hearers and one for the hearing-impaired. The latter is also called subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, which is shortened to SDH¹⁶ (Neves 2007:255), and is the type that is used in *7de Laan* (Roets 2011). Interlingual subtitles that cater for SDH include the paralinguistic information that these viewers cannot access, which Bartolomé and Cabrera (2005:97) refer to as “audio description”.

¹⁶ Even though this is the term and abbreviation used in the literature, I prefer “hearing-impaired”.

In intralingual subtitles the dialogue as well as “other important features of a soundtrack” (De Linde & Kay 1999:2) are represented in written form in the subtitles. Intralingual subtitles are in the same language as the dialogue and include explanatory transcriptions of sounds needed to understand the action or plot, and which hearing-impaired people cannot access (Pérez-González 2009:15). The other important features of a soundtrack, sounds relevant to plot or the atmosphere, are referred to as paralinguistic information (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:14; Díaz Cintas & Anderman 2009:5). This paralinguistic information is transcribed into visual written form, so that hearing-impaired viewers can access the information (De Linde & Kay 1999:74). Paralinguistic information includes laughter, applause, a doorbell or telephone ringing and so on (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:14; Díaz Cintas & Anderman 2009:5).

3.2 Subtitles as translation

There may be doubt as to whether subtitles are translation because of the variety of media constraints influencing AVT. Some translation theorists view AVT as adaptation and not as translation (Díaz Cintas 2003:194). Bogucki (2004:26) notes that some scholars are doubtful as to whether film translation, and therefore by extension AVT, is translation or adaptation. Interestingly, the project manager of the *7de Laan* subtitles does not believe that subtitling is translation. She says

Net ter inligting. Onderskrifte is NIE 'n vertaling nie. Jy kan nooit ooit altyd 'n letterlike weergawe gee van wat daar gesê word nie. Net een ding bepaal wat jy in 'n onderskrif sit – die tyd tot jou beskikking om iets in te sê. (Roets 2011)

This implies Roets believes that only a literal translation, one that is as faithful to the ST as possible, counts as translation. This quote also illustrates the large role constraints, in this case temporal, play during the translation process. This section will show that the project manager is mistaken and that subtitles *are* translation. The arguments of the translation theorists who argue that subtitles are translation will be presented in Section 3.2.1. The nature of subtitles and what distinguishes them from both literary translation and other types of AVT are discussed in Section 3.2.2.

3.2.1 Is subtitling translation?

Díaz Cintas (2003:194) sees the outlook that subtitles are adaptation and not translation as “puristic and outdated” and a result of “the relative lack of interest in the professional activity on the part of translation scholars”. Similarly, Bogucki believes that subtitling is translation (Bogucki

2004:27) despite other scholars' uncertainty as to whether it is adaptation or translation. The fact that there is a relationship of equivalence between the subtitles and the context and dialogue of the original indicates that the creation of subtitles should be regarded as translation.

Hermans (1999:121) traces the beginning of the study of AVT in translation studies, specifically DTS, to the 1980s, when its study was mainly AVT such as dubbing and subtitling in films and television programmes. Hermans (1999:121) believes that "modern mass communication" matters to translation studies. Since AVT is the translation of audiovisual products such as film and television, which are forms of mass communication, it follows that television and its translation in the form of subtitles also matters to TS. In fact, Reid (in De Linde & Kay 1999:5) sees subtitling "as communicative translation par excellence".

Gambier and Gottlieb (2001:xix) look at the relevance of AVT in translation studies. They believe that AVT reveals the complexities and challenges of all types of communication and highlights the necessary functions of any translation (Gambier & Gottlieb 2001:xix). They also believe that because AVT looks at the relationship between verbal and other semiotic systems, it leads to a greater focus on "cultural and communicative aspects" rather than just the study of language and text (Gambier & Gottlieb 2001:xix).

Just as there is a literary polysystem, Díaz Cintas (2004:23) states that the concept of polysystem is flexible enough to be able to talk about a film polysystem in a specific country. The notion of polysystem (see Section 2.2.1) allows for the boundaries between high and low culture, the centre and the periphery to be blurred (Díaz Cintas 2004:23). This allows for "the reclamation of social activities ... traditionally marginalized", such as AVT in comparison to literary translation (Díaz Cintas 2004:23). Gambier (2003:178) illustrates that there are no clear boundaries or categories in which 'screen translators' can be placed. Gambier (2003:178) notes that sometimes screen translators are categorised as literary translators, sometimes as interpreters and sometimes as technical translators. While there may be uncertainty as to where screen translators should be categorised, it is clear that they do belong in the field of translation. In terms of the dichotomy between literary and non-literary translation, Munday (2009:183) points out that Snell-Hornby links film translation to literary translation in her integrated theory. Bassnett (in Díaz Cintas 2004:22) points out that while DTS has traditionally referred "almost exclusively" to literary translation, recent DTS-related works have referred to AVT, such as dubbing and subtitling, which is an indication that AVT has been accepted as translation.

There are definitely differences between subtitling and text translation (De Linde & Kay 1999:3), but that does not mean that subtitling is not translation. As Chaume (2002:2) states “audiovisual translation is a modality of translation that constitutes a specific area of research”. AVT has similarities to other types or modalities of translation, but it also has “attributes that set it apart from the rest” (Chaume 2002:2). The differences mentioned by De Linde and Kay (1999:3) include a ‘text’ that is not only made up of written elements, but also has visual and audio components, the translation is from an oral to a written language, and there are obligatory omissions. There are other features that distinguish subtitling from other forms of translation; therefore I will look at the nature of subtitles.

3.2.2 Nature of subtitles

Luyken et al. (1991:156) identify three characteristics of subtitling which distinguish it from other types of AVT: in subtitling spoken language is conveyed into written language, the written text of the TT is much shorter than what is said in the ST, and subtitling “does not drastically modify the original” (Luyken et al. 1991:156) but it does reduce the visible area of the image.

They further note that AVT differs from other types of translation in at least four features (Luyken et al. 1991:153-155). The first is that AVT only affects one element of the original ST (Luyken et al. 1991:153). In subtitling, the entire ST remains intact with the addition of subtitles which covers a portion of the image (Luyken et al. 1991:154). Thus, AVT replaces one part of the overall message, that which is spoken. It is replaced either by TL dialogue, in dubbing and voice-over, or is an addition in the form of subtitles in the TL(s) (Luyken et al. 1991:154). The second feature is that the message is altered by AVT (Luyken et al. 1991:154). In AVT there is no space for footnotes and explanations so its “scope for manoeuvre is far more limited than for literary translation” (Luyken et al. 1991:154). However, with this little room for manoeuvre, the text of the subtitles must appear to be a full representation of the dialogue, an “unaltered rendition” (Luyken et al. 1991:154). Luyken et al. (1991:154) argue that the only way to “make room for ‘interpretation’, while at the same time” complying with the technical constraints of subtitling, is by deleting segments from the original. Thus the message is altered as well as abridged (Luyken et al. 1991:154), which leads to the third feature, namely that subtitling is shorter than the original (Luyken et al. 1991:154). The final feature identified as distinguishing AVT from other types of translation is that AVT includes an editorial element (Luyken et al. 1991:155). Luyken et al. (1991:155) claim that AVT adds information to the ST and omits some information. They state that AVT cannot ever attempt to translate “every bit of information”

(Luyken et al. 1991:155). In this sense the translator or subtitler makes editorial decisions about what to omit, condense and add (Luyken et al. 1991:155).

Adaptation refers to the transposition from spoken to written language (Luyken et al. 1991:55) and in which the ST dialogue is condensed to comply with the time and spatial constraints of subtitling (which will be discussed further below). Non-essential information should be omitted, but “extreme condensation is also undesirable” (Luyken et al. 1991:55). This is so that the meaning of the message remains clear (Luyken et al. 1991:55). Furthermore they argue that condensation focuses the subtitler’s attention on the “classic dichotomy of all translation”: literal or free translation (Luyken et al. 1991:55). There is a choice between an exact representation of individual words versus representing the essence of what is said (Luyken et al. 1991:55).

According to the project manager of the *7de Laan* subtitles (Roets 2011, see Addendum A2), the subtitlers realise that literal translation is not always feasible and that conveying the nuances of what is said is important.

Luyken et al. (1991:155) have mentioned, as seen above, that AVT is shorter and condenses the original and they argue that subtitle composition “is the creation of condensed messages from extended messages”. Bogucki (2004:87) states that “subtitling entails reduction”. Subtitling is reduced because it can only represent a shortened version of the ST, but it does try to provide maximum information (Bogucki 2004:115). Besides being shortened, Gottlieb (in Bogucki 2004:114) argues that the pragmatic force of an utterance is often weakened when it is subtitled. What is read in subtitles is “often less personal, less insulting or less funny” than the ST dialogue (Gottlieb in Bogucki 2004:115). This is the case with *7de Laan* as omission is a strategy that is frequently used (Section 4.3.2). In terms of the pragmatic forces of utterances in *7de Laan*, four characters with distinctive idiolects are examined (Section 5.3.2.2) and all four characters have fewer distinguishing utterances in the TT than they do in the ST.

Another important feature of subtitles is their overt nature, which Bogucki (2004:46) argues “lies in its mode of delivery”. Subtitles are overt, not because of the quality of the translation or the strategies employed, but because of the way it is disseminated (Bogucki 2004:44). They are an added text, supplemented to film – the image and the soundtrack – which mark subtitled films as “unmistakably non-original” (Bogucki 2004:44). Overt and covert translation may also refer to whether a translation is source- or target-oriented, that is adequate or acceptable (Bogucki 2004:47). However, this usage is not the case in this instance. Subtitled films are overt because

they are obviously marked as a translation. But subtitles as a form translation are of course somewhere between adequate and acceptable¹⁷ as well.

Because of the overt nature of subtitling, which maintains the original version, the TT lays “itself bare to criticism from everybody with the slightest knowledge” of the ST (Gottlieb in Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:56-57). Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:57) thus refer to subtitling as an example of ‘vulnerable translation’. With vulnerable translation, the target audience may make a comparison between the TT and the ST, the subtitles and the soundtrack (Chiaro 2009b:155). In this way they may notice and identify “discrepancies, omissions and unexpected equivalents” (Chiaro 2009b:155). Therefore, in addition to technical constraints, subtitles also need to “stand up to the scrutiny” of any audience members who have some knowledge of the SL (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:57).

Even though there may be audience members who understand the SL and may criticise the TT, they are not necessarily aware of the technical and media-related constraints of subtitling (Pérez-González 2009:16). Bogucki (2004:93) refers to this as “unprofessional ‘quality assessment’” by the audience. Other types of translations, such as literary translation and dubbing, do not allow for the same type of immediate comparison as subtitling does (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:55). Literary translation cannot be compared as easily because the ST and the TT are often two different texts, such as books. Dubbing cannot be compared immediately because the nature of dubbing is that the TT soundtrack and vocals override those of the ST, which means one would have to alternate between watching the ST and the TT. Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:55) state that the fact that subtitles can be compared in this way is known as the ‘gossiping effect’ or ‘feedback effect’.

In terms of adequacy/acceptability, Bogucki (2004:132) notes that “[i]n subtitling the emphasis is laid on aiding the audience in their viewing”. He argues that subtitles will thus rather be closer to the target-oriented pole, and that ‘correct’ subtitles will usually be acceptable rather than adequate (Bogucki 2004:132). Subtitles are displayed simultaneously with the dialogue for a certain amount of time, which means the audience is forced to read the subtitles at a fixed pace (Bogucki 2004:62). This means the audience is unable to go back to previous subtitles if they did not understand them. Therefore the subtitler should not aim to be as explicit as possible, but rather take the audience’s “immediately accessible assumptions” and inferences into account (Bogucki 2004:61).

¹⁷ See Section 2.2.2.4 in Chapter 2 for the discussion of these terms.

While the coherence of the dialogue needs to be transmitted to the target audience in the subtitles, “fidelity is subordinated to the communicative needs of an audience” (Gambier 2003:185) in AVT (Gambier 2003:184-185). Bartoll (2004:57) states that the audience is a parameter which affects both the strategies used and the relationship between the SL and the TL, thus the acceptability or adequacy. He also argues that the first addressees who should be taken into account are people with hearing impairments (Bartoll 2004:57). The goal of subtitling, according to Bogucki (2004:132), is to assist and not complicate. Therefore the subtitles should represent the most important and relevant information, and nothing more or less (Bogucki 2004:132). The audience should be able to understand the message without having to put in “undesirable processing effort” (Bogucki 2004:130). Luyken et al. (1991:55) claim that loyalty to the ST is “essential”, and interfering with the meaning of the ST is “undesirable”. In Newmark’s distinction between semantic and communicative translation, Luyken et al. (1991:156) state that subtitling is communicative translation “par excellence” and thus the focus should be on the intention of a speaker and not the words of the ST as such.

Subtitles may be seen by some as a distraction and Georgakopoulou (2009:21) states that subtitles are most successful when they are not noticed. He suggests that in order for them to go unnoticed they should be as concise as needed so as not to distract the audience from the programme. They also need to “comply with certain levels of readability” (Georgakopoulou 2009:21). However, Delabastita (1990:98) states the process of subtitle perception is mainly automatised and that viewers who do not need the subtitles find it difficult not to read them. It actually takes more effort not to read subtitles (Bartoll 2004:56). Reading subtitles is not a habit; in a choice between speech and text, viewers choose text and read the subtitles (d’Ydewalle, Praet, Verfaillie & van Rensbergen in Bartoll 2004:56).

With subtitling the ST is the dialogue, but the dialogue is from a script. Thus there is a question as to what the subtitler uses as the ST – the dialogue or the script. Kruger and Kruger (2005:277) point out that in between the scripted-unscripted continuum, that is, between using the script all the time to never using the script when translating, there are institutions where “scripts are used when available, and then only as an aid”, as is the case with *7de Laan* (Roets 2011). Gottlieb (in Kruger & Kruger 2005:277) believes that students training to be subtitlers should learn to work without a script because scripts may be incorrect in the places where they are needed by the students, which means that if students refer to the scripts to clarify something they heard, the script might not have that scene or the exact wording of the dialogue. I experienced this when comparing the episodes on DVD to their scripts – some scenes in the

script of one episode were broadcast as part of another episode or the wording in the recorded episode was not exactly the same as the wording in the script. Gottlieb also believes that without scripts they have a holistic view of the subtitling process (in Kruger & Kruger 2005:277). Translating from a script may lead to translating the lines and forming them into text blocks. In Gottlieb's opinion the language should not be translated in isolation, but in the visual and audio context of the film, recreating the dialogue (Gottlieb in Kruger & Kruger 2005:277).

Subtitling is a particular form of translation, with its own set of constraints. Subtitling is guided by various constraints (Bogucki 2004:131), over and above the linguistic problems and constraints of literary translation (Luyken et al. 1991:55). The constraints of the medium, in particular the technical considerations, play a significant role in the decision-making process and these will be discussed in detail in the following section.

3.3 Conventions, norms and constraints

Subtitles are a distinct form of translation, as described above (Section 3.2.2), with their own set of governing considerations. This section will look at the technical considerations, conventions, norms and constraints that govern subtitles and the translation process of producing subtitles.

3.3.1 Technical considerations

There are various "audiovisual variables" (Gambier 2003:186) which influence different features of a specific film's subtitles. These variables include the genre of the film, broadcasting time and the type of action on screen, which has to do with the relationship between image and dialogue. Gambier (2003:186) argues that some audiovisual and sociological variables may be correlated to certain features of subtitles. They are paratextual features which include semantic coherence, syntactic complexity, language norms, register, translation strategies for cultural reference and the use of punctuation, italics and bold (Gambier 2003:186-187). This section will look at a range of these features and how they are used in subtitling.

Other technical aspects that need to be taken into consideration are the number of lines per subtitle, how the lines are utilised and laid out, the number of characters per subtitle, subtitle presentation rate and reading capacities of the audience. These are spatiotemporal considerations which are media-specific constraints of subtitling and will be discussed in detail in Section 3.3.3.

Subtitles should be synchronised to the speaking turns of the characters. Subtitles should, and are expected to, appear when the character starts speaking and to disappear when the character stops (Sokoli 2009:39). De Linde and Kay (1999:46) argue that all obvious sounds, where it is clear that someone is speaking, should have some type of subtitle accompanying it to “reduce the frustration felt by deaf viewers when faced with silent moving mouths”.

Remael (2003:226) notes that the simplification of syntax and vocabulary as well as omitting irrelevant information lead to subtitles that allow for “a good understanding of the message”. A good understanding means that it is clear and easily understood and for this reason “simple lexis”, or vocabulary, is preferred over complex words (Chiaro 2009b:151). Similarly simpler syntactic structures are usually shorter and easier to understand than complex syntax (Karamitroglou 1998, see Addendum B7). However, the simpler syntax should still maintain the semantic load, function and stylistic features of the dialogue (Karamitroglou 1998). Simpler vocabulary and syntax are two ways of making a subtitle shorter and thus easier to process; another way is simply omitting what is redundant. In subtitling, omissions and deletions are “unavoidable” (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:162), and the decision to omit is driven by “issues of redundancy or relevance” (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:163). A subtitle may be redundant if what is being communicated is made clear by the action on screen (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:162), such as someone visibly screaming.

Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:162) note that certain omissions are language-specific, for example in French there are many more articles than in English, so in translations from French to English some articles will be omitted. They also suggest that modifiers, most adjectives and adverbs may be omitted in the subtitle as they only modify information of the verb or noun (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:162). While certain words may be omitted for brevity, omitting a character’s turn in an interaction is unacceptable “because it affects the interaction between the characters and possibly their characterization” (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:162).

While interlingual subtitles are generally shortened, SDH is even shorter and relies more on summary than interlingual subtitles do (O’Connell 2007:125). This is because they tend to be on screen for longer and include paralinguistic information. The subtitles of *7de Laan* are interlingual but they are also SDH (Roets 2011), so they may be shorter than most interlingual subtitles. Roets (2011) states that her instruction is to keep the subtitles as simple and concise as possible: “my opdrag is om dit so eenvoudig en bondig moontlik [...] te hou”.

Just the change from spoken to written language requires that the “quantity of language” signs is altered so that the subtitles can be processed along with the speech flow of the programme (Nir 1984:82). Less language signs result in less information (Nir 1984:82); in fact, Dollerup (1974:197) believes “that it is often necessary to cut a message down to the bare essentials”. This is also done to ensure that the subtitles are processed and understood by all viewers, who have varying reading speeds.

Based on the features thus far, specifically the simplification and shortening of the subtitles, subtitlers are faced with various decision-making instances during the translation process (Bogucki 2004:102). They have to decide how to translate the ST and its components and what to omit (Bogucki 2004:102). This decision should be informed by the expectations of the clients, especially the viewers (James 2001:152). The subtitles should satisfy the expectations of the audience (James 2001:152) on various levels. Luyken et al. (1991:155) argue that in AVT, more so than in “conventional translation”, “there is a need for an accurate appreciation of the knowledge which the audience might be expected to have or not to have”. In this way the subtitler is familiar with the audience’s frame of reference and accessible knowledge so the subtitles should allow the audience to access that. The expectations of the audience include “correct, clear, credible” subtitles which are not intrusive and form part of the on-screen action (James 2001:152). Expectations of subtitling are not only audience expectations, but also the subtitler’s own idea of what subtitles should look like. The broadcaster or television channel also has a notion of what subtitles should be, and all of these influence what the final product looks like (Remael 2001:17).

In terms of cultural constraints and cultural adaptation in subtitles, Chiaro (2009b:155) notes that there are three “translation hurdles” in AVT: highly-cultural specific references, such as place names, institutions, famous people, references to sport and festivities, etc.; language-specific features, such as terms of address and taboo language; and areas of overlap between language and culture, such as songs, rhymes, jokes, etc. This study focuses on an instance of the third hurdle, an overlap between language and culture which also includes allusions, metaphors and idiomaticity (Chiaro 2009b:162). This area of overlap combines “strictly linguistic features with cultural references” (Chiaro 2009b:156), and therefore are labelled as ‘fuzzy’.

The final technical consideration relevant to this study is that proof-reading should form part of quality control which includes a spell check, a preliminary reading of the subtitles and a full viewing of the programme with subtitles (James 2001:154). It is best that the proof-reading is

not done by the subtitler (Luyken et al. 1991:59). According to Roets (2011), she, as the project manager, reads the subtitles as they would appear when the programme is broadcast. This is done to ensure that the TT is idiomatic and that paralinguistic information is conveyed in the subtitles so that hearing-impaired viewers can access them.

'n Ander persoon (Engelssprekend) of ek, gaan daardeur vir basiese taalgoggas, meer 'Engels' [...] Ek doen dan agterna die finale check vir die dowes waar ek sonder klank daarna kyk ... (Roets 2011)

3.3.2 Conventions and norms

Target audience expectations influence the translation process, which can turn into conventions and which then could lead to certain norms (Bogucki 2004:86). Over and above translation norms, the translator is tied to the technical limitations and constraints of the medium (Bogucki 2004:86). Constraints limit the translator, while norms guide the translator (Sokoli 2009:36). I will look at some of the conventions, norms and ways to reconstruct norms of subtitling.

Some conventions have been mentioned in the above discussion of the technical considerations of subtitling, for example that of the simplification of grammar and vocabulary with only certain interactional features maintained in the subtitles (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:63). Interactional features are maintained through word order, rhetorical questions, occasional interjections and incomplete sentences (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:63). By shortening dialogue and rendering it into subtitles, Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:63) argue that “not all the features of speech are lost” and claim that a number of features can be retained in the subtitles but “rendering them all would be illegible” (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:63) and result in extremely lengthy subtitles (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:64). Another convention already mentioned is omitting parts of the dialogue which are not relevant or informative (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:64).

The last convention I will look at before subtitling norms are discussed, is how language tends to be levelled in the TT. Because of its constraints, “subtitling is claimed to foster cultural and linguistic standardization by ironing non-mainstream identities” out of the subtitles (Pérez-González 2009:16). This means that individual speech styles and idiolects are translated into more standard language use. Word choice, unique to a character or social group, tends to be eliminated in subtitling (Hatim & Mason 1997:431). The standard variety of language is favoured, and markers of sociolects tend not to be featured (Hatim & Mason 1997:431). This

standardisation of language is known as levelling and is the subject of Toury's Law of Standardisation (Toury 1995a:267–274). One of his reformulations of this law states that:

in translation, textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favour of [more] habitual options offered by a target repertoire. (Toury 1995a:268)

Pérez-González also (2009:16) argues that subtitling “typically leads to the domestication of the source dialogue”, that is orientating the dialogue towards the TA and therefore the TL. However, subtitlers may make an effort not to do this when translating distinctive ways of speaking. For example, a character in *7de Laan*, Oubaas, frequently confuses idioms and words. When comparing the way he is represented via his speech in the dialogue to the way this is done in the subtitles¹⁸, there is a clear indication that the translators made an effort to represent his idiolect. However, there are fewer utterances typical of Oubaas in the TT compared to the ST; 38% of his TT utterance are typical of him while 52% of his ST utterances are. This is further discussed with reference also to other characters in Section 5.3.2.2.

The reconstruction, or discovery, of norms is “based on the systematic observation of actual translation behaviour” (Delabastita 1989:206), and observation should reveal patterns in behaviour (Delabastita 1989:194). Patterns or regularities in behaviour are the “systematic occurrence or non-occurrence of specific strategies in translation” (Delabastita 1989:205). Norms may also be directly expressed in metatexts, such as prescriptive statements and “scholarly discussions” of norms in film translation (Delabastita 1989:205), as has been detailed previously (in Section 2.2.1.2). There is no singular norm which governs film translation; various norms may be active and in play simultaneously (Delabastita 1989:206). Delabastita (1989:206) claims that “we have to attempt to identify a complex interaction group of related norms”. In addition norms may indicate “more or less desirable” translation behaviour (Delabastita 1989:194), meaning not all norms are positively stated.

In the discussion of DTS I have looked at Toury's and Chesterman's categorisation of norms (see Sections 2.2.2.5.1 and 2.2.2.5.2), which are done differently but cover the same areas (Sokoli 2009:37). To repeat, there are Chesterman's social, ethical and technical norms, subdivided into product and process, with subsections accountability, communication and relation; and Toury's initial, preliminary and operational norms, subdivided into matricial and textual (Sokoli 2009:37).

¹⁸ This is done in Chapter 5, specifically Figures 5.14 and 5.15.

Relation norms have to do with the type of relationship between ST and TT. In subtitling, this norm has to do with addition or omission of information and the relationship between the various channels. This relationship is the interplay between dialogue, action and subtitles, which should be synchronised in that the subtitles should appear on screen when the original dialogue is spoken or paralinguistic occurrences happen (Sokoli 2009:37). Social norms in subtitling reflect the audience expectations of subtitles, which are formed by “the prevalent subtitling tradition in the target culture and by the previous viewing of subtitled films” (Sokoli 2009:37).

Delabastita (1989:206) proposes a checklist of questions which, when answered, should lead to the discovery of norms. The list is extensive and he divided it into two parts, the first of which is aimed at individual film ‘texts’ in a corpus (Delabastita 1989:206). General questions to be answered include the genre of the ST, which is also the level at which a distinction between television genres and cinema genres are made (Delabastita 1989:210). One of the possible differences between television and cinema is that a film is only about two hours long, whereas a soap opera runs for many years. Thus there is more opportunity for compensation, such as for characterisation, which can be established and compensated for across episodes. Another significant question is whether the genre of the ST exists in the TC (Delabastita 1989:210).

The norms that are discovered “can be expected to relate to” linguistic elements (Delabastita 1989:210). In terms of the TC’s “linguistic organisation” (Delabastita 1989:210), the way spoken and written language relate to each other, and what language varieties, registers and styles are available in the TL should be looked at (Delabastita 1989:210).

As discussed above (under ‘technical considerations’ 3.3.1) it is accepted that subtitles are shorter than the original dialogue. Conciseness is one of the major norms of subtitling (Remael 2003:226). Neves (2007:271) states that “one of the most basic rules of subtitling in general is that subtitles should be made simple and brief”.

3.3.3 Constraints

Norms aid the translator in the translation process in choosing the “right equivalent” (Bogucki 2004:16), while constraints narrow “the range of possible equivalents and translation strategies” (Bogucki 2004:16). The term ‘constraints’ refers to

any form of curtailment, be it desirable or not, that limits the translator’s or subtitler’s freedom to take decisions... (Bogucki 2004:15).

According to Bogucki (2004:15), subtitling is the AVT “where constraints are at their most vivid”. Constraints are not unique to AVT; translation “is always subject to constraints” (Bogucki 2004:75). However, AVT has technical considerations which are strict and observable by the audience (Bogucki 2004:75), which makes the constraints more obvious.

Delabastita (1989:198) states that any film translation is “governed by a number of constraints that pertain to the conditions of its material transmission”. What this means is the range of choices the translator has, whether it is in terms of linguistic, cultural or code incompatibilities between ST and TT, will “necessarily be restricted by the much more stringent technical constraints of the film medium” (Delabastita 1989:198). Bogucki (2004:132) agrees with this and argues that subtitling constraints are stricter than the constraints of literary translation, which results in a “considerably smaller” range of acceptable solutions. For instance, a possible translation may be too long for the subtitle so the translator would have to use another, perhaps not as good, translation. The constraints limit what the translators can do as Roets (2011) says of *7de Laan*: “Dit help nie jy doen ’n pragtige vertaling van ’n sin en dan gaan dit sublimaal voor die oog verby nie (mense kan dit nie lees nie)”. In AVT, particularly subtitling, the technical constraints

occupy a higher position in the translator’s hierarchy of priorities than do considerations of syntax, style or lexicon. (Delabastita 1990:99)

As Díaz Cintas (2004:29) notes, the constraints impose a certain degree of “inescapable ... prescriptivism”, such as a prescribed length with a prescribed number of characters per subtitle flash.

Thus subtitling is a form of translation in which the decision-making process is conditioned by constraints (Bogucki 2004:116). All translation deals with more than the linguistic aspects; other aspects such as the context, TC and TA also need to be kept in mind during the translation process (Araújo 2004:164). Therefore subtitling is governed by these translation constraints as well as the subtitling-specific technical constraints. In addition, “for the screen translators these limitations are more visible” (Araújo 2004:164).

There are three technical constraints in subtitling: spatial factors, temporal factors and the audience’s reading capacities (De Linde & Kay 1999:48). Another conditioning or constraining factor is the integration of text, sound and image (De Linde & Kay 1999:5). The factors in spatiotemporal constraints include the screen space available for the subtitles, the time

available for and between subtitles, and the display and format of subtitles (Luyken et al. 1991:42). Georgakopoulou (2009:21) identifies three types of constraints: technical, textual and linguistic. The technical constraints are spatiotemporal constraints and presentation rates (Georgakopoulou 2009:22). In subtitling the textual constraints are the shift of mode from spoken to written, which may result in processing and cohesion problems; and the fact that the viewer has various channels to decode simultaneously: the image, the soundtrack and the translated subtitles (Georgakopoulou 2009:22-23). The linguistic constraints are the same as for any type of translation, such as grammar, word choice and cross-cultural shifts (Georgakopoulou 2009:26). However, they are enhanced by the spatiotemporal constraints.

Hatim and Mason (in Bogucki 2004:16) point out that the spatiotemporal constraints result in TL subtitles that are more concise than the ST dialogue. In addition to the spatiotemporal constraints they list three other constraining factors: the shift from spoken to written language, the synchrony requirement – for the subtitles to match the image, both of which are discussed further below, and the fact that viewers are unable to back-track or reread subtitles (Hatim & Mason in Bogucki 2004:16).

The following summary of the subtitling process's constraints (Vanderschelden 2002:110), accurately captures the technical constraints of subtitling that will be discussed further below:

Let us say that the subtitling process is ruled by a series of well-defined technical restrictions in terms of space, number of characters per line and display time on the screen, all of which aim at reaching optimal readability.

These technical constraints are in addition to the linguistic considerations for the translation of figurative language discussed in the previous chapter in Section 2.3.3.

I will start with the spatiotemporal constraints – the number of lines and characters per subtitle and the presentation rate of subtitles, followed by what influences readability. I will also look at the consequences of these constraints, which are that the subtitles are significantly shorter and some of the features of speech are lost.

The space screen available for subtitles is limited by the physical size of the screen and the necessity of not obscuring the image (Luyken et al. 1991:42). According to Luyken et al. (1991:42) the maximum 'safe area' for subtitles, as two full lines of text, is around two thirds of the screen width. Subtitles can take up to 20% of the screen space (Georgakopoulou 2009:22); they should thus be positioned at the bottom part of the screen so that they cover the part of the

image which is usually of lesser importance in terms of the action, and to preserve the general aesthetic (Karamitroglou 1998). Subtitles are horizontal, at the bottom of the screen to “limit the obstruction of the image” (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:82). The position of the subtitles on screen, as well as the size of the characters, are important for their legibility (Georgakopoulou 2009:22).

Subtitling, specifically interlingual subtitling, has a two-line maximum (Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2007:82). Another space constraint is that the number of characters per line is also limited (O’Connell 2007:129). This constraint is a result of the limited space available for characters across the screen, as well as the two-line limit (O’Connell 2007:129). Characters include letters, punctuation marks, spaces between words (Nir 1984:82) and numbers (Luyken et al. 1991:43). Díaz Cintas and Remael’s (2007:63) recommendation is about 37 characters per line. O’Connell (2007:129) and Bogucki (2004:101) state that 30 to 40 characters can be displayed across the screen on one line. According to Delabastita (1989:204) the convention is 60 to 70 characters distributed across two lines. Karamitroglou (1998) recommends 35 characters per line. He argues that this allows for a satisfactory subtitle, with sufficient information and minimal reduction of the dialogue. He further states that any attempt to have 40 or more characters per line would result in a smaller font size, and affect legibility. De Linde and Kay (1999:6) also have a 40 character per line maximum.

Pérez-González (2009:15) says that each line can accommodate up to 35 characters, but that the actual number of characters per line in any subtitle depends on “the duration of the corresponding speech unit”. Gottlieb (1997:211) suggests a maximum of 70 characters per “subtitle block”. Hatim and Mason (1997:430) say that space is limited to 33 to 40 characters per line. They note that this is the convention in Europe and the Western world, and that in other parts of the world a “far greater intrusion” of text on screen “may be tolerated” (Hatim & Mason 1997:445). An estimated aggregate of the maximum number of characters per line, looking at the above information, is about 35 to 40 characters. Although this information will not be compared to the average in *7de Laan*, it illustrates the limited space subtitlers have to work with.

There are three factors that influence a subtitle’s presentation time: the amount of text or length of the subtitle, the viewers’ average reading speed and the “constant minimum interval between subtitles” (Luyken et al. 1991:43). This last factor is the amount of time between subtitles, or subtitle flashes, so that the audience recognises that one subtitle has ended and a new one has begun. Any subtitle, even if it only has four or five characters, should be displayed on screen for

at least one second so that the viewer can register that it is there (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:85). The presentation time of subtitles should be long enough to ensure that the viewers, even “non-professional reader[s]” have an “adequate understanding” of the subtitle (Delabastita 1989:204).

Thus the spatiotemporal constraints of subtitling influence the format of the subtitles (Georgakopoulou 2009:21). Subtitles should reflect the viewers’ reading speeds; as a result the estimated reading speeds influence both subtitle length and presentation rate (De Linde & Kay 1999:19). Reading speeds are also affected by the need to process both the image and the subtitle simultaneously (De Linde & Kay 1999:19). Spatiotemporal constraints and readings speeds are relevant to this study, as the project manager of *7de Laan* points out (Roets 2011, Addendum A2).

The average reading speed is between 150 and 180 words per minute, but this can be negatively affected by several factors (Luyken et al. 1991:43-43). These factors are the manner of text presentation (which is not controlled by the viewer in subtitles as is the case in printed media), the amount and complexity of information presented and the action on screen when a subtitle is being displayed (Luyken et al. 1991:44). De Linde and Kay (1999:6) also point out that the “quantity and complexity of linguistic information” as well as the on-screen visual information may affect reading speed, thus the “optimum subtitle is ... one which is easy to process” (Bogucki 2004:93). At the same time, the translator has to remember that “reading comprehension requires more time than aural comprehension” (Nir 1984:82).

It is important to note that generally hearing-impaired people do not read as quickly as hearing people (De Linde & Kay 1999:19). This is relevant to this study because, as noted previously, *7de Laan* caters for hearing-impaired people as well. This slower reading speed means that the subtitles are shorter, thus omitting more words (De Linde & Kay 1999:19). This could be investigated by comparing SDH subtitles, like those of *7de Laan*, to interlingual subtitles that are not aimed at hearing-impaired people, but this is beyond the scope of this study. However, the shorter subtitles necessitated by slower reading speeds are probably an influence on the high frequency of the use of omission as a translation strategy in comparison to other strategies (see Section 4.3.2).

In film, the soundtrack and the image are inseparable so the translation should be coherent with the image and subsequently the soundtrack (Hatim & Mason 1997:431). This is the requirement of matching the subtitle to the visual image, or synchronicity (Hatim & Mason 1997:431). The

presentation time should be arranged so that it matches the speaking time as much as possible, which would help the viewer assign a phrase or utterance to the correct speaker (Delabastita 1989:204).

As De Linde and Kay (1999:48) state, the constraints “necessitate a certain degree of editing” which include reducing, shortening or compressing the dialogue. The degree of editing is determined by a range of variables, including speech rate, the complexity of the text and the on-screen action (De Linde & Kay 1999:50). People speak quicker than they can read, which leads to summarising the content for subtitling (O’Connell 2007:129). Delabastita (1989:203) says that the rate of dialogue is faster than the subtitle presentation rate which results in a reduction of the ST. It is a quantitative reduction (Wurm 2007:120) and the TT can be reduced to up to one third of the ST in intralingual subtitles or SDH (Wurm 2007:120). What is omitted or retained in the reduction should be the result of informed choices by the subtitler. The subtitler should present “the essential elements” of the ST (Wurm 2007:125). Four characters and their unique ways of speaking will illustrate four different essential elements in an analysis of how these elements are represented in the TT (Section 5.3.2.2). These elements include codeswitching, confused idioms and ungrammatical language usage.

Hatim and Mason (1997:430) claim that the shift from speech to writing may result in the loss of certain features of spoken language such as non-standard dialects, intonation and code-switching. However, I will now take a more in-depth look at the intersemiotic nature of subtitles, the change from spoken to written and how this affects the representation of dialogue. I will look at how certain sociolects, in terms of race and age, and colloquial and ungrammatical language of specific characters are represented in subtitles (Section 5.3.2). This will also cover the difficulty of the asymmetry between spoken and written language, especially since there is no space for notes or metatextual comments in subtitling.

3.4 Intersemiotic nature

The intersemiotic nature of subtitles has to do with the interaction between the words and the image. This section will look at what this intersemiotic nature means for subtitling and examine the change from spoken to written language (Section 3.4.1) as well as the nature of dialogue and the shift in mode that occurs in subtitling (Section 3.4.2).

According to Gottlieb (in Munday 2008:184), subtitling is intrasemiotic because it takes place within the medium of film and “stays within the code of verbal language”. The ST is not altered,

nothing is deleted, an element is only added (Gottlieb in Munday 2008:184). Remael (2001:13-14) argues that since subtitling is not translation from one semiotic system to another, but the translation of “texts and intertextuality” (Remael 2001:14), it is not intersemiotic translation. On the other hand, Rosa (2001:213) believes that subtitling is intersemiotic because it is a written translation of a ST which is spoken in “face-to-face communication”. Additionally, Bogucki (2004:33) states that subtitling involves “multiple semiotic channels” as well as a shift from speech to written text.

While subtitling may not be intersemiotic, the original films certainly are and this influences the subtitles in certain ways. De Linde and Kay (1999:preface) argue that subtitling is not purely linguistic, as it is “strongly influenced by the structure and semiotics” of film. Film is a “multi-channel and multi-code type of communication” (Delabastita 1989:196). In film, two channels are used and interpreted simultaneously: the visual and the acoustic (Delabastita 1989:196).

Mayoral et al. (1988:359), point out that a subtitled film comprises speech, text, images, music and noise of the soundtrack. In both the ST and TT the film’s music, noise and image belong “unmistakably” to the SC (Mayoral et al. 1988:359). Only text and speech are translated, and not always completely, while the other codes remain the same. This is a “source of noise because of the bicultural nature of the message” (Mayoral et al. 1988:359). Here ‘noise’ is seen as a type of interference. Subtitles are not the translation product, but form part of the translated text (Sokoli 2009:38)

Chiaro (2009b:142) refers to screen products as ‘polysemiotic’, which can also be seen as ‘intersemiotic’ as it refers to several codes which interact simultaneously on two channels “to produce a single effect” (Chiaro 2009b:142). Chiaro (2009b:143) tabulates the channels, visual and acoustic, and the codes, verbal and non-verbal, to illustrate their constituents and how they fit together:

	VISUAL	ACOUSTIC
NON- VERBAL	Scenery, lighting, costumes, props, etc. Also: Gesture, facial expressions, body movement, etc.	Music, background noise, sound effects, etc. Also: Laughter, crying, humming, bodily sounds (breathing, coughing, etc.)
VERBAL	Street signs, shop signs, written realia (newspapers, letters, headlines, notes, etc.)	Dialogues, song-lyrics, poems, etc.

Table 3.1 The polysemiotic nature of audiovisual products (Chiaro 2009b:143)

A film is made up of all these different signs, codes and channels being disseminated and interpreted simultaneously. This includes the subtitles; consequently subtitles “must appear in synchrony with the image and dialogue” (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:9). Subtitles should be synchronised with the image and dialogue (De Linde & Kay 1999:36), “to fit ... the flow of events in the film” as well as the audience’s reading speed (Nir 1984:83). Synchrony is defined as “the agreement between signals emitted for the purpose of communicating the same message” (Mayoral et al. 1988:359).

Mayoral et al. (1988:359) identify several types of synchrony of which two are relevant to this study: synchrony of time and character synchrony. Synchrony of time has to do with simultaneous presentation of all the channels and codes such as subtitles appearing when the relevant dialogue takes place (Mayoral et al. 1988:359). Character synchrony is the concord between the image or personality of a character and the way the character speaks in terms of voice and word choice (Mayoral et al. 1988:359). If there is dischryony, noise is produced in the film which results in interference when the film is being decoded (Mayoral et al. 1988:362).

I have looked at the various signs in films and the importance of synchrony. I will now look at how the signs interact and what they mean for subtitling and how the various signs influence the content of the subtitles. When reading the subtitles, the audience follows the action at the same time which then supplements the subtitles (Nir 1984:90). As Chaume (2002:3) puts it, meaning is constructed “from the conjunction of images and words.” Subtitles are the translation of only the verbal channel, but because “the acoustic and visual codes ... create an inseparable whole”, the subtitles are “inextricably linked” to the image which is unchanged (Chiaro 2009b:155).

Aspects of interpersonal communication, such as intonation, rhythm (Georgakopoulou 2009:25) and other paralinguistic and extralinguistic elements (Nir 1984:90), aid the viewer in understanding the film (Nir 1984:90). Georgakopoulou (2009:25) believes that with these elements viewers are able to “understand what is happening, even without a translation”. However, this view does not account for culture-specific practices.

Thus, while the visual and other signs form part of the message and should therefore be taken into account in the subtitling process, it should be noted that semiotic signs are culture-bound. Different cultures, especially those that are geographically far apart, have different visual, oral and linguistic traditions (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:46). The context may aid comprehension, but it may also hinder it if not accounted for in the translation. Acoustic non-verbal communication, such as prosody, also conveys meaning (Rosa 2001:214). They may convey similar meanings in the ST and TT cultures or they may not. If they do not carry the same meaning and are not translated, it may lead to the audience being confused due to the perceived dischrony between subtitles and what they hear or see (Rosa 2001:214).

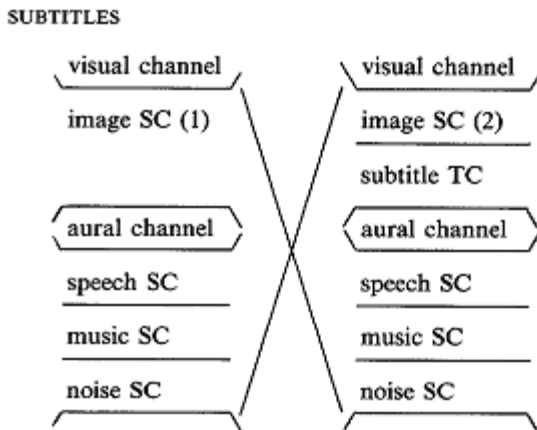
3.4.1 Spoken to written

Subtitling involves a shift from spoken to written mode and is thus an intermodal form of AVT (Pérez-González 2009:14). This shift in mode, or linguistic system, often entails “the omission of lexical items” from the ST (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:9). Bogucki (2004:16) notes that in subtitling “translational loss is practically an occupational hazard.” Nir (1984:84) argues that subtitling, as ‘double conversion’ between languages and between media, carries with it the “danger of distorting the message”. Furthermore, Wurm (2007:135) believes that the shift in mode and channel “is one of the biggest obstacles”. He points out that written and spoken modes are not usually compatible, and that the representation of spoken features in a spatially-constrained written form may be problematic (Wurm 2007:135). Wurm (2007:135) notes, and this has been discussed above, that because of increased lexical density and stylistic levelling, characterisation and the mood of the film “are weakened in target films”. The difficulties and differences between written and spoken mode will be discussed further below, but first I will look at subtitles as an addition to a finished product.

Subtitling is an “addition of visual verbal signs to the integrally repeated source film” (Delabastita 1989:201). Basically, the TT is the entirety of the unaltered ST, with the addition of subtitles. Mayoral et al. (1988:366) present this in a diagram (Figure 3.1), comparing an ST to a TT,

where the image SC(1) becomes the SC(2) image because of “the addition of superimposed subtitles”:

Figure 3.1 Graphic representation of visual and aural channels of ST and TT (Mayoral et al. 1988:366)



Here it can be seen that the visual channel and the aural channel remain unchanged and that subtitles are added to the visual channel.

As a result of the shift in mode, most spoken features that are unacceptable in written language – such as hesitations, false starts and taboo language – are deleted in the subtitles during the necessary process of shortening the text (Chiaro 2009b:151). However, Remael (2001:18) argues that “[i]t will not do to start from the idea” that dialogue is spoken language which is to be represented in written form. This is because of the illusion of film dialogue; it seems to be spoken language approximating natural speech but is actually the product of a scriptwriter (Wurm 2007:123). Thus, film dialogue is not spontaneous speech but is derived from a script which is a written text (Wurm 2007:124). Remael (2001:18) claims that even mimetic dialogue, dialogue mimicking natural speech, “is determined by underlying structures that may more closely resemble those of writing”.

However, a script is written in order to convey something to the audience and “if typical speech elements” are used in film dialogue, “they assumedly carry a distinct function” (Wurm 2007:124). The scriptwriter “is able to polish the text” and remove hesitation, repetitions, etc. Any spoken features which do occur are included deliberately (Wurm 2007:125). It is therefore “a misjudgement” to refer to such spoken features as “necessarily redundant” (Wurm 2007:124). While scripts are smoothed out dialogue, subtitles “usually take film dialogue’s purposeful simplification one step further” (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:63).

This 'one step further' in terms of simplifying the dialogue refers to the omission of spoken features of language deemed redundant. The shift from spoken to written necessitates the loss of some "typical features of spoken language" (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:61). This affects the degree of orality in the subtitles and the existence, or not, of features of spoken language. The spoken features of language are more than prosody and intonation, and also include register and the characteristics of spontaneous speech such as hesitation. Nir (1984:88) notes that the audience of subtitled films is "gradually becoming accustomed" to seeing colloquial speech or expression in subtitles, and that this tendency "contributes to reducing the registerial gap" between ST and TT.

Characteristics of spontaneous speech which include hesitation, unfinished sentences and ungrammatical phrases, are difficult to represent in written form (Georgakopoulou 2009:26). As noted above, spoken features are employed by scriptwriters purposefully and they "may need to be rendered in the subtitles" (Georgakopoulou 2009:26). Georgakopoulou (2009:26) suggests that instead of representing marked syntactic features "in an uneducated character's speech" as in the subtitles, the translator may employ the appropriate vocabulary in order to signify the character's education level, regional dialect or social class. The same could be applied to other types of characters.

The formality of written language is stricter on syntax, thus Nir (1984:88) advises that translators follow grammatical norms and use vocabulary to express marked language. The shift in mode results in a change in the "stylistic level of the utterance" (Nir 1984:87). The medium of the utterance is a determining factor of its register (Nir 1984:87), thus a written utterance tends to be more formal than a spoken utterance. There are stylistic and structural differences between speech and writing, which influence what is condensed or omitted (De Linde & Kay 1999:26). For example, one character, Errol, frequently uses slang and codeswitching, features that are often condensed/omitted in writing as they are in the subtitles. In addition, Oubaas' speech is rather lengthy, which is by necessity shortened in the subtitles. His speech also makes use of wordplay based on similar sounding words, which is a feature of spoken language that is often omitted in the written subtitles.

When faced with informal speech as slang, the translator has two options: to find a TL equivalent expression or use a more formal parallel TL expression (Nir 1984:87). If the translator opts to use an equivalent TL slang expression the effect will be dissonant, the register clashing with the mode. And if a more formal expression is used, the translator "risks raising the

register artificially”, resulting in a loss of the “functional relevance of the expression” (Nir 1984:87).

Spoken features, including ungrammatical phrases, should be condensed instead of totally omitted as they “contribute to the textuality of the programme and the character development” (Georgakopoulou 2009:28). For features such as hesitation or a stutter, Georgakopoulou (2009:26) argues that they do not need to be reproduced in the subtitles as this information is available in the soundtrack. However, this does not address the needs of hearing-impaired viewers. This shows that there are ways of presenting features of spoken language in subtitles. However, the difference between written and spoken language “dictate[s] that a perfect correspondence between the two” cannot be obtained (Wurm 2007:116).

3.4.2 Mode shift and dialogue

In this discussion of dialogue I will look at the importance of dialogue in the development of a film, the different types of dialogue and dialects, their function and how translators decide what and how to translate and represent in the subtitles. Here, Nida’s (in Nir 1984:85) four determining components in the process of translation are useful. He divides the components into linguistic and functional relevance of the translated messages. The linguistically relevant components are the adjustment of the message’s formal requirements to the TL, which includes grammar; and the production of semantically equivalent structures, which is the semantic aspect of the texts (Nir 1984:85). However, my focus is on the functionally relevant components. These are the provision of equivalent stylistic appropriateness, which has to do with style and register; and the equivalence of the communication load, which includes the illocutionary force of utterances (Nir 1984:85). While subtitling has “unusual demands” (Nir 1984:85) on both linguistic and functional levels, I will focus on register, which here includes dialects and other types of marked speech, and illocutionary force which together make up the functional relevance of a text.

According to Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:49), dialogue fulfils three functions which overlap: a structuring, narrative-informative and interactional function. There are two types of dialogue, mimetic and stylised (Nir 1984:85). In most films, Nir (1984:86) singles out thrillers and soap operas as examples, the dialogue is mimetic in that they attempt to mimic the speech patterns of ordinary people as authentically as possible (Nir 1984: 85-86). Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:184) similarly argue that film dialogue is “a reflection of society”. This reflection in terms of

characterisation is further discussed by focussing on four characters' idiolects in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2.2.

I have already mentioned Nir's claim of the importance of looking beyond just the linguistic and including the sociological-communicative nature of utterances. What follows is a discussion on the communicative nature, the illocutionary force of an utterance, followed by a discussion of the sociological nature, including interpersonal information and dialects. Nir (1984:86) advises that in the translation of dialogue the translator must be sensitive to the illocutionary aspect of the dialogue. The illocutionary aspect of an utterance is the performance of a speech act. A speech act involves a communicative intention (Bogucki 2004:37) such as an apology (Mubenga 2009:477). Accordingly, James (2001:159) argues that an ambiguous statement in the ST should be ambiguous in the TT subtitle. Thus, for example, Oubaas confusing an idiom in the ST should be rendered as a confused idiom in the TT. The translation of the illocutionary force, which is not a literal translation, conveys the speech act to the TA, but the linguistic expression of the TT may be very different to the linguistic form of the ST (Nir 1984:90). Nir (1984:86) states that translating the speech act is more credible to the average viewer than a translation of "the mere verbal utterance".

Nir notes that colloquial mimetic dialogue is usually more difficult to translate than formal dialogue because it is highly context-bound (Nir 1984:86). Colloquial language includes marked speech and an emphasis on the sociological nature of language. I will first look at what marked speech means for individuals in terms of characterisation and then at the role and function of marked speech in subtitles in general. Wurm (2007:122) states that dialogue is central to the narrative as it is the means by which the characters in the plot express themselves.

Even when the initial purpose of dialogue is to form and carry the plot, "the content is subjectively filtered through their ways of expressing it" (Wurm 2007:122). When a character speaks, the audience is given clues as to the speaker's attitudes, personality, origins and background in terms of accent which indicates where the speaker comes from (Wurm 2007:122). Written language tends to obscure the speaker's background while spontaneous spoken language conveys the speaker's personal and interpersonal information (Wurm 2007:123).

Dialogue is a means of portraying a character, as discussed in 3.4.2. Thus, linguistic choices in film are "never random" (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:185). The way characters express themselves verbally inform the viewers of their personality and background via their marked

speech and idiosyncratic habits (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:185). Their speech may be marked by socio-cultural and geographic markers that influence syntax, lexicon and pronunciation.

In terms of linguistic idiosyncrasies and characterisation, James (2001:158) asserts that occasionally the line between “credible character portrayal” and correct grammar can be “very thin” because of the processing load of unusual grammatical constructions. However, Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:186) note in films where the characters all speak the same language variety, “not that much may be lost”. But if there are a few characters who stand out because of their language use, this should be represented in the subtitles in some way (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:186). In the corpus of episodes of *7de Laan* used in this study I have identified four characters who stand out because of their language use, which includes the character Oubaas mentioned in Section 3.3.2 (these characters and their distinctive ways of speaking are enumerated in Section 5.3.2.2). According to James (2001:151), what a scriptwriter can expect is that the subtitles reflect his/her intentions accurately, be they to inform or to entertain. Thus the scriptwriter(s) can expect the subtitles to “present a credible portrayal of the action and the character” (James 2001:151).

The colloquial mimetic dialogue of film, as prefabricated orality, “illuminat[es] the nature of the characters and their social status” (Nir 1984:86). In order to convey this information in the subtitles, the translator has to convey those sociolectal features of speech which mark the speaker’s socioeconomic status (Nir 1984:86). However, in transferring these markers from SL to TL, two difficulties are present: the sociolectic range of the SL and TL (one may have a greater range than the other) and “even if it were possible to pinpoint the characteristics that are typical of specific sociolects”, the likelihood of a parallel set of sociolinguistic characteristics in the TL’s sociolects is small (Nir 1984:86). The function and problematic aspects of sociolects extends to other types of marked speech such as dialects and idiolects.

Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007:191) argue that in translating dialects “it is unlikely that any target language should have an identical equivalent” which can be rendered in subtitles. This is because of various reasons: the connotations of the TL dialects will not be the same as that of the SL dialects, the viewers may have difficulty in comprehending the dialects they may not be familiar with even in their own TL, and words are not the only element that are affected by dialects. Grammar and pronunciation are also affected, which may be difficult to process and/or render in subtitles (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:191).

Dialects can be informative in that they indicate the speaker's region of origin, social class, gender, age and generation (Wurm 2007:122). Idiolects are the way in which persons use language in their individual way, their linguistic idiosyncrasies which include favourite expressions and their way of pronouncing certain words (Wurm 2007:122). In *7de Laan*, this is applicable to characters such as Oubaas and another character, Errol, who often uses slang and codeswitching. Registers mainly affect the lexicon, while dialects and slang feature non-standard grammar, distinctive accents and specific lexical features (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:191).

Rosa (2001:218) points out that including oral registers or non-standard varieties in the TT may be risky as it may be viewed as a wrong translation by "the average" TL speaker. She quotes Lefevere: "*flavored* translations that deviate significantly from dominant linguistic norms may be dismissed as *incorrect*" (Rosa 2001:218, italics in original). Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:191) argue that "talented subtitlers" are able to suggest language variation by relying on the interaction between the dialogue and the film's other semiotic codes, as well as what the target audience may fill in themselves (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:191-192). However, they caution that attempting to render too much of the linguistic variation "can have a reverse effect" (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:192); the subtitles may be incomprehensible to the target audience.

Wurm (2007:123) notes that the systematic use of idiolects serves a rhetorical function, which is relevant to the translator. Delabastita (1990:102) notes that when describing the relationship between ST and TT the researcher should pay "special attention" to how language varieties are rendered in the subtitles. The varieties may be local, i.e. dialects; social, i.e. register or jargon; or personal, i.e. idiosyncrasies, speech defects, and so on (Delabastita 1990:102). Non-standard varieties include regional and group dialects, jargon clichés, slogans, stylistic innovations, archaisms and neologisms (Venuti 2000:470). Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:187) claim that subtitlers should ideally not only respect the content of characters' utterances but also the manner of speaking.

Thus it can be seen that the translation of film dialogue is highly contextualised (Nir 1984:85) and more difficult than the translation of printed texts because of the social and situational factors which play a great part in the decision-making process (Nir 1984:83). Farb (in Nir 1984:83) describes translation as the intersection of "five thoroughfares", namely the two languages, the two cultures and the speech situation, showing the importance of culture.

The importance of translating the illocutionary force and the function of language varieties have been discussed above. Bogucki (2004:30) claims that in subtitling, precedence is given to what is relevant rather than to what is accurate; ideas and intentions are represented in the subtitles rather than words and phrases. On the other hand, De Linde and Kay (1999:4) speak about the translator's 'dilemma of accuracy'. This refers to the attempt in balancing an utterance's clarity with its stylistic function (De Linde & Kay 1999:4). A character's fillers, hesitations, and so on may be stylistically relevant and the translation thereof would be accurate, but the subtitler's attempt to "respect the features of both spoken and written modes" necessitates condensing the dialogue (De Linde & Kay 1999:4). Additionally, it may be more difficult for the audience to process subtitles that are so accurate that all the fillers and so on are translated.

The theoretical aspects of subtitling have been discussed: what the translator has to keep in mind when making decisions, the constraints of subtitling, etc. I will now summarise the findings of researchers who did studies in AVT with a focus on various types of figurative speech. This will be followed by a look at the state of subtitling in South Africa.

3.5 Previous studies

The translation of figurative speech, including fixed expressions or set phrases, is slightly different to that of 'general' utterances. 'Fixed expressions' include a broad range of language constructions (Bogucki 2004:83) such as idioms, proverbs, stock phrases, catch phrases, allusions and quotations, idiomatic similes and a variety of discursal expressions (Bogucki 2004:83). Discursal expressions include social formulae and clichés, structuring devices, conversational gambits, stylistic formulae and stereotypes (Carter in Bogucki 2004:83). Fixed expressions may be longer units, such as the Lord's Prayer, and they may be register-specific (Bogucki 2004:84). Because there are seven types of fixed expressions, as listed above, Bogucki (2004:84) argues that "the idea of 'fixed equivalents for fixed expressions' does not always hold good". He suggests that the translator may be able to achieve an equivalent effect in the TT by changing the expression's denotative meaning (Bogucki 2004:85).

Delabastita (1990:102) also looks at certain aspects of the translation which should be considered when comparing a TT to its ST. His list includes some of what Bogucki mentioned, such as allusions and quotations. Delabastita (1990:102) also believes that the following deserve special attention: the representation of cultural data such as conventions, habits, typical food of the sociocultural environment; how wordplay, other types of humorous language, taboo

elements and prosodic features are translated and the translator's attitudes towards loan words, foreign idioms and linguistic interference.

Dollerup (1974) looked at Danish subtitles translated from English dialogue, specifically the errors in the subtitles. He found that many of the errors he discovered in the TT were as a result of the translator being Danish, which meant that the translator "has no full and complete understanding of the source language and the extralinguistic phenomena it refers to" (Dollerup 1974:199). Errors were also the result of the translator's failure to "*identify and understand*" (Dollerup 1974:200, italics in original) neologisms, idiosyncrasies and ad hoc formations which are not found in dictionaries (Dollerup 1974:200). If the translator fails to grasp the meaning or general gist of an utterance, it will be evident in the subtitles (Dollerup 1974:200). Problematic areas include idioms and Dollerup (1974:200) found that in some instances the translators failed to recognise that they were working with an idiom, and in those instances where idioms were seen as "special terms" they were still mistranslated. This is not the case for *7de Laan* as idioms and other type of figurative language are recognised as such and most of the time translators do not mistranslate these elements (Section 5.3.1). Thus Dollerup seems to emphasise that a good understanding of the SL is key. However Dollerup also mentions the importance of familiarity with the TL. He found that when consulting a dictionary during translating, translators dared not "*go any further than what is authorized by standard dictionaries*" (Dollerup 1974:201, italics in original). As a result, if an SL term is polysemous in the TL, the translator may not choose the correct equivalent (Dollerup 1974:201). This would lead to confusion for the audience.

Pettit (2004) makes a comparison between an English ST of an American television programme and two French TTs, a dubbed version and a subtitled version. The strategies employed in the two TTs are compared (Pettit 2004:28). Pettit (2004:28) looks at the close link between image and soundtrack and how this affects the subtitles. Camera movement and editing oblige the translator "to adjust the translation" (Pettit 2004:29), such as subtitle length, according to what is happening with the image, either the characters' actions or the camera techniques. In addition, meaning implied in the ST is often made explicit in both translations (Pettit 2004:37). Pettit (2004:34-36) also looks at spoken features and the translation of non-verbal information. In the programmes Pettit looked at, the subtitles reflected certain spoken features of language while the dialogue in the dubbed version was neutralised (Pettit 2004:34). This may seem strange as dubbing allows for linguistic variety as it is spoken, but it also shows that spoken features can be used effectively in subtitling. Rosa's (2001:215) finding is that most Portuguese subtitles do not represent the features of spoken language, or reduce these features in the subtitles "to a

hardly perceptible minimum”, in other words these features are rarely represented. The features of spoken language include “textual features” of the “oral register” (Rosa 2001:214) such as hesitancy, fillers, slang and more informal language.

Araújo’s (2004) study looks at how American English clichés are rendered in Portuguese subtitles. Araújo’s (2004:162) hypothesis, which is proved in her study, is that some clichés are translated literally and would not be “natural choices of Brazilian Portuguese speakers in that specific situation.” Araújo (2004:168) refers to this as the “unnaturalness norm” in the translation of clichés. The finding is that in a comparison between subtitling and dubbing, formal language was used more frequently in subtitling (Araújo 2004:168). This may lead to the unnaturalness of the clichés in the TL. Araújo (2004:168-169) postulates that this is because subtitles are written language and this may cause the translators and other people involved to believe that subtitles “must follow the same rules of written language (Araújo 2004:169). Even if the translators believe that the language of subtitles can be colloquial, the distributors may not agree (Araújo 2004:169). This is not the case with *7de Laan*. Figurative language is most often not translated literally; translators seem to aim to use TL equivalents (Section 5.3.1). It also seems as though the distributors are more accepting of colloquial language than those of Araújo’s study. The project manager (Roets 2011) says that after the translators have done the subtitles and she has checked them “[d]an word dit gevoorskou deur die SAUK¹⁹ en ’n taalkundige sowel as ’n artistiese raadgewer en myself. [...] Slang is aanvaarbaar.” This shows that the distributor, the SABC⁵ (South African Broadcasting Corporation), accepts the use of colloquial language and slang in the subtitles.

3.6 Subtitling in South Africa

Kruger and Kruger (2001, 2005) look at the state of subtitling in South Africa. Their 2001 study looks at the state and incidence of subtitling a decade ago, at about the time subtitles were introduced to *7de Laan* (Nieuwoudt 2011a). The findings of that study is that the TL is almost exclusively English, and that the reading rate used to estimate the presentation time of subtitles is that of developed European countries with higher literacy levels than that of South Africa (Kruger & Kruger 2001:3). Additionally they conclude that subtitles are beneficial to hearing-impaired people in that it affords them access to information and entertainment and they are able to better understand and therefore enjoy television programmes (Kruger & Kruger 2001:9). They also look at whether subtitles influence comprehension of the programme. They show that

¹⁹ SAUK (Suid-Afrikaanse Uitsaaikorporasie) is the former Afrikaans abbreviation of SABC.

subtitles improve comprehension of abstract elements and facilitate the interpretation of a programme (Kruger & Kruger 2001:20). In a comparison of viewers watching the ST and viewers watching the TT, the viewers of the TT understood the programme better (Kruger & Kruger 2001:16). All the viewers were mother-tongue speakers of Sesotho (Kruger & Kruger 2001:15),

Subtitling, as opposed to dubbing, is often used in countries with several official languages or in countries which encourage multilingualism (Kruger & Kruger 2005:271). The advantages of subtitling in a multilingual developing country such as South Africa, include subtitling as an affordable form of AVT, access to information, improved literacy and second language acquisition (Kruger & Kruger 2005:271). The national context of subtitling includes a country's history of subtitling, demographics and legislation on subtitling (Kruger & Kruger 2005:270). The history of subtitling is whether a country has a tradition of AVT and whether there is a preference for dubbing or subtitling, as well as for how long subtitling has been done in that country (Kruger & Kruger 2005:270). Unlike subtitling countries in Europe, those countries that have a history of subtitling, subtitles have only been used "fairly regularly" in South Africa since 2001 (Kruger & Kruger 2005:271).

This lack of history of subtitling in South Africa, as well as the lack of subtitle-specific legislation, means that the national context of subtitling in South Africa is faced with various challenges (Kruger & Kruger 2005:271). In addition, the lack of history of subtitling means that there is no culture of subtitling in South Africa. This means that the viewers may resist the subtitles or their norms and conventions, because they have "not been educated in the use of subtitles" (Kruger 2005:271). This is most probably changing, as *7de Laan* has had subtitles for about a decade, since 2001 (Nieuwoudt 2011a), and many other television programmes also make use of subtitles, such as the soap operas *Isidingo* and *Generations* and the magazine shows *50/50* and *Pasella*. By exposure to subtitles the audience becomes accustomed to the conventions of subtitling.

3.7 Conclusion

All the theoretical aspects relevant to this study have been discussed here and in the previous chapter. This investigation is positioned in a descriptive framework with the aim of reconstructing the norms that were in operation during translation. The specific translation problems related to both figurative speech and subtitles as constrained translation and how they influence translation decisions have been discussed. It is important to remember that the

definition of 'figurative speech' as used in this study is rather broad, as has been detailed in the section on figurative speech and metaphor and its derivatives.

In the following two chapters I will look at how the theory discussed applies to this study's corpus, which is a number of episodes of *7de Laan*. Chapter 4 will be a quantitative look at the macrostructure of the texts; their acceptability and adequacy, the translation strategies employed as well as the translation relationship between the ST and TT. Chapter 4 will also include reconstructing the norms governing the translation process and a comparison of the 2007 episodes to the 2010 episodes. Chapter 5 will focus on the quantitative aspect of the translation of figurative language, the representation of language varieties and the influence SDH has on translation.

Chapter 4: Quantitative analysis of the overall translation strategies applied

4.1 Introduction and definition

This chapter and the following one will apply the theory covered in the previous chapters to the corpus used for this study. This application will be done on two levels, the micro- and macrolevels. The macrolevel will be dealt with in this chapter, while the following chapter will focus on the microlevel.

Lambert and Van Gorp (1985:48) define the macrostructure as how the translation is identified (as a translation or adaptation, etc.), whether the text can be recognised as a translation, the general structure of the text and whether the translator includes any paratextual comments such as a preface or footnotes. Some of these macrostructural aspects, and others not mentioned here (see Lambert & Van Gorp 1985:52), can be disregarded due to the constraints of subtitling. It is not possible for paratextual comments to be added, at least not without much processing difficulty for the audience and affecting the aesthetics of the image. In addition, an interlingual subtitled audiovisual text such as *7de Laan* is seen as a translated text, as explained in Section 3.2.1.

The macrostructure has to do with the overall or general aspects of texts, as Lambert and Van Gorp (1985:48) point out, and as such this chapter will look at the acceptability or adequacy of the corpus, the translation strategies employed and what norms appear to have been at play during translation. Finally, a comparison will be made between the 2007 texts and the 2010 texts in terms of the macrostructural aspects discussed to determine whether there has been a change in the translation approach.

4.2 Methodology

In order to study *7de Laan*, I had to acquire episodes for the corpus. I contacted people at the SABC and *7de Laan* to ask for episodes. I received episodes that were selected randomly from 2007 (episodes 1561–1565) and 2010 (episodes 2321–2325) on DVD and the ST scripts for each episode electronically in a word processing format. I then transcribed all the subtitles for every episode into a word processing document. I then used the transcribed subtitles and scripts for my comparison, referring to the DVDs when necessary.

As Toury (1995a:74) argues, we should first look at the target text to identify whether the text, or parts of it, is source culture- or target culture-oriented. The first comparison is not the TT to the

ST, as the TT is initially compared to the target language and target polysystem as a whole. This comparison of the TT to the TL and target polysystem is to determine how the TT functions in the target polysystem. It is during this process of the initial comparison that adequacy/acceptability is determined.

Toury (1980:87) states translation pairs are a good starting point for a *comparative* analysis, which occurs after adequacy/acceptability of the TT has been determined. I read the ST scripts independently from the TT and identified those segments, phrases, sentences or words, particularly those that are figurative, which might prove to be problematic during translation for a variety of reasons. These reasons include being deeply rooted in the source culture (SC), being source language (SL) specific, or structured in a way that is foreign to the target language (TL), English.

After looking only at the ST, I then compared the TT – the subtitles – to the ST. If the potentially problematic ST segments did prove to be problematic in the translation, for instance by being structured in a way foreign to English, they were included in the corpus. Because the focus of this study is figurative language, I included all utterances containing figurative language, as defined in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2. I first read the ST, the scripts, and noted the functions of figurative language used in these scripts in excel software, then did the same for the TT, the subtitles that I had transcribed. I then typed their respective TT and ST counterparts in adjacent cells so that they could be easily compared during analysis.

After I had looked at the figurative language, I compared the ST to the TT and noted problematic non-figurative translation pairs in excel, in addition to the problematic ST segments discussed in the previous paragraphs. Problematic pairs included those with TTs that had no conjunction to their ST or that had a change or shift in intention, tone or register. Comparing ST and TT segments to identify which to use in the corpus is in line with Toury's argument (1985:25, 1995a:78), that comparison of the ST and TT is the only way to establish a translation pair²⁰ and determine whether it is challenging in translation or not.

I organised these pairs into their episodes in order for the episodes to be compared to one another. Once I had all the translation pairs I analysed each pair to try and determine whether the TT of that pair is adequate (ST-oriented) or acceptable (TT-oriented). The adequacy or acceptability of a translation pair was determined by a combination of intuitive linguistic

²⁰ Refer to the subsection on translation pairs in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.2.3 Translation pairs and translation relationships) for more information on translation pairs.

judgement and by looking up the meanings of both segments in a dictionary. If I was not familiar with a particular ST segment/word/phrase, I consulted a dictionary to determine its meaning and then compared that to the TT.

After I had determined the adequacy or acceptability of each translation pair, I analysed the pairs to establish the translation strategy or strategies employed during translation for each set. I drew up a list of translation strategies relevant to this study based on the various lists of strategies enumerated by various translation scholars and chose the translation strategies applicable to each pair from this list (see Section 2.3.5 in the previous chapter for how this list was drawn up). The frequency each strategy was used, per episode, was then tallied. More than one strategy is often used per translation pair, therefore the total number of strategies is much higher than the number of translation pairs. From this methodology it can be deduced that this study is descriptive and quantitative.

Conclusions on the norms governing this translation were drawn based on this data – the adequacy or acceptability of the translation and the translation strategies employed. I specifically looked at Toury and Chesterman's norms. Their norms that are relevant to the macrostructure are Toury's matricial norms and Chesterman's expectancy norms. These are discussed in further detail below in Section 4.3.3.

4.3 Data and discussion

4.3.1 Adequacy/acceptability

As has been discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.2.4 Acceptability and adequacy), an acceptable translation follows the TL's linguistic and literary norms (Toury 1995a:171) while an adequate translation follows those of the SL (Even-Zohar in Toury 1995a:56). Following TL norms may mean that some features of the ST may be omitted or some features may be added to the TT in order to make the text more acceptable (Toury 1995a:171). However, it should be kept in mind that adequacy and acceptability are opposite poles of a continuum and not binary opposites (Toury 1980:55). This is a relevant and important starting point for the analysis of a translation because determining where on the continuum a translation lies, is "one of the main objects of translation analysis" (Toury 1981:23).

As I have mentioned above, the first step of analysis was to determine whether the TT of each translation pair in the corpus was acceptable or adequate. However, not every segment included in the corpus could be categorised as either adequate or acceptable, which is why I

have included the categories deaf and character. *Deaf* denotes a segment that has been subtitled specifically for hearing-impaired viewers, for example if the ST is already in English or something mutually intelligible such as ‘ja’ or a gesture and is still subtitled.

Translation pairs categorised as *character* are those ST segments which do not follow the usual rules of Afrikaans because they are linguistically marked to characterise someone. Thus it did not seem fair that these segments’ subtitles should be judged by the usual rules of English. There will be a discussion specifically on language use in characterisation in the following chapter. Additionally, not all ‘character’ segments were included in the corpus, only those that posed translation problems. However, in the section discussing characterisation, I did look at all the utterances of the four characters I focus on.

In the following subsections I will look at the acceptability and adequacy overall, that is all the episodes over both years, and per episode.

4.3.1.1 Overall

The numbers and percentages of adequate and acceptable translation segments per episode are shown in the tables below. Data for those segments of the other categories – deaf and character – are also included. Episodes 1561–1565 were broadcast in 2007 and episodes 2321–2325 were broadcast in 2010. Table 4.1 enumerates the adequate, acceptable, those aimed at hearing-impaired viewers and characterising pairs per episode. The total number of pairs analysed per episode are calculated and shown in the final column. The second last row, ‘total’ above ‘percentage of total’, lists the total number of pairs per category, including the overall number of pairs comprising the corpus, and the last row expresses the totals of each category as a percentage of the total number of pairs in the corpus.

Episode	adequate	acceptable	deaf ²¹	character	total
1561	13	88	1	14	116
1562	37	46	1	0	84
1563	34	69	1	0	104
1564	20	55	0	0	75
1565	33	39	0	0	72
2321	29	63	5	25	122
2322	10	56	2	11	79
2323	15	54	2	15	86

²¹ In the tables and graphs, ‘deaf’ is an abbreviated form for ‘hearing-impaired’.

Episode	adequate	acceptable	deaf	character	total
2324	9	47	0	7	63
2325	19	59	1	2	81
total	219	576	13	74	882
percentage of total	24.83	65.31	1.47	8.39	

Table 4.1 Total number of adequate/acceptable segments per episode

Table 4.2 gives the percentage each category is of the total, per episode. For example, the adequate segments of episode 1561 count 1.47% of the corpus. It also shows the percentage each episode contributes to the total corpus in the final column and the total percentages per category in the final row. For example, from this table it can be seen that episode 1561 as a whole makes up 13.15% of the corpus and 8.39% of the segments in the corpus are instances of characterising speech.

Episode	Adequate	acceptable	deaf	character	Percentage episode contributes to total
1561	1.47	9.98	0.11	1.59	13.15
1562	4.20	5.22	0.11	0.00	9.52
1563	3.85	7.82	0.11	0.00	11.79
1564	2.27	6.24	0.00	0.00	8.50
1565	3.74	4.42	0.00	0.00	8.16
2321	3.29	7.14	0.57	2.83	13.83
2322	1.13	6.35	0.23	1.25	8.96
2323	1.70	6.12	0.23	1.70	9.75
2324	1.02	5.33	0.00	0.79	7.14
2325	2.15	6.69	0.11	0.23	9.18
total	24.83	65.31	1.47	8.39	

Table 4.2 Total adequate/acceptable segments per episode as a percentage of the total segments

The last column indicates the percentage each episode contributes to the total corpus in terms of translation pairs. All the percentages in this column are expressed as a percentage of the total number of pairs that constitute this corpus, which totals 882 translation pairs. The data in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 are analysed in detail below.

The information gleaned from these tables will be discussed in further detail below (Section 4.3.1.2, Figures 4.1 – 4.6). However, just by looking at the row of totals in Table 4.2, it is evident that overall the translation is more acceptable than adequate. The percentage of acceptable

segments is 65.31%, while the adequate segments make up just under a quarter, 24.83%, of the corpus.

Segments from the other two categories – deaf and character – were also included. Character segments were included because they pose particular challenges in terms of linguistic markers, such as jargon and dialect

In terms of the subtitles that are obviously meant for hearing-impaired viewers, these segments are included because the subtitles of *7de Laan* are aimed at both non-Afrikaans speakers and hearing-impaired viewers. Both the translation project manager and a production manager of *7de Laan* indicate that reaching hearing-impaired viewers is an important function of the subtitles. Nieuwoudt (2011a), the production manager, says in an email that the reason for introducing subtitles was to “reach more viewers, i.e. non-Afrikaans / hearing-impaired” and this point is reiterated by the project manager (Roets 2011).

The instruction to keep the subtitles at a length suitable for easy processing for slower readers would definitely influence what is included or excluded in the subtitles. The increase in subtitles specifically for hearing-impaired people, seen in Table 4.2 (the ‘deaf’ column), could be as a result of the translators’ increased awareness to keep the hearing-impaired in mind when translating.

The following pie graphs are graphic representations of the totals per category shown in Table 4.2. Figure 4.2 is a representation of the percentage of adequate and acceptable segments in the corpus, excluding the other categories. The total used for calculations for this graph is thus 795 (219 + 576, see total of ‘adequate’ and ‘acceptable’ in Table 4.1), compared to the total number of segments in the corpus, 882.

Figure 4.1 All categories as percentage of total

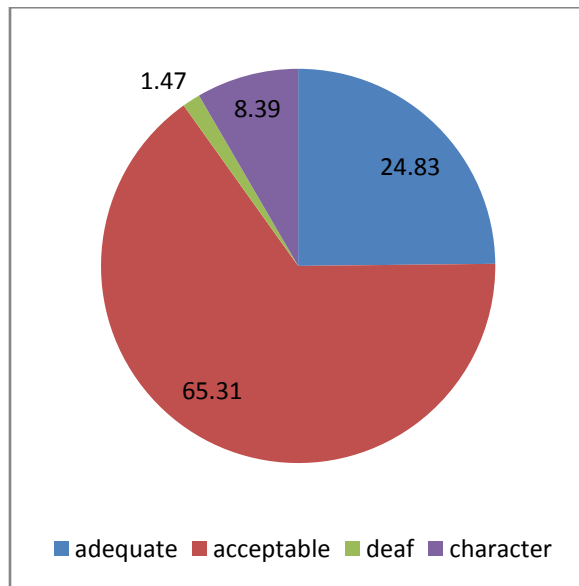
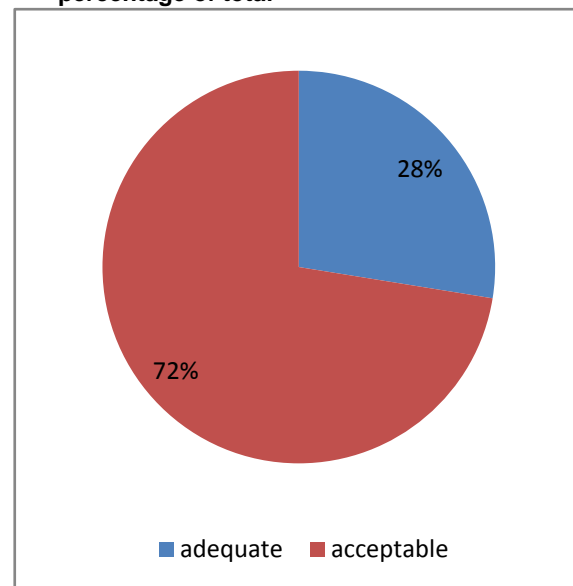


Figure 4.2 Adequate and acceptable as percentage of total



These pie graphs clearly indicate that the majority of the TT is acceptable. However, a quarter of the corpus is adequate. If the additional categories, deaf and character (Figure 4.1), are removed, both percentages of adequate and acceptable segments increase. The percentage of adequate segments increases by 3%, while the percentage of acceptable segments increases by 7%. From the above information it can be deduced that the subtitles, and therefore the translators' approach, are TT-oriented.

4.3.1.2 Per episode

This section compares adequacy, acceptability, subtitles specifically for hearing-impaired viewers and translation of speech used for characterisation. The percentages per episode (compared to Figure 4.1 which represents the overall percentages) are listed in Table 4.3 below and the graphic representations follow.

Episode	adequate	acceptable	deaf	character
1561	11.21	75.86	0.86	12.07
1562	44.05	54.76	1.19	0
1563	32.69	66.35	0.96	0
1564	26.67	73.33	0	0
1565	45.83	54.17	0	0
2321	23.77	51.64	4.10	20.49
2322	12.66	70.89	2.53	13.92
2323	17.44	62.79	2.33	17.44

Episode	adequate	acceptable	deaf	character
2324	14.29	74.60	0	11.11
2325	23.46	72.84	1.23	2.47

Table 4.3 Percentage adequate/acceptable segments per episode

Figure 4.3 Percentage per category per episode, 2007

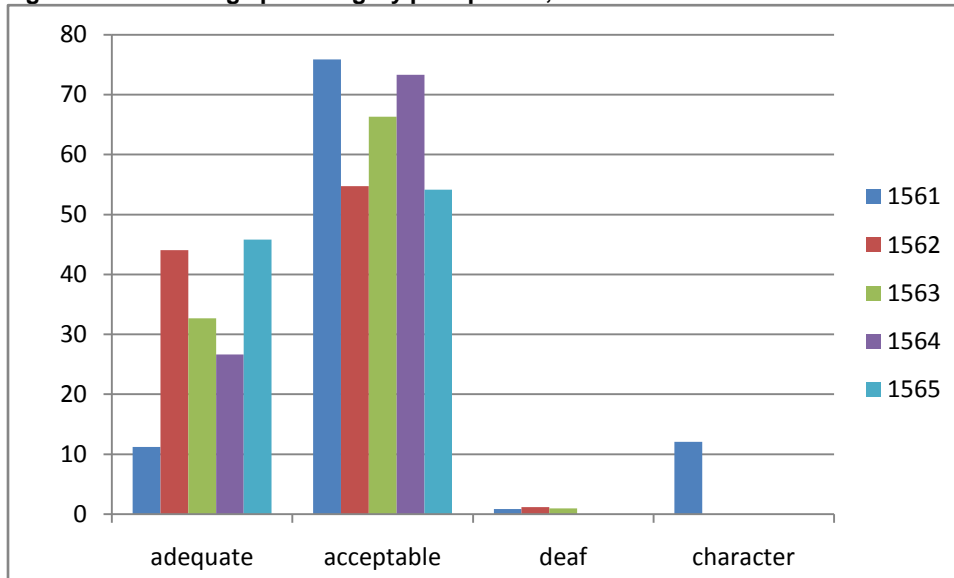
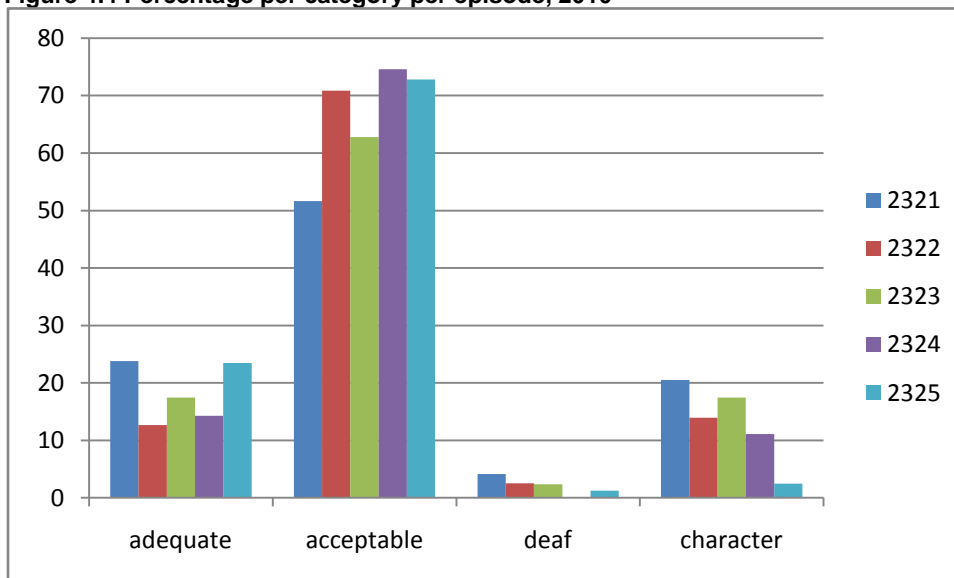


Figure 4.4 Percentage per category per episode, 2010

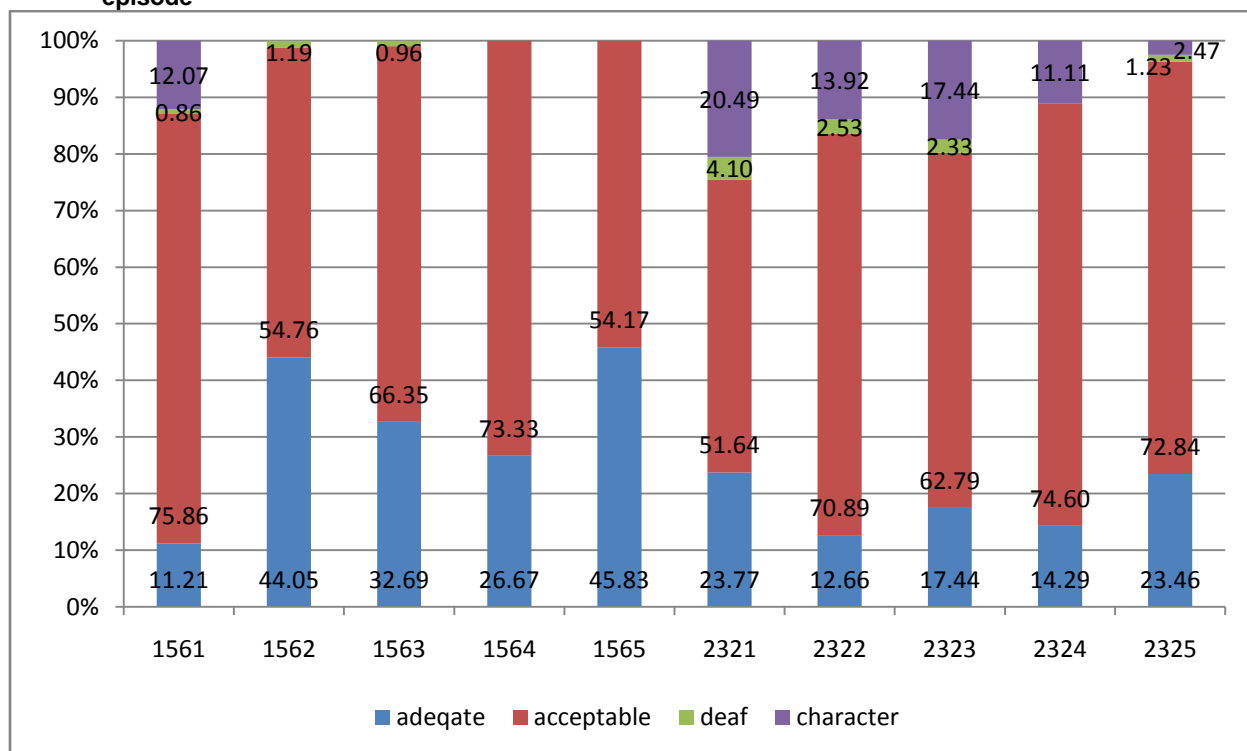


The number of speech segments, and therefore subtitles, indicating character speech depends on the content and story-line. Looking at the subtitles aimed at hearing-impaired viewers, it is found that there is fewer of this type of subtitle in 2007 than in 2010. Subtitles specifically for the benefit of hearing-impaired viewers are discussed further in the following chapters.

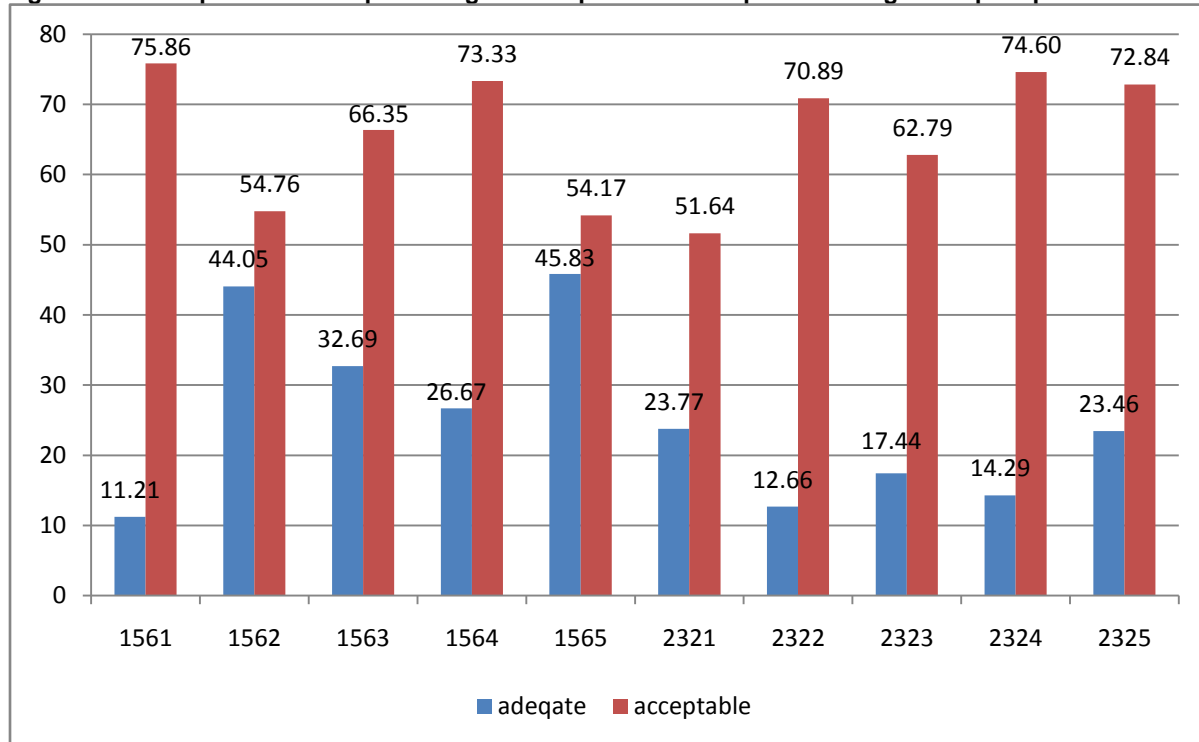
In both the 2007 and the 2010 episodes, where the percentage of adequate TT segments increase or decrease, the percentage of acceptable segments decreases or increases respectively. This seems to indicate that there is an inverse relationship between adequacy and acceptability in any given episode. However, this relationship does not seem to have a fixed ratio. For example, episode 1565 has the highest percentage of adequate segments but the second lowest percentage of acceptable segments (as can be seen in Table 4.3).

There is no discernable pattern in that adequacy/acceptability consistently increases or decreases in the consecutive episodes for the week. However, it is interesting to note that the last episode in 2010, episode 2325, has the second highest percentage for both adequacy and acceptability in 2010. This is of course influenced by a significant decrease in the marked speech of particular characters and subtitles aimed at the hearing-impaired in this episode.

Figure 4.5 A comparison of the percentage of adequate, acceptable, deaf and character TT segments per episode



Please note that where the value is 0, I have not included the data labels. For example, in episode 1562 there is no character speech, as there is no purple block in that bar, so it is clear that the value for character speech in 1562 is nil. Just to clarify the percentages for episode 2325, 2.47% of the translation pairs of that episode are characterising and 1.23% are aimed at hearing-impaired viewers. These data have already been discussed above, but this graph above offers an easier and more direct comparison per episode.

Figure 4.6 A comparison of the percentage of adequate and acceptable TT segments per episode

This chart only features the adequate and acceptable segments, not the other categories, for a more direct comparison. While the range of acceptable segments differs greatly, from 51.64% (episode 2324) to 75.86% (episode 1561), the percentage of acceptable segments is always higher than that of adequate segments, even in episode 1565 where the difference is only 8%. This does show that the subtitles of *7de Laan* are more TL-oriented than SL-oriented.

Episode 1561 has the lowest percentage of adequacy in the whole corpus, 11.21%. It is one of the six episodes that have less than a quarter of adequate segments. The other five episodes are all episodes from 2010. Five episodes have over 70% acceptability, and all the episodes have more than 50% acceptability. This seems to indicate that the subtitles do strive to be acceptable, but this is not achieved consistently, especially in 2007. The episodes in 2010 seem to have a higher level of consistency. A more detailed comparison between the overall adequacy and acceptability per year is made in Section 4.3.4.1 below.

4.3.2 Translation strategies employed

The notion of adequacy/acceptability and norms are relevant to the macrostructure of a text, as discussed above. Chesterman (1997:88) argues that translation strategies “are ways in which translators seek to conform to norms”. They are textual evidence of norms and Chesterman

(1997:85) argues that translation strategies are how translation norms are “actually attained” by translators.

When tabulating the translation strategies employed for each translation pair, I did not include ST of a character speaking Afrikaans as their second language and subtitles specifically for hearing-impaired people in the main corpus. The translation of these types of segments will be discussed in the microstructural analysis in the following chapter.

The process of selecting translation strategies relevant to this study, as well as an explanation of each strategy, has been discussed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.3.4). The following table shows the number of times each strategy has been used per year. This table is followed by examples of each strategy and a graphic representation showing the break down in percentages of how often each strategy is used overall.

Strategy	2007	2010	Total
addition	10	8	18
cultural neutralisation	0	1	1
cultural transfer	0	0	0
explication	4	5	9
grammar shift	45	59	104
hypernym	11	17	28
hyponym	9	5	14
implication	3	7	10
literal	96	58	154
loan/calque	5	7	12
maintain humour	6	2	8
metaphorical modulation	2	2	4
modulation	19	10	29
no conjunction	0	2	2
non-figurative to figurative	6	4	10
non-rhetorical	23	26	49
omission	153	146	299
paraphrase	34	56	90
rhetorical language	20	16	36
same figurative language	24	11	35
SL image	14	5	19
synonym	86	47	133
transliteration	0	1	1
transposition	108	88	196
total	678	583	1261

Table 4.4 Frequency of strategies used per year

The following table shows examples of each strategy. The discussion column provides a brief explanation of how each strategy applies to its examples(s). Several examples, the ones marked with asterisks (*) are explained in more detail just below the table.

Strategy	ST	TT	Discussion
addition	hy't dit nie maklik nie	he's not having an easy time	"Easy time" is added in the TT.
cultural neutralisation	jy moet dink ek is 'n mamparra	you must think I'm stupid	"Mamparra" is neutralised to "stupid". *
cultural transfer	There are no instances of cultural transfer. The reason I have included it as a strategy even though it is not used is in the discussion further in this section.		
explication	as jy nie omgee om te sit nie, be my guest	if prison doesn't bother you, be my guest	The meaning of the phrase "om te sit" is made explicit in the TT.
grammar shift	voor jy wegval met die geskiedenis van Tibet...	before you get into Tibetan history...	Tibet is used in its adjectival form in the TT.
	en hy's nie bereid om te wag totdat ek die huis verkoop het nie	he's not prepared to wait until the house is sold	From the active in the ST to passive in the TT.
hypernym	maar dis nie nodig dat ons voorstoep 'n ashoop word nie	but our entrances don't have to become a rubbish heap	The ST "voorstoep" is more specific than "entrances" in the TT.
hyponym	onherwinbare stowwe	waste that can't be recycled	The TT "waste" is more specific than the ST 'materials'.
implication	toe Ryno-hulle na middernag by die huis kom, kon ek nie glo ek sit al vyf uur lank en solidly leer nie	when Ryno got home, I couldn't believe I'd been at it for five hours	"It" in the TT implies studying, which is mentioned explicitly in the ST.
	ek sal self by Vince uitkom	I'll see you at Vince's	The TT implies that the speaker will make his own way to Vince's.

Strategy	ST	TT	Discussion
literal	hy weet niks van 'n bonus af nie	he knows nothing about a bonus	“Weet niks” is “knows nothing”, instead of the more idiomatic “doesn’t know anything”.
loan/calque	dominee sal glad nie vir so 'n onsedelike affêre te vinde wees nie	dominee wouldn't approve of such an immoral affair	The word “dominee” is used as a loan word here. “Dominee” appears in the South African Oxford.
	'pynlose prikkelhappies'	painless appetite teasers	“Appetite teaser” is a direct translation of “prikkelhappie”.*
maintain humour	Julle besef nie hoe erg die globaalse verwarring is nie	You don't know how bad this global warping is	The incorrect word “verwarring” is translated by an incorrect word “warping” for humorous purposes. *
metaphorical modulation	het ek nou 'n boek wat jou oë gaan laat water	have I got a book that'll bring tears to your eyes	“Oë gaan laat water” means 'really want' but is rendered literally as “bring tears to your eyes”, which simply means 'cry'.
modulation	jy't dit seker al gelees	I suppose you've read it	The subject of the sentence changes from 'you' to “I” in the TT.
	dit help jou veel as die waarheid klaar uit is	not much use if the truth is out	The ST is stated positively while the TT is stated negatively (“not”).
no conjunction	dit gaan nie werk tussen ons nie	it won't work for us	The incorrect preposition “for” instead of “between” change the meaning of the utterance.
non-figurative to figurative	sy verbeel haar ek loer haar af	she thinks I'm a peeping tom	The verb “afloer” is translated as the figurative “peeping Tom”.

Strategy	ST	TT	Discussion
non-rhetorical	los my en kry jou ry	leave me alone. Get out!	The rhetorical “kry jou ry” in the ST is the literal “get out” in the TT.
	ek het veels te lank gehanna-hanna	I’ve wasted enough time	The TT is the literal meaning of the phrase “gehanna-hanna”.
omission	jy is nie die soort ou wat kan true speel nie	you’re not the type to play true	“Ou” is not rendered in the TT.
paraphrase	jy kan nie op jou voet trap nie	you can’t walk	The specific statement is paraphrased into a general one.
rhetorical language	as ons van haar goed in die hande kon kry, het die kookboek van die rakke af gevlieg	with one of her recipes the cookbook would sell like hot cakes	The ST is rhetorical “van die rakke af gevlieg” as is the TT “sell like hot cakes”.
	jammer om so 'n klakous te wees...	sorry to be a Moaning Minnie	“Klakous” becomes the innovative “Moaning Minnie”.
same figurative language	daar is te veel op die spel	there is too much at stake	“Op die spel” is translated as “at stake”.
SL image	en as jy hier instroll soos 'n kat wat 'n piering room gekry het	you look like the cat that got the cream	Both the ST and the TT use the image of a cat with cream.
synonym	jy het my lank genoeg geterg	you’ve taunted me long enough	In the TT “taunted” is used instead of something like “teased” for the ST “geterg”.

Strategy	ST	TT	Discussion
transliteration	'waterbul kerspoeding'	'waterbul kerspoeding'	This cultural-specific item is kept as is in the TT. *
transposition	ek sal daarvan te hore kom	I'll definitely hear about it	"Te hore kom" is translated equally idiomatically, though much less formally, as "hear about".

Table 4.5 Examples of each translation strategy

The second example of loan/calque, the one with "prikkelhappie" in the ST, is an interesting one because it is a type of reverse or double calque. The word "appetiser" is "prikkelhappie" in Afrikaans which becomes the calque version "appetite teaser" in the subtitles. The translators translated each element of the word directly, even though there is an established word for it in English. The reason for this calque in the TT might be that "prikkelhappie" is not in the dictionary and translators did not know, or forgot, what the English word was.

The transliteration example, *waterbul kerspoeding*, is of interest because it is a cultural-specific item and translators did have other options available to them, other than transliteration. Fawcett (1997:7) points out the relevance of the cultural connotations of phrases. He looks at how 'fish and chips' can be used in a text. He argues that if 'fish and chips' is not just "a particular combination of foods" that someone happens to be eating but is used to convey the sociolinguistic connotation of a "typical national cheap meal", then 'fish and chips' cannot be translated literally but a target culture adaptation or equivalent should be considered for the translation thereof (Fawcett 1997:7). Similarly, the translators could have found a TL equivalent of 'waterbul kerspoeding' with similar connotations for the TA. Alternatively, they could have provided an explanation. While this is usually limited because of the spatiotemporal constraints, *waterbul kerspoeding* is the only phrase that appears in that particular subtitle flash. Consequently there was space available to indicate that it is a type of jam pudding.

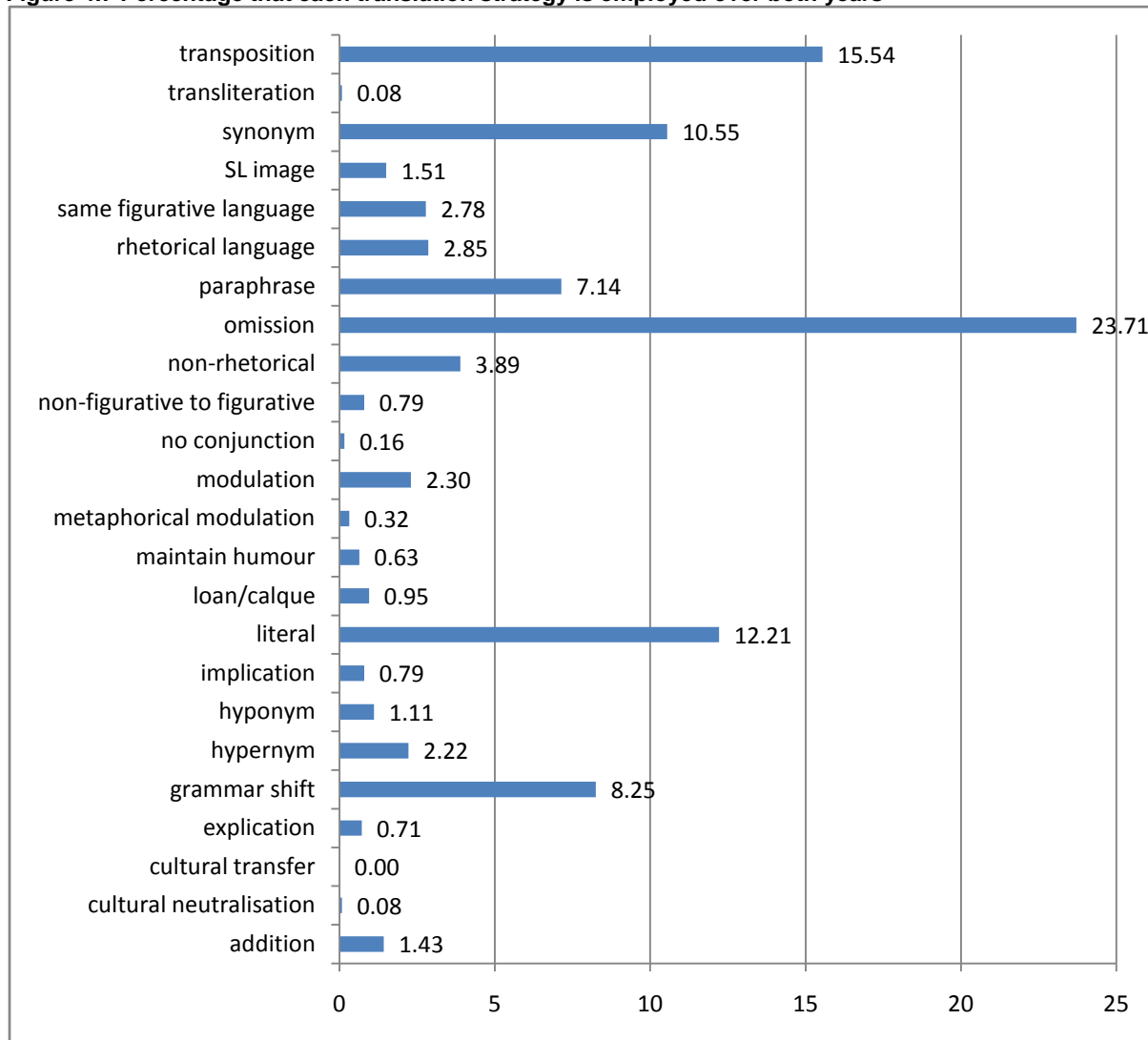
Mamparra ('mampara' in the South African Oxford dictionary) is neutralised to "idiot" in the subtitles. This is significant because it is not even Afrikaans, which means it is from a foreign culture even in the ST. Additionally, 'mampara' appears in the South African Oxford Dictionary indicating that it is an accepted and understood word in South African English.

The maintaining humour strategy is done quite cleverly. The utterance to which it applies is made by Oubaas, a character who habitually confuses idioms and words and whose distinctive

way of speaking is examined in the following chapter (Section 5.3.2.2). Both the ST and the TT have an incorrect word, for humorous and characterising effect. What makes this an interesting example is that both incorrect words sound similar to the words they are supposed to be: “verwarming” in Afrikaans and “warming” in English. In addition, the incorrect words have related meanings; “verwarring” means confusion and “warping” means distortion.

Figure 4.7 below is a graphic representation of the data in Table 4.4, the frequency each translation strategy is used in total.

Figure 4.7 Percentage that each translation strategy is employed over both years



By looking at this graph it is evident that omission is the strategy employed the most by far. It is important to note that omission was seldom used as the only strategy for any given translation pair. The total number of strategies is much more than the number of pairs in the corpus

because more than one strategy is often used in the translation of a single segment. The next strategies used most frequently are transposition, literal translation, the use of synonyms, a shift in the grammatical structure of sentences and paraphrase. The five strategies used the least are cultural neutralisation, transliteration, no conjunction between ST and TT, maintaining humour of the ST in the TT and explication.

The strategies can be grouped into four general categories in terms of the type of language to which they are applicable: general language use, culture-specific items, humorous language and figurative language.

The strategies used in the translation of general non-figurative language can also be used in the translation of figurative language, specifically in conjunction with the 'figurative language to non-rhetorical, literal language' strategy. These general strategies are: loan/calque, literal translation, transposition, grammar shift, modulation, paraphrase, synonym, hyponym, hypernym, addition, omission, no conjunction, transliteration, explication and implication.

For the purposes of this study there is a difference between obligatory shifts and the strategy 'grammar shift'. Obligatory shifts are discussed in the theory chapter (see Sections 2.2.2.5.1 and 2.2.2.5.2). Grammar shift²², as used as a strategy in this study, does not denote obligatory shifts. Rather, it indicates the use of a question in the TT when the ST was a statement or where a verb became a noun when it could have remained a verb in the TT or a non-obligatory change in grammatical structure. For example, *dit sal nogal pret wees* is subtitled as *wouldn't that be fun?*. In this a statement becomes a rhetorical question; "that would be [quite] fun" could have sufficed, although it is much less idiomatic in English.

The strategy 'no conjunction' is usually the result of mishearing or mistranslation. For example, the lyrics *wen 'n SAMA* (win a SAMA – South African Music Award) is subtitled as *beat Osama*. This is clearly a case of the translator mishearing the ST and the subsequent subtitle does not make sense in its context. Another example is *'n klassieke snyerspakkie is wat ek soek* is translated as *a classically cut suit is what I need*. While the general intent is represented, the specific meaning of a classic tailored/tailor-made suit has been lost. In this instance there has been a grammar shift; there is a change in part of speech: "klassieke" here should be the adjective "classic [tailored suit]" but is translated with the –ally suffix to be the adverb "classically". The following example shows how the incorrect grammatical parsing of a segment

²² The difference between 'grammar shift' and transposition' as used in this study is explained in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4.

can lead to a misleading subtitle: a cream puff *met koffieroom en toffie-vusel* becomes one *with a coffee, cream and toffee filling*. It shifts from coffee-cream to coffee and cream.

The strategies relevant to culture-specific items are cultural transfer, cultural neutralisation and transliteration (Katan 2004:202; Karamitroglou 1998). Cultural transfer, the strategy in which a SC-specific item is changed to an item in the TC that is on the same level, is included in my analysis and the graph even though it is not used at all. I have chosen to retain this strategy in my findings because there are a few cultural-specific elements and the translators' choice not to use an equivalent TC item is telling. When faced with a culture-specific item, translators can find a cultural equivalent, explain/neutralise the cultural item or transcribe the item as is in the TL, which is transliteration. The translators of *7de Laan* explained or transcribed but did not do a cultural transfer. This might be because a large percentage of the (hearing) audience understands both English and Afrikaans (and they hear the characters speaking as well as read the subtitles), so if viewers read a subtitle that differs greatly from the original, they may not trust the subtitles anymore. Another reason may be the close contact between cultures in South Africa, specifically English and Afrikaans cultures, so a degree of familiarity with culture-specific items is expected. An example of this is the type of food "waterbul kerspoeding", a type of jam pudding, which is transliterated in the subtitle. In this case the translators may have overestimated the viewers' cultural knowledge and an explanation or cultural transfer may have been more meaningful to viewers.

As with the translation of culture-specific items, translators have three main choices when it comes to translating humour; in this study specifically humorous wordplay as is found in the speech of one of the older characters in *7de Laan*. Humour can be maintained, in any form, it can be omitted or it can be added to the text. Wordplay can be language-specific (Chiaro 1992:87; Gottlieb 1997:216), therefore a sentence, phrase or word that lends itself easily to wordplay in Afrikaans may not do so in English. This is where the addition of wordplay comes in. It may be impossible to render a particular instance of wordplay but adding wordplay elsewhere compensates for that. The addition strategy is not wordplay-specific, so I looked at the character (Oubaas) who typically plays on words and idioms, be it unwittingly. One example of the addition of wordplay is the following: Oubaas says *dat 'n man nie deur groen weivelde anderkant die draad verlei moet word nie* and this appears in the subtitles as *a man mustn't be enticed by the pastures on the other side of the green fence*. While the ST is not necessarily idiomatically correct it makes sense, which the TT does not do. The idiomatically correct English translation should be *a man mustn't be enticed by the greener grass on the other side of the*

fence (from the saying “the grass is always greener on the other side”), but the mix-up is typical of the character. This added instance of humorous wordplay compensates for loss of humour and wordplay elsewhere, i.e. when the humour in the ST is not represented in the TT.

An example of maintaining humour is when one character says *die een hand was die ander/one hand washes the other* and another, a character from Romania who is a foreign-language speaker of Afrikaans replies, confused, *ek klaar my hande gewas het/I already wash my hands*. The idiom “one hand washes the other” is the same in both English and Afrikaans, which allows for the ambiguity and humorous misunderstanding that follows to work in both the ST and the TT. There are many translation strategies, as applied in this study, applicable to the translation of figurative language because there are various types of figurative language and therefore many ways to translate them. Aside from the general language-use options available, there are several strategies specific to figurative language. These strategies are: same figurative language, using the SL image, non-figurative language into figurative language, figurative language translated into another type of figurative language, metaphorical modulation and figurative language into non-rhetorical language.

The total percentage of these six strategies is 12.14%. Of these strategies, the last one: figurative language into non-rhetorical language, has been used the most, 3.89% of the time. This means that just over a quarter of figurative ST speech is lost in the subtitles and rendered as non-rhetorical, literal language. The rest of the figurative language is rendered in one rhetorical way or the other in the subtitles. The most common choice is the translation of figurative language to rhetorical language used 2.85% of the time. Next is same figurative speech at 2.78% and using the SL image is 1.51%. Literal language translated as rhetorical language is only at 0.79% and metaphorical modulation is used the least, 0.32% of the time.

A graphic representation of the percentage each translation strategy is used per year follows.

Figure 4.8 Percentage that each translation strategy is employed in 2007

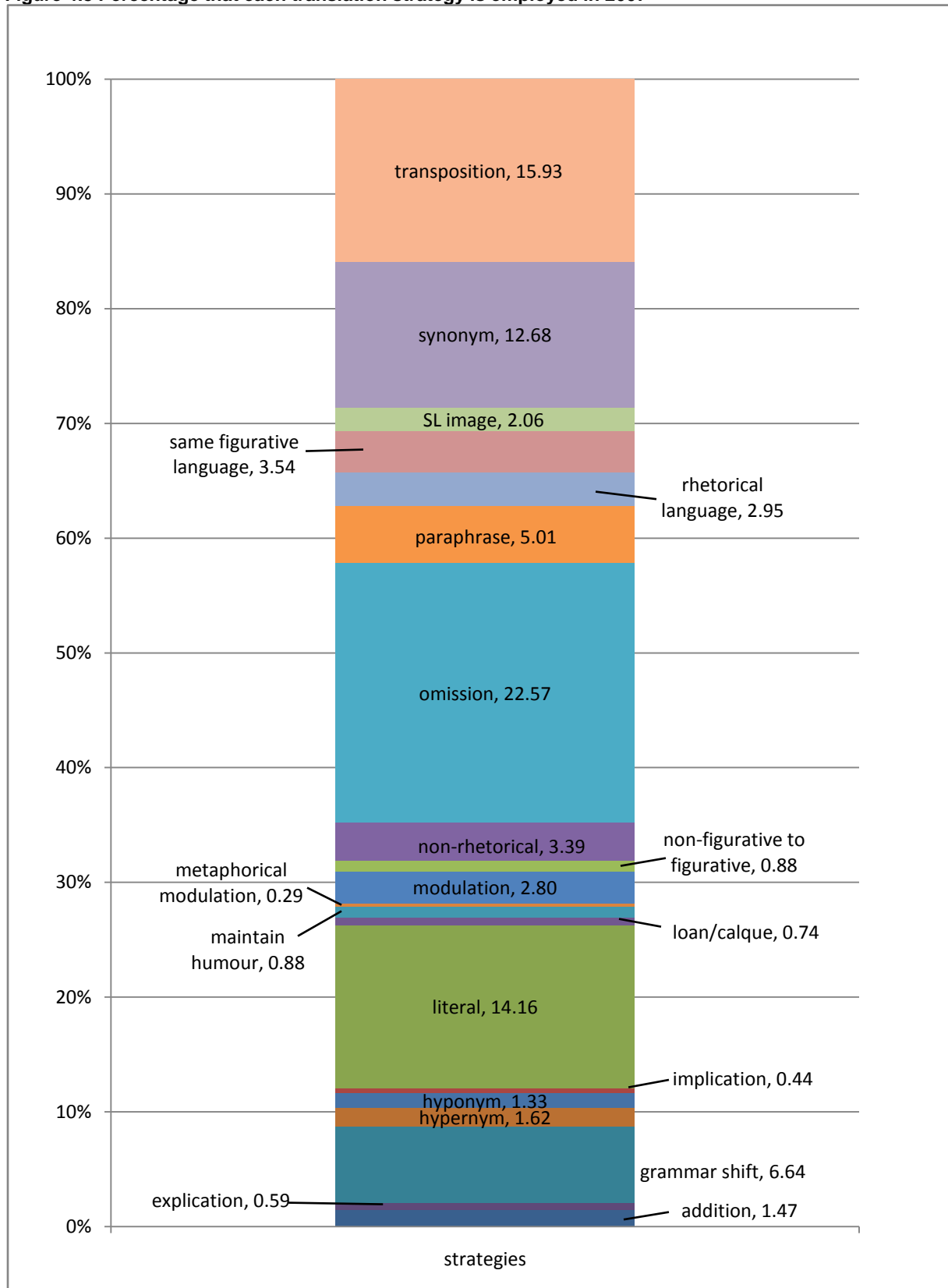
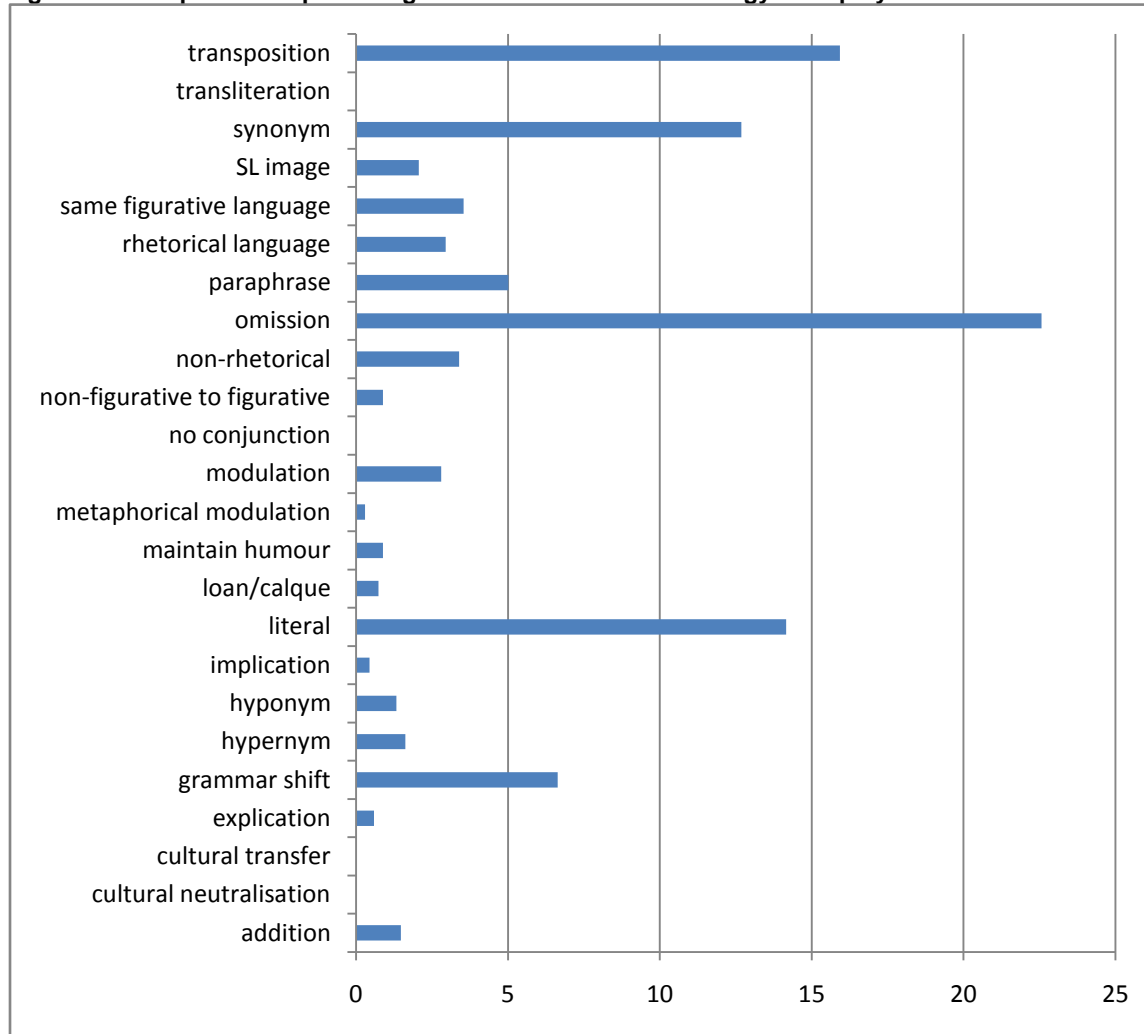


Figure 4.9 Comparison of percentage that each translation strategy is employed in 2007

The two graphs above (Figures 4.8 and 4.9) are graphic representations of the percentages of strategies used in 2007. Figure 4.8 shows what the 2007 strategies comprise – the frequency (in percentage) that each strategy is used for the episodes in that year. Figure 4.9 compares these percentages, so that which has been used most frequently can be seen easily. From this graph it can be seen that omission is by far the strategy used most frequently in 2007. This is followed by transposition, literal translation and synonym. It can also be seen that the set of strategies specifically for figurative language, from non-rhetorical language to same figurative language, comprises a relatively small percentage overall. Of this set, the most frequently used are non-rhetorical and same figurative language.

Figure 4.10 Percentage that each translation strategy is employed in 2010

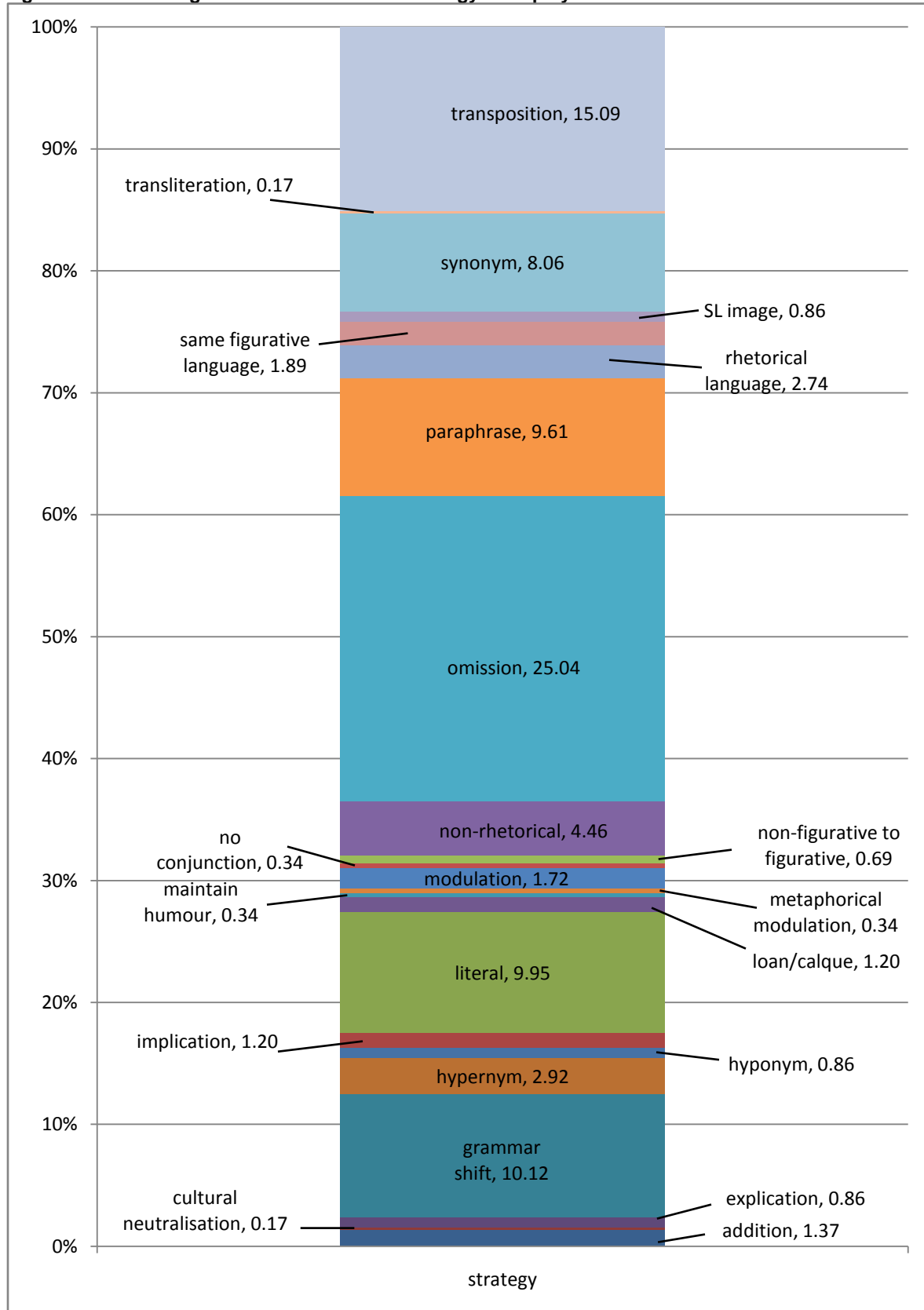
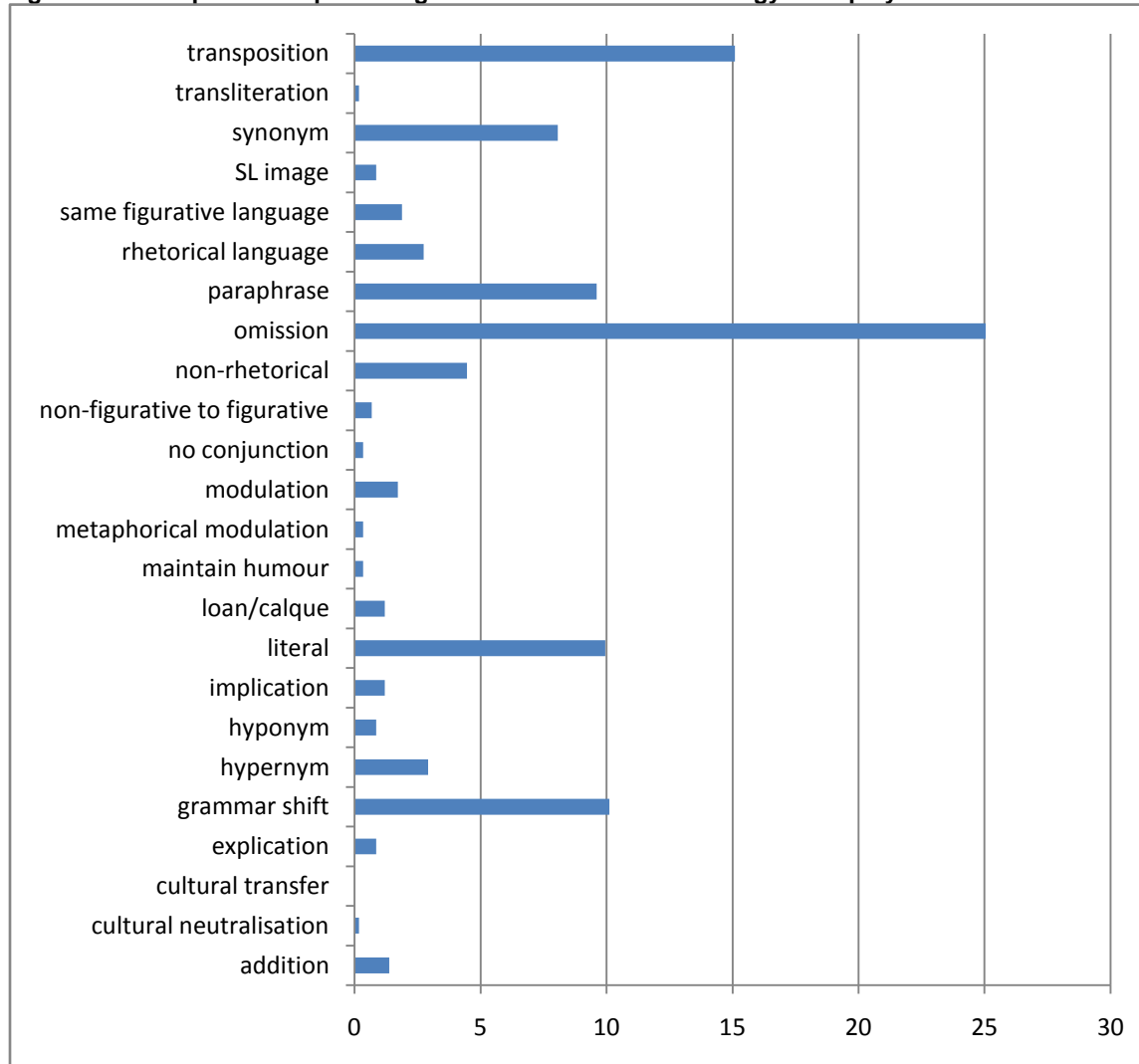


Figure 4.11 Comparison of percentage that each translation strategy is employed in 2010

The two graphs above (Figures 4.10 and 4.11) show the percentages that each strategy was used in 2010. These figures show that omission and transposition are also the most frequently used strategies in 2010. These are followed by grammar shift and literal translation. It can also be seen that the set of strategies specifically for figurative language still comprises a relatively small percentage in 2010. Of this set, the most frequently used are non-rhetorical and rhetorical language. A comparison between the years and discussion of the difference between them are set out in Section 4.3.4.2 below.

4.3.3 Governing norms

According to Díaz Cintas (2004:26), the study of norms²³ “help[s] to account for the policy that regulates the whole translation project” and Hermans (1999:79) argues that norms are “the first step towards an explanation of the choices and decisions which translators make”. Determining the norms of a translation thus help in accounting for the linguistic changes and relationships between the ST and TT, which are the operational norms. Díaz Cintas (2004:26) goes on to argue that discovering the norms governing a translation helps to determine, on the macrostructural level, what “distinctive characteristics ... regulate” the production of subtitles. He also notes that the “many different constraints imposed by the medium” should be kept in mind (Díaz Cintas 2004:26).

Even though norms govern translation decisions, Toury (1995b:208) cautions that “a translator's behaviour cannot be expected to be fully systematic” in that choices may not be completely consistent all the time. This is due to the fact that choices may be motivated by different factors in different situations (Toury 1995b:208). Thus Toury, (1995b:208, italics in original) postulates that consistency in translation is “a *graded* notion” and is neither totally erratic nor absolutely regular behaviour.

Toury and Chesterman identified various norms. The norms discussed here are Toury's initial and matricial norms and Chesterman's technical norm. The different norms have already been discussed in detail in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.2.2.5). What follows, is how those norms apply to the subtitles of *7de Laan* being analysed in this study.

4.3.3.1 Initial norms

Toury distinguishes between three types of translation norms, each operating at a different stage of translation (Munday 2008:112): preliminary, initial and operational (Hermans 1999:75–76). Toury (1980:54) introduces the concept of initial norm which has to do with the overall orientation of the text, whether it is source or target-culture oriented; its adequacy or acceptability²⁴ (Hermans 1999:76). This norm “designate[s] the translator's basic choice” (Toury 1980:115) between the opposite ends of the continuum, which derive from the fact that a translation is both a literary text in the TL belonging to the target literary polysystem and a

²³ “Norms” are introduced and discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.5.

²⁴ The terms “acceptability” and “adequacy” are discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.4.

“reconstruction” of a pre-existing text in the SL belonging to the source literary polysystem (Toury 1980:115-116).

This choice that the initial norm presents is that of the requirements of the two cultures; the translator is thus either subjected to the original text, the source language and culture and the applicable norms, or to the target culture and system, “or the section of [the TC] which would host the end product”, and its norms (Toury 1995a:56). Thus the choice being between adequate and acceptable translation (cf. Toury 1995b:200–201).

However, Toury advises that the term ‘initial norm’ should not be over-interpreted. It is only deemed ‘initial’ because of its “superordinance over particular norms which pertain to lower, and therefore more specific levels” (Toury 1995b:201). When it comes to actual translation decisions for specific phenomena, phrases, words, etc., Toury (1995b:201) argues that there will be a compromise between the two alternatives implied by the initial norm.

While a study in the DTS approach starts by looking just at the TT, a comparison of the TT to its ST is important “for without such a comparison one cannot even determine what type of *initial* norm underlies it” (Toury 1980:58, italics in original).

According to Toury (1980:54), the tension between the poles of adequacy and acceptability stems from the initial norm. In this corpus (see also Section 4.3.1) there is definitely tension between the poles with the subtitles lying closer to the acceptable pole on the continuum. As mentioned above, Toury (1995b:208) argues that translation behaviour is not consistent, even when choices are norm-governed. This could explain the unexpected, big differences between the acceptability/adequacy of the first episodes in both 2007 and 2010 compared to the rest of the episodes for each year.

4.3.3.2 Matricial norms

Matricial norms are subnorms of operational norms, which are more specific than the initial norms and are seen as “lower order” (Munday 2008:112). Operational norms have another set of subnorms, textual-linguistic norms. These subnorms exist because operational norms “affect the matrix of the text” (Toury 1995b:202), which is the “modes of distributing linguistic material” (Toury 1995b:202; cf. Toury 1995a:58). Operational norms also affect the textual composition and verbal formulation of a translation (Toury 1995b:202).

According to Toury's (1980:54) definition, operational norms influence translation decisions during the translation process. These norms "affect the matrix of the text ... the modes of distributing linguistic material ... and the actual verbal formulation" in the text (Toury 1980:54). Because operational norms influence decision-making during the translation process (Toury in Chesterman 1997:63), they "govern – directly or indirectly – the relationships" between the ST and TT (Toury 1995a:85, 1995b:202).

Matricial norms are concerned with the macrostructure of the text while textual-linguistic norms pertaining to linguistic and verbal formulation are relevant to the microstructure (Hermans 1999:76). Matricial norms "determine ... the ... existence of TL material" which would replace the corresponding material in the SL (Toury 1980:54; cf. Toury 1995a:58-59). As a result, matricial norms also determine the "degree of fullness of translation", the location and distribution of TL material in the TT as well as the TT's textual segmentation (Toury 1980:54). This means that matricial norms also determine the "extent to which omissions, additions, changes in location, and manipulation of segmentation" are referred to in or around the translated texts (Toury 1995a:59). However, Toury (1980:54) notes that the borders between these "matricial phenomena" are not always clear. This is evident in the examples he provides: a large-scale omission may result in segmentation changes and a change in location may be described as omission in one place with addition in another (Toury 1980:54). However, changes in location and segmentation are not applicable to subtitles as the synchronicity constraint limits this kind of manipulation (De Linde & Kay 1999:7).

Omission and addition are two strategies that affect the matrix of a text (Toury 1980:101). Toury (1980:102) also notes that the border between omission and shortening strategies, such as implication and combining several ST segments into one TT segment, is not always clear. The same could then apply to the blurred border between addition and explication. Thus four strategies used in this study are relevant to the matricial norm: addition, omission, implication and explication.

Omission is the most frequently used strategy overall and is used 23.69% of the time for all the episodes. Keeping in mind the constraints of subtitles, specifically their length, this is not surprising. Much more is said than is present in the subtitles. There is a huge difference between omission and the other strategies. Of the four strategies relevant to the matricial norm, omission is used the most, followed by addition (1.43%), implication (0.79%) and explication

(0.71%). Shortening strategies are favoured: omission is used more than addition and implication is used more than explication.

In terms of manipulation and distribution of the text, this is not practical for subtitling – the subtitles on screen at any point have to reflect what is happening on screen at that time (see Section 3.4).

4.3.3.3 Expectancy norms

Chesterman's technical norms concern the same type of behaviour as Toury's operational and initial norms "but from a different angle" (Chesterman 1997:64). Chesterman divides technical norms into product and process norms²⁵. Product norms are those norms that define "what counts" as a correct, or acceptable to the target culture, translation product (Chesterman 1997:55). Chesterman (1997:64) also refers to product norms as expectancy norms because they represent the expectations of the target audience. Product norms govern process (also called production or professional) norms (Chesterman 1997:85). Process norms have to do with "processes, specifying correct or good methods for doing something" (Chesterman 1997:55).

Product norms reflect the target audience's expectations of what a particular type of translation should look like (Chesterman 1997:64) and "stake out the perimeter of translation" (Hermans 1999:78). The target audience may have expectations regarding text-type, style, register, lexical choice, collocations, etc. (Chesterman 1997:64), and for this reason product norms are genre-specific (Chesterman 1997:135). Chesterman (1997:57) states that these norms are based on two "higher-order" norms. One of these higher-order norms, the communication norm, falls under the process norms (Chesterman 1997:57). The other higher-order norm he refers to is the ethical norm (Chesterman 1997:58).

Some of the factors that govern product norms include the dominant translation tradition in the target culture, economic and ideological considerations and what similar genres in the TL, original texts, look like (Munday 2008:117). If translators follow product norms, their translation products will be classified as translations. If not, then their products may be classified as something else, such as adaptations or paraphrases (Hermans 1999:78). Similarly, Hermans' constitutive norms of translation represent the expectations of what constitutes a translation (Hermans 1999:141). They police "the boundary between what is translation and what is not"

²⁵ Chesterman's norms are summarised in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.5.4.

(Hermans 1996:42) for a specific community. Should these norms be breached the translator's product will not be perceived as a translation by that community (Hermans 1999:141).

Chesterman (1997:81) states that the strictest English expectancy norms are the rules of English grammar and that these rules are not expected to be broken, but of course this is applicable to all languages and their respective grammars. Aside from norms relating to the strict rules of grammar, there are also norms that have to do with how acceptable and appropriate the TT is; Chesterman (1997:81) calls these norms of usage. From this it can be seen that some product norms are qualitative, such as grammar, and others are quantitative, such as lexical distribution and word and sentence length (Chesterman 1997:81–83, 134). Chesterman (1997:134) argues that both qualitative and quantitative norms are “relative concepts” because they represent a range of acceptable behaviour “from ‘preferred usage’ through ‘unusual to acceptable’ to ‘disturbingly deviant’ and ‘definitely unacceptable’” (Chesterman 1997:134) or similar types of tolerated behaviour.

When qualitative norms are broken it results in an “overt error” (Chesterman 1997:66) such as ungrammatical formulations and non-native expressions. When quantitative norms are broken they result in covert errors, including non-typical distribution and non-typical frequencies of items (Chesterman 1997:66). Chesterman (1997:66) argues that product norms are sometimes broken on purpose in order to serve “some higher priority” such as loyalty to a certain aspect of the form of the ST or an attempt to make the TT more persuasive. He concludes that product norms are not permanent or “static”, but that they are “sensitive” to text-type and are open to change (Chesterman 1997:67).

Chesterman (1993:10) suggests that a translator should translate in such a way that the TT meets its expectancy norms. He further states that expectancy (or product) norms can be subdivided into syntactic, semantic and pragmatic expectancy norms (Chesterman 1993:10). With expectancy norms, for example syntactic expectancy norms, the actual grammaticality of a text is not the most important point. The most important issue is that the text should meet the grammatical *expectations* of the target audience (TA) (Chesterman 1993:10). Chesterman (1993:10) argues that “[p]ragmatic appropriateness is what counts” when looking at expectancy norms.

Expectancy norms are “established by the expectations” of the audience (Chesterman 1997:64). These expectations have to do with style, register, grammaticality, lexical choices, etc. (Chesterman 1997:64). It is expectancy norms that “allow us to make evaluative judgements

about translations” (Chesterman 1997:65) such as a translation’s degree of adequacy or acceptability.

Looking at the acceptability/adequacy of the TT and considering that the TT is mostly acceptable, the subtitles appear to be mainly pragmatically appropriate, especially since subtitles are fleeting. Subtitles are short-lived so the grammar is not as important as the content, but the content should not be hindered or obscured by bad grammar. What is of importance is that the viewer receives the message in each subtitle flash.

The nature of AVT (audiovisual translation) is such that the audience cannot go back to or dwell on a possibly problematic segment. The advantage of this is that they cannot trawl for errors. On the other hand, a disadvantage is that if a subtitle is grammatically difficult to parse, the audience cannot read and reread it until they understand (Wurm 2007:124; Rosa 2001:218).

Norms determined by acceptability (as is the focus of this study) are norms of usage (Chesterman 1997:81). While rules of grammar are the strictest expectancy norms and are not usually expected to be broken (Chesterman 1997:81), it should be borne in mind that some audience members will have higher expectancies than others (Chesterman 1997:81). In addition, as noted above, there is a range of tolerated behaviour (Chesterman 1997:134). Therefore it can be seen that there is a difference between the possible strictness of norms and what the audience expectations of those norms are. For example, the TA of subtitles would rather expect easily understandable subtitles that convey the meaning of the dialogue than subtitles that avoid “such prescriptive-grammar chestnuts as the split infinitive” (Chesterman 1997:82) but cannot be understood immediately.

The data from this study show that the TT largely meets expectancy norms because it is mostly grammatical and, as the graphs in Section 4.3.1 show, it is more acceptable than adequate. However, there are occasionally some problems with style, register, lexical choices and even grammar. For example, *die neef van my kook* is translated as *my cousin is cooking*, while the intention of the ST would be better conveyed with something like “my cousin is on fire/hot”. This particular type of problem may skew audience perception of the acceptability of the subtitles; people might remember the problematic subtitles more than they do the ones that are acceptable.

Chesterman (1997:66) mentions some reasons for translators breaking expectancy norms: translators may meet a higher priority such as loyalty to the form of the ST or they might have a

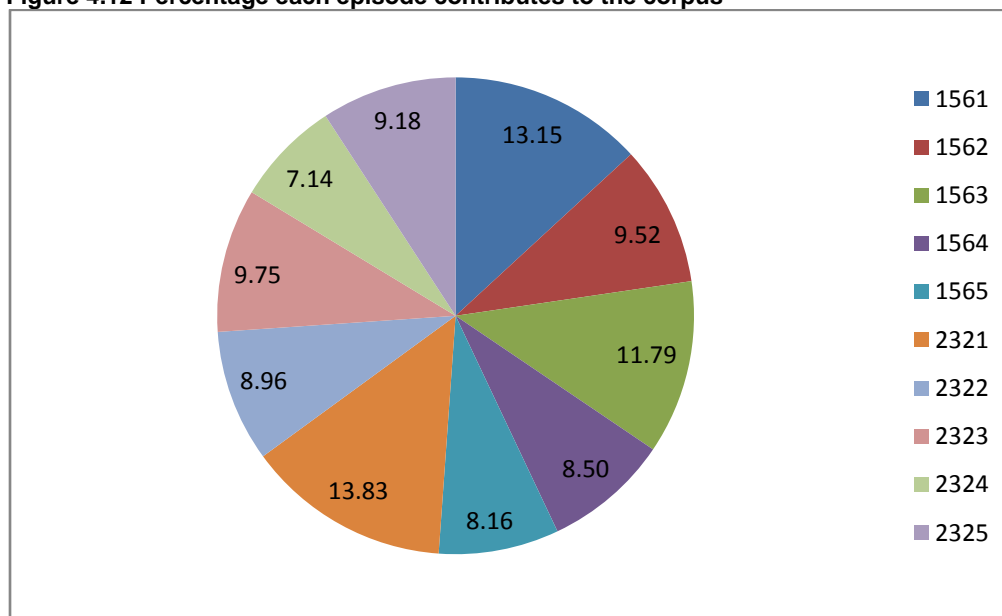
particular ideological conviction about how a ST should be translated. A possible higher priority that the translators of *7de Laan* seek to fulfil is that the subtitles are short enough to be read and processed by hearing-impaired viewers (Roets 2011; Nieuwoudt 2011a).

4.3.4 2007 vs. 2010

This section looks at the composition of the corpus in terms of how much each episode contributes. In addition, the data from 2007 is compared to that from 2010 in terms of adequacy/acceptability, translation strategies employed and norms.

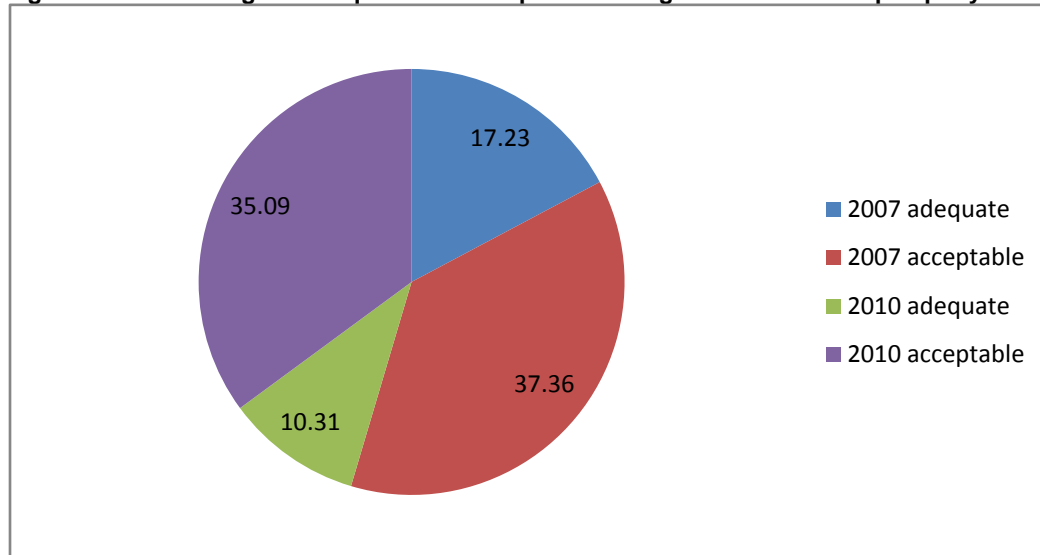
The following chart shows the percentage each episode contributes to the total corpus. This shows that the episodes contribute between 5.21% (episode 1564) and 14.12% (episode 2321). Each year contributes about half: 50.12% of the segments are from the episodes broadcast in 2007 and 49.88% are from the 2010 episodes.

Figure 4.12 Percentage each episode contributes to the corpus



4.3.4.1 Adequacy/acceptability comparison over the years

Figure 4.13 Percentage of adequate and acceptable TT segments of total corpus per year



This chart is a representation of the total percentage adequate and acceptable segments overall, divided into adequate/acceptable and 2007/2010. The percentage of adequate segments decreased from 2007 to 2010 by 7%. At the same time the percentage of acceptable segments decreased by 2%. This points to perhaps a more concerted effort by the translators to produce less ST-oriented subtitles.

The following pie charts show the percentage of all categories – adequate, acceptable, deaf and character – per year.

Figure 4.14 Percentage of all categories, 2007

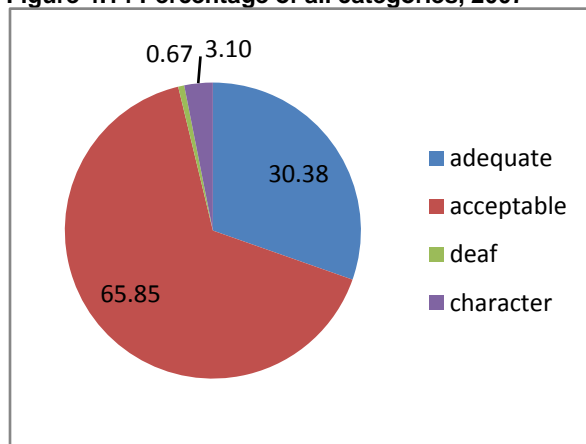
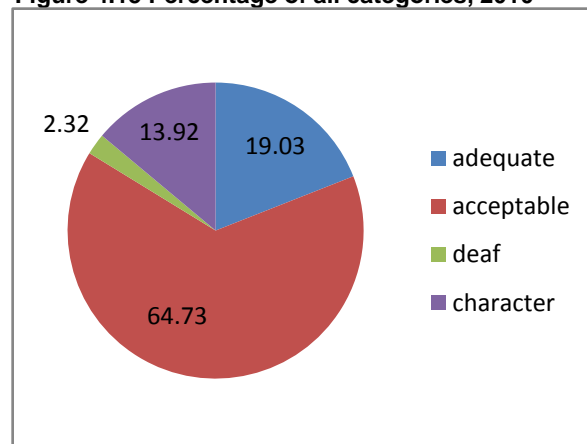


Figure 4.15 Percentage of all categories, 2010



By comparing all the categories, not just acceptable/adequate, it can be seen that the percentage of acceptable TT per year remained about the same: 65.85% in 2007 and 64.73% in 2010. However, the other categories, including adequate TT segments, changed significantly.

The percentage of adequate segments decreased by 11% in 2010, from 30.38% in 2007 to 19.03%. The percentage of subtitles specifically aimed at hearing-impaired viewers almost quadrupled, from 0.675 to 2.32%. Character speech, which is dependent on content and storyline, increased by 10%, from 3.10% to 13.92%.

The increase in subtitles specifically for hearing-impaired viewers could be ascribed to translators' greater awareness of hearing-impaired viewers' needs and translators perhaps "over-translating" for this target group. Not only is it indicated in the subtitles when a phone or doorbell rings, but there are instances where on-screen occurrences are transcribed, somewhat unnecessarily, in subtitles. An example is when what one character mouths appears in the subtitles; however, hearing-impaired viewers might not know that the utterance is merely being mouthed and might feel excluded if a subtitle did not appear on screen at that time. Another example is when a character is trapped in a burning building and the camera focuses on her face as she screams. The subtitle '*screams*' is displayed at this time, even though it is obvious from her expression that this is what she is doing (a screen shot of this and further discussion appear in Section 5.3.3).

In the discussion of Figure 4.13 I note that when looking only at the adequate/acceptable segments, acceptability decreased by 2% in 2010 and when comparing the years in Figures 4.14 and 4.15 acceptability decreases by about 1%. Interestingly, adequacy is shown to decrease by a larger margin in both Figure 4.13 and in a comparison between Figures 4.14 and 4.15. This indicates that while the acceptability has not improved, the subtitles did become less ST-oriented from 2007 to 2010.

Figure 4.16 Adequate/acceptable segments, 2007

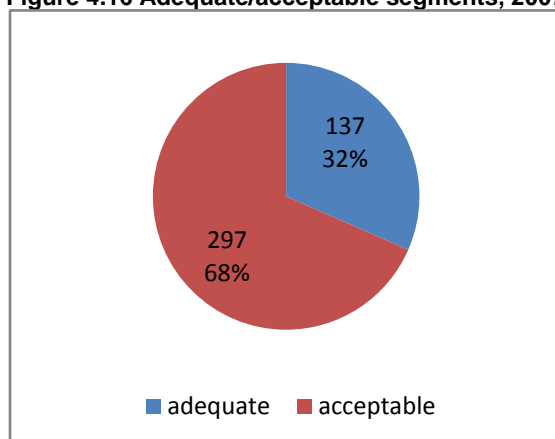
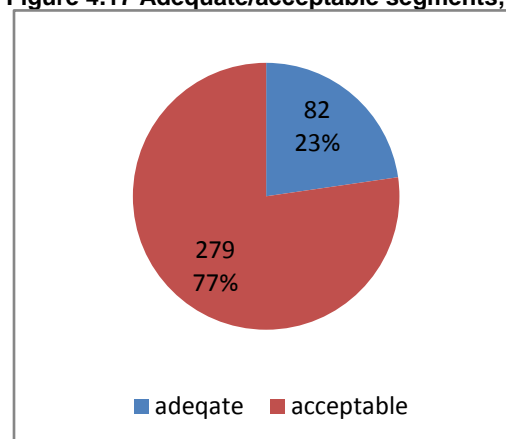


Figure 4.17 Adequate/acceptable segments, 2010



While Figure 4.13 showed the total adequate and acceptable segments, in other words over both years, Figures 4.16 and 4.17 show numbers and percentage for adequate/acceptable

segments per year. These graphs echo the trend seen in Figure 4.13, that adequacy decreased. However, these sets of data show different results for acceptability. Figure 4.16 and 4.17 indicate acceptability increased from 2007 to 2010, while Figure 4.13 shows a decrease. In Figure 4.13 adequacy decreased by 7% and acceptability decreased by 2% while the above figures show that adequacy decreased and acceptability increased by 9%. Thus, when the adequate/acceptable segments of each year are expressed as a percentage of the total number of segments, as shown in Figure 4.13, it appears as though acceptability decreased. However, when they are expressed as percentages of the totals of each year, as in Figures 4.16 and 4.17, it is evident that acceptability increased.

Figure 4.18 Number of all categories per episode, 2007

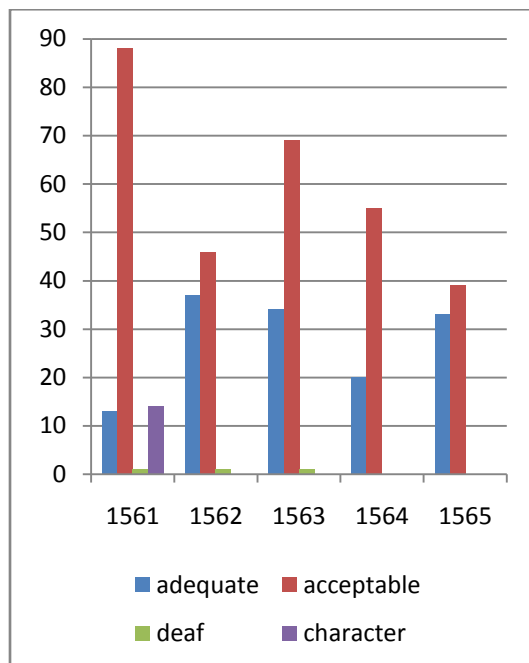
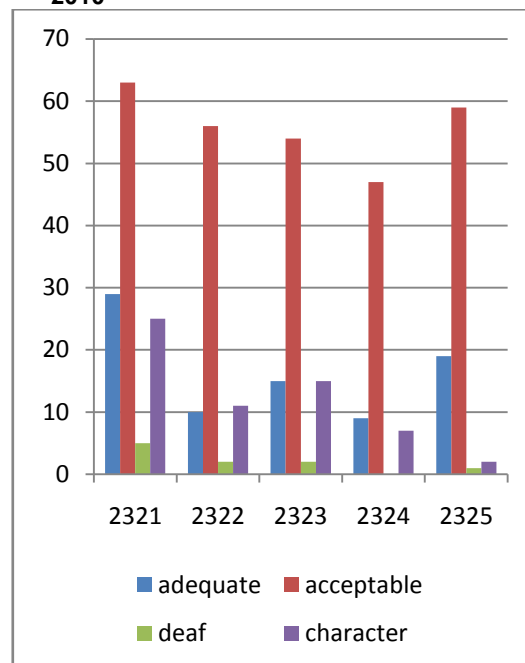


Figure 4.19 Number of all categories per episode, 2010



Figures 4.18 and 4.19 show the number of TT segments per episode, per year, for each category. While these numbers do not provide data in context as percentages do, it can nevertheless be seen how much closer the margins are between adequate and acceptable segments per episode in 2007 compared to 2010. The episode with the most adequate segments for 2007 is episode 2 of that year (episode number 1562) with 37 segments. Episode 1 of 2010 (episode number 2321) has the most adequate segments for that year, with 29.

These graphs show that, per episode, many more segments were acceptable in 2010 compared to 2007. They also indicate that the difference between the number of adequate and acceptable segments is much smaller in 2007. The above graphs indicate a greater level of consistency in

2010, particularly in using less SL-oriented language in the subtitles. When the adequacy and acceptability of each year is compared, 2010 is more acceptable than 2007. This, together with the data and discussion of Figures 4.14 to 4.19 above, shows that there seems to have been a shift towards more acceptable translation in 2010. The overall acceptability of each year increases between 2007 and 2010 even if it does not increase across episodes for either year. In other words, while the number of acceptable TT segments for both years (see Figures 4.18 and 4.19) actually decreases between episodes, the 2010 episodes as a whole are more acceptable than the 2007 episodes.

Figure 4.20 Number of segments per category per episode, 2007

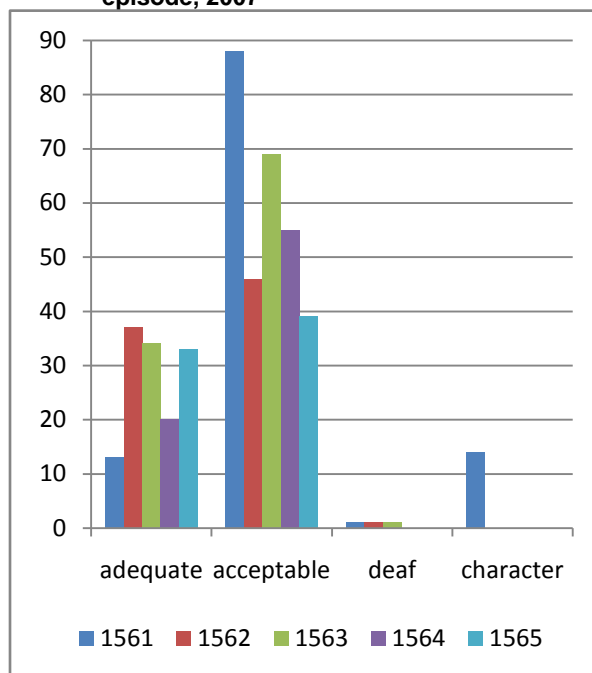
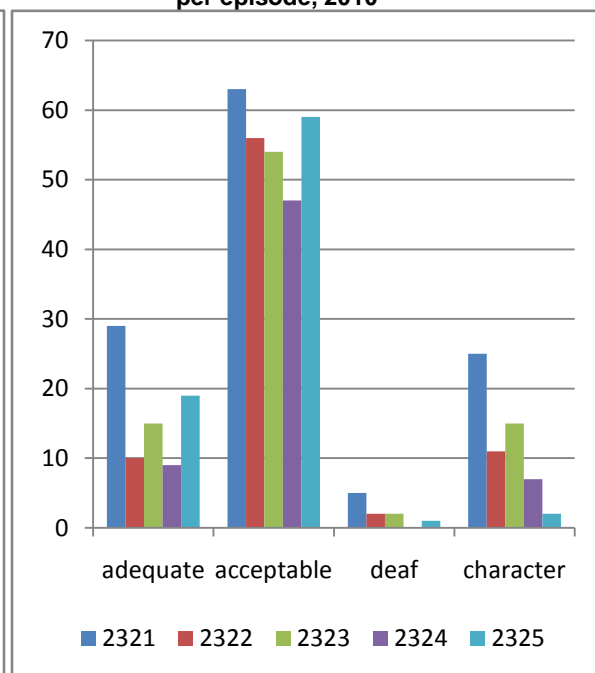


Figure 4.21 Number of segments per category per episode, 2010



Figures 4.20 and 4.21 demonstrate that when the numbers of segments are compared per year, the adequate TT segments decrease; 3 of the 5 episodes in 2007 have more than 30 adequate segments compared to 2010 when all 5 episodes had less than 30 adequate segments. There is no clear trend for the acceptable segments when using numbers only. However, as I have discussed above, when looking at percentages there is a clear upward trend.

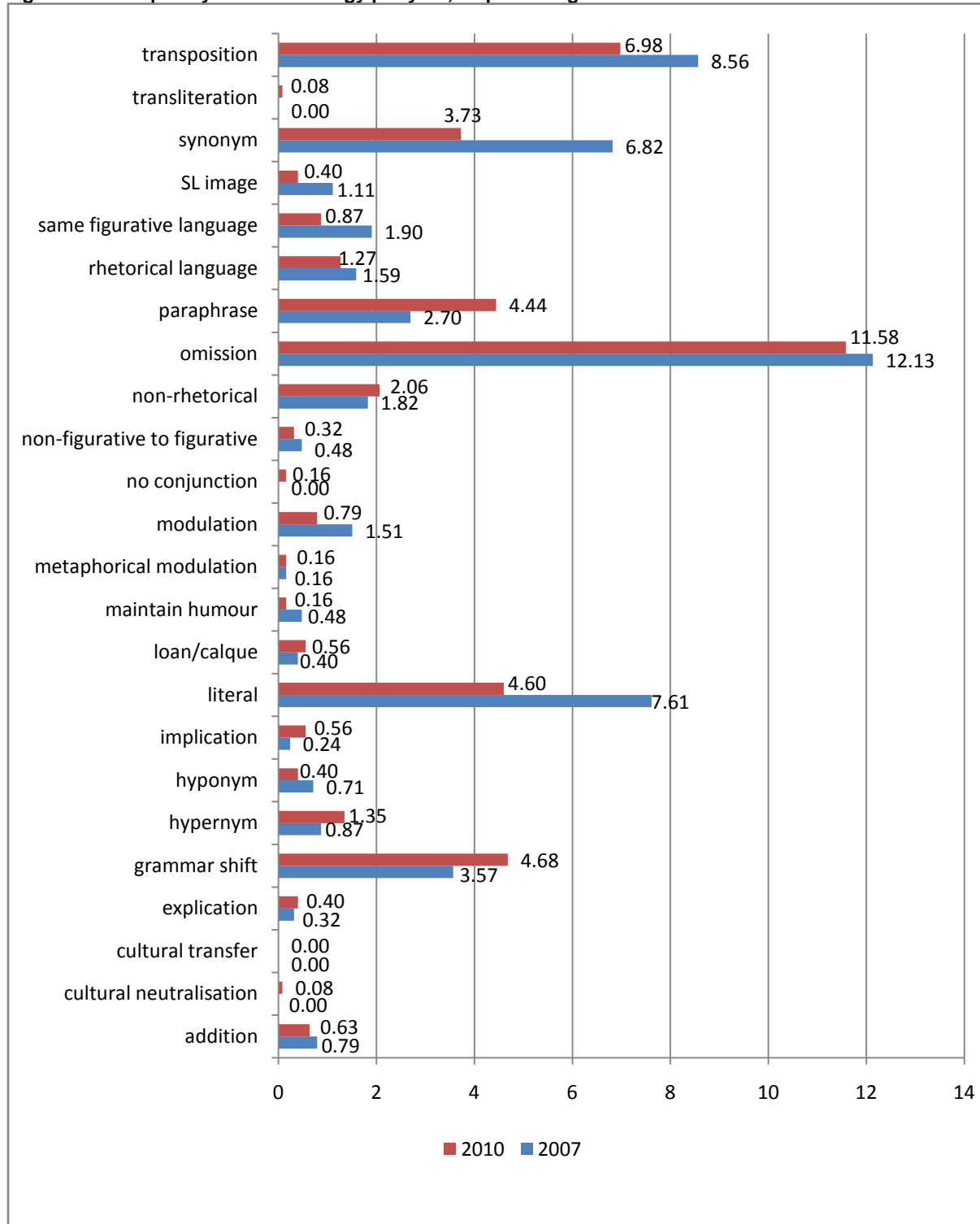
While the number of segments selected per episode has no real meaning as this depends on how many problematic TT segments there are in any given episode, these numbers still show that there has been some type of change in approach. The fact that there are fewer translation pairs in the 2010 corpus (excluding the other categories, deaf and character) means that there

were fewer problematic pairs in 2010. This might indicate that many more segments were translated acceptably in 2010 compared to 2007 and that the 2010 episodes posed fewer problems to the TA. Alternatively, this might signify that the ST posed fewer problems to the translators. This might be because the scriptwriters know that the episodes will be subtitled and write in such a way to accommodate the subtitlers.

4.3.4.2 Strategies comparison over the years

Figure 4.22 below is a graphic representation of the frequency with which each strategy is used per year, expressed as a percentage of the total number of strategies used (i.e. 1261, the data is taken from Table 4.4). The bars at the bottom, in blue, are the 2007 percentages with the 2010 percentages on top, represented by the red bars.

Figure 4.22 Frequency of each strategy per year, as percentage of total

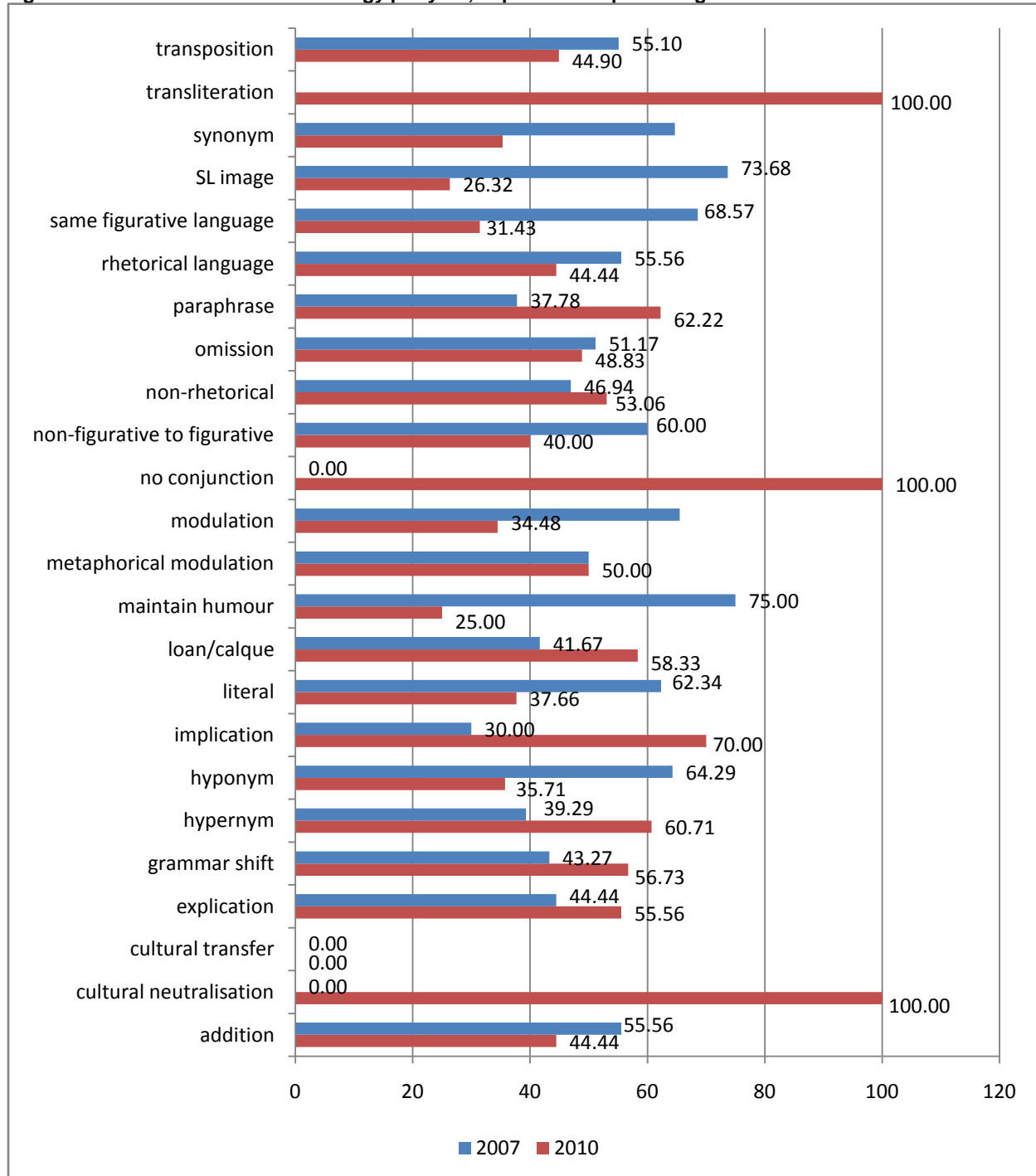


The strategies most and least frequently have already been discussed in Section 4.3.2, and looking at Figure 4.22 the distribution of strategies is clear – how much a strategy is used in comparison to others. The following graph (Figure 4.23) also makes the comparison between

years clear, and illustrates how much the use of a particular strategy increased or decreased from 2007 to 2010. What Figure 4.23 does indicate is how big the difference is. For instance, omission decreases by less than one percent. Of the six strategies specific to figurative language, four decrease. Metaphorical modulation remains constant (the only strategy aside from cultural transfer to do so), and both figurative language to rhetorical and non-rhetorical language increase.

The biggest jumpers in terms of increase are paraphrase (by almost 2%) and grammar shift (just over 1%); while the strategies that decreased the most are synonym (by just over 3%), literal translation (about 3%) and transposition (about 1,5%).

While the previous graph displayed the distribution of the strategies used overall, the following graph (Figure 4.23) examines the distribution of each strategy per year. In other words, I added the number of times each strategy was used in 2007 to that of 2010. I used this total to calculate the percentage each strategy was used per year.

Figure 4.23 Distribution of each strategy per year, expressed as percentage

The data used to compile this graph are found in Table 4.4. For instance, the maintain humour category was used 6 times in 2007 and 2 times in 2010 which means it was used a total of 8 times. This means that 75% of the total maintaining humour was used in 2007 and 25% in 2010. Another example is that there was no transliteration in 2007 so 100% of the transliteration was used in 2010.

In this way the levels of consistency from 2007 to 2010 can be compared. Strategies that display a marked decrease from 2007 to 2010 are: maintain humour, non-figurative to figurative, SL image, hyponym, synonym, modulation and literal. Those strategies that increased significantly are: implication, hypernym, paraphrase and loan. Cultural neutralisation, transliteration and no conjunction also increased significantly but these were not used at all in 2007. Strategies that were used with about equal frequency include those that decreased slightly: addition, omission and transposition; increased slightly: non-rhetorical, rhetorical, explication and grammar shift; and those that remained exactly the same: metaphorical modulation and cultural transfer, although the latter was not used at all.

Looking at the six strategies specifically for figurative speech, four of the strategies (same figurative language, SL image, non-figurative to figurative and rhetorical language) decreased significantly, one increased slightly (non-rhetorical) and one, metaphorical modulation, remained exactly the same. The marked decrease in the use of non-figurative to figurative indicates that less figurative language was introduced to the TT in 2010. The use of figurative language in the TT decreased and it seems that the use of rhetorical and non-rhetorical language was favoured in 2010. However, this does depend on the type of language used in the original content, for example there might have been fewer segments with figurative language in 2010.

There is a significant decrease in the frequency that the humour, such as wordplay, has been maintained (strategy: maintain humour). The character that confuses idioms and similar-sounding words and is the main source of wordplay appears much less in the 2010 episodes. He makes 94 utterances over two episodes in 2007 and only 9 utterances over two episodes in 2010.

The use of literal language decreased significantly. This indicates a shift to the use of more idiomatically correct English in the 2010 subtitles, with more obligatory grammatical shifts taking place. The use of less literal language echoes the increase in acceptability and decrease in adequacy.

As I have noted, the use of no conjunction, cultural neutralisation and transliteration increased, but they are special cases as they were not used at all in 2007. Cultural neutralisation and transliteration are strategies typically used for culture-specific items, the presence of which is also dependent on content.

The marked increase in implication and paraphrase implies an increase in the use of shortening strategies and perhaps less concern about translating the exact wording of the ST. The slight decrease in the use of addition echoes this. However, omission also decreased slightly but the increase in implication and paraphrase may have made up for this. Explication also increased slightly, but looking at the numbers it only increased by one, from 4 to 5. The increase in shortening strategies indicates that the translators may have become more accustomed to translating speech into subtitles without either losing too much of the ST (omission decreased) or following it too closely (making use of implication and paraphrase).

4.3.4.3 Norms comparison over the years

Overall, in terms of the initial norm, the subtitles are closer to acceptable than they are to adequate. However, there is a noticeable increase in the acceptability, and subsequent decrease in adequacy, from 2007 to 2010. This is evident from the data in Figures 4.13 to 4.17. According to the project manager, after translators have rendered the dialogue into subtitles, “n Ander persoon (Engelssprekend) of ek, gaan daardeur vir basiese taalgoggas, meer ‘Engels’” (Roets 2011). Therefore, the evidence suggests that the translators and the project manager aimed to produce acceptable subtitles.

The strategies employed that are indicative of the matricial norms show that shortening strategies, omission, paraphrase and implication, are favoured in general. It is important to remember that, as AVT, subtitles are obviously shorter than the ST. However, the data (as seen in Figure 3.22) show there is a slight decrease in addition (from 0.79% to 0.63% overall) and omission (12.12% to 11.57%), while explication and implication both increase (from 0.32% to 0.40% and from 0.24% to 0.55% respectively). I believe these differences in how often these strategies are used are so negligible, less than 1% for each strategy, that it does not point to a clear change in the matricial norms governing this translation.

However, the significant increase in the use of paraphrase, as seen in Figure 3.22, (from 2.69% in 2007 to 4.44% in 2010) together with the decrease in literal translation (from 7.61% to 4.60%) indicate that the translators translated less literally and in order for the TT to be more idiomatic in 2010 compared to 2007.

Further apparent tendencies point to an increase in catering for hearing-impaired viewers' needs, the introduction of fewer new segments in the TT and a move to less specific language in terms of lexical choices. There is an increase in subtitles specifically aimed at hearing-

impaired viewers, from 0.65% of all TT segments in this corpus in 2007 to 2.32% of TT segments in 2010 (according to data from Figures 3.14 and 3.15). There are fewer new segments, including figurative segments, in the TT in 2010. This can be seen in the decrease in addition, as well as the decrease in non-figurative to figurative language (from 0.48% to 0.32%, Figure 3.22). The decrease in figurative segments might stem from fewer figurative utterances in the ST.

Additionally, there is less figurative language in 2010. Of the six strategies specifically for figurative language, only two (non-rhetorical language and rhetorical language) increased. Metaphorical modulation remained the same and the rest decreased. Similarly, the use of hyponym and synonym decreased (from 0.71% to 0.40% and from 6.81% to 3.72% respectively) while hypernym increased (0.87% to 1.35%). The use of transposition also decreased, from 8.56% to 6.97% (data from Figure 3.22). These changes point to less figurative, lexically-specific and same-level language in 2010 and a move to more general lexical choices and non-figurative language.

4.4 Summary

An analysis of the macrostructure of *7de Laan* and its subtitles shows that the subtitles are more acceptable than adequate. They are not completely or consistently acceptable, but there does seem to be a shift to increased acceptability over the years. This might be as a result of the translators becoming more experienced, and more capable of finding acceptable equivalents.

A shift is also evident in the translation strategies used. The usage of shortening strategies, the use of less literal translation and the increase in the use of paraphrase in 2010 indicates that translators employed translation strategies that aligned with the spatial constraint of subtitles. Less literal translation in 2010 might indicate that translators became more experienced and familiar with idiomatic TL equivalents. A possible reason for an increase in the use of shortening strategies, including paraphrase, might be an increased awareness of the hearing-impaired viewers in the target audience. One of the translators' directives was to translate for hearing-impaired viewers and they were informed that these viewers are slower readers than hearing viewers (this is discussed further in the following chapter, Section 5.3.3). This information might have influenced translators to produce even shorter subtitles.

The norms governing the translation did not change drastically. Instead, they seem to have been more strictly adhered to in 2010. The only tendency that differed from this pattern was the

translation of figurative language and the treatment of the lexical level. It appears that in 2010 there was a shift to more non-figurative language and the decision to use more over-arching terms instead of words with specific meanings on the lexical level. This is analysed and discussed in further detail in the following chapter (Section 5.3.1).

This chapter looked at the overall approach to the translation of *7de Laan*. The following chapter will examine certain elements of the translation approach in detail. This will be done by specifically looking at how certain dialects, sociolects and characterisations were rendered, the treatment of culture-specific items, as well as certain examples of translation pairs that posed particular problems or highlighted interesting problems translators faced.

Chapter 5: Quantitative analysis of the translation strategies for figurative language and language usage of specific characters

5.1 Introduction and definition

This chapter will focus on the quantitative analysis of figurative-specific translation strategies, and language usage of specific characters. It will include a few microstructural aspects. The microstructure of a text focuses on the linguistic elements of a text and the translator's choices concerning specific linguistic elements (Díaz Cintas 2004:26). The microstructure includes sentence construction, word choice (Hermans 1999:76) and stylistic features (Munday 2008:112). Lambert and Van Gorp (1985:52-53) also include word choice, grammatical patterns, and language levels such as sociolects, dialects and jargon in their definition of what constitutes the microstructure. Since Lambert and Van Gorp include sociolect and dialect in the microstructure, it stands to reason that idiolect is also part of the microstructure of a text.

This chapter will look at certain grammatical considerations in the subtitles such as word choice, grammar and the way language varieties (sociolects and idiolects) have been rendered. I decided to look at the translation of language varieties, each of which have different linguistic markers including different types of figurative language such as slang and idioms, to determine whether there was a difference in translation approach between the sociolects and to compare which idiolect varieties were represented the most in the subtitles. The analysis of sociolects will focus on first language speakers only, with age and race as the main defining characteristics. In terms of idiolects, the analysis will look at how four characters' utterances with distinctive ways of speaking have been rendered. In addition, as mentioned in the previous chapters, this chapter will also take a closer look at the subtitles for the hearing-impaired (also known as subtitles for the deaf and hard-of-hearing or SDH). However, as figurative language is the focus of this study, an analysis of the ways in which figurative language has been translated will precede the discussion on language varieties and SDH. The fact that the translators keep their hearing-impaired audience in mind does have an influence on their translation choices. This will be discussed in Section 5.3.3 below. All three analyses, figurative language, language varieties and SDH, will be quantitative – comparing frequencies of usage and occurrence of particular strategies and translation decisions.

5.2 Methodology

The corpus of this study is taken from ten episodes of *7de Laan*. However, the corpus does not comprise all ten episodes as a whole; it is made up of a selected set of paired translation

segments and their respective translation strategies. How I determined which translation segments to include in the corpus and established their translation strategies is set out in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4. From this corpus I identified translation pairs that are examples of specific microstructural considerations such as figurative language and instances of SDH.

Another microstructural element that I considered was the representation of language varieties in the subtitles. I specifically listed utterances in terms of their sociolects and idiolects. The sociolects were categorised in terms of race and age group and the utterances analysed for this were taken from the main corpus only, that is, from the set translation pairs identified as problematic. As I only considered first language speakers of Afrikaans, black speakers were not included; only two ethnic groups, white and coloured, are dealt with. I divided the ages also only into two categories, namely mature and young. The age category characters fell into was determined by their age and who their friends were, but the dividing line for the two age categories is at about forty years.

I focused on four characters for idiolects: a man who frequently confuses names and idioms, a school-age coloured boy who, when he enters the series, is living on the streets and speaks very informally and codeswitches often, a woman who employs a lot of figurative language and is often hyperbolic and lastly a woman from Romania who speaks Afrikaans as a foreign language and whose speech is consequently ungrammatical. All these characters have specific ways of speaking and I compared the ST to the TT to find out whether their idiosyncratic manners of speaking were conveyed in the subtitles.

In order to analyse the translation of figurative language I looked at translation strategies. I compared the figurative-specific strategies to all the other translation strategies used in this corpus to determine whether the overall translation approach was different to that applied for the translation of figurative language. I also looked at the frequency with which each figurative-specific strategy was used to establish whether there is a tendency to a certain type of translation and whether this changed over the years. The analysis, starting with the discussion of figurative language, follows below.

5.3 Data and discussion

5.3.1 Figurative language

The translation strategies employed in this corpus are set out in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4 and are also explained with examples in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2. Further examples of the figurative-specific strategies are provided in Section 5.3.1.2 below.

To facilitate comparison, I categorised the translation strategies in two ways: firstly, in terms of the type of language to which they are applicable and secondly I grouped similar strategies into five broader categories. The comparison of the types of language follows and the five broader categories are explained in detail from Section 5.3.1.2

5.3.1.1 Frequency of figurative-specific strategies

The categorisation and study of translation strategies by type of language to which they apply is also found in the literature, with some scholars focusing on the translation of metaphor (e.g. Mason 1982; Dagut 1987 and Newmark 1980), humour (e.g. Chiaro 1992), etc. as discussed in Chapter 2. The four types of language to which the strategies used in this study, can apply, are general language use, figurative language, cultural items and wordplay. Table 5.1 below categorises translation strategies by the type of language use.

strategy type	strategies
general language use	addition
	explication
	grammar shift
	hypernym
	hyponym
	implication
	literal
	loan/calque
	modulation
	no conjunction
	omission
	paraphrase
	synonym
	transliteration
transposition	
figurative language	metaphorical modulation
	non-figurative to figurative
	non-rhetorical
	rhetorical language
	same figurative language
	SL image

strategy type	strategies
cultural	cultural neutralisation
	cultural transfer
wordplay	maintain humour

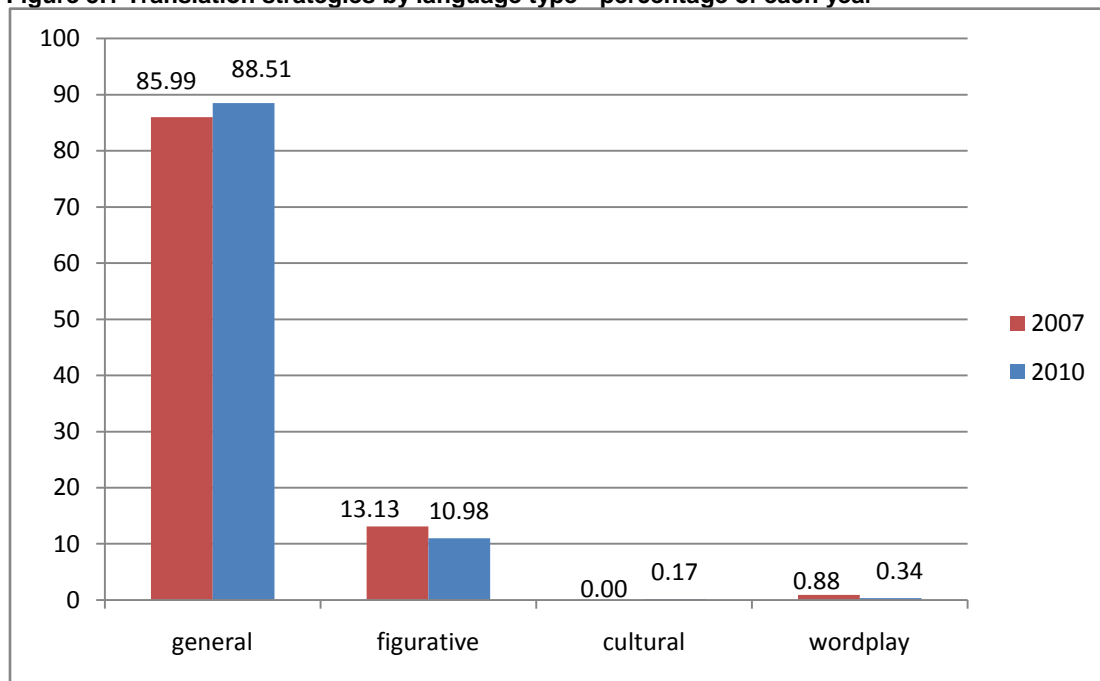
Table 5.1 Translation strategies grouped by language use

General translation strategies are also applicable to cultural items, wordplay and figurative speech. For example, cultural items can be transliterated or transposed but this strategy is categorised a general strategy because it is not only applicable to cultural items. Similarly, wordplay can be added or omitted, which are also general strategies, so there is only one wordplay-specific translation strategy for this study, and that is maintaining humour. It should be noted that while cultural transfer is a possible translation strategy, it has not been used in this corpus as has been discussed in the previous chapter.

The purpose of this categorisation is to isolate the strategies applicable to figurative language in order to analyse the translation thereof. Therefore, this section will discuss the translation strategies specifically applicable to figurative speech in detail.

The percentages of the types of translation strategies, according to applicable language type, used most often and their comparison per year, can be seen in Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1 Translation strategies by language type - percentage of each year



The percentages for 2007 are in the column on the left and 2010 on the right. This graph shows that figurative-specific and wordplay strategies decreased over the years, with translation

strategies for cultural items and general language increasing. However, neither cultural- nor wordplay-specific strategies are used frequently in either of the years. Their respective increase and decrease is not significant; both change by less than 1%. Figurative-specific strategies decreased by just over 2% while the use of general strategies increased by about 2,5%. While these two strategy types' margins of difference are somewhat higher, none of the strategy types changed drastically. This indicates incremental change and no significant difference in translation approach over the years. The percentage of each type overall also points to similar approaches over the years as there are no large margins of difference. The percentages overall are: general 87.15%, figurative 12.13%, cultural 0.08% and wordplay 0.63%. The changes that have occurred might be due to a change in the ST content. However, it does appear as though there might be a tendency to use fewer figurative strategies and more general strategies.

The use of fewer figurative strategies and therefore less figurative language in the subtitles might be because finding English figurative language to convey the same intention as that of the Afrikaans might be time-consuming, or the possible figurative TT might be too long for the subtitle. Alternatively, the translators might believe that the viewers, especially those who rely on the subtitles, might find it difficult to process the figurative TTs. Another possible alternative, also postulated in Section 4.3.4.1, is that the ST scriptwriters changed the way they wrote keeping in mind that what is said would appear as subtitles, which should be comprehended without difficulty when they are read.

5.3.1.2 Comparison of broader translation strategies

As I mentioned above, the translation strategies used here (how I decided on these strategies and where they come from is dealt with in Section 2.3.4) can also be divided into five broader categories, which I have identified as: addition, omission, literal, same level and shift. The categorisation of the strategies can be seen in Table 5.2 below. Each category has at least one figurative-specific strategy, indicated in italics.

broad categories of strategies	strategies
addition	addition
	explication
	<i>non-figurative to figurative</i>
literal	literal
	loan/calque
	<i>metaphorical modulation</i>
	transliteration

broad categories of strategies	strategies
omission	cultural neutralisation
	implication
	no conjunction
	<i>non-rhetorical</i>
	omission
same level	cultural transfer
	maintain humour
	paraphrase
	<i>same figurative language</i>
	<i>SL image</i>
	synonym
	transposition
shift	grammar shift
	hypernym
	hyponym
	modulation
	<i>rhetorical language</i>

Table 5.2 Translation strategies grouped into broader categories

The strategies categorised as addition include addition and explication. Explication is addition because something has been added to the subtitle in order to explicate the ST. Non-figurative to figurative is also categorised as addition because figurative language has been added to the non-figurative ST in the TT. For purposes of this study, non-figurative to figurative is not categorised as a shift because the focus is figurative language and the fact that figurative language has been added is significant. Instances of non-figurative to figurative from the corpus can be found in Table 5.3 below.

ST	TT
gelukkig lyk dit of Mandla se artikel oor die shelter darem gaan lei tot iets	Mandla's article on the shelter seems to have done the trick
sy verbeel haar ek loer haar af	she thinks I'm a peeping tom
as die hoop nog groter word, hol ek weg	if the pile gets any bigger, I'm ducking
moenie maak asof jy nie weet waarvan ek praat nie	don't play innocent
dis salig om my nie altyd te bekommer dat ek ander mense verontrief nie	it's bliss not having to worry about putting anyone else out

Table 5.3 Examples of non-figurative to figurative

The strategies that are more literally inclined are literal, metaphorical modulation (which is the literal translation of metaphors), transliteration and loan/calque. Loan/calque is categorised as

literal because it is a type of literal translation on, in this study, the lexical level, although calque can also be applicable to the phrasal level (Vinay & Darbelnet 1960:47). Table 5.4 below illustrates metaphorical modulation by way of examples from the corpus.

ST	TT
het ek nou 'n boek wat jou oë gaan laat water	have I got a book that'll bring tears to your eyes
Piet Spiere	mr muscle piet
jy is nie die soort ou wat kan true speel nie	you're not the type to play true
jy gaan tweede kom	you'll come second

Table 5.4 Examples of metaphorical modulation

The omission strategies are omission, implication, cultural neutralisation (because something cultural is omitted), no conjunction (the meaning or intention of the ST is omitted) and figurative language to non-rhetorical language (because the figurative aspect of the utterance is omitted). As with non-figurative to figurative, the omission of figurative language when it is translated by non-rhetorical language is significant in this study because of its focus on the translation of figurative language. It is for this reason that figurative to non-rhetorical language is categorised as omission. Examples of figurative to non-rhetorical from the corpus are presented in Table 5.5 below.

ST	TT
ek gril my morsdood	I shudder at the thought
ek het veels te lank gehanna-hanna	I've wasted enough time
ek't by Lukas probeer vis oor wat hulle presies doen	I tried asking Lukas what they're doing
mmm. iets ruik na 'n fees	mmm. Something smells delicious
vervelige graanvlokkies is vanoggend my voorland	so it's boring corn flakes for me
jy is besig om jou neus in te steek waar hy nie hoort nie	you're meddling in our affairs
as jy nie omgee om te sit nie...	if prison doesn't bother you...
iets ruik na 'n fees	Something smells delicious

Table 5.5 Examples of figurative language to non-rhetorical language

The strategies that take place on more or less the same level are synonym, same figurative language, SL image (because similar images are used in the TL), cultural transfer (because it is on the same cultural level, even though this strategy is not used), maintain humour, transposition and paraphrase. These last two are included here because the meaning is kept

and conveyed on a similar level as the ST in the TT. Examples from the corpus of same figurative language and SL image are in Tables 5.6 and 5.7 respectively.

ST	TT
maar ek sê sy moet eers die geld hoes wat sy my skuld	I say she must first cough up the money she owes me
sou ek my aardse besittings soos pêrels voor die swyne werp	would I cast my possessions like pearls before swine
en die skuldiges aan die pen laat ry	and bring them to book
hy sal moet oefen laat dit bars	he'll have to practise like mad
hy sal oor sy voete val om my dienste te bekom	he'll jump at the opportunity to employ me
daai huis se mure druk my vas	the walls of the house are closing in on me
ek kon my nie wegskeur van hillside nie	I couldn't tear myself away from hillside
die man is so glibberig soos 'n paling	he's as slippery as an eel
ek het vasgebrand by die fabriek	I was tied up at the factory
ek is nie onder 'n kalkoen uitgebroei nie	I wasn't born yesterday
dit was so maklik soos val uit 'n boom uit	it was easy as pie

Table 5.6 Examples of same figurative language

ST	TT
...my kop by die deur kan uitsteek nie	I'll never be able to set foot outside again
my uitgewer lê op my nek oor my manuskrip	my publisher's on my back about my manuscript
enige skandale wat julle besig is om oop te krap	digging up any new scandals
daai plek se pizzas rule	that place's pizza's are king
een week rol jy duime, die volgende week kan jy jou nie roer nie	one week you twiddle your thumbs ... the next is hectic

Table 5.7 Examples of SL image

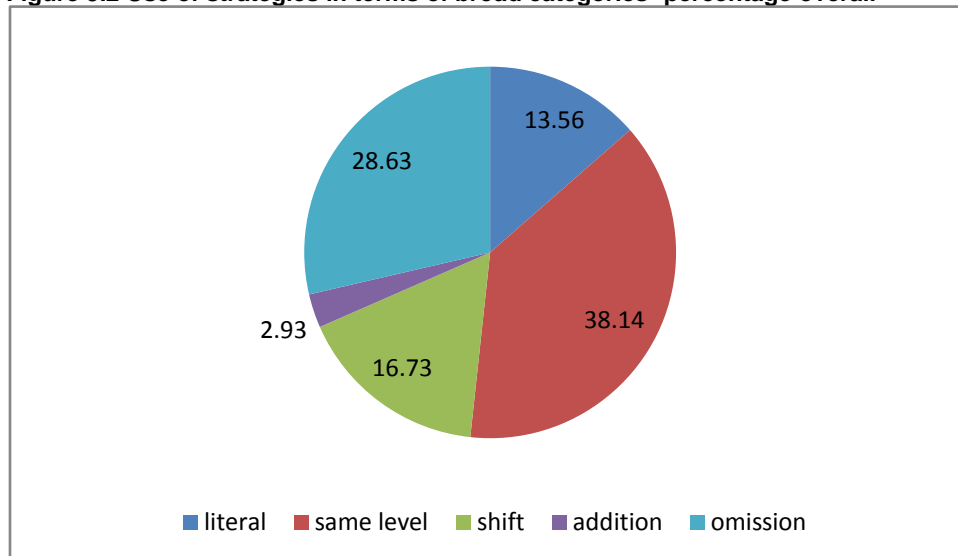
The last category, shift, is made up of those strategies that involve some type of shift, whether in terms of grammar, degree of specificity or point of view. This category consists of hypernym and hyponym (for their shift in specificity), grammar shift and modulation (because of the point of view shift) as well as rhetorical language. Rhetorical language is included in this category because it denotes a shift in the type of rhetorical or figurative language used, for instance a metaphor in the ST might be translated by a hyperbole in the TT. While the categories non-figurative to figurative and figurative to non-rhetorical are the addition and omission of figurative language respectively, rhetorical language denotes that one type of figurative language has

been translated by another type, as explained in Section 2.3.3. Examples of rhetorical language from the corpus are presented in Table 5.8 below.

ST	TT
...’n joernalis wat sy spertyd mis se naam is drek	a journalist who misses a deadline is dead
as ek nie vinnig ’n koper kry vir die huis nie, is dit neusie verby	if I don't get a buyer for the house, I'll lose out
ek en Ryno het gisteraand tot watter tyd musiek geluister	Ryno and I listened to music till all hours
jammer om so ’n klakous te wees...	sorry to be a Moaning Minnie
ek gaan die storie tot op die been oopvlek	I'm going to blow this story wide open
...wil ek sommer in my hande huil	I want to cry my eyes out
ek was nie lus vir jol nie, toe klim ek maar agter my boeke in	I didn't fancy a jol, so I hit the books
wel, ek is nie lus om verder derms te ryg oor jy op ’n guilt trip is nie	I don't feel like raking things over because you're on a guilt trip
Clara het haar mond verbygepraat	Clara let it slip
of haar kop raas nog na jy haar soveel grief gegee het	or she's flipped after all the grief you gave her
jy het nie geweet die ou is af nie	you didn't know he was cuckoo
wat jy waar kry	that'll be the day
my kop staan stil	my brain's in neutral

Table 5.8 Examples of rhetorical language

The following pie chart shows the percentage that each category is used overall. That is, over both years and across all translation strategies, not just figurative-specific strategies.

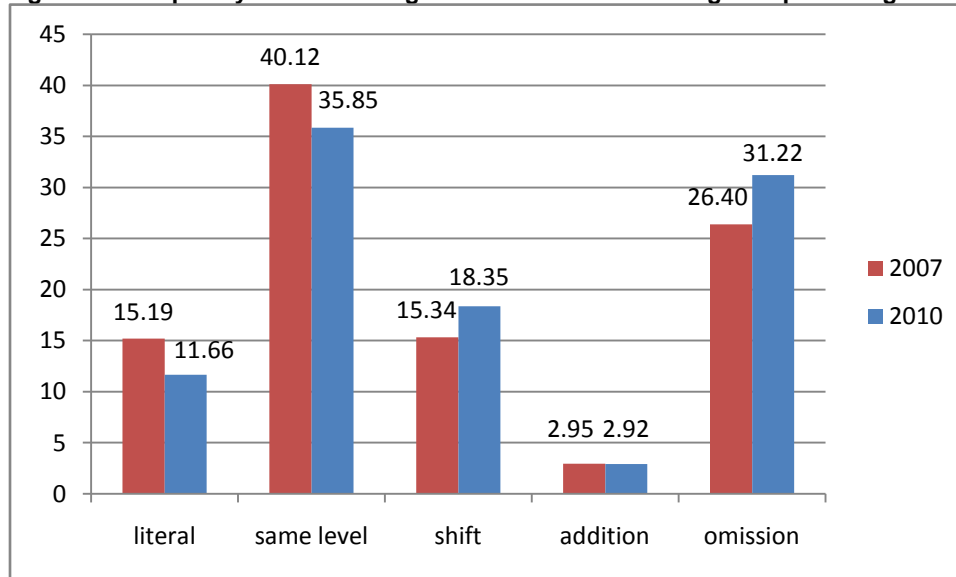
Figure 5.2 Use of strategies in terms of broad categories- percentage overall

From Figure 5.2 above it can be seen that the same level strategies are used most frequently, at 38%²⁶. This is followed by omission (29%), shift (17%) and literal (14%), with addition (3%) being used the least. The percentages for omission and addition make sense for subtitles, as many things need to be omitted to ensure that the subtitles are short enough due to the spatiotemporal constraints. This also explains the lack of addition.

I thought omission would have been used the most due to the constraints of subtitling. However, the fact that the same level strategies are used the most frequently is an indication that the translators aim to convey the content of the ST accurately and on the same level in the TT.

The following is a graphic representation of the frequency with which the translation strategies are used per year, grouped into the broader categories.

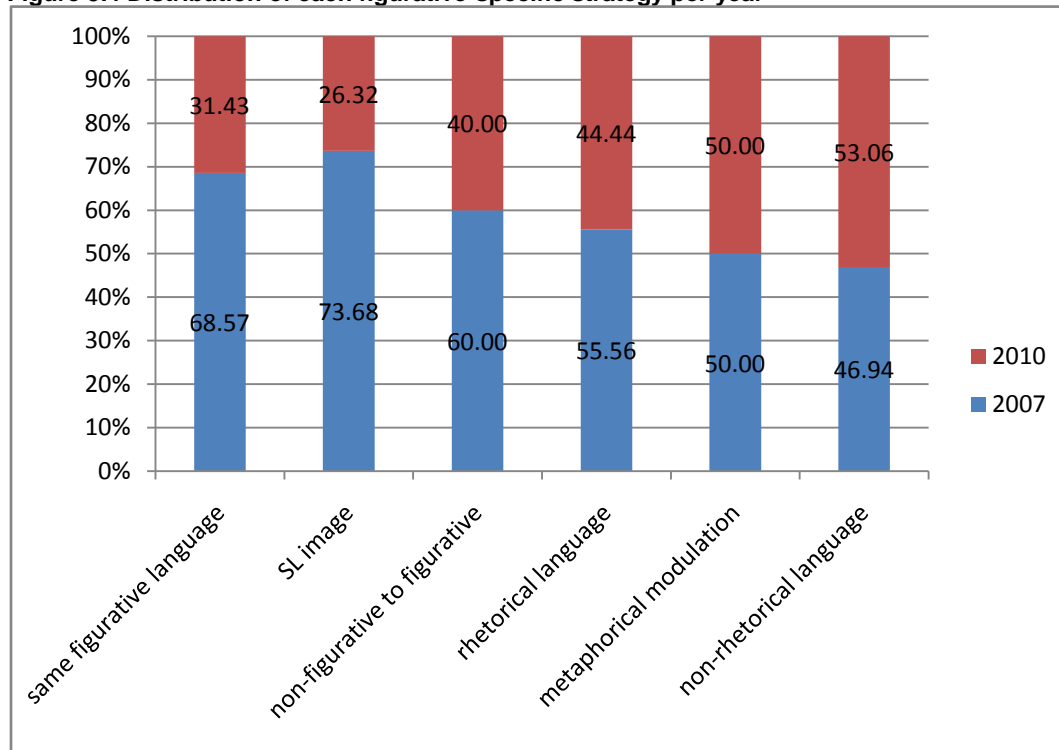
²⁶ For ease of comparison I have rounded all decimal points to the nearest percentage.

Figure 5.3 Frequency of broad categories of translation strategies – percentage of each year

Literal, same level and addition decreased from 2007 to 2010, while shift and omission increased. The percentages per year are close to the overall percentages (as seen in Figure 5.2), with a maximum difference of 3% between the overall percentage and the percentage per year for each year. This indicates no drastic change in the translation approach, but there has been an incremental change in favour of more omission and shifts taking place. A possible reason for the increase in omission is that non-rhetorical language might be shorter and easier to read and process. The more frequent use of shift strategies (rhetorical language) over the years might be due to translators' realisation that alternative rhetorical strategies are available and that the type of SL and TL figurative do not have to be the same if they want to use figurative language in the subtitles.

5.3.1.3 Figurative-specific strategies – broad categories

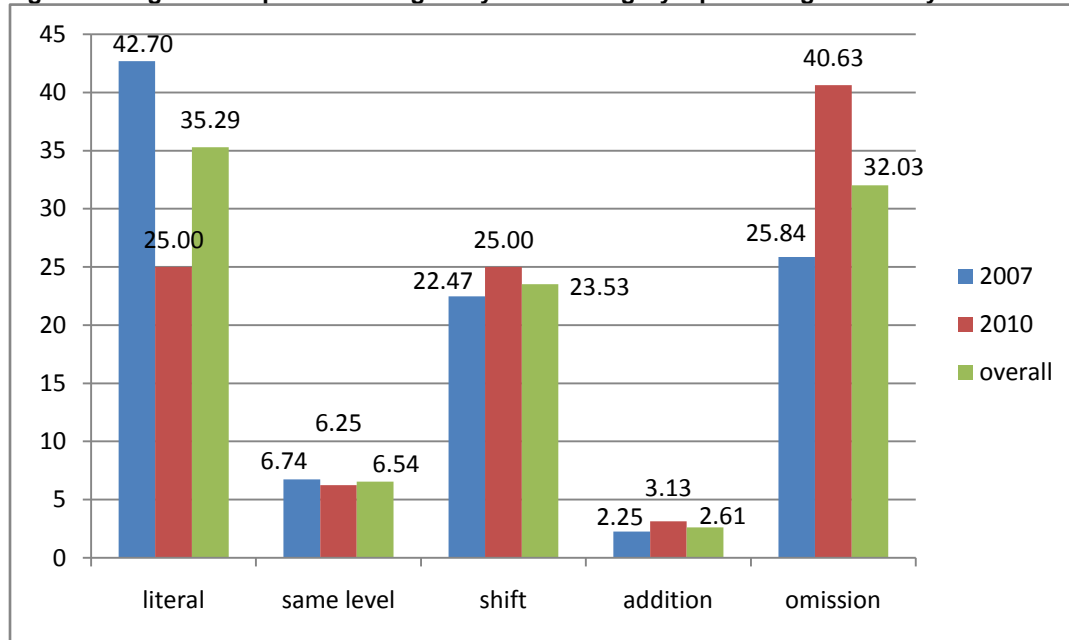
The following graph, Figure 5.4, looks at the frequency with which each figurative-specific strategy was used and the distribution for each strategy across the years. This distribution was calculated by dividing the number of times a strategy was used per year by the total number of times that strategy was used. For instance, 53% of all the non-rhetorical language (in the last column) was used in 2010 compared to almost 47% in 2007.

Figure 5.4 Distribution of each figurative-specific strategy per year

This graph shows that metaphorical modulation was spread evenly over the years and remained constant. Non-rhetorical language use is the only strategy that increased from 2007 (almost 47%) to 2010 (53%). It is only an increase of 6%, whereas the margins with which the remaining four strategies decreased are larger than that. Rhetorical language decreased by 11%, non-figurative to figurative by 20%, SL image by 48% and same figurative language decreased by 38%. This graph shows the use of less figurative language in the TT in 2010 compared to 2007.

These figures point to a tendency of levelling out the figurative language by translating it with non-rhetorical language. Levelling out, represented here by the non-rhetorical strategy, is complete omission of the figurative language in the TT as the figurative ST is represented in the TT by literal, non-rhetorical language. Possible reasons for this are that the figurative TTs are incompatible with the spatiotemporal constraints of subtitling, that the translators believe that figurative TTs require too much processing to be easily understood or that the translators find it easier to convey the intention using literal language instead of having to find the applicable figurative way of expressing it.

As I have mentioned above, there is at least one figurative-specific strategy per broader category. The following graph, Figure 5.5, depicts the distribution of figurative-specific strategies in terms of their broader categories, per year and overall.

Figure 5.5 Figurative-specific strategies by broad category – percentage of each year and overall

The above figure can be compared to Figures 5.2 and 5.3, which show the percentages for all the translation strategies, to determine whether or not the figurative language strategies are congruent with the overall statistics. The percentages of Figures 5.2 and 5.3 are reproduced in Table 5.9 below for ease of reference.

	2007	2010	Overall
Literal	15.19	11.66	13.56
Same level	40.12	35.85	38.14
Shift	15.34	18.35	16.73
Addition	2.95	2.92	2.93
Omission	26.40	31.22	28.63

Table 5.9 Frequency of total strategies per broad category – percentage per year and overall

The more literal strategies are used much more frequently for figurative language than they are overall – 35% in total for figurative language compared to 14% for all strategies. This might be due to a lack of familiarity with the accepted, idiomatic translations of figurative language. The use of literal strategies decreases for figurative language and overall between 2007 and 2010, but the difference is much larger for figurative language – from 43% to 25%. It drops from 15% to 12% for all strategies. However, the significant decrease in the use of literal strategies for figurative language in 2010 might be indicative of an increased familiarity with English figurative

counterparts, as figurative language is translated by figurative/rhetorical language or is paraphrased, but is not rendered by a literal translation of the figurative language.

For both figurative and all strategies, the percentage of same level strategies used decreased over the years. However, there is a much smaller gap in figurative language (0,5%) than overall (about 4%). In addition, figurative same level language in both years is used much less frequently, about 7% in 2007 and about 6% in 2010, than overall, 40% in 2007 and 36% in 2010. This implies an apparent move away from figurative language in the TT over the years. It might also have to do with the difficulty of finding appropriate figurative language which conveys the intended meaning and fits into a subtitle flash along with whatever else also needs to fit in that same subtitle.

Shift strategies are more common in figurative language and increased in use over the years, both for figurative and all strategies. It increased by 3% overall, from 15% to 18%. It increases by a similar margin for figurative language, from just over 22% in 2007 to 25% in 2010. Therefore, it can be seen that the trend for the shifting strategies is the same for figurative-specific strategies as it is for all the strategies.

Addition is about the same for figurative language as it is overall, in terms of percentage. It remains almost constant over the years overall at almost 3% with only a very slight decrease, while it increases slightly from just over 2% to just over 3% for figurative language. This is the only set of strategies for which the change over the years occurs in opposite directions – addition decreased overall but increased for figurative-specific strategies. This is rather unexpected for two reasons: 1) the spatial constraints of subtitling are not conducive to addition and 2) there does seem to be a trend to levelling out figurative language in the subtitles. It should, however, be noted that the increase is barely a full percentage and is thus not a significant difference. Looking at the numbers and not percentages, there are 6 instances of addition in 2007 and 4 in 2010. However, there are also fewer total figurative-specific strategies in 2010, namely 64, compared to 89 in 2007. These figures explain that while there are actually fewer instances of addition of figurative language in 2010, the sharp decrease in the total number of figurative strategies used results in the higher percentage of addition strategies in 2010 compared to 2007.

Omission increases over the years for figurative language and in total. In 2007 omission is used about the same percentage in total and for figurative language – about 26%. This figure increases to 31% in total and 41% for figurative language in 2010. Thus, in 2010, figurative

language is omitted 10% more than omission takes place in total. This clearly points to a decrease in the representation of figurative language in the subtitles.

As I have pointed out, addition is the only set of strategies for which figurative language and all strategies follow different trends. For addition, the change happens in opposite directions while the other four categories of strategies change in the same direction over the years for figurative-specific strategies and all the strategies. But even these changes are statistically insignificant. This shows that figurative language does not need a drastically different translation approach to that of general language use.

The most frequently used category of strategies for figurative language belongs to the omission group in 2010 and the literal group in 2007. Looking only at the total percentages (i.e. for both years) for figurative language, omission is the second most used category of strategies followed by the shift category. In terms of this type of ranking of strategy use, the only difference between the percentages over both years and per year is for the literal and omission strategies. In 2007 the ranking is literal first, followed by omission, while the order is switched by quite a large margin in 2010. This implies that the translators omitted figurative language more readily in 2010 and made much less use of the literal translation thereof. Less literal translation might be as a result of increased familiarity with idiomatic English, while more omission signifies the levelling out of figurative language in favour of literal language and perhaps also the realisation that the TT does not have to be an exact formal replica of the ST. By this I mean that the TT does not have to sound like or look similar to the ST and that, for example, a metaphor in the ST does not have to be translated with a metaphor in the TT.

5.3.1.4 Figurative-specific strategies – individual strategies

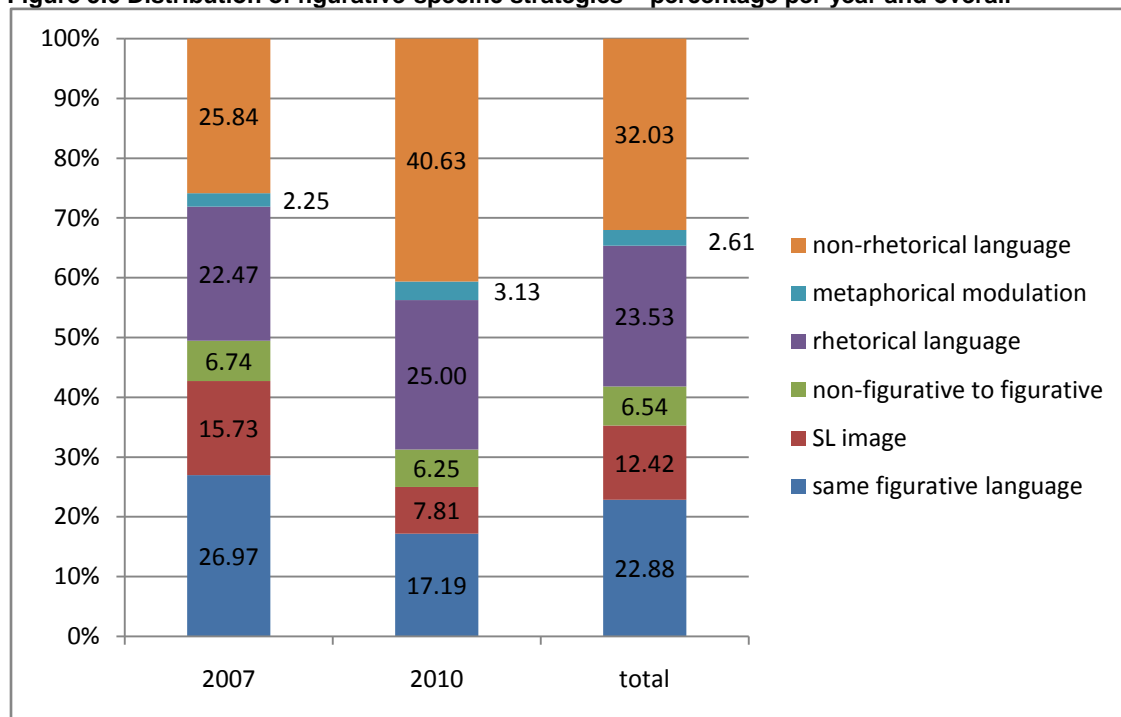
This section will discuss the figurative-specific translation strategies individually, instead of as part of a broad category. The following graph, Figure 5.6, depicts the frequency of each figurative-specific strategy, as a percentage of the total number of figurative strategies, per year and overall.

The graph shows that the same figurative language translation strategy made up 27% of the figurative-specific strategies used in 2007 and was the most frequently used strategy in 2007. This percentage, however, is much lower than the 41% of the most frequent strategy of 2010, for the strategy non-rhetorical language. By looking at this graph it can be seen that the most

frequently used figurative-specific strategies are non-rhetorical language, rhetorical language and same figurative language.

However, the ranking of strategies changes from 2007 to 2010. As I pointed out, same figurative language is the most frequently used strategy in 2007, while non-rhetorical is used the most often in 2010. In 2007 non-rhetorical is used the second most, followed by rhetorical, SL image, non-figurative to figurative and lastly, metaphorical modulation. The ranking of strategies in 2010 from most to least used is non-rhetorical, rhetorical, same figurative, SL image, non-figurative to figurative and metaphorical modulation. The order in terms of usage frequency of the first three strategies listed in the previous sentence changes over the years while the order of the last three remains the same.

Figure 5.6 Distribution of figurative-specific strategies – percentage per year and overall



The strategies that increased from 2007 to 2010 are: rhetorical language (by 3%) and non-rhetorical language (by 15%). The strategies that decreased are: same figurative language (by 10%) and SL image (by 8%). The remaining two strategies, non-figurative to figurative and metaphorical modulation, remained about the same over the years with differences of less than 1%. Metaphorical modulation increased very slightly and non-figurative to figurative decreased very slightly.

These figures and shifts imply that there has been a move to use fewer SL images and less same figurative language in the TT. At the same time there has been a move to much more non-rhetorical language use and substituting one type of rhetorical language with another (the rhetorical language strategy). The increase in the use of the rhetorical language strategy indicates less rigidity with the translation of figurative language – a metaphor does not have to be translated by a metaphor, another type of rhetorical or figurative device would also suffice. The increased use of non-rhetorical language in the translation of figurative/rhetorical language is another indication that the translators became more inclined to level out the figurative nature of the dialogue in the subtitles.

Non-figurative to figurative and metaphorical modulation are used the least in each year and overall. The percentages for these strategies did not change much. This shows that addition is indeed not a commonly used strategy, as is expected for subtitles, and that new instances of figurative language are not readily added to the text in compensation for the many losses. The low percentage of metaphorical modulation shows that unlike Dollerup's (1974:200) findings that "a number of errors ... can be bracketed as *failure to identify and understand ... formations* not found in dictionaries" (italics in original), the translators recognise the figurative language as being such most of the time as a result of the high levels of bilingualism between Afrikaans and English speakers in South Africa. They are therefore aware that they cannot translate such formulations literally, but they rather aim to convey the meaning.

Translators might recognise instances of figurative language in the SL easily but they may struggle to find equivalent TL figurative formulations. This might be another reason for the increase in the use of non-rhetorical language and the relatively low percentages of same figurative language and SL image, especially in 2010.

5.3.1.5 Comparison between the years

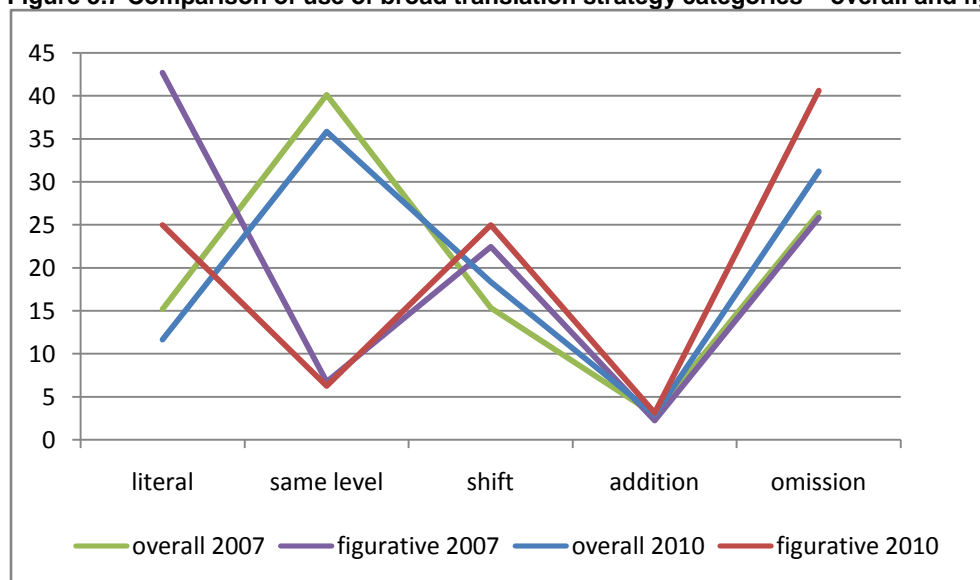
When comparing 2007 to 2010, the overall percentage of figurative-specific strategies decreased between the years, from 13.13% to 10.98% (as seen in Figure 5.1). This is the primary indication that there was a shift to less figurative language in the TT, which is further evidenced when looking closer at the figurative strategies. Another indication is the distribution of the non-rhetorical language strategy over the years as presented in Figure 5.4. This was determined by dividing the number of times the strategy was used in each year by the total number of times the strategy was used. It is the only strategy which showed an increase in distribution over the years; it increased by 6% in 2010. Furthermore, non-rhetorical language, as

a percentage of the total number of figurative strategies used per year, increased by 15% over the years while SL image and same figurative language decreased by 8% and 10% respectively (as seen in Figure 5.6).

All these figures imply that the translators used much less figurative language in the subtitles in 2010 than they did in 2007. This might be due to a variety of reasons, including less rigidity in terms of formal equivalence, unfamiliarity with equivalent TL figurative language, the spatiotemporal constraints of subtitling and perhaps even less figurative language in the ST.

Additionally, when comparing the total percentages of the broader categories of all the translation strategies (set out in Table 5.9) to the percentages only for figurative-specific strategies (figures from Figure 5.5), a pattern can be discerned. This pattern can be seen in Figure 5.7 below.

Figure 5.7 Comparison of use of broad translation strategy categories – overall and figurative, per year



The translation strategies used overall in 2007 compared to overall 2010 (the green and blue lines respectively) follow a very similar pattern and the same applies for figurative 2007 compared to figurative 2010 (the purple and red lines). This means that the categories experienced change in the same direction and with similar margins between the years. However, when looking at these patterns per year, that is comparing the overall strategies in 2007 to the figurative strategies in 2007 and then comparing 2010's overall and figurative, it can be seen that the literal and same level strategies are opposites while the other three categories of strategies are much closer to each other. The high percentage of literal translation strategies for figurative language in comparison to overall strategies might be as a result of translators'

knowledge of idiomatic usage, specifically in the TL. They might be unaware that the literal translation of a particular figurative utterance has a different meaning in the TC. Similarly, the much lower percentage of same level translation strategies for figurative language for both years might be because it is much more difficult to find same level figurative translations for figurative language, as has been pointed out in the literature (see Section 2.3.3).

While the strategies between the years have similar patterns, the figurative-specific strategies exhibit two exceptions: the very high percentage of literal strategies for figurative-specific strategies in 2007 and the also rather higher use of omitting strategies for figurative-specific translation in 2010. Possible reasons for these changes have been discussed above, but the high percentage of literal translation of figurative language (the metaphorical modulation strategy) may be due to unfamiliarity with equivalent or similar TL figurative language. But literal translation did decrease in 2010 which indicates that translators became more familiar with TL equivalents. The increased use of omission of figurative language in 2010 is in accordance with the hypothesis of the levelling out of figurative language in favour of non-rhetorical language.

5.3.2 Language varieties

Since the focus of this study is a soap opera, it is relevant to look at the importance of characterisation in soap operas and how this is achieved through dialogue. Holland (2000:113) points out that soaps are never-ending serials which have long-running developments of character. These continual developments along with multiple, interweaving story lines “that can never be resolved, since the end is never in sight” are the defining features of soap operas (Holland 2000:113). Thus character development is an important characteristic of soap operas.

Fawcett (1997:120) notes that in literature social or regional variations of languages are often used as “a means of characterisation”, but points out that Shviester believes variations are often levelled out. This includes variations in pronunciation and accents, which does not work in subtitling. As an example he uses the phrase ‘what are you doing?’ which is pronounced as ‘whaddaya doin’?’ in certain American pronunciations. However, putting the variation as a subtitle is problematic because subtitles need to be “instantly comprehensible” (Fawcett 1997:120). Reproducing the accent in the subtitle puts a strain on the audience’s “processing capacities” (Fawcett 1997:120). The same could be said for one character, Errol’s, lexicon and pronunciation. For example, in the ST he asks *Waar’s brekfis*, and in the script ‘breakfast’ is spelled ‘brekfis’.

An example of characterisation via dialogue is the use of certain types of slang used mainly by younger people “as an expression of group belonging or to express trendiness” (Fawcett 1997:118). Additionally, different registers used by different people, Fawcett (1997:116) found, indicates sociolinguistic factors in language use. This means that there is a relationship between language use and people’s social roles, and that status and power have an effect on how people use language (Fawcett 1997:116). There are many factors which cause variation in the way language is used, including social class, ethnic origin, gender, age, regional origin and professional status (Fawcett 1997:116). This study will look at age and ethnicity.

Fawcett (1997:117) identifies two of the ‘voices’ in which variation in language can be found: sociolect and dialect, both of which will be looked at below. While the two overlap to some extent, dialect is defined as the typical way of speaking of a group from a certain region and sociolect is the way a certain group of people from a particular social class, status, profession, and so on speak (Fawcett 1997:117). For instance, slang is considered a sociolect “used by specific groups of people” (Fawcett 1997:117).

Catford (1965:84) defines a language variety as a “sub-set of formal and/or substantial features which correlates with a particular type of socio-situational feature” and identifies several varieties within a language: idiolects, dialects, registers, styles and modes (Catford 1965:83). Idiolect refers to the way a particular person uses language (Catford 1965:86). Catford (1965:85) divides dialect into dialect proper and social dialect, commonly known as sociolect. While all languages have several varieties, the varieties across languages differ. The number of varieties languages have and the nature of each differs, an important fact to consider in translation (Catford 1965:85).

Each language variety has features peculiar to that variety which are formal markers of each particular variety (Catford 1965:86). These markers may be present at any level: phonetic, phonological, grammatical or lexical (Catford 1965:86). In other words they affect pronunciation, syntax/grammatical formulation and lexicon or word choices. Errol’s pronunciation is marked as indicated above, and another character, Clara, as a foreign-language speaker of Afrikaans, is characterised by broken Afrikaans.

In terms of dialect, many languages have a dialect which is seen as the ‘standard’ or the ‘literary’ dialect (Catford 1965:86). This dialect does not vary much, specifically in written form, between different areas and Catford (1965:86) argues that it is thus “convenient” to see this type of dialect as unmarked. This of course means that other dialects are marked in some way or

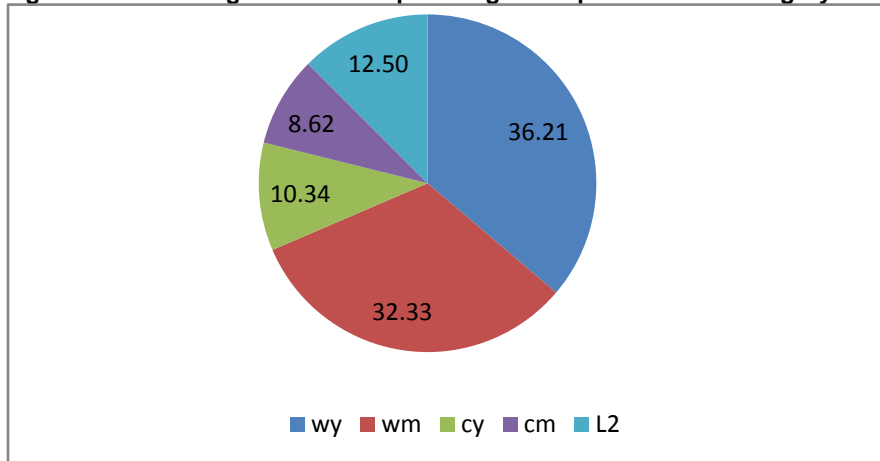
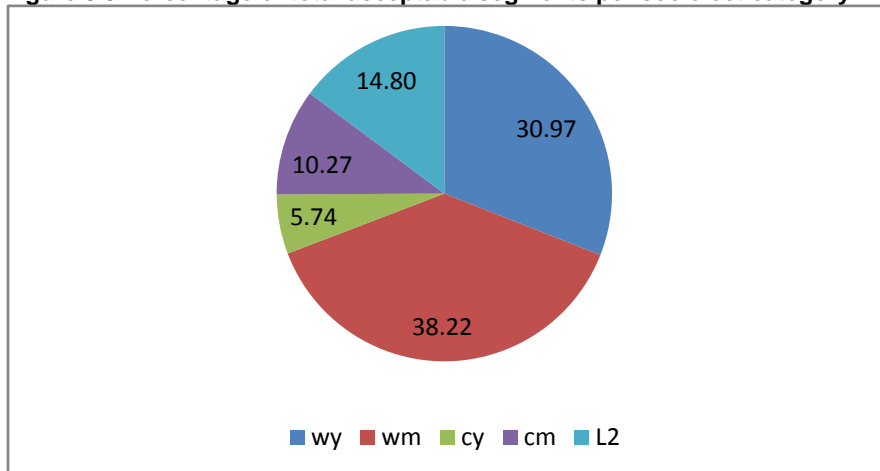
another by “formal and/or substantial features” in terms of the speakers’ origin in space, time and social class (Catford 1965:86). For instance, the markers of an idiolect may include unusual collocation or an exceptional frequency in the use of certain words, the latter of which falls under “idiosyncratic statistical features” (Catford 1965:86). The way Oubaas speaks is an example of this, as he is characterised by his use of particular phrases and getting idioms and other characters’ names wrong. For example he calls Charmaine “Charlemaine” and says phrases like *moenie dink julle kan my die bosse in lei nie*. Similarly, Paula typically makes use of French phrases, hyperbolic language and metaphors.

In this section I will look at how different language varieties are rendered in the subtitles. I will first look at sociolects, divided along the lines of race and age. Then the way in which four characters with distinctive ways of speaking are rendered in the subtitles will be discussed.

5.3.2.1 Sociolects

As the adequacy and acceptability (see Section 2.2.2.4 for the definitions of these terms) of the corpus has already been established (in Section 4.3.1), they can be used as indicators to determine whether specific aspects were dealt with in a similar way to the overall translation approach. One way of comparing the translation approaches to characters with different sociolects is to compare their adequacy and acceptability to each other and the overall orientation established in the previous chapter. Sociolects, for the purpose of this study, are categorised in terms of race, white and coloured (as first language Afrikaans speakers), and age, mature and young. The language use of young people of both racial groups is marked by their use of slang and codeswitching. In some instances the mature coloured characters also codeswitch. Second language Afrikaans speakers are included in the main corpus and are indicated in the graphs below by L2 (second language).

The following two graphs (Figures 5.8 and 5.9) compare the total adequacy and acceptability per sociolect plus L2. These graphs represent what percentage each of the four sociolect categories, plus the L2 category, constitutes of the total adequate and acceptable segments respectively. In the graphs I abbreviated the categories’ names. Race is indicated by w (white) and c (coloured) and age by y (young) and m (mature). Therefore ‘cy’ denotes the sociolect of young coloured characters in *7de Laan*.

Figure 5.8 Percentage of total adequate segments per sociolect category**Figure 5.9 Percentage of total acceptable segments per sociolect category**

Upon comparing adequacy and acceptability it is evident that only the two young categories are more adequate than acceptable. Both mature groups and the L2 category are more acceptable than adequate. This points to a clear difference in translation approach in terms of characters' age. This might be as a result of the younger characters' speech being specifically marked as such in the ST – with slang usage and frequent codeswitching to English. The mature characters generally speak grammatically correct standard Afrikaans, which will then result in grammatically correct, *acceptable*, standard English in the subtitles.

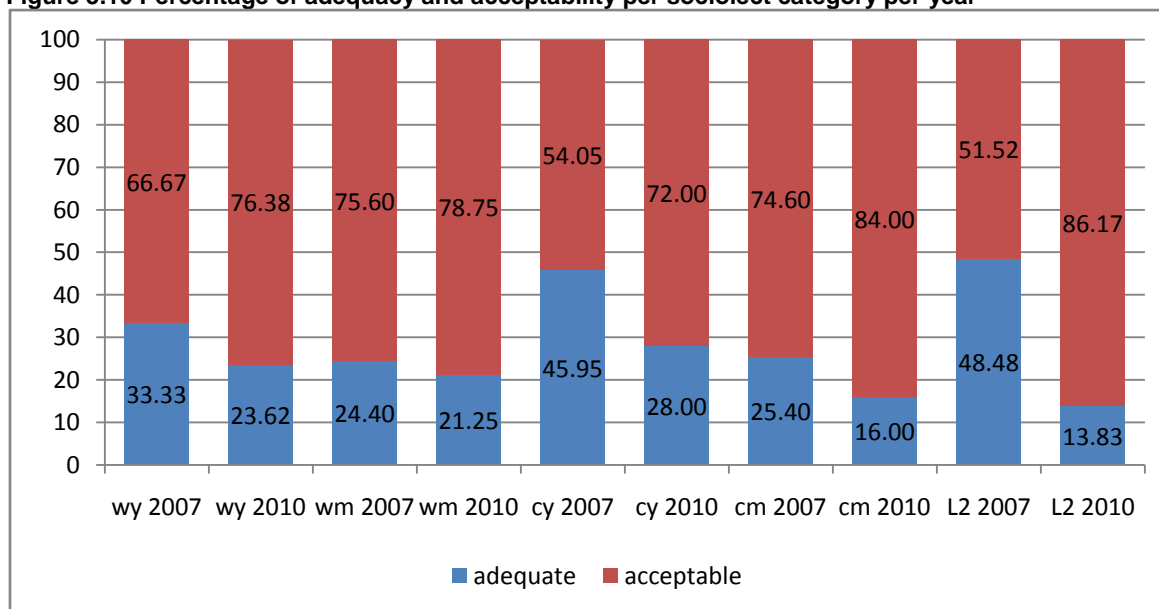
Table 5.10 below shows the number of adequate and acceptable subtitles per sociolect category per year.

	wy 2007	wy 2010	wm 2007	wm 2010	cy 2007	cy 2010	cm 2007	cm 2010
adequate	54	30	41	34	17	7	16	4
acceptable	108	97	127	126	20	18	47	21
Total: year	162	127	168	160	37	25	63	25
Total: overall		289		328		62		88

Table 5.10 Number of adequate/acceptable utterances per sociolect category per year

The following graph, Figure 5.10, compares the adequacy and acceptability of each category per year. It is a graphic representation in percentage form of the subtitles of a particular group per year as presented in Table 5.10. Therefore, for example, 66% (108 TT segments) of all utterances made by young white characters in 2007 are acceptable.

Figure 5.10 Percentage of adequacy and acceptability per sociolect category per year



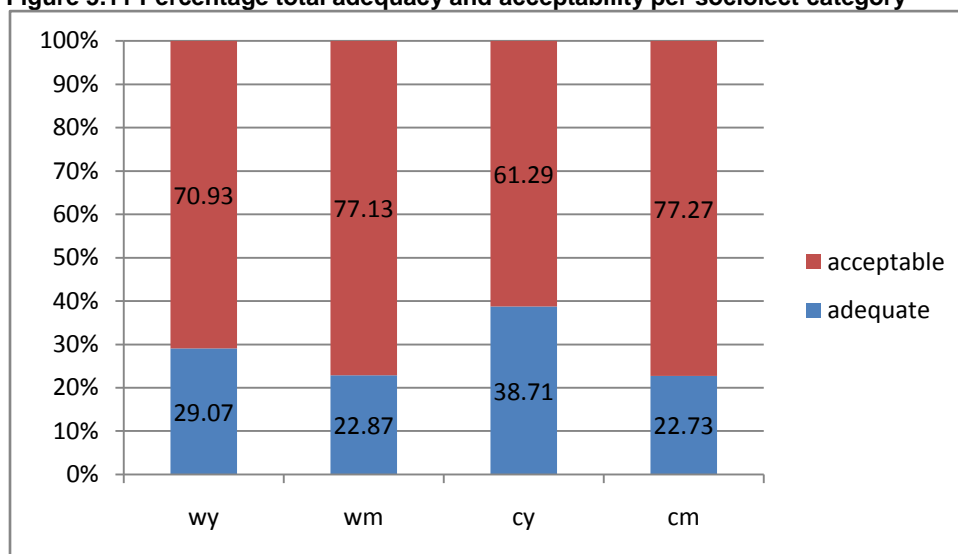
This graph shows that all the categories are more acceptable in 2010. This is in line with the apparent shift to more acceptable translation for the 2010 episodes discussed in the previous chapter. The overall more adequate orientation for the young categories is probably a result of their much higher adequacy in 2007 compared to 2010. Again, the higher percentage of adequacy for both young groups, in comparison with their respective mature groups, indicates a difference in translation approach for characters of different age groups. This might have to do with the fact that the young people frequently use slang in their speech and the translators' efforts to render their informal speech may result in more adequate subtitles than the often more formal speech, which would be rendered as formally (and therefore acceptable), of the mature characters.

Looking only at the young groups, the coloured group is much more adequate than the white group. Both groups' adequacy decrease significantly from 2007 to 2010, by 10% for the white group and 17% for the coloured group. In 2007 the coloured group was 12% more adequate than the white group. This difference goes down to 5% in 2010. Focusing on the two mature groups, both their adequate segments decrease in 2010: by 3% for the white group and 9% for the coloured group.

Overall the coloured groups are more adequate than the white groups. The only exception is in the mature group in 2010. The adequacy for mature coloured characters in 2010 (16%) is less than that of the mature white characters of that year (21.25%). The overall more adequate subtitles for coloured characters might be due to the content of certain characters' speech, specifically the young coloured character Errol and the difficulty in translating his utterances into acceptable English subtitles. The way Errol is represented in subtitles and the problems with translating his speech acceptably is discussed in Section 5.3.2.2 below.

Figure 5.11 below compares the overall adequacy and acceptability of the four sociolect categories. Figure 5.12 compares only the age groups and Figure 5.13 compares racial groups. The data for Figures 5.11 to 5.13 is taken from Table 5.10 and not the overall figures.

Figure 5.11 Percentage total adequacy and acceptability per sociolect category

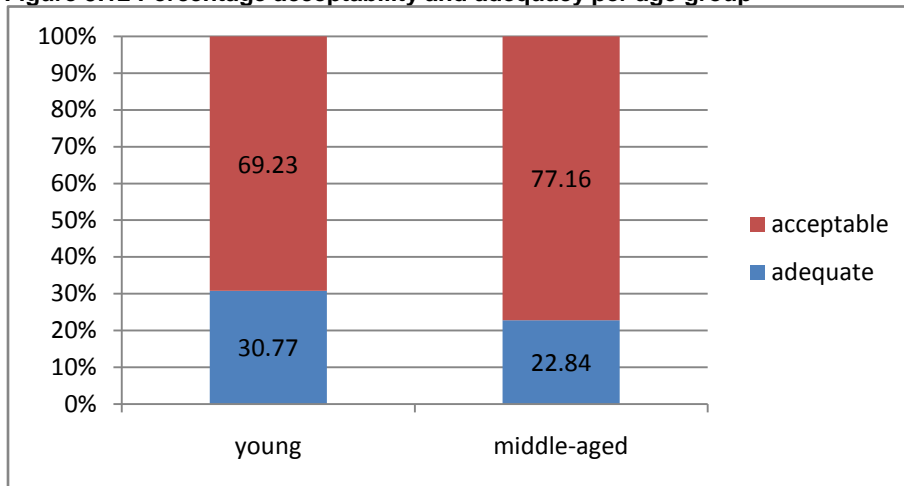


Looking solely at the age differences for both racial groups, the young group is consistently more adequate and consequently less acceptable than the mature group. Therefore, of all the subtitles for young white characters, 70% of them are acceptable. Interestingly, the margins with which acceptability increases and adequacy decreases between age groups per race are the

same: 9% for white and 16% for coloured. This indicates a certain type of consistency in the translation approach.

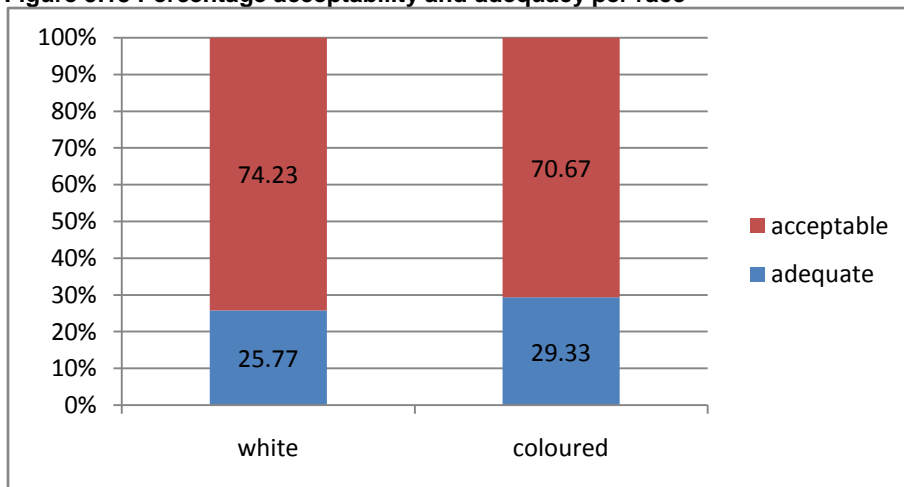
Figure 5.12 below is a comparison between age groups only. It shows that acceptability increases and adequacy decreases by 8% between the age groups. This implies that mature characters' speech is rendered acceptably more often than that of younger characters. This might be influenced by the often casual and slang-peppered speech of the younger characters.

Figure 5.12 Percentage acceptability and adequacy per age group



The following graph, Figure 5.13, compares only the races.

Figure 5.13 Percentage acceptability and adequacy per race



A comparison of the racial groups, disregarding age, shows that there is a 4% difference between both acceptability and adequacy between them. The coloured group is more adequate than the white group, but this margin is half as big as the difference between age groups.

Therefore it can be concluded there is a difference in translation approach in terms of race and age. However, the linguistic markers of age may be retained in the subtitles more than the linguistic markers of race. In addition, it might be more challenging to render coloured and young characters' speech into acceptable English subtitles. For example, one utterance made by a young coloured character in the ST is *maar daar's nie pyn nie*, which appears in the subtitles as *but no pain*. More examples of the speech a specific young coloured character, Errol, are provided in the following section, in Table 5.12.

5.3.2.2 Idiolects

Catford (1965:86) believes that the translation of idiolects is not always necessary because the performer's personal identity is not always a feature which is important or relevant to the situation. However, there are situations where the performer's identity is relevant, such as in a novel, or television series, whereby the idiolect is worked into the plot or remarked on by other characters, or as a way to identify the character (Catford 1965:86). As Holland noted, characterisation, which is in part formed through speech, is an important feature of soap operas. In such cases the idiolect may be translated with an equivalent idiolectal feature in the TL (Catford 1965:86).

Fawcett (1997:118) discusses the use of slang in texts and the translation thereof; knowing slang in the SL is only part of the solution. The translator then has to decide whether the TL has equivalent or similar slang, because slang type, frequency and purpose differ between cultures (Fawcett 1997:118). Fawcett (1997:119) notes that in film translation, and therefore by extension television translation, slang is often weakened or totally removed. He argues that this is not necessarily censorship; the vocabulary just might not exist in the TL (Fawcett 1997:119). This is the case for Errol as his slang is most often the use of an English word in an Afrikaans utterance, i.e. codeswitching. Errol's use of slang is weakened, most probably because his English slang appears as normal English usage. The project manager says that "slang is aanvaarbaar" (Roets 2011) in the subtitles.

The analysis of the representation of idiolects in the subtitles focuses on four characters. These characters represent three of the four sociolect categories: young white, young coloured and mature white. An idiolect is "the speech habit of an individual" (Wales in Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007:191). According to Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:191), an idiolect "is a system of individual stylistic features" and includes features such as favourite exclamations. The way a

character speaks can be used to “convey interpersonal information” (Wurm 2007:123), in other words it can be a characterising feature.

The characters chosen were selected because of their particular ways of speaking. The first, Errol, is a coloured school-boy who is living on the streets when he enters the show, which includes the episodes in this corpus from 2007. Because of his race, age and the fact that he lives on the street, his speech is very casual. He uses a lot of slang and codeswitches frequently. The second character I chose to focus on is Paula, a young white woman who works at the local newspaper. She often speaks more formally than her peers and can be quite dramatic and hyperbolic.

Clara, a young woman from Romania, is the third character. She speaks Afrikaans as a foreign language and her Afrikaans is therefore ungrammatical and unidiomatic. According to her description on the *7de Laan* website she speaks “broken Afrikaans and sometimes struggle[s] to express herself” (n.d. (a), Addendum B5). The last character is Oubaas, a mature white man who uses many idioms and proverbs which he frequently gets wrong. He is described as someone “who gets his expressions wrong” on the *7de Laan* website (n.d. (b), Addendum B6). Two of the characters, Errol and Oubaas, appear in episodes in both years.

The translation pairs used for this analysis are those for each character included in the main corpus and all the other utterances each character made. Thus, the corpus used to analyse idiolects is made up of all the utterances each character made in all the episodes, plus their subtitles. I looked at each translation pair and categorised both the ST and the TT as either something typical of a particular character, ‘characterising’, or something that could have been said by anyone, ‘not characterising’. This is because not everything any one character says is characterising. I then compared the number of characterising and non-characterising ST and TT segments per character.

For the two characters that appear in both years, Oubaas and Errol, I compared the instances of characterising speech per year and also calculated their respective totals. By comparing the number of characterising speech in the ST and the TT for each character it can be seen how much characterising speech is lost or gained in the subtitles. The data for Oubaas is represented in Figures 5.14 (ST) and 5.15 (TT) below. Examples of his characterising speech can be found in Table 5.11, below the graphs.

Figure 5.14 Comparison of characterising ST speech for Oubaas, per year and in total (%)

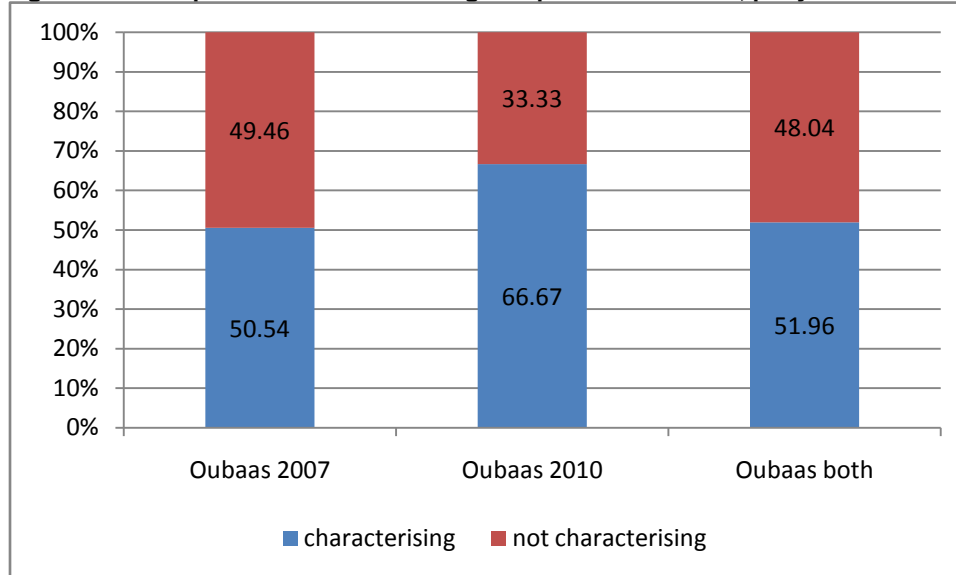
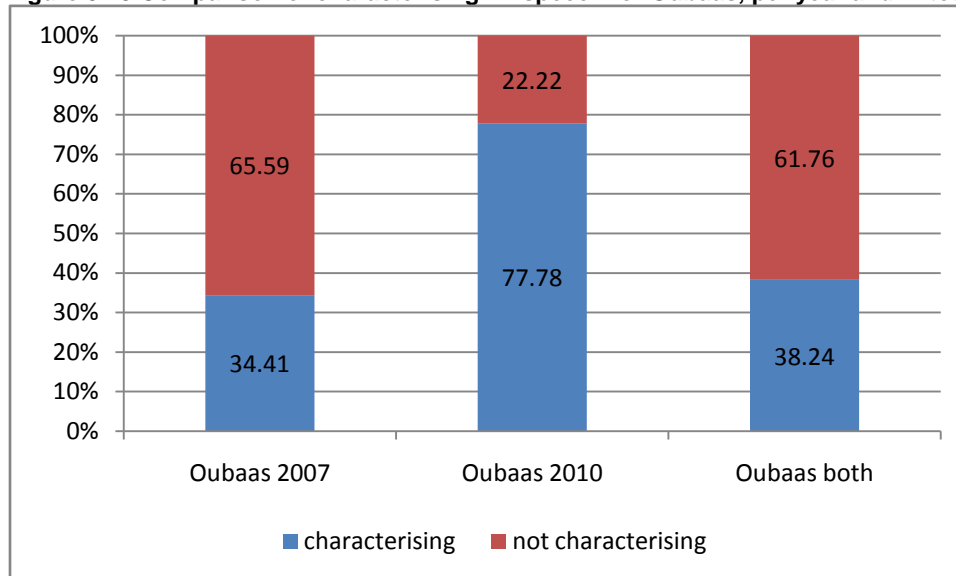


Figure 5.15 Comparison of characterising TT speech for Oubaas, per year and in total (%)



The following are examples of Oubaas' characterising speech, with both the ST and the TT representing typical utterances he would make.

ST	TT
moenie dink julle kan my die bosse in lei nie	and don't think you can fool around with me
'n man nie deur groen weivelde anderkant die draad verlei moet word nie	a man mustn't be enticed by the pastures on the other side of the green fence
o my gedorie nee, dit sal 'n nodelose gedoente afgee	no, that would be a futile exercise

ST	TT
my oë en ore is orals op die grond	my eyes and ears are on the ground everywhere
een van epidermiese proporsies	one of epidermic proportions
daar's 'n tyd om te maai en daar is 'n tyd om te saai.	there's a time to reap and a time to sow

Table 5.11 Examples of Oubaas' characterising speech

The big difference in the percentage of characterising subtitles for Oubaas in 2010 compared to 2007 could be explained by the number of utterances per year. In 2007 Oubaas makes a total of 93 utterances compared to 9 in 2010. Half of Oubaas' utterances in the 2007 ST are characterising, compared to just over a third in the TT. These figures increase marginally when looking at both years – 51% in the ST and 38% in the TT. Consequently, viewers relying solely on the subtitles are aware of 17% less instances of Oubaas' idiosyncratic way of speaking than viewers who can access and understand the ST.

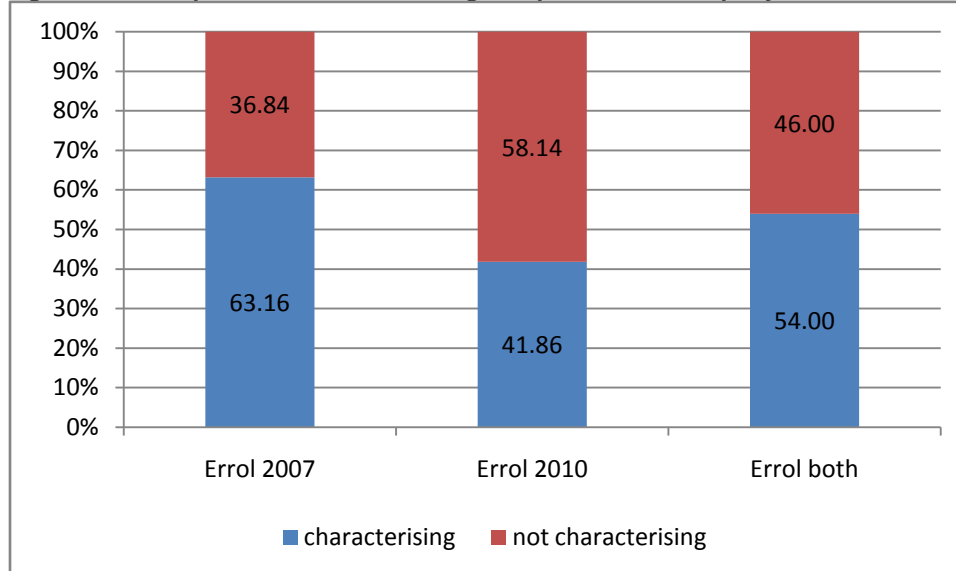
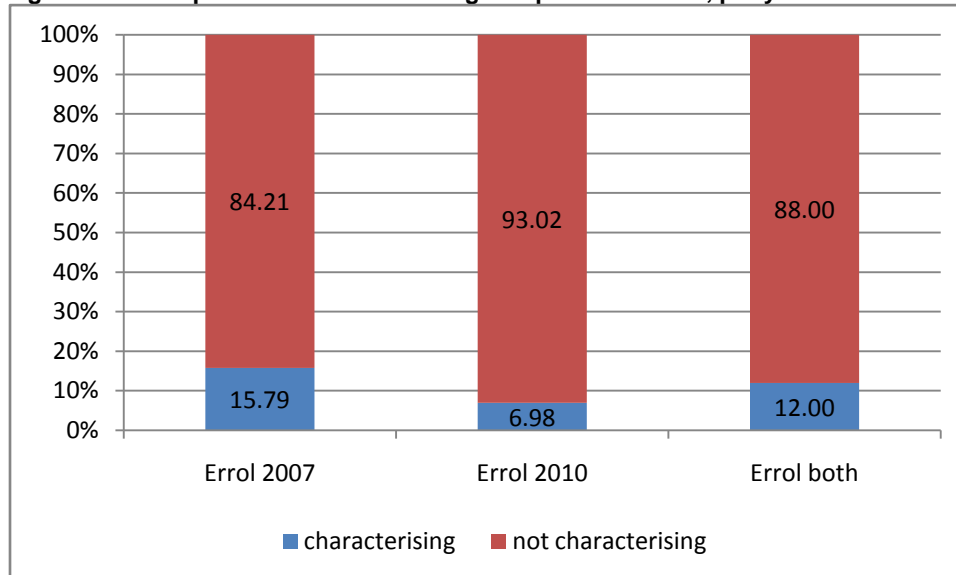
The difference in the number of utterances Errol makes per year is smaller, 57 in 2007 and 43 in 2010. This results in a much closer margin when comparing Errol's 2007 and 2010 TT utterances in Figures 5.16 and 5.17 below.

A significantly smaller percentage of Errol's utterances is characterising, compared to Oubaas. Errol makes a total of 100 utterances over both years, while Oubaas makes a total of 102. A comparison per year might not be fair because Oubaas only makes 9 utterances in 2010. However, because they make a similar total number of utterances their totals can be compared.

The following table provides some examples of Errol's characterising speech. In examples 1, 5 and 6 both the ST and the TT are characterising. Only the ST is characterising in examples 2, 3, 4 and 7.

	ST	TT
1	ek like daai plek niks	I don't dig the place
2	ek gaan vanaand huis toe dis mos weekend	I'm going home for the weekend
3	en dit auntie? Waar's brekfis	where's breakfast
4	Sorrie Meneer, ek kan nie	I can't, sir
5	as my ma my vanaand grief gee oor ek nie wil eet nie	If my mom gives me grief because I won't eat tonight
6	say no more	say no more
7	thanks vir die appel	thanks for the apple

Table 5.12 Examples of Errol's characterising speech

Figure 5.16 Comparison of characterising ST speech for Errol, per year and in total (%)**Figure 5.17 Comparison of characterising TT speech for Errol, per year and in total (%)**

Errol has much less characterising speech in the TT (Figure 5.17) than in the ST (Figure 5.16). Over both years in the ST 54% of his utterances are characterising, compared to 12% in the TT. Viewers who cannot access the ST, therefore, may not realise that Errol has a particular way of expressing himself. He does this particularly through slang usage, which is primarily codeswitching. Codeswitching here, as Errol and *7de Laan* are Afrikaans, indicates the use of English in what are mainly Afrikaans utterances, as can be seen in the examples in Table 5.12 above. This use of another language cannot be represented in the subtitles because it would be inaccessible to the English speaking TA and is therefore lost in the translation. Additionally,

finding English phrases to convey the same type of slang and level of informality as the TT can be challenging to impossible.

A comparison of all four characters can be seen in Figures 5.18 and 5.19. The total percentages over both years are used for Oubaas and Errol for a more direct comparison, as both Paula and Clara only appear in one year each; Paula in 2007 and Clara in 2010. Illustrations of the way Paula and Clara typically speak are in Tables 5.13 and 5.14 respectively.

	ST	TT
1	dis platvloers en banaal om in 'n openbare plek oor geld te kibbel	it's common and banal to quibble about money in public
2	as ons reeks opgeraap word deur die groot publikasies...	if our series of articles are snapped up
3	moenie jou onderskat nie	don't sell yourself short
4	ten aanskoue van die hele wêreld	with everyone watching
5	ek sien nou al die prentjie	I can see it now
6	waar gaan jy heen beste vriendin?	hey, where are you going?

Table 5.13 Examples of Paula's characterising speech

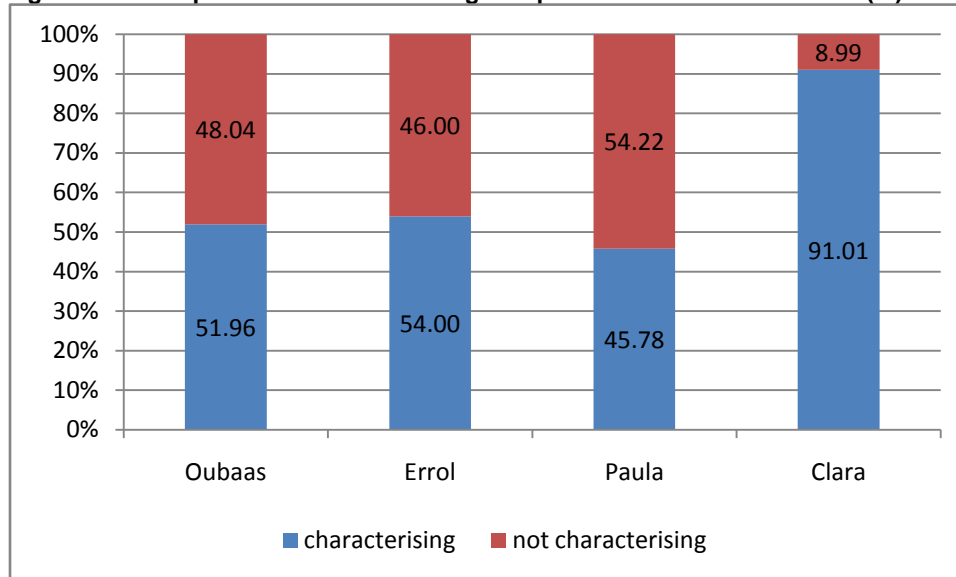
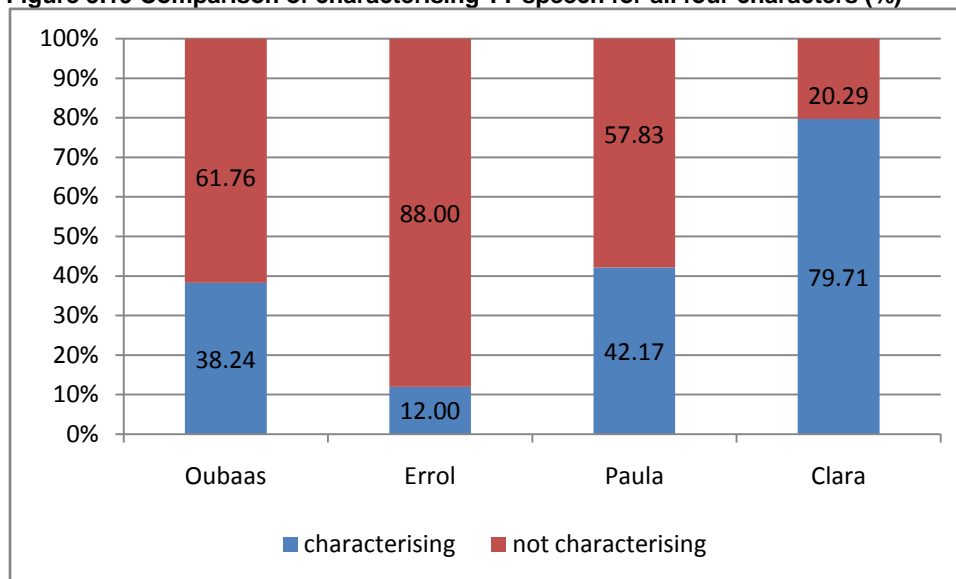
In examples 1, 2 and 3, both the ST and the TT are characterising; only the STs are characterising in examples 4, 5 and 6.

Table 5.14 below shows some examples of the type of utterances made by Clara.

	ST	TT
1	ek sien jy baie ongelukkig lyk	you look so unhappy
2	ek nie kan wag om hulle te hoor	I can't wait to hear them
3	dit baie lekker is met suurroom en konfyt	it very nice is. With sour cream and jam
4	ek jou môre sien	I see you tomorrow

Table 5.14 Examples of Clara's characterising speech

In examples 1 and 2 only the ST is characterising, which means their respective TTs are not characterising, and both the ST and TT of examples 3 and 4 are characterising.

Figure 5.18 Comparison of characterising ST speech for all four characters (%)**Figure 5.19 Comparison of characterising TT speech for all four characters (%)**

Paula's percentages of characterising speech in the ST and TT are the closest of all the characters – 45% in the ST and 42% in the TT, with a difference of only 3%. Clara has a difference of 12% but has the most characterising segments. All the characters have fewer characterising segments in the TT.

A possible explanation for the difference in the percentage of characterising speech per character in the TT is the way each character uses language and how their language use is characterising. Oubaas makes use of specific syntax, words and confused idioms; Paula's word choice, use of idiom and exaggeration are characterising features; Clara's syntax is characteristic to her while Errol's language use is typified by slang and codeswitching.

Rendering Clara's way of speaking in the subtitles might be the easiest; the TT just has to be ungrammatical in some way. Oubaas and Paula's idiosyncrasies are more challenging to render because their characterisation relies on particular word choices and turns of phrases. However, Errol's idiolect is difficult to translate, particularly for subtitles. I have already pointed out above that slang and codeswitching are problematic for subtitling and these are the linguistic markers employed to characterise Errol. Two examples of ST utterances, made by Errol, with codeswitching are *moenie worrie nie* which is *don't worry* in the subtitles and *hulle't uitgecheck ek het 'n job en hulle watch my* which is translated as *they know I've got a job so they're watching me*. From these examples it can be seen that the loss of codeswitching slang in the TT results in a loss of the marked, characterising speech.

While the TT loses much of the characterising language use of the ST, there *is* an effort to portray characterisation through idiolects and language usage in the subtitles. Additionally, even though the percentage of characterising TT speech is much smaller than that of the ST, it is not necessarily a great loss for those viewers depending solely on the subtitles. This is because soap operas are in a sense never-ending and therefore have many episodes to develop and characterise any particular character (Holland 2000:113). Therefore a lack of characterisation in the subtitles in a few episodes may not affect characterisation in the long term.

5.3.3 Subtitling for the hearing-impaired

I have pointed out that the literature says that hearing-impaired people read slower than hearing people (De Linde & Kay 1999:6, see Section 3.3.3 for more information). This is also what the translators of *7de Laan* believe. When they bear in mind that one of their directives is to translate for hearing-impaired people (Roets 2011), it affects their choices and consequently the subtitles. In particular, this affects the length of the subtitles which may have an influence on the translation of figurative language because of the additional space constraints of subtitling for the hearing-impaired.

In addition to being a translation, the subtitles of *7de Laan* serve as captions for hearing-impaired viewers. SDH convey paralinguistic sounds that are relevant to the plot or a conversation. For example, the subtitles indicate, in italics, when a phone or doorbell rings. However, these indications were not included in the main corpus for analysis. In addition to paralinguistic sounds, SDH indicates sounds of agreement or disagreement and, for the purpose of this study, mutually intelligible utterances that appear in the subtitles are also classified as SDH.

The following two graphs represent the percentage of SDH per episode, not including indications of phones or doorbells ringing.

Figure 5.20 Percentage SDH per episode, 2007

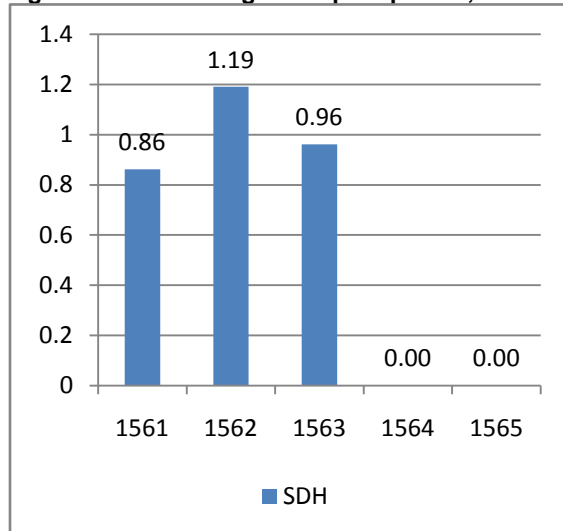
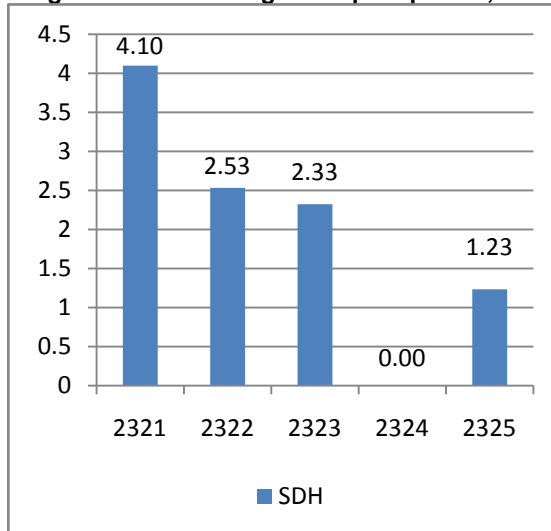


Figure 5.21 Percentage SDH per episode, 2010



Two episodes in 2007 have no subtitles obviously aimed at hearing-impaired viewers but the percentages of the episodes that do have SDH are close: from 0.85% to 1.08%. Compare this to the 2010 episodes where only one episode does not have any hearing-impaired-specific subtitles but the range of the episodes with SDH is much higher, from 1.23% to 4.10% (see Table 4.3 and Figure 4.5). These graphs point to the subtitles being made more accessible to hearing-impaired viewers over the years. When comparing the percentages of SDH per episode in 2007 to those in 2010, 2007 is more consistent because there is a closer range, while 2010 has more SDH. However, an alternative explanation might be that there may have been an increase in the sort of content that needs to be subtitled for hearing-impaired viewers in 2010.

Another possible reason for the increase in SDH in 2010 is a greater awareness of what is inaccessible to hearing-impaired people, such as sounds people make like ‘hmm’ or ‘uh huh’ and other mutually intelligible utterances, like ‘ja’. In the table below, the ST is how it appears in the script (except for 9, 12 and 13) and the TT is their corresponding subtitles. Examples 1 to 3 are from episodes from 2007 and examples 4 to 13 are from episodes in 2010.

	ST	TT
[2007] 1	huh uh uh uh.	∅
2	aye, yay yay	aye-yi-yi
3	uh-hum	uh-hum
[2010] 4	hmm mmm	uh-huh

	ST	TT
5	uh. Huh	huh
6	uh-huh	uh-huh
7	uh-huh	uh-huh
8	Hm	huh
9	Hmmm	mmm.
10	hmm. Ja	hmm. Yes
11	hmm mmm	uh-huh
12	(gesture with finger) (mouthing:) kom hier	come here
13	<i>Screams</i>	screams

Table 5.15 SDH subtitles

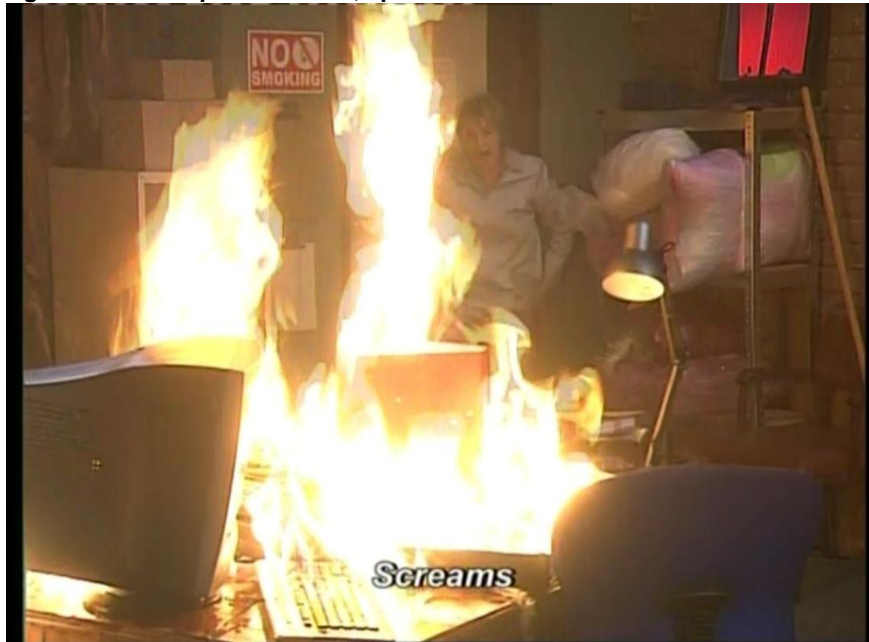
Example 1's ST is something that is typically present in SDH yet is not rendered in the subtitle. This is from an episode in 2007, when there was less SDH than 2010. Example 12 and 13's screenshots are reproduced below.

Figure 5.22 Example 12 of SDH, episode 2323



For the utterance in example 12, he gestures and mouths. Hearing viewers know he is only mouthing, but hearing-impaired viewers do not. When they see his mouth moving but there aren't any accompanying subtitles, they might feel excluded. This might be why a subtitle is present even though nothing has been said.

Figure 5.23 Example 13 of SDH, episode 2325



In this instance, the woman is trapped inside a burning building so it is expected that she would scream. The shot above, Figure 5.23, shows her body language and posture and the next shot, Figure 5.24, is a close-up of her face.

Figure 5.24 Example 13 of SDH, close-up



Despite the visual cues that she is panicking and probably screaming, 'Screams' still appears in the subtitle. This might be because the translators are erring on the side of caution, trying to

ensure that *7de Laan* is accessible to hearing-impaired viewers. According to Luyken et al. (1991:56) “[a]ny information which may be gleaned from the actor's performance ought not to be reproduced in the text.” Thus, something may be omitted from the subtitles because it is conveyed through a different semiotic channel (Bogucki 2004:31).

From the above information it can be seen that the translators do keep hearing-impaired people in mind when they translate and that it appears as though their awareness to hearing-impaired viewers' needs increased in 2010 compared to 2007. However, 4,5% is a very small percentage and these results may differ in South Africa. Therefore, when translating for hearing-impaired people, translators would see shorter subtitles as a more important constraint than accuracy of meaning and this might result in the large percentage of omission.

5.4 Summary

This chapter looked at several specific concerns of the TT; whether and how figurative language in the ST was rendered in the TT, how different language varieties were treated and rendered and how translating for the hearing-impaired audience affects the translation choices and therefore the TT.

In terms of the translation of figurative language, the decrease in the use of figurative-specific strategies implies a change in the content of the ST. It also points to a trend of levelling out more figurative language, that is translate figurative language with non-figurative/non-rhetorical language. This trend might have to do with the constraints of subtitling, especially if translators are translating for hearing-impaired viewers who are slower readers. When the figurative language was translated figuratively, the most common strategies were same figurative language, that is the TL equivalent, or another rhetorical device. In addition there was a decrease in the literal translation of figurative language in 2010, which signifies an improvement in identifying and rendering figurative language and its intent, whether it has been rendered figuratively or using non-rhetorical language.

The analysis of the translation of the language varieties implies that the TT, which is largely acceptable, is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the sociolects and idiolects used in the ST. This is probably due to the difficulty of rendering certain types of language use, such as codeswitching present in the speech of young and coloured speakers, in the constrained medium of subtitles. However, the data do suggest that the translators are cognisant of the language varieties as they are sometimes represented in the subtitles, even if this is done to

varying degrees. The way the younger people, especially the coloured younger people, are represented does indicate a change in approach when comparing the adequacy/acceptability between the age groups. In addition, the idiolects of the four characters analysed are all represented in the subtitles to some extent.

Another factor that might have influenced what is rendered in the subtitles and how, is the fact that the translators aim for the subtitles to be as accessible as possible to hearing-impaired viewers. According to the literature, hearing-impaired people read slower than hearing people. Therefore, in addition to the spatial constraints of subtitling, the translators of *7de Laan* need to translate for slower readers. This would probably mean shorter words and subtitles that are even shorter than the recommended 70 characters spread over two lines. The addition of subtitles with paralinguistic information might also use up some space required to render what is being said, further decreasing the space available for the TT.

This chapter concludes the analysis. The following chapter summarises this study's findings and final conclusions and recommendations for future studies are also discussed.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

There have been studies on subtitling in South Africa but they do not focus on a particular programme, series or film. Rather, these studies (Kruger and Kruger 2001, 2005) look at the helpfulness of subtitles in understanding concepts and the practice of subtitling. There are also many studies on AVT in general and in particular countries, such as those done by Delabastita (1989, 1990) and Díaz Cintas (2003, 2004). There have also been various articles on the translation of figurative language, including those by Dagut (1976) and Dickins (2005), and books such as the one edited by St André (2010).

This study combines these two fields of research – AVT and figurative language – in the South African context; much as Dollerup (1974) did in Denmark. This thesis is a descriptive, quantitative analysis of the subtitles of the Afrikaans soap opera *7de Laan*, with a focus on the translation of figurative language. This study also looks at the language varieties and subtitling for the hearing-impaired. Previous research on how sociolects are used in the language of *7de Laan* for stylistic effect has been done (Stell & Feinauer 2005). The corpus of this study consists of episodes of *7de Laan* from 2007 and 2010, with five episodes from each year.

6.1.1 Possible limitations

The sample size of ten episodes and the gap of only three years for comparison can be seen as limitations. The material available for analysis depends on what is kept in the archives and for how long. An adaptation in translation approach might be more evident if the current subtitles were compared to those of 2001, when subtitling was first introduced to *7de Laan*.

Another possible limiting factor might be the close cultural contact between the SL and the TL. The close cultural contact between English and Afrikaans speakers might facilitate, or even hinder, translation. Additionally, English and Afrikaans have influenced each other linguistically in South Africa and this might also have had an influence on translation. This is particularly the case for spoken, colloquial Afrikaans as is spoken by many of the younger characters in *7de Laan*.

6.2 Review of relevant theories

As this is a descriptive study, it is essential for it to be based in Descriptive Translation Studies. Therefore, I discussed DTS, its main proponents and the concept of norms. This study's focus is

on quantitative and not so much qualitative analyses. In order to have a quantitative study, I first looked at the TT and how it functions in the TC in terms of adequacy and acceptability; in other words, whether the TT is SL- or TL-oriented.

Next, I outlined the many definitions and types of figurative language as presented in the literature and the difficulties involved in translating figurative language and wordplay. This section included a list of translation strategies relevant to this study taken from the literature, with illustrative examples from this study's corpus.

This was followed by a discussion on the various types of AVT, subtitling in particular and specifically the spatiotemporal constraints of subtitling.

6.3 Answering research questions

The findings of this study can be summarised by answering the research questions listed in Chapter 1. I will present the findings by answering these questions, which are reproduced below.

James (2001:154) points out that English programmes with Welsh subtitles are watched by both Welsh and non-Welsh speakers and that as a result "any errors in subtitling are apparent to many viewers". This is equally applicable to Afrikaans viewers and *7de Laan*. As illustrated in the graph in the introductory chapter (Figure 1.1), about half of the viewers of *7de Laan* (between 57,8% and 63,1%) are Afrikaans speakers. The demographics in terms of first language of the remaining viewers are English: 12,7% to 16,4%, Nguni: 11,2% to 12,5% and Sotho: 11,8% to 16%. These data represent the viewers between August 2009 and December 2010.

Subtitles that do not meet viewers' expectations may cause viewers who understand Afrikaans to mistrust the subtitles. Viewers' possible negative perception of the acceptability of the subtitles is not reflected in reality, as this analysis shows. The hearing viewers who understand Afrikaans may expect a certain level and type of equivalence, even if they do not rely on the subtitles. These expectations of what the subtitles should be affect their opinion of the subtitles as they are.

- How, and which, constraining factors of subtitling influenced the translations?

The spatiotemporal constraining factors of subtitles definitely influenced the translations. Translators opted for shorter, if less accurate or sometimes even grammatically incorrect, translations. Translating for SDH probably further compounded the need for short subtitles.

6.3.1 Adequacy and acceptability

- Are the translations acceptable or adequate?

The subtitles are more acceptable than adequate. On average, about two thirds of the translation pairs analysed are acceptable. However, there are a few translation pairs in which the TT is problematic in terms of grammar or intention. The person who checks the subtitles is English (Roets 2011). This might explain acceptable TTs that do not accurately reflect the ST – the checker might change the subtitles to be acceptable without consulting with the translators about the ST's intention.

6.3.2 Figurative language

- How is figurative speech translated?

Figurative speech does not have a separate translation approach to that of literal speech, as evidenced by the types of translation strategies used (as seen in the previous chapter). There seems to be a tendency to use less figurative language in the subtitles. Most figurative language is omitted in favour of non-rhetorical language in the TT.

However, when figurative language is rendered in the subtitles it is most often by means of another type of rhetorical language to what is present in the ST. The other most frequently used translation strategies are the use of equivalent TL figurative speech followed by the use of a similar image. There is very little addition and literal translation of figurative language.

6.3.3 Language varieties and SDH

- Are the distinctive ways of speaking of some characters represented in the subtitles?
- How does the representation in the subtitles of characters from different sociolinguistic groups differ, specifically in terms of race and age?

In terms of sociolects, age, rather than race, seems to be the feature conveyed in the subtitles. This is particularly the case with the younger people; their more informal and slang-filled language use is the type of marked language that is most easily represented in the subtitles. Translators do attempt to convey the idiolects of people with distinctive speech patterns, but the

constrained nature of subtitles does limit how much of the idiolects they can convey in the subtitles. Idiolects with distinguishing features based on codeswitching and word choice are more challenging to convey than those with marked grammatical features. Thus, the speech patterns of characters with grammatically marked idiolects are more accurately reflected in the subtitles to those of characters with a particular language style or a slang-filled lexicon.

- How do the subtitles cater for hearing-impaired viewers and how does this influence the translation approach?

One of the translators' directives is to translate so that hearing-impaired people can understand what is happening. This includes catering for their inability to access paralinguistic information and their slower reading speeds. This means subtitle space is given to paralinguistic sounds and that subtitles of *7de Laan* have to be even shorter than subtitles usually are to ensure that slower readers do not miss anything. This suggests that the subtitles are simplified as a result of SDH.

6.3.4 Comparison of 2007 and 2010

- Which norms governed the translation process?

The changes in percentage of acceptability and adequacy do not follow a clear pattern across episodes, but acceptability does increase from 2007 to 2010. The norms governing the translation over the years did not change significantly, but changes include more non-figurative or non-rhetorical language in the TT and less specific, therefore more general (hypernymous), words. Additionally, there does appear to have been a trend to shorten the subtitles even more in 2010, as is evident by the increase in the use of paraphrase.

- Which translation strategies were used?
- Is an adaptation in translation strategies evident in comparing 2007 to 2010?

While acceptability increases, the translation strategies used between the years remain about the same, with the same types of strategies being used with similar frequencies. This indicates that there has not been a significant change in strategies used, only small changes, for example less literal translation both overall and for figurative-specific translation strategies. Possible reasons for these slight changes might be increased familiarity with the TL, knowledge of figurative TL expressions and becoming accustomed to subtitling.

Fewer figurative-specific strategies were used in 2010. This points to either a trend of levelling out the figurative language in the subtitles, that is translating a figurative ST with a non-rhetorical TT, or possibly a shift in the use of figurative language in the ST itself. It might even be a combination of the two. In the figurative-specific strategies used, translators employed less figurative language and more non-rhetorical, literal language in the TT in 2010. Translators also used less literal translation of figurative language in 2010.

6.4 Further possible studies

Further research could be done in the field of subtitles and/or figurative translation in South African television programmes. A comparison could be done between different programmes as well as different source languages. Studies could be done on soap operas with different SLs; it would be especially interesting to look at translation between languages with greater cultural difference between the SL and the TL to determine, how, if at all, close cultural contact influences subtitles.

Studies could also be done on different types of television programmes, such as series, magazine shows and talk shows. Comparisons could be made between translation/subtitling companies and between how subtitles are done for programmes broadcast by the public broadcaster and those broadcast on pay channels.

Research could also be done comparing the current state of subtitling to what subtitles were like when they were first introduced. Subtitles were introduced to *7de Laan* in 2001 (Nieuwoudt 2011a), the same year subtitles started being used regularly (Kruger & Kruger 2005:271). Such studies could examine changes in translation approach and whether there has been a bigger difference than the one observed in this study.

6.5 Concluding remarks

It is interesting to note that the project manager of the subtitling of *7de Laan* does not believe that subtitling is translation (Roets 2011). It is possible that this perception of the project manager, and maybe the subtitlers, could also affect the translation process negatively.

In looking at the aims of this study as set out in Chapter 1, I have determined that the majority of the subtitles are acceptable. I have also found that sociolinguistic factors, idiolects and translating so that the subtitles are accessible to hearing-impaired viewers may have been

constraining factors to the translation. The spatiotemporal constraints of the medium of subtitling also influenced the translation.

In terms of figurative language, translators seem to be cognisant of figurative language as a particular type of language use and the difficulty of translating it. The challenge to translate this might be one of the reasons that there are fewer figurative-specific translation strategies in 2010 and that the ST figurative language is omitted increasingly.

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Addendum A: Personal communication

A1: Email from M. Nieuwoudt (2011a)

Sent: Thursday, February 17, 2011 11:13 AM

Subject: Subtitles/background information

I emailed you last year in connection with subtitles for my thesis, I managed to get the subtitles. I am emailing you because I would like to include some background information on 7de laan, and would it be possible for you to please help me with the following:

1) when were subtitles introduced and why;

Ep100 TX 14 March 2001

Reason: To reach more viewers i.e. non Afrikaans / hearing impaired.

2) do you know, more or less, what percentage of the viewers are not Afrikaans-speaking and what is the difference in percentage from when subtitles were first introduced to now;

3) which company does the translation (I already have the subtitles but I do not know what the company is called).

Vista 1TV

4) Which African language(s) are spoken?

Zulu, Sotho & Xhosa

A2: Email from E. Roets 2011

Sent: Tuesday, March 22, 2011 10:37 AM

Subject: Vertaal vrae oor subtitels van 7de laan

Ek wil net 'n paar goed weet oor die vertaalproses, as agtergrond inligting vir my studie, en om 'n idee te kry oor hoe die vertaling van 7de laan werk.

1) Is dit een persoon of 'n span wat die vertalings doen? (Dit sluit nie die mense in wat die tegniese aspek van die subtitles behandel nie)

2) Is die vertaler(s) opgeleide vertalers of mense wat nie spesifiek opgelei is nie maar wel tweetalig?

3) Van waar vertaal die vertaler(s)? Het hulle die draaiboek voor hulle, of vertaal hulle van die video/DVD (wat hulle op die skerm sien en hoor)?

Sent: 28 March 2011 06:47 PM

Subject: Re: Vertaal vrae oor subtitels van 7de laan

1) Aan die begin was dit net ek maar deesdae is ons is 'n span. Twee doen die basiese 'vertaling' en 'timing' van die onderskrifte. 'n Ander persoon (Engelssprekend) of ek, gaan daardeur vir basiese taalgoggas, meer 'Engels' en spelling (my sisteem kan dit nie deur 'n spel checker sit nie). Ook om dit dalk beter te verkort. Dan word dit gevoorskou deur die SAUK en 'n taalkundige sowel as 'n artistiese raadgewer en myself. Gedurende hierdie sessie kom ons dikwels met beter, meer in die kol woorde tevoorskyn. Daar is ook sekere taboe-woorde. Slang is aanvaarbaar. Ek doen dan agterna die finale check vir die dowes waar ek sonder klank daarna kyk en dikwels goed meer verkort of verleng of anderste saamgooi en nog verbeter.

2) Ons is 'n mengsel wat opleiding aanbetref. Die basiese twee is net goed tweetalig en is deur my opgelei. Die Engelssprekende persoon het nie formele 'Taalopleiding' nie. Ek het, maar nie in Engels nie en net op 1ste jaarsvlak. Beide van ons se leerskool was prakties. Ek het die eerste onderskrifte vir SAUK TV in die 1970tigs gedoen en doen dit nog al die jare vryskut. Die taalreviseur het taalopleiding. Weet nie presies wat nie. Sy is deur die SAUK aangewys.

3) Die proses gebeur gelyktydig. Jy sit voor 'n 'laptop' en doen die 'vertaling' en 'timing' gelyktydig. Dis 'n spesiale redigeerprogram. So jy werk van die beeld en die gepaardgaande klank af en tik jou onderskrif. Draaiboeke is beskikbaar op jou rekenaar as jy iets wil opkyk. Dit word na ons ge epos deur 7de Laan.

Net ter inligting. Onderskrifte is NIE 'n vertaling nie. Jy kan nooit ooit altyd 'n letterlike weergawe gee van wat daar gese word nie. Net een ding bepaal wat jy in 'n onderskrif sit - die tyd tot jou beskikking om iets in te se. Dit help nie jy doen 'n pragtige vertaling van 'n sin en dan gaan dit sublimaal voor die oog verby nie(mense kan dit nie lees nie). Partykeer kan jy alles se. Meestal nie en dan moet jy besluit wat nodig is vir mense om die storielyn te volg. 'Precis skills' is baie

belangrik en 'n gevoel vir ritme. Dowes is oor die algemeen stadiger lesers en my opdrag is om dit so eenvoudig en bondig moontlik moontlik te hou sonder verlies van humor en belangrike nuanses. A tall order! Ons probeer maar en verbeter hopelik steeds.

Addendum B: Online articles

B1: De Lange 2011

'Life above All' met ses Saftas vereer

Amanda de Lange

Die fliëk Life Above All is in die fiksie-afdeling van die Suid-Afrikaanse rolprent-en-televisie- pryse (Saftas) met ses pryse vereer.

Dié fliëk het die pryse ontvang vir die beste rolprent, beste regisseur (Oliver Schmitz), beste aktrise (Khomotso Manyaka), beste vrouebyspeler (Harriet Mamamela), beste rolverdeling in 'n rolprent en beste draaiboek (Schmitz).

Schmitz het ook 'n kontantprys van Ster-Kinekor ontvang.

Hy het nie die verrigtinge bygewoon nie omdat hy skiet aan 'n nuwe fliëk, maar hy het die nasionale rolprent-en-videostigting (NFVF) en die Saftas in 'n brief bedank.

Spud, wat ses benoemings gehad het, het uiteindelik net een prys ontvang. Dit het gegaan aan Megal Gill as beste redigeerder van 'n rolprent.

Themba Ndaba is vereer as beste akteur in 'n fliëk vir sy spel in Hopeville.

Die drama Erfsondes het in twee van die sewe kategorieë geseëvier waarvoor dit benoem is.

Henriëtte Gryffenberg is bekroon as die beste draaiboekskrywer en dié reeks het ook met die prys as beste drama weggestap.

Maggie Benedict, wat in Binneland sub judice te sien is as Zoey, het die prys as beste aktrise ontvang vir haar spel in die SABC3-reeks The Mating Game. Vusi Kunene is bekroon as beste akteur vir sy spel in Soul City.

Aan die sepie-front het 7de laan die prys ontvang as gewildste sepie, maar dit was Isidingo wat weer met die meeste pryse weggestap het.

Dié sepie het onder meer pryse ontvang vir beste akteur (Tshepo Maseko), beste skryfspan en beste regisseurspan.

B2: 7de Laan 2011

7de Laan makes it two in a row!

27 February 2011

Last night, (27 February 2011) 7de Laan was crowned “Favourite Soapie” for the second year in a row at the 5th Annual SAFTA Awards. Pipping five other soaps at the post, 7de Laan walked away with the Golden Horn despite an incorrect SMS number, which was issued initially, left them trailing a week behind in the race.

“We were disappointed that our cast of experienced actors – many with acting awards to their names – failed to impress the SAFTA judges sufficiently to be nominated in their respective categories,” says 7de Laan line producer, Colin Howard, “but it is the public opinion that we value most and we want to thank our fans for making their votes count.

“After all, we exist to make our viewers happy and we hope we will keep them rivetted to the screen for many hours yet in the year ahead.”

B3: 7de Laan 2013a

7de Laan Wins Best Soapie at the SAFTA

18 March 2013, Lonehill, Johannesburg – The fans have spoken. They let their voices be heard by voting for SABC2’s flagship soapie, 7de Laan, as South Africa’s best of the best in Soapie land.

Just two weeks after recording their 3000th episode 7de Laan bags the Best Soapie award at the 7th annual South African Film and Television Awards (SAFTAs). What an awesome way to mark the month that 7de Laan records it’s 3000th episode.

Although the big win came as a pleasant surprise, it is not the first time that 7de Laan has won this prestigious industry award. The soapie won Best Soapie in two consecutive years -2010 and 2011. As this award is decided on by the viewers and fans 7de Laan’s cast and crew would like to thank their fans for voting them NUMBER 1 in the land. Everything we do on set – all the

hard work, tears and very long hours – are to bring the best product to our fans each weekday evening.

B4: 7de Laan 2013b

7de Laan Celebrates 3000 Episodes

09 May 2013, Lonehill, Johannesburg - It is with great pleasure that we announce that 7de Laan's 3000th episode is finally being broadcast. The episode will go on air on Thursday, 9 May 2013 at 18:30 on SABC2.

7de Laan was created by Executive Producer Danie Odendaal. He got the idea for this soapie from a few of his favourite coffee shops in the Johannesburg area. That is the reason 7de Laan is centred around Oppiekoffie, a local coffee shop in the suburb of Hillside - very much like Melville in Johannesburg.

7de Laan is the story of a tight-knit community of friends and family who care deeply for each other. But, that also means everyone knows about each other's business. While life in Hillside is centred around the coffee shop there are also a few other businesses (Felicity's boutique Eclectic E, Herman's sports shop T&T, Vince's Deli, Altus' events company Bruynwaves, the local newspaper The Hillside Times and Gita's travel agency) that are key and of course the group of young people who make the place tick. Also very important to the soapie are the elders of the community, Oubaas, Hilda, Matrone, Charmaine and no-nonsense cleaning lady, Maria.

The much-anticipated episode was recorded on 4 March 2013, during 7de Laan's 14th year on air. "It is very exciting for our team to have reached such a great milestone. Many TV shows don't even make it to 1000 episodes," said Tsholofelo Modise, 7de Laan's Publicity and PR Manager.

Although there is nothing spectacular happening in the 3000th episode it is still something worth celebrating. "The producers and writers could not stop the 'normal lives' of the characters to celebrate 3000 episodes. It wouldn't make sense for the continuation of the storyline," Tsholofelo adds. But the cast and crew of 7de Laan celebrated with some cake and champagne on the day they recorded the episode and they will have a crew get together soon.

7de Laan wishes to thank everyone who makes 7de Laan possible. And we would like to give a special thank you to our loyal fans who voted us Best Soapie at the South African Film and Television Awards in March.

Here's to another 3000 episodes!

B5: 7de Laan n.d. (a)

Clara is 'n jong meisie van Bukarest, Romenië. Sy praat gebroke Afrikaans en sukkel soms om haar behoorlik uit te druk. Sy voel somtyds baie dom aangesien sy mense en stories verwar. Afgesien daarvan is sy goeie vriende met almal in die Laan en sukkel nooit om 'n kêrel aan haar sy te hê nie.

B6: 7de Laan n.d. (b)

'n Ware ouskoolse heer. Hy kom van Rondomskrik, 'n plaas in die Garies omgewing, en is pure boerseun. Sy seuns, Regie en Boudewyn, is van sy eerste huwelik met oorle Jacoba. Hy het waardes en integriteit. Hy is ook 'n groot bewonderaar van die Wyse Salomo en haal hom graag aan. Hy is getroud met Hilda en sy Hildatjie was nog altyd sy hart se punt, sy narsing van Saron, sy lelie van die dale. Oubaas is opsigter van die Heights en neem sy werk baie ernstig op. 'n Doodgoeie karakter, wat gedurig sy gesegdes verdraai en sy eie woorde opmaak.

B7: Karamitroglou 1998

A Proposed Set of Subtitling Standards in Europe

by Fotios Karamitroglou

PhD Audiovisual Translation

UMIST, Manchester, UK

European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (ESIST)

PREFACE

Translation Studies is nowadays overwhelmed by a number of attempts to discard prescriptive standpoints and adopt new, descriptive directions. As a consequence, the research effort has been shifted from an investigation of things that should be done to an investigation of things that are being done.

Audiovisual/Screen Translation is not left out of the trend. In Europe, current research into subtitling is oriented towards an attempt to describe the various subtitling practices around the countries of the continent rather than to dictate what practices should rather be followed. In

other words, the attempt nowadays is rather to describe the various subtitling conventions being followed throughout Europe, rather than to impose new ones. However, there are a few undeniable realistic parameters that cannot pass unnoticed: a) the movement towards a United Europe necessitates the adoption of common practices that would enable the participating countries to operate as a unified body, b) new technological developments in mass media and communication (e.g. digital TV) are bound to overcome the limited physical borders of the participating countries, leading to the creation of a pan-European market audience. In such a unified framework of European mass communication, subtitling—as a means of overcoming linguistic barriers between the nations—will come to play a critical role. Large satellite broadcasting companies around the continent have already stressed the need for a unifying code of subtitling practices, a code that would enable them to reach the various individual country audiences through a *unique set of subtitling standards* that would not violate the already established conventions within the various countries.

At a first glance, such an attempt or a “desire” looks rather futile. It is impossible to deviate from an already established convention without causing some turbulence amongst the subjects/recipients of the convention. This, however, does not mean that the deviation from the current convention will not be gradually accepted, replacing old practices with new ones and gradually formulating a new ruling convention, provided that the transition is smooth both in quantitative and qualitative aspects. This would mean that a limited number of the new set of suggested practices are initially introduced into a limited number of situations, steadily expanding to cover the whole set of the new suggested practices, as well as all of the applicable situations. Considering the above, I believe that what satellite broadcasting companies demand nowadays is both reasonable and feasible, especially since the already existing number of descriptive studies on human social viewing behaviour, as well as on human physiological eye movement and brain function, are sound enough to provide the basis for such an initial attempt. The following paper departs from such descriptive studies but goes on to adopt a clearly prescriptive perspective. Its aim is to provide a unifying formula based on thorough scientific research that could bridge the different subtitling conventions currently operating within the various European countries, to cater for the needs of the individual European viewer and address the European audiovisual audience market as a whole.

Towards a Standardisation of Subtitling Practices in Europe: Guidelines for Production and Layout of TV Subtitles

1. General aim

The general practice of the production and layout of TV subtitles should be guided by the aim to provide maximum appreciation and comprehension of the target film as a whole by maximising the legibility and readability of the inserted subtitled text.

2. Spatial parameter / layout

- **Position on the screen**: Subtitles should be positioned at the lower part of the screen, so that they cover an area usually occupied by image action which is of lesser importance to the general aesthetic appreciation of the target film. The lowest line of the subtitles should appear at least 1/12 of the total screen height above the bottom of the screen, so that the eye of the viewer does not have to travel a long distance towards the lowest part of the screen to read it. Space should also be provided on the horizontal axis, so that, again, the eye of the viewer does not have to travel a long distance along the sides of the screen in order to read a subtitle line. To this end, image space of at least 1/12 of the total screen width should be provided to the left of the first character and at least 1/12 of the total screen width to the right of the last character, for each subtitle line. Subtitles could be positioned towards the upper part of the screen only in extreme cases where visual material (linguistic or other) of vital importance to the appreciation and the comprehension of the target film is exposed at the pre-determined part of the screen where subtitles would otherwise be inserted.
- **Number of lines**: A maximum of two lines of subtitles should be presented at a time. This would guarantee that no more than 2/12 of the screen image would be covered by subtitles at a time. In the case of a single-line subtitle, this should occupy the lower of the two lines, rather than the top line in order to minimise interference with the background image action.
- **Text positioning**: The subtitled text should be presented centered on its allocated line(s). Since most of the image action circulates around the centre of the screen, this would enable the eye of the viewer to travel a shorter distance in order to reach the start of the subtitle. An exception is the case of “double text” (i.e. dialogue turns initiated by dashes and presented simultaneously on a two-line subtitle) which should be aligned to the left side of the screen, following the conventions of printed literature that require dialogue turns introduced by dashes to be left-aligned on the printed page (see also the entry of “Dashes” in section 3 “Punctuation and letter case”).
- **Number of characters per line**: Each subtitle line should allow around 35 characters in order to be able to accommodate a satisfactory portion of the (translated) spoken text and minimise the need for original text reduction and omissions. An increase in the number of

characters, attempting to fit over 40 per subtitle line, reduces the legibility of the subtitles because the font size is also inevitably reduced.

- **Typeface and distribution**: Typefaces with no serifs are preferable to fonts with serifs, since the visual complexity added to the latter results in a decrease in the legibility of the subtitled text. Typefaces like Helvetica and Arial are qualified. Proportional distribution (like the one used on the current document and on most Word Processors) rather than Monospace distribution (usually used on typewriters) saves the space required to fit the desired 35 characters into a subtitle line.
- **Font colour and background**: Type characters should be coloured pale white (not “snow-bright” white) because a too flashy pigment would render them tiring to the viewers’ eye. They should also be presented against a grey, see-through “ghost box” rather than in a contoured format (surrounded by a shadowed edge) since it has been proven that it easier for the eye to read against a fixed rather than a varying/moving background. In addition, the colour of the “ghost box” (grey) is both neutral to the eye and gives the impression that it does not entirely block the background image.

3. Temporal parameter / duration

- **Duration of a full two-line subtitle (maximum duration)**: The reading speed of the “average” viewers (aged between 14-65, from an upper-middle socio-educational class) for a text of average complexity (a combination of formal and informal language) has been proven to range between 150-180 words per minute, i.e. between 2 1/2-3 words per second. This means that a full two line subtitle containing 14-16 words should remain on the screen for a maximum time of something less than 5 1/2 seconds. However, we would actually have to expand the estimate to around 6 seconds because one should also add about 1/4-1/2 of a second that the brain needs to start processing the subtitle it has traced. It should be noted that equal to the importance of retaining a full two-line subtitle for at least 6 seconds to secure ample reading time, is the importance of keeping the same subtitle not more than 6 seconds because this would cause automatic re-reading of the subtitle, especially by fast readers.

Note: The average reading speed of children (aged 6-14) has been found to be around 90-120 words per minute. For the subtitling of children’s programmes, then, calculations regarding the duration of the subtitles on screen should be estimated accordingly.

- **Duration of a full single-line subtitle (maximum duration)**: Although pure mathematics would lead us to the conclusion that for a full single-line subtitle of 7-8 words the necessary

maximum duration time would be around 3 seconds, it is actually 3 1/2 seconds. This happens because for the two-line subtitle it is the visual bulk of the text that signals an acceleration of the reading speed. With the single-line subtitle this mechanism is not triggered. Once again, equal to the importance of keeping a full single-line subtitle for at least 3 1/2 seconds to secure ample reading time, is the importance of retaining the same subtitle for not more than 3 1/2 seconds because this would cause automatic re-reading of the subtitle, especially by fast readers. For similar reasons of automatic re-reading, in both cases of single-line and two-line subtitles, the duration time could be calculated and shortened down to the maximum of the reading time (3 subtitled words per second or 1/3 of a second per subtitled word), if the text is lexically and syntactically easy to process and if the fast pace of the film action dictates such a reduction in the duration of the subtitles.

- **Duration of a single-word subtitle (minimum duration)**: The minimum duration of a single-word subtitle is at least 1 1/2 seconds, however simple the word is. Less time would render the subtitle as a mere flash on the screen, irritating the viewers' eye. Again, it should be noted that equal to the importance of retaining a single-word subtitle for at least 1 1/2 seconds to secure ample reading time is the importance of keeping the same subtitle for not more than 1 1/2 seconds because this would cause automatic re-reading of the subtitle, especially by fast readers.
- **Leading-in time**: Subtitles should not be inserted simultaneously with the initiation of the utterance but 1/4 of a second later, since tests have indicated that the brain needs 1/4 of a second to process the advent of spoken linguistic material and guide the eye towards the bottom of the screen anticipating the subtitle. A simultaneously presented subtitle is premature, surprises the eye with its flash and confuses the brain for about 1/2 a second, while its attention oscillates between the inserted subtitled text and the spoken linguistic material, not realising where it should focus.
- **Lagging-out time**: Subtitles should not be left on the image for more than two seconds after the end of the utterance, even if no other utterance is initiated in these two seconds. This is because subtitles are supposed to transfer the spoken text as faithfully as possible, in terms of both content and time of presentation and a longer lagging-out time would generate feelings of distrust toward the (quality of the) subtitles, since the viewers would start reflecting that what they have read might not have actually corresponded to what had been said, at the time it had been said.
- **Between two consecutive subtitles**: About 1/4 of a second needs to be inserted between two consecutive subtitles in order to avoid the effect of subtitles' "overlay." This time break is

necessary to signal to the brain the disappearance of one subtitle as a piece of linguistic information, and the appearance of another. If no such gap is maintained, the viewers' eye cannot perceive the change of the new subtitled text, especially if it is of the same length as the antecedent one.

- **“Overlay,” “add-ons” and “cumulative text”**: All these terms are synonymous for the technique of presenting a “dynamic text,” i.e. a dialogue or a briefly paused monologue, with its first part appearing first on the top line of the subtitle and the second part appearing consecutively on the bottom line of the subtitle while the first line still remains on screen. This technique is ideal for avoiding “spilling the beans,” managing to reveal “surprise” information at the time of the actual utterance. Since it is a wild-card mechanism, it should be used cautiously.
- **Camera takes/cuts**: Subtitles should respect camera takes/cuts that signify a thematic change in the film product and, for this reason, they should disappear before the cuts. Different camera shots, fades and pans that do not indicate a major thematic change (e.g. a change from a long shot to a close-up and back) should not affect the duration of the subtitles at all as they do not signify a thematic change.

4. Punctuation and letter case

- **“Sequence dots” (or “ending triple dots”) {...}**: Three dots should be used right after the last character of a subtitle (no space character inserted), when the subtitled sentence is not finished on one subtitle and has to continue over the consecutive subtitle. The three “sequence dots” indicate that the subtitled sentence is incomplete, so that the eye and the brain of the viewers can expect the appearance of a new flash to follow. The total absence of any kind of punctuation mark after the last character of the subtitle, as an alternative means of indicating the continuation of the subtitled sentence over the consecutive subtitle, does not provide such an obvious signal and, thus, the brain takes more time to process the new flash which appears less expectedly. Because of their particular function as signifiers of sentence incompleteness, the use of “sequence dots” to simply indicate ongoing thoughts or an unfinished utterance by the speaker should be considerably restricted.
- **“Linking dots” (or “starting triple dots”) {...}**: Three dots should be used right before the first character of a subtitle (no space character inserted, the first character non-capitalised), when this subtitle carries the follow-up text of the previous uncompleted sentence. The tracing of the three “linking dots” signals the arrival of the expected new flash of subtitle, something anticipated because of the presence of “sequence dots” in the previous subtitle.

The absence of any punctuation mark as an alternative means of indicating the arrival of the remaining part of an incomplete subtitled sentence does not provide such an obvious signal and as a result the brain takes more time to process the new subtitle flash as related to the previous subtitle. Because of their particular function as signifiers of sentence continuation, “linking dots” should always be used in conjunction with “sequence dots.”

- **Full stops {.}**: The full stop, or period, should be used right after the last character of a subtitle (no space character inserted) to indicate the end of the subtitled sentence. This signals to the eye that it can go back to the image since there is no consecutive subtitle to anticipate. The absence of “sequence dots” as an alternative means of indicating the end of a subtitled sentence does not provide such an obvious signal and as a result the brain takes more time to process the fact that the subtitled sentence has actually been completed.
- **Dashes and hyphens {-}**: Dashes are used before the first character of each of the lines of a two-line subtitle (with a space character inserted each time) to indicate the exchange of speakers’ utterances, namely a dialogue, presented either in a single flash as “static double text,” or with the second speaker’s exchange as an “overlay” to the first subtitle line, i.e. as “dynamic double text.” When dashes are used to link words as hyphens no space characters should be inserted between the linked words
- **Question marks {?} and exclamation points {!}**: Question marks and exclamation points should be used to indicate a question or emphasis respectively, just like in printed materials, positioned right after the last character of a subtitle (no space character inserted).
Note: For questions in Spanish, a question mark should also be inserted right before the first character (no space character inserted).
- **Parentheses {()} and brackets {[]}**: Parentheses and brackets should be used to embrace comments which are explanatory to the preceding phrase. As the duration time for each subtitle is considerably limited and the convention of parentheses or brackets is not extremely widespread in printed materials either, they function as wild cards and, therefore, they should be used cautiously.
- **Single quotation marks {‘ ’}**: Single quotation marks should be used just like in printed materials, in order to embrace alleged information. For reasons similar to the use of parentheses and brackets, single quotation marks should be used cautiously.
- **Double quotation marks {“ ”}**: Double quotation should be used just like in printed materials, in order to embrace quoted information. For reasons similar to the use of parentheses and brackets, double quotation marks should be used cautiously.

- **Commas {,}, colons {:} and semicolons {;}**: Commas, colons and semicolons should be used just like in printed materials, in order to suggest a short pause in the reading pace. Unlike full stops, sequence dots, exclamation points and question marks which could all be used to close a subtitled sentence, no subtitle flash should end in a comma, a colon or a semicolon because the inevitable pause in the reading pace, as a result of the time break between the two subtitles and the necessary time for the brain to process the new subtitle, would be disproportionately long in relation to the expected short pause. Again, for reasons similar to the use of parentheses and brackets commas, colons and semicolons should be used cautiously.
- **Italics**: Italics on the subtitled text should be used to indicate an off-screen source of the spoken text, (e.g. when there is a voice of someone contemplating something, speaking over the phone from the other end, or narrating something). They should also be used when retaining foreign-language words in their original foreign-language version (e.g. “He’s got a certain *je ne sais quoi*.”).
- **Quotation marks {“”} embracing text in italics**: Quotation marks embracing text in italics should be used to indicate a public broadcast, i.e. spoken text coming from an off-screen source and addressed to a number of people (e.g. through a TV, a radio, or a loudspeaker). They should also be used when transferring song lyrics.
- **Upper- and lower-case letters**: Upper- and lower-case letters should be used just like in printed materials, as if the subtitle was to appear on paper. Subtitles typed only in upper-case letters should be used when transferring a display or a caption (i.e. a written sign that appears on the screen).
- **Boldface and underline**: Boldface and underline typing conventions are not permitted in subtitling.

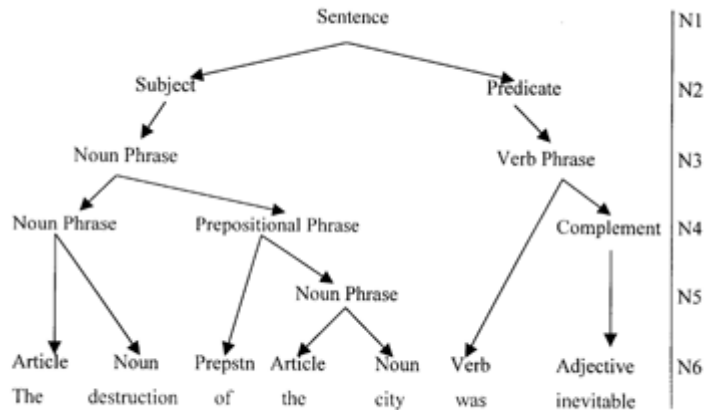
5. Target text editing

- **From a single-line to a two-line subtitle**: It is better to segment a long single-line subtitle into a two-line subtitle, distributing the words on each line. This is because the eye and the brain of the viewers render a two-line subtitle as more bulky and, as a result, accelerate the reading process.
- **Segmentation at the highest nodes**: Subtitled text should appear segmented at the highest syntactic nodes possible. This means that each subtitle flash should ideally contain one complete sentence. In cases where the sentence cannot fit in a single-line subtitle and has to continue over a second line or even over a new subtitle flash, the segmentation on each of

the lines should be arranged to coincide with the highest syntactic node possible. For example, before we segment the phrase:

“The destruction of the city was inevitable.” (44 characters),

we first have to think of its syntactic tree as follows:



A segmentation on the fifth node (N5) would create the two-line subtitle

“The destruction of the
city was inevitable.”

A segmentation on the second node (N2) would create the two-line subtitle

“The destruction of the city
was inevitable.”

Out of the two segmentations, it is the second that flows as more readable. This occurs because the higher the node, the greater the grouping of the semantic load and the more complete the piece of information presented to the brain. When we segment a sentence, we force the brain to pause its linguistic processing for a while, until the eyes trace the next piece of linguistic information. In cases where segmentation is inevitable, therefore, we should try to force this pause on the brain at a point where the semantic load has already managed to convey a satisfactorily complete piece of information.

- **Segmentation and line length**: The upper line and the lower line of a two-line subtitle should be proportionally as equal in length as possible, since the viewers' eye is more accustomed to reading text in a rectangular rather than a triangular format. This happens because the conventional text format of printed material is rectangular (in columns or pages). Taken into account the previous entry on "segmentation at the highest nodes," this means that the segmentation of subtitled text should be a compromise between syntax and geometry. However, if we had to sacrifice the one for the sake of the other, we should prefer to sacrifice geometry.
- **Spoken utterances and subtitled sentences**: Each spoken utterance should ideally correspond to a subtitled sentence. The reason is that viewers expect a correct and faithful representation of the original text and one of the basic means to check this is by noticing if the number of the spoken utterances coincides with the number of the subtitled sentences. In other words, viewers expect to see the end of a subtitled sentence soon after they realise that the speaker has finished his/her utterance and before a new one begins. In this respect, merging or bridging two or more utterances into one subtitled sentence should be avoided as much as possible, unless spatio-temporal constraints strictly dictate it.
- **More than one sentence on the same subtitle**: No more than two sentences are allowed on the same subtitle. Following the principle of "segmentation at the highest nodes,"; they should occupy one line each, no matter whether they correspond to utterances produced by the same speaker (monologue) or by different speakers (dialogue). If they correspond to a monologue, they should be centralised like normal subtitled text. If they correspond to a dialogue, they should be left-aligned and preceded by dashes ("double text").
- **Omitting linguistic items of the original**: A decision as to which pieces of information to omit or to include should depend on the relative contribution of these pieces of information to the comprehension and appreciation of the target film as a whole. The subtitler should not attempt to transfer everything, even when this is spatio-temporally feasible. The subtitler should attempt to keep a fine balance between retaining a maximum of the original text (essential for the comprehension of the linguistic part of the target film), and allowing ample time for the eye to process the rest of the non-linguistic aural and visual elements (essential for the appreciation of the aesthetic part of the target film). Categories of linguistic items that could be omitted are as follows:
 - **Padding expressions** (e.g. "you know," "well," "as I say" etc): These expressions are most frequently empty of semantic load and their presence is mostly functional, padding-in speech in order to maintain the desired speech flow.

- Tautological cumulative adjectives/adverbs (e.g. “great big,” “super extra,” “teeny weeny” etc): The first part of these double adjectival/adverbial combinations has an emphatic role which can be incorporated in a single-word equivalent (e.g. “huge,” “extremely,” “tiny”).
- Responsive expressions (e.g. “yes,” “no,” “ok,” “please,” “thanks,” “thank you,” “sorry”). The afore-listed expressions have been found to be recognised and comprehended by the majority of the European people, when clearly uttered, and could therefore be omitted from the subtitle. It should be noted, however, that when they are not clearly uttered or when they are presented in a slang, informal or colloquial version (e.g. “yup,” “nup,” “okey-dokey,” “tha” etc) they are not recognisable or comprehensible and should, therefore, be subtitled.
- **Retaining linguistic items of the original**: Linguistic items of the original that can be easily recognised and comprehended by the viewers should not only be retained if they appear in a context of unrecognisable items which blurs the meaning of the total utterance, but they should also be translated word-for-word. These items are most frequently proper nouns (e.g. geographical names like “Los Angeles,” “Africa” etc.) or items that the target language has directly borrowed from or lent to the source language or happened to have in common after they both borrowed it from a third language (e.g. the items “mathematics,” “mathématique” and “mathimatika” shared by English, French and Greek respectively). Investigations in the psychology of viewing indicate that when such linguistic items are recognised by the viewers, the exact, literal, translationally equivalent items are expected to appear in the subtitles as well. This occurs because of the constant presence of an inherently operating checking mechanism in the brain of the viewers which raises the suspicions that the translation of the original text is not “properly” or “correctly” rendered in the subtitles, every time word-for-word translations for such items are not spotted.
- **Altering syntactic structures**: Simpler syntactic structures (canonical forms) tend to be both shorter and easier to understand than complex syntactic structures and should, therefore, be preferred, provided that a fine balance is achieved between a) semantic aspects (maintaining the semantic load of the original), b) pragmatic aspects (maintaining the function of the original), and c) stylistics (maintaining the stylistics features of the original). Categories of complex syntactic structures could be replaced by simplified ones as follows:
 - Active for passive constructions: E.g. “It is believed by many people.” (30 characters) => “Many people believe.” (20 characters).

- Positive for negative expressions: E.g. “We went to a place we hadn’t been before.” (41 characters) => “We went to a new place.” (23 characters).
- Temporal Prepositional Phrases for temporal subordinate clauses: E.g. “I’ll study when I finish watching this movie.” (46 characters) => “I’ll study after this movie.” (28 characters).
- Modified nouns for the referring relative clauses: E.g. “What I’d like is a cup of coffee.” (33 characters) => “I’d like a cup of coffee.” (25 characters).
- Gapping for double verb insertion: E.g. “John would like to work in Germany and Bill would like to work in France.” (73 characters) => “John would like to work in Germany and Bill in France.”; (54 characters).
- Straightforward question sentences for indicative pragmatic requests: E.g. “I would like to know if you are coming.” (39 characters) => “Are you coming?” (15 characters).
- Straightforward imperative sentences for indicative pragmatic requests: E.g. “I would like you to give me my keys back.” (41 characters) => “Give me my keys back.” (21 characters).

In certain cases, however, it is longer structures that have to be preferred because they facilitate mental processing:

- Coherent phrase grouping for syntactical scrambling: E.g. “That a man should arrive with long hair did not surprise me.” (60 characters) => “It did not surprise me that a man with long hair should arrive.” (63 characters).
- **Acronyms, apostrophes, numerals and symbols**: Acronyms, apostrophes and symbols can save precious character space by abbreviating meaning signs. However, they should be used with caution and only if they are immediately recognisable and comprehensible. For example:
 - Acronyms: Use acronyms like “NATO” and “USA” but avoid acronyms like “PM” (Prime Minister) or “DC” (Detective Constable).
 - Apostrophes: Use apostrophes for abbreviations of auxiliaries like “I’d like” and “You can’t” but avoid abbreviations like “Mid’bro” (Middlesborough).
 - Numerals: For numerals, the conventions of printed materials should be followed, i.e. they should be used to indicate numbers over twelve “He is only 25” but not other numeric expressions like “1000s of times” or “the 2 of us.”

- Symbols: Use symbols commonly used and immediately recognised on printed materials like “%” and avoid less common symbols like “&” or “@.”
- **Rendering dialects:** If a dialect of the target language (regional or social) is chosen to be used on the subtitled text, it should not be rendered as a phonetic or syntactic transcription of the spoken form. Only dialects that have already appeared in a written form in printed materials are allowed to be used in subtitles as well. For example, archaic or biblical forms like “thee” for “you” are allowed but sociolect forms like “whadda ya doin?” are not allowed because they are not immediately recognisable and comprehensible by the viewers’ eye.
- **Taboo words:** Taboo words should not be censored unless their frequent repetition dictates their reduction for reasons of text economy.
- **Culture-specific linguistic elements:** There is no standard guideline for the transfer of culture-specific linguistic elements. There are five possible alternatives for such a transfer: a) cultural transfer, b) transposition, c) transposition with explanation, d) neutralisation (plain explanation), e) omission. The culture specific element “10 Downing Street” (the British Prime Minister’s Residence), for example, in the expression “They were following orders from 10 Downing Street” could be transferred as follows:
 - Cultural Transfer: “They were following orders from _____,” filling the gap with the respective name of the Prime Minister’s Residence (e.g. Matignon for France, Megaro Maximou for Greece etc.)
 - Transposition: “They were following orders from 10 Downing Street”
 - Transposition with explanation: “They were following orders from 10 Downing Street, the Prime Minister’s House”
 - Neutralisation: “They were following orders from the Prime Minister”
 - Omission: “They were following orders”

The choice of which alternative to apply depends on the culture-specific linguistic element itself, as well as on the broader, contextual, linguistic or non-linguistic aural and visual situation in which it is embedded.

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