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Audiovisual translation meets Slovak translation studies: a historian's take on a discipline in the making

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Abstract

The article deals with the history of Slovak audiovisual translation (AVT) research. The author uses a bibliography of Slovak AVT resources, which he has been compiling since 2013, and combines the data with other relevant sources (microhistories, close reading of relevant articles, data from political and cultural history, etc.) to create a complex historiography that would retain the complexity of its object. In order to question the traditional paradigm of scientific research as progress, the author employs Foucault's discourse analysis to critique the claim that having more publications means a better field and rounds up his discussion by suggesting that Slovak AVT theory is suffering from genesis amnesia (Bourdieu), since it is by and large ignoring its past.

Introduction

The statement that audiovisual translation (AVT) has seen growth in impact and academic visibility in recent years has almost become a truism. Such are the facts on the ground: the ever-growing connectedness of the world, the relative accessibility of film and information technologies (and the resulting chance of viewing habits) have contributed to the rise of visibility of audiovisual translation. Of course, this visibility has lead ever more powerful market agents to get hold of it, too. The aim of this study is to describe and analyze Slovak thinking on audiovisual translation in its historical development from the standpoint of current trends in Slovak AVT. The underlying rationale for such an objective is that every field of human activity that generates theoretical discourse is worthy of historiography, if only in relation to the notions of progress and social change

(cf. Pym 2010) or change itself (Haris, Harari 2018). This study is based on ongoing bibliographical research (later on referred to as "the Bibliography"), parts of which have already been published (Tyšš, Janecová 2014; Tyšš 2015) and which is still a work in progress. Unlike other histories of AVT (e. g. O'Sullivan 2011 or Raffi 2016), this is not an overview of the development of audiovisual translation practice, but an overview of local AVT(-related) theory and research initiatives in a specific context with the view of the overall state of AVT.

Of course, it can be argued that "theory" does not full reflect the scope, impact, and cultural and historical relevance of translating and translation. Arguments for or against the usefulness of theory have been with translation studies ever since its prehistory, and it can be argued (as, in fact, Levý 1971 has) that theory is useful and valid insofar it helps to better understand the factors influencing the work carried out in the profession. The history of the field in Slovakia shows that in audiovisual translation there has very often been friction between the frameworks proposed by theorists and the experience of the practitioners. Of course, the rapid development of technology only adds a potent dose of indeterminacy to the mix. In this perspective, it is not surprising that some scholars claim that due to its vital and vivid connection to technology and therefore its rapid development - AVT has become "the engine for eclectic thinking within the field of TS" (Díaz Cintas, Neves 2015, 2), and they argue for a bottom-up approach to what is being done in the field (Baňos Piñero, Díaz Cintas, 2015). Such voices and calls for more interdisciplinarity demonstrate the great self-awareness of the discipline.

An entirely different point, however, is the disciplinary status of AVT in Slovakia. Based on the bibliographical data and on the personal experience from being present at the turning points in the development of AVT theory in Slovakia, I do not consider AVT to be an autonomous discipline in its own right (yet). Rather, it is more feasible and useful to view AVT as part (or a subdiscipline) of translation studies. Wherever it is referred to as "discipline" in the following text, this is because of the Foucauldian connotations of the term. The way we construe the scope of audiovisual translation, what lies within and outside its boundaries, determines our way of cataloging the subdiscipline's publications. However, critical readings of bibliographies always shed light on their illusory completeness and leave open the possibilities for their expansion or restriction (if need be). Thus, from the erudite bibliographer's perspective a bibliography can never be complete, and a translation historian would say that it never should be viewed as such. Bibliographies help us reveal the fragmentariness and discontinuities (Bednárová 2013) which are a natural part of translation history and which can only be explained incrementally, on a caseby-case basis. Seen from this perspective, it seems relevant and fruitful to use bibliographical research as a source of a deeper translation cultural history and use a descriptive methodology to discover the context, the discursive tensions, and power struggles present in the formation of a field of translation practice.

In such a historical survey of AVT the notion of discipline seems a useful concept. In this discussion we shall draw on Foucault (1981) who sees discipline as a sociological construct based on the phenomenon of setting up and protecting one's own discursive space. Every discipline is defined by its own discourse (its language, most prominently, though not exclusively, represented by its terminology - cf. look at the roles encyclopedias or terminological dictionaries played in the establishment of translation studies) and a set of prerequisites one has to fulfill to become accepted as established in the field. These prerequisites, however, are more often than not social constructs, and a historical survey is bound to show their steady adoption and all the social humdrum (a Marxist would call it 'struggle') going along with it. For the sake of clarity, however, in this discussion we are going to adopt the traditional props of historiography - timelines, discussions of notable personalities (not limited to the great men in history), boundaries, and metaphors. At times, however, we are going to problematize them and may even venture to tear down some metaphorical walls.

Bibliography: structure, what got in (and what did not)

At present, the Bibliography lists publications from the period between 1952 and 2017 (including), and it is the most comprehensive catalog of Slovak AVT publications. It covers the discipline from what we can say (so far) are its beginnings in the 1950s up to its present-day bibliographic records. However, the research conducted so far suggests that the beginnings of thinking about AVT ("research" or "scholarship" imply a degree of systematicity and organization that had not materialized in the early periods) go even further into the past, perhaps to the 1940s, if not earlier. At the same time, it is immensely difficult – if, at times, not outright impossible – to research and properly catalog the earlier periods of Slovak AVT research history due to the lack of dedicated publication spaces, inaccessibility of the texts themselves, and also incomplete, and, thus, not entirely reliable, paratextual metadata. Many of the first relevant theoretical publications on film were published solely as internal materials of production companies, and we only have paratextual information about them. More often than not, however, the metadata on these older publications is inaccessible or incomplete. Without first-hand archival research of the available documents, whose fruitfulness is highly questionable (due to the sparsity of direct treatment of translation), it is at present impossible to pinpoint the exact year when Slovak AVT research started. Given the significance of the first article on AVT mentioned in the Bibliography (Branko 1952), one could argue that we have found a decent enough start.

At present the Bibliography contains 183 entries. The entries have been chosen on the basis of three working definitions.

• *Def. 1*: The Bibliography comprises every text that deals with all aspects of audiovisual translation from the standpoint of the translation process and product, i. e. taking into account the communicatively bilateral or multilateral, praxeological, and stylistics specifics thereof.¹

¹This working definition is derived from Popovič's semiotic-communicative definition of translation, which can accommodate the semiotic specifics of intersemiotic translation (as defined by Jakobson 1959). Thus, according to Popovič, translation is "[r]ecoding a text during which its stylistic model is constructed. The translation is a stylistic (topical and linguistic) model of the original and it is in this sense that the translational activity is an experimental creation" (Popovič 1975: 19).

• *Def. 2*: The Bibliography comprises every text which has been published and/or reasonably peer-reviewed (given the circumstances).

• *Def. 3*: The Bibliography comprises every thematically relevant Slovak text that has been referenced or discussed by Slovak AVT scholar or professional both in writing and at relevant conferences or workshops about AVT.

As for the scope of AVT in terms of its research interests, the definition the bibliography adopts has been deliberately made as broad as possible. This takes into account the current state of research activities in Slovakia (e. g. a systematic treatment of SDH or the beginnings of research of SDH and audio commentary in theater, or even the research of sign language in AVT) but also the dynamic development of the field itself in recent years, and the need for further sociological surveys. Yet, it has been even more difficult to determine what falls into the scope of AVT in Slovakia when it comes to applied research transcending the borders of individual disciplines, such as audiovisual translation in theater, the use of audiovisual translation in foreign language teaching or the often problematic intersections between AVT and linguistics.²

The corpus includes published texts (i. e. texts with an ISBN code and publisher's details) on all aspects of AVT that are pertinent to its current state. As of the present, the bibliography excludes students' BA or MA theses (so long that they have not been published so far) but, on the other hand, includes doctoral theses (due to them having undergone a peer-review process and gradual progress assessment).

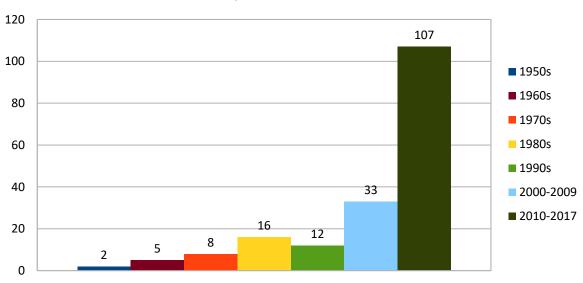
It has proved immensely difficult to determine what falls into the scope of audiovisual translation in the older period of the discipline's development from the 1950s and 1960s. If we are to follow the working definitions stated above, we still encounter a number of problems when reading older texts, since they very rarely address the issue of translation in AVT directly and primarily (like Branko 1952). More often than not the texts from the 1950s and 1960s are about films as such and only partially address some translational aspects (like

²Texts that deal with linguistic aspects of AVT have been included in the Bibliography and are often referred to by Slovak AVT scholars (e.g. the works of D. Tarcsiová or Š. Csonka on sign language) as far as they are (also) relevant for the understanding translation-related qualities of AVT. On the other hands, linguistic studies of AVT phenomena that do not take stock of the specifics of audiovisual communication have been excluded from the corpus.

e. g. the need to dub films for children, (er) 1957; or the definition of dubbing in an article about the spelling of this word, cf. Dvonč 1968). Still, the notes remain very sparse and unsystematic until the 1970s.

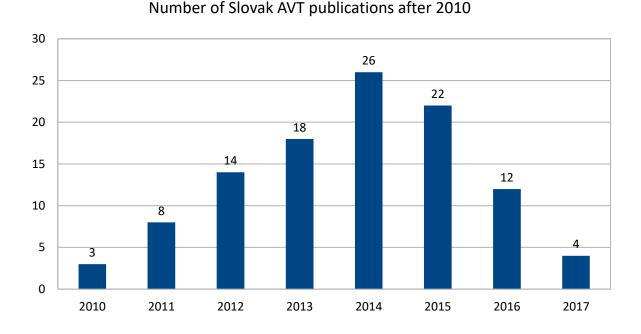
A brief history of Slovak AVT research: events, personalities, publications

The following chart illustrates the number of Slovak publications dealing with AVT on a decade-by-decade basis.



Number of publications (1952 - 2017)

From the way things stand in raw numbers, it might seem that the development of AVT research in Slovakia has followed a trajectory of growth. However, there are two caveats that should be brought forward when describing the rapid growth in Slovak AVT research since 2010. The first caveat is the so-called principle of reversal. This is a methodological consideration which has been defined and applied by Foucault (1981). He argues that even though the proliferation of a particular discourse might seem a positive phenomenon, from a methodological point of view we must see it as something negative, since the "rarefaction" of discourse bars us from recognizing its true nature and significance. In other words, it is better to be wary of any particular discourse growth; therefore, it is advisable to look at it from different perspectives. Secondly, even the number of publications is somehow misleading when zeroing in on the volume of publications from the most recent times. In fact, the moment we look more closely at the numbers in the period after 2010, our view becomes more nuanced.



After a closer look at the number of publications after 2010 it becomes clear that after 2014 the number of publications in the field saw a year-by-year decline, with the most drastic one in the last year. This trajectory seems to be more natural: after a period of unnatural proliferation this shows that the field has become established and that the numbers are not the only indicator of relevance. Just as a matter of fact, when we look at the significantly cut-back year 2017, we could still argue that it was an important year since it saw the publication of two vital texts, both of whom somewhat synthesize two important strands of research from the previous years.

The monograph of Lucia Paulínyová (nee Kozáková) *Z papiera na obraz: proces tvorby audiovizuálneho prekladu* [From the paper to the screen: The process of audiovisual translation] is the first comprehensive account of the dubbing process in Slovakia. The book is the result of years of research that combine both the author's practical experience as a dubbing translator and editor and her thought-out survey of the relevant theory and methodology (with an emphasis on the Czechoslovak tradition). The second important text of the year was penned by the most prominent and renowned Slovak AVT scholar, Emília 8

Perez, whose name is featured with over 40 entries in the Bibliography. Among other AVT-related research activities, Perez has researched the Slovak standards of SDH ever since 2013 and her 2017 chapter titled "The Power of Preconceptions: Exploring the Expressive Value of Subtitles for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing" (part of the *Languaging Diversity* monograph series) helped this research gain momentum by being published for an international audience. Even though it is still not feasible to list a definitive set of causes of the decline in the number of AVT publications since 2015, two points ought to brought up:

• Such decline is a natural feature of natural discourse behavior: after periods of proliferation, characterized by over-production and a chaotic plurality of topics and voices, come "calmer" periods when the discourse has established itself on a number of topics and is propagated by a limited number of lead exponents. This is what happened to Slovak thinking on AVT after 2014: the discipline had established itself, and the number of researchers who continued to work within the field narrowed down to the ones who seem to pursue AVT as their main research interest.

• As shown above, the decline in the number of publications seems to bring along a noticeable growth in impact in degree of synthesis. The data we have at hand, however, does not establish a correlation so far.

Since this is still a history-in-the-making, this is the farthest the data we have at hand allows us to go. Seeing how valuable the two publications from 2017 are, it could be argued that bibliographic data should by all means be supplemented by other data and relevant interpretations to get to a full historical account.

A very tentative timeline

The following passages are an attempt at a historical explanation (Pym 2010) whose aim is to explain the historical development of AVT research in Slovakia. We are going to use the data provided by the Bibliography and contextualize it by looking at the contents of the most important publications, the development of Slovak translation studies, and other relevant historical events pertinent to the discussed timeline. The timeline follows the individual decades of the later

half of the 20th century and the early part of the 21st century, since this is the most straightforward way to approach such a history in the making.

The early period of Slovak audiovisual translation research (1950s – 1970s)

Slovak interest in AVT grew from very humble beginnings (in fact, the Bibliography features only two entries). Notwithstanding the sparse remarks on foreign films in Slovak cinemas and the occasional remarks that they were in fact subtitled, most of the texts from the 1950s remain irrelevant. Most noteworthy texts that did indeed focus on film, and some authors published remarks on film theory and history, appeared in the magazine *Film a divadlo* [Film and theater] which started its run in 1957. However, even the texts in this dedicated (not "specialized", since this was a popular publication) magazine sidestepped the translational aspect of foreign films. The most relevant article on AVT comes from the year 1952 and it was written by prominent film critic and translator Pavol Branko, who to this day remains one of Slovakia's most significant film theorists. The title of the article is self-explanatory: "K problematike filmových podtitulkov" [On subtitles in films].

For the sake of our discussion, it is important to note that Branko takes great pains to emphasize the synthetic, Gestalt-like qualities of film:

Yet, it is imperative that subtitles be done from the film, not only from the dialog list. Every work of art, film included, is a complete unity. Film is an art form of synthesis and – unlike other forms of art – it is a sum of several artistic constituent parts. Let us look at an example: Literature has at its disposal only one expressive means, which is language, and it has to use it to express everything. Film also uses language, but it is only one of its constituent expressive parts. Film has other modes of artistic expression – theater, painting, illustration, and music. Thus, it could be said that film synthesizes four art forms, and it achieves its fullest potential when the forms connect and work together; when there is complete unity between them. [In film] these constituent parts create a new, specific art form by means of their unity, an art form different from each and any of its parts [...] which means that the parts can no longer be viewed as autonomous works of art (1952: 215, transl. I. T.). By viewing film as a synthetic medium with its own language, Branko's approach stands at the beginning of a paradigm of thinking about film in Slovak AVT which I propose to call the film semiotics methodology. This approach takes into consideration the specific qualities of film as an independent art form, characterized mostly by its unique set of artistic conventions and style, i. e. its own *film language*.

Branko's article is also ripe with concrete examples in which he discusses the interdependence of the language and dialog features of the film with its other features. This article is also a sharp critique of contemporary working conditions and even work ethics in a centralized film industry.

The following decade also brought a small number of articles relevant to today's AVT (five in total). Audiovisual translation is treated only as a side note in articles about film festivals (Branko 1967) or film music (Bernstein 1969).

While in the 1950s Branko (1952) implied that subtitles were the most dominant and useful mode of AVT (since the most widely adopted audiovisual media, films, could practically only be watched in cinemas), the situation had changed dramatically by early 1970s. The continuing development of technology, the growth of consumer culture, and also the steady reduction of working hours brought TV culture to Czechoslovakia. This is notable when we sift through the pages of the most widely known magazine which also covered audiovisual culture. The already mentioned periodical *Film a divadlo* started out as a black-and-white publication dedicated mostly to high culture such as cinema and culturally relevant films; it featured rather technically sounding reviews and at times even ventured into drama or film theory. Starting in the second half of the 1960s the periodical changed into a color format and started covering more and more of popular audiovisual culture; it contained interviews with movie and TV stars and brought news from cinemas around the world.

Two important articles on AVT theory were published in this decade. These two texts mark a watershed moment in the development of Slovak AVT research, since this is the first time the term "theory" can be used to describe Slovak texts about AVT without any reservations. These two texts demonstrate that the thendeveloping Slovak translation theory, whose founder and main powerhouse of

ideas Anton Popovič (1933 – 1984) had planned for an integrated translation theory that would cover all aspects of translation, had started moving over to and indeed integrating – audiovisual translation. Both texts were written by the same person, Katarína Bednárová, who was a student of Anton Popovič and very apt theorist in her own right. The first text, titled "K problematike filmovej a televíznej adaptácie literárneho diela" [On film and TV adaptations of literary texts], she uses a semiotic-communicative approach and sees adaptation for the screen as a case of intersemiotic translation; the second text, "Dabing ako spôsob jazykovej komunikácie" [Dubbing as а means of language communication] can be viewed as a confirmation of the facts on the ground dubbing had by then become the most dominant form of audiovisual translation in Slovakia. All in all, it could be argued that by the end of the 1970s Slovak translation started showing interest in audiovisual communication and developing a linguistic semiotic research methodology for studying AVT. The linguistic semiotic approach would in time become so dominant that it would push out the older film semiotic methodology.

Enter: Translation studies (1980s)

During this era a number of articles on dubbing (e. g. Kenda 1982, Považaj 1983, Hlaváčová 1985) were published whose overall aim is to educate the public about the specifics of this AVT mode. Apart from that, translation theorists and researchers treat AVT on a regular basis. Some synthetic works on translation (Ferenčík 1982; Popovič et al. 1983) feature contributions on aspects of AVT which are synthetizing in nature (e. g. Bednárová 1983a, 1983b) or synthetizing articles appear in other publications (like Hochel 1985 on the communicative aspects of TV translation). A very important article is Bednárová's take on documentary film commentary translation (1983b), the first article dealing with this topic from a TS perspective in Slovakia.

In this context, however, we must mention an article not referenced enough these days. It is by Vojtech Benedikovič, and its title is "Funkcia titulku ako tlmočníka filmového dialógu" [Functions of subtitles as intermediaries of film dialogs]. This paper, published in a specialized journal on film and theater, is understood as part of film theory. The author's novel approach to the topic has been highly commended in the article's peer reviews. This article stands on the intersection of film theory and translation, albeit not translation studies. It is quite notable, that the author discusses the complex functions of subtitles in their relation to film scenes and film dialogue, but not in their relation to the informational content or the utterance. Even though the author does also refer to linguistic works (e. g. Mistrík), he uses information theory (Wiener) and he does not use linguistic semiotics. On the whole, it could be said that Benedikovič's article is a synthesis of the film semiotic approach to AVT where one could clearly see that AVT can be viewed as an essential and natural part and parcel of the unique film audiovisual experience.

What is also notable is that in 1986 Csonka, Mistrík, and Ubár penned their Frekvenčný slovník posunkovej reči [Frequency dictionary of sign language], a very relevant and unique publication, whose appearance demonstrates that sign language research has had a track record in Slovakia – and publications like this one would be of great use in AVT research in the following decades.

The Roaring 1990s in Slovak audiovisual translation

Even though the 1990s were a period of dynamic changes and development of the AVT industry in Slovakia (brought by the decentralization after the fall of communism in 1989 and the rapid changes of film technologies), the list of relevant topics covered by Slovak AVT has remained largely unchanged. When looking at the Bibliography, one finds a number of short, almost irrelevant articles on the state of dubbing in the new post-1989 social conditions (e. g. Muríň 1990, Borovičková 1995, Grečner 1996) as well as on the state of Slovak cinema (Hradiská 1995), and the impact of new technologies on the AVT practice is discussed as well (mainly the DVD phenomenon – Redeky 1999a, 1999b). The only translation studies synthetic publication that to a degree covers AVT is Hochel's 1990 *Preklad ako komunikácia* [Translation as communication] where the author has included a very general and brief chapter on dubbing.

2000-2009: AVT finding its place on the map of Slovak translation studies

We can view the beginning of the 20th century as an era when translation studies finally gained its ground in Slovakia. This is the time when many translation study programs were established or reinvigorated at Slovak universities, many new academics came to the fore, and the profession faced new realities with Slovakia's accession to the European Union. However, the dynamic nature of the times did not lead to many notable translation studies contribution to AVT research. Instead, this period can be more appropriately understood as an *interstitial* – an advertisement of sorts for what was to come.

An interesting tendency that would later become a vital part of AVT study in Slovakia is the engagement of AVT practitioners in the academic discourse, demonstrated by a famous pivotal article on dubbing by Lesňák (2003), which is an overview of the dubbing practice from the translator's point of view, and Makarian's (2005) monograph on sound design in the dubbing process, for a long time the only of its kind in Slovakia. An important researcher who deals with sign language is Darina Tarcsiová whose works have further helped open up sign language to translation studies researchers.

A surprisingly pertinent issue for Slovak AVT that came up in the early 2000s was how to call the new subdiscipline, since this would impact (and have repercussions for) the terms and conditions that would define it in relation to translation studies. Prominent translation scholar Edita Gromová, who reestablished translation studies in Nitra, proposed the name "translation for the audiovisual media" (2008). The rationale behind this term was that it would a) emphasize the translational and intersemiotic nature of the said activities and, thus, align their research with the objective of translation studies (a logical move, given the times); b) drawing on the second part of the name, the scope of "audiovisual media" would allow translation studies to further expand. Later on, however, this term was dropped in favor of a more straightforward name – audiovisual translation, a term that would be more in line with the naming conventions outside Slovakia but whose originator also convincingly argued for roots in the Slovak tradition (cf. Kozáková 2013).

2010 - 2017: New challenges vs. old limitations

The number of relevant topics covered by Slovak AVT scholars has expanded, as has the number of publications, after 2010 when the discipline saw not only attempts to establish and explain itself by means of further marking out its space in translation studies (Gromová, Janecová 2012; Kozáková 2013), but the growing interest brought topics such as AVT teaching (Gromová, Janecová 2012; Janecová 2012; Janecová, Želonka 2012). Moreover, first steps toward sociology were made as early as 2014 (Janecová 2014; Želonka 2014). However, I would argue that sociological approaches have still not been adopted to their full potential, since studies focus mostly on the diversions between norms of national standards and their practical realizations (Perez et al 2016); what is still absent is statistical studies of concrete social phenomena pertaining to audiovisual translation that would help "bust the myths" about this profession (cf. Djovčoš, Šveda 2017).

The discussion of topics after 2010 would be incomplete without considering topics that were introduced to Slovak AVT research from other areas of academic or social interest. While it could be argued that such traditional topics as dubbing, subtitling, voice-over and the rest mentioned above very much form the internal discursive space of the discipline, since they have been conceptualized by translation studies methodology, there are other relevant topics featured in Slovak AVT which have been brought over from the outside and have only gradually been explored using relevant TS methodology. These topics from the "outside" include sign language interpreting in the audiovisual media, subtitles for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, and audio commentary. They first came to the fore in 2013; however, publications of (possible) interest to AVT date back to the 1980s. Therefore, it could be argued that the mentioned year marks the beginning of an adoption process. The division between "insider" and "outsider" topics is based on the bibliographical data: the "insider" publications appeared as part of the mainstream of the discipline (they were published by recognized scholars and even partially presented at prominent Slovak conferences and workshops). On the contrary, "outsider" publications - even though content-wise they are as relevant as the former – have appeared in publications which are not often referenced by translation studies scholars and they have been authored by experts who are not considered to be members of the translation studies field (even though some of them are members of the audiovisual translation profession).

The watershed year in Slovak AVT research history is the year 2012. The number of publications reached double digits for the first time in the history of Slovak audiovisual translation studies. The 1st real Slovak workshop (or rather, unofficial conference) dedicated solely to audiovisual translation in Slovakia was *The Audiovisual Translation Studio 1*, organized by E. Perez in Nitra, which brought together practitioners (notable dubbing producers, directors, and translators) and academics.

This year also brought the first collaborations on AVT theory between E. Gromová, who in the first decade of the 21st century managed to put together the threads of theory based on the approaches of the Nitra school, and up-start young academic and practitioner Emília Perez (nee Janecová) whose approach combined an ever deeper knowledge of international AVT theory with practical experience in the field and sociological surveys.

This year also saw the publications of scholars who would become the dominant voices in the field and would help establish the dominant – and indeed, at the time most pertinent – research themes.

These were in fact the days when the new subdiscipline sought to establish and explain itself by means of marking out its space in translation studies. Slovak AVT theory and research started displaying both eccentric and concentric tendencies in its treatment of impulses from other areas of human knowledge relevant to the research field.

What follow are the tendencies instigated in 2012 that impacted future research:

• attempts to integrate and properly evaluate the experience of practitioners and come up with an integrating (not neutralizing) conceptual frameworks and methodologies (as seen mostly in the works of E. Perez and L. Paulínyová) • attempts to explore the experience of formerly marginalized groups of AVT practitioners and audiences: this marked the beginning of SDH and audio commentary research spearheaded by Emília Perez

• attempts to compare the state of Slovak theory with AVT theory from outside Slovakia on a broad enough basis that would lead to new impulses and new approaches be introduced to Slovak research

• research of AVT in Slovakia after 2012 also started focusing on social aspects, since it could be argued that the year brought the modern sociological turn to Slovak translation studies (with the publication of Djovčoš's 2012 pivotal sociological survey of the Slovak translation market)

Bearing all this in mind, it is not hard to see that 2012 was indeed a watershed year in Slovak AVT research.

Conclusions

This survey of Slovak audiovisual translation research history is still, like the Bibliography, a work in progress. However, like every good bibliography, every good history requires expanding, rewriting, and correcting. So, the question is: What has Slovak AVT research been like?

Bearing in mind the limitations of my own view of things and the pitfalls of over-interpretation as well as over-simplification, I would call Slovak audiovisual translation research a field which suffers from genesis amnesia. The term comes from the classic of critical sociology Pierre Bourdieu who defines genesis amnesia as follows:

Thus the genesis amnesia which finds expression in the naive illusion that things have always been as they are', as well as in the substantialist uses made of the notion of the cultural unconscious, can lead to the eternizing and thereby the 'naturalizing' of signifying relations which are the product of history (2000, 9).

Suffering from genesis amnesia means that you have only a vague notion that your field has had a history and that things were not always the way they are now. A dynamic field of inquiry suffering from this nasty type of amnesia would ignore the complexity of its object of study. This is what I think happened to Slovak AVT studies: from the 1990s onward the field has largely forgotten about film semiotics, and even the most prominent scholars have tended to treat audiovisual phenomena as mere functions of linguistic semiotics.

Another classic – nobody knows which one, perhaps that is amnesia, too – claimed that those who do not learn from their past are destined to repeat it. We have seen that there is something really unnatural and unconvincing about perpetual progress; however, it is not really useful to repeat the same fallacies.

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The rise of subtitling³ in dubbing Slovakia

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Abstract:

Analysis of the preferred AVT modes in Central European countries indicates that Slovakia can be categorized as a country with a strong dubbing tradition. The generally acknowledged preference for dubbing over subtitling seems to be supported mainly by the dominant position of dubbing in TV broadcasting whilst the number of programmes with interlingual subtitles on television is negligible.

³ The phrase "rise of subtitling" refers to the title of the lecture by Professor Jorge Diaz Cintas delivered on 6 June 2017 at UCL, UK

Does that necessarily mean that Slovakia is a dubbing country? Probably yes, especially when focusing on TV broadcasting. However, a certain shift towards subtitling in media other than TV broadcast has been observed in several European countries (see Cintas 2017), and our continuous research shows Slovakia might be one of them. The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of current AVT strategies in the country, taking into consideration recent developments in cinema as well as VOD. This quantitative study offers a different perspective on how much dubbing (and under what circumstances) is available to a Slovak audience in various contexts, whilst evaluating the possible causes of the observed phenomena.

Introduction

According to a report carried out by Media Consulting Group (2007), Slovakia is one of few EU countries with a relatively clear national framework related to language policies in audiovisual media. It is classified as one of the 10 countries where dubbing is the preferred option in TV broadcasting, which is believed to be historically related to the promotion and preservation of language strategies in the country. Existing legislation requires all television programmes be translated into the national language, based on legal force of Law n° 270/1995 and its later amendments regarding the utilization of the Slovak language.

Noteworthy is Section 5 of this Act, according to which Slovak does not need to be the only language of translation. The formulation states that television broadcasting must be either in Slovak or in another language which fulfils the requirement of basic intelligibility from the point of view of the national language – which in practical interpretation permits the use of Czech dubbing and Czech subtitles. It could be argued that both nations are historically and culturally entwined, which is indeed true. However, this issue has been a source for much debate and argument at times, often seen as an opportunity for Slovak broadcasters to use the more cost-effective option of simply buying and providing dubbing in Czech instead of producing dubbing in their own language (see Czwitkovics, 2006). The debate on the presence of Czech dubbing in Slovakia was supposed to be closed a decade ago with the adoption of Law n^o 318/2009 which specifies Slovak as the official language of broadcast and which requires Slovak language support for foreign audiovisual products,⁴ with exception of programmes already released with a dubbing language intelligible to a Slovak recipient (i.e. Czech).

Updated national legislation refers to Slovak language support, and except for foreign audiovisual works for children under 12, which are explicitly required to be dubbed, it does not mention or demand dubbing in any significant way. Still, dubbing still has a dominant position in TV broadcasting, apart from a few documentary films usually screened with voice-over or a combination of voiceover and subtitles. Programmes with interlingual subtitles are on TV screened mainly in the case of so-called artistic production, where the anticipated audience is seen as one of a niche character. This relates to two aspects: on one hand the aesthetic impulse not to pollute the audiovisual work with a new dubbing track, on the other hand the pragmatic aspect related to the relatively high cost of dubbing and the profitability of dubbing a work believed to be watched by a significantly smaller number of viewers.

It is rather interesting to see the prevalence and endurance of dubbing in Slovakia, especially when considering the production costs of quality dubbing as well as the anticipated number of consumers. This issue has attracted the attention of the authors of this paper who decided to map the up-to-date situation in Slovak TV, cinema and VOD as well as to analyse the real state of AVT preference in the country. The paper provides an overview of the results of their research from the first quarter of the year 2018, observing the main media outlets in the country.

Slovak TV broadcasting: how much dubbing (or subtitling) is actually done?

The dominant position of dubbing in Slovak broadcasting can be related to several historical, cultural and social circumstances. The origination of Slovak dubbing in general must be clearly seen within the development of more

⁴ The Act defined several exceptions; important for the scope of our paper is the exception related to audiovisual works first broadcast with Czech dubbing before 2008 – these are still allowed to be broadcast with Czech dubbing even today.

systematic dubbing in Czechoslovakia, dating back to the period after the Second World War. The first Slovak dubbing studio was established in 1957, and from that date the presence of Slovak language support in Slovakia slowly rose. Czech dubbing in Slovakia had always been present until a later visible decrease after the aforementioned legislative changes. This section of our paper focuses on the present situation in Slovak TV broadcasting, mapping the number of translations and use of AVT modes on the four main TV channels: Markíza, Jednotka, Dvojka and JOJ, in the first quarter of the year 2018.

To clarify the structure of the provided analysis, we have decided to categorize TV programmes into groups according to their country of origin as a first step in identifying whether, and which, AVT modes were used. Altogether, we analysed 11,341 programmes and divided them into the following groups:

- TV programmes produced in Slovakia
- TV programmes produced in the Czech Republic /Czechoslovakia
- TV programmes of foreign origin
- TV programmes with production involving two or more countries including (Czecho)Slovakia.

Such classification enables us to identify whether and what amount of translation transfer was used – identifying the first two categories as programmes without additional language support and broadcast in their original language (Czech or Slovak). The third group of programmes is expected to be broadcast with dubbing or subtitles. The last group (rather common in Slovak broadcasting) is classified separately, since internationally co-produced audiovisual works use dubbing within their own process of production, in order to make the product available to designated audiences. We notify the reader about the presence of this particular group when applicable.

The first programming analysed was that of the Markíza channel. The number of programmes broadcast in the observed period was 1,803. Out of these, 70.72% were of Slovak production; 28.12% were of foreign origin, and the rest, 1.16%, was of Czech production. All of the foreign audiovisual works (except Czech) were dubbed.

Similar numbers can be observed in the case of channel Jednotka. Within the analysed time period, 64.85% out of 2,879 TV programmes broadcast were of Slovak origin. Foreign production was 33.00%, while only 0.76% of the total amount was Czech. This channel also broadcast programmes made in Czechoslovakia (1.11%) as well as ones made in cooperation with other countries (Czechoslovakia and Germany, 0.21%; Czechoslovakia and Austria, 0.07%). The utterly dominant position of dubbing can also be acknowledged in this case – none of the programmes was broadcast with interlingual subtitles.

Dvojka was the channel with the highest number of programmes broadcast – 4,370. As in all the other cases, Slovak production achieved the highest percentage of 63.96%. Foreign TV shows represented 31.99%, those of the Czech Republic 2.11%, programmes made in Czechoslovakia 1.35% and formats involving the participation of other countries achieved 0.60% overall (Slovakia and the Czech Republic, 0.30%; Slovakia and Austria, 0.02%; Czechoslovakia and Hungary, 0.14%; Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary, 0.14%).

Regarding the fourth main broadcaster – TV JOJ, the proportion of domestic production was the highest of all the channels: 83.65%, followed by only 16.05% of foreign production and 0.31% of Czech. In the observed period, all of the programmes that needed language support were screened with dubbing.

So how much dubbing (or subtitling) is actually done? The answer is that not that much. Altogether, we recorded 11,341 TV programmes broadcast within a three-month period on four Slovak TV channels – Markíza, Jednotka, Dvojka and JOJ. Our findings reveal that 69.22% of programmes were originally in Slovak. Moreover, more than 72% of all TV programmes broadcast were either in Slovak or Czech, hence without any need for further language modification. Another group of products without the need of language modification (since this was done within the production process as such) are co-productions involving Czechoslovakia and Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, Germany and Austria, each achieving 0.05%; those involving Czechoslovakia and Austria 0.02%; Slovakia and the Czech Republic, 0.11%; and Slovakia and Austria 0.001%. Only the rest can be classified as AVT products of foreign production in terms of identifying the need for further language modification (after given to distribution) in order to make them intelligible in the country. These results are shown also in the following Table:

	no need for further language modification			need for further language modification
number of	SK	SK/CZ	co-productions	foreign production
programmes	original	original	including	
(100%)	sound	sound	SK/CZ/Czechoslovakia	
11,341	69.22%	72%	0.18%	27.82%

These results for now, however, show only tendencies in presentation of works that needed or did not need to be translated (subtitled or dubbed) into Slovak. The statistical information could also be influenced by the output in the first week of January, when programming varies from the usual because of the holiday season. Despite this fact we can confirm that dubbing remains the dominant mode of AVT transfer in Slovak TV broadcasting. What piques our interest are the volumes of dubbing production.

Dubbing vs subtitling in Slovak cinema: who wins?

The 2007 report by Media Consulting Group in general observed more subtitling than dubbing in cinema screening across the EU. It identified countries inclining towards dubbing (Hungary) as well as a tendency to prefer subtitled films among viewers in major urban areas (Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia). Regarding Slovakia, not much could be found in the legislation, and the aforementioned Section 1 of Law n° 270/1995 on state language relates only to television and radio broadcasting. Legal requirements for Slovak language support in cinema are clearly stated only in the case of programmes for children under 12 (applying to all types of broadcasting), where a requirement for dubbing is explicitly formulated. Therefore we expect dubbing to be present in all children's films and Slovak (or Czech) language support to be present in the form of dubbing or subtitles in other films of foreign production.

Our analysis provides information on the number of audiovisual works dubbed or subtitled as well as the ratio of AVT transfer modes used in the first quarter of the year 2018 at one of the major cinema chains in Slovakia. Listings were observed weekly, augmented by promotional materials published online. The results also reveal data on the use of Czech dubbing and Czech subtitles in Slovak cinemas – an interesting aspect in Slovak AVT, in this case legally acceptable, as pointed out at the beginning of this chapter.

In the first month of 2018 there were 25 programmes offered in the listings.⁵ Only three of these programmes were screened with original sound without additional language support, since they were programmes of Slovak or Czech origin. The remaining 22 programmes were screened with Slovak (or Czech) language support, meaning: 1 film with Czech dubbing or Slovak subtitles; 2 with English subtitles (European cinema); 7 with Czech subtitles; 3 with Slovak dubbing only; 7 with Slovak subtitles; and 1 with Slovak subtitles or Slovak dubbing. The programmes for children were always screened with Slovak dubbing. One interesting case was *Star Wars: Last Jedi* where a viewer could decide whether to attend a screening with Slovak dubbing or Slovak subtitling. From the data in this month, we can see that the provision of subtitles holds a quite strong position (for a dubbing country), and the viewer had a chance to see a film with Slovak subtitles in 9 cases, Czech subtitles in 7 cases, and English subtitles in 2 cases.

In February 2018, 29 films were screened out of which 2 were screened in their original language (Slovak or Czech). From the remaining 27 films, 2 were screened with English subtitles (European cinema), 5 with Slovak dubbing and 11 with Slovak subtitles. Czech dubbing was provided with 2 films and Czech subtitles with 7.

For March 2018, 20 films were screened, and 5 of them were broadcast in their original language (3 Czech films, 1 Slovak film, 1 opera screening). From the remaining 15 films, 3 were screened with Slovak dubbing – all of them were films for children under 12; 6 films were screened with Slovak subtitles and 4

⁵ The majority of programmes were screened with several repeats. However, we are not interested in the number of overall screenings, but in the forms of language support provided. 29

with Czech subtitles. Czech dubbing was provided with 3 films, one of which could be watched either with Czech dubbing or Slovak subtitles.

The overall results are presented also in Table below, indicating the occurrence of observed AVT modes:

	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	TOTAL
Films	25	29	20	74
Orig.sound	3	2	5	10
SK dubbing	4	5	3	12
SK subs	9	11	6	26
ENG subs	2	2	0	4
CZ dubbing	2	2	3	7
CZ subs	7	7	4	18

Overall analysis of the observed period shows that from 74 films screened at the cinema network, more than 86% of programmes in the listings were of foreign origin and were provided to the viewer with dubbing or subtitles. The most common mode of AVT transfer was Slovak subtitles, and, interestingly, the second most common mode was Czech subtitles. Indeed, this is a very unique phenomenon that we haven't observed in another European country which has only one official state language. Slovak dubbing was used everywhere where legally obliged – we didn't note any violation regarding the provision of dubbing for children under 12. However, it is interesting to note that the amount of Slovak subtitling is double that of Slovak dubbing.

Has VOD changed anything?

Video on-demand (VOD) as a more recent technological means of broadcasting audiovisual products seems to be changing and influencing several aspects of audiovisual translation practice (Cintas, 2007). The ability to watch what one wants at a time of one's choosing means a large volume of subtitles are being created and provided on a daily basis, which is drawing the interest of practitioners as well as academia towards this compelling area.

VOD services have been present in Slovakia for a certain period of time; however, until recently they have been provided mainly by the existing domestic TV broadcasters or their partners in the country (e.g. VOYO, HBO). In 2016, Netflix officially entered the Slovak market and started offering some of its programmes with Slovak language support – in the form of subtitles. However, the range of programmes with Slovak subtitles remained rather limited, for example in comparison with the neighbouring Czech Republic. By March 2018 almost 430 individual episodes of series were offered with Slovak subtitles. Unfortunately, after spring 2018 no more Slovak subtitles for Netflix have been produced and for now their production seems to have stopped. Only in the future will we see whether this state of affairs is permanent or whether other online providers enter the country. For now, the active ones provide audiovisual content analogous to the one broadcast on television – in original versions or predominantly dubbed.

So is Slovakia still a dubbing country?

Yes, it definitely is. However, we believe that subtitling as an alternative AVT mode should not to be neglected either in Slovak AVT research or training. Our research shows that dubbing still holds a dominant position in Slovak TV broadcasting, and based on the cultural tradition in the country one might predict this situation not changing rapidly. However, the tendency in Slovak media currently shows an inclination towards broadcasting but also producing more domestic programming which might be related to several cultural, social and of

course economic aspects. The question that arises consequently is what will the volume of new dubbing production made for TV broadcasting be in future.

The situation in Slovak cinema is different. Contrary to Slovak TV broadcasting, the majority of programming is foreign, therefore needs to be provided with dubbing or subtitles. Subtitles turned out to be the dominant mode in cinema, and Slovak dubbing is used mainly in programmes for children under 12 (as is required by Slovak legislation). What is interesting is the re-appearance of Czech language support in larger volumes of Slovak broadcasting – mainly in the form of subtitles, less in the form of dubbing.

Another interesting finding is that occasionally the choice to view something with Czech language support in Slovak cinemas is also offered even if Slovak support is available. For now, the situation seems to be related to the preference for dubbing over subtitles (the choice of Czech dubbing over Slovak subtitles). It might be assumed that the debate on Czech vs Slovak languages in Slovak AVT will rear its head again, based not only on the results from the research conducted in cinemas but also anecdotal reactions to absent Slovak subtitles in VOD broadcast, where the expressed interest of Slovak viewers on internet forums was merely confined to getting access to Czech language support (instead of calling specifically for Slovak support). This phenomenon however must be observed more deeply, since our research doesn't provide enough data to generalize in this aspect for now.

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Dubbing, subtitling and other lesser evils. The two versions of the series *Vidago Palace*

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Abstract

One of the aims contemplated in Law 1/2014, of 24 March, on the use of the Portuguese language and Ties with Lusophony, popularly known as the Paz Andrade Law, was for Galician Television to promote the exchange of audiovisual productions and collaborate in the creation of new projects. One of the few fruits of this Law is the co-production Vidago Palace, a miniseries set in 1936, with scenes filmed on both sides of the Galician-Portuguese border and in which the public broadcasters Radiotelevisão Portuguesa (RTP) and Televisión de Galicia (TVG) participate financially. Filmed in Portuguese and Galician, it was shown in two versions: original version with subtitles in Galician for the Portuguese public broadcaster and dubbed in Galician for the Galician public broadcaster. As well as the usual practices involved in subtitling and dubbing for both broadcasters, the dual version offers a series of linguistic peculiarities. This paper analyses both in order to reveal the policies that the abovementioned broadcasters apply to a multilingual product, paying particular attention to the uses of Galician, as a minority language, in this fiction television programme. As a result, this research can conclude that the minority language, Galician, is minoritized due to a coproduction which prioritizes intelligibility for the target audience in Portuguese and creates a false multilingual version which cannot be noticed in the dubbed version screened in Galician.

The proposal materialises within the scope of the research programme "EU-VOS. Intangible Cultural Heritage. For a European Programme for Subtitling in Non-Hegemonic Languages", financed by the National Programme for Research Aimed at the Challenges of Society (AEI. Ref. CSO2016-76014-R) and ERDF funds.

Key words: Non-hegemonic languages, original version, dubbing v subtitling, television co-productions, subalternity.

Introduction

In recent years, we have witnessed the appearance of multilingual films and television series, enabling characters of different origins to communicate with each other in their native tongues. As such, "linguistic plurality has made its way into some of the most influential films of recent years: the acclaimed *Babel* (Alejandro González Iñárritu, 2006), the Oscar-winning *Slumdog Millionaire* (Danny Boyle, 2008) or one of Quentin Tarantino's latest productions, *Inglourious Basterds* (2009), are just some examples from a long list of titles" (Vidal Sales, 2016:61). Although multilingualism has often been a practice associated with more independent and experimental cinema, only very recently has it become more common practice in commercial cinema and television.

The existence of multiple languages in the original version of these cinema and television productions can be presented as a way towards greater diversity in the representation of cultures in the audiovisual media, as well as providing greater credibility to depictions that, on occasions, were limited to the mere transposition of stereotypes inserted into certain places —particularly recognisable locations—, staging, using costumes based on "regional dress" and script lines that identify the origin of characters who go on to magically selftranslate throughout the film. With regard to linguistic fact, "foreign languages have been used in original films since the introduction of sound, but they have traditionally been relegated to play a 'postcarding' role" (Wahl in O'Sullivan, 2008:82). In this way, "translation and multilingualism interact with questions of identity construction, race and gender intersectionally, and, ultimately, on the way they build, endorse or perhaps contest a particular view of *difference* that is never neutral, innocent or without consequences" (Vidal Sales, 2016:61).

The idea of *difference* plays a fundamental role in these multilingual productions, as languages can contribute, positively or negatively, towards portraying the different cultural identities featured in films. As such, commercial cinema tends to play with a series of topics manifested in the production to reduce the "suspension of disbelief" inherent in any fiction product. With respect to languages, this pact with the viewers reaches its paroxysm, insofar as it is assumed that characters from different cultures with different languages speak fluidly in the language in which the production is filmed (although in the case of co-productions, it might be decided to later dub those actors who do not reach a suitable level in that language). The strategy of international co-productions

(as we will see in our analysis) has been to create a single version in the language which bears the most weight in the production, or to produce two versions: a filming language, which serves as an original version, and a dubbed version; or filming in two languages, as in the case of the Norwegian-US production *Kon-Tiki* (Joachim Rønning & Espen Sandberg, 2013). This biopic on the Norwegian explorer was filmed following a production model common in the 1920s and 30s, when American and European studios made versions in multiple languages for different markets. Known as "multilinguals" (Ďurovičová, 1992), these films "were made and remade in two or three languages by the same director and sometimes in up to fourteen languages with a different director for each language version" (Vincendeau, 1999). The high production cost, along with the arrival of cheaper techniques, such as dubbing and subtiling, put an end to this practice, which

may be regarded as an extreme form of accessible filmmaking, where the need to make films accessible to foreign audiences was not just an element of postproduction, as was the case until then, but rather a structuring principle of film production [...] Increasingly outsourced and unsupervised by filmmakers, translations lost their status as part of the filmmaking process and became part of the distribution process, as is the case now (Romero-Fresco, 2013).

Multilingualism as a sign of diversity in recent cinema

The presence of multiple languages in the soundtrack in the last two decades can be linked to concepts such as transnational cinema, cinema with an accent or polyglot cinema (Elsaesser, 2016; Naficy, 2001; Walh, 2005). These three definitions of different expressions of cinema without clear national attribution vary in their consideration of the languages in the contribution to diversity. The analysis of transnational cinema made by Elsaesser (2015) has focused on the analysis of the production processes and circulation flows of films, as well as on the existence of plots which occur in different and distant geographical and cultural realities but has overlooked the linguistic issue. Elsaesser developed five points, expressed in the form of wishes, to define transnational films, that could be considered a "counter cinema" in the turn of the century (2015, p. 194). None of these characteristics of translational cinema -explicit politics, spiritual values, portray of new identities, sensorial plenitude and the wish to give testimonymention the use of different languages in the soundtrack as a key factor for diversity in this new cinema.

The concept of accented cinema proposed by Nacify (2001) refers to movies made by emigrant and exiled filmmakers who work in a host society but want to keep alive their cultural identities. For Naficy language plays an important role in the films that portray characters with as an accent as "one of the most intimate and powerful markers of group identity and solidarity, as well as of individual difference and personality" (2001, p.24). In this sense, "many accented filmmakers doggedly insist on writing the dialogues in their original language -to the detriment of the films wider distribution" (2001, p. 24). Although linguistic choices can harm distribution, most accented films are multilingual so Naficy claims subtitling is the best option for rendering their linguistic variety and richness.

Finally, Wahl's concept of polyglot cinema bears into consideration language as a feature for realism. Languages "define geographical or political borders, 'visualise' the different social, personal or cultural levels of the character and enrich their aura in conjunction with the voice" (2005).

In the context of an increasing corpus of multilingual films, most of the research that has been done in the topic is comprised in the scope of the Translation Studies. From that field, the analysis of the translations of Quentin Tarantino's *Inglourious Basterds* (2009) is one of the paradigms of a study whose aim is to offer a version that respects the original from a linguistic point of view (Ávila-Cabrera, 2013; Voellmer, 2012). What it is still missing is a body of work which reconciles analysis of the linguistic and the filmic in cinema and television, in such a way as to analyse both the different linguistic choices as well as the production decisions deriving from the scriptwriting, the casting of actors, mise-en-scène or post-production. The understanding of the multilingual meaning of these films involves understanding that the linguistic choices originate in the production itself, especially script and filming, and are not limited to the post-production of different dubbed and subtitled versions.

In this paper, we will summarize the linguistic options followed by Galician-Portuguese co-productions from their beginnings up to the most recent examples. We will only consider co-productions into this corpus, not the films with a single country in the production credits. Finally the paper will focus on the television miniseries Vidago Palace (2016), which was the first fiction series resulting from the tri-annual co-production agreement signed between the Galician and Portuguese public broadcasters (2013-2016) (Rodríguez Castro, 2017) and Law 1/2014, of 24 March, on the Use of the Portuguese Language and Ties with Lusophony, also called the Valentín Paz-Andrade Law, one of the aims of which was to promote joint audiovisual production on both sides of the River Miño. The initial assumption of this exploration, still in its early stages, is that co-produced audiovisual content tends to diminish the Galician language. In this respect, the Galician characters end up adopting the production's hegemonic languages, Spanish and Portuguese, while Galician is introduced in anecdotal scenes representing regional character. In this way, diversity is limited to presenting dominant languages and cultures, while the minority ones linger in the background because they only appear occasionally, which does not contribute towards cultural diversity but to the assimilation of the weaker culture by the dominant one. The aforementioned practice of dubbing in Spain also contributes to the invisibilization of the other official languages of the state, as most of the feature films tend to shoot a version into Spanish for commercial reasons. As well as exploring existing academic literature—scarce in the case of audiovisual translation from and to Galician-the research method used combines the qualitative analysis of the content of the soundtrack and subtitles of Vidago Palace's six episodes, in its original version in Portuguese and its Galician-dubbed version, with the semi-structured interviews with one of the series' directors, Jorge Coira, and with Araceli Gonda, one of the series' three scriptwriters, along with Henrique Oliveira and Pepe Coira.

First co-productions. From the two versions of *Inés de Castro* to filming in Spanish

Within the framework of the early Francoist cinema, and in the wake of the Galician producer Cesáreo González's marketing skill, historical films played an important role in building a collective awareness of Spanishness. Portuguese production, also introduced in the context of a dictatorship with powerful autarchic and nationalist elements, also operated within these parameters of "recreation" in images of a glorious past. In this respect, Antonio Hierro, the head of the National Secretariat for Information between 1933 and 1945, situated historical films "in second place on the list of films which interested the Salazar regime, after regional or popular films" (Folgar de la Calle, 2017).

From this shared dynamic emerged the collaboration of Portuguese production thanks to Filmes Lumiar Lda. and Faro S.A., on the Galician side, to make the film *Inés de Castro* [*Inês de Castro*] (1947). The film, directed by José Leitão de Barros, is according to Folgar de la Calle (1999), an "atypical case of a co-production in two versions, as the differences are constituent components of an approach that we can consider somewhat divergent, and so we would have to talk of a Spanish film and another, Portuguese, one".

The prohibition of the use of the Basque, Galician and Catalan languages in public spaces during the Franco regime prevented Galician from being used in the film, while at the same time not even the Galician origins of Inés de Castro were highlighted. Spanish and Portuguese flow in parallel in each of the versions. The original version, filmed in Spanish, was later dubbed in Portuguese with a result that, to quote critics at the time, "fractures the naturalness of the expressions and, even, the inflections, making it seem like there were problems with the sound at times" (cit. in. Folgar de la Calle, 2017). The poor quality of the dubbing increased the unfamiliar sense of the Portuguese audience, used to subtitling.

The existence of two versions underlines the role of the "national languages" for the two regimes, in so far as the use of "dubbing is often associated with a stronger nationalism and pride (but defensive attitude) towards a national language" (Pelletier, 2017:132). Whereas Portugal has used subtitles as an audiovisual translation model since the 1920s, Spain chose the dubbing system, to which the languages of the stateless nations, Catalan,

Galician and Basque, were incorporated when the prohibition of their use in public spaces was lifted.

Production collaborations between Portugal and Galician companies, identified in the main as Spanish, were scarce and, for the most part, made no kind of multilingual contribution. Since the singular porductions of Cesáreo González and until the development of an audiovisual policy in Galicia there are not examples of coproductions between Galician and Portugal. We have to wait until 1996 when Inés de Portugal (José Carlos de Oliveira, 1997) appears as the first official collaboration between the Galician company Continental and the Portuguese Imagemreal, the Instituto Português da Arte Cinematográfica (IPACA) and the national television RTP. Mouriño Cabaleiro e Benlloch Castiñeira (2007) indicate that "it was a starting point for a way of collaborations, more anecdotical than effective, in terms of business (2007:167) In the previous years, we can mention a production with Portuguese, Spanish and Galician companies, La ley de la frontera (1995), directed by Alfonso Aristarain, as a paradigmatic case, insofar as treatment of language is concerned. In this film, whose scriptwriter was Miguel-Anxo Murado, a well-known Galician writer, the Galician-Portuguese border is the space where characters of very different origins intermix: an American of Spanish descent, a Portuguese nobleman and a Galician arraiano (an inhabitant from the Portuguese-Galician border) make up the trio of protagonists. The three, like the rest of the supporting cast and extras, always express themselves in Spanish, without there being any kind of confusion about the language. It would be appropriate to point out that the only cases in which the linguistic diversity was respected were the dialectal varieties of the Spanish. This was the case of an Andalusian character and "the Argentine", a bandit who spoke with the accent and vocabulary typical of his roots. It is somewhat curious that the confusion between Portugal and Galicia turns out to be a comedy resource repeated throughout the film, confusion to which the fact that almost all of the characters express themselves in standard Spanish undoubtedly adds.

The same lack of linguistic distinction is also the trademark of the Portuguese-Galician co-productions midway through the 1990s and the entire

next decade. Portuguese participation in films such as *Trece badaladas* (Xavier Villaverde, 2002), *El viaje de Carol* (Imanol Uribe, 2002) or *Hotel Tívoli* (Antón Reixa, 2007) did not reach 20% of the production budget and was merely economic and material, in so far as neither Portuguese themes nor the language appear in the films. The same can be said for Galician, which does not appear in the original versions. The contracts for broadcasting that Televisión de Galicia subscribe with the production companies demand the realization of a dubbed version for broadcasting on the public channel, the only media on which to show the version in the vernacular language.

A different case, as Mouriño and Benlloch contend (2007), is that of animation co-production between Galicia and Portugal. The 1999 Galician Audiovisual Law (Law 6/1999, of 6th September) specifically mentions the development of this sector, but not in relation with co-production. The result of collaboration between Galician and Portuguese companies—the latter always playing less of a role in the production—were the films O soño unha noite de San Xoán [O sono duma noite de São João] (Ángel de la Cruz & Manolo Gómez, 2004) and De Profundis (Miguel Anxo Prado, 2006). On account of the production characteristics of the soundtrack in this genre, in which a dubbed version (or as many as are required) is made on top of the image, the animation is presented a priori as a deproblematised space insofar as language is concerned, because, as occurred with Leitão de Barros' film, two different versions -one in Galician, one in Portuguese- are made without interferences by the other production language and adapted to the cultural environment of each country. In spite of the possibilities for producing several versions for the international market, Portuguese-Galician animation has not borne significant results in recent years.

With regard to documentaries, the uses of language in the Portuguese-Galician co-productions *Santa Liberdade* (Margarita Ledo Andión, 2004) and *Mulleres da Raia* (Diana Gonçalves, 2009) respect the multilingualism of the participants, in a genre that, given their distribution channels in alternative circuits, is conducive to generating a more diverse discourse than more conventional fiction.

However, at the beginning of the decade of the 2000s, serialised fiction for television undertook one of the riskiest ventures insofar as language was concerned. The mini-series *Conexión* [*Conexão*] (Leonel Vieira, 2009), co-produced by RTP and TVG, contains a soundtrack that represents the first strictly multilingual product. In this two-episode miniseries, co-produced by three public broadcasters —TVG, RTP and Televisió de Catalunya (TV3)— the characters speak in Portuguese, Galician and Spanish, without any translation between the three, which gives the idea of an understanding, instrumental at the very least, between the languages, particularly between Galician and Portuguese. Despite certain sociological inconsistencies concerning the uses of languages, particularly Galician, a real effort to generate a soundtrack which respects linguistic diversity can be appreciated.

The Paz-Andrade Law, a new production framework?

In 2014, the Galician Parliament passed the 1/2014, of March 24 Law, so-called Paz Andrade Law⁶ with the vote in favour of the entire chamber. Its aim was to promote cultural and educational contact with Portugal. This legal framework, which derives from a much more ambitious popular initiative, contains five articles with one specifically devoted to transborder audiovisual content. The second paragraph of the fourth article states that "the Compañía de Televisión de Galicia will promote the exchange of audiovisual productions and full or partial programmes of different genres, together with the collaboration in new audiovisual projects, (...) with televisions in Portuguese language, especially in those areas susceptible of a major mutual and reciprocal benefit. The Paz Andrade Law began to show some timid results in the following years, beyond merely folkloric or anecdotal elements like the joint 2014 New Year's Eve celebration or the recording of the popular programmes *Luar* and *Portugal em festa* on both sides of the border.

One of the most prominent initiatives arising from the exchange of audiovisual products has been RTP's purchase and the subsequent success of

⁶ The law was named after the jurist and writer Valentín Paz-Andrade, who was an activist for the approximation of Galician to the Portuguese linguistic norm.

the Galician children's programme *Os Bolechas*, which was renamed *Os Bochechas* and dubbed in Portuguese. This has brought the younger audience closer to Galicians through animated cartoons, although the proposed content is in fact universal. Once again, we find that products aimed at the younger audience that are dubbed both in countries with a tradition of subtitling and those with a tradition of dubbing are an ideal scenario for translation, without the two languages being forced to co-exist on the screen. *Os Bochechas* continues to be a "Galician family" on RTP, but there are no linguistic references in the characters' speeches that demonstrate this.

With regard to joint production, the miniseries *Vidago Palace* (Jorge Coira & Henrique Oliveira, 2017), the subject matter of this paper, is the first result of this desire for collaboration as expressed in the legal text⁷.

The different versions of Vidago Palace

The co-production of the companies Hop! on the Portuguese side and Portocabo on the Galician side, filmed in various locations on both sides of the border, relied on funding from the MEDIA Europa programme, more specifically from its "TV programming" line and "when it was presented an international distribution agreement with Lagardere Studio Distribution had already been signed, with presales in Italy and Poland" (Rodríguez Castro, 2017:201).

Under Portuguese initiative and leadership, the project was presented in RTP as a quality series, appealing to a different audience, accustomed to foreign products. In this sense, the reference established by the creator of the original idea, Henrique Oliveira, was that of the British fiction series *Downton Abbey* (2010-2015), characterised by meticulous setting and photography, and portraying the slow fracture of the strict separation of classes that prevailed in the early decades of the last century. In the case of TVG, the series did not have the benefit of a promotional campaign to distinguish it from another product line of period dramas, such as the preceding *As leis de Celavella* (2004-2006) or another series broadcasted at the same time as *Vidago: Dalia, a modista* (2016). In Galicia, *Vidago Palace* did not achieve the channel's usual audience ratings,

⁷ The project was previously created by Henrique Oliveira.

around 11.1% for the period the series was released and dropped to an audience share of 7.4% (Rodríguez Castro, 2017). Portugal was a different matter, where the series reached a share of 10.5%, quite a success for a national fiction series production there. For Portuguese viewers, *Vidago Palace* had added production values such as the participation of well-known actors in the leading roles or a historical context previously unexplored in its audiovisual fiction (much more well-known, on the other hand, for the Galician audience in national fiction).

Vidago Palace tells the story of a forbidden love affair between Pedro, a Galician employee of the Hotel Vidago Palace, and the Portuguese Carlota, the daughter of the Counts of Vimieiro, engaged to César, the rich heir of a businessman who made his fortune in Brazil. The action takes place in the summer of 1936 when, at the same time as Civil War is being declared in Spain, the Vidago Palace is opening its golf course and Europe is witnessing the rise of the Nazis and their consolidation of power through the propaganda of the Berlin Olympic Games.

Throughout the series' six episodes, therefore, we see a succession of characters and locations from both sides of the River Miño, with identities divided not only by the border but by the relationships of power that stimulate the main plot: the thwarted love affair of the leading couple. As such, the Portuguese representation, made up mainly of the hotel management and guests, apart from being in the majority in the cast also represents the economic and social power. For their part, the Galician leading actors in the story are hotel employees and members of the resistance in opposition to nationalist advances in the Civil War trying to cross the border to escape from the Civil Guard with the sole exception of the widow Xenoveva who is a regular guest of the Vidago Palace.

Galician subalternity has also been transferred to the use of languages in this multilingual product. The Galician language is present in appearance only if we analyse the actors' speeches in the filming language. It amounts to sham Portuguese with a strong accent in the Galician characters, which makes it look like Portuguese is the sole production language, at least insofar as the oral register is concerned. The presumed differences between the languages makes it necessary to broadcast two different versions for each country. As such, the solutions offered to the viewers on either side of the border are consistent with the audiovisual translation policies of both countries: TVG dubbed the original version in Galician, although it offered viewers the possibility of watching a dual language broadcast⁸, while RTP broadcasted this version with subtitles in Portuguese translating the Galician speech.

The presence of a more than slightly artificial Portuguese spoken by the Galician characters in the original version can be seen in the appearances of characters such as Pedro, played by the Galician actor David Seijo, who always speaks in Portuguese, even with other Galician characters, including his own father, also Galician, played by Antonio Mourelos. The same occurs with the minor Galician characters, especially the Galician resistance fighters, who speak to each other in Portuguese, in spite of the fact that a more realistic register would involve them speaking in their native language, especially when subtitles are a part of the series' policy of realism and they come naturally to Portuguese viewers. It is reiterative, therefore, that the soundtrack and the subtitles reproduce practically the same words.

The same as with the family conversations between the protagonist of *Vidago Palace* and his father, the dialogues between Pedro and Dolores Cancio, one of the resistance fighters are also in Portuguese, with the difference that the dialogues of the guerrilla are always subtitled. This is the case for the opening scene in the final episode of the series when Pedro tries to calm Dolores when they are arrested by the Portuguese police to be sent back to Spain:

Pedro: Não chores, va lá. Vai correr tudo bem.

Dolores: Nada vai acabar bem.

Pedro: Não sabemos o que vai acontecer.

⁸The dual version, despite the opportunity to appeal to different audiences for the channel, became a problem for some viewers when the series was released and an opportunity for others. Although the first episode was released in the dubbed version—with the subtitled version as the second option—, the second episode was broadcast directly in the original version, while the dubbed version had to be chosen ex profeso by the viewer. In this way, the channel's habitual audience, unfamiliar with subtitles, dissociated itself from the series only two episodes in, while the original version appealed more to a younger audience, not TVG's target audience, which appreciated the Portuguese original version of the series.

Dolores: Foi tudo culpa minha. Fui uma estúpida quando te mandei chamar⁹.

This brief dialogue between the characters is exactly reproduced in the subtitles. Although it could be understandable a translation for the Portuguese audience if the Galician characters speak in a distinct accent, this is not the case for their performance in this scene. In fact, the sole deviation from the standard Portuguese pronunciation is the initial letter of the word "chores" which the character pronounces /tʃ/ in Galician instead of the fricative sound [\int].

As Araceli Gonda, scriptwriter of the series explains, the filming language in the production of *Vidago Palace* was incorporated at the beginning of the writing of the script itself which, after a first version in Portuguese, written by Henrique Oliveira, was rewritten in Galician by co-writers Araceli Gonda and Pepe Coira to be translated once again into Portuguese for the final version of the series. This third version, translated from Galician, is the used in the shooting, that was organised in two units: the main unit, directed by Henrique Oliveira, filmed in Vidago and the second unit, directed by Jorge Coira, to do the shooting when the action took place in Galicia.

The Galician cast who took part in the filming in Portugal in the first unit, was able to rely on the support of a linguist to help them adopt an understandable Portuguese for the RTP audience. This was not the case for the part of the series shot in Galicia, that is, the part whose leading characters are the resistance fighters, who speak in a register phonetically closer to Galician. In this way, the subtitles inserted in the Portuguese version reveal a few minor divergences with respect to the actors' dialogues regarding vocabulary, that could slip from the previous versions of the script.

The presence of Spanish in the series, that appears in the intervention of the *falangistas*¹⁰ who try to trap the guerrilla in the first episode of the series, is the sole evidence of a different language in the soundtrack. In this case, subtitles are needed for the full understanding of the action while subtitles for Galician

⁹ Pedro: Don't cry, come on. Everything is going to be fine. / Dolores: Nothing is going to end up well. / Pedro: We don't know what is going to happen. / Dolores: It was my fault. I was a stupid when I made you call.

¹⁰ Although it is not stated in the series, the dark blue shirts of the pursuers of the guerrilla fighters suggest that they are members of Falange Española, a party supporter of Franco's uprising. 46

characters seem a strategy for defamiliarize the language rather than a real need for the audience.

With all of this in mind, the product would therefore seem more suitably aimed at the Portuguese rather than the Galician public, for whom the dubbed version is preferable, and who might tune in to the original version, available under TVG's dual language option, only to discover that their language is only present in certain turns of phrase which, hypothetically, might arise from a flawed translation from the Galician into the Portuguese or the performances of the actors themselves.

Conclusions

The series *Vidago Palace* was created as a Galician-Portuguese series in which a balance was sought between different production aspects such as the artistic team, locations, or characters themselves, from the leading couple itself, made up of a Galician boy and a Portuguese girl. However, the series' linguistic choices show that the production diminishes the Galician language, making it a subaltern element which goes hand in hand with the subalternity of the Galician characters (hotel employees, or those fleeing the Civil War, for the most part). Having said that, the audiovisual translation, by means of Portuguese subtitles in the original version, shows the appearance of the use of the two languages. For its part, the dubbed version broadcast on Galician television eliminated the possibilities of a distinction between the uses of the languages that would have made it possible to identify the characters' origins which, in a border story such as *Vidago Palace*, is vital to the tale.

The dual sound broadcast by TVG shows an evolution in the choice of multilingual products, which began with the series *Conexión*, and which presents itself as a viable option to appeal to a young audience, used, thanks to VOD platforms¹¹, to consume subtitled audiovisual products. On the Portuguese side, the high level of understanding of the Galician language could favour more

¹¹ According to the Telefónica Foundation's annual report *The Information Society 2016* (2017), 44.3% of Spanish internet users now watch television through channels broadcasting online and 27% consume audiovisual content through VOD platforms. According to the report, internet use for the consumption of audiovisual content in Spain has undergone a huge increase in recent years.

audiovisual co-productions between the two countries, exploring the rich collective imagery.

For a production to be truly multilingual, and to which different audiovisual translation strategies can be applied, the use of the different languages needs to be a production value, a value added, therefore, and form a part of the choices made regarding the film's form and content from the production's early stages. Neither will be choosing to produce a multilingual product be an impediment to its international broadcasting, as the habitual use of subtitles in many audiovisual cultures permits the global circulation of these products.

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Sex and religion: translating taboos for the Italian screen. A study on ideology and manipulation in the language of film and translation

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Abstract:

Taboo is a Polynesian word for any number of religious prohibitions which forbid specified behaviours, usually under the threat of punishment. Many taboos of this type involve offences towards the spirit world and religious customs. For this reason, taboo terms and coarse language are either suppressed or severely reduced in the Italian dubbed versions of American TV series, especially when referring to both religion and sex. Starting from a preliminary isolation of the cultural elements generating taboos connected to sex and religion, the paper discusses some differences between the US and Italy. Furthermore, the study offers a glimpse into some issues concerning obscenity, religious taboo, oaths and swearwords and discusses the sexuality of Christ between profanity and blasphemy as the ultimate taboo and point of connection between the taboos being analysed. The considerations expressed in the present paper come from a discrete script analysis and from a comparison of the original version with the one translated into Italian. The comparison is important to describe the different translation strategies followed in the presence of sex-related talk in religious issues. Some critical examples are provided.

Introduction

A taboo is something a culture considers forbidden, although it is not necessarily religious in nature. Sexual morality varies greatly between cultures and society establishes standards of sexual conduct according to which sex may have either a negative connotation or is considered the highest expression of the divine. Catholic sexual morality distinguishes between activities that are practiced for biological reproduction, allowed only when in formal marital status, and others practiced for sexual pleasure sought for itself, isolated from its procreative purposes. Fornication, masturbation, lust, pornography, are considered immoral. Italian sexual morality is generally based on these principles by which Catholic believers can evaluate whether specific actions meet these standards. For this reason, matters pertaining to sex and religious issues in translation from English into Italian are likely to create more translational difficulties than others involving the two concepts separately. The idea of otherness in Western societies is often connected with the breaking of existing taboos; these apparently conflicting positions provide a stimulating focus for research across a wide range of academic fields, especially translation. Therefore, the examination of taboo reinforcement or debasement is essential in progressive, multicultural societies, governed by institutions such as moral correctness and cultural and personal upbringing.

Historically, the word taboo comes from Polynesian¹² and is used to describe some religious prohibitions forbidding specified behaviour, usually under the threat of punishment. Some taboos are so offensive that they are also illegal: paedophilia for instance, but also some sexual practices which are believed as ordinary rather than perverse, such as sexual pleasure in pain (as occurs in

¹² Biggs, Bruce. "Entries for TAPU [OC] Prohibited, under ritual restriction, taboo". Polynesian Lexicon Project Online. University of Auckland. <u>https://pollex.shh.mpg.de/entry/tapu/</u>. Accessed on: 24-02-2018

masochism and sadism), might be taboo. Many social taboos of this type involve offences towards the spirit world and religious customs, but 'benign' taboos also exist. In previous decades, openly recognizing homosexuality was also taboo. In general, we can observe that sexual taboos are evolving. In contemporary society there are few taboos left. Today's teenage sexual education would have shocked and embarrassed many married couples in the past. Fantasies are now discussed freely, and films have become more explicit. Premarital sex is virtually the norm and homosexuality, sadomasochism, group sex, wife-swapping, can all be discussed in polite society now. More concern is registered over someone making a value judgement against such practices than whether someone indulges in them.

The chosen corpus was selected to explore the idea of religious taboo and swearwords together with its respective Italian dubbed version in a TV show, The Secret Life of the American Teenager, which seemed to have all the potential to deliver a powerful message on the consequences of teen sex and the need for responsibility. Starting from a preliminary isolation of the cultural differences between Italy and the US, the study provides comments on the linguistic texture of the original audio-visual text and discusses some of the choices operated in its final translation for dubbing. The research hypothesis is that, in the comparison between the American and the Italian cultural values, Italy is a country in which religion and swearwords are two separate worlds; these ideological considerations end up shaping and affecting professional practice. The issues expressed in the paper find evidence in the script analysis provided. The investigation pays attention to the impact of ideology on the final product and provides examples in which ideological considerations manifest themselves in professional practice. This paper is also intended as a basic cultural background on which to build translation strategies involving taboo and religion from the source culture to the Italian target culture.

Sex and religion in The Secret Life of the American Teenager

The Secret Life of the American Teenager is one of the many contemporary shows portraying taboos on national television, the most evident being teen

pregnancy. It is categorized as a teen drama aired on ABC Family and renewed for five seasons until summer 2013. The show also includes some 'deviant' behaviour in general, intended as attitudes going against certain cultural norms: drug addiction, abortion, abusive and alcoholic parents, attempted rape, student/teacher relationships, gay marriage and mental instability. It is intended for the target audience of teens and their families who are trying to cope with a culture where teenagers are sexually active. The general tone is educational, since it shows the negative consequences of promiscuous sex. Materials for discussion are taken from the fifth season of the series. The show primarily focuses on the character of Amy, a 15-year-old student who falls for what might be the perfect guy but gets pregnant from a less-than ideal teenager. First, the show provides some useful elements about American teen culture which could be of great interest when examining translation issues and the dubbing of culture-specific elements, but one of the most important parts is the transposition of taboo elements, especially when referred to sex and religion. It is quite hard to balance the general didactic tone of the show with real dialogues between teenagers, even in the original, and the translation in Italian often deals with specific issues pertaining to Italian culture, such as religion and Christianity representing a tangible taboo.

The series shows the effect of behavioural choices of teens and the channel ABC Family intended to air at least one public service announcement during the première, urging parents to talk to their children about sex. General reluctance of parents to address the issue (Schuster, Eastman, and Corona 2006) and US government-approved programs which leaned so heavily on abstinence (Stidham Hall, McDermott Sales, Komro and Santelli 2016) cause the media to fill this informational function and become sex educators. The general attitude portrayed in theory seems to be that what is seen on TV does not alter teens' behaviour; young women, although they may enjoy a show about pregnancy, do not necessarily imitate such behaviour. On air, teen pregnancy is not necessarily viewed as negative: it can be considered acceptable, if there is something to be learned from it. For American television producers, however, restrictions on

these themes are creatively reminiscent of the Hays Code¹³, where any character who commits unlawful behaviour in a film must be punished in the end. By the 1960s the code was no longer followed, but it sometimes still casts a shadow on the current censorship guidelines when cultural taboos are analysed. Both American television and the Italian one appear to be free from any moral constraint. However, one bastion of privacy and shame remains, that is the subject of religion and sex. Italian rights for the show were bought by Disney, and this data has proved to be significative for Italian dubbing.

Obscenity, religious taboo, oaths and swearwords

Determining what is obscene could be a "timeless preoccupation". According to Melissa Mohr (Mohr 2013), defining the idea of obscenity is as problematic as the search for words that adequately express a relationship with the divine. Religions have their own set of taboos. Offending God is the most obvious, but there is also a variety of taboos impacting daily activities. Swearing is considered an act that forges a bond with a higher authority but at the same time also breaks it. In both cases, certain words, especially sex talking, are endowed with the power to shock and scandalise. Some religions, and therefore cultures, consider various sexual practices as taboo. Homosexuality, incest and bestiality are inherently taboos for followers of the Christian Bible. Among Catholics, sex of any kind is taboo for religious figures, but not for married general believers. Sex and religion are intricately linked, and this is explicitly expressed in the words that aim to underline this link. Obscenities and sex talking refer to earthly matters and remind us that we have bodies, burdened with physical functions; oaths point at heaven, reminding us that, besides a body, we have a soul.

There are few realms of human experience other than sex in which religion has greater reach and influence. The role of religion to prohibit, regulate, condemn, and reward, is unavoidably prominent in this field. Sex as a topic of conversation in movies or television can make people uncomfortable in all

¹³ The Motion Picture Production Code, popularly known as the Hays code after Hollywood's chief censor at the time, Will H. Hays, governed the moral censorship guidelines of most United States motion pictures released by major studios from 1930 to 1968.

cultures, but its discussion varies in difficulty. The Hays Code enumerated several key points known as the "Don'ts" and "Be Carefuls" (Lewis 2002: 301-2) and pointed out that some taboo issues were not to appear in pictures, irrespective of the way in which they were treated. This list included many things: from drug traffic to any reference to sex perversions, which surprisingly included interracial sexual relationships; licentious or suggestive nudity, ridicule of the clergy, offence to any nation, race or creed. One of the most interesting prohibitions of the list, maybe the most important one as it was named first, was: "Pointed profanity - by either title or lip - this includes the words 'God,' 'Lord,' 'Jesus,' 'Christ' (unless they be used reverently in connection with proper religious ceremonies), 'hell,' 'damn,' 'Gawd,' and every other profane and vulgar expression however it may be spelled" (Lewis 2002: 301). This peculiar interest in religious matters finds its origin in the creators of the code: a Jesuit priest and a Catholic layman, both particularly worried about the effects of sound film on children, considered susceptible to their allure. The general principle was that a film should not lower the moral standard of those who watch it; that a film must depict the correct moral lifestyle and must not show any sort of ridicule towards a law or create sympathy for its violation. It was also based on a list of items which could not be depicted. Nevertheless, some restrictions, such as the ban on homosexuality or the use of specific curse words, were never mentioned explicitly but clearly understood. In this sense, the code was intended to determine what could be shown on screen, but also to promote traditional values in which unaccepted social behaviours, such as sexual relationships outside marriage (which were not to be portrayed as attractive) were to be presented in a way that included final punishment. The code did not admit any sort of ambiguity between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Its deep moral significance was unquestionable.

By the 1950s, American culture began to change. A boycott by the National Legion of Decency no longer guaranteed a film's commercial failure, and several aspects of the code had slowly lost their taboo quality. In 1956, areas of the code were rewritten to accept subjects such as miscegenation, adultery, and prostitution. By the 1960s, the original code was replaced by a list of eleven points and eventually abandoned. Even though a direct code about taboos is now missing, their use sometimes continues to create problems when two or more cultures are compared. Christians try to make the nature of unprohibited sex very specific because the Bible seems to encourage it (*go forth and multiply*). In this sense, Hollywood is considered something which hypocritically oversexualises everything and then condemns it with ratings (which nowadays substitute the Code). However, multi-ethnic America permits multiple discourses about the variety of religions professed, allows priests' marriage because several religions permit it, while Italy remains conservative in its way of dealing with religion, so that when religion is mixed with sex the degree of the taboo shows its maximum influence.

Sex and religion in Italy: if you like it it's a sin!

Religion is about control (Ellwood 1918). Religions institutions maintain temporal power by controlling sexual freedom: the Church claims that sex should only occur within marriage, because pregnancy might ensue, and it involves responsibility towards the child. Abortion and contraception threaten the control over sex life by making responsible extramarital sex a realistic possibility and are therefore condemned. On the other hand, sex is a basic human drive and can be considered a need like food and water (Maslow 1943)¹⁴.

A TV show speaking freely about these issues could cause problems when transferred into a culture subjected to a stronger religious control over people. Even though we live in an age dominated by secular thinking, the possibility of non-religious marriage and more liberal approaches to sex persist in the name of traditional values that are slightly more important in Italy than in other countries, where multi-ethnicity is the rule and not the exception. On the contrary, Wicca and many other Pagan religions accept sex as something that

¹⁴ Maslow's hierarchy of needs is often portrayed in the shape of a pyramid with the largest, most fundamental needs at the bottom and the need for self-actualization and selftranscendence at the top. Physiological needs are the physical requirements for human survival. If these requirements are not met, the human body cannot function properly and will ultimately fail. Physiological needs are thought to be the most important; they should be met first and they include sex.

should be enjoyed as the God and Goddess intended. The sexual act entails worship of the deities.

Another important issue connected to sex and religion is the idea of guilt about sexual enjoyment, which reinforces the concept that religion is all about power, control and prejudice (see again Ellwood 1918). If Christians accept sex only as a means to procreation, enjoying sex for pure pleasure is a sin and, as such, it is forbidden. Public sexual behaviour is frowned upon in society, and fear of disapproval and condemnation prevent from having an open sexual behaviour: the offender might be condemned and isolated from society. Believers who lapse into sex offences consider themselves as sinners and experience a sense of guilt and personal failure, since their behaviour fails to enable them to live up to the high moral standards they proclaim. Their sex life ends up becoming the tangible proof of the decline in the authority of the religious institutions and their tradition. Christians practising birth control in ways the Church explicitly forbids are people contesting the Church's authority on moral questions; this causes a moral struggle between their sexual desires and their will to adhere to the rules imposed by their religion. Sexual morality issues cause teenagers to stay away from the Church because of the social stigma they may be subjected to in practising their sexuality freely. In Italy, the Church teaches that all sexual pleasure out of marriage is sinful, with no confusion at all among religious institutions and communities. This causes important cultural issues when comparing the cultural systems of the US with the Italian one.

Between profanity and blasphemy: the sexuality of Christ as the last taboo

The word taboo is strictly connected to the idea of profanity and is a connection between the taboos of sex and religion. Indeed, the term *profane* originates from classical Latin *profanus*, literally meaning *before the temple*. Its original meaning is of blasphemous profanity: either desecrating what is holy or with a secular purpose (secular being intended here as non-religious and not sacred). Profanity in language is socially blamed, offensive and impolite. It can show desecration or intense emotion and represents secular indifference to religion, while blasphemy is a more offensive attack on it or a direct violation of the Ten Commandments.

One of the most interesting taboos of religion and sex which perfectly fulfils the connection between profanity and blasphemy is discussing the sexuality of Christ. One of the critical examples provided in this study involves this strong taboo which exists in Catholic cultures as the result of attempts to establish and defend strong ethnic, religious or institutional confines, by which harsh penalties on forms of sexual behaviour stepping over boundaries are imposed. Taboo operates at an emotional level and thinking about Christ having sex, even if the idea reinforces his humanity and consequently the link to God in the earthy epiphany he represents, is something horrifying for those who believe in Christian values. If Jesus were human, it would be quite probable that he experienced one of the most basic and important human traits such as sex. The supposed virginity of Jesus is under debate by experts: it is clearly stated in the Bible, that Jesus did not sin (2 Corinthians 5:21; 1 Peter 2:22)¹⁵. The dispute arises on whether Jesus could have sinned or not. Those who hold the position of 'impeccability' argue that it was not possible for Jesus to sin, while the position of 'non-impeccability' holds that Jesus could have sinned, but did not do so, because in himself full deity and full humanity melt into one person and are thus indivisible. Believing that Jesus could sin means believing God could sin. This position maintains that, although Jesus was fully human, he was not born with our own sinful nature. He certainly was tempted in the same way we are, as temptations were confronted by Satan. Indeed, Magdalene's shock value consists in the simple fact that highlighting her presence in the life story of Jesus changes its perceptive. It forces us to think differently about the Saviour. He who restored human nature to sinlessness cannot be shamed by the sexual factor in his humanity. Many people of faith consider the notion that Jesus was married to a woman who bore him children to be the ultimate sacrilege that one might direct against him. To them, the sexuality of Christ is totally incompatible with his divinity, but this was not always the case among believers. In previous times, the sexuality of Jesus was widely regarded as proof that Christ had

¹⁵ Every quotation from the Bible is to be found here: https://www.biblegateway.com/ 60

assumed the full guise and burden of humanity. In general, Christians do believe that there are no places where God is not present. However, there are certain taboo areas which are commonly considered as far from God. In the gospels, Jesus is seen as going into those places considered godless and taboo and dispelling old fears and superstitions by taking God's presence into them. Thus, we see Jesus entering the lives of the sick, touching lepers, curing a woman struggling with menstruation, dining with prostitutes, and ultimately dying on a cross. All of these were considered unholy, unclean places. We now live in a culture which has essentially no religious, moral, or psychological taboos around sex and has little, if any, fear of it. Sex has both been emptied of superstition, false fears and false taboo, and is now devoid of most of its sacredness, mystique, depth and soul. Regarding Christ as the virile saviour is a touchy issue which should be handled discretely because it could easily be cause of irreverence or blasphemy. Catholic Italy does not even remotely suggest that Jesus, fully incarnated in humanity, may have engaged in sexual behaviour. A crucial distinction also emerges in the theological dispute: that is, between the claim that Jesus had sex with Mary Magdalene, and the one that he fathered her children, the first hypothesis sees Christ performing sexual intercourse, but not for the purposes of procreation or in a wider vision of sex performed within marriage (and not considered as a sin because of this). If Jesus was not married or did not have any children it means that he engaged in sexual intercourse, not to procreate, but for pure pleasure. Therefore, the last taboo is not about sexual intercourse but about the pleasure in the sexual act. The debate around the sexuality of Jesus is focused on procreation, rather than on pleasure. The critical example provided shows how this theological dispute can affect translation practice when such a taboo emerges in the source text.

Translation and taboo in previous research

Every society is based on its system of cultural values. Social life includes language use and is governed by socially shared norms, establishing appropriate behaviour; rules that are "clearly linked to the social setting, the sex, the age, the status of the speaker, and the audience" (Spears 1982: Intro XIII). The role

of culture in translation is inevitable: translating involves at least two languages and two cultural traditions, hence different conventions and norms (Toury 2004). Therefore, audio-visual translators should utilise a variety of strategies to solve the intricate task of translating taboo. Issues regarding censorship and audiovisual translation of imported fictional products in Italy have been discussed (Azzaro 2006) and have revealed that taboo terms and coarse language are either suppressed or severely reduced in the Italian dubbed versions (Pavesi and Malinverno 2000: 77-82). Regarding Italian dubbing, other studies (Chiaro 2007; Bucaria 2007) claim that it is quite the norm to regulate the level of obscenity which often characterises American film language, especially with vulgarity, very often not translated or frequently mitigated. Some scholars (Zanotti 2012) also pointed out that such mitigation and censorship strategies are particularly frequent when dealing with films for youth. This type of censorship is sometimes self-imposed by the translators themselves, to make the adaptation acceptable to the board of censors and the Italian audience (Zanotti 2012: 366). However, in many cases translators follow dubbing instructions of the production companies which sometimes focus on enlarging profits and providing a more commercial product for the Italian market. Moreover, some scholars (Ranzato 2010, Beseghi 2016) have recently pointed out that the patronage and the commissioning network play a crucial role in the degree of freedom in translating swearwords. In the present study mitigations and omissions appear to be more frequent when the religious taboo is involved.

Research findings and results

Explicit taboo references are present in all the original versions of *The Secret Life of the American Teenager*; however, the analysis of their Italian dubbed versions considered in this study reveals a lack of homogeneity in the adopted translation strategies. Lack of homogeneity in the translational behaviour is not ascribable to different ideologies on the part of the translators, or on censoring policies imposed by commissioners. Different behaviours are observable in the very same episode, implying a basic inconsistency in the adopted translation strategies, or at least a dissimilar response of the dialogue writers to the strict

indications imposed on them by the patronage. This is due to the categorization of taboos in certain fields between the two cultures and happens when the target culture audience is expected to be uncomfortable with some cultural elements in the source text.

The analysis of the present study confirms this tendency towards inhomogeneity. In the case of taboo elements about religion and sex, the choices made by dialogue writers might be very different from the ones in the source text, since the translation would be rejected if it conserved the taboo element, in contrast with the patronage. The patronage's main concern is that most audiovisual works in English abound in vulgarities that may offend an Italian audience. As hinted, issues regarding the translation of religious taboos in Italy represent a problem: elements from the original might be considered immoral, disgusting and indecent when sex is connected to religion, especially when such TV products are watched by the entire family, minors included. In this case, Italian dialogue writers make extended use of euphemistic translation, used to represent something unpleasant in a less offensive language. According to some scholars (Allan and Burridges 1991), euphemisms are used as an alternative to an unpleasant expression, but sometimes they are claimed by the patronage to be insufficient to mitigate the taboo.

The taxonomy of taboo elements detected in the corpus basically consists in three core points:

- the word in the source text is not a taboo in L2. This permits direct translation (e.g. interracial marriage, which has its historical roots in American history and consequently does not have the same importance in Italian culture);
- the term is a taboo in both cultures, leading therefore to comparative strategies;
- the word which is not considered a taboo in L1 might be as such in L2 (e.g. celibacy and chastity among Italian priests differ from US culture, creating a potential taboo).

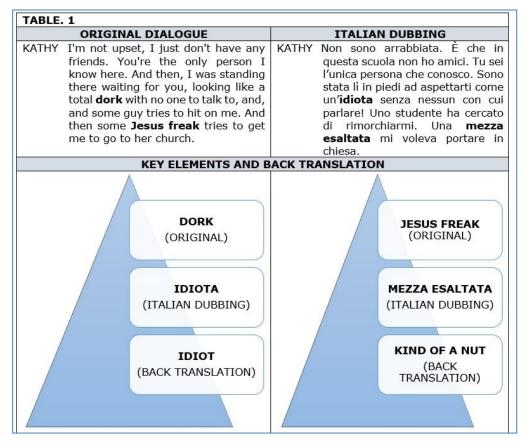
This implies that the translation process is quite easy and direct in the first possibility but needs an accurate reflection in the remaining ones. The translator

is asked to operate precise choices to render the meaning and the feeling of the taboo word, and when this is not possible, since it would cause a cultural shock, the translator will focus on a similar and acceptable meaning of the word. Unfortunately, Italian translators are not free to operate these choices without the intrusion of the patronage and they are often forced to select the apparently simplest choice, that is radically removing the taboo element. Nevertheless, the taboo is often a key term in the source text. If omitted, the target text risks to be distorted. Also applying a method in which the taboo is maintained, no matter what, could not be considered a winning strategy *tout court*, because it could be often be embarrassing to the audience. Another way of translating a taboo term is substituting it with another term in L2, and this often implies a distortion of the target meaning as well, causing confusion or even absurdity and nonsensical translation for the target public. Significant examples of these substitution are provided in the following paragraph. On these bases the possible detected strategies are omission, conservation and substitution. All of them entail significant damage to the source text. A good compromise resides in the key word euphemism. Some euphemisms are intended to refer to touchy taboo topics in a polite way and have the function to mask profanity preserving the taboo content or word without upsetting the viewers and protecting them from possible offence (Linfoot-ham 2005: 228).

Examples from the script analysis: consequences of total omission and manipulation

This concluding paragraph pays attention to the impact of ideology on the final product and provides critical examples on the topic of translating sexual and religious taboo in dubbing, where ideological manipulation manifests itself in professional practice. What generally emerges after a deep scanning of the corpus is that direct allusion to religion is mitigated. Almost every reference to Jesus is eliminated also when appearing in the de-semantised exclamation "Jeez!"; the dialogue writer decided to avoid euphemism and to use a total omission of the reference, also in dialogues in which a certain emphasis on the exclamation would have reinforced the taboo and semantised it again, especially

when pronounced by the character of Adrian Lee, the symbol of every negative model in terms of sexual behaviour and morals in general, in direct opposition to the angelic character of Grace Bowman. Grace is a perky 19-year-old girl, the school's head cheerleader and a devout Christian, whereas Adrian is a 20-yearold majorette with a reputation for being promiscuous. Adrian comes from a broken home while Grace comes from an apparently perfect family, even though she decides to have sex with her boyfriend Jack. After this encounter, Grace learns of her father's death in a plane crash and feels guilty that the crash happened while she was having sex, and wonders if, in some way, her father's death was a punishment for extramarital sex. In this sense she embodies the Christian who has indulged in the pleasures of sex and received a punishment for this. She takes a while to recover from this idea and then tries to compensate for her feelings by pledging to wait to have sex again until marriage, even organizing a group of teenagers to embrace abstinence. Adrian, on the other hand, embodies all the taboos we have previously mentioned: promiscuous sex, teen pregnancy, abortion, casual relationships, feelings of anger, mental instability. Grace experiences a character evolution through pain and suffering because her sexual behaviour results in pregnancy. She decides to keep the baby after she had considered an abortion, but she receives another punishment, since the baby is stillborn. She gives her child the symbolic name of Mercy and after this she experiences a moral evolution, though she remains a character deeply connected with the idea of taboo breaking and a scandalous figure. All these moral issues must be seriously taken into consideration when rewriting dialogues for the characters of Adrian and Grace in Italian; a reasonable strategy from the translator's point of view should be to leave the religious references exactly the way they are. An indiscriminate mitigation of taboos eliminates all the language characterization of different personae in the source language and the motivation by which this manipulation is carried out is not necessarily connected with actual Italian social needs. Sometimes the impact of the religious taboo on Italian culture is so violent that when it appears in combination with a vulgar element in the source text it often undergoes a total omission. The reason for which the exclamation Jeez! was to be eliminated is that there is no correspondent in Italian that could be considered a euphemism. The original interjection, which is a substitution for *Jesus Christ!*, portrays irritation, shock, annoyance, disappointment. Although usually expressing grief, it can be used with much versatility, including the expression of exaltation. Since Italian does not contemplate a euphemism for this, it would still be considered taking the Lord's name in vain. This indication of mitigating religious references seems to derive from the Hays Code, but in Italian it is part of the regulations set forth by Walt Disney Television Italia (Disney Italia from now on)¹⁶. Dialogue writers receive informal indications as to what is to be included/omitted from the final product. Sometimes the total omission of the religious reference does not cause significant damage, since the dialogue writer chooses other expressions to convey the same emotional meaning, though mitigating vulgarity or the presumed blasphemy inherent to simply nominating God or Christ. Please observe the dialogue and its translation in the following **Table 1**:

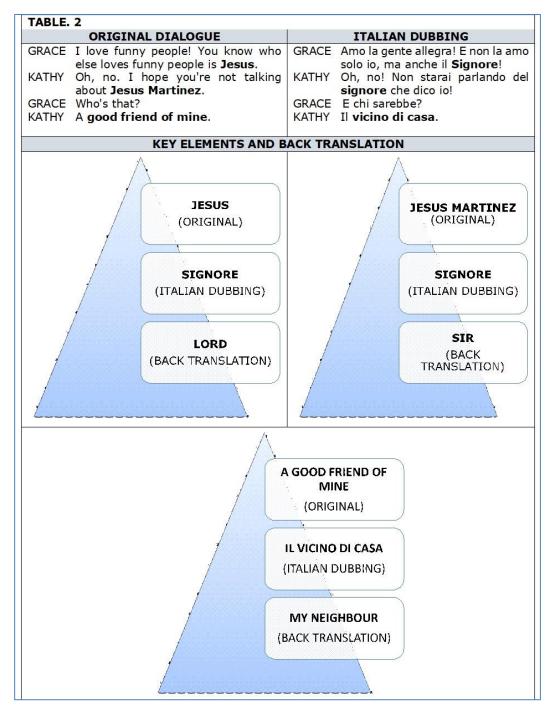


¹⁶ Italian holding company operating in the field of TV industry. It produces Italian Disney channels and TV series for The Walt Disney Company Italia, the first Disney branch in the world. 66

In the example the swearword *Dork* is down-toned into *Idiot*. The translation may be considered appropriate, since in Italian the word *Idiota* is suitable to address a nerdy or socially inept person, as well as its more literal meaning (an unintelligent or unwise person); further we observe that *Jesus Freak* is translated with *mezza esaltata* (kind of a nut), with a total omission of the religious reference. The original is a slang term to indicate someone who is obsessed with converting others to Christianity, exactly like Grace's character. While the specificity is lost, there is a general similarity to the original text. However, there are some other cases in which being forced to eliminate the nomination of God can provoke a nonsensical portrayal of the original content. Please observe the example in **Table 2**:

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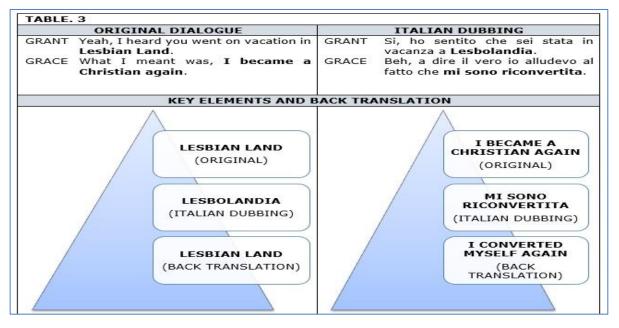
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In the final translation imposed by the patronage¹⁷, *Jesus* is substituted with the Italian correspondent of *Signore* (Lord) as a euphemism to mitigate the humour with which Grace is referring to Jesus Christ. But when Kathy mockingly pretends she is referring to her friend *Jesus Martínez*, the reference to Jesus was omitted again, this time with the pun *signore* (sir), causing a total loss of the humour in the line but also a consequent nonsensical reply (provided in the back

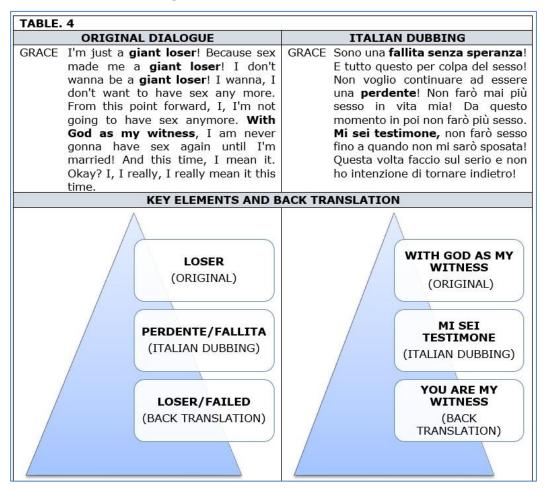
¹⁷ I was the translator hired by the dialogue writer for most of the episodes included in the corpus chosen in this study; this allowed me to analyse the entire process of transposition and to know the reasons behind the translation strategy used.

translation). In this example the damage produced in omitting the name of Christ can be considered relative. In other examples the damage risks to be significantly higher. According to what Disney Italia initially demanded, total omission was imposed not only to the specific name of God or Jesus, but also to every reference to a specific religion: in most cases the word Christian was translated in the final adaptation with the general term *credente* (believer), whereas it was left as *cristiano* (Christian) in the preliminary translation. A comparison with other episodes adapted by different dialogue writers shows that in some cases the patronage orders were respected with no exceptions, while in others they were ignored, thus revealing a lack of a univocal translation strategy for these problematic elements. Please observe **Table 3**:



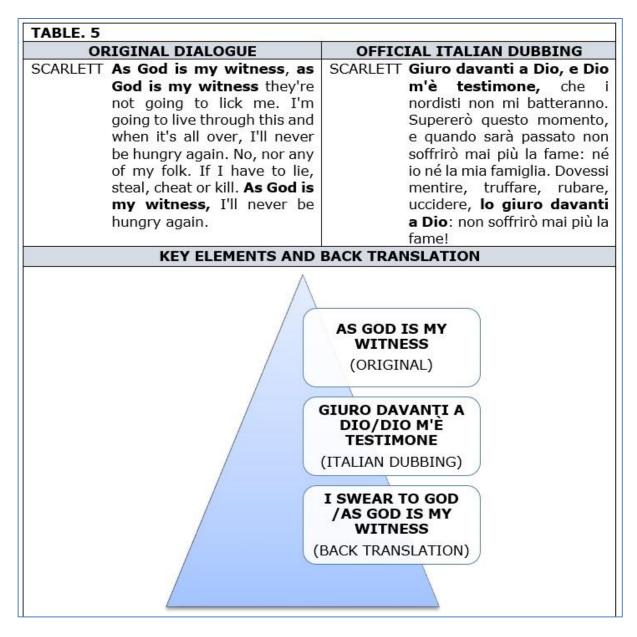
In this example the substitution of *Christian* is innocuous and does not produce any damage. This might be a case of self-censorship based on the indications received from the patronage. The allusion to *Lesbian Land* as a reference to Grace's kissing Adrian, the consequent rumours and her self-doubt about her sexuality were considered inappropriate to appear in the same dialogue in which Grace is renewing her faith. The adopted solution eliminates any reference to specific religion as demanded, but everyone knows that the religion involved is Christianity, especially anyone who knows Grace. Despite the substitution, the general sense of the dialogue is preserved. However, we can prove that a lack of strategy may cause a lot of damage when indiscriminate manipulation occurs without any criteria other than fortuity. Sometimes the manipulation coming from external influences such as the indications of distributors can heavily affect the final content of the translation.

Please observe the following translation in **Table 4**:



We may notice that in the final dubbing what gets lost is:

- the slang form to translate *giant loser* (*sfigata*) since in Italian its root word is closely connected to a slang term for female genitalia (*figa*, literally meaning *pussy*). The Italian gergal version denotes that s/he who remains without sexual activity is considered a loser (prefix *s+figa=without pussy*) and so a blander term was chosen (*fallita/perdente*);
- a direct quotation of the movie *Gone with the wind* in one of its most famous quotes (in **Table 5**) that adds a comic tone to the entire dialogue.



The final choice was made by the dubbing director because of the imposed diktat to remove every reference to God. In this case the dialogue writer proposed an exception to this indication since it was justified with the direct quotation of a famous movie, whereas the dubbing director opted for a choice of acquiescence to the instructions, thus affecting the whole general comic tone of the gag and the loss of the direct quotation of a famous film. Inhomogeneity in translation strategies could also derive from the modality the dialogue writer proposes the issue to the supervisor: if reasonable motivations for a certain translation strategy are presented through the use of footnotes or by direct contact with the patronage, the manipulation process could be reduced and the resulting translation could be a compromise between the conservative attitude of the translator aimed at preserving the original meaning of the term, including its primary impact on the public, and supervisors' concern regarding the audience's shock. Please observe **Table 6**:

TABLE. 6 ORIGINAL DIALOGUE	
BEN	Did somebody say something to you? Does someone in there know you're Buddhist?
ALICE	No. It's just There's no ambiance. There's no incense, there's no art or statues or anything.
HENRY	Yeah, I'm Catholic. I'd like some statues and art too.
ALICE	Yeah, but what I've seen of Christian art, it's a little depressing.
HENRY	You're right. Y-You know what I never got? Why we always see Christ at his worst moment. Why the crucifixion? Why not the loaves of bread and wine? That would've made a better picture. You could hang that in your kitchen.
BEN	Both of you, stop.
HENRY	It's just that the crucifixion is so personal. You know, his clothes are falling off, there's blood all over his head and it's scary.
BEN	I may not be a religious person, but I think the crucifixion is the most significant moment. That's why they chose it.
ALICE	Shouldn't it be the coming back to life moment?

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ITALIAN DUBBING				
ALICE	Ma dove eravate? Mi avete lasciata sola! Io sono buddista, qui mi sento			
	fuori posto!			
BEN	Perché, qualcuno ti ha detto qualcosa? Hanno capito che sei buddista?			
ALICE	No! Il fatto è che non c'è atmosfera. Non c'è incenso, non ci sono statue,			
	non c'è niente!			
HENRY	Già, io sono cattolico e vorrei qualche statua anch'io.			
ALICE	Sì, però l'arte cristiana è davvero deprimente!			
HENRY	Hai ragione! E sai cosa non capisco? Perché ci fanno vedere Cristo nel suo momento peggiore! Perché la Crocifissione? Perché non qualche miracolo? Sarebbe un'immagine migliore. Potrebbe ispirare la vita di ogni giorno.			
BEN	Adesso basta! Smettetela!			
HENRY	Io trovo che la Crocifissione sia un momento privato: gli indumenti a brandelli, il sangue dappertutto, è una cosa terribile!			
BEN	Sentite, ragazzi, io non sono molto religioso, però secondo me la crocifissione è in assoluto il momento più significativo. Per questo l'hanno scelta!			
ALICE	Non dovrebbe essere la Resurrezione?			
BACK TRANSLATION				
ALICE	Where have you been? You left me all alone. And I'm Buddhist! I feel out of place here.			
BEN	Did somebody say something to you? Did they guess you're Buddhist?			
ALICE	No. It's just There's no ambiance. There's no incense, there's no statues or anything.			
HENRY	Yeah, I'm Catholic. I'd like some statues too.			
ALICE	Yeah, but Christian art, it's depressing.			
HENRY	You're right. Y-You know what I never got? Why we always see Christ at his worst moment. Why the Crucifixion? Why not some miracles? That would've made a better picture. It could be inspiring for everyday life.			
BEN	Both of you, stop.			
HENRY	It's just that the Crucifixion is a private moment. Clothes thorn apart, blood all over and it's scary.			
BEN	Listen guys, I'm not a religious person, but I think the crucifixion is the most significant moment. That's why they chose it.			
ALICE	Shouldn't it be the Resurrection?			

The dialogue is taken from the episode #103, that is about a church service which causes some drama when a variety of people who don't usually attend (including Adrian) decide to. In the sequence the supervisor authorized the preservation of some reference to religion, this contradicting the strategy of omitting any reference to specific religion or substituting with euphemisms used so far. Otherwise the entire sequence would have been eliminated if there was no way of finding a non-specific correspondent to Christian rituals of Resurrection and Crucifixion. The conservation of the reference was discussed with the supervisor and only very few changes were produced, mainly for lipsync motivations. On the other hand, the following sequence (Table 7), appearing soon after in the episode, undergoes radical changes. It involves the

controversial character of Adrian. Her presence in church is certainly atypical and causes some problems with her rebellious spirit.

TABLE. 7				
ORIGINAL DIALOGUE		OFFICIAL ITALIAN DUBBING		
ADRIAN	Ooh! We look good together. Oh, and if the school board thinks you were with me just for sex , this could also be presented as evidence.	ADRIAN	Oh, stiamo bene insieme! Oh, se il consiglio pensa che stavi come me solo per il sesso , questa potrebbe servire come prova.	
OMAR	Of what?	OMAR	Di cosa?	
ADRIAN	You're done here.	ADRIAN	Tu girati.	
KID	You said "sex." We're in church and you said "sex."	BAMBINO	Hai detto una parola vietata! Siamo in chiesa e ci sono delle parole che non si possono dire!	
ADRIAN	Oh, like Jesus never had sex! Never? Oh, come on!	ADRIAN	Come se Gesù non avesse mai sbagliato! Mai? Ma dai!	
OMAR	He never married.	OMAR	Ma stai parlando di Gesù!	
ADRIAN	And?	ADRIAN	Allora?	

The sequence was highly manipulated in most of its elements. Starting from what the child says, it was considered scandalous for a minor to utter the word sex; hence the substitution with the generic *parola vietata* (*forbidden word*) or *parole che non si possono dire* (*words which must not be said*) in church. The most important part of the sequence is indeed Adrian's reference to the sexuality of Christ for which the supervisor imposed a moral judgement that was absent in the original script. So, in Adrian's genuine question *Oh like Jesus never had sex?* the explicit reference to Christ's sexuality was omitted, but the chosen translation adds the meaning of *non aveva mai sbagliato* (*He never made a mistake*), according to which sex is wrong and so it is unbelievable to name his sexuality in a Catholic country like Italy, in which he is supposed retained to have died a virgin. Also, the theological dispute about Christ's marriage hinted at in Omar's reply was considered unthinkable and was totally omitted, although pertinent.

Concluding remarks

This contribution aimed to explore some linguistic and cultural issues related to the dubbing of taboo words referred to both religion and sex. Some critical examples have been selected for their translation analysis as significant cases coming from a TV show dealing with taboo topics, but in which some words are even impossible to be chosen in the Italian version, including naming God. The taboos inherent to sex and religion have been shown to be both suppressed or drastically changed, thus revealing the persistence of the taboo in the Italian culture and confirming the research hypothesis. In the examples we have observed different effects of manipulation on the final dubbed dialogue. Sometimes these translations are subject to savage manipulation by the patronage when they do not respond to a codified translation strategy or when dialogue writers are unwilling to operate a self-censuring process according to instructions. An indiscriminate mitigation of taboos affects language characterization in the source language and even adds moral meanings that are not present in the original. The conclusions we have come up is that manipulation is linked to the patronage and not necessarily connected with actual Italian social needs. Several other examples of religious taboo mitigated or omitted can be found throughout the corpus and the adopted translation strategies are nonunivocal. This phenomenon can be caused by multiple factors: the same dialogue writer could have had different levels of self-censorship according to what may be considered as scandalous; there is often more than one dialogue writer for different episodes and their interpretation of the diktats could be more or less rigorous in each case, since it is based on unofficial unwritten indications. It would be interesting to further develop these notions on a wider scale to better understand these semantic differences.

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When Time and Space Inspire. Audiovisual Translation in Contact with Interpreting

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Abstract

This paper deals with cross-curricular activities and the opportunities of their development in a teaching process. It focuses on the relations between audiovisual translation and simultaneous or consecutive interpretation within the Translation and Interpretation field of study. This work is based on two assumptions partially inspired on Talván Zanón's work and the author's individual experience as Spanish language teacher, media translator and interpreter: firstly, when our students work with audiovisual material in their practically oriented seminars, it has a positive impact on their motivation and secondly, subtitling as a form of audiovisual translation helps to improve the efficiency of economization techniques in interpreting, which is essential for both consecutive and simultaneous interpreting modes. The main objective of this paper is to highlight the similarity of the process of interpreting and audiovisual translation (text reception, decoding and encoding phases, text interpretation) and to present possible innovations in the preparation of future translators and interpreters, especially within the Slovak-Spanish context, which is the field our investigation and pedagogical interest.

Introduction

Cross-curricular links belong among the frequently discussed topics in the context of primary and high schools as can be observed in the works of researchers and specialists in foreign language teaching as well as in other fields,

such as Rascón (2013), Shenton (2013) or Turek (2008). However, in universities, the issue is paid very little attention, although it is more than desirable for the tertiary educational institutions to equip the graduates of their accredited study programmes with comprehensive preparation.¹⁸

This paper aims to present the possible links between audiovisual translation and simultaneous and consecutive interpreting in the educational process, during which future translators and interpreters are trained; in the Spanish Language and Culture study programme (in combination with another language) this approach is actively used thanks to our individual teaching and research expertise in audiovisual translation and interpretation allows for it. Based on the theoretical works provided by renowned experts in the relevant fields, this paper points out how the specific interpreter's competences overlap with those of an audiovisual translator (AVT), especially a subtitle translator. These competences can be trained and improved as early as in the preparatory exercises in Master studies in order to let the student automatize the requested activities in the gradual acquisition process of specialised, language, cultural, technical as well as market competences.

Comprehensible development of the basic competences in future translators and interpreters

This paper draws from expert opinions in multiple fields – didactics, translation studies, professional translators and interpreters provided in the recently published translation titled Didaktika prekladu a tlmočenia na Slovensku (Didactics of Translation and Interpreting in Slovakia, 2018). These experts agree on the set of basic competences the translator and interpreter should possess: "translating/interpreting, language and text, research, intercultural and technical competences" suitably complemented by "translation service provision" (Djovčoš, Šveda et al. 2018: 167, 184).¹⁹

¹⁸ In 2014 Z. Kraviarová proposed a framework for integrated teaching of specialized translation and a strategy for incorporating various skills into the teaching flow. In 2015 M. Bachledová extended her research.

¹⁹ The aforementioned collective monograph reflects the experience of Slovak university teachers specialising in English and German, i.e. world languages with a permanent major position in the Slovak translation market. 79

Although the importance of cross-curricular links in the educational process and their development in order to interconnect the knowledge pertaining to multiple disciplines, creating a complex idea of the reality, the traditional division of educational contents into individual subjects still prevails in universities due to pragmatic reasons related to the issue of organizing schedules for teachers and students during the academic year. It also applies to future translators and interpreters. It results from the opportunity (or necessity) of allowing teachers to specialise in specific fields of research. The languages popular in the Slovak translator market naturally attract more translation and interpreting students than less demanded languages. University teachers specialising in the more popular languages have the opportunity of specialising in two or three specialised disciplines. However, the situation with other languages is different in Slovakia²⁰, which also applies to Spanish. In the latter case, teachers are required to teach as many as five or six subjects, as is currently the case at Matej Bel University in Slovakia, so they tend to intensify the cross-curricular links among them probably more often than in the former case, because they are often forced to do so given the circumstances.²¹

This paper aims to point out how the enhancing of cross-curricular links develops the aforementioned translator and interpreter competences; the subjects pertaining to Master studies in the Translation and Interpreting study field in the Spanish Language and Culture (in combination with another language) study programme will be used to demonstrate the approach.

In terms of our own specialisation, cross-curricular links can be considered an inevitable part of the specialised preparation of future translators and interpreters, so they are already integrated in study plans. Since the last comprehensive accreditation (2015)²² in Slovakia which has a validity period of five years, students can specialise in translation and/or interpreting in the

²⁰ The author draws from years of expertise she has gained at MBU in Banská Bystrica. For example, in the 2017/2018 academic year, the Spanish Language and Culture (in combination with another language) study programme in both Bachelor and Master degrees is provided by merely four Hispanists.

²¹ Compare the number of subjects taught by individual polonists (Olchowa, Račáková) or hispanists (Ďurovková, Reichwalderová):

https://www.ff.umb.sk/app/cmsSiteAttachment.php?ID=5729 (Accessed on: 04/08/2018), pp. 66–68, 82–84. ²² The final accreditation results achieved by the Slovak universities can be consulted in:

https://www.minedu.sk/vysledky-komplexnych-akreditacii-cinnosti-vysokych-skol-ukoncenych-v-roku-2015/ (Accessed on: 04/08/2018)

selected language combination during their Master studies in two profile translation studies modules²³ consisting of compulsory elective courses: the Spanish 1 translation studies module - Translation of Current Literary Texts, Translation of Legal and Economic Texts, Audiovisual Translation for Hispanists; Spanish 2 translation studies module - Simultaneous Interpreting in Practice, Consecutive Interpreting in Practice, Translation in EU Institutions. All these courses take the form of a double lesson (80 minutes) once a week. If a single teacher teaches four of the aforementioned courses (see reference No. 4), it is understandable for them to exploit the benefits of the cross-curricular links in order to increase both the efficiency and attractiveness of the educational process; the contents and topics covered in the individual courses allow the establishment of these links. Like this, students learn to process translator and interpreter issues within a broader logical context and address them comprehensively, creatively and in line with the requirements of the dynamic translation and interpreting market.

The objective is not to establish a new education concept in the given field of studies; the aim is to explain that measured and conceptual cross-linking between different compulsory and compulsory elective courses can be beneficial not only for students and their professional future, but also for teachers who apply the knowledge from their own translation and interpreting practice. Paulínyová and Perez consider this knowledge an inseparable part of the "ideal" audiovisual translation teaching model (AVT) (In Djovčoš, Šveda et al. 2018: 200) and we identify with the opinion.

The state of the subject matter in Slovakia

The theory and didactics of audiovisual translation belongs among the most disciplines in translation studies dynamically developing in Slovakia, undoubtedly thanks to the fact that these experts have both academic and practical experience in the field. Although the first studies dealing with the specificities of audiovisual translation appeared in Slovakia almost 40 years ago,

²³ Compare: https://www.ff.umb.sk/app/cmsSiteAttachment.php?ID=5730 (Accessed on: 04/06/2018)

Besides the compulsory elective courses offered by the modules, the students attend a compulsory course in consecutive and simultaneous interpreting, which takes the form of a triple lesson (120 minutes) per week for one semester.

comprehensive publications began emerging only recently.²⁴ Although the Slovak work centres dealing with translation studies realise the need for both theoretical and didactic AVT research, the implementation and promotion of compulsory or mandatory elective courses specialising specifically in AVT depends almost exclusively on the individual preference and staff capacity of the individual departments.

Apart from audiovisual translation, consecutive and simultaneous interpreting has a many-year tradition in Slovakia, which reflects not only in the number, but the relatively broad scope of specialised literature addressing the discipline; in this context, works dealing with the methodology of interpreting in the educational environment are of importance. In Slovakia, *Úvod do komunikačnej teórie tlmočenia (Introduction to the Communication Theory of Interpreting*, 1980) by A. Keníž initiated a revolution; to this day it is widely cited. More recent works include research studies and monographs by Belková, Bohušová, Djovčoš, Gromová, Melicherčíková, Müglová, Šveda and others. Similarly to publications addressing audiovisual translation, these works reflect the fact that their authors possess empirical experience in interpreting.

In the context of the cross-curricular links and their development across audiovisual translation and interpreting within university education, the author's research into the issue showed that no specialised literature or scientific studies, except for Reichwalderová's conference papers listed among the literature, are available. However, it must be pointed out that the direct interconnection of audiovisual, literary and partly specialised translation has been referred to in publications dealing with audiovisual translation, e. g. Paulínyová and Perez in the chapter titled Výučba audiovizuálneho prekladu na Slovensku (Audiovisual Translation Teaching in Slovakia) in the aforementioned monograph by Djovčoš, Šveda et al. (2018: 189, 191). Šveda (2016: 146) also sees the opportunity to achieve the synergy and cross-development of skills in the parallel teaching of simultaneous and consecutive interpreting: "The parallel model of teaching (...) can represent a benefit in the form of skills accumulation and the creation of synergy among individual disciplines on the level of basic analytical and memory

²⁴ The relevant bibliography can be found in the cited literature appended to the paper.

activities. (...) The mutual interaction between the parallel development of cognitive-analytical processes in consecutive and simultaneous interpreting can be interesting, since they are applied differently in either of these modes of interpreting."

Overlapping and development of interpreter and subtitle translator competences in the educational environment

The course in audiovisual translation (currently titled Audiovisual Translation for Hispanists) at the Department of Romance Languages at FA MBU has been taught since the 2011/2012 academic year. It consists of lectures and practical seminars addressing AVT in the system of translation studies, specificities of translation for dubbing, subtitle translation and translation of the spoken commentary found in documentaries and reality series (voice-overs). A relatively large number of topics is addressed in the course (given that it takes the form of one 80-minute lesson per week); however, most time and space is dedicated to the practical subtitling of audiovisual works across different genres and topics.

Subtitling has been recently gaining importance in Slovakia since it allows for the quicker distribution of films in foreign languages to the Slovak viewer and subtitles significantly contribute to language learning.²⁵ The benefits of subtitling or the use of subtitles (interlingual or intralingual) in language learning include the improvement of the auditive comprehension of foreign-language text, the contextualisation of specific information as well as direct contact with the actual world of the source-language culture, despite the discourse in question being often "created artificially" (Hardošová 2012: 87).

Active language proficiency (at the B2 level according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) is a necessary precondition for the student to practice interpreting as such in the Master degree of their studies. Future interpreters must be able to deal with diverse topics (with

²⁵ Despite the clearly determined criteria for students enrolling in the Spanish Language and Culture (in combination with another language) study programme, including the requirement that these students already have achieved the B1 level of language proficiency, some students enrol despite insufficient or even zero proficiency in the Spanish language; they take the risk despite the fact that several disciplines pertaining to linguistics and translation studies are taught (exclusively or partly) in the foreign language and even by native speakers from the very beginning of Bachelor studies. Compare the results of the quantitative research performed by M. Melicherčíková (2016).

different levels of terminological saturation), speech rates, pronunciation and intonation of different text expedients. Audiovisual text offers diversity across all its components (language, visual, auditive), therefore its use should not be random or complementary in the preparation of future translators and interpreters – it should represent an integral part of their training in terms of text selection and exercises developing individual interpreting strategies.

When the student has mastered reception, they proceed to train semantic analysis. The students gradually learn to distinguish between important and unimportant or redundant information in terms of language economy (interpreter as the expedient), and simplified reception (interpreter as the percipient) in the source text. As the creators of the new text in the target language they strive to achieve speech condensation and economisation in speech production (Keníž 1986). In terms of interpreter communication, students proceed to focus on their oral presentation to ensure its adequacy at all the observed levels (morphological, syntactic, phonetic, lexical, stylistic). Just like interpreters (oral form), subtitle translators (written form) are supposed to come up with solutions employing minimum effort and maximum efficiency (the minimax strategy)" (Bohušová 2009: 86, according to Köhler et al. 2005: 778). "The interpreter hereby takes the role of the speaker, although the content of their speech is merely (?) a mediation of the original content. The subtitle translator must prove their expertise in stylistics and orthography to copy the spoken language of the characters and transform it in line with temporal and spatial limitations. J. Želonka (2013: 149) states that subtitles resemble "shortened translation of original dialogue" and "interpreting in written form".

Both interpreting and subtitling are accompanied with temporal, spatial and technical limitations (which the students are getting used to), therefore all "text-creation processes converge to reducing intertextual linking, meaning that the source text will be reduced to a part of the original semantic information – the text units carrying the semantic load" (Keníž 1986: 48). The translation of AV subtitles is characterised by relatively high text condensation at multiple levels. In the first stage, the dialogue sheet is translated and the subtitles are timed (both processes take place simultaneously) using mostly translation strategies known as compressing, selection and generalisation. If the subtitle translator does not have the proper materials (dialogue sheet, screenplay), they have to work with the auditory material loading their short-term memory, similarly to interpreting. In the final stage when the subtitles are checked in terms of correctness, embedding and timing, additional condensation often takes place – the prescribed form of the subtitles (as provided by the client) has to match the average reading speed of the recipient. Pošta (2011: 42) points out the importance of the preceding interpreting experience, which helps the subtitle translator finish their work, "when the subtitle translator play the video with the subtitles, listens to the original audio and checks the subtitles against it".

The three stages of the interpreting process: the reception and comprehension of the information, holding and re-coding, reconstruction and production of the target text (Keníž 1986) are present in the translation of AV subtitles, too; however, oral presentation is hereby substituted by a visual output designed to be read.

The general criteria for AV subtitling²⁶ have been defined by a number of authors (among hispanists it was J. Díaz Cintas, in the Czecho-Slovak context, Miroslav Pošta). An important precondition for subtitle quality is their brevity determined by the limited time for which it appears on the screen. A single line can consist of 35–40 characters on average, which depends upon the target medium (cinema, TV, DVD, etc.) and the source/target languages. The subtitles usually appear in the bottom part of the screen in one, two and sometimes even three lines. Each subtitle can appear for 5-6 seconds with the minimum of 2 seconds in the case of a short single-line subtitle. The subtitle should encompass a separate semantic idea, ideally a single sentence, allowing the viewer to focus on the artistic impression as well as other audiovisual aspects of the AV work.

Similarly to oral translation (interpreting), subtitle translation requires the correct interpretation of the text and ensures that the translation as a product covers all important information and contents of the characters' speech. Both the interpreter and subtitle translator must avoid incomprehensible and

²⁶ This paper deals specifically with subtitles targeted at viewers without hearing impairments. In Slovakia, subtitling for hearing-impaired viewers is addressed mainly by E. Perez.

complicated complex sentences; they are supposed to eliminate the unimportant and redundant parts of the text by employing adaptation-specific textual processes such as selection, substitution and sometimes (rarely, although necessary) explication. Omitting onomatopoeia, addressing, greetings, and character names already known from the context, tautologies and fillers (*muletillas*) are considered a common practice.

Subtitles as a form of written translation should be thoroughly prepared and logical in terms of their syntax. Simultaneous interpreting and subtitle translation both require the interpreter/translator to "copy" the timing of the characters/communicators' speech; it means that if the character speaks quickly, the subtitles will be condensed and thus shorter than the actual speech of the communicators in the AV work. The oral bilingual communication activity of the interpreter is substituted by the written bilingual communication of the subtitle translator, which is directly related to the visual and non-verbal aspects (screen framework) of the AV work.

Interpreters as well as subtitle translators are mediators, the recipients receiving their interpretation of the heard/seen text. They filter out certain information from the source text; however, it is inevitable and considered appropriate. The interpreter receives the text part by part without having the opportunity of rectifying their own speech which they produce because the original communication is of an oral nature; therefore it is unique and unrepeatable. In comparison, the subtitle translator is provided with the context (dialogue sheet, screenplay, temporally and formally limited AV work) in which the individual means of expression are determined more precisely. The interpreter can only rely on the previous context or anticipate certain information if they are experienced enough. The subtitle translator does not necessarily need to develop their anticipation skills since they can return to the problematic parts of the text and use all available translator resources during the process (dictionaries, databases, personal consulting, etc.). However, actual subtitle translators often work under time pressure without having enough time for extensive proofreading or consulting during the *spotting/timing* of the subtitles. The invisible rectification is also absent in the simultaneous subtitling of TV programmes and films.

Perfect control of one's short-term memory synchronised with the recoding phase is the precondition for a quality interpreting performance. This short-time fixation of the source text in order to capture key information represents the precondition for the next stage in the interpreting process – the reproduction or actual interpreting of the information heard in the target language. Short-term memory is trained using synonym exercises, which significantly improves the language competence in the AV translator as well. This also supports the idea that cross-linking between AV translation and simultaneous and consecutive interpreting can be of interest in an innovative approach to the preparation of future translators and interpreters and provide benefits.

According to Haringhová (2010: 90) requirements for a quality translator of subtitles and dialogue sheets as dubbing materials suggest that the complexity and "hybridity" of their profile overlap with the requirements for a quality interpreter: "(...) they must be highly proficient in the source and target languages, their registers, dialects and nuances, as well as able to simplify and reduce the language; to trim the idea in a way that the viewer does not get lost in the context and ensure that they transfer the unfamiliar realia into the context of the domestic culture". The improving of auditory skills in the language skill comprehension, conceptualisation of the information and (to some extent) direct contact with the actual world of the source culture represent important aspects of intercultural communication and carriers of the transcultural communication. The regular and measured incorporation of the cultural components into the individual content standards in the translation and interpreting studies through authentic audiovisual materials is natural, inevitable and desirable.

Conclusion

Subtitle translation as a preparatory exercise for interpreting performance targeted at Master degree students in the Translation and Interpreting field of

study can be a rewarding, diversifying and efficient element in the educational process, given that the training of the translator and interpreter skills and strategies is harmonised in terms of time and topics.

Working with audiovisual materials positively influence the motivation of students; translation subtitling as a form of audiovisual translation helps them learn efficient techniques of language economisation necessary in both interpreting modes. Through subtitling, students develop their verbal expression; they are learning to capture the invariant of the source text and transform it into the target language without relying on literal translation. After hours of work required for the translation of subtitles, they are able to express themselves spontaneously (in both oral and written forms), fluently and using correct grammar. They improve their sensitivity in distinguishing semantic nuances and accents and communicate in a constructive way regardless of cultural diversity. During their studies they create and maintain specific multilingual glossaries, which will help them to overcome the difficulties related to the initial stage of their interpreting practice, and last but not least, they get to regularly exercise interpreting strategies, paraphrasing, compressing, condensation, generalisation and selection. They learn to use the subtitling software at a level that significantly increases their chances in the translation and interpreting market after graduation.

The author realizes that the presented paper does not offer specific solutions of how the cross-curricular links can be established within the university preparation of future translators and interpreters, however, we believe the paper can contribute to initiate a discussion on the inter-university level. At the Matej Bel University, for years the author has been traditionally working with small groups of students who attend interpreting as a compulsory course and AVT as an optional course (max. 10 students per an academic year attend both these courses). To verify the validity of the experience-based assumptions of the author presented in this paper, a much larger group of research subjects is needed for a proper qualitative and quantitative research. This paper serves as a call for the fellow universities to start cooperation to research and possibly pursue the benefits of introducing the cross-curricular links into university preparation of future translators and interpreters in the next accreditation period.

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REVIEW 1: Film Discourse Interpretation: Towards a New Paradigm for Multimodal Film Analysis (2014)

Reviewed by Jana Ukušová

The book *Film Discourse Interpretation: Towards a New Paradigm for Multimodal Film Analysis* (2014) by the German researcher Janina Wildfeuer addresses the issue of a film's understanding through the prism of inferential reasoning. It tries to examine how films' textual qualities affect the meaning-construction process of the viewer and how they trigger his interpretation process based on the multimodal content of the film and his world and film knowledge. This approach therefore combines both cognitive and linguistic viewpoints.

The main goal of the book is to provide the reader with a methodological formulation of the logic of film discourse interpretation using the discourse semantics approaches and more general approaches to film analysis and interpretation. The notion of logic relates explicitly to narrative logic, that is how the narrative is being constructed in the film. It takes into account not only the aspects of time and space, but other logical and associative relations as well, and offers a classification of discourse relations, providing for the film's coherence and structure.

The given methodological framework is illustrated on a rather large spectrum of film genres. The author provides an analysis of film extracts from the following genres: a drama film *The Lives of Others* (2006), a science-fiction psychological thriller *Vanilla Sky* (2001), a romantic comedy *Amélie* (2001) and a psychological drama *Requiem for a Dream* (2004).

Compared to other current approaches to film analysis, the author's contribution to the given field consists in a new, comprehensive approach, trying to find points of intersection between the interpretation process of the recipient and the overall structure and coherence of the text, as well as allowing for further analysis and examination.

REVIEW 2: From the paper to the screen: The Audiovisual Translation Creation Process (2017)

Reviewed by Szabolcs Mészáros and Soňa Hodáková

Mgr. Lucia Paulínyová works as an assistant at the Department of British and American Studies at the Faculty of Arts of the Comenius University in Bratislava. In her research she focuses on audiovisual translation, dubbing translation, dubbing editing, the didactics of audiovisual translation, and subtitling. Her publication *Z papiera na obraz: Proces tvorby audiovizuálneho prekladu [From the Paper to the Screen: The Audiovisual Translation Creation Process]* represents a pioneering work in the field of audiovisual translation in Slovakia as it is one of the few monographies on the subject. This book explores both theory and practice in the respective field.

The first, theoretical part of the work provides an exhaustive overview of the sometimes academically neglected field of audiovisual translation.

Audiovisual translation as a field of study raised the attention of both theoreticians and professionals, with an increasing number of articles and studies being published on the subject, yet there is still a lack of monographies that would provide comprehensive information about the various offshoots of audiovisual translation.

The theoretical part tries to clarify and to reformulate definitions in the field of audiovisual translation which are no longer plausible, while taking into consideration the work that has already been done in the field. By comparing different definitions, the author points out to certain missing characteristics, thus providing us with new definitions that are reflecting on the deficiencies of the previous ones.

As mentioned in her work, audiovisual translation as a process is the product of collective effort requiring both artistic and technical capabilities, rather than an individual task. A huge advantage which is evident throughout the work is the intertwining of theory and practice as the author is not only well-versed in her academic research in the field but also derives from her own experience as a translator and editor of scripts for Slovak broadcasting media. Therefore, she involves specific examples derived from her practice in the theoretical part of the work.

After introducing us to the basic concepts of audiovisual translation, the author clarifies its placement in translation studies as she provides us with clear comparisons with the other types of translation. The focus is then put to dubbing, exploring its definitions, characteristics, types of dubbing, its development in Slovakia and how the creation of dubbing works, specifically naming and defining professions involved in the process up to the point of outlining their particular tasks. A short glossary of audiovisual terminology is also presented.

The main questions explored in the research part of the work are the changes made in the translated script compared to the final Slovak dubbed versions, quantitatively exploring the number of changes made and their originators while qualitatively focusing on the types of changes, the way they got carried out and the reason why. The research was conducted on the three episodes of the third series of the TV series *Sherlock* (2014).

The quantitative research uses basic statistical tools to find out the proportion of work being done on the script: how many of the translated text remains in the final script, how many gets changed by the editor and then by the other creators of the final dubbed version respectively. The author's findings prove the importance of the work done by the translator, as almost the half of the translated text remains and appears in the final script unchanged. Thus, translators should be wary of the impact their translation has on the final product and shouldn't rely on the other participants of the dubbing creation process to correct their mistakes.

The qualitative research searches for the reason why the editor changes the translation and tries to categorize these changes. This research shows that the translator is often bound to the original script too much and thus, this creates an interference of the source language into the target language. Reflecting on this interference, the research found out that the changes made by the script editor often contribute to the authenticity of the language used (on the level of general stylistics and pragmatics, not only the phonetic qualities required to produce convincingly dubbed media). However, when trying to understand some of the translator's dubious solutions, the editor often introduced changes which were of a negative nature, creating wrong meaning. These findings yet again prove that the translator should be most conscientious when producing the translated script and should be free from the lingual structures the original imposes so as to be able to create an authentically sounding translation.

The work greatly contributes to the development of the field of audiovisual translation in Slovakia. The theoretical part intertwined with various examples is a useful tool not only to university students taking audiovisual translation courses but to the people who would like to gain theoretical insight into the creation of audiovisual translations as well. The commentaries made by the author and three literary editors on the script translation and editing offer valuable insights not only in the field of audiovisual translation and dubbing in general, but to the intricacies of the translation process as such. Therefore, the didactic value of the work should not be omitted. Even though the research is limited to three episodes of a TV series, prospective consecutive research done

in a similar way will certainly contribute to a deeper understanding of the professional roles in the field of audiovisual media.

REVIEW 3: Language Diversity Volume 3: Language(s) and Power, edited by Elena Di Giovanni and Francesca Raffi

Reviewed by Mária Koscelníková

"Writing, reading, translating, interpreting, reporting and re-telling are all activities which draw different cultures and languages together." This is how the editors start this magnificent publication full of rich and abundant knowledge. Languages are the means of connecting people; they reach people almost in every aspect of their life. The volume points out two significant attributes of language – diversity and power. Diversity makes people unique, through uniqueness we maintain our identity, and through language we can speak together and yet stay different. Such communication involves power, a tool which is of a great importance when applied during language communication. The volume resolves around power relations present in linguistics, translation ⁹⁶ studies and literary studies. The power of language is appearing in various environments spanning from politics, journalism, cinema and television towards services, translation, literature and teaching. The issue of power accompanies us through the whole volume, offering pleasant reading full of interesting ideas, comparisons, research methods and topics for the further research.

The volume is divided into twelve chapters, the first seven of which deal with languages, cultures and power and the latter ones with power in translations.

The conception of the first seven chapters' shows the power of language as an issue which should be taken seriously when used in many spheres of daily life. The power of language firstly appears in *Raluca Levonian's* paper, who points out how differently is power of language expressed in relation to political discourse about migration. Switching powers is a common phenomenon in legal drama researched by Adriano Laudisio who shows us shifting of power in court by using appropriate language means of court participants in various speech phases. Elena di Giovanni with her paper about educational cinema experiment in Africa presents the educational experiment in Central Africa by British colonizers by means of cinematic language. Journalism is an environment giving opportunity for using the power of language, closely researched by Cesare Zanca, whose paper provides profound study of news values in the US, UK and Italian press with an emphasis on eliteness regarding information before and after the Paris terrorist attack. Words, either spoken or written, can reach many. The issue of power then reaches masses, which can be seen in the example of a well-known Italian work, I promessi sposi by Alessandro Manzoni. Constanza Geddes da Filicaia introduces the relationship between language and power expressed in the novel which spoke to many people. The last chapter of the first thematic group of the volume researching languages, cultures and power, brings the issue of the power of feedback, with an analysis of users and their status on travel website TripAdvisor, prepared by Antonella Napolitano and Maria Cristina Aiezza. Each chapter of the first group offers a lot of examples of how power can change the meaning, how can appropriate words shift power to the other person,

how the lack of knowledge gives advantage to the ones having it and many stimulating ideas suitable for the further research.

In the second part of the volume focusing on the power of translation, the authors introduce many ideas to think about. In her study, Francesca Raffi shows the intersection between language and power present in the post-war Italy, investigating the use of languages in the work Le Notti di Cabiria, looking at the struggle for power in the use of Roman dialect vs. standard Italian during Fascism in Italy. Translators have a huge power, especially when translating for specific audiences. Emilia Perez points out the power of hearing translators when choosing appropriate translation methods and solutions in translation for the deaf and hard of hearing recipients used in a Slovak film November 1989, a documentary about the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, having many challenges when deciding what to translate and what to omit when subtitling. The power is present not only in the translation process itself, but it is also possessed by the source language. Jasmina Hanić and Tanja Pavlović explore metaphor and metonymy translation on a sample of novice translators, resisting the power of source language when translating into Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. The presence of power in language is omnipresent. In the penultimate chapter, Lorena Carbonara presents the power of language in western film trailers in the sense of language occupation, pointing out empowerment and disempowerment regarding representation of Native Americans. The last chapter of Tanja Pavlović presents directionality in translation in an academic setting, pointing out the power of authorities over curriculum of translation studies, emphasizing the prejudice against L1 to L2 translation when training future translators. Each chapter of the second group shows us a lot of examples regarding translation and power and the importance of making good choices when using translation as a tool of power.

To sum up, the contributions in this volume offer us wide choice of profound topics, reading of which is very enriching. The issue of language, diversity and power is present in every chapter of this volume, showing us that people can be powerful intermediaries of information via using language, reminding us about huge responsibility when using and transferring words either spoken or written in our everyday life. The volume is full of ideas for the future research, heavily recommended for anyone with a passion for languages.