We didn't get nuffin': subtitled film as a tool in the teaching of markers of orality

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Thanks and acknowledgements

Abstract

If more is learnt about the processes that help students to develop the skills required of competent translators then the learning experience can be optimized and students assisted in becoming more fluent in socio-cultural variants of language. This study is concerned with the comprehension of sociolinguistic variants as reflected in the markers of orality present in film dialogue. There is a growing body of research demonstrating that subtitled materials play a significant role in the acquisition of foreign languages and are increasingly being promoted as a valuable aid to teaching. The present study explores the use of subtitled film as a tool in the training of translators in relation to establishing whether language acquisition extends to culturally specific unfamiliar colloquial language, specifically markers of orality. Factors that can be employed to optimize the learning experience and acquisitional impact of such materials are also investigated. Empirical research was carried out into subtitle mode and subsequent comprehension of lexical items chosen from five categories of markers of orality present in the film dialogues. The data collected indicates that subject comprehension varies according to whether they view films with Spanish or English subtitles. Comprehension being consistently better for those subjects viewing with subtitles in English, indicating that intra-lingual subtitles with all linguistic input in the L2 might be a more effective teaching tool for markers of orality than inter-lingual subtitles with the dialogue in the L2 and the subtitles in the L1. Differences between subtitles in the five films of the corpus were analysed in an attempt to explore other explanations for the research findings. Analysis of the corpus indicates that there is a strong tendency for standard language to be used in Spanish subtitles for the films included in the corpus, whereas the English subtitles reflected considerably more of the linguistic variation present in the dialogue. Suggestions are made for translations that reflect linguistic variation to enhance the learning of foreign languages. Further research could be carried out to investigate levels of comprehension obtained after exposure to such subtitles.

Keywords and abbreviations

Audiovisual translation: the translation of audiovisual (film, radio, television, video) texts.

Colloquial language: everyday speech including many examples of linguistic variation.

Dialect: In this study the term *dialect* will be used interchangeably with the *term regional non-standard variant*. A dialect's main identifier is geography where a certain region uses specific phonological, morphosyntactic, or lexical rules.

English as a foreign language: EFL focuses on the importance of teaching cultural and societal aspects of language.

Foreign language acquisition (FLA): will be used in place of Second language acquisition (SLA), as the majority of the subjects in the study are not acquiring a second language. They are in the majority bilingual Catalan and Spanish speakers who are students of Translation studies and as such will speak at least 3 or 4 languages with varying degrees of fluency. The word acquisition is used to emphasise the difference between learning and acquisition. Krashen (1988) asserts that it is only acquired and not learnt language that is available for natural, fluent communication and that learning cannot be turned into acquisition.

Film: The word film will be used in this study instead of the general term audiovisual material as the corpus of the current study is drawn exclusively from film.

Input: all linguistic data to reach the learner.

Incidental learning: the absoption of language that occurs without conscious cognitive effort through, for example, the viewing of subtitled films.

Instructed (or active) learning: where learners are actively engaged in the learning process. In the present study it includes involvement in priming execises.

Linguistic variation*: refers to the different ways of signifying something. The production and use of variants, allowing semantic effects or identification of a social/regional location

Linguistic Variants*: Each of the terms entering into variation.

L1: A speaker's first language

L2: A speaker's second (in this case first foreign) language

Markers of Orality: These are the colloquial oral features of language. Although they are not exclusive to oral language, they are the elements that mark them out as speech and not writing.

The five lexical elements that comprise the markers of orality that form the basis of this research are as follows:

1. **Swearwords:** socially taboo words or phrases of a profane, obscene, or insulting nature

2. **Slang**: nonstandard informal vocabulary.
3. **Non-standard variants of grammar:** any variety of grammar that deviates from the standard.
4. **Regional non-standard variants (dialects):** nonstandard dialect.
5. **Idioms:** lexical items that must be stored in the long-term memory because their meaning can't be guessed at.

Priming: this is used in educational settings to influence attention and teach students to switch between cultural mindsets. It consists of exercises such as providing reading material and holding group discussions and in which cultural and linguistic non-standard alternatives are presented

Readability: unobtrusive, reader friendly subtitles with optimum visibility and layout and appropriate timing and synchronisation

Recoverability: the presence in other communicative channels of verbal information lost due to text reduction

Redundancy: this results in elimination of lexical items from subtitles due to the availability of relevant information in alternative channels of information.

*S*tandard English*:* the variant of the English language most frequently taught as a foreign language due to its universality.

Sociolectal variation/ social dialect: linguistic variety which is thought of as being related to its speakers social rather that regional background. It is the language spoken by a particular social group, class or subculture, whose determinants include: gender, age, occupation.

SL: Source Language

Subtitle: refers to the rendition of the spoken text in written translation in captions at the bottm of the screen.

Inter-lingual subtitles: are produced for widespread distribution of the film for foreign language audiences

    a. standard inter-lingual subtitles prepare the audiovisual material for a foreign language speaking audience by the addition of subtitles in the audiences' L1.

    b. Reversed inter-lingual subtitles consist of L2 subtitles added to audiovisual material in the viewer's native language, devised for language acquisitional purposes. This subtitling mode is beyond the scope of this study.

Intra-lingual subtitles (also called bimodal subtitles or captioning); were first devised as an aid to assist viewing for deaf and hard of hearing audiences. They are virtual transcripts of the dialogue and frequently include additional information related to sounds such as doors slamming or gun shots that are important in the narrative.

TL: target Language

Chapter 1: Introduction

"If there is any one crucial procedure for revealing the meaning of words, sentences and texts, it is the indispensible role of combined linguistic and cultural contexts" Nida (in Beeby et al (eds.) 2000: 12).

1.1 Introduction to the research topic

Lippi-Green states that (1997: 30) "The inability to recognize the social markers of linguistic variation is one of the most significant problems of second language learners and one that is rarely dealt with in the classroom where the myth of standard language has a stronghold". Such markers of linguistic variation are features of oral rather than written discourse and the focus of the current study is how they can be most effectively taught using subtitled films. Whilst acknowledging that subtitles are produced to allow viewers to follow the film and not as a teaching tool, such material is however a rich source of language as it is spoken and this study therefore takes as its focus the use of subtitled film in assisting students of translation in their comprehension of socio-cultural variants of language as reflected in the markers of orality present in film dialogue.

Markers of orality (Bartoll, 2010) are lexical choices and patterns, providing conversational cues that add richness to language by serving as intensifiers. They are the colloquial oral features of language. Although they are not exclusive to oral language, they are the elements that mark them out as speech and not writing. Labov lists them as (1972b: 378) "Gestures, expressive phonology, quantifiers, repetition and ritual utterances". They include linguistic elements such as; unfinished sentences, false starts, self-corrections, repetition, tense variations, alternative word order and expressions of surprise, regret or impatience and idioms. Markers of orality are present in phonetic and phonological features such as accent, morphology and syntax and are linguistic devices that have important pragmatic functions in communication, their purpose being to "organize, recover, reformulate and segment the information provided to the hearer" (Gonzalez 2012). Their presence in film dialogue provides the viewer with valuable information about the protagonists and assist the translator in making appropriate stylistic and lexcal choices.

The five lexical elements that comprise the markers of orality that form the basis of this research are as follows:

1. **Swearwords:** socially taboo words or phrases of a profane, obscene, or insulting nature
2. **Slang**: nonstandard informal vocabulary.
3. **Non-standard variants of grammar:** any variety of grammar that deviates from the standard.
4. **Regional non-standard variants (dialects):** nonstandard dialect.
5. **Idioms:** lexical items that must be stored in the long-term memory because their meaning can't be guessed at.

1.2   The research question

Subtitled audiovisual materials have been demonstrated to play a significant role in the acquisition of foreign languages and are a valuable teaching tool. The principal aims of the research are to investigate whether an understanding of the complexities of markers of orality can be acquired through exposure to subtitled films and if so, what factors might influence any such acquisition and how these learning outcomes can be optimized? To achieve this, the study takes a dual approach; firstly, investigating by means of empirical experiments improvements in understanding of markers of orality following viewing of the films in the corpus and secondly, exploring whether such comprehension differs in relation to whether subjects are exposed to film with inter or intra-lingual subtitles and raises the possibility that any differences that do exist may be due to a marked tendency to eliminate such markers from the Spanish subtitles.

1.3   Structure of the research

This research, grounded in classroom activities, takes into account qualitative aspects of the subtitled texts, focuses on the way in which these impact language acquisition and hopes to provide useful outcomes for both teaching practice and further research. The research was carried out in three phases. The first phase consisted of a pilot study concerned with trialling data collection methods. The main experiment using repetition and priming was conducted in the second phase, while the third phase was concerned with the analysis of the 5 markers of orality present in the subtitles of the film corpus selected.

The research includes an analysis of the subtitled text and draws on theories from various disciplines including cognitive psychology and audiovisual translation studies. A review of the existing literature on the role of subtitling in audience reception and in the acquisition of a foreign language within the context of an undergraduate degree in translation was completed. The initial pilot phase of this research project focuses on subjects' comprehension and interpretation of markers of orality and culturally unfamiliar themes when viewing an English language film with inter-lingual, intra-lingual or no subtitles. Questionnaires designed to measure subjects' level of understanding of five categories of markers of orality present in the film dialogues were completed. Subjects' interpretation of the culturally specific thematic content of the films was sought from interviews carried out with the three experimental groups and the control group. Issues arising from the experimental design were explored and modifications introduced. Further empirical experiments were conducted in which ways of optimising language acquisition from subtitled film were explored by means of priming exercises and repeated viewing. The role of the textual information mode in the comprehension of markers of orality present in the film corpus was also explored. The results point towards the importance of actively involving students in teaching exercises such as priming, designed to familiarize students with linguistic variation appropriate for the cultural context, together with viewing with intra-lingual subtitles.

1.4   Markers of orality as translation competence

The study focuses on the extra-linguistic sub-competence outlined by the PACTE group (2003) required by translators, which is comprised of encyclopaedic, thematic and bicultural knowledge. Increasing our knowledge of the processes that enable students of translation to be proficient users of language will optimize the learning experience and assist students in becoming more fluent in socio-cultural variants of language, not so they are able to emulate such use in their speech but so that they develop the skills required of competent translators. The study stems from socio-cultural, perceptual and cognitive areas of research that are considered by Gambier (2003) to be crucial to inform research conducted into subtitle reception; and focuses on how subtitles influence the perception and interpretation of meaning in the culturally unfamiliar.

1.5   Sources of markers of orality for teaching purposes

The lack of familiarity with the use of colloquial language within the source culture may be an impediment in the development of the level of competence in a foreign language required by translators. The learning of socio-linguistic variants of a language is important if the student of translation is to develop a real feeling for of that language, but providing sufficient input in a formal teaching environment can be challenging. Film dialogue, although not spontaneous provides an imitation of spoken language in which many of the redundancies and repetitions of speech that result from processing are eliminated. Scriptwriters understand that there is a need for viewers to consider the dialogue to be in some sense realistic in order to buy-in to the world portrayed in the film, and in many ways it is. Rodríguez Martín (2010) compared film dialogue and spontaneous conversation in her study into whether film language can be considered to be genuine, identifying similarities between the structures of both. Drawing on a corpus of 11 US films Forchini (2009) identified common conversational traits between film dialogue and spontaneous conversation concluding that film dialogue can be considered socio-linguistically realistic input, making it a valid teaching resource whilst recognising that subtitled films are not produced for teaching purposes. The findings of this study indicate that markers of orality present a challenge to viewers who may be unaware of the cultural meaning alluded to in the audiovisual material. It is my hope that identifying the most efficient subtitle modality for the acquisition of markers of orality will help minimise the causes of poor comprehension where viewers misinterpret such linguistic elements and will prove to be of assistance in developing ways of making better use of films as teaching materials in translation training.

1.6   Subtitled films and foreign language learning

A variety of teaching tools are required in the training of translators, with subtitled film perhaps being an undervalued, yet important resource and an engaging and effective medium for exploring challenging issues such as the use of markers of orality. Students have highly developed audiovisual literacy and research into learning in stress-free settings indicates that audiovisual material providing rich linguistic input is attended to and experienced as highly motivational, facilitating learning (Danan 2004, Baltova 1999, Krashen 1988). Subtitled foreign language films can be considered natural language learning opportunities that, in conjunction with more formal classroom activities may be of benefit in the comprehension of linguistic

variants such as those present in markers of orality, crucial in the development of translation competence.

Language and culture are inextricably linked. When we speak, write, create art or films, we are using symbolic forms which form an intrinsic part of our own culture. Viewers of a foreign language film come into contact with another way of perceiving the world. In a subtitled film the viewer hears the original dialogues in a foreign language, reads the subtitle and watches the images, thus receiving input via several channels of communication simultaneously. The complex cognitive processing required by this has been demonstrated to assist in the acquisition of foreign languages (Pavesi 2008, Gottlieb 2004, Danan 2004,). Chaume Varela (1997: 321) considers that "the image reveals elements which point to the "nationality" of the film. In other words "cultural signs transmitted by visual information […] complement the verbal subtext in the source text", making audiovisual material a valuable teaching tool in the training of translators.

1.7   What are subtitles?

Subtitles provide a translation or transcription of the dialogue or narrative of an audiovisual text to assist viewers to follow the film. They are displayed as captions at the bottom of a cinema or television screen and serve as an adjunct to the other components of an audiovisual text; these include the dialogue, the music soundtrack, special effects and the images. Subtitle mode differs according to their intended function. Intra-lingual subtitles (also called bimodal subtitles or captioning) were first devised as an aid to viewing for hearing impaired audiences. They are virtual transcripts of the dialogue and frequently include additional information related to sounds such as doors slamming or gun shots that are important to the narrative.

Figure 1.1. Example of insert of information given on screen

Inter-lingual subtitles are produced to allow for the widespread distribution of the film by making the audiovisual material accessible for a foreign language speaking audience by the addition of subtitles in the audiences' L1.

Figure 1.2. Example of inter-lingual subtitle

A subtitle in Spanish, superimposed on an English language film.

Polysemiotic in nature, subtitled films provide a rich source of opportunities for language acquisition, as they convey their message by means of several channels of verbal and non-verbal communication, ensuring simultaneous exposure to spoken language, text and visual information, with the subtitles bridging the gap between reading and listening skills.

1.8 Subtitled film as a tool in translator training

Taking a social constructivist approach to foreign language acquisition, the basis of which was laid down by Vigotsky in 1978, in which appropriate input, active involvement, interaction and feedback during the learning process are considered to be crucial. This study aims to explore the use of subtitled film as a tool to assist students of translation to better comprehend the markers of orality present in colloquial speech. Considerable research has been carried out into the value of subtitled audiovisual material for language learners and all subtitling modes have been shown to have a beneficial impact on learning outcomes to some extent. Price's 1983 study demonstrated acquisition of the "cultural script" among her subjects, and Vanderplank's 1988 study examined the use of intra-lingual subtitles in assisting viewers to recognise regional and dialectical features of speech as well as verbal humour. Ghia (2007) showed benefits associated with prolonged exposure to audiovisual material (15 English language films), enhanced general proficiency and acquisition of syntactic patterns of spoken English. Bravo (2008) also demonstrated the advantages of prolonged exposure in Portuguese learners of English.

However, there continue to be questions around what subtitle mode is most efficient in acquisition, with indications that L1 subtitles for L2 films may suit those at low and

intermediate levels and intra-lingual subtitles in the foreign language proving more effective with more advanced learners. With markers of orality falling firmly into the category of advanced learning, it is hypothesised here that intra-lingual subtitles may prove more beneficial in their acquisition.

1.9   The Corpus

The films that comprise the corpus of the current study belong to the drama/comedy genre, and contain dialogue that reflects non-standard, regional dialectic and sociolectic varieties and are available in inter-lingual or intra-lingual subtitling modes. The films that form the corpus of this study present a variety of cultural realities. They offer a cultural representation of the world which may be to a large degree remote from that of the viewer. The choice of the genre of film for the corpus was made in an attempt to provide the subjects with an approximation of spontaneous conversation, exposing them to linguistic variety and markers of orality in English that are unfamiliar to them. The genre presupposes a certain style of expression and if congruency is to be established between the characters we see and what they are purported to be saying in the translation this should be reflected in how the translator renders the original dialogue. As Kovacic (1998:127) points out, "the genre partly determines the linguistic register to be used". However, the corpus analysis carried out in chapters 9-14 indicates a strong tendancy to raise the register in the Spanish subtitles, eliminating markers of orality or rendering them in standard language.

1.10   The five films that make up the corpus

Table 1.1. Corpus

Film	Example of visual images	Geographic location	Markers of orality	Socio-cultural features
TRAINSPOTTING (1996) Director: Danny Boyle		Edinburgh, Scotland	Scottish accent (not reflected in English subtitles). Lexical items in Scots; "ken" *Mikey? Aye, yeah, it's Mark Renton.*	Sub-culture of heroin addicts.
THE FULL MONTY (1997) Director: Peter Cattaneo		Sheffield, Northern England	Accent (reflected in orthography of English subtitles) *Ten years we worked in 'ere. Now look.*	Unemployed steel workers, working class.
THE HISTORY BOYS (2006) Director: Nicholas Hytner		Sheffield, Northern England	Accent and dialectical grammatical structure (not reflected in orthography of English subs)	Working class boys attending a selective grammar school.
THE FOOTBALL FACTORY (2004) Director: Nick Love		London	Accent (not reflected in orthography of English subtitles).Use of Cockney rhyming slang eg *bubble* and in-group (football hooligan) jargon eg. *meet*.	Chelsea Football supporters, working class

HAPPY GO LUCKY (2008) Director: Mike Leigh		Camden, North London	London accent (not reflected in orthography of English subtitles). Caribbean London accent is reflected in sentence structure)	Working class, although this is not crucial to an understanding of the story.

1.11 Markers of orality in dialogue and subtitle

Both intra and inter-lingual subtitles are derived from the film dialogue with the goal of conveying the key message crucial to the understanding of the scene. Intra-lingual subtitles provide a written rendition of the spoken dialogue in the same language, whilst inter-lingual subtitles provide a translation to assist foreign language audiences in their comprehension of the film. For this modality subtitling is therefore additive; the target text supplementing, not replacing the source text. While much of the linguistic variation present in film dialogue is transferred to intra-lingual subtitles, guidelines for inter-lingual subtitles, aimed at optimising readability, require them to be largely free of variation, with consistent spelling and sentence structure. Due to differences in the structure of the two languages and the desire to minimize cognitive effort, freeing the viewer to look at the images, the subtitling of English language films for Spanish speaking audiences requires a condensing of language. Simplification and the omission of small portions of text are permitted to serve technical constraints such as the screen space available, synchronization of text, sound and image, the rate of dialogue and the average viewer's reading speed (often quoted as being between 150 and 180 words per minute).

1.12 Standardisation in Spanish subtitles

Decisions taken during the process of subtitling reflect the understanding that subtitles serve as an adjunct to the audiovisual message; audiences have available to them a range of input from which to derive meaning; the images, the soundtrack, the original dialogue, the written text, and information considered recoverable from other sources may be omitted from the subtitles. From the analysis carried out on the corpus, much of that cut during the transfer from dialogue to subtitle falls into the five catagories of markers of orality that are the focus of the present study. The Spanish subtitles display a tendency towards standardisation and a neutral, uniform and formal register, resulting in the loss of sociolinguistic variation.

Table 1.2. Example of standardisation in Spanish subtitle

Dialogue	They're 20 quid each, them! That were your bloody maintenance!		
English subtitle	They're 20 quid each, them! That were your bloody maintenance!		
Spanish subtitle	¡Cada una vale 20 libras! ¡Esa era para tu manutención!	Back translation	Each one is worth 20 pounds! That was for your child support!

The findings of the present research show a tendency towards the demonstration of a greater comprehension of both markers of orality and more general themes by those subjects viewing

with subtitles in English, pointing towards the possibility that standardisation undermines the ability of subjects to correctly interpret markers of orality present in the dialogue and results in impaired general understanding of the film's themes.

1.13   When viewers fail to understand

The cultural experience of viewers influences the way they interpret cues and derive meaning from a film, with people tending to interpret unfamiliar linguistic and visual cultural references in films according to their own experience, built up over years in a different cultural context, the viewing of foreign language films may result in a failure to understand if many of the markers of such references, such as slang and non-standard grammatic structures are rendered into standardised Spanish, neutralising their impact. Fuentes-Luque (2003) questions the ability of viewers to comprehend the humour in a subtitled extract from the Marx Brother's film '*Duck Soup*'. And Jäckel (2001) concluded that the visual images did not compensate for the losses involved in the production of the subtitles for the film *La Haine*.

When they are viewed with intra-lingual subtitles, the films in the corpus contain three levels of input in which the linguistic style is reinforced;

1.   non-standard grammatical structures
2.   images
3.   subtitles reflecting the linguistic variation present in the dialogue.

The inter-lingual subtitles lack this third component, depriving viewers of valuable information about register, region, class etc., available to viewers exposed to English subtitles. For example, in the following subtitle taken from *The History Boys*, where the use of the non-standard *we never* reflects both the boys' social and geopgraphic origins. This information is missing from the Spanish subtitle.

Figure 1.3. Non-standard language in English subtitle

Table 1.3. Non-standard language in English subtitle and corresponding Spanish subtitle

Dialogue	But we never heard of it, sir.		
English subtitle	- But we never heard of it, sir. - Oh! Walt Whitman, "Leaves of Grass".		
Spanish subtitle	- Nosotros no lo conocíamos, señor.	Back translation	.- We didn't know it, sir.

1.14 Readability versus understanding

Translation strategies resulting in the standardisation of language influence viewer's perception and comprehension of film dialogue. Reductions are made in inter-lingual subtitles in order to aid comprehension, as this leaves viewers more time to concentrate on the dialogue and images. When watching subtitled film for purposes of language acquisition the subtitle language chosen may influence any subsequent learning of a foreign language, and the results of the current study appear to indicate that a viewer reading a inter-lingual subtitle is more likely to not notice, disregard or fail to understand the linguistic variation present in the dialogue than one reading a subtitle whose syntax reflects that of the dialogue. Therefore, audiovisual material with L2 dialogue and L1 subtitles, produced according to current guidelines, may not best facilitate the learning of markers of orality.

Chapter 2: Audiovisual translation for subtitles

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 A brief history of subtitles

During the era of silent film at the beginning of the 20th century, caption cards known as *intertitles* were drawn or printed on paper, filmed and inserted between images as a device to assist the audience to follow the plot of the film.

Figure 2.1. Example of intertitle

Subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing has its origins in the 1940's when the deaf actor Emerson Romero began experimenting with captioning films in the USA, painstakingly splicing captions between frames. The innovation proved popular and prompted the film producer Arthur Rank to produce a captioned feature-length film in London in 1949. However, the system was fiddly and required great skill to operate as the subtitles were etched on to glass and spliced between frames. In Belgium around the same time, a technique was being developed to print captions directly onto a master copy of the film. Nowadays subtitling computer software is available for both intralingual and interlingual subtitles, allowing for time coding and character counts. Improvements are frequently introduced with a new system for digital captions, subtitles and audio description being introduced in 2001 in time for the release of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*.

2.1.2 Film viewing habits

According to the 2011[1] European Commission report on the use of subtitling, dubbing is the dominant practice in Spain for both European and American films. 53% of European general cinema release films in 2009 were shown only in a dubbed version and 29% in both dubbed and subtitled versions. For US films the total for dubbing alone rises to 69% (Source: Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales, Spain). The figures indicating a preference for dubbing over subtitling in Spain are taken from cinema release films and do not reflect the way that people (especially young people) currently access audiovisual material. With the vast quantity of films, television programmes, documentaries, reality shows etc. available via digital satellite technology and the internet, subtitled material is much more widely available. The majority of European students surveyed on behalf of the the commission (5,172 persons) report habitually watching films, in a foreign language they are familiar with, in original version, without subtitles (30%) or with subtitles (49%), while only 21% of this population (the same age group as the sample of the current research) opts for the dubbed version. The main reasons given for these preferences are; watching the film as conceived by the director, or to practice the foreign language. This trend becomes more noticeable among language students. The European commission concluded that subtitling helps to improve the mastery of foreign languages. Digital broadcasting and the internet are having a significant influence on the way audiovisual material is consumed, allowing viewers access to original versions of films and programmes along with subtitles in various languages. This change in viewing habits, along with the findings of the Media Consulting Group (2007) demonstrating that the division of European countries into those who favour either subtitling or dubbing is a simplification of a more complex situation.

2.1.3 Audiovisual translation

Subtitling, dubbing and voice-over are the three main strategies employed for the transfer of language to ensure the accessibility of audiovisual material for foreign language audiences. These techniques are used to translate foreign language audiovisual material (films, documentaries, television programmes, etc.) into the target language. In addition to these practices are audio-description aimed at blind or visually impaired viewers, and subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing, the latter being particularly relevant for the current study.

2.2 The nature of subtitles

According to Petit (in Díaz Cintas 2009: 44), what audiovisual text offers is a cultural representation of the world through language and images. Audiovisual translation is the generic term that refers to the translation of products comprised of images and sound, in which the verbal dimension is supplemented by elements in other media. Despite being far from an exhaustive list, it includes subtitles, dubbing and voice-over. Gottlieb (2004:86) defines subtitling as " the rendering in a different language of verbal messages in filmic media, in the shape of one or more lines of written text, presented on the screen in synch with the

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[1] http://www.mcu.es/cine/docs/Novedades/Study_on_use_subtitling.pdf octber 2013

original verbal message". The basic guidelines for the production of subtitles include the following (taken from Ivarsson and Carrol, 1998; Díaz Cintas, 2003; Gottlieb 2005):

1. one or two lines of text, with a maximum character count of 38 including spaces per line;
2. a speed of between 12 and 16 characters per second is suggested;
3. minimum exposure time of 1.5 seconds;
4. maximum exposure time of 5-6 seconds;
5. most subtitles are placed at the bottom of the screen, alligned in the centre;
6. need for synchronisation between subtitle exposure and utterance;
7. pause between subtitles;
8. text condensation where required.

Figure 2.2. Example of LvS spotting tutorial software (http://levis.cti.gr/) in which subtitling is used to improve students' linguistic skills:
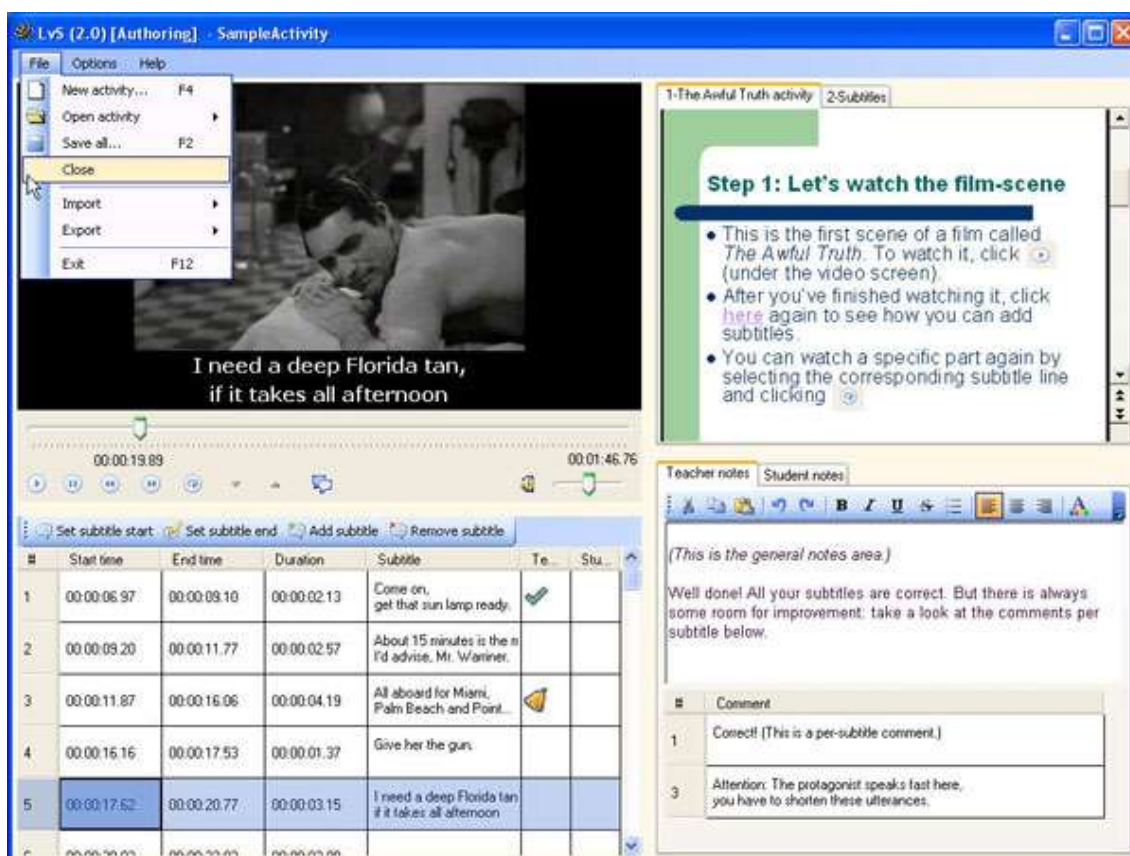
The corpus analysis shows that the 6 second maximum is rarely, if ever, reached for the films in this study, with the vast majority of subtitle being displayed for closer to 2-3 seconds for reasons of synchronicity; the dialogue moves on quickly and the subtitles need to keep pace. Georgakopoulou (2006) summarises the claim that subtitles are at their best when they are unobtrusive, stating that successful subtitles are those that go unnoticed by the viewer. This is

achieved by ensuring that they comply with aspects considered to enhance readability and by being concise enough to prevent them from distracting attention from the action.

2.3   Guidelines for subtitlers

The general requirements for subtitle display are those of readability, pace, visibility, layout and sequencing. Despite the existence of general conventions and standard procedures, subtitling practices vary considerably. Karamitroglou (2000: 12) proposes a standardisation of subtitling practices in Europe in his guidelines for the production and layout of subtitles for television, much of which also has relevance for film subtitles. He states that the production and layout of subtitles should be guided by the aim to provide maximum appreciation and comprehension of the film as a whole by maximising the legibility of the subtitled text.

Decisions as to which elements to omit should depend on the relative contribution they provide to the comprehension and appreciation of the film as a whole. In order to ensure the comprehension of the linguistic aspect of the film the goal of the subtitler is to create a balance between providing sufficient information to follow the story, and allowing sufficient time for looking at the images. Categories of linguistic items that are most frequently omitted are those considered to be empty of semantic load, such as expressions in use in everyday conversation to pad speech. Diaz Cintas (2003) emphasises the role of the subtitler in eliminating all that is irrelevant for a good understanding of the message. Among the elements of speech that tend to be removed are hesitations and elements of everyday colloquial language, such as swearwords.

Karamitroglou (2000) explicitly states the convention of not the rendering of dialects as a phonetic or syntactic transcription of the spoken form. For example, forms like "whadda ya doin?" are considered unacceptable as they are not immediately recognisable and comprehensible to the audience. He states that swearwords, however, should not be censored unless frequent repetition requires reduction for reasons of text economy.

The ESIST (European association for Studies in Screen Translation) (in Ivarsson and Carol 1998) Code of good Subtitling Practice includes the following points that are relevant for this study:

- Item 3. Translation quality must be high with due consideration of all idiomatic and cultural nuances.
- Item 5. Where compression of dialogue is necessary, the result must be coherent.
- Item 8. The language register must be appropriate and correspond with the spoken word.
- Item 9. The language should be grammatically correct since subtitles serve as a model for literacy

The following reasons are given for the adoption of translation strategies that involve the elimination or standarisation of markers of orality for film subtitles:

1. Audience knowledge of source language, especially relevant with swearwords. English language swearwords are widely recognized.
2. Intersemiotic redundancy, audiences watch, listen and read.

3. Readability
4. Subtitling constraints.

2.4   Text reduction in subtitling

As the process of subtitling is constrained by duration of speech delivery and reading time, the subtitler must write what is conveyed orally within a limited space and time frame, often making reduction necessary. "The central concern in the production of subtitles is to render the spoken dialogue in two lines of concise, intelligible speech without losing crucial information, in which readability is favoured. Usually between 35 and 38 characters per line" (Sanchez 2004:15). Translators therefore have to decide how to summarize dialogues and omitting markers of orality can have the effect of reducing the complexity, colour and impact of the original, leaving a grammatically correct but more prosaic version. For example swearing can be heard and recognized in the dialogue leading translators to consider it to be compensated for in other semiotic channels. A further consideration is that of synchrony between image and dialogue. The subtitle is made to coincide with the precise frame where a speaker begins ands finishes talking. Viewers expect subtitles to coincide with speech and find it confusing when this doesn't happen, to this end subtitles are spotted and the time-codes given for when the subtitles will be on the screen.

Table 2.1. Example of dialogue to subtitle transfer from The History Boys

English dialogue			
I bet you did. You jammy sod!			
Sub No. 23	English Subtitle	Sub No. 26	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:03:14,005 --> 00:03:15,873 (1.9 seconds) Characters 33		Timing 00:03:24,333 --> 00:03:26,133 (1.8 seconds) Characters 41	
- I bet you did. - You jammy sod!		- No lo dudo. - Eres un cabrón afortunado.	

For the recovery of meaning lost in reductions in text, compensation is considered to be provided by context, images, sound etc. According to Díaz Cintas (2003) the subtitler's task is to convey the meaning present in the dialogue as clearly as possible, aiming for brevity in the reformulation of the essential information, the elimination of all that is irrelevant in order to enhance readability and permit sufficient time to enable the audience look at the images and follow the story. Simplification and the omission of small portions of text are permitted to serve technical constraints such as the screen space available, the length of time the subtitle appears on the screen, the rate of dialogue and the average viewer's reading speed (between 150 and 180 words per minute).

Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 163-166) make the following suggestions for text reduction that may be required in order for the subtitles to keep pace with fast dialogue or scenes with more than one person talking at once. Omission at word level of tags, modifiers, adjectives and adverbs, phatic words, greetings, interjections, vocatives, courtesy formulas, hesitations and false starts.

However, losses inherent in this reduction need to be carefully assessed as they may affect the impact of the dialogue on the audience. Díaz Cintas writes that considerations of genre need to play a greater role in subtitling, as does the need to take into account the purpose of the dialogue within a particular film. Kovacic (1996: 297) states "...in subtitling films it may be very important to also capture elements of text (dialogue) structuring and interpersonal signals, because these two levels can be very significant elements of characters' personalities or their psychological and social relations."

Chiaro et al (eds) (2008) present evidence that the presentation of linguistic information affects to some extent the way it is processed, stating that abnormal layout and a number of other constraints combine to make subtitle reading a challenging and stressfull perceptual activity and one which might disrupt reading. Due to the highly structured and formalized nature of the reading process, the flow of which is believed to be interrupted if the syntax and lexicon of the text do not remain within the normal variation, standard practice is to limit any possible disruption in meaning and text processing. Thus primary importance is given to readability, with the goal that subtitles should not be unduly intrusive. Diaz Cintas (2001: 120) emphasizes this by stating that "the subtitler, responsible for creating easily readable subtitles, ought to resort to all possible strategies to avoid any ambiguity". An attempt is made not to overload the written information making reading an intrusive cognitive effort. The standardisation that often results from domestication allows for ease of understanding in the target audience, but involves the loss of rich cultural information.

In addition to the pressures of brevity and clarity, subtitles are subject to the following;

1. Considerations of time (synchronicity) and space;
2. Transfer from oral to written mode (more formal, fewer pragmatic features)
3. Possible existence of swearing constraint in subtitling process
4. Tendency to domesticate cultural references
5. Recoverability from auditory and visual channels.

2.5   Subtitle modes

Subtitles provide a written text that aims to communicate the verbal information in an audiovisual product in a way that viewers can comfortably read and absorb whilst allowing them sufficient time to look at the images. They can take the form of open subtitles, which form an integral part of the broadcast on television or in the cinema and are non-optional. Or they can appear as closed subtitles, which are optional and can be selected, such as those available on DVDs.

The two subtitle modes that are of interest in this study; intra-lingual and inter-lingual, originate from the requirements of different viewers; hearing impaired viewers and viewers of

foreign language films respectively. Intra-lingual subtitles (also called bimodal subtitles Same Language Subtitling (SLS), or captioning) provide a written version of the spoken dialogue in the same language, containing much of the linguistic variation present in that dialogue. As they were first devised as an aid to assist viewing for hearing impaired audiences, when produced for television frequently include additional information related to sounds such as doors slamming or gun shots that are important in the narrative.

Inter-lingual subtitles provide a translation, in which the text is timed to be in sync with the dialogue. Standard inter-lingual subtitles make the audiovisual material accessible to a foreign language speaking audience by the addition of subtitles in the audiences' L1. Reversed inter-lingual subtitles consist of L2 subtitles added to audiovisual material in the viewer's native language. This subtitling mode is beyond the scope of this study.

Subtitles are produced with the goal of transferring what is said by, if necessary, eliminating redundancies in order to convey the key message crucial to the understanding of the scene. Both subtitle modes share the following:

1. The conversion of spoken dialogue to written text
2. The adaption of the text to meet the technical conditions of the medium and reading capacities of the viewer.

2.6 Subtitles as aid to understanding

Subtitled film therefore comprises the following four channels of communication (adapted from Sokoli, 2011):

Table 2.2. Four channels of communication present in subtitled film

Visual non-verbal (images)	Acoustic non-verbal (musical score, sounds)
Acoustic verbal (dialogue)	Visual verbal (subtitles)

Understanding the audiovisual text is therefore assisted by;

1. Reception of information through both the acoustic and visual channels:
2. The presence of the original dialogue
3. The presence of visual cues and context (facial expression, body language etc)

Figure 2.3. Example of Spanish subtitle for the film Happy go Lucky;

The function of subtitling is that of a supportive semiotic sign and audiences reading subtitles continue to derive information from sources other than dialogue. This is the so called "Gossiping effect" described by Törnqvist (1995:49); that of the simultaneous reception of dialogue soundtrack and printed translation on screen. Subtitles therefore "serve as an adjunct to the audiovisual message and are required to be consistent with both images and the overall extra-linguistic dimension" (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007: 45) but should be produced in compliance with the norms of the written target language (Karamitroglou 2000). With de Linde and Kay (1999: 13) asserting that "It would be inappropriate to consistently use non-standard spellings in subtitles". The dialectal, idiolectal and elements of accent that contribute to the building up of the characters in films are difficult to reproduce in writing and even more so in translation. Georgakopoulou (in Díaz Cintas and Anderman 2009: 26) states that "the use of a pseudo-phonetic transcription to reproduce regional or social dialect in the subtitles would not be helpful as it would hinder the readability of the text by adding to the reading time of the subtitle, and also hinder the comprehension of the message by obscuring the style". The author goes on to advise aganist the reproduction of what she describes as "mistakes in an uneducated character's speech"

2.7   The challenges of subtitling

The subtitling process adds a semiotic channel to the audiovisual content; that of written text presented on the screen. The spatiotemporal constraints imposed on the subtitler by the medium and the change in mode from speech to writing mean that there is a limited amount of time and space to convey the spoken dialogue in text. Subtitling therefore carries some special challenges. One of the greatest of such challenges derives from the fact that the film

dialogues are usually delivered at a faster speed than a written rendition of their translation presented on the screen is able to keep up with, bearing in mind that subtitles are required to be presented in sync with the dialogue.

The process of subtitling tends to condense the original dialogue by 20-40%, this is partly due to the change in mode from spoken to written and partly due to the technical and perceptional constraints of having to provide enough reading time for the audience. This is normally quoted as 8 characters per foot of film (Fawcett 2003), and represents that which can be comfortably read by an averagely educated audience. Ease of reading must therefore be taken into account when producing subtitles, with care taken to ensure the relevance of the information conveyed in order not to increase the cognitive effort involved in reading.

In addition to working with a number of constraints related to timing and available screen space, while adhering to good practice recommendations such as the use of correct grammatical structures, subtitlers work under immense time pressures. However, it remains crucial to achieve the same effect as the original film in an audience with a different cultural and linguistic background.

Gambier (2003) proposes that accessibility should be of central importance in audiovisual translation. He describes such accessibility as follows:

- Acceptability; relating to language norms, stylistic choices and rhetorical patterns.
- Legibility; subtitle fonts, positioning and timing.
- Readability; an understanding of audience reading rates and habits, and the information density and semantic load of the subtitle.
- Synchronicity; the matching of subtitle to image.
- Relevance; the information conveyed, deleted, added or clarified in order not to increase the cognitive effort involved in reading.
- Domestication strategies; the translation of culturally specific and culture bound concepts.

Caffrey's 2008 study into viewer perception of subtitled anime takes this area of research forward by focusing on visual attention to visual non-verbal cues present in the genre using eye-tracking. His work has resulted in valuable findings about the effectiveness of translation strategies for images with culturally specific meanings present in Japanese anime. Caffrey (in Perego 2012) concluded that excessive on-screen textual information could be distracting and detract from viewer ability to follow the plot. In a similar vein Gutt (1991: 116) states that "the audience cannot be expected to sit and ponder difficult renderings, otherwise it will lose the subsequent utterance".

2.8   Transfer of markers of orality from dialogue to subtitle

Film dialogue is written text made to sound natural and spontaneous; it therefore differs from natural spoken language. Chaume Varela and Agost (eds) (2001: 78) call the language used in film "prefabricated orality". Film dialogue rendered in subtitles therefore undergoes two transfers of mode, from written text to speech and back again to written. In addition to the differences that exist between film dialogue and natural speech, Lippi-Green points out that

"there exists a structural and functional difference between the two language channels of film dialogue and written subtitles" (1997: 20).

Spoken language draws heavily on paralinguistic features to convey information: tone of voice, body language and allows confusion and ambiguity to be resolved directly by confirmation. It is used in a social and temporal context, and thus brings with it a great deal of background information; draws on context to compliment meaning and fill in elypses.

Written language cannot normally rely on paralinguistic elements; however subtitles exist in parallel with visual context. Subtitles involve a change in mode from spoken to written and while not really belonging to either, fall between the following two poles.

Table 2.3. Differences in language mode from spoken to written

Spoken language	Written language
Draws heavily on paralinguistic features to convey information in more than one way: tone of voice, body language.	Cannot rely on these resources and must use punctuation, additional lexical items.
Allows confusion and ambiguity to be resolved directly by repair and confirmation procedures	Does not allow confusion and ambiguity to be resolved directly
Is used in social and temporal context, and thus brings with it a great deal of background information: draws on context to complement meaning and fill in gaps.	Is limited in its context
Can be planned or spontaneous	Is planned
Is inherently variable	Actively suppresses variation

2.9   Linguistic variation in film

Variation is intrinsic to all spoken language, but conventions exist for formal written language to be free of excessive variation, with consistent spelling and sentence structure. With drama and similar film genres fidelity in translation and the successful reproduction of speech acts, despite their challenges, are considered worth striving for. However a significant proportion of the markers of orality present in film dialogue are rendered in standard Spanish in the subtitles. This is due to the need for the rapid, consecutive processing of information in several semiotic modalities. A general consensus exists about the compensatory nature of subtitled audiovisual material, with viewers watching subtitled film receiving visual information derived from the images, including facial expressions and body language. Bogucki (2004:14) states, "ideally, when presented to the audience together with the visual, verbal and sonic stimuli of the original (subtitling is additive, the target text does not replace the source text but

supplements it), the effect it produces is maximum comprehension and appreciation at minimal processing effort". However, viewers may lack sufficient language skills to fully comprehend the film, bearing in mind that the pressures and technical constraints of subtitling frequently result in the elimination of markers of orality.

According to Hatim and Mason (1997) text type determines what forms of expression are to be retained or discarded, and how these may be modified to be contextually appropriate. The form or style chosen by a scriptwriter for character development is highly relevant and needs to be reflected in the translation carried out for film subtitles. The linguistic habits and the patterns of expressions of protagonists help situate a film within its genre and have an impact on the audience, therefore stylistic effects are traceable to the intentions of the author. As actual effects on receivers of texts are difficult to gauge, it seems preferable to regard the issue in terms of equivalence of intended effects, thus linking judgments about what the translator seeks to achieve to judgments about the intended meaning of the source text author. A similarity of response is the primary criterion in evaluating and assessing whether a translator has made a successful analysis of text type when translating for subtitles. With the translation of markers of orality, it is a question of creating the appropriate impact and conveying the emotion present in the original. With respect to the example of swearing, its shear volume in contemporary film requires a strategy for its translation that takes into account the appropriate cultural referents. Lefevere (2001) argues that cultural references or the presence of the "Other" (the culture different to one's own) in the source language can be lost in the production of subtitles in a target language.

2.10 Tendency towards standardisation in subtitles

In his article *The Manipulation of Language and Culture in Film Translation*, Fawcett (2003), analysed the English subtitles provided for several films made in French and investigated the strategies employed and their potential impact on the English speaking audience, identifying normalising, repressing, leveling and censoring and found that these can reduce the effect originally intended by the author.

Fawcett (2003) identified two main trends in the production of French to English subtitles; standardisation and what he calls "letting-rip". Strategies that are adopted to deal with the issue of markers of orality, when producing subtitles include suppression and normalisation. Suppression results in the omission of cultural referents and normalisation involves the use of the cultural references of a dominant culture. The substitution of geographically specific markers of orality with standard target language can be viewed as an attempt to domesticate the text, making it more acceptable and easily comprehensible by the target audience.

Table 2.4. An example from the film The Football Factory, demonstrating how translation for subtitling into a foreign language can alter the intended meaning:

Dialogue	Casual sex, watered-down lager, heavily cut drugs.
English subtitle	Casual sex, watered-down lager, heavily cut drugs.

| Spanish subtitle | Un polvo de vez en cuando, alguna caña y que no falte el perico. | Back translation | An occasional shag, some beer and plenty of cocaine. |

Although this example is rendered in an appropriate style in translation by its use of slang, it fails to communicate the cynicism of the speaker by leaving out the crucial elements of the message; that the sex was casual, the beer watered down and the drugs mixed with other substances. None of which is transmited in the Spanish, leaving the viewer with a different feeling, one of optimism and a sense of plenty. For such meaning audiences rely almost entirely on the subtitles. The subjects in the present study had sufficient English to recognise swearing regardless of its presence or absence in the subtitles, but not for the slang, idioms and dialect present in the dialogue and in this they may be no different from many viewers.

Several researchers have identified similar effects of the subtitling process. Díaz Cintas (2001) found in his comparison of two English language subtitled version of Almodóvar's film La flor de mi secreto that "the video (made for the US market) version resorts to a rather systematic and excessive sanitizing of the sexual expressions (Díaz Cintas, 2001b:64).

In Zilberdik's (2010) analysis of the translation of the film Festen (The Celebration, 1998) by Vinterberg into Hebrew via English, she focuses on what she calls language-internal entities which are specific to the Danish culture and language-external ones, or those that are familiar internationally. Zilberdik comments that swearing and class related culture-bound phenomena are particularly liable to mistranslation and condensation. Whilst acknowledging that isolated errors would not detract from audience understanding she concludes that there is a tendency for characters to be portrayed as more mainstream.

Subtitlers have been shown to be prone to skip or domesticate culture specific items in the name of reader-friendliness. In his analysis of five Danish films Gottlieb (in Diaz Cintas 2009: 22) investigated the fate of Danish localisms and hypothesizes that much of the "verbal localisms" of Danish cinema are deleted or domesticated to make them more palatable for the English speaking audience. Gottleib analysed the strategies used by English subtitlers on encountering Danish localism, producing a "fidelity score", by measuring levels of retention and literal translation as compared with generalistaion, substitution and omission. The study concluded that although the range of strategies used across his corpus was more complex than he had expected, films with higher fideltity scores tended to enjoy greater box office success (2009: 41). The increased popularity of DVD's with their greater storage space allows for the "personalization" (Gottlieb 1997: 248) of subtitles, meaning that a version rich in linguistic variation could be produced for teaching purposes.

2.11 Consequences of translation strategies

The results of the translation strategies given above appear to be a neutralisation of the language, causing a disjuncture between the characters and the language used in the subtitles. Few attempts are made to achieve colloquial Spanish and subsequently the subtitles are devoid of markers of orality. Repetitions, dialectical grammatical structures, errors, non-standard verb tenses and the frequent incidence in spoken English of dropped endings are not reflected in Spanish subtitles.

Table 2.5. Subtitle with dropped endings in the English version

Dialogue	I'm fucking buzzin'! We've gone right through the slit.		
English subtitle	I'm fucking buzzin'! We've gone right through the slit.		
Spanish subtitle	¿Qué? ¿Cómo que cómo estoy? Puestísimo. Hasta las trancas.	Back translation	What? How am I? I am really high. Totally high.

Investigations into the viewing of subtitled films indicate that when universally recognisable linguistic items are present in the source text, translationally equivalent items are expected by the audience to appear in the subtitles as well (Hjort 2009, Pujol 2006). This occurs due to the concurrent nature of subtitles and source text, resulting in a cognitive checking mechanism in the audience, which raises the suspicion that the translation of the original text is not "properly" or "correctly" rendered in the subtitles, every time translations for such items are not present. With the subject group of the present study the viewers are unlikely to be entirely dependent on the subtitles to understand the dialogue and may well notice omissions

Subtitles should distract as little as possible from the visual aspect of the film. The reality is that brief subtitles are necessary so that their readers can maximise the time they can spend watching the film and the most efficient ways of doing this may well be the elimination and standardisation of markers of orality. Images are known to have an impact on language comprehension, so that the meaning of unknown expressions can be guessed at with the help of the images and of the original dialogue. One outcome of this is a convention for standardized language in subtitles that may result in the loss of sociolinguistic variation and differences of register. Analysis of the corpus demonstrates that in contrast to the English subtitles (reflecting more closely the linguistic variation in the dialogue) the Spanish subtitles display a tendency towards standardisation and a neutral, uniform and formal register. This might also be considered to be a distraction for those with advanced language skills such as the subjects in this study, as they struggle with what appears to be a disjuncture between the dialogue and the subtitle. It has been observed that reading times are faster for translations they are similar in form to the source text and contain a high proportion of cognates (Van Assche, E., Duyck, W. and Brysbaert, M., 2013).

A viewer unable to distinguish non-standard speech aurally is deprived of information about regional and class differences as this information is not transmitted by the inter-lingual subtitles. The results of this study point towards the possibility that this standardisation undermines the ability of subjects to correctly interpret markers of orality present in the dialogue.

Chapter 3: Foreign Language Acquisition

3.1   Introduction

This study focuses on the specific linguistic skills required of translators, which include a familiarity with markers of orality and the ability to make adequate translation choices for them. Despite being advanced level learners, markers of orality may well be new material for the subjects of this study. They will therefore require more than brief exposure in order to integrate such language into their range of competences. This study explores the most effective means of introducing learners to such complex linguistic elements, with this chapter looking at some cognitive approaches to encourage learning and acquisition

A greater understanding of the cognitive processes underlying the comprehension of what is culturally unfamiliar may assist in making improvements in the use of audio-visual materials for teaching purposes. In this section an overview is provided of cognitive processing approaches to FLA and more specifically to the comprehension of markers of orality.

3.2   Cognition and FLA

The cognitive sciences provide a useful perspective on foreign language acquisition, with approaches taking input and interaction as starting points for learning. The assumption is that language learning is stimulated by communicative pressure required to understand input. The processes of input, comprehension and memory are essential in FLA. Input is defined as all linguistic data reaching the learner and is required to trigger the cognitive processes that occur in language learning. The input employed in the current study consists of the corpus of five English language films containing significant amounts of markers of orality. Film provides valuable input as exposure of students of translation to linguistic variants can be limited.

As with many cognitive processes, it is not known precisely how languages are learnt but it appears to be the result of complex interactions between individual and environment. It is non-linear, feedback sensitive, and includes periods of great leaps, stagnation and even of regression. The theories outlined below all containing elements which contribute to describing the process. They fall under the categories of behaviourism, universal grammar approach, constructivism and socio-constructivism.

3.3   Behaviourism

Approaches that emerged from behaviourist psychology hold that foreign languages should be taught by presenting linguistic items systematically and repeatedly to induce appropriate linguistic behaviour and avoid inappropriate responses.

Figure 3.1. Humorous illustration of a principle of behaviourism

3.4 Cognitive approaches

Krashen's theories draw on Chomsky's belief in language as an innate faculty and have evolved over time, the most recent being *The Comprehension Hypothesis* (Krashen 2003), which stresses the role of subconscious acquisition over conscious learning.

Figure 3.2. Krashen's model of second language learning
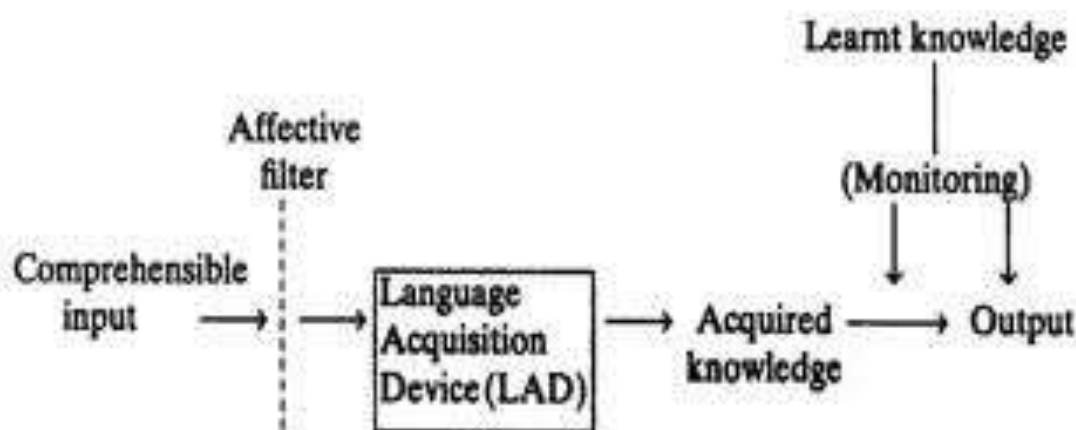
Figure 2. Second Language Acquisition Model by Krashen

The amount of input absorbed by learners is considered to be one of the most important factors affecting learning outcomes. Krashen (1988) claims that such absorption occurs as the result of two independent systems; learning and acquisition. Acquisition being the product of a subconscious process very similar to the process children undergo when they acquire their first language. It requires meaningful interaction in the target language, natural communication, in which learners focus on the communicative act. Learning is the product of formal instruction and comprises a conscious process leading to knowledge about the language, for example the rules of grammar. According to Krashen 'acquisition' is the more important process in FLA. Krashen states that the methods best suited to FLA are those that provide 'comprehensible input' in low anxiety situations, containing messages that interest students. (Krashen 2003: 117)

Krashen outlines how the learner acquires a foreign language in his Input hypothesis, developed during the 1970's and 1980's. In it he proposes that language acquisition takes place only when learners receive input just beyond their current level of L2 competence. He termed this level of input "i+1." With input being comprehensible, but containing structures that are not yet fully understood. For example, if a learner is at stage 'i', then acquisition takes place when they are exposed to comprehensible input of a level 'i + 1'. Krashen suggests that natural communicative input is a key teaching tool, ensuring that each learner will receive some 'i + 1' input that is appropriate to their current level of linguistic competence. Criticisms of this theory have included the lack of a clear definition of i+1, and that factors other than structural difficulty, such as motivation or presentation, can affect whether input actually results in FLA.

Krashen addresses this in his Affective Filter hypothesis, in which he proposes a number of 'affective variables' that he claims play a facilitative role in FLA. They include: motivation, self-confidence and anxiety. Krashen claims that learning environments that promote high motivation, self-confidence, and a low level of anxiety enhance FLA. He holds that the acquisition of a second language is halted if the leaner has a high degree of anxiety when receiving input, as situations that reduce motivation and create debilitating anxiety can combine to 'raise' the affective filter and form a 'mental block', with this filtering action preventing acquisition from progressing.

He goes on to posit that for acquisition to occur, input has to be comprehensible and not too far above the existing level of the learner and it has to be presented in settings with a low affective filter. Different subtitling modes appear to suit different levels of language learning, with intra-lingual subtitles in the L2 being of greatest efficacy for more advanced learners, providing input at an appropriate "i+1" level with a low affective filter. The markers of orality that are the focus of the present study are advanced language concepts, with the exception of some of the more basic swearwords which are learnt early and easily retained due to the frequency with which learners are exposed to them.

Teaching methods that enhance foreign language acquisition may prove valuable in enhancing comprehension of culturally specific markers of orality. Films can be considered natural language learning opportunities, devoid of the stress and boredom that often accompanies more formal classroom activities, providing experiences that mimic real life complete with context.

3.5   Constructivist approaches

Constructivist views of language acquisition take a general cognitive approach to language acquisition and see language as essentially similar to other cognitive functions. The move from behaviourist to cognitive models of language learning has been accompanied by a parallel shift in teaching, placing the learner at the centre of the process.

Foreign language learning according to constructivist models placing emphasis on interaction in the foreign language in communicative situations. Developed by cognitivist researchers Gass and Varonis (1994) and Long (1985), who compiled data from conversation tasks links input, learner capacities, selective attention and output, the Interaction Hypothesis places particular

emphasis on the intake or uptake of language by the learner as a result of feedback from others, especially teachers and/or native speakers. Interactionist theories invoke both innate and environmental factors to explain FLA and consider the discursive nature of language.

Gass (1997, in Bravo, 2008: 39) proposes a cognitive model of second language acquisition involving a six-step process:

1. input
2. apperception (the noticing of input)
3. comprehension
4. intake
5. integration
6. output

Aspects of the input are noticed (apperception), comprehended and become intake to be integrated and available for production (output).

Long (1985) argues that although comprehensible input is important for language learning, input alone is insufficient to explain FLA. In addition, it claims that the effectiveness of comprehensible input is greatly increased when learners have to negotiate for meaning. It is suggested that second language acquisition depends on interaction that involves resolving comprehension problems. The adjustments that come from this interaction connect input, intake and output. Swain and Lapkin (1995) also stresses the importance of output in FLA, claiming that it is in practicing of language that stimulates its production. Learners need to reflect upon their production of language and be able to recognise where their strengths and weaknesses lie.

Ellis (1994) provides an explanation for FLA in terms of information processing. Language learning is understood as the processing of experience and the repetition of semantic connections, leading to the formation of neural memory networks. Prior L1 experience may block learning of forms with low salience, with all the extra input in the world failing to result in advancement.

The term communicative competence was coined by Canale and Swain (1980) to describe the ability to understand and produce contextually appropriate language contributions. Communicative competence includes linguistic ability and skills such as assessing sociolinguistic appropriateness, maintaining coherent discourse, and adjusting to interactional demands. Many teachers and researchers believe that this type of expanded communicative competence can best be fostered among learners using methods which encourage the meaningful use of authentic language. Additionally, familiarity with the culture can be a great help when learning a foreign language.

3.6   Socio-constructivism

A logical extension of the models outlined above finds it expression in socio-constructivist models of cognition, in which learning is viewed an inevitable outcome of interaction. It refers to the social dimensions of learning, extending its thinking beyond the individual's cognitive development to the role of social interaction. Socio-constructivist theories of FLA are based on

the work of Vygotsky (1978) and are grounded in a perspective in which language learning is thought to be a socially mediated process; arguing that we are social beings and language emerges from social interaction. Concepts have been borrowed from the processes by which language is learnt in early childhood, through meaning-making in collaboration with other members of the culture and applied to FLA. One of the main principles of the approach is Vygotsky's idea of "scaffolding", which is defined as the assistance received in language learning.

Greater communicative competence, or interactional skills, lead to the development of intercultural competence, a broader understanding of other speakers in cross-cultural exchanges.

3.7 Theories of FLA and Markers of Orality

Dörnyei (2009) addressed the affective dimension of language learning and outlined the components of motivational teaching as the use of the following varied and relevant teaching materials;

1. Making learning stimulating and enjoyable

2. Setting specific goals

3. Protecting self-esteem and increasing self-confidence

4. Creating learner autonomy

5. Promoting self-motivating strategies.

The theories outlined above inform our approach to the teaching of linguistic variation to students of translation with regard to elements such as; rate of exposure to the target language, diversity of authentic input, wealth of interactions, low levels of anxiety and autonomy over learning.

High stress learning environments in which students experience anxiety, frustration or fear of embarrassment result in reduced motivation with attention levels dropping, raising the affective filter and limiting learning outcomes. Low stress, familiar, enjoyable experiences such as viewing films are likely to lower the filter and allow more input to be processed. Film viewing is also an ideal opportunity to introduce students to linguistic variety within a context that provides additional information to assist comprehension. Contextualisation favours comprehension, which is a necessary prerequisite for language acquisition. The presence of information in several communication channels at once has been demonstrated to result in a deeper memory trace being formed.

The current research considers how the learning of markers of orality can be fostered through the use of subtitled film and the role of such input in assisting students of translation to comprehend and correctly use such linguistic variation. Particular focus is paid to the types of information that learners must have in order to construct L2 knowledge of markers of orality.

3.8   Attention, memory and foreign language acquisition

The mechanisms of attention and memory that lead from language input to acquisition are examined in this section.

Schmidt (2010: 722) states that FLA is "largely driven by what learners pay attention to and notice in target language input and what they understand the significance of noticed input to be".

Vanderplank (1990) attempts to address what he perceives as shortcomings in cognitive approaches to FLA by proposing a model that features comprehensible input, attention and intake, or absorbtion, by the learner. Learning can thus be facilitated by the use of subtitled foreign language matieral with attention, according to Vanderplank, requiring; "watching attentively, consciously, systematically, and reflectively" (1990: 229).

Attention to and subsequent memory for attended language input are essential for FLA, and are intricately related. Attention is the process that both encodes language input and keeps it active in working memory, and retrieves it from long-term memory. Research into attention and memory during FLA has increased in the last decade, addressing issues such as the levels of attention and awareness necessary for encoding L2 input in short-term working memory.

The current study will focus on the development of the processing of markers of orality in subtitled English language films. Within this framework, research on L2 processing skills are shown to contribute to an explanation of linguistic development by defining which linguistic forms are processable at different points in development. The notion of limited processing capacity is a standard assumption in work on human cognition. For instance, short-term memory is thought to be limited in capacity and duration (Baddely, 1990). The assumption that the processing capacity of learners is limited forms the basis of several approaches to FLA. (Krashen, 1982), and informs research into L2 skill acquisition (McLaughlin, 1987).

In order for language to be acquired both processing and storage are required. It is not possible to remember items that are not noticed, or paid attention to. When attending to spoken language we are frequently unable to process the whole sentence or utterance simultaneously; instead we have to store part of it in the working memory while we are processing the rest. Working, or short-term memory, processes and stores limited amounts of information for a few seconds.

The processes of memory include recall, recognition, recollection, stimulus, familiarity, with working and long-term memory interacting closely. Implications for foreign language learning were highlighted by Page and Norris (2009), who used the Hebb repetition effect (1961) to demonstrate that newly acquired items in the working memory gradually develop into stable long-term memories with repetition. Jarrold and Towse (2006) argue that working memory capacity depends on

1. processing efficiency
2. storage capacity for the maintenance of verbal, numerical and spatial information and
3. the attention required for the storage and processing and the inhibition of irrelevant information.

According to Paradis (2004) long-term memory is divided into *Procedural memory*: which "stores" knowledge that can be used without conscious reflection, such as L1 rules which are picked up implicitly, and *Declarative memory* : that "stores" experiences and facts that can be consciously recalled, such as words associated with the category 'fruit,' or the names of countries in Europe. Declarative memory contains knowledge that can be consciously retrieved and is thought to be the result of explicit learning. Procedural memory stores knowledge of unconscious, automatic skills such as walking. Declarative memory stores knowledge that can be consciously accessed, but with greater difficulty. The ability to incorporate knowledge into procedural memory atrophies in adults, which explains differences in the location of adult second languages in the brain. It has been suggested that when adults (beyond the critical stage) acquire a foreign language, both words and grammar may be stored and processed in declarative memory. (Ullman, 2005).

The registration of stimuli from input does not automatically lead to learning, but is necessary if learning is to happen. The amount of input that is noticed depends on factors such as motivation, frequency of presence of lexical items, salience and perceptibility. Drawing on Nadel and Moscovitch's (1997) multiple trace memory theory in which strong memory traces are associated with repetition, word frequency and recency. Memory is known to improve with repeated exposure to items, therefore, in an attempt to increase attention and noticing the current study has employed priming (and repetition) exercises. Noticing is favoured by frequency of input with highly prominent features are more likely to be remembered and understood than less prominent ones. In the current study an attempt was made to enhance the input to make selected features of the foreign language; markers of orality, more salient for learners through the use of priming exercises designed to facilitate acquisition.

3.9   Attention and subtitling

When viewers are required to attend to large amounts of information simultaneously, visual attention is assumed to be employed selectivity, with the preferential processing of some items to the detriment of others.

One area of perceptual psychology where the active vision perspective has long been the dominant paradigm is reading. Reading text written in English and Spanish takes place very largely in a predetermined sequence from left to right along each successive line and the reader has a clear cut goal of extracting information from the text. Film audiences are encouraged to direct their gaze. Film presents complex visual input and requires a greater range of eye movement types; saccadic, pursuit and vergence, depending on the cognitive processes involved. The saccadic uses fast jump like movements allowing something to be brought into clear focus and the vast majority of these will be below the level of consciousness. The pursuit mode allows something that is in motion to be followed smoothly with the eyes. The vergence maintains both eyes on something that moves in depth, or to jump to a target at a new depth.

Films are visually busy, and at any one time we are only aware of a limited part of the array of information presented. Visual attention is paid during the process of selection by a fixation act.

With subtitled films, there are several input channels: the visual image, the soundtrack, and the subtitles. The question arises from this as to how a viewer is able to divide and shift their attention in such a complex situation. Studies within cognitive psychology imply that at any given time, only one sensory input is fully attended to and analyzed and that it takes time to switch between inputs. Stemming from an interest in attention and the processing of subtitled audio-visual material d'Ydevalle and Gielen (2004) examined the dynamics of attention in the context of subtitled television by monitoring viewers' eye-movement patterns between image and subtitles. They were among the earliest of the researchers in the field to use eye tracker technology to this end, concluding that paying attention to the subtitle when it appears is unavoidable and is unaffected by contextual factors such as the soundtrack, knowledge of the foreign language and plot development and that subjects display foreign language acquisition following such exposure.

In his 2007 study into subtitle reading behaviour, d'Ydewalle investigated the eye-movement patterns of adults and children watching a subtitled film extract. He used his eye tracker data to calculate the percentage of skipped subtitles, the percentage time spent in the area of the subtitle, fixation duration, saccade characteristics and number of back and forth shifts between visual image and subtitle. Such patterns are a reflection of information processing, for which the concepts of imageability and perceptibility are relevant. Imageability refers to the ease with which the meaning of a word is paired with a corresponding mental image (eg cat = image of a cat). Ease of imageability is believed to facilitate noticing. Language learners may struggle with imageability when it comes to markers of orality such as slang or idioms, due to their lack of transparency. The images in the film do not always coincide with the dialogue or provide compensatory information through alternative channels of communication, as in the following example;

Figure 3.3. Example of subtitle where the image lacks compensatory information
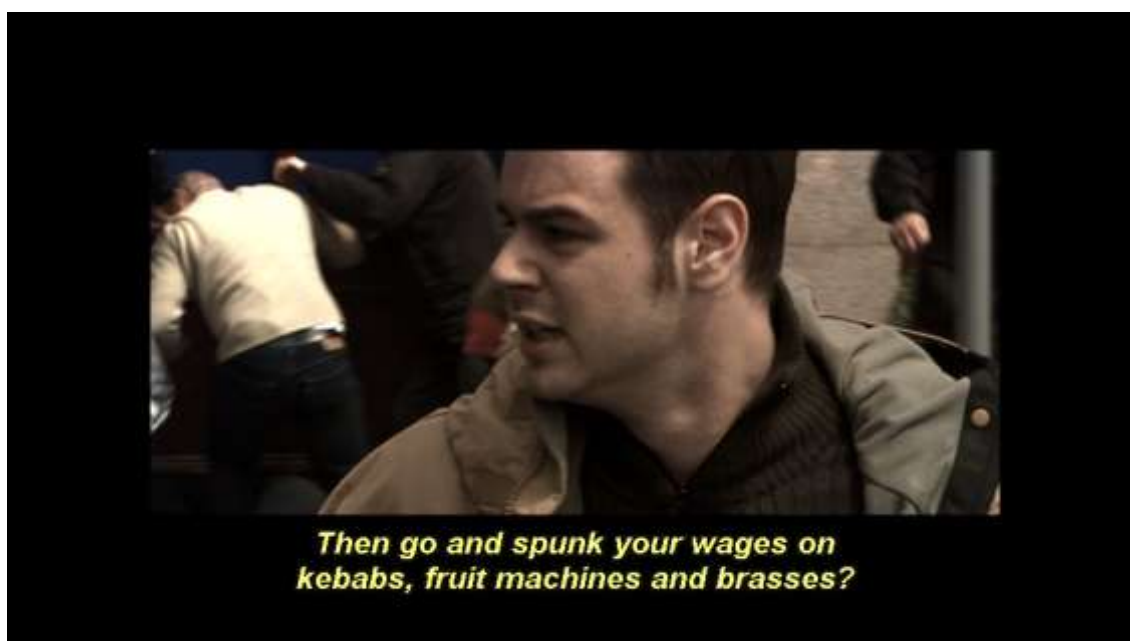
Dialogue	Then go and spunk your wages on kebabs, fruit machines and brasses?		
English subtitle	Then go and spunk your wages on kebabs, fruit machines and brasses?		
Spanish subtitle	¿Salir luego a tomar un kebab?	Back translation	Shall we go for a kebab?

3.10 Perceptability

Perceptibility, or the ease with which something is perceived, identified and processed, includes elements such as words and phrase length, and clarity of articulation. The dialogue in the corpus may lack perceptibility due to lack of familiarity with linguistic variation and some markers of orality. Swearwords have high perceptibility, due to the emphasis placed on their utterance and the frequency of their use in colloquial speech. Greater attention is paid to highly perceivable input.

3.11 Salience

Perceptual salience is a measure of the level of contrast between a word or phrase and its context. Salience makes things stand out and affects the amount of attention that is paid to them, such attention in turn increases processing effort leading to greater chance of comprehending and retaining the lexical element in memory. The differences that exist between source language dialogue and foreign language subtitles are believed to result in greater processing due to the cognitive effort given to comparisons in translations. Although it is difficult to measure this directly in the current study, the lower levels of comprehension of markers of orality obtained by those subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles compared to those viewing with English subtitles indicate that in this instance an advantage was not conveyed by the higher levels of processing associated with this cognitive process.

3.12 Memory and subtitling

Pavesi's (2006) research suggests that the transfer of lexical items to long term memory is aided by the depth of processing required. Several other studies have demonstrated that input which is conveyed through various channels of communication leaves a deeper memory trace and is more easily retained. This is thought to be due to the redundancy present in the input. The dialogue is reinforced by the presence of the written words, all within a visual context providing additional cues to meaning, as in the following subtitle where the written text is a transcript of the dialogue and reflects the image.

Figure 3.4. Example of subtitle for an image providing reinforcing information

He's only fallen asleep, Tameka.

Reductions are made in inter-lingual subtitles to aid comprehension, as this leaves viewers more time to concentrate on the dialogue and images. De Linde and Kay (1999), however, found that strongly reduced subtitles with respect to dialogue resulted in slower reading rates, suggesting difficulties in processing.

Two seemingly contradictory processes are both considered to encourage FLA. The first of these is the higher congruency between intra-lingual subtitles and dialogue in terms of syntax in the English subtitles which appears to favour the perceptibility and ease of decoding of markers of orality.The intra-lingual subtitles of the present corpus comprise three levels of input in which the linguistic style is reinforced;

- accented dialogue,
- images,
- subtitles reflecting the linguistic variation of the dialogue.

The inter-lingual subtitles lack this third component. The second of these processes, associated with inter-lingual subtitles, is thought to be stimulated by a cognitive process known as mapping, in which comparison provoked by dissonance between oral and textual input are made by viewers. This tendency to compare the dialogue and the subtitle results in attention being paid to mismatches and is thought to aid acquisition by ensuring transfer of linguistic items to long term memory.

This study will attempt to establish whether the cognitive processes associated with inter or intra-lingual subtitles favour the comprehension of markers of orality.

Chapter 4: The Role of Subtitles in Learning a Foreign Language

In 1988 Vanderplank hypothesised that subtitles would help learners to access the target language by compensating for difficulties present in the audiovisual input, such as speed of delivery of dialogue, accent, background noise, and by means of the multi-modal nature of the input. He went on to propose that such material be used in a teaching environment to assist learners of English. Although not designed as such, subtitled films are an ideal teaching tool as they provide an opportunity for students of translation to be exposed to a wide range of linguistic variation where the contextual information is present in various channels and the viewer is aided in their understanding of the dialogue by the presence of either a transcription in the same language, or a translation into the viewers L1.

Interest in the potential role of subtitled audiovisual input as a tool in the learning of languages began with anecdotal reports of incidental language acquisition in viewers of subtitled material, both among immigrants and in countries where viewing with subtitles is habitual. Investigators began to explore the processes behind this acquisition, looking first at incidental then at instructed learning. In the last two decades considerable research has been carried out to explore the link between subtitled audio visual material and foreign language acquisition (FLA). Research has been carried out on behalf of the European Parliament (2007) and the Same Language Subtitling project which started in India in 1996 (Kothari et al 2002) has investigated the role of subtitles in the promotion of mass literacy.

In 2008 the European Commission presented its proposals for the promotion of multilingualism, in a paper called "Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment". The paper stresses the benefits, to individuals and wider society, of investing in language training. It also points out that audiovisual media can be a rich source of informal language learning. In 2010 a study aimed at analysing the potential of subtitling as a language learning tool to enhance foreign language skills was commissioned. The study covered a total of 33 countries including the 27 Member states of the European Union. Its brief included the analysis of the role of subtitling as a catalyst for language learning.

A case study, carried out within the remit of a European Commission[2] (2011) focusing on the role of subtitling in the integration of migrants in Belgium, in which three groups of immigrants were shown an audiovisual sequence in original version with interlinguistic subtitles, intralinguistic subtitles, or no subtitles demonstrated greater levels of comprehension in the intralinguistic condition.

Subtitled audiovisual material has been demonstrated to contribute to enhancing motivation to learn languages and to increasing FLA. It is however necessary to bear in mind that learning is a process that occurs in a complex context in which subtitling is only one of the factors at work. The extent to which subtitling can contribute to language learning is dependent on the degree to which subjects are accustomed to subtitling, with those more accustomed to

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[2] http://www.mcu.es/cine/docs/Novedades/Study_on_use_subtitling.pdf

viewing subtitled input develop learning strategies more quickly than those accustomed to dubbing, the learners level (inter or intralingual subtitles being most appropriate in such cases dependent on level), the objectives of the teaching, and the proximity between the source and target languages. For subtitled film to be effective as a teaching tool it is essential to work with audiovisual texts suited to the learner's level to ensure learning outcomes and limit demotivation.

This section aims to set this study within the context of current research into foreign language acquisition using subtitled audiovisual material as a teaching tool. Many of the studies carried out into the role of audiovisual input as a teaching tool have focused on its benefits in terms of improvements in general vocabulary and listening comprehension skills, while fewer studies have focused on the acquisition of language skills in the area of the markers of orality present in colloquial speech.

4.1 Film dialogue versus spontaneous speech

Barnes (1976) differentiates between 'process' and 'presentational' speech. 'Presentational' speech is carefully crafted and developed expressly for a particular audience. In this way it is more akin to writing. 'Process' or exploratory talk is unrehearsed, characterised by false starts, pauses, repetition and so on. Film dialogue is presentational speech that is intended to simulate a spontaneous activity, that of process speech. Spontaneous speech is full of hesitations, repairs, interjections, which are meta-linguistic signals designed to guide the hearer through the process of interpretation and to elicit feedback from hearer about how the message is getting across. Many of these elements of spontaneous speech are eliminated from film dialogue.

Communication is a socially engaged cooperative enterprise. The speaker and the hearer collaboratively verify that the speaker's message has been adequately formulated and received. This element of communication is obviously missing in film as the meaning cannot be negotiated. The audience are not involved in the communicative process, they are spectators and communication does not happen live. However, students' of translation need to learn to make sense of unfamiliar markers of orality and despite its drawbacks film may be considered to provide suitable input of this form of language.

4.2 Research demonstrating language acquisition from subtitled input

Considerable research has been carried out into the value of subtitled audiovisual material for language learners and the benefits of its use as a teaching tool in foreign language acquisition have been well documented, with all subtitling modes being shown to have a beneficial impact on learning outcomes to some extent. Such benefits include better word recognition and improved pronunciation, reading and listening skills and the following is a round-up of relevant research in the area.

Bates (1985, in Sokoli 2006) drew attention to the particular attributes of audio-visual material that make it a powerful medium for learning. These attributes enhance students' ability to

recognise and identify abstract information by following a narrative with the help of the dialogue and images.

According to Baltova (1999, in Sokoli 2006), subtitles add a further advantage in that they provide simultaneous exposure to spoken language, printed text and visual information all conveying the same message, thus promoting content and vocabulary learning even with relatively inexperienced learners.

d'Ydewalle et al (2007, 1997, 1996) carried out a number of studies into the relationship between subtitle processing and information recall and have presented compelling evidence that incidental learning of a foreign language occurs when watching subtitled audiovisual material.

Markham (1989) in her work with university students demonstrated that, compared with a control group, those who were shown subtitled films performed significantly better on reading/listening comprehension tests.

Herron et al (1995: 790) conducted researched into the effect of audiovisual materials on a wider selection of learning outcomes including speaking, reading, writing and listening concluding that the use of such materials increases comprehension of language and vocabulary. In contrast to the majority of research in the field which measures language gains across experimental condition in which subjects were shown audiovisual material with or without subtitles, Heron et al compared a teaching package involving a feature-length film to a text-based programme. It explored the effectiveness of each approach to enhance the listening and grammar performances of intermediate-level learners. Twenty-seven French college students participated in the study which assessed long-term gains in listening performance and grammar performance. Results indicated that improvements in listening skills and grammar knowledge when exposed to the video package were significantly greater than for those in the text-based condition. The researchers concluded that "the use of film with an engaging storyline is more effective in enhancing linguistic performance than the same story presented in written text alone" (Herron et al, 1995: 790).

Garza (1991) conducted research into the use of subtitled audiovisual material as a tool in the teaching of English as a foreign language, focusing on students taking advanced-level courses. His findings demonstrated a strong correlation between the presence of subtitles and increased comprehension of the linguistic content of the audiovisual material, suggesting that the presence of the subtitles help "bridge the gap between the learner's competence in reading and listening" (Garza, 1991: 239).

Bird and Williams (2002) looked at whether intra-lingual subtitles enhance learning for both familiar and unfamiliar words. They carried out two experiments on native and advanced non-native speakers of English to examine the effect of the presentation of language input in a single-modality (sound or text) or bimodal (sound and text) on word learning. Improvements in spoken word recognition and recognition memory were tested for. In both experiments they found that bimodal presentation improved recognition memory for spoken words and

nonwords compared to single modality presentation, concluding that simultaneous sound and text presentation can assist in the learning of unfamiliar words.

Vanderplank (1988) and Ghia (2007, 2012) showed benefits associated with prolonged exposure to audiovisual material (in the case of Ghia fifteen English language films) enhanced general proficiency and acquisition of syntactic patterns of spoken English. Bravo (2008) also demonstrated the advantages of prolonged exposure in Portuguese speaking learners of English.

4.3   Subtitle Mode and Language acquisition

Although the quantity of exposure to audiovisual input appears to be crucial in FLA, it would be more appropriate for students of translation to view large quantities of subtitled audiovisual material outside of formal teaching settings, which language learners benefitting from frequent and repeated viewing in their free time. It is the qualitative characteristics of the audiovisual input that are of interest in the current research. The following section reviews recent research into the impact of audiovisual genre and different subtitle modes on language acquisition.

The effects of different subtitling modes on foreign language acquisition have been explored in various recent research studies (Bravo, 2008, Danan, 1992, 2004). Both intra-lingual and inter-lingual subtitles have been exploited for their teaching benefits and they form the basis of the experimental variants in the present study. Bravo finds that the presence of subtitles, regardless of mode, is consistently found to result in greater levels of comprehension, even for culturally specific linguistic items such as idioms.

4.4   Subtitle mode efficiency in language learning

A number of studies have demonstrated that beneficial effects in language learning can be obtained through the use of intra-lingual subtitles (Chung, 1999, Garza, 1991). The effects of subtitling are measured by showing subjects excerpts of audiovisual material with or without subtitles and then testing global comprehension in answers to questions about the excerpts, and understanding of the meanings of individual words present. The benefits of the use of intra-lingual subtitled media as a teaching tool in foreign language acquisition have also been documented by Danan (1992, 2004) who carried out experiments to test for vocabulary recall and phrase order following exposure to subtitled audiovisual material with L2 written translations given for dialogue in subjects' L1. She did this by choosing words that were dually coded i.e. present in both the audio soundtrack and the subtitles. The benefits of the use of intra-lingual subtitled media as a teaching tool in foreign language acquisition have also been documented by Caimi (2002, 2006), Markham and Peter (2003). Such benefits include; improved pronunciation, better word recognition, improved reading and listening skills.

There continue to be questions around what subtitle mode is most efficient as a teaching tool. Research by d'Ydewalle and Pavakanun (1996) and d'Ydewalle and de Bruycker (2007) has demonstrated that subjects viewing subtitled foreign language audio-visual material display foreign language acquisition, with considerable foreign-language acquisition resulting from the pairing of foreign language dialogues with native language subtitles.

A more recent example of similar research is the work of Bravo (2008) into subtitling as a learning tool, demonstrating that students who were shown subtitled films performed significantly better on reading/listening comprehension tests. Bravo (2008), found no significant difference for viewers of L1 or L2 subtitles, with improvements in dialogue, vocabulary and idiomatic expressions shown across both conditions. She did find, however, that subjects viewing with L1 subtitles for L2 audiovisual material achieved slightly better results.

It appears that different subtitle modes may prove more effective with learners of varying ability levels and for distinct lexical elements. With subtitles in the foreign language proving more effective with more advanced learners. This study aims to build on this body of research, taking as its focus the perception and interpretation of markers of orality in subtitled film and any differences in that may arise as a result of subtitle mode.

4.5   Research demonstrating acquisition of linguistic variants

Many studies have focused on general improvements in language acquisition, with relatively few looking into the impact of subtitled audiovisual input on acquisition and comprehension of elements of linguistic variety. Price (1983), who conducted one of the earliest studies into the benefits of subtitled audiovisual material, found a positive correlation between the use of intra-lingual subtitles and increased language comprehension among the 450 subjects of her study. Subjects were shown to acquire more of what she described as *the cultural script*, than when watching films without subtitles. Vanderplank (1988) examined the use of intra-lingual subtitles in assisting 23 European and Arab students to improve their English language skills. The research highlighted an increased ability to recognise cultural references such as regional and dialectical speech as well as verbal humour. Herron and Hanley (1992) conclude that the use of audiovisual material promotes the retention of cultural information.

4.6   The learning of markers of orality through subtitled Film

Gumperz and Levinson (1996) suggest that "every student of language should be familiar with the essential idea of linguistic relativity, the idea that culture, through language, affects the way we think, especially perhaps our classification of the experienced world "(Gumperz and Levinson, 1996: 1). The principle of linguistic relativity posits that the structure of a language affects the ways in which its speakers conceptualize the world, with many linguists holding that language influences certain kinds of cognitive processes. Markers of orality can serve as reflections of cultural referents, with their use providing clues about speakers social group, class, or interests.

Much thought has been given to the ways and extent to which language influences thought. Kramsch presents a modern take on Sapir's claim that "language is a guide to social reality..." (1949: 162), concluding that "language, as code, reflects cultural preoccupations and constrains the way people think" (1998; 14). More recent writers such as Boroditsky (2010) believe that when we learn our L1, we acquire certain habits of thought that shape our experience in significant ways, with different communities codifying the world according to different rules and conventions. This perspective has relevance when it comes to the comprehension of linguistic variants. If a language routinely obliges a speaker to specify certain

types of information, they are required to attend to certain details in the world that speakers of other languages may not be required to think about as often. For example the presence or absence of a plural you form or the requirement or not to categorise most things as either masculine or feminine. And since such habits of speech are cultivated from early childhood, it is thought that they might influence habits of thought that go beyond language itself, affecting a speakers experiences, perceptions, associations, feelings, memories and orientation in the world.

4.7   Reception Theory

There is considerable debate in the field of translation studies concerning the extent to which strategies are adopted to meet the expectations and needs of the target audiences. The term audience is by necessity a vague one, as an audience can contain many different individuals in terms of age, gender, social class, education and religion and it is not possible to know in exact terms who the audience for a particular film will be. In order to address the issue of how texts are received and perceived, I will draw on Reception Theory, which attempts to understand the ways that people make sense of texts. A dominant theme in Reception Theory is that of the imposition on an audience of a particular analysis of a text. In audiovisual translation this imposition is made by those controlling the subtitling process. In the case of the films that make up the corpus of the present study, it appears that the translation of markers of orality into equivalent terms in the target language is a low priority.

Reception theory recognizes that meaning does not lie in the audio visual texts alone but rather in the interpretation made of the film by the viewer; the audience being considered to be an essential element in the creative process.

Reception theory posits that the experience a viewer brings with them to the film is crucial to how they interpret it. Cultural background, education and L1 all play a role in understanding. According to reception theory, the viewing and reading experience activates pre-existing experiences and memories. A central concept of reception theory is that meaning is created in the interaction between spectator and text; in other words, meaning is created as the viewer watches and processes the film. Reception theory argues that contextual factors, more than textual ones, influence the way the spectator views the film. Contextual factors include elements of the viewer's identity, the spectator's preconceived notions concerning the film's genre, and even broad social, historical, and political issues. In short, reception theory places the viewer at the centre, taking into account all of the various factors that might influence how they will read and create meaning from the text.

4.7.1   Translation and reception

Ethnographic research has been carried out into various areas of reception, including differences in the perception of meaning across cultures. Translation theorists often make references to the receivers of texts and assumptions about audiences underlie many translation strategies.

The differences that exist between interpretations of meaning are at the core of reception theory. Audiences are seen as active rather than passive and engaged in a process of making,

rather than simply absorbing, meanings. In the case of subtitled films, this emergence of meaning occurs in communities with very different experiences and languages from those of the scriptwriter or the source audience. Audiences use genre conventions, common sociocultural understandings and various levels of the analysis of discourse in order to reach an understanding of the language used in film.

An essential requirement of translation is to be concerned with reader response. The subjects in the experimental conditions in the current study have a distinct experience of the films according to whether they view them with English or Spanish subtitles. The flavour and impact of the original needs to be re-expressed in forms that are consistent with normal usage in the target language. A translation should take into consideration the genre, the filmmaker's style and the needs and expectations of the viewers. The translator of the subtitles also brings their own perspective to the process. Hatim and Mason (1990: 11) describe the process as follows; "We seek to recover what is 'meant' in a text from the whole range of possible meanings. Inevitably, our own beliefs, knowledge and attitudes are fed into the processing of texts, so that any translation will, to some extent, reflect the translator's own mental and cultural outlook, despite the best of impartial intentions".

Gambier (2003) states that the needs and expectations of the target audience shape the adaptation of the source text and involve making changes to it. Subtitling involves a set of strategies such as summarizing and paraphrasing to ensure readability. An assumption is made that the target text is the product desired by the target audience and a great deal of importance is placed on reducing the effort required for its cognitive processing, to the frequent detriment of the translated text.

4.7.2   Cultural context

An important aspect of audience response is the extent to which the target audience is able to relate to the cultural context of the film. When considering the issue of reception, Fiske (2004:105) firmly rejects the assumptions that any text conveys the same message to all people and quotes the research of Katz and Liebes (1985, in Fiske) into the audience reception of the soap opera, *Dallas*, in support of his view. This research has provided valuable insights into the various degrees to which audiences felt a personal involvement in the soap. The programme enjoyed huge ratings in the United States of America and must have reached a socially diverse audience. It has also been widely exported and therefore offers researchers an opportunity to study its reception in differing cultures.

Katz and Liebes (1985) studied the reactions of various Israeli and US audiences to the soap opera. They assembled ten 'focus groups', of six people from the following communities: Israeli Arabs; recent Jewish immigrants to Israel from Russia; first- and second-generation Jewish immigrants from Morocco, Israeli kibbutz members, and matched them with second-generation Americans in Los Angeles. The participants were from similar age groups and educational backgrounds, all were lower middle-class with no formal higher education. They were all regular viewers of the programme, which in Israel was subtitled into both Hebrew and Arabic. Each group viewed an episode of *Dallas* and then took part in an hour long guided discussion with the researchers, in which they were asked a series of open and less open questions. The discussions were in the group's native languages. A researcher initiated the

discussion by asking the viewers to retell the episode that they had just watched together. Finally, the viewers completed a brief questionnaire concerning whether and with whom they normally watched and discussed the programme.

The researchers were able to identify very considerable differences in the ways that the different groups approached and interpreted *Dallas*. They studied attitudes to the soap by recording statements made by respondents about the cinematic and artistic value of the programme and references to characters as if they were real or potentially real. They suggest that this was indicative of how seriously viewers take the soap opera and how they rate it as a realistic portrayal of life. Katz and Liebes (1985) suggested that those groups which were most removed from Western culture were the most likely to become personally involved with the drama. Further findings indicated that members of a Jewish kibbutz were clear that the Ewings' money did not bring them happiness. Whereas Russian Jews, newly arrived in Israel, read the programme as an intentional self-criticism of the American way of life.

In a similar vein, a study by Yanish (1995, in Fiske, 2004) analysed the reception of the US sitcom *Seinfeld* by audiences in Canada and in the Netherlands. This study establishes that a variety of different interpretive strategies were deployed by viewers and, furthermore, that these differ quite markedly between the two national groups.

4.8   The impact of subtitles on reception

In his article *The Manipulation of Language and Culture in Film* Fawcett (2003) looked closely at the implications of the linguistic strategies adopted by those involved in producing subtitles. He analyses the English subtitles provided for several films made in French and investigates the strategies employed and the potential impact of these on audiences, seeking further insights into areas such as the differences of register across languages which present significant problems for producers of subtitles, where the words on screen need to correspond to the words spoken by the characters.

Fawcett (2003) sees translation as essential for making communication between people of different cultures possible. He believes that the focus in the translation of film scripts for subtitling should be shifted away from the incidental incompatibilities between languages, towards those shared communicative factors. Once the language register has been identified, a strategy to translate it into the target language needs to be decided upon. Understanding, interpreting and translating the meaning of sociolects involves a search for what is 'meant' by a text from the whole range of possible or potential meanings. According to Fawcett, meaning and audience reactions to it are complex issues. Meaning can variously be seen as that intended by the author, contained in the text itself, created by the reader, or is a reflection of the translator's knowledge of the current cultural language usage. The meaning of a text is contained within a set of pre-existing, socially agreed upon concepts, symbols, images, ways of thinking and values. Although possessing different experiences, temperaments and interests, source language audiences interpret the world according to social norms and cultural meanings.

Films are made in order to evoke a set of responses in the audience. Response to a text is not merely individual, but is formed by belonging to a shared cultural history. Meaning is

contextual; change the context, and the meaning is changed. The translator plays a significant part in this process of negotiation of meaning by relaying the text across linguistic and cultural boundaries. In doing so, the translator needs to work with intended, implied and presupposed meaning. This meaning is based on the evidence supplied by the text and the extra-linguistic knowledge of the translator.

Fawcett (2003) considers the translation strategy of compensation, which is defined by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958: 189), as "making good in one part of the text something that could not be translated in another". A frequently cited example of this is when the translation is from a language that makes a distinction between polite forms of address into a language where no such distinction is made. For example, translating from French where a distinction is made according to familiarity – 'tu' and 'vous' into English where is "you" used independently of the degree of familiarity. The lack of a formal equivalent to the distinctions in address is compensated for, with varying degrees of acceptability, with the substitution of "sir".

Table 5.1. Example of formality in subtitles from The History Boys

E	or do you whisk up gourmet meals for one?		
S	...o prepara comidas gourmet para uno, señor?	B	...do you prepare gourmet meals for one, sir?
E	- Or is it a lonely pizza, sir?		
S	- ¿O come pizza en solitario, señor?	B	Or do you eat pizza alone, sir?

(For all examples given E is English subtitle, S, Spanish subtitle and B, back translation by the author).

Fawcett states that the structure and register of the source text become important guides to decisions regarding what should or should not appear in the target text. Translators of subtitles, or possibly their commissioners, sometimes chose to translate in a way that they consider reflects the cultural expectations of the target audience. The register of the original should be re-expressed in forms that are consistent with the flavour and impact of language usage in the target language. In other words, the appropriateness of each subtitle translation is found in the degree to which the viewers are able to respond to its message in the same way the original author intended would be the response of the original audience. However, he recognises that tight deadlines can lead to poor translation of cultural references.

Fawcett raises the question of the extent to which the target text is manipulated, consciously or unconsciously, by norms rather than technical constraints and questions to what extent strategies of normalising, repressing, leveling and censoring occur due to social, moral and ideological norms.

In order to address the question, Fawcett (2003) examines a small selection of subtitled French film, providing some examples of the problems involved in translating cultural references from the French film *L'Appat* (The Bait) by Bertrand Tavernier. A reference to a well-known French singer, replaced in the subtitles by a reference to Madonna, is given as an example of

Americanisation. However, when the dialogue in the film makes a reference to France's hexagonal shape, "L'Amerique c'est pas l'Hexagone", "L'Hexa quoi?" is translated literally as "America's no Hexagon", "Hexa-what?" it becomes incomprehensible. In another example from *Les Visiteurs*, although two rude puns are translated in a manner which retains some of that rudeness, the level of vulgarity is reduced: as *Francois Lecul* is translated into *Francis Twat*, and "*Leche-cul*" is rendered as the insipid "*teacher's pet'*.

The translation of markers of orality such as slang and swearwords can result in incomprehension for film audiences, as it is difficult to get right. Fawcett (2003) identifies two main trends; standardisation and what he calls "letting-rip". He analyses the strategies used by subtitlers and identifies normalising, repressing, levelling and censoring and finds that these can reduce the effect originally intended by the author.

4.9   Research into audience reception of subtitles

The body of research outlined in previous chapters, together with studies such as Fuentes-Luque's (2003) research into audience reception and Jäckel's (2001) article on audience response to the translation of slang in *La Haine*, form the starting point for the present investigation, which takes as its focus the perception and comprehension of markers of orality in a corpus of five subtitled English language films.

In common with other studies Fuentes Luque (2003), believes that the successful reception of audiovisual productions depends heavily on the quality of the translation of the audiovisual text. He feels that audience demographics and expectations are far too frequently ignored during the production of subtitles. The key role of the viewer is recognised in the literature, but little empirical research has been conducted into the reception of translated texts for subtitles. In his study, Fuentes Luque (2003) attempts to address the issue of the reception of translated audiovisual humour, through the Marx Brother's film *Duck Soup.* The main focus of the study is the reception, in the screen translation, of cultural transfer, by which he means; the humour, allusions, puns, proper names and songs in the film. He tested the following series of hypotheses; (i) that humour is lost in the translation process, (ii) that there are cultural differences in what causes people to laugh, (iii) that the humour of the Marx Brothers is not universally understood and is culturally bound, (iv) that viewers of the target text may respond differently to those of the source text and (v) literal translations of puns, plays on ideas, cultural references and allusions result in miscomprehension by the target audience.

For his research Fuentes-Luque used three versions of a ten-minute extract of the Marx Brother's film *Duck Soup*. The extract was chosen because it consisted of a complete sketch and contained a large amount of humorous, but culturally specific elements. The three versions were (i) the original version in English, (ii) a version dubbed into Spanish and (iii) a version with Spanish subtitles. Version (i) was viewed by 10 native English speakers, versions (ii) and (iii) were each viewed by 10 native Spanish speakers. In order to ensure a representative sample of the age range of the film going public, the ages of the participants in each group ranged between 16 and 64. The English speakers represented most English speaking countries and the Spanish speakers came from various regions in Spain. Each group was balanced for gender and educational attainment. The native Spanish speakers selected for

the research had minimal English. This was to reduce the potential of linguistic pollution due to the coexistence of source language and target language in subtitled films.

Three sets of data were collected. These were (i) observations of the members of the audience's reactions to the humour in the extracts, (ii) data from a questionnaire, which the members of each group were given to complete after viewing the extracts and (iii) data from interviews with group members after they had viewed the extracts. Audience members were observed individually whilst they were watching the extracts and notes were taken about their reactions. These were coded as (i) no reaction, (ii) smile, (iii) laughter, or (iv) puzzlement. The questionnaire contained a range of closed and open questions related to the dubbing and subtitling. The purpose of the interview was to establish what type of humour and audiovisual media appealed to the members of the audience.

The level of positive reception was recorded by the observers as very low. It is interesting to speculate whether the observers' ratings of positive reception were more accurate than the audience members' responses to the questionnaire and interviews, or whether for enjoyment to occur it needs to be expressed by a smile or a laugh. It is possible that the experimental setting may have influenced the reception observed and in a more relaxed setting, subjects may have been more likely to have smiled or laughed.

4.9.1   Slang in subtitles

In her article Jäckel (2001) attempts to demonstrate to what extent subtitling determines reception. In her analysis of audience response to the subtitles produced for the film she draws on theories of communication, register and genre and audience-based reception studies. The film portrays a marginalized section of French society, composed mainly of unemployed, multicultural (its three protagonists being black, Jewish and North African), petty criminal, young men who live in the outskirts of Paris. The language spoken in the film has been described as a nightmare for subtitlers due to the inclusion of many variants of non-standard French including non-standard grammar, local slang and rapidly evolving street language. Kassowitz was heavily criticised in the French media for the incomprehensibility of the film that was considered inaccessible to much of its audience. In fact, like *The Football Factory* the film contained an amount of deliberately incomprehensible language, and as such was an immense challenge to it subtitlers. The speed with which the actors spoke also caused problems for the timing of the subtitles. Jäckel raises questions as to whether the subtitlers found suitable equivalents in the target language, what informed their choice of strategies and what were the results of these choices from the perspective of the audience?

Jäckel's (2001) investigation ranged from conducting a survey in an art house cinema following the screening of the film, the reviewing of the films coverage in the media, box office takings and televised interviews with filmgoers after they had viewed the film. She claimed that the experienced subtitlers of *La Haine* took their brief very seriously, as in addition to the normal constraints associated with the process Kassowitz's added the request that they not use American inner city ghetto slang. The subtitlers therefore employed a variety of strategies and styles, including domestication to the US market, in which French cultural references were replaced with American ones; Kronenberg beer became Bud, Asterix became Snoopy and so on. The Verlan, or back-slang in which words are spoken backwards, posed too great a

problem in ensuring the subtitles were understood. So commonly used expressions were used instead, for example, meufs (femmes – women) became babes. Jackel found that the subtitling had the effect of reducing differentiation between characters due to a levelling or standardising of their language. She was also critical that the subtitles were geared towards the American market. With incongruous elements of American culture (such as dollar signs) in a French context resulting in a loss of authenticity. In her conclusion, Jäckel finds that the impact of the subtitles may not be that intended by the author of the original script. She feels that the cultural gulf between the source and target cultures may be insurmountable and what should have been attempted was a remake adapted to the target culture and not simply a subtitled version.

4.9.2   Subtitling of swearwords

In his article *On the Hong Kong Chinese Subtitling of the Erotic Dialogue in Kaufman's Quills (*a film depicting the final years of the Marquis de Sade's life, spent in the Charenton Asylum) Chapman (2005) completes a thorough analysis of what he perceives to be weaknesses in the translation of the text for subtitles. Chapman finds that swearwords and slang present in the in English are not translated, translated literally, or replaced by milder euphemisms, arguing that the elimination of swearwords in the Chinese subtitles results in reduced impact on the Hong Kong Cantonese audience. English swearwords are translated into overly formal and polite phrases and ignoring the register of the original. In Chapman's opinion, the standard modern Chinese translation does not match the cooloquial style of the original. He claims that censorship results in the standardisation of the markers of orality in Hong Kong Chinese subtitling, arguing that swearwords should not be censored, but rendered in the mother tongue of the target audience.

Pujol (2006) focuses on the translation for dubbing of the word 'fuck' into Catalan with the intention of providing a useful frame of reference for assisting translators of swearwords. While the constraints associated with dubbing are different to those of subtitles, he argues that the strategies employed can result in a reduction of impact on the audience of significant aspects of the original film and argues that if the intensifying function of the swearing is not compensated for in the translation process, the impact of the original will be reduced. Due to the visual context of dubbing, restrictions like isochrony play an important role in the choice of certain terms, and as with subtitles, some swearwords may be eliminated for reasons of length. Pujol's study is descriptive; each item of the original corpus is analysed and compared with its corresponding dubbed translation in order to ascertain whether it retains the same pragmatic function and impact. Pujol categorises the pragmatic functions of the swearing. In examples such as "Fuck those spic pigs, man!" he demonstrates that the use of the words used serve the dual functions of expressing extreme anger and contempt. He claims that such words serve a communicative function and are not redundant speech, but provide important information about the development of the characters and the plot. Therefore the elimination of swearwords will have a corresponding effect on impact and should be employed sparingly as a strategy.

The translation of swearwords in the film is considered by Pujol to be inadequate as far as characterisation is concerned. For example, swearwords are either not translated, or in those

cases in which such words are spoken by characters who seldom use them in the rest of the film, they is translated very mildly. He believes that the use of swearing is, in such cases, particularly important to the development of the plot, as it expresses dramatic peaks in the story line, which can be diluted or lost. He considers that the expressions chosen to translate swearwords in the film are usually adequate, but in parallel with Chapman (2005), feels that the registers used are frequently far too formal. They fail to reflect the style of the language, as embedding it in a formal grammatical structure can make it sound incongruous and lessen its impact.

Pujol's research shows is that when the word 'fuck' is not lexically translated in the same place as the original, this may be compensated for by using a swear word in another part of the sentence. Although Pujol (2006) did not research into audience reception, he makes a valuable contribution to the debate around the value of retaining swearwords in the target language in order to maintain the impact of the original text.

4.10 Reception and the corpus

The work of the researchers outlined above, focusing on translation strategies and audience reception of subtitles, which demonstrate that markers of orality such as slang, swearwords and sociolect become watered down during the subtitling process, underpins the present research.

In addition to knowledge of source and target languages, translators require cultural expertise, often quite specific expertise as can be seen from the films in this study. Films provide complex multi-semiotic input and as such provide rich material for the training of translators.

The characters in films are defined by their use of language as well as their actions. In her study into the subtitled and dubbed versions of several films Petit (in Ghia, 2012: 51) states that "the image embeds the verbal text within a cultural reality which compensates for the standard pronunciation of the dubbing actors. In other words, the image compensates for the culturally determined aspects of speech which have been removed in the dubbed version". But is this the case, even in subtitled versions where the original accents remain? This study indicates that viewers are not very good at picking up on differences in accents (except for the marked Scottish accents in *Trainspotting*). Or if they notice them, they are unaware of their significance which is overridden in cognitive processing by standard, neutral written input.

Figure 5.1. Screen shot of students in uniform

Viewers experiencing cognitive dissonance due to their lack of familiarity with the cultural context are likely to fall back on more familiar contexts, resulting in the failure to comprehend. This is demonstrated by The History Boys in which cues to class present in language use are not noticed or disregarded in favour of more familiar cues such as uniforms, which are associated with private schools and the erroneous conclusion is reached by the subjects in the present study that the boys must be wealthy. The images situate the film in its socio-cultural context but may contain signs that do not exist in the target culture. The film The History Boys is set in the environment of education, that it is a selective state school and not an elite private school is less obvious to those unfamiliar with British culture.

The images presented in the films *Trainspotting* and *The Football Factory* reflect extreme sub-cultures, but slang, sociolects and dialects are eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. Hence the difficulties present for English audiences due to incomprehensibility of dialogue are smoothed out for Spanish audiences in pursuit of readability. The violence and the language are beyond most people's experience and the incomprehensibility forms part of the experience of the film. The standardization of the Spanish subtitles may result in a situation where the foreign language audience reads on comfortably, while the target language audience is expected to struggle with the cognitive effort required to get a glimpse into an unfamiliar cultural sub-group.

Table 5.2. Examples of standardization of film dialogue in Spanish subtitles from films in the corpus;

E	- Sweet, Bill? - Yeah, yeah. Where's the others?		
S	- ¿Todo bien, Bill? - Sí, sí. ¿Y los otros?	B	All well, Bill? Yes, yes. And the others?

The sociolect term "sweet" meaning OK, is translated for the standard ¿Todo bien? And the grammatically non-standard "Where's the others?" for ¿y los otros?

Table 5.3.

E	Only, when she turned up, she had a face like the wrong end of a camel's turd.		
S	Pero cuando llegó, resultó que era extraordinariamente fea.	B	But when she arrived, she turned out to be extraordinarily ugly

This creative use of language, a twist on the phrase "the back end of a bus" meaning ugly, typical of the teenage boys, is neutralised in translation for the subtitles and the humour and style are lost.

Whilst intra-lingual subtitles are produced as an adjunct to the image to assist the viewer to follow the film and not as a teaching tool, a need exists to look at the relationship between information provided in subtitles and comprehension in audio-visual material. When decoding effort is required of the audience viewing in the original version, it may be reasonable to expect the foreign language speaking audience make a similar effort in order to facilitate reception and when using subtitled audiovisual material for teaching purposes it is important to avoid what Antonini calls "lingua-cultural drops in voltage" resulting from standardisation (2005: 214).

CHAPTER 5: CORPUS ANALYSIS AND MARKERS OF ORALITY

This study addresses the question of the optimal way of using subtitled film as a tool in the teaching of translation and how the nature of the subtitles can affect such learning. To this point many studies have focused on how much exposure is required for learning to occur, this study will focus more on the demands made on the subtitled product for learning of markers of orality to occur. Due to marked differences in the presence of markers of orality in the English and Spanish subtitles any differences in levels of comprehension are explored between those exposed to intra or inter-lingual subtitles. This research, grounded in classroom activities, takes into account qualitative aspects of the subtitled texts, focuses on the way in which they impact language acquisition and hopes to provide useful outcomes for practice and for further research.

This chapter contains a comprehensive analysis of the five linguistic elements categorised as markers of orality selected from the five films in the corpus. This chapter demonstrates how the markers of orality are profoundly diminished by the process of standardisation and simplification inherent in the subtitling process. The inclusion of such markers may impede readability and therefore be considered intrusive, but their omission on this scale in the Spanish subtitles appears to impede comprehension. This tendency to render the target language subtitles in standard Spanish is widespread and its consequences for the learning of markers of orality will form the focus of this chapter.

All spoken languages change over time and across social groups, in terms of lexicon, sentence structures, tone, rhythm, and the meaning assigned to words. Language is a social construct, a way of establishing and projecting our social identities. In most cultures and social groups the way individuals speak provides clues as to their geographical origin, social status, age, gender, occupation and degree of integration into social groups.

We use the linguistic variation available to us to send a complex series of messages about ourselves and the way we position ourselves in society; it reflects who we are as social beings. The perception of variation in the speech of others is used to structure our knowledge about that person and translators need to acquire skills in this area in order to make adequate language choices. Information contained in dialogue may be lost to language learners not exposed to variants and ideas conveyed in films may not be accessed by foreign language audiences, as comprehension is deeply rooted in culture and depends on our cultural heritage and familiarity with culture specific codes and conventions.

Language is an incredibly flexible and responsive social tool and all spoken languages are capable of expressing a full range of emotions and ideas (Lippi-Green, 1997), with speakers borrowing terms from other languages in order to express novel concepts or inventing many ways of saying the same thing. Taavitsainen et al (1999) state that non-standard forms are mostly found in the dialogue contained in fiction and are used as a powerful tool to establish character traits or social and regional differences.

For example the use of "Jog on!" in the London sociolect spoken by characters in *The Football Factory*, which despite having a meaning in Standard English (keep on jogging) is capable of expressing so many more things succinctly; get lost, carry on, go away, get on with it, etc.

5.1 Standardised language

Standard English is the variety of English normally used in writing, it is the variety associated with the education system and is therefore considered to be indicative of a good education. It is also the variety taught to non-native learners. Speakers of Standard English do not generally have a geographically locatable accent but speak with the accent known as Received Pronunciation (RP) a purely social accent, making it socio-linguistically unusual in that it is not associated with any region of the UK.

Despite the widespread use of Standard English in education, most native speakers of English speak a non-standard variety of the language. In order to address the issue of what are non-standard variants; this chapter will include a brief description of Standard English.

Standard English is held up as an ideal, but is itself a dialect, spoken by a proportion of the UK's educated middle classes, approximately 12%-15% of the population. It includes many of the features of oral speech that form the focus of this study, but the nature of the standard deserves consideration for the contrast it provides to the non-standard markers of orality in this study.

Trudgill (1992) defines the process of language standardisation as the elimination of difference in one of the varieties of the language, by means of determination, codification and stabilization, in order to produce a single consistent variant.

a. Determination "refers to decisions which have to be taken concerning the selection of particular languages or varieties of language for particular purposes in the society or nation in question".
b. Codification is the process whereby a language variety "acquires a publicly recognised and fixed form". The results of codification "are usually enshrined in dictionaries and grammar books".
c. Stabilisation is a process "whereby a formerly diffuse variety undergoes focusing and takes on a more fixed and stable form" (Trudgill 1992: 70-71).

Standard English has many grammatical features in common with the other dialects, although those differences that do exist are very significant socially. A comparison with non-standard variants includes the following idiosyncrasies:

Table 9.1. Standard and non-standard variants of English

Standard English	Non-standard variants
Does not distinguish between the forms of the auxiliary forms of the verb *do* and its main verb forms.	Many variants distinguish between the auxiliary *I do, he do* and main verb *I does, he does* or similar, and the past tense, and between auxiliary *did* and main verb *done*, as in *You done it, did you?*

Has an unusual and irregular present tense verb morphology in that only the third-person singular receives morphological marking: *he goes* versus *I go.*	Many variants use either nothing for all persons or *-s* for all persons.
Does not employ multiple negation, so that no choice is available between *I don't want none,* which is not possible, and *I don't want any*	Most nonstandard variants of English around the world permit multiple negation.
Has an irregular formation of reflexive pronouns with some forms based on the possessive pronouns e.g. *myself,* and others on the objective pronouns e.g. *himself*.	Most nonstandard variants have a regular system employing possessive forms throughout i.e. *hisself, theirselves.*
Does not distinguish between second person singular and second person plural pronouns, having *you* in both cases	Some nonstandard variants maintain the older English distinction between *thou* and *you,* or have developed newer distinctions such as *you* versus *youse.*
Has irregular forms of the verb *to be* both in the present tense (*am, is, are*) and in the past (*was, were*).	Many nonstandard variants have the same form for all persons, such as *I be, you be, he be, we be, they be*, and *I were, you were, he were, we were, they were.*
In the case of many irregular verbs, Standard English distinguishes between preterite and perfect verb forms both by the use of the auxiliary *have* and by the use of distinct preterite and past participle forms: *I have seen* versus *I saw*	Many other variants have *I have seen* versus *I seen*.
Standard English has only a two-way contrast in its demonstrative system, with *this* (near to the speaker) opposed to *that* (away from the speaker).	Some other variants have a three-way system involving a further distinction between, for example, *that* (near to the listener) and *yon,* (also *hither, yonder,* away from both speaker and listener).

Flexibility between variants does exist, making it possible for nonstandard features to become standard and vice versa. As shown in the graphic below the further down the social scale you go the greater the quantity of nonstandard variants found.

Figure 9.1. Graph of social and geographical language variation
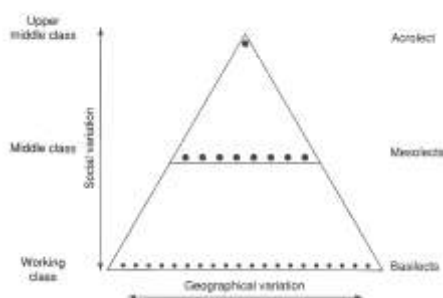
5.2   Language style

Linguistic styles can be positioned on a continuum from very formal to very informal, with markers of orality being associated with an informal style. Scriptwriters demonstrate the degree of formality of a fictional social situation by the stylistic choices they make. Labov (1972) states that the repertoire of styles available to individual speakers will be a reflection of their social experiences and, in many cases, their education also.

The old man was bloody knackered after his long trip is a Standard English sentence, couched in a very informal style, while *Father were very tired after his lengthy journey* is a sentence in a nonstandard (northern English) variant of English, due to the inclusion of the nonstandard verb form *were,* couched in a rather formal style. One of the objectives of this study is to investigate in what mode the exposure students of translation are given to such language is optimal in the acquisition of styles at the more informal end of the continuum; language usage that they might otherwise not acquire sufficient understanding of.

5.3   Register

The term *Register* is used to indicate style and degree of formality in language use. The variants present in the corpus are associated with a very informal register. Every native speaker can normally produce several different language styles, which are varied according to the topic under discussion, the formality of the occasion, and the medium used (speech, writing or sign). Register is therefore defined by reference to the social context. The same person might say any of the following three sentences, depending on the circumstances:

- *I should be grateful if you would make less noise.*
- *Please be quiet.*
- *Shut the fuck up!*

The utterances range from a highly formal register to an informal one, with the choice of style being a matter of context, politeness and emotional charge. (Aitchison, 2003)

In 1978 Halliday developed the following framework for the situational determinants of register:

1. Field: the setting in which the communication takes place, includes purpose and subject matter;
2. Mode: the channel or medium of communication;
3. Tenor: indicates the relationship between speaker and addressee.

Biber and Conrad (2009: 40-47) have proposed a more recent and comprehensive framework;

I.   Participants
II.   Relations among participants
III.   Channel
    a.   Mode: speech/writing/signing
    b.   Specific medium: transient/permanent
IV.   Production circumstances: real time/planned/scripted
V.   Setting
VI.   Communicative purpose

VII.   Topic: roughly corresponds to Halliday's Field.

These frameworks inform the analysis of the corpus of the present research.

Halliday described register as a variety according to use and dialect as a variety according to user. According to Bravo (2004:243), dialects "transmit a large amount of information about the speaker and, if we know how to read the different codes, they immediately reveal to us their geographical origin, social class, education etc., […] translational practice has traditionally chosen to level out any accent and dialect differences present in the source texts, replacing them with standard Spanish"

Table 9.2. Dialect and register

Dialect (regional non-standard variety)=variety according to the user	Register=variety according to user)
Dialect -what you speak habitually - determined by who you are (socio-region of origin and/or adoption) and - expressing diversity of social structure (patterns of social hierarchy) Principal controlling variables: social class; provenance; generation; age; gender	Register - What you are speaking at the time - Determined by what you are doing (nature of social activity being engaged in), and - - expressing diversity of social process. Principal controlling variables: Field (type of social action); tenor (role relationships); mode (symbolic organisation)

Language is inherently and unavoidably variable, employing variation to provide additional information to that of the surface message. It is impossible to study the language forms in everyday use without being confronted with the issue of linguistic variability. A single speaker will use different linguistic forms on different occasions, and different speakers of a language will express the same meanings using different forms.

Speakers of a language vary in terms of pronunciation, morphology, word choice, and grammar depending on a number of non-linguistic factors. These factors include the speaker's communicative intentions, the relationship between speaker and hearer, the context, and various demographic and social affiliations that a speaker can have. (Reppen et al, 2002). The characters in the films in the corpus habitually speak a dialect, but are also capable of varying

the register of their speech, as in these examples from the films *The Football Factory* and *Trainspotting* respectively. The formal language is spoken in court scenes;

5.3.1   Informal register

Bright: Stay away from the OB and keep your fucking nut down.

5.3.2   Formal register

Bright: Yes, sir. I'm very sorry, sir. It won't happen again, you can be sure of that.

5.3.3   Informal register

Renton: Sneaky fucker, don't you think?

5.3.4   Formal register

Renton: With God's help I will conquer this terrible addiction

Figure 9.2. Example of informal dialogue from the film Happy Go Lucky and its rendition in translation into Spanish

D	I ain't nicked nothing. onest, guv'nor.		
E	I ain't nicked nothing. Honest, guv'nor.		
S	No he mangado nada. De verdad, jefe.	B	I haven't nicked anything. Really, boss.

The slang is transferred to the subtitle in the translation of *nicked* (to steal) as *mangado,* but the other markers of orality, the use of ain't, the double negative and the contraction of governor are standardized and not compensated for.

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5.4   Corpus Analysis

As a first step in the analysis of the corpus, a classificatory model of markers of orality based on Romero (2010), Briz (2001), López (1997) and Steel (1985) is proposed, ordering the linguistic variants of colloquial language according to the four categories that make up speech register; field, mode, tenor and tone. A category for the non-standard variants of dialects and sociolects has been included.

5.4.1   Field

1. Syntactic or construction strategies
   a. Unfinished sentences, false starts and self-corrections
   b. Preamble
   c. Use of discourse markers
   d. Redundancy (repetition, re-elaboration and story-telling)
   e. Direct style
2. Non-standard variants of grammar
   a. Tense variations, alternative word order)
   b. Temporal strategies (e.g. use of present tense)
   a. Verb modes
3. Non-standard variants of dialect and sociolect
4. Lexical-semantic strategies and constants
   a. Lexical frequency (speaker's word preferences e.g. Look, right etc.)
   b. Slang (words belonging to a social group)
   c. Exclamations and equivalents (insults, intensifiers, swearwords and repetition covering a wide range of emotions and exclamations to express surprise, regret and impatience, which include ritualised equivalents of "I don't know, search me, man, come on! huh)
5. Proverbs and idioms (e.g. Hit the ceiling)
6. Clichés and routine formulae (e.g. If you know what I mean)

5.4.2   Mode:

1. spontaneous oral
2. non-spontaneous oral (recited)
3. written to be read
4. written to be spoken as if it had not been written (film dialogue).

5.4.3   Interpersonal tenor or Tone

1. Contextual strategies
   a. Ellipsis (shared knowledge that means that details can be omitted)
   b. Deixis (personal expressions)
   c. Suspended enunciations (reinforce or emphasise speaker's attitude, argument or conclusion)
2. Para-language
   a. Body language
   b. Proxemic code (distance between speakers, tactile contact during conversation and posture)¡
3. Greetings ("awright mate")

4. Endearments ("me duck")

5.4.4 Functional tenor or Tone

1. Phonic strategies
   a. Intonation (expressions of emotions)
   b. Pauses (silences before a response, reaction, request, doubt, discomfort, etc.)
   c. Phonic length (due to poverty of speech, allowing time to think or to reinforce speech)
   d. Marked, emphatic pronunciation
   e. Emphatic emotional adjuncts (accompanied by word stress)
   f. Regional non-standard variants.
2. Production and reception strategies
   a. Intensifiers (of quality, quantity and attitude. Agreement or disagreement. Syntactical, lexical and phonetic)
   b. Affirmative and negative response and reinforcement patterns (not half, you bet, no fear, my arse!)
   c. Inner terms or non-canonical expressions (e.g. How about?)
   d. Dialogue stimulants and emphasisers (didn't he, right?, you know what I mean?, Well?)
   e. Irony (positive implies negative and negative implies positive)
   f. Attenuation (minimisers)
   g. Surprise
   h. Indignation
   i. Rejection, rebuke and protest
   j. Resignation (responses indicating indifference and resignation; who cares, it's no skin off my nose)
   k. Wishes and regret

The five markers of orality, selected from this classificatory model, for this study are;

1. **Swearwords:** socially taboo words or phrases of a profane, obscene, or insulting nature
2. **Slang**: nonstandard informal vocabulary. Slang includes newly coined words and phrases, and words used out of their usual context. It is the language of social groups.
3. **Non-standard variants of grammar:** any variety of grammar that deviates from the standard e.g. multiple negation.
4. **Non-standard regional variants:** nonstandard regional variants can be characterized as having *socially marked* forms, e.g. *ain't*.
5. **Idioms:** lexical constants that must be stored in the long-term memory because their meaning can't be guessed at.

These markers were chosen due to the frequency with which they occur in everyday speech, making them an important element of the training of translators, and for the following reasons;

1. They are infrequently dealt with in translator training.
2. They are important in the construction of character in film.
3. There are clear differences in frequency of their use in the dialogue and subtitles of the films selected.

4. They create a reaction in the audience and their omission may result in reduced comprehension in audiences viewing the film with subtitles.

5.5 Procedure

A contrastive analysis of the markers of orality present in the films: *Happy Go Lucky, The Football Factory, The Full Monty, The History Boys*, and *Trainspotting* was carried out*. The films were selected for the high frequency of the markers of orality that are the focus of the present study, contained in the dialogues. They contain elements of regional dialects (in the case of Trainspotting, Scots, a sister language to English) and sociolects. The titles of three of them are themselves idiomatic phrases. The films deal with challenging issues; violence, racism, addiction, unemployment and unwanted sexual advances. They are deeply rooted in their sociolects and dialects and their geographic settings are central to the film plots. All are relatively contemporary, being set within the last 30 years *The History Boys* in the 1980's and *Happy go Lucky* and *The Football Factory* post 2000.

5.6 Identifying markers of orality.

All examples of linguistic variants present in the five film dialogues and their corresponding English and Spanish subtitles were identified and classified according to the model proposed above.

Table 9.3. Example of subititle of dialogue in English and Spanish with corresponding field

Dialogue   - Choose rotting away at the end of it all.

       Pissing your last in a miserable home;

5.6.1   English subtitle

Sub no. 19	00:01:26 --> 00:01:28	
	pissing your last in a miserable home.	Field: expletive

5.6.2   Spanish subtitle

Sub no. 15	00:01:25 --> 00:01:27	
	Elige pudrirte de viejo. **meándote** *en un asilo miserable…*	Field: intensifier

Here the word "pissing" is translated to an equivalent, if slightly less vulgar term.

5.7   Quantities of linguistic variants

Percentages of linguistic variants present in the dialogue were then calculated and compared with those present in the English and Spanish subtitles, an example is given below;

5.8   Example of general comparative analysis: *The Full Monty*

1. 22% of the film dialogue is comprised of linguistic variants
2. 22% of the English subtitles is comprised of linguistic variants
3. 7% of the Spanish subtitles is comprised of linguistic variants
4. The English subtitles contain 99% of the total number of words used in the original film dialogue.
5. The Spanish subtitles contain 92% of the total number of words used in the original film dialogue.
6. The English subtitles contain 98% of the linguistic variants used in the original film dialogue.
7. The Spanish subtitles contain 29% of the linguistic variants used in the original film dialogue.

Graph 9.1. Proportion of linguistic variants present in the dialogue, English and Spanish subtitles.
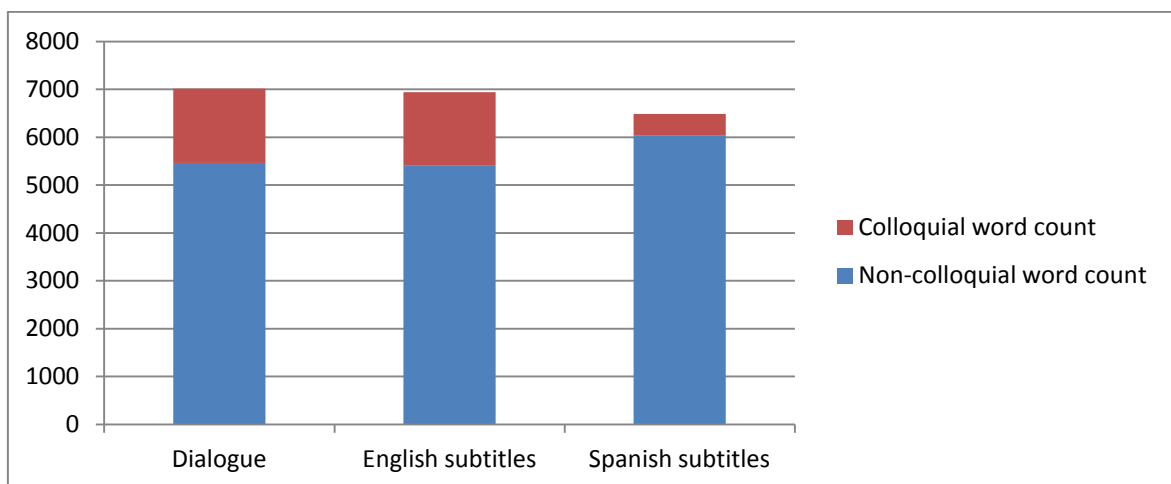
Charts 9.1-9.3 Proportion of language present in the form of linguistic variation

Proportion of linguistic variants in Spanish subtitles

- Non-colloquial language
- Field
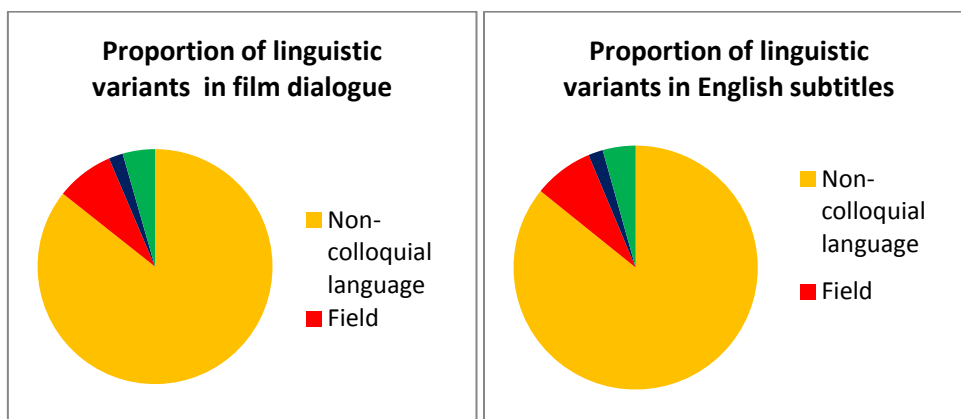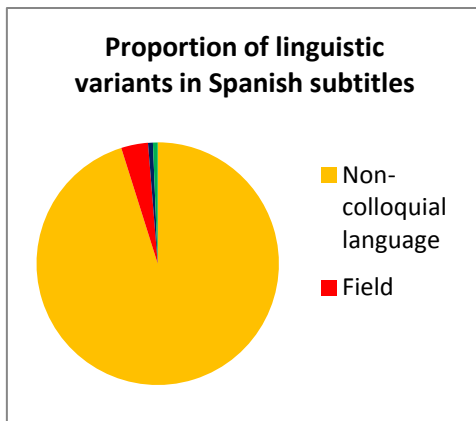
5.9   Translation strategies for subtitles

Krings (1986:18) defines translation strategies as a "translator's potentially conscious plans for solving concrete translation problems in the framework of a concrete translation task," and, Loescher (1991: 8) as "a potentially conscious procedure for solving a problem faced in translating a text, or any segment of it." Venuti (1998: 240) employs the concepts of "domesticating" and "foreignizing" in reference to translation strategies.

Defining culturally specific terms as those which "refer to concepts, institutions and personnel which are specific to the SL culture" Harvey (2000: 2-6) proposes the following four techniques for their translation:

1. *Functional Equivalence*: using a referent in the TL culture whose function is similar to that of the source language (SL) referent.
2. *Formal Equivalence* or '*linguistic equivalence'*: a 'word-for-word' translation.
3. *Transcription* or '*borrowing'* (i.e. reproducing or, where necessary, transliterating the original term) accompanied by an explanation or a translator's note.
4. *Descriptive* or *self-explanatory* translation: the use of generic terms to convey the meaning.

Tomaszkiewicz (1993: 223-227) offers a discussion of the strategies involved in film subtitling, commenting that some culture-specific terms are untranslatable.

These include (where more than one strategy might be used concurrently):

(1) Omission
(2) Literal Translation, as close as possible to the original
(3) Borrowing, terms are used from the original text
(4) Equivalence, similar meaning and function
(5) Adaptation, adjusted to have similar connotations
(6) Replacement of cultural terms with deictics, (this, that etc.) when supported by visual clue.
(7) Generalisation, neutralisation
(8) Explication, paraphrasing to explain term

The terms used in the classification of translation strategies used in this study were adapted from Gottlieb's taxonomy of extra-linguistic cultural references (ECRs), where ECRs are defined as "lexical items, typically nouns and names, designing phenomena specific to the culture in which they are used" (Gottlieb 2009: 27). Gottlieb's taxonomy has been adapted to suit the lexical items in the present study and where differences occur betweens terms and those used in this study, these have been outlined.

Gottlieb uses the term equivalence as short hand for a translation that aims at equivalence of effect and contains a high proportion of the elements present in the ST. For example, if a ST lexical item is a swearword, the translated TT lexical item should also be a swearword of equal strength and usage. Idealy slang ST should be translated into slang in the TT. Translation strategies employed therefore require an attempt at achieving perlocutionary equivalence to create a similar viewing experience.

5.9.1 Retention

The term *retention* has been substituted for *equivalence* as there are only two examples of retention in the corpus of the present study, with one using a term unlikely to be understood by the audience viewing with Spanish subtitles: "jammy goal" – "Jammy gol" (jammy = lucky). The use of the term *equivalence* in the present study is meant as the preservation of equivalence of meaning and function, both semantic and stylistic. Where the source text term is a swearword this would need to be a swearword in the subtitle, equally if the source text term is slang, a term in slang in the subtitle is required for the translation to be categorized as meeting the requirements of *equivalence*.

5.9.2 Literal Translation

A "word-for-word" translation in which the meaning is as close as possible to the original, making maximum use of cognates.

5.9.3 Specification

A strategy of disambiguation, making the original term clearer by using a more widely recognized term.

5.9.4 Generalisation

Translating a term specific to the source text into a more general one.

5.9.5 Substitution

Domestication, described by Venuti (2000: 335) as "meaning[…] re-established according to target concepts of coherence".

5.9.6 Omission

Term simply omitted.

Table 9.4. Examples of translations strategies

Translation strategy	Gottlieb	Present study
Equivalence	Thanksgiving - Thanksgiving	This type of equivalence only happens twice in the whole corpus of this study – "jammy goal" – "Jammy gol" meaning that the goal was a fluke. *Do you know Stanley? - ¿Conocëis a Stanley?* Stanley here referring to a knife used in carpentry and frequently the weapon of choice for football hooligans. For the purposes of this study equivalence requires the retention of non-standardisation in the target language e.g. dodgy – chungo.
Literal Translation	Randersgade . Randers St	E.g. Stoke fans - Hinchas del Stoke
Specification	Skole – high school	For the purposes of this study they need to retain non-standard nature, otherwise they count as substitution e.g. Stay away from the OB - Aléjate de la poli
Generalisation	100 kroner - money	For the purposes of this study they need to retain non-standard nature, otherwise they count as substitution e.g. shifty – pillín
Substitution	4th July translated as New Year's Eve in the US to Danish version.	I found so few examples of what Gottlieb classified as substitution that I have used the term to mean substitution for a standard lexical item in place of a marker of orality, e.g. giro – subsidio
Omission	Term simply left out of translation	Term simply left out of subtitle

5.10 Subtitle constraints

In order to investigate whether markers of orality were being substituted or omitted due to subtitle constraints of time and space, I compared each example, word count and timing in the English subtitles with the corresponding Spanish subtitle. The results are given below.

5.10.1 Happy go Lucky

Timings: there are no one line subtitles present on screen for more than 3.5 seconds and no two line subtitle for more than 6 seconds in either version.

Characters: there are no one line subtitles over 35 characters, no two-line subtitles of more than 55 characters in either version.

5.10.2 The Football Factory

Timings: there are 8 one line subtitles of more than 3.5 seconds, and no two line subtitles of more than 6 seconds in either version

Characters: there are no one line subtitles over 35 characters in either version and 1 two line subtitle over 70 characters in the Spanish subtitles

5.10.3 The Full Monty

Timings: there are no one line subtitles of more than 3.5 seconds in either version and one two line subtitle of more than 6 seconds in the English subtitles

Characters: there are no one line subtitles over 35 characters in either version, and 5 two-line subtitles with more than 70 characters.

5.10.4 The History Boys

Timings: there are no one line subtitles of more than 3.5 seconds and no two line subtitles of more than 6 seconds in either version.

Characters: there are no one line subtitles of more than 35 characters and no two line subtitles of more than 70 characters in either version.

5.10.5 Trainspotting

There are five one line subtitles of more than 3.5 seconds, and one two line subtitle of more than 6 seconds, in the intra-lingual version

Characters: there are no one line subtitles with more 35 characters in either version, and 5 two-line subtitles with more than 70 characters in the intra-lingual version.

5.11 Comparative analysis of the five markers of orality

Following on from the general analysis above, a comparative analysis of the translation strategies employed by subtitlers for each example of the five markers of orality, which are the focus of this study, was carried out and these are given in chapters 10 -15.

An overall numerical comparison for each of the five markers of orality was completed first, followed by a classification of translation strategies used according to the model given above in table 5.4.

5.12 A translation tool for markers of orality

Although it is outside the scope of the present research a consultation tool for markers of orality, directed at translators, could be compiled that is more comprehensive and accessible than the various slang dictionaries available on the internet. The exercise carried out below for slang terms for money also serves to demonstrate how complex the translation of such terms

is. This list is not exhaustive and the Spanish terms are not intended as equivalents, rather they are terms taken from the actual subtitles of several Spanish language films.

Example:

Money	
UK terms	Spanish slang terms for money, in no particular order (some overlap in use exists with Latin American terms)
Contemporary terms **Quid** = 1 pound *Lend us a quid/ lend us 50 quid* **Fiver** = 5 pounds *I'm a fiver short* **Tenner** = 10 pounds *I need a tenner* **Readies** = cash (usually) *Have you got the readies?* **Dosh** *They are rolling in dosh* **Lolly** *Lovely lolly!* **Wonga** *Can't go, no wonga* Many slang words for money come from Cockney rhyming slang, this is due to the tradition of not talking openly about money in this community, they include: **Bread** and **dough**, from bread and honey = money *I've got no dough* **Score** = 20 pounds *Boots, a score each* **Ton** = 100 pounds *That'll be a ton* **Monkey** = 500 pounds *I'll do it for a monkey* **Grand** = 1000 pounds	**Napo** = 1000 peseta note **Pavo** **Pela** **Pasta**

They got away with 5 grand Regional terms **Brass** Northern usage *Where there's muck there's brass* Old fashioned terms **Bob** *A bob a job*	82
US terms There is some overlap with UK terms such as **dough**, **grand** and **fiver**	Latin American terms (some overlap in use exists with Spanish terms)
Buck (US) *40 bucks a night* **Spondoolies** *I sent him over with the spondoolies* **Five/ten-spot** = 5/10 dollars *That's a five-spot each*	**Plata/Platica** **Guita**

CHAPTER 6: PILOT STUDY

6.1 Introduction

This research is concerned with the extra-linguistic translation sub-competence outlined by the PACTE group, UAB (2003) comprised of encyclopaedic, thematic and bicultural knowledge and the role of subtitled film in the acquisition of this sub-competence. As outlined in chapter 4, subtitled audiovisual material can be a powerful tool in the teaching of foreign languages; however markers of orality present a challenge to viewers. The learning of language as it is spoken is important if the student of translation is to develop a feeling for and understanding of how that language is used, and methods that enhance second language acquisition such as the viewing of films are also likely to be of benefit in the learning of markers of orality.

The cognitive capacity to learn a foreign language for the purposes of translation involves the ability to perceive and comprehend cultural references, making it necessary to acquire an understanding of the oral variants of language. According to Lippi-Green "the inability to recognize the oral markers of linguistic variation is one of the most significant problems of second language learners and one that is rarely dealt with in the classroom where the myth of standard language has a stronghold". (1997: 30)

Students have highly developed audiovisual literacy, making film an important, highly engaging resource and an effective medium for exploring issues in translation. Films may be considered natural language learning opportunities, devoid of the stress and boredom that often accompanies more formal classroom activities. Film provides trainee translators with an opportunity to experience near realistic examples of conversation in their cultural context, complete with elements of orality (sociolects, regional accents and grammatical structure) as well as paralinguistic cues (gestures, body language) to meaning and written text in the form of subtitles.

6.2 Aims

This pilot study involves a quantitative empirical experiment to explore how subtitled films can best be used as a tool in the comprehension of markers of orality and whether viewing English language audiovisual material with subtitles improves subjects' comprehension of such markers.

This study aims to investigate to what extent the following markers of orality; swearwords, slang, non-standard grammatical variation, non-standard regional variants and idiomatic expressions can be acquired through the use of subtitled film as a teaching tool. The study will investigate any differences that exist in the comprehension of both general themes and specific lexical items between subjects viewing with subtitles in English or Spanish.

The aims of the pilot phase of the study are:

1. to test the hypotheses

2. to establish a base-line understanding of unfamiliar culturally specific markers of orality among the subjects

3. to iron out any methodological problems in the design of the research

6.3   Hypotheses

The pilot study tested the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Compared with subjects viewing an English language film with no subtitles, subjects viewing with either inter or intra-lingual subtitles will demonstrate a greater level of comprehension of the general themes and of markers of orality contained in the film.

Hypothesis 2: There will be a difference in the level of comprehension of markers of orality obtained by Spanish-speaking students viewing an English language film with intra-lingual subtitles than that obtained by Spanish-speaking students viewing the same film with inter-lingual subtitles.

6.4   Method

The research design and methodology used for this pilot study stem from an empirical experimental paradigm, using different experimental groups to test the hypotheses outlined above. A controlled experimental method is used to analyze the effects of different variables, in this case subtitle language, on viewer comprehension as tested by questionnaire. The independent variable is the subtitle format and the dependent variables the questionnaire results and responses given to interview questions.

For the initial pilot phase of the study a controlled experiment was designed and conducted to compare the benefits in terms of an improvement in comprehension of markers of orality between those viewing an English language film: *The History Boys* in three experimental conditions:

(1) The film dialogue and subtitles both in English,

(2) The film dialogue in English and the subtitles in Spanish, and

(3) The film dialogue in English with no subtitles.

Quantitative data from subjects' responses to questionnaires was sought to test whether the experimental condition affected subjects' ability to correctly define lexical items selected from five categories of markers of orality present in the film dialogue. The subjects were additionally interviewed about their general understanding of the more global themes of the film, providing qualitative data about their interpretation of the film.

6.5   Subjects

The experiment was carried out with the help of a group of 73 (51 females and 22 males) subjects, comprised of 63 Spanish speakers and 10 English speakers (control group). The average age of the Spanish speakers was 21 and that of the English speakers 30. The subjects who participated in the experimental groups were Spanish and Catalan speaking students taking an undergraduate degree in Translation and interpretation at the *Facultat de Traducció i Interpretació, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*. These subjects were chosen as they are

relatively homogenous in age and academic achievement and have the required level of English as a foreign language.

Participant profiles were compiled for the Spanish speakers from the answers given to questions about the following; their schooling, whether or not they had been to UK, their film viewing habits and with what frequency they watched subtitled material. Viewer familiarity with watching subtitled material is considered to be a factor that affects comprehension. Their language level was assessed as advanced. Advanced knowledge of English is necessary for this research project as according to Danan (2004) a minimum level of proficiency in the foreign language is required if the student is to benefit from subtitled film as a learning tool in the acquisition of advanced language skills.

Subjects were informed that they would be participating in a research project on the use of subtitles in translator training and their consent was sought. Once informed consent was given, the subjects were randomly assigned to one of three experimental groups of 21 subjects each.

Native English speakers (10 students of Social work at South Bank University, London) were used to establish a control level of comprehension using the same multiple-choice questionnaire and interview schedule.

6.6   Materials: Source text

The film selected for this pilot study was *The History Boys*, a 2006 British film based on Alan Bennet's play of the same name and directed by Nicholas Hytner. Set in 1980s Britain, it is about a group of working class boys at Cutlers' Grammar School (a State funded school that admits students according to ability) in northern England, trying out for entrance to Oxford and Cambridge. Their language is mature and their attitude to what life throws at them casual. The plot is driven by the eloquent conversations held between pupils and teachers. The boys are sexually molested by one teacher and a student flirts with another to the extent of arranging a date to have sex with him. The National Board of Review of Motion Pictures named *The History Boys* one of the Top Ten Films in its 2006 awards.

This film was chosen for this pilot study because it is mainstream, enjoyed a wide distribution and it was felt that while containing considerable linguistic variety the level of colloquial dialogue would be accessible to the experimental subjects. The boys' speech reflects the accent of the region in which it is set (Sheffield) and contains non-standard regional features. The film is full of cultural allusions and there are repeated visual, verbal and textual references to the boys' economic status, class and sexual orientation throughout the film and the script contains many markers of orality. The film is set entirely within an educational environment, the scenes all being very familiar images to the British audience, but considerably less so to a Spanish audience. This existence of culturally rich material is important for teaching purposes. The Spanish subtitles are in a more formal register distinguishing them from both the dialogue and the English subtitles*.

This study aims to investigate the comprehension of markers of orality, to this end the soundtrack was in English and the subtitles in either English or Spanish in both experimental

conditions. The whole film was viewed by subjects in order to provide them with sufficient context to aid comprehension.

Table 6.1. A comparison between the number of words and subtitles in the English and Spanish versions of the film The History Boys.

The History Boys	The English dialogue	English subtitles	Spanish subtitles
Word count	11,384	11,318	11,754
Number of subtitles		1,478	1,533

The differences in the subtitle word count can be attributed to the greater number of words (up to a third more) required to express something in Spanish and that the strategy of omission may have been used less frequently for this film than is often the case in the production of subtitles.

6.7   Data Collection: The Questionnaire: (Appendix I)

Prior to viewing the film the subjects were presented with a questionnaire (appendix 1) in a multiple choice format, where a word or phrase is given along with three alternative answers. Subjects were requested to mark the answer they thought to be correct.

The questionnaire consists of 10 single items of vocabulary and 35 phrases present in the film dialogue and selected according to the five categories of markers of orality that are the focus of this study (swearwords, slang, non-standard grammar, regional non-standard variants and idioms).

Examples of questions:

Question 9: Wuss –weakling/poet/young

Question 13: It is the hot ticket – a warm potato/very popular/a sold out show

The questionnaire was designed to test comprehension of markers of orality. It comprises individual words and phrases carefully selected from the film dialogue that appear in both the dialogue and the subtitles (in translation in the Spanish subtitles). The words and phrases can all be considered to be at an advanced level for learners, the vast majority being unfamiliar to all subjects and to whom they were presented along with their context and verbal and visual clues as to meaning. The questions were multiple-choice, with subjects being required to select the correct definition from three alternative answers. As such the questionnaire enabled the author to quantify the extent to which subjects were able to identify the correct definition of the markers of orality given.

6.8   Data Collection: The Interview: (Appendix II)

An exploratory interview was included in the experimental design to elicit data about more general issues of comprehension in order to investigate issues related to the reception of the film by the subjects. It was administered individually to all of the 73 subjects who participated in the pilot study following viewing of the film. The purpose of the interviews was to elicit responses from the subjects about the following:

- Subject feedback regarding their comprehension of general themes;
- subject comprehension of culturally specific elements of the film;
- what information subjects relied upon in determining meaning from the film.

Subjects were asked eight open ended questions. Self-report verbal responses where subjects commented about the film were elicited and recorded.

As the interviews were carried out within the context of a learning environment they were conducted in English and responses were given in English, with some subjects resorting to Spanish only when a concept proved too difficult to express in English.

6.9   Procedure

Subjects were informed that they would be participating in a research project on the use of subtitles in translator training and their consent was sought.

- Group 1: Spanish speaking students viewing the English language film with English subtitles.
- Group 2: Spanish speaking students viewing the English language film with Spanish subtitles.
- Group 3: Spanish speaking students viewing the English language film with no subtitles.
- Control Group: Native English-speakers, viewing the English language film with no subtitles.

Groups 1 and 2 completed the questionnaire prior to viewing together and were separated into their constituent groups for viewing in different subtitle language. Group 3 and the control group completed the procedure on separate occasions.

- Task 1: Completion of questionnaire prior to viewing. One week prior to viewing the film, subjects in all three experimental conditions were asked to complete a questionnaire. (Appendix I).

- Task 2: The following week they were shown the English language film *The History Boys*, with subtitles in either English or Spanish (Group 3 and the control group viewed without subtitles).

- Task 3: Immediately following viewing subjects were interviewed individually to deduce what level of comprehension was reached regarding general themes and the culturally specific content of the film (appendix II). Subjects were asked to respond verbally to open ended questions and answers were recorded by the researcher.

- Task 4: Two days following viewing subjects once again completed the questionnaire.

6.9.1 Statistical analysis

T-tests were carried out on the data obtained to assess whether the means of two groups are statistically different from each other.

6.10 Summary of results

As the results obtained were not statistically significant, it cannot be said that the hypotheses were supported. However, there was a tendency towards improved comprehension in the experimental conditions with groups 1 and 2 showing a greater level of comprehension than group 3. The results did not indicate clearly which subtitle modality (inter or intra-lingual) might produce better language acquisition.

For group 1 (English subtitles) the pilot study resulted in an average increase in comprehension of 0.2 words following viewing.

For group 2 (Spanish subtitles) the pilot study resulted in an average increase in comprehension of 0.3 words following viewing.

6.11 Questionnaire results

The results of the study are presented below in graph format, together with the results of the t-test analysis.

Responses to the questionnaire demonstrated very low levels of comprehension of markers of orality on one viewing of the film. T-tests carried out on the data showed no statistically significant differences between groups or conditions, neither was there any statistically significant improvement in comprehension of the markers of orality in the questionnaire after viewing the film in any of the experimental conditions.

Mean scores show a slight improvement in performance on the questionnaire following viewing in both subtitled conditions.

6.11.1 Group 1 English Subtitles: Answers to single word (slang) section in questionnaire (questions 1-10)

T-test results: P value (measures the probability that the results obtained could be achieved by chance) = 0.8146, not statistically significant.

Table 6.2. Showing slight improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with English subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing
Mean	1.00	1.20

SD (standard deviation)	1.76	1.99
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.56	0.63
N (sample)	10	10

Graph 6.1. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with English subtitles
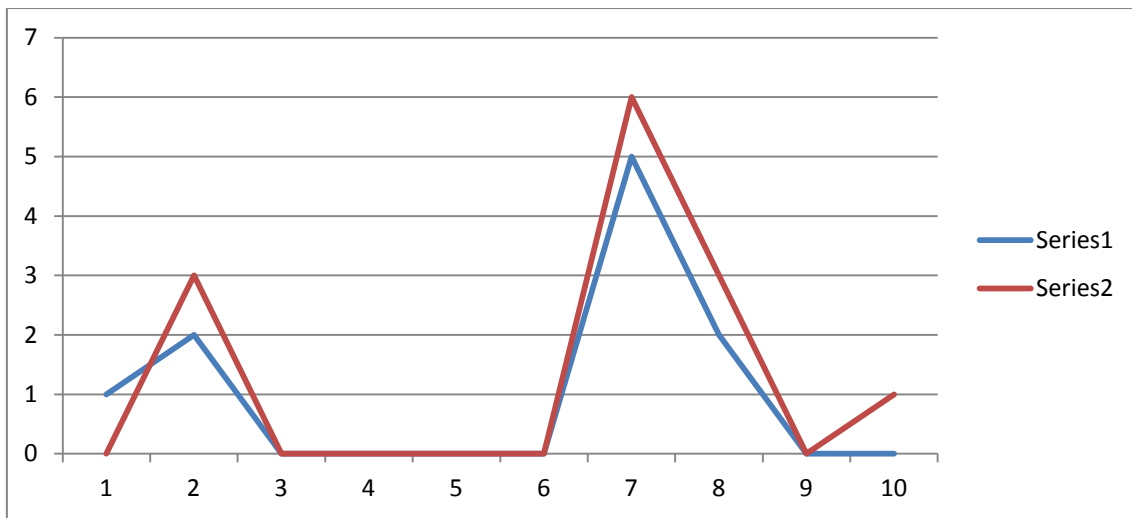
Questionnaire Items: slang

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film

6.11.2 Group 1 English Subtitles: Answers to short phrase section (containing items from the other four categories of markers of orality) in questionnaire (questions 11-45)

T-test results: P value = 0.8579, not statistically significant.

Table 6.3. Showing slight improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in questionnaire following viewing film with English subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing
Mean	**2.71**	**2.89**
SD (standard deviation)	3.95	4.03
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.67	0.68
N (sample)	35	35

Graph 6.2. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with English subtitles
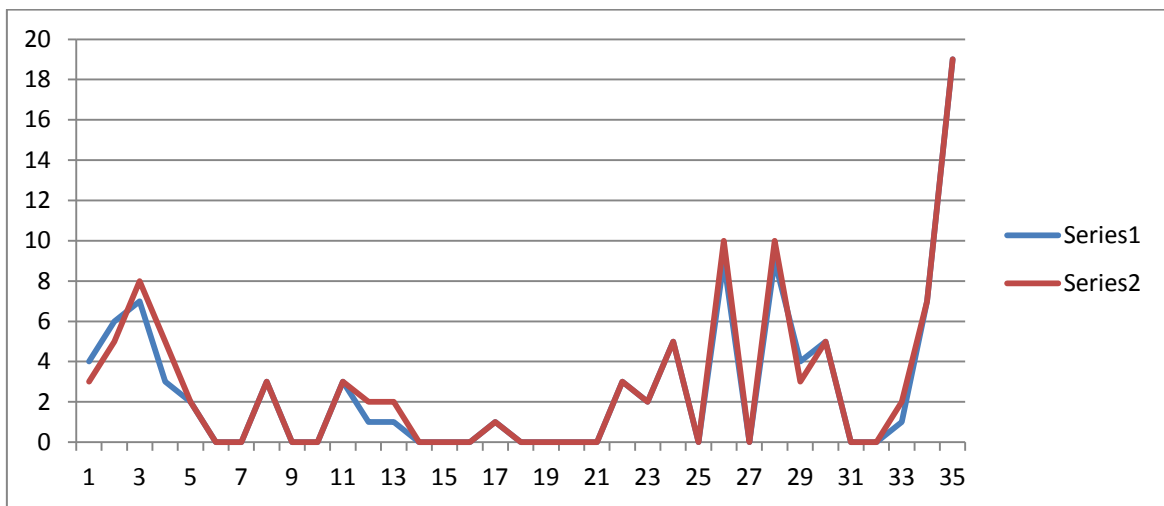
Questionnaire Items: short phrases containing markers of orality

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film

6.11.3 Group 2 Spanish Subtitles: Answers to single word (slang) section in questionnaire (questions 1-10)

T-test results: P value = 0.7538, not statistically significant.

Table 6.4. Showing slight improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in questionnaire following viewing film with Spanish subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing
Mean	**2.2**	**2.6**
SD (standard deviation)	2.49	3.10
SEM (standard error of difference)	7.9	9.8
N (sample)	10	10

Graph 6.3. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with Spanish subtitles
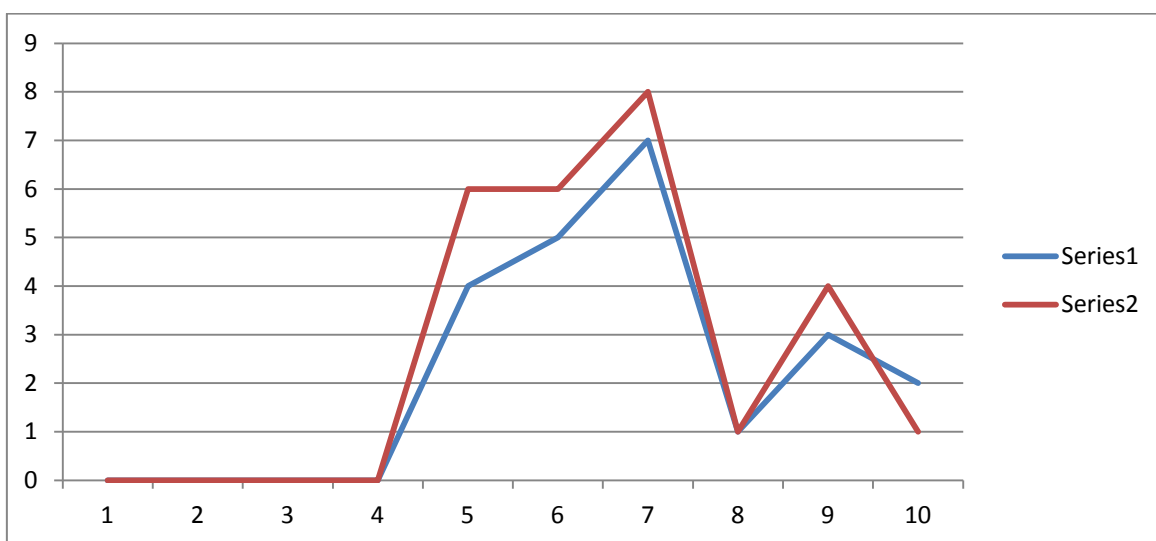
Questionnaire Items: slang

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film

6.11.4 Group 2 Spanish Subtitles: Answers to short phrase section in questionnaire (questions 11-45)

T-test: P value = 0.8766, not statistically significant.

Table 6.5. Showing very slight improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in questionnaire following viewing film with Spanish subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing
Mean	**2.1**	**2.2**
SD (standard deviation)	2.24	2.36
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.38	0.40
N (sample)	35	35

Graph 6.4. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with Spanish subtitles
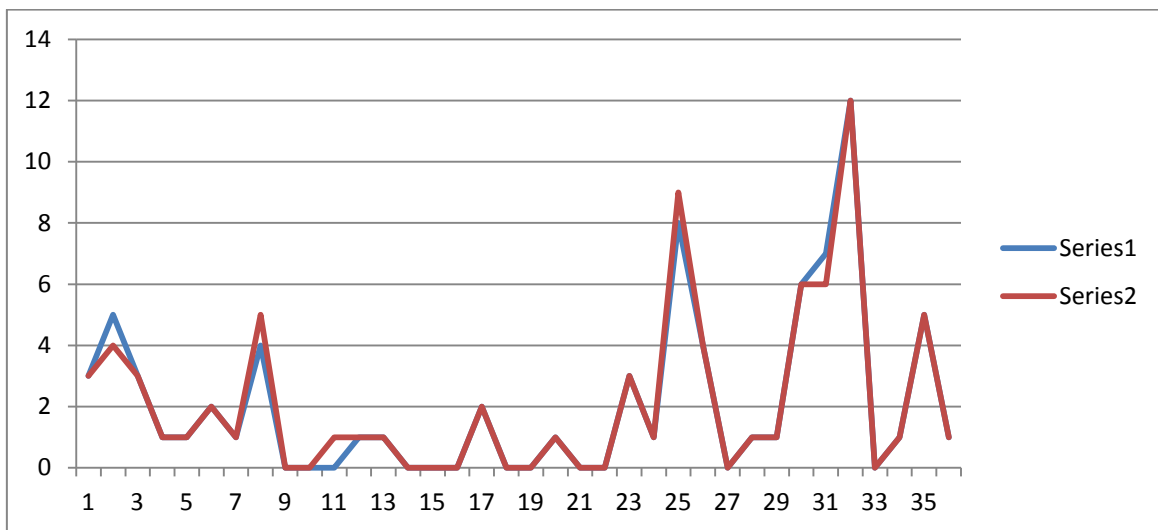
Questionnaire Items: short phrases containing markers of orality

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film

6.11.5 Group 3 No Subtitles: Answers to all questions (1-45)

Graph 5
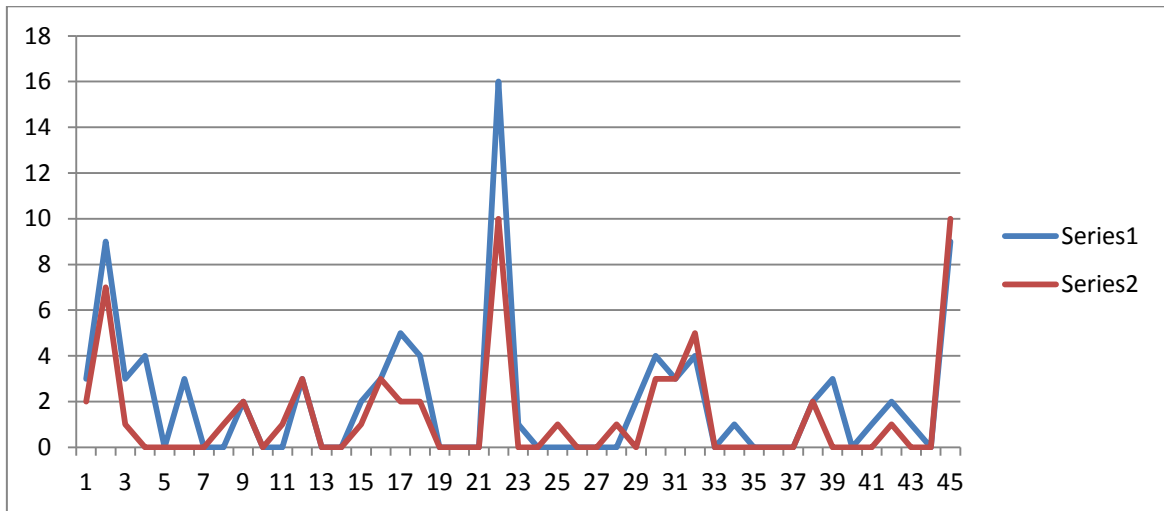
Questionnaire Items: all items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film

T-test: P value = 0.2707, not statistically significant.

Table 6.6. Showing a reduction in correct definitions given for lexical items in questionnaire following viewing film with no subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing
Mean	**2.0**	**1.36**
SD (standard deviation)	3.07	2.40
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.46	0.36
N (sample)	45	45

6.11.6 Control group

The control group gave correct answers to all questions, before and after viewing.

6.12 Interview

Responses to the interview showed that general comprehension was very poor across all experimental groups

The following results give the number of subjects (groups 1-3) who answered correctly (all 10 control group subjects answered all questions correctly).

Question 1 required subjects to recount the plot of the film.

1. *Could you tell me what the film was about?*

Example of answer: Boys at a private school studying to get into university.

Discussion:

Just over half of subjects in Groups 1, 2 and 3 mentioned private schooling in their answers, indicating a widespread failure of comprehension.

Question 2 enabled subjects to provide a correct answer effortlessly.

2. *What subject were the boys studying?*

	History
All groups	73

Discussion:

This was a straightforward question requiring no contextual knowledge, merely observation, as the answer is in the title of the film.

Question 3: established whether subjects had noticed whether the boys were studying for the Oxbridge exams, an element of the UK education system that may well be unfamiliar to groups 1 to 3. This was an indication of openness to source culture.

3. *What exams were they studying for?*

Responses	Oxford and Cambridge	University	Not sure

Number of responses: Group 1subjects (inter subs)	16	3	2
Group 2 subjects (intra subs)	14	7	
Group 3 subjects (no subs)	19	1	1
Group 4 subjects	10		

Discussion:

Subjects demonstrated that they understood this aspect of the film in the majority, with those in the no subtitle group scoring best on this question.

Question 4: Established awareness of issues of social class present in the film.

4.   *What social class did the boys belong to (upper, middle or working class)?*

    a.   *What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?*

None (0) of the subjects in the experimental conditions answered correctly

	Upper class	Middle class	Working class	Not sure
Number of responses: Group 1subjects (inter subs)	16	3		2
Group 2 subjects (intra subs)	14	7		
Group 3 subjects (no subs)	19	1		1
Group 4 subjects			10	

Examples of subject comments:

> *They were upper-middle class, I can tell because of the school they are studying at and the university they want to go to*.

> *They are at private school.*

> *They are wearing uniforms and live in big houses*

Discussion:

None of the subjects interviewed correctly identified the boys in the film as belong to the working classes despite the visual, verbal and textual cues present in the film. This may be due to lack of familiarity with the class system in the UK.

Question 5:

> 5. *How wealthy were the boys and their families?*
>
>> a. *What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?*

No subjects correctly identified the boys as not being wealthy.

	Wealthy	Not wealthy	Not sure/no answer given
Number of responses Group 1subjects (inter subs)	18		3
Group 2 subjects (intra subs)	19		2
Group 3 subjects (no subs)	15		6
Group 4 subjects		10	

Examples of subject comments:

> *They were wealthy enough to go to private school.*

I think they are really wealthy because they go to a private school and come from good families.

They are going to go to Oxford and Cambridge and they are expensive universities.

Discussion:

None of the subjects interviewed correctly identified the boys as not being wealthy despite the visual, verbal and textual cues present in the film.

Question 6:

1. *What type of school is featured in the film (a state school or a private school)?*

    1 *What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?*

None (0) of the subjects in the experimental conditions answered correctly

	Private school	State school	Not sure/No answer
Number of responses Group 1subjects (inter subs)	20		1
Group 2 subjects (intra subs)	21		
Group 3 subjects (no subs) Group 4 (control)	19	10	2

Examples of subject comments:

The uniforms, school buildings and subjects all show that it was a private school.

In a state school the headmaster does not decide who the teachers will be, but here we see the headmaster employing Irwin.

The small class sizes.

Discussion:

None of the subjects interviewed correctly identified the school as a state school despite the visual, verbal and textual cues present in the film.

Question 7:

2. *Was the school co-educational (boys and girls)?*

    1   *What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?*

All subjects responded correctly.

	Boys only	Co-ed	Not sure
Number of responses			
Group 1subjects (inter subs)	21		
Group 2 subjects (intra subs)	21		
Group 3 subjects (no subs)	21		
Group 4 (control)	10		

Discussion:

All subjects were able to correctly answer this question, having noticed that there were no girls in either the boys' class or in the whole school. This required only skills of observation and may have contributed to the erroneous answers given above, due to an association in both Britain and Spain between single sex schools and private education.

Question 8.

8. *Which characters do you think were homosexual?*

    a.   *What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?*

	Which characters do you think were homosexual?
Group 1subjects (inter subs)	*All the people in the film are gay.* *The one who tells Irwin he is gay.*
Group 2 subjects (intra subs)	*The Jewish boy and the fat teacher.* *The gross teacher.*
Group 3 subjects (no subs)	*I can't remember his name, but the Jewish boy.* *The youngest boy and Irwin.*

Discussion:

References made in the dialogue to homosexuality were generally well understood by the majority of the subjects. Most subjects correctly identified the gay characters in the film.

6.13 Discussion

6.13.1 Questionaire results:

Initial results indicated very poor understanding of the markers of orality in the questionnaire, which improved only very moderately after viewing of the film. All subjects, regardless of experimental condition, scored an average of less than three (out of 10 and 35 questions respectively) correct answers both before and after viewing. The increase in the number of correct answers given by subjects in the English subtitle condition following viewing was 0.2 words and that of those in the Spanish subtitle condition was 0.3 words. Subjects viewing with no subtitles showed no improvement.

6.13.2 Interview results

It became clear that very little of the author's intended message was reaching the subjects, with a significant amount of the information being misinterpreted. The images and sequence of events in films are considered, in addition to the subtitles, to provide sufficient context for comprehension. Faced with anomalies that do not accord with their own experience, people strive to maintain a sense of meaning by interpreting the unfamiliar according to their own cultural experience and in which they continually strive to preserve a meaning framework, or schema, built up over years. This process has been outlined in the "meaning maintenance model" proposed by the psychologists Heine, Proulx, and Vohs, (2006). The viewing of foreign language films may result in misinterpretation of cultural references as they are interpreted according to schema developed in a different cultural context.

The ideas represented in the source text are a reflection of a particular culture and the intended audience of a translation may not share such concepts nor place the same value on corresponding ideas. The film context included aspects of the British class system, the education/university system which are likely to be alien to Spanish undergraduates. Although the subjects could not be expected to have an in-depth knowledge of the cultural context of the film, many visual, verbal and textual cues regarding social class and wealth were misinterpreted by the subjects. Such cues included Lockwood complaining about having to attend his Oxford interview in sports shoes because they are his only pair. The housing situation of some of the boys is another example as the barren concrete high rise flats and Akbar's small overcrowded house would provide British audiences with visual clues about the social class the boys belong to. Although blocks of flats are not uniquely associated with the working classes or poverty in either Spain or Britain, the block of flats that Lockwood lives in is instantly recognisable in the UK as social housing. The film dialogue and the boys attitude to Hector's groping led some of the subjects to assume that all the protagonists in the film were gay.

Interpretation will always vary between receivers and no message is ever perfectly understood. The more knowledge author and receiver share, the easier the communication will be. Having sufficient comprehension to produce an appropriate translation is of the utmost importance. Understanding how this comprehension develops and enabling the process will lead to improvements in translator training. Subjects may have disregarded cues because they did not accord with their own experience and this may lead to mistakes in translation. Translation training needs to lay the ground for critical analysis to form part of students' competencies, to encourage students to develop a cultural sensitivity and the ability to critically analyse texts from the source cultural context.

It is my hope that establishing the most effective subtitle mode and locating the causes of poor reception where viewers fail to comprehend markers of orality and misinterpret cultural references in films will prove to be of considerable assistance in the use of films as teaching materials in translation training.

CHAPTER 7: EXPERIMENT 1: THE HISTORY BOYS PRIMING AND REPETITION

In light of the results obtained in the pilot study and in an attempt to move the research on a step further this section investigates how learning could be optimised and students of translation guided through the process of learning markers of orality. At this stage of the study a further quantitative experiment with the aim of exploring how subtitled film can best be used as a tool in the comprehension of markers of orality was carried out.

7.1   Aims

This study focuses on the subtitling of the markers of orality present in the English language film *The History Boys* and the consequent impact on comprehension and audience reception among a group of Spanish speaking students of English. The aim of this study is to measure any improvement in the understanding of five categories of markers of orality present in the film in several different experimental conditions in order to establish the efficacy or otherwise of subtitled films as a tool in translator training.

The impact of the differences between the intra and inter-lingual subtitle modes in relation to improved comprehension of markers of orality are tested through a series of experimental studies.

The aims of this phase of the study are:

- to test the hypotheses

- to implement changes to the experimental design of the research suggested by methodological problems encountered in the pilot study.

The design of this experiment was modified to incorporate improvements suggested by the experience of the pilot study:

- use of a shorter film excerpt

- a modified questionnaire; the number of questions was greatly reduced to increase the likelihood of completion by subjects.

Given the poor results obtained by the subjects in both understanding of markers of orality and general themes, alterations to the experimental design were considered. Research carried out by Paivio and Khan (2000) suggests that the more referents learners are provided for the same item of information, the easier it becomes to recall. This led me to employ the following two techniques to enhance the attention paid to cultural references and markers of orality; priming and repetition.

1. Priming; used in educational settings to influence attention and teach students to switch between cultural mindsets. It consists of exercises such as providing reading material and holding group discussions and in which cultural and linguistic non-

standard alternatives are presented. As most words in English have several meanings, people use an array of cues as to which meaning is most likely to be correct in the context.

2. Repetition – this technique consisted of having a group of subjects view the film excerpt twice. Diaz Cintas expresses the value of repetition as follows ¨Hearing the same or similar narratives time after time ends up bringing the message home¨ (in Chiaro et al (eds.) 2008: 4).

7.2   Hypotheses

This study was carried out to investigate what parameters would optimize learning outcomes for the comprehension of markers of orality from subtitled film.

Hypothesis 1: Subjects will demonstrate improved comprehension of markers of orality contained in the film following participation in priming exercises.

Hypothesis 2: Subjects will demonstrate improved comprehension of markers of orality contained in the film excerpt following repeated viewing.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a difference in the level of comprehension of markers of orality by subjects viewing an English language film with intra-lingual subtitles than by subjects viewing the same film with inter-lingual subtitles.

7.3   Method

I repeated the experiment described above in chapter 6 with three further groups of subjects viewing a shorter version of the film; groups 1 (English subtitles) and 2 (Spanish subtitles) who undergo priming before viewing of the film, and group 3, the repetition condition (English subtitles) who watch the excerpt twice.

For groups 1 and 2 the independent variable remains the subtitle format and the dependent variables the questionnaire results and interview question responses. For group 3 the variable is the number of time the film excerpt is viewed.

7.4   Subjects

New subjects were recruited according to the same procedure as the pilot study. Participant profiles were compiled for the Spanish speakers from the answers given to questions about their: schooling, whether or not they had been to the UK, their film viewing habits and with what frequency they watched subtitled material. Their language level was assessed as advanced.

Subjects were informed that they would be participating in a research project on the use of subtitles in translator training and their consent was sought. Once informed consent was given, the subjects were randomly assigned to one of three experimental groups.

Some subjects failed to complete the tasks or were not present for all aspects of the study, their data was discounted. Those who remained were as follows;

7.4.1   Group 1 (27 subjects):

Priming, in which the group was exposed to pre-viewing exercises and discussion to familiarise them with the cultural context of the film excerpt. Subjects responded to 23 multiple choice questions following priming and viewing with subtitles in English.

7.4.2   Group 2 (21 subjects):

Priming, in which the group was exposed to pre-viewing exercises and discussion to familiarise them with the cultural context of the film excerpt. Subjects responded to 23 multiple choice questions following priming and viewing with subtitles in Spanish.

7.4.3   Group 3 (25 subjects):

Repetition, in which the group viewed the film excerpt twice. Subjects responded to 23 multiple choice questions three times; before viewing, after one viewing and after two viewings.

7.5   Material

A lesson plan designed around the film was produced, comprising priming exercises, images and discussion topics.

Examples of the material used for discussion in the priming lesson are given below:

- Introduction to and discussion around the UK education system
- Introduction to and discussion around the UK class system
- The BBC Accents archive was used to familiarise subjects with Sheffield accents and grammar structure: (http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/recordings/)

- A translation exercise was completed (given below)

Translate the text into Spanish or Catalan, paying special attention to your translation of the linguistic variation:

Our lord and master having grudgingly conceded that art may have its uses, I gather I'm supposed to give your Oxbridge boys a smattering of art history.

Not my bag, Hazel. Irwin's your man. - It's really just the icing on the cake.

- Is art ever anything else?

Michelangelo.

Well... I suppose.

Who've you got?

- Both nancies.

- Are they?

These aren't women. They're just men with tits.

And the tits look as if they were put on with an ice-cream scoop.

- Do you like Turner, then?

- He's all right.

- The use of non-standard variants in the region portrayed in the film was introduced using a power point presentation. These included the following examples;

In some dialects of northern England, *AS* replaces *WHO* as the relative pronoun:

- The chap *as* called last night was an old friend.

THIS USE OF *WHILE*. THE STANDARD FORM IS *UNTIL*.
- We're open from nine in the morning while five in the afternoon.

IN STANDARD ENGLISH TO LEARN MEANS TO ACQUIRE KNOWLEDGE. IN SOME DIALECTS, HOWEVER, IT ALSO MEANS TO IMPART KNOWLEDGE, TO TEACH.
To learn comes from old English *leornian*, and its use in learned written English as both to acquire and to impart knowledge is recorded up to the 19th century. So it is only recently that the meaning of this verb as "to teach" has become non-standard, and it in fact survives in spoken English in many dialects.

I WERE GOING DOWN THE ROAD OR WE WAS GOING DOWN THE ROAD.
Many dialects of English have brought the verb TO BE in line with all other verbs, which have only one form for all persons of the past tense of the verb. Some dialects have regularised this single form to WAS, and some to WERE. The two sentences in here are not from the same dialect. The WERE form is northern English and the WAS form southern English dialect.

WE NEVER HAD TV THEM DAYS.
Non-standard features here are:

- The use of NEVER for the negative, "we didn't have tv…"
- The use of THEM for the demonstrative pronoun THOSE
The omission of a preposition before, "them days" (<u>in</u> those days).

- The following worksheet was used to prompt discussion and subjects were requested to complete it:

Name_____   Date_____

Please look at the pictures and answer the questions

1. What kind of school is Cutlers grammar School?
   a. A state school
   b. A Private school

2.What kind of school would you associate with school uniforms?

   a. In Spain
   b. In Britain

3. What kind of people would live in this kind of building?
a. In Spain
b. In Britain
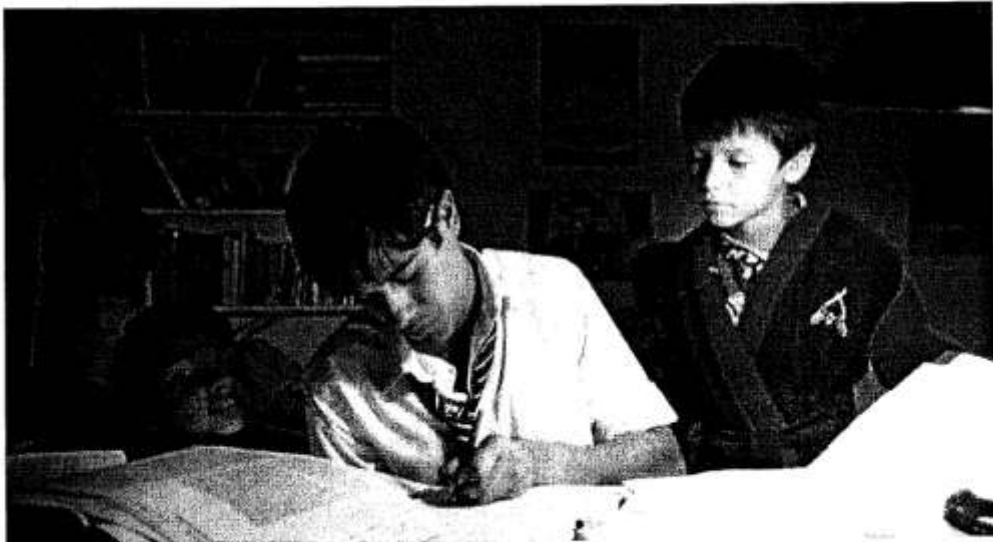
4. Aktar shares a room with his four brothers and sisters. How much money do you think his family has?

5. Lockwood only has one pair of shoes, so he has to wear them to an interview. How much money do you think Lockwood's family have?

7.6 Material: The film corpus

An edited version of the film *The History Boys* was produced, reducing it from 109 minutes to 50 minutes (mainly by editing out the songs, lessons in French and scenes with no speech), so that it would fit in a 2 hour class.

An attempt was made to reduce the limitations associated with the questionnaire used in the pilot study, modifying the previous one in terms of size and complexity. The questionnaire was reformulated with the intention of better eliciting levels of comprehension of the markers of orality in the film, reducing it to 23 questions. The same interview schedule was used.

7.7   The questionnaire

The History Boys

Mark the answer that you think best defines the meaning of the words or phrases given below.

1.   Jammy sod – lucky person /very intelligent person /annoying person

2.   Bouncer – a man who throws people out of bars /a cricket reference /a very fat person

3.   You have to know it backwards – to get it wrong/to be extremely well informed/to start again

4.   Nancy –homosexual/doll/intellectual

5.   It is tried and tested – known to work/efficient/worn out

6.   It is the hot ticket – a warm potato/very popular/a sold out show

7.   Standing room only – crowded/train station waiting room/no chairs

8.   sad fuck – a loser /a very depressed person /someone who never gets any sex

9.   Thrutch up – get off /make some space /start the motorbike

10. camel's turd – camel's bottom /camel's excrement / camel's testicles

11. Get your kit off –go away/to insult someone/undress

12. You've got. crap handwriting – illiterate /unreadable writing /really bad essay

13. To take the piss – /go to the toilet/get drunk /to mock someone

14. I say if they don't like me, then fuck 'em. – I wouldn't care about him /I wouldn't care about their opinion /I would leave

15. To be still in the game – expected earnings/to be involved/a reference to chess

16. Cunt-struck – totally focused on sex/paralysed/hit over the head

17. It is cutting edge – a cliff face/state of the art/music

18. Snogged –kissed/touched/punished

19. Filch –draw/take/abstract

20. smart arse – a show off /an unintelligent person /a very well-dressed person

21. Chin-up – to remain cheerful in difficult circumstances/to exercise/to not return a punch

22. It is the icing on the cake –to decorate something/a further good thing/something irrelevant

23. You're headed for the bin –to be going mad/becoming useless/to make yourself unwell

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7.8   Procedure

Subjects were informed that they would be participating in a research project on the use of subtitles in translator training and their consent was sought.

7.8.1   Task 1: Completion of questionnaire prior to viewing.

One week prior to viewing the film, subjects in all experimental conditions were asked to complete the questionnaire given above.

7.8.2   Task 2: Priming

Subjects in groups 1 and 2 took part in a priming lesson to introduce language and themes subjects will encounter in the film.

These subjects were divided into their respective groups and shown the edited version of the English language film *The History Boys*, with either English or Spanish subtitles.

7.8.3   Task 3: Individual interviews.

Immediately following viewing subjects were interviewed individually to deduce what level of comprehension was reached regarding general themes and the culturally specific content of the film (appendix II). Subjects were asked to respond verbally to open ended questions and answers were recorded by the researcher.

7.8.4   Task 4: Repeat of questionnaire

Two days later subjects once again completed the questionnaire.

7.8.5   Group 3: Repetition

The procedure was repeated (with the exception of participating in the priming lesson) for subjects in the repetition condition who were shown the film twice at an interval of one week.

7.9   Results and discussion

As the results obtained were not statistically significant (with the exception of the repetition condition), it cannot be said that the three hypotheses were supported. However, a tendency towards improved comprehension in the experimental conditions is consistent, with a greater level of language acquisition demonstrated by those subjects who viewed the film with English subtitles.

The results obtained are as follows:

7.9.1   Group 1: Priming questionnaire results English subtitles

T-test results: P value = 0.1405, not statistically significant.

Table 7.1. Showing greater improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in questionnaire following viewing film with English subtitles than that shown in the pilot study.

	Before viewing	After viewing with priming
Mean	**11.1**	**13.4**
SD (standard deviation)	4.98	5.24
SEM (standard error of difference)	1.04	1.09
N (sample)	23	23

Graph 7.1. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with English subtitles following priming exercises
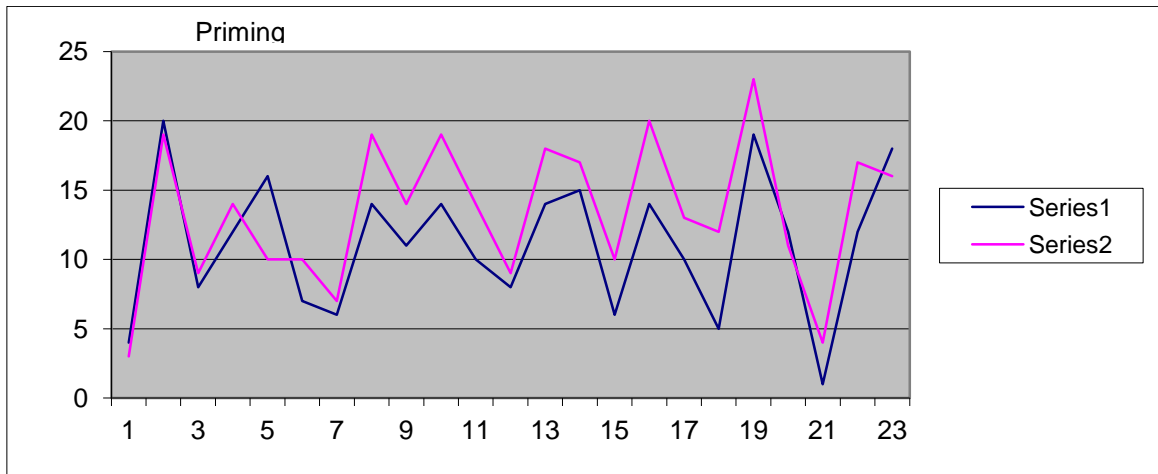
Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after priming exercises and viewing film.

7.9.2   Group 2: Priming questionnaire results for Spanish subtitles

P value = 0.9249, not statistically significant.

Table 7.2. Showing a similar level of improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with Spanish subtitles as shown in the pilot study.

	Before viewing	After viewing without priming
Mean	**6.35**	**6.48**
SD (standard deviation)	4.41	5.91
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.92	1.02
N (sample)	23	23

Graph 7.2. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with Spanish subtitles following priming exercises
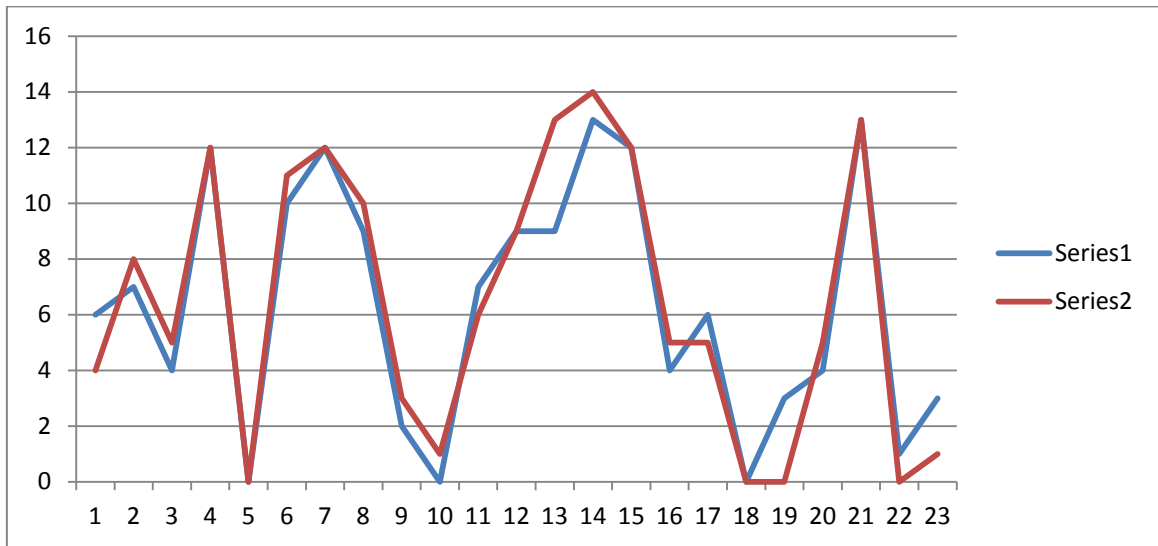
Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film (no primimg)

7.10 Groups 1 and 2: Interview questions

Question 1: *Can you tell me what the film was about?*

Example of answer, Group 1: A group of boys preparing to enter university.

Example of answer, Group 2: Boys preparing for Oxford and Cambridge entrance exams.

Discussion:

All subjects gave accurate accounts of the film plot, none mentioning private education.

Question 2: *What subject were the boys studying?*

	History	General Studies	Don't know
Group 1	23	2	2
Group 2	20	0	1

Discussion:

This question threw up the three answers given above. Classroom material and discussions included the title of the film *The History Boys*, but the excerpt shown did not include the title page meaning that subjects had to rely more heavily on verbal and textual cues, perhaps resulting in a less unanimously correct answer than that given in the pilot.

Question 3: *What exams were they studying for?*

	Oxbridge entrance exams	University entrance exams	Don't know
Group 1	23	0	5
Group 2	18	2	1

Discussion:

On the whole subjects displayed understanding of this central theme of the film.

Question 4: *What social class did the boys belong to (upper, middle or working class)?*

> b. *What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?*

	Upper class	Middle class	Working class	Not sure
Group 1	9	5	8	5
Group 2	7	9	5	0

Examples of subject comments:

Group 1:

- *Middle class, because they are trying to get into university.*
- *Working class, because they were wearing a uniform and they went to a Grammar school.*

Group 2:

- *Upper class, because of the way they spoke and their knowledge.*

Discussion:

Roughly a third (slightly fewer in group 2) understood that the boys belong to the working class, as compared to none in the pilot study.

Question 5: *How wealthy were the boys and their families?*

  b.   What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?

	Wealthy	Not wealthy	Not sure/no answer given
Group 1	7	13	7
Group 2	14	4	3

Examples of subject comments:

Group 1:

- *Not too rich or poor, some of them worked during the holidays.*
- *They don't have much money because they go to a state school.*

Group 2:

- *Some of them have a lot of money.*

Discussion:

Subjects in the priming condition viewing with English subtitles demonstrate much greater understanding of the financial situation of the boys.

Question 6: *What type of school is featured in the film (a state school or a private school)?*

  a.   What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?

	Private school	State school	Not sure/No answer
Group 1	3	21	3
Group 2	11	9	1

Examples of subject comments:

Group 1:

- *State school, the headmaster did not believe that they would make it to Oxford or Cambridge.*
- *State school, because they didn't have to pay for their extra classes.*

Group 2:

- *Private school, they wear uniforms.*

Discussion:

Subjects in the priming condition viewing with English subtitles demonstrate much greater understanding of the nature of the boys' school than those viewing with Spanish subtitles, despite both being exposed to the same priming exercises explaining the old Grammar school system in Britain.

Question 7: *Was the school co-educational (boys and girls)?*

> b. *What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?*

Nearly all subjects responded correctly.

	Boys only	Co-ed	Not sure
Group 1	24		3
Group 2	21		

Discussion:

As there are no female students at the school this question only requires visual attention and does not require the comprehension of dialogue or text. Both significant female characters are members of the school staff (secretary and History teacher).

Question 8: W*hich characters do you think were homosexual?*

> b. *What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?*

	Which characters do you think were homosexual?
Group 1 subjects	*The Jewish one.* *The one who is in love with Dakin.* *Hector*
Group 2 subjects	*The fat teacher.* *Pod, or whatever his name is*

Discussion:

References made in the dialogue to homosexuality were generally well understood by the majority of the subjects. All subjects correctly identified the gay characters in the film.

7.11 Group 2: Repetition questionnaire results

T-test results:P value = 0.0026, very statistically significant.

Table 7.3. Showing the only statistically significant improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with English subtitles obtained in this study.

	Before viewing	After viewing with repetition
Mean	**8.65**	**13**
SD (standard deviation)	3.87	5.27
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.81	1.1
N (sample)	23	23

Graph 7.3. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film (two times) with English subtitles
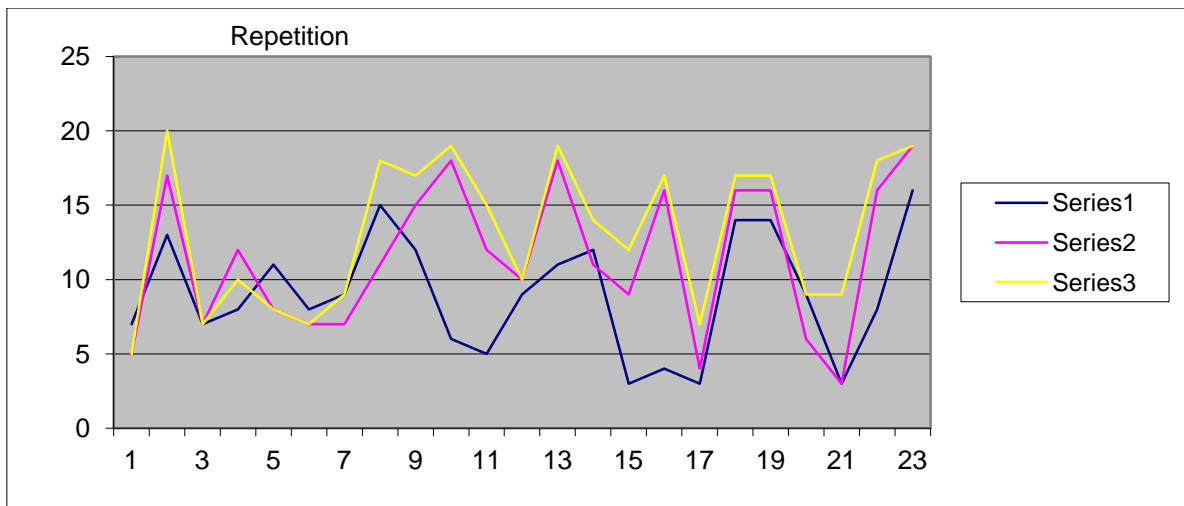
Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film once

Series 3: average number of correct answers after viewing film twice

7.12 Group 3: Repetition interview results

Although they demonstrated greater understanding of the markers of orality in the film, subjects in this experimental condition showed less understanding of the themes of the film than those in the priming condition, as outlined below;

Question 1: *Can you tell me what the film was about?*

Example of subject comment; About a high school where some boys are being taught to enter Cambridge or Oxford.

Question 2: *What subject were the boys studying?*

	History	General Studies	Humanities	Don't know
Group 3	12	5	2	6

Discussion:

The excerpt shown did not include the title page meaning that subjects had to rely more heavily on verbal and textual cues, perhaps resulting in the answers given above.

Question 3: *What exams were they studying for?*

	Oxbridge entrance exams	University entrance exams	Scholarship exams	No response
Group 3	10	9	2	4

Discussion:

Subjects displayed less understanding of this central theme of the film than those in the priming condition.

Question 4: *What social class did the boys belong to (upper, middle or working class)?*

     c.   What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?

	Upper class	Middle class	Working class	Not sure
Group 3	9	11	4	1

Example of subject comments:

     The boys belong to the upper-middle class

Discussion:

Fewer subjects answered this question correctly than those in the priming condition.

Question 5: *How wealthy were the boys and their families?*

     c.   What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?

	Wealthy	Not wealthy	Not sure/no answer given
Group 3	6	14	5

Examples of subject comments:

They seem to manage, because they are trying for Oxford and Cambridge even though some of them have to work part-time.

Discussion:

The same number subjects answered this question correctly as those in group 1 of the priming condition (English subtitles).

Question 6: *What type of school is featured in the film (a state school or a private school)?*

     c.   What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?

	Private school	State school	Not sure/No answer
Group 3	8	12	5

Example of subject comments:

Private school, because of the way they studied the subjects, the small class size and the relationship with the teachers.

Discussion:

Subjects in group 3 showed a slightly greater level of understanding of this element of the film than those in the priming condition viewing with Spanish subtitles. With half of the subjects answering correctly.

Question 7: *Was the school co-educational (boys and girls)?*

> *d. What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?*

	Boys only	Co-ed	Not sure
Group 3	24		1

Discussion:

This question should pose few difficulties to the subjects and as there are no female students at the school it only requires visual attention.

Question 8: *Which characters do you think were homosexual?*

> *c. What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?*

	Which characters do you think were homosexual?
Group 3	*The Jewish one and the fat teacher.* *Irwin.*

7.13 Discussion of Results

7.13.1 Table 10: Group 1: Priming questionnaire results English subtitles

	Before priming and viewing	After priming and viewing
Mean number of correct answers	11.1	13.4

7.13.2 Table 11: Group 2: Priming questionnaire results Spanish subtitles

	Before priming and viewing	After priming and viewing
Mean number of correct answers	6.35	6.48

7.13.3 Table 12: Group 2: Repetition questionnaire results

	Before viewing	After viewing twice
Mean number of correct answers	8.65	13

For group 1 (English subtitles) of the priming condition the increase in the mean number of words correctly defined was 2.1, whereas the pilot study resulted in an average increase of 0.2 words.

For group 2 (Spanish subtitles) of the priming condition the increase in the mean number of words correctly defined was 0.1 words, the pilot study resulted in an average increase of 0.3 words.

Therefore the findings indicate that the priming plus English subtitles condition results in better comprehension of markers of orality. With subjects in this experimental condition showing an average greater increase in correct answers of 2 words out of 23 than those viewing with Spanish subtitles. The issue of why this difference of 2 words exists between the two subtitle conditions will be explored in the next chapter.

The repetition condition demonstrated the greatest acquisition with an increase in mean words correctly defined from 0.2 words to 4.3 words, making this the only condition to achieve a statistically significant result. This result is interesting in terms of language acquisition and is worth considering when advising language learners of effective learning strategies; however repetition might be considered impractical in a formal learning environment as it is time comsuming. The increase in comprehension of markers of orality was not accompanied by an increase in understanding of the general themes of the film, which was poorer than that of both the priming groups.

Of the three groups, group 1 (priming and English subtitles) showed the greatest level of understanding of the general themes of the film.

CHAPTER 8: EXPERIMENT 2

The aim of this experiment is to measure any improvement in comprehension of markers of orality after viewing short extracts from each of the following four films: *Happy go Lucky, The Football Factory, The Full Monty and Trainspotting* and following participation in priming exercises.

Due to the tendency indicated in experiment 1 towards obtaining better results from intra-lingual subtitled film, the experiments as described above in Chapters 6 and 7 were repeated, using extracts from the other four films in the corpus. The aim of this phase is to further investigate possible explanations for the results obtained (average greater increase in correct answers of 2 words out of 23 for those viewing with English subtitles) and to establish whether there exists a significant difference between learning outcomes for markers of orality and subtitle mode. Priming was employed as it fits better with the teaching environment of the subjects recruited for the study and has been demonstrated to assist students in their ability to comprehend the challenging nature of the film dialogue. The four additional films were chosen for the quantity of markers of orality they contain, which made it possible to design the questionnaire to measure any increase in comprehension across the five categories of markers of orality that are the focus of this study. Each questionnaire was devised with five questions from each of the five categories.

8.1 Aims and hypotheses

This study was carried out to investigate whether the results obtained in the priming condition of experiment 2 could be repeated with the other films in the corpus.

- Hypothesis 1: Subjects will demonstrate greater comprehension of markers of orality contained in the films following participation in priming exercises.
- Hypothesis 2: There will be a difference in the level of comprehension of markers of orality between subjects viewing an English language film with intra-lingual subtitles and those viewing the same film with inter-lingual subtitles.

8.2 Method

The films were chosen due to the large quantity of the five categories of markers of orality, the focus of this study, that they contain. On the basis of the issues encountered during the pilot study it was decided to show the subjects short excerpts.

The study aims to compare the benefits of the two experimental conditions:

(1) The film excerpts with soundtrack and subtitles both in English (intra-lingual) and

(2) The film excerpts with soundtrack in English and the subtitles in Spanish (inter-lingual).

Quantitative data from subjects' responses to questionnaires was sought.

The independent variable is the subtitle format and the dependent variables the questionnaire results.

8.3   Subjects

New subjects were recruited from among a group of students taking an assignment focusing on linguistic variety, according to the same procedure as experiments 1 and 2. Participant profiles were compiled for the subjects from the answers given to questions about their: schooling, whether or not they had been to UK, their film viewing habits and with what frequency they watched subtitled material. Their language level was assessed as advanced.

Subjects were informed that they would be participating in a research project on the use of subtitles in translator training and their consent was sought. Once informed consent was given, the subjects were randomly assigned to one of two experimental groups. Some subjects failed to complete the tasks or were not present for all aspects of the study, their data was discounted. Those who remained were as follows;

Group 1: 13 Spanish speaking subjects viewed the film extracts in English with English subtitles.

Group 2: 15 Spanish speaking subjects viewed the film extracts in English with Spanish subtitles.

8.4   Material: The film corpus

8.4.1   *Happy Go Lucky*

Happy Go Lucky, the title of the film itself an idiomatic phrase meaning carefree, is a 2008 British film written and directed by Mike Leigh. The film is about a primary school teacher's relationship with a driving instructor, from whom she receives lessons. In keeping with Leigh's directing methods, a large percentage of their dialogue was improvised, making this an example of film dialogue closely approximating spontaneous speech. The film was cited as one of the ten best films of 2008 and received many awards.

Table 8.1. Word count for the *film Happy Go Lucky*

Happy Go Lucky	The English dialogue	English subtitles	Spanish subtitles
Word count	13,193	13,045	9,554
Number of subtitles		1,652	1,504

The number of words in the Spanish subtitles represents a reduction of 27% compared to the number of words in the English subtitles. This might be accountable for by the strategy of reducing the text in the Spanish subtitles to enhance readability and allow viewers the maximum time possible to watch the images. Despite the significant drop in word count, there is a small reduction in the number of subtitles, this may be due to differences in subtitle distribution and increased numbers of shorter, one-line subtitles.

8.4.2   The Football Factory

A 2004 British film directed by Nick Love, *The Football Factory* is rich in cultural references. It is a portrait of violence engaged in by working class men displaced from their London neighbourhood, Chelsea, by the process of gentrification and for whom allegiance to a football club is an extension of community. The film is shot in documentary style. The language used is hard-hitting but imaginative, using modern cockney rhyming slang and football hooligan sociolect. *The Football Factory* is frequently incomprehensible, which is reflected in the many mistranslations present in the subtitles.

Table 8.2. Word count for the film *The Football Factory*

The Football Factory	The English dialogue	English subtitles	Spanish subtitles
Word count	8,216	8,148	6,674
Number of subtitles		1,083	1,014

The number of words in the Spanish subtitles represent a reduction of 1,542 words from the number in the dialogue and 1,474 from the number in the English subtitles (18% fewer words). This might be accountable for by the strategy of reducing the text in the Spanish subtitles to enhance readability and allow viewers the maximum time possible to watch the images. Despite the significant drop in word count, there is a small reduction in the number of subtitles, this may be due to differences in subtitle distribution and increased numbers of shorter, one-line subtitles.

8.4.3   The Full Monty

This film is a 1997 British comedy-drama directed by Peter Cattaneo. The title is a phrase generally used in the UK to mean 'the whole lot', or 'the whole hog'; in the film, the characters use it to refer to full nudity. The film is set in Sheffield, England, and tells the story of six unemployed men, four of them former steel workers, who decide to form a male striptease act in order to raise enough money for the main character, Gaz, to pay his child support and be able to see his son. The film features frequent use of the dialect spoken in Sheffield. *The Full Monty* won the BAFTA Award for Best Film in 1997.

Table 8.3. Word count for the film *The Full Monty*

The Full Monty	The English dialogue	English subtitles	Spanish subtitles
Word count	7,015	6,943	6,484
Number of subtitles		1,048	1,023

There is a small reduction of 531 for Spanish words from the number in the dialogue and 459 from the number in the English subtitles (7% fewer words). Minimal reduction has occurred for this film. The number of subtitles are practically the same.

8.4.4 Trainspotting

A 1996 British film directed by Danny Boyle whose title refers to the dark tracks left by habitual heroin users and is also said to be slang for being on the look-out for a drug dealer. It is a brutal portrayal of drug addiction in Edinburgh based on the book of the same name written by Irvine Welsh in Scots, Scottish and British English with dialogues spelt phonetically. The setting is a working class area of Edinburgh and despite being a challenge for a translator contains the highest proportion of markers of orality in the Spanish subtitles. The film has been ranked 10th by the British Film Institute in its list of Top 100 British films of all time.

Table 8.4. Word count for the film *Trainspotting*

Trainspotting	The English dialogue	English subtitles	Spanish subtitles
Word count	8,055	7,576	6,532
Number of subtitles		1,452 (subtitles include song lyrics)	1,115

The number of words in the Spanish subtitles represent a reduction of 1,523 words from the number in the dialogue and 1,044 from the number in the English subtitles (14% fewer words). This might be accountable for by the strategy of reducing the text in the Spanish subtitles to enhance readability and allow viewers the maximum time possible to watch the images. The reduction of 337 subtitles is due in this instance to the inclusion of song lyrics in the English subtitles.

8.5 Procedure

Subjects were informed that they would be participating in a research project on the use of subtitles in translator training and their consent was sought.

The experiment was conducted over four consecutive weeks, with one priming lesson and one film excerpt a week. Prior to viewing each of the film excerpts subjects in both experimental conditions were asked to complete a questionnaire, given below. Then they participated in the lessons outlined in appendix III, and were divided into their respective groups to be shown the excerpt with either English or Spanish subtitles. Subjects were then requested to repeat the questionnaire.

8.5.1 Excerpts used

The following short (between 10 and 15 minutes in length) excerpts were selected from the four remaining films in the corpus:

- *Happy go Lucky*: excerpt of two scenes from the film (approximately 14 minutes 30 seconds) 01:14:32,199 - 01:25:32,193 plus 01:34:02,639 - 01:48:34,510
- *The Football Factory*: excerpt of two scenes from the film (approximately 9 minutes) 00:11:10,500 - 00:13:11,500 and 00:43:00,600 - 00:49:06,200

- ***The Full Monty:*** excerpt of a scene from the film (approximately 15 minutes 30 seconds) 00:02:25,412 - 00:17:44,612
- ***Trainspotting:*** excerpt of a scene from the film (approximately 6 minutes) 00:13:35 - 00:18:46

8.5.2   Questionnaires

Four sets of 25 questions were formulated with the intention of eliciting the level of comprehension of the markers of orality present in each of the excerpts of the films selected. Each questionnaire contains five multiple choice questions for each of the five markers of orality present in the excerpts. As the excerpts shown are considerably shorter for this stage of the research, there are a couple of items in the questionnaires that do not appear in the material shown to the subjects. However, these were kept to an absolute minimum.

8.5.3   Priming exercises

The priming exercises were designed according to the particular film excerpt being used, they follow the pattern outlined in Chapter 7 (see appendix III) and include a short translation exercise, an introduction to relevant linguistic variation, a listening exercise from the BBC Voices website and discussons about themes and language that subjects will encounter in the film excerpts.

8.6   Results

As the results obtained were not statistically significant, it cannot be said that the three hypotheses were supported. However, there is a consistent tendency towards improved comprehension following priming, with a greater level of language acquisition demonstrated by those subjects who viewed the film with English subtitles.

8.7   Happy go Lucky: Procedure

Subjects were shown the following 14 minute clip containing two scenes from the film: 01:14:32,199 - 01:25:32,193 and 01:34:02,639 - 01:48:34,510

Subjects were required to answer the following questionnaire both prior to and following priming exercises and viewing. The questionnaire contains 5 questions from each of the 5 categories of markers of orality that are the focus of the current study, with the relevant word or phrase highlighted.

Subjects were presented the questionnaire with the following instructions:

Mark the answer that you think best defines the meaning of the highlighted word or phrase in its context.

1. He is a **nutter**. -to be really enthusiastic / to be really angry/ to be really crazy

2. Not much I can do about that. **Runs in the family**. – a characteristic that many family members have/ I have to go jogging with my family/ All my family are unwell at the moment

3. She must be **going through some shit**, though, mustn't she? – to be having a difficult time/ a frequently repeated trick / to have made a mistake.

4. That's not hard, though, is it, eh, **titch**?. – a term of agreement /a term for short person/a term of affection

5. **Lazy buggers**. – to not want to do much/ to need more attention / to want more space

6. Bit **down in the dumps**, is he? – not getting enough sun / rubbish /depressed

7. I **ain't nicked nothing**. onest, guv'nor.– to have stolen something /to not tell a lie /not to have stolen something

8. Oh, **leave it out**. – go away /stop doing something /take something outside

9. Yeah, I do, **as it goes**. Actually /the best it can be /to agree about something

10. You're **out of order** – to have more food/to not behave well /you are not working

11. Come on, ladies, **cop a load** of this. – call the police /have a look /to feel something

12. – Gives me the **creeps**, to be honest. – to appear suddenly /to move slowly /to be frightened

13. I had to **nip it in the bud** with my lot before they flew out the window. – leave because you are embarrassed /make a big effort to improve something /stop something

14. Is he **fit**?. – good looking /small /nice

15. Yeah, **hair of the dog**. – to have chicken pox /to have another drink /to be infectious

16. Fucking **morons**! Stupid people /old people /immigrants

17. **Ducking and a-diving**. – driving a car /dodging things /working illegally

18. Er... yes, **it's a bit on and off. Innit?** – to agree that something is broken / to agree that something is not very good /to ask if something is working

19. – The world has to **revolve around you**. – you have to be the centre of attention /you like excitement /to spin around in circles

20. You never give in **for fuck's sake**. – an expression of frustration /an expression of denial /an expression of surrender

21. Some of us **miss the boat** completely. – fall into the water /arrive to late /fail to achieve something

22. We've got a **hell of a way** to go. – a short trip to take /a long way to go /a really horrible journey to make

23. Yeah, **what do you reckon**? – what can you see? /what do you think? /you don't know anything!

24. **Cos** it can affect everything, can't it? – because /body /to agree

25. - Yeah, I know. **See how it goes, eh**? – to watch something move away /to feel time passing /to wait and see

8.8   Results

8.8.1   Group 1: *Happy go Lucky* English subtitles

T-test: P value = 0.5146, not statistically significant.

Table 8.5. Showing slight improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with English subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing with priming
Mean	**5.28**	**5.84**
SD (standard deviation)	3.06	2.97
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.61	0.59
N (sample)	25	25

Graph 8.1. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with English subtitles following priming exercises

Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film with priming

8.8.2   Group 2: Happy go Lucky Spanish subtitles

T-test: P value = 0.8788, not statistically significant.

Table 8.6. Showing very slight improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with Spanish subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing with priming
Mean	**6.92**	**7.08**
SD (standard deviation)	3.71	3.67
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.74	0.73
N (sample)	25	25

Graph 8.2. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with Spanish subtitles following priming exercises
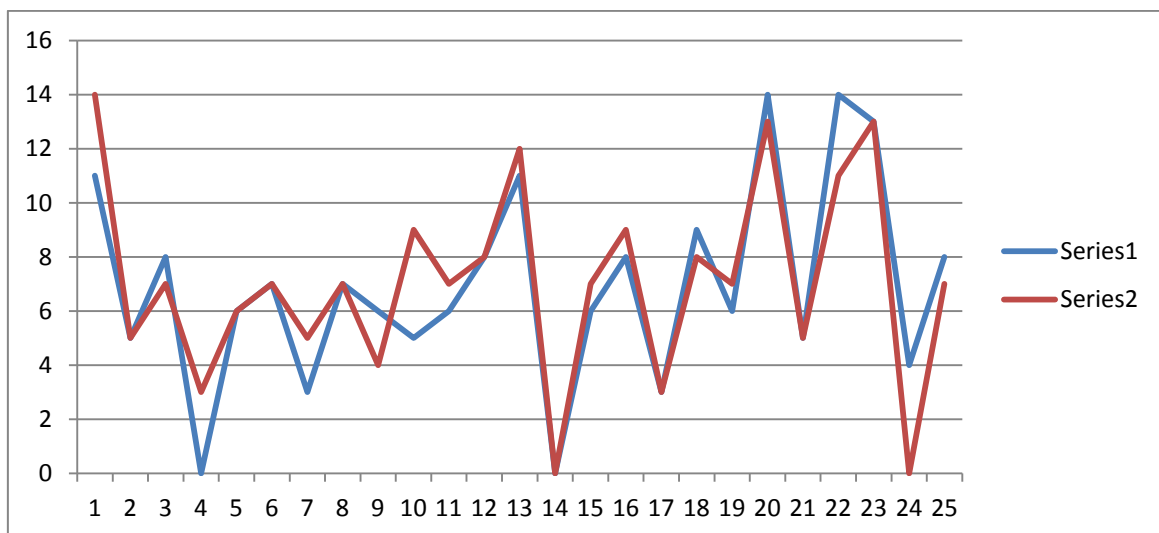
Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film with priming

8.9   The Football Factory: Procedure

Subjects were shown the following 9 minute clip containing two scenes from film:
00:11:10,500 - 00:13:11,500 and 00:43:00,600 - 00:49:06,200

Subjects were required to answer the following questionnaire both prior to and following viewing. The questionnaire contains 5 questions from each of the 5 categories of markers of orality that are the focus of the current study, with the relevant word or phrase highlighted.

Subjects were presented the questionnaire with the following instructions:

Mark the answer that you think best defines the meaning of the highlighted word or phrase in its context.

1. Ain't trying to **wind anyone up**. – not trying to make someone angry/ not trying to make someone excited/ not trying to make someone bored
2. It was only a **bubble**, that's all. –a lie /a joke /soap
3. I fucking **had you there**! – I fooled you/ I hit you/ laughed at you
4. Sure you slipped the **OB**? – cemetery /ice /police
5. Go on, **jog on**. – get going /go running /fuck off
6. What's it gotta do with you, you **mug**? –nosy person /you idiot/ you cup
7. last time we had a little **meet** – the last time we fought/ the last time we had a meeting /the last time we bought drugs
8. Don't get **lemon**, It don't suit you. – cheeky /offensive /stupid
9. or the fact that you buy your **charlie** off a white man? –cocaine /heroin /kebabs
10. You'll be confused when I **open your fucking canister up**. – smash your head in/ break open your toolbox /break into your shop
11. Well, **stop punching your old woman about** then, wanker. – stop masturbating/ hitting your wife /beating your mother
12. **Moonlighting**! – being an idiot /Working two jobs /leaving your neigbourhood
13. **Fuck this**. If they can't be grown up, let's go. – Let's give up/ Let's fight /let's have sex
14. He quickly changes into a complete fucking **melt** – idiot/shy/tongue tied
15. And keep your fucking **nut down**. – stop being an idiot /don't let anyone see you /don't be crazy
16. However, they must have **got their wires crossed** – got tangled up /had a misunderstanding /got lost
17. Yeah, yeah, he's a **top bloke**. – a drug dealer /a great guy/the boss
18. Nah, don't worry about it. It's **sweet**. – it looks lovely /Its fine/ it tastes very nice
19. Lazing about with his Penge **minge**. – bed /girlfriend /illness
20. Ban, **what am I gonna do, walk**? – Ok, I will walk /do you expect me to walk? /I always walk
21. Shame. **He's hung like a pike** in here. – he has a big penis /he has killed himself / he is asleep
22. Mind you, premature ejaculation…that's **right up your fucking street**. – just your thing /what people do on your street /really close
23. **Don't punch above your weight**, you long streak of piss. – don't hit a fat person / don't piss here /don't do something that you can't handle
24. **Look at the** fucking **boat on it**. – look at his dirty mouth /look at his face /look at his boat
25. Let's have a **butcher's** here. – a person who sells meat / a look /a fight

8.10 Results

8.10.1 Group 1: The Football Factory English subtitles

T-test: P value = 0.4557, not statistically significant.

Table 8.7. Showing improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with English subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing with priming
Mean	**2.60**	**3.20**
SD (standard deviation)	2.65	2.99
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.53	0.680
N (sample)	25	25

Graph 8.3. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with English subtitles following priming exercises

Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film.

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film with priming.

8.10.2 Group 2: The Football Factory Spanish subtitles

T-test: P value = 0.8347, not statistically significant.

Table 8.8. Showing very slight improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with Spanish subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing with priming
Mean	**3.64**	**3.84**
SD (standard deviation)	3.40	3.34

SEM (standard error of difference)	0.68	0.67
N (sample)	25	25

Graph 8.4. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with Spanish subtitles following priming exercises
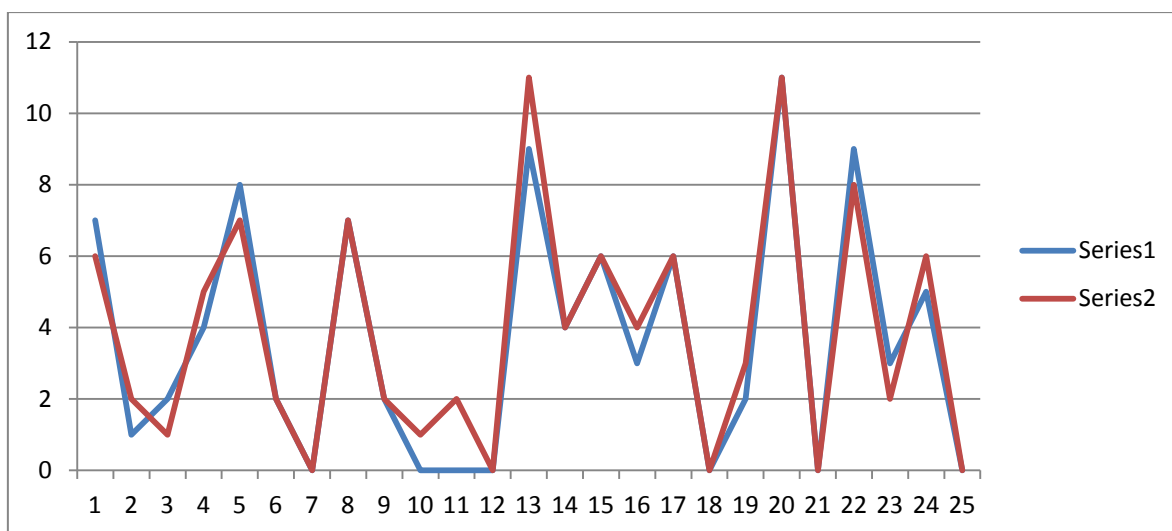
Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film with priming

8.11 The Full Monty: Procedure

Subjects were shown the following 15 minute clip containing a scene from the film:
00:02:25,412 - 00:17:44,612

Subjects were required to answer the following questionnaire both prior to and following viewing. The questionnaire contains 5 questions from each of the 5 categories of markers of orality that are the focus of the current study, with the relevant word or phrase highlighted.

Subjects were presented the questionnaire with the following instructions:

Mark the answer that you think best defines the meaning of the highlighted word or phrase in its context.

1. **'Ey up!** Security guard's back. – Hello/look at that /get up

2. They're 20 **quid** each, them! - pounds /kilos /inches

3. All right?! - **Aye**, not so bad. – Hello /yes /no

4. That's not much of a **chuffing** SOS! – smoke signal /emergency /fucking

5. All right, don't get a **benny** on. – calm down /don't fall off /stop laughing

6. It's her money, **innit**? – isn't it /no it's not /yes

7. Frank don't fancy me and I don't fancy Frank, right? So **give over**! – stop it /give it to me /to offer a present

8. I weren't in Girl Guides for **nowt**! – for a long time /for nothing /To have never joined

9. What are you up to, then, **shifty**? – an untrustworthy man /a promiscuous woman /someone who is unfaithful to their husband

10. A few years and men won't exist. Except in a zoo or **summat**. – aquarium /something /laboratory

11. **Now then! Cos** of us. Men– shut up, it's our fault/because of us /go away

12. How many **lassies** were there, though? – girls /promiscuous women /people

13. Little And Large prancing round Sheffield with their **widgers** out! – tools /penises /computer application

14. –I'm ont' **dole**, in case you hadn't noticed! – unemployment benefits /rubbish tip /unwell

15. - As if you've ever given a **toss**. – any money /to not care /anything valuable

16. It's all **to fucking cock**. – it's all wrong /to have sex / to not care at all

17. I thought I **clocked** you! – I hit you /I signed you in /I saw you

18. I were **ont' floor** with Gaz. – I worked in the factory /We had fallen over /I was jogging

19. You don't have to fucking swim, you **divvy**. – person who can't swim /idiot /girl

20. Oh, aye! Jiggling about in the **buff**. Therapy! – naked /dance clothes /factory

21. I tell you, he won't be the only one trying to **top himself** if you carry on wi' this caper. – improve himself /kill himself /dance

22. I'm **all in**. – I have finished /I am exhausted /I am at home

23. You should let a colleague do **the lion's share** for a change. – more of the work /eat more meat /share things out more fairly

24. **Keep your hair on**. – cheer up /calm down /don't lose your wig

25. He'll **blow my cover** – destroy my house /discover who I am / tell everyone who I am

8.12 Results

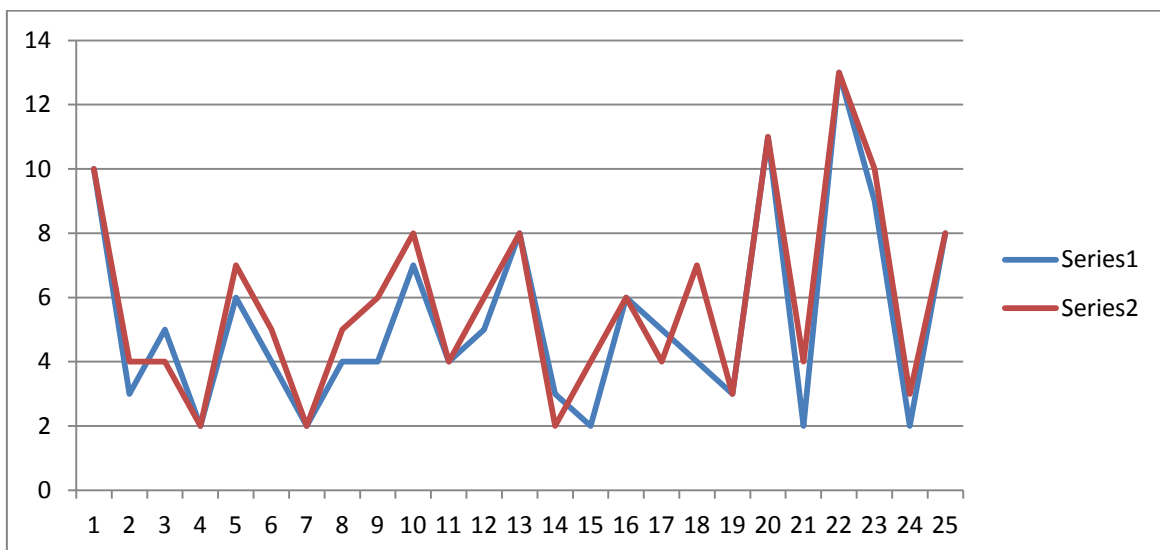### 8.12.1 Group 1: The Full Monty English subtitles

t-test: P value = 0.2118, not statistically significant.

Table 8.9. Showing improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with English subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing with priming
Mean	**4.16**	**5.16**
SD (standard deviation)	2.73	2.85
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.55	0.57
N (sample)	25	25

Graph 8.5. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with English subtitles following priming exercises
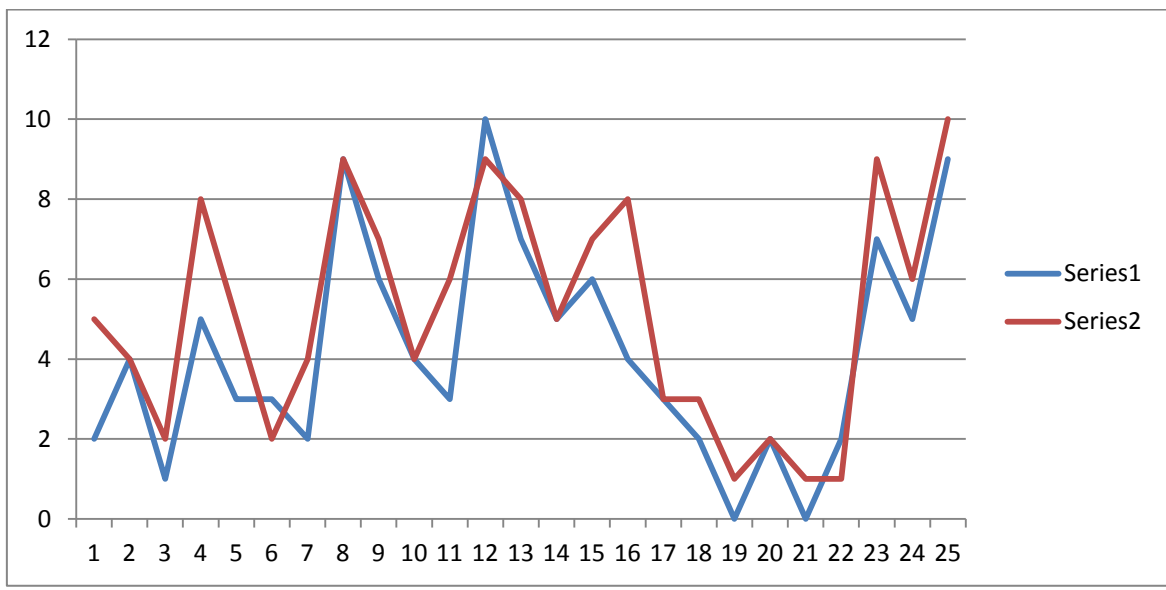
Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film with priming

8.12.2 Group 2: The Full Monty Spanish subtitles

t-test: P value = 0.6935, not statistically significant.

Table 8.10. Showing slight improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with Spanish subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing with priming
Mean	**5.28**	**5.64**
SD (standard deviation)	3.03	3.38
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.61	0.68
N (sample)	25	25

Graph 8.6. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with Spanish subtitles following priming exercises
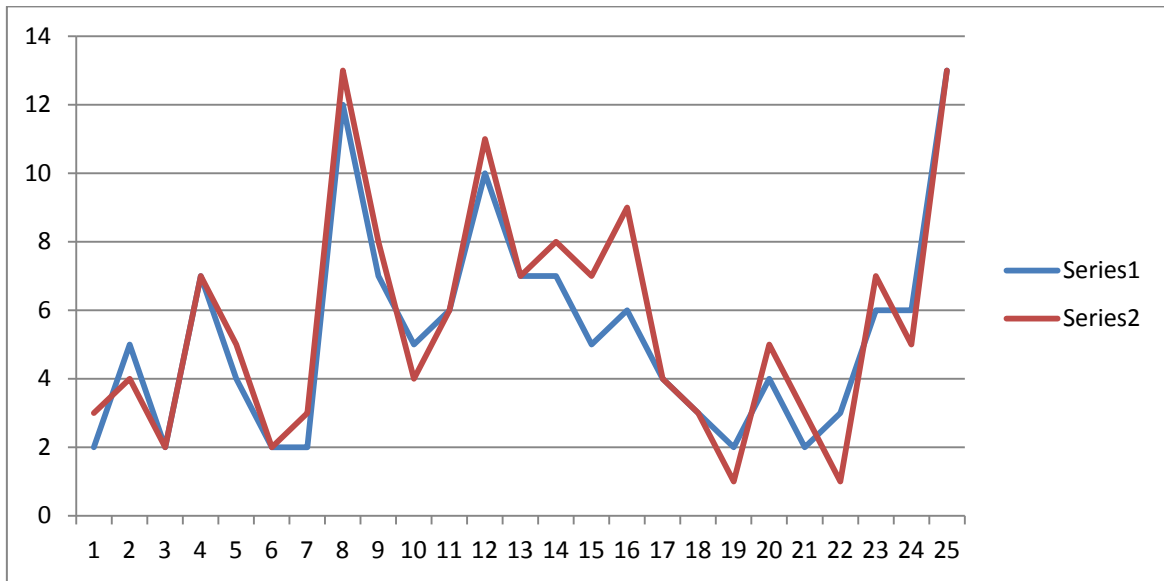
Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film with priming

8.13 Trainspotting: Procedure

Subjects were shown the following 6 minute clip containing a scene from the film: 00:13:37 -- 00:18:46

Subjects were required to answer the following questionnaire both prior to and following viewing. The questionnaire contains 5 questions from each of the 5 categories of markers of orality that are the focus of the current study, with the relevant word or phrase highlighted.

Subjects were presented the questionnaire with the following instructions:

Mark the answer that you think best defines the meaning of the highlighted word or phrase in its context.

1. "**This cunt is no trying**." – he is trying really hard/ he is a really bad person/ he is not trying hard

2. And your **giro's** fuckin' finished, right? - Unemployment subsidy/last chance/contract

3. It's a fuckin' **tightrope**. - A difficult thing to get right/ a circus act/ a type of drug

4. Relinquishing **junk**. – rubbish /heroin /housework

5. .Try some of this, Spud. - Yeah, a little dab of **speed** is just the ticket, mate. - Anphetamine/confidence/heroin

6. Like which school did I go to? How many **ogies** did I get? - Exam grades /salary /girlfriends

7. Just to get **my foot in the door**, like. - Force my way in /to be given a chance /to get my foot caught

8. Like things get a bit **dodgy**, I just cannot be bothered. - Difficult /embarrasing /sober

9. But, hey, I'm getting **good vibes** about this interview thing today, though, man. Drugs / confidence /a good feeling

10. - "**I'm not wantin' that cat**," she says."Get the fuck, right.". – Give me back the cat /I don't like that cat /take the cat away

11. givin' the boy herethe **tannin'** of a lifetime. - Beating him at pool/ beating him up/ commenting on his skin colour

12. in the corner looking all fucking **biscuit-arsed**. – like he had eaten too many biscuits /hungover /sad

13. When this **hard cunt** comes in. – aggressive person /good pool player /drunk person

14. You **ken** me. I'm not the type of cunt that goes looking for fucking bother...- see me /understand me / know me

15. and he can get the fat end in his **puss** any time he fucking wanted, like – Face /Bottom /chest

16. So I **squares up**, casual like. – brush down my clothes /get ready to fight /stand up

17. What does the hard cunt do? **Shites it**. – breaks it /gets very scared /ruins the game

18. Puts down his drink, turns and **gets the fuck out** of there. – leaves /hits everybody /shouts aggressively

19. But Begbie is playing absolutely fucking **gash**. - Really well/ very badly/ he ripped the pool table cloth

20. So, he's got the **hump**, right. - Really angry/ in a bad mood/ ignoring everyone

21. He picks on this specky, **wee** gadge at the bar... – wearing glasses /man /small

22. He was gonna **chib** him, I tell you. – stab him /kill him /hug him

23. It does a man good **to cut loose** once in a while. – take heroin /relax /have a fight

24. Well... what's wrong, boy? **Cat got your tongue**? – to have nothing to say /to be really embarrased / to forget what you were going to say

25. He **fucked up** good and proper.- he did really well /he did really badly /he took too many drugs
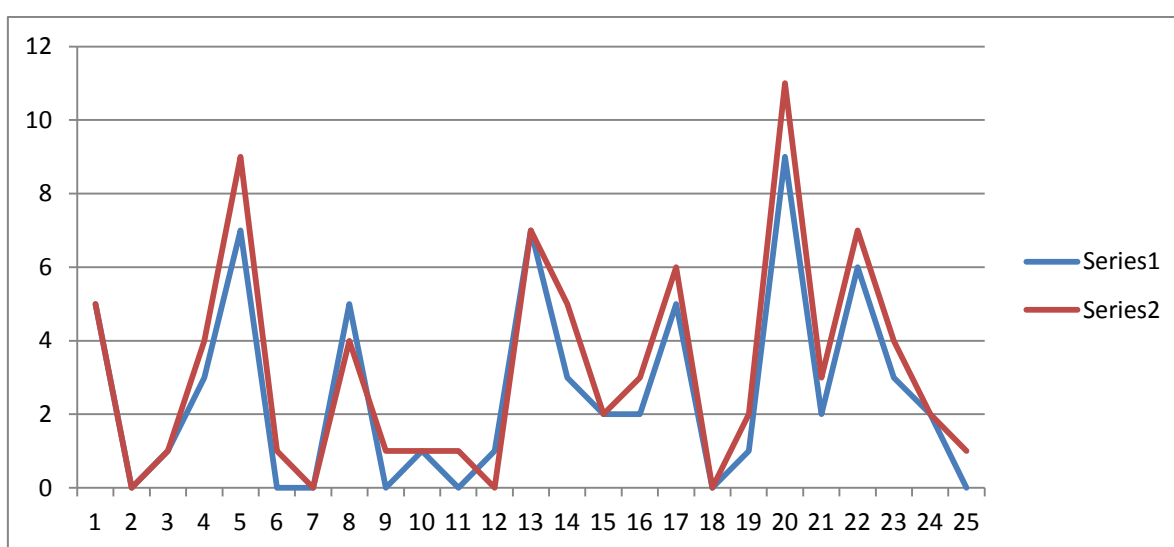
8.14 Results

8.14.1 Group 1: *Trainspotting* English subtitles.

t-test: P value = 0.1505 is not statistically significant.

Table 8.11. Showing improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with English subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing with priming
Mean	**5.08**	**6.88**
SD (standard deviation)	3.64	4.97
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.73	0.99
N (sample)	25	25

Graph 8.7. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with English subtitles following priming exercises
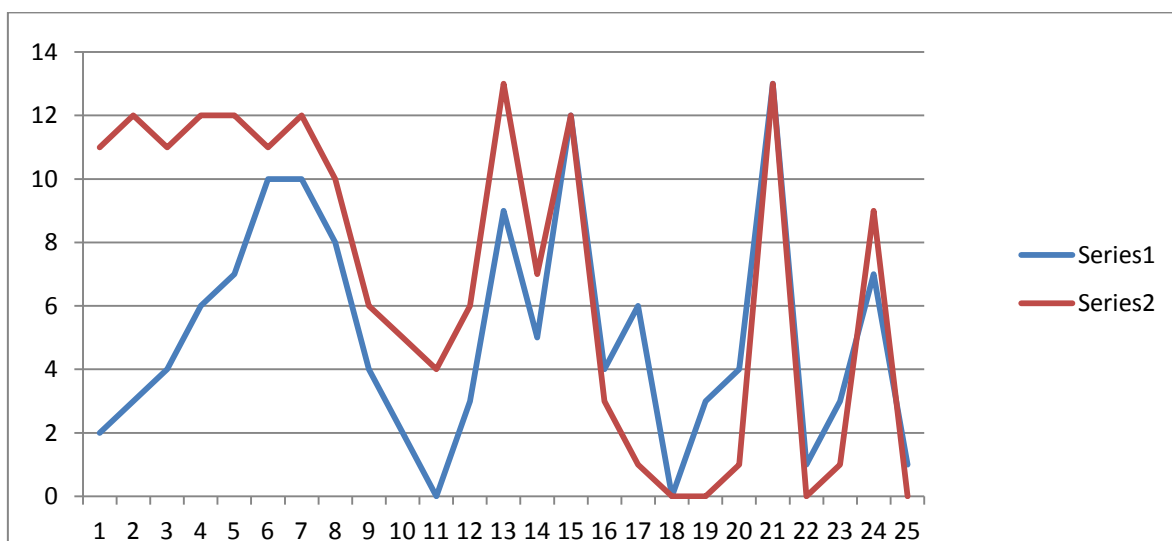
Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film with priming

8.14.2 Group 2: *Trainspotting* Spanish subtitles

t-test: P value = 0.7957 is not statistically significant.

Table 8.12. Showing slight improvement in correct definitions given for lexical items in the questionnaire following viewing film with Spanish subtitles.

	Before viewing	After viewing with priming
Mean	**6.56**	**6.88**
SD (standard deviation)	4.37	4.32
SEM (standard error of difference)	0.87	0.86
N (sample)	25	25

Graph 8.8. A comparison of correct answers given to questionnaire items before and after viewing film with Spanish subtitles following priming exercises
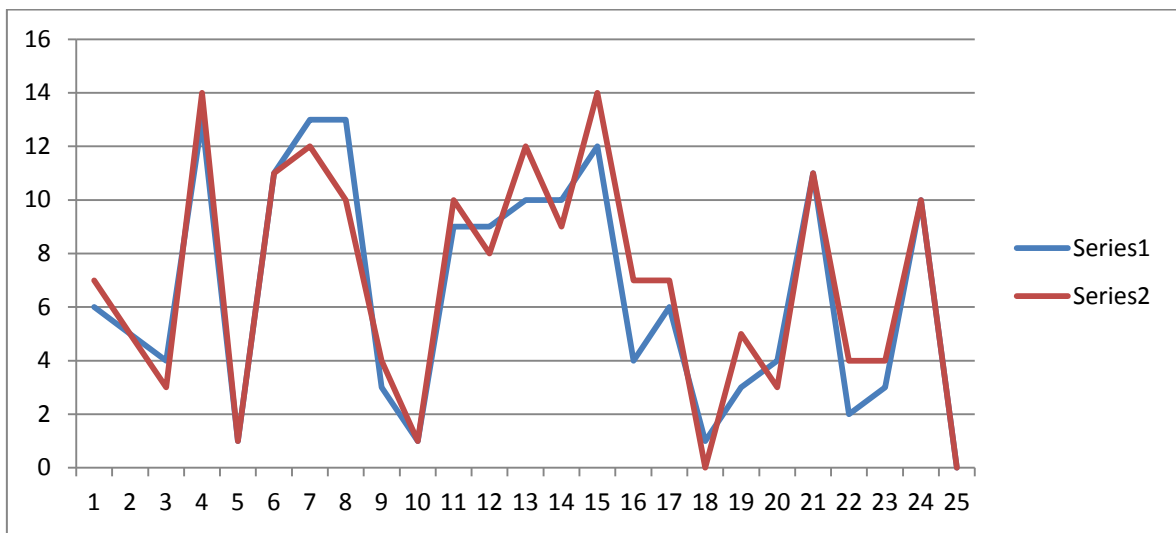
Questionnaire Items

Series 1: average number of correct answers given before viewing film

Series 2: average number of correct answers given after viewing film with priming

8.15 Discussion

The scores for each subject for each of the five questionnaires were calculated. The results show a greater improvement in comprehension of markers of orality in subjects viewing the film extracts with English subtitles compared with those viewing with Spanish subtitles.

The average improvement for each group was calculated and is shown in the graphs below. The results demonstrate a small but consistent improved average score of correctly defined words across all experimental conditions, demonstrating improved comprehension.

The following Graphs 8.9. and 8.10 show the average improvement based on subtitle language:

Graph 8.9 Pre and post viewing with English Subtitles in all experimental conditions

1-8 experimental conditions

Series 1: average correct answers given before relevant experimental condition (viewing, priming, repetition)

Series 2: average correct answers given after relevant experimental condition (viewing, priming, repetition)

Graph 8.10. Pre and post viewing with Spanish Subtitles (in the experimental conditions that involved subjects viewing films with Spanish subtitles)

1-7 experimental conditions

Series 1: average correct answers given before relevant experimental condition (viewing, priming)

Series 2: average correct answers given after relevant experimental condition (viewing, priming)

Graph 8.11. Post-viewing word scores for both subtitle conditions

1-7 experimental conditions

Series 1: average correct answers given after viewing with English subtitles

Series 2: average correct answers given after viewing with Spanish subtitles

This third table clearly shows the difference between improvements in comprehension achieved by subjects viewing with either English or Spanish subtitles. There is a notable difference in all the priming conditions, in which both groups of subjects participated in the same lessons designed to prepare and familiarize them with the markers of orality associated with the film excerpts. Possible explanations for this difference include the number of times subjects in group 1 were provided with the input of such words and phrases in their original format, one more time than group 2, who viewed with a version of the marker translated into Spanish in the subtitle.

English subtitles tend to be almost exact transcriptions of the dialogue (with a few exceptions outlined in the next chapter) and reflect the non-standard variations of grammar present in the speech patterns of the protagonists. Spanish subtitles follow guidelines set down to facilitate readability, contain standard grammar and eliminate or standardise up to half of the markers of orality present in the dialogue. This may result in subjects in group 2 having access to fewer references to the meaning associated with such words. The reasons behind such guidelines are the need for comprehensible input and minimal impediments to unobtrusive

reading, if the reader has to stop and consciously identify a word, the reading flow might be interrupted.

The strategy chosen by the subtitler can have a significant impact on the viewer's cognitive schema and resulting interpretive frame. A significant percentage of markers of orality are eliminated from the subtitles resulting in a different interpretive frame from those reading subtitles that retain most of such markers. The missing elements are assumed to be compensated for by other semiotic channels. However, markers of orality may present serious comprehension difficulties to those who do not share that cultural context, and even more so to those for whom their impact is neutralised in translation.

The production of subtitled material for teaching purposes in translator training may need to focus less on the over-riding goal of readability that governs audio-visual material produced for commercial purposes and more on reflecting the markers of orality present to aid comprehension of the intended message.

The most interesting aspects of this study is considered to be the finding that viewing English language films subtitled into English results in higher levels of comprehension. In the next chapter some of the possible reasons for this will be explored, one of which may be the extent of standardisation in the Spanish subtitles.

CHAPTER 9: SWEARWORDS AND SWEARING

This chapter comprises a general introduction to swearing as a marker of orality, an overview of translation strategies for swearwords and the results of the corpus analysis.

Swearing serves an often complex pragmatic function, providing valuable information about group membership, class, individual characteristics etc and its use gives insight into emotions and desires. Swearing is an exceptionally flexible and emotive form of the language, it plays an important role in film and strategies for its translations merit analysis.

Swearing plays a crucial role in the language contained in the corpus. The swearwords used are almost all connotative, having minimal relation to their dennotative, or literal meaning. Such words are used "figuratively, signalling the speaker's emotions and attitudes" (Stenström in Greenall 1991: 239).

9.1   Definition

Swearwords are words and phrases that are used to express a wide range of emotions including anger, exasperation, prejudice, hatred, humour and astonishment. They intensify the force of a statement and have the potential to be offensive or objectionable, which, in addition to their perceived recoverability from the original dialogue, may account for the tendency seen in the present study to eliminate them from subtitles.

Swearwords can be divided into three basic forms: (i) expletives, (ii) obscenity and (iii) curses. Modern speech tends towards a proliferation of the first two;

   (i)   Expletives serve a cathartic function, providing outlets for both those times when you slam your finger in a door, and to express delight on winning the lottery.
   (ii)   Obscenity, the primary functions of which lie in their use as insults and as adjectives to intensify speech.
   (iii)   Curses are words that produce effects or events. Curses derive from the invocation of a supernatural power to bring harm on others, for example, God damn you. They may be losing currency against the first two in secular societies.

For the purposes of the present research the term swearwords will be used to encompass all elements including oaths, profanity, curses, blasphemy and the term swearing will be used to describe the communicative act.

9.2   Categories of swearwords

Many changes have occurred in the words used in swearing over time and attitudes to swearing have ranged through history from abundant usage to extreme censorship. Historically, people used to mainly swear "by" or "to" (by God, I swear to God), whereas nowadays they more often swear "at" (fuck you). There is a tendency to use words that are considered to be the most potent in a given cultural context, hence the reduction in religious swearing and increase in the metaphorical use of sexual and bodily related swearwords. However, the emotive force of a swear word is more dependent on formulaic structures than

the perceived potency of the actual words. They are words that have acquired a weight of tradition in the speech community. The strength of swearwords depends on context, tone, social codes and degree of deliberation rather than actual words used, hence the phrase *Mother-fucker* can be used to convey hatred, envy and affection.

Very few racial swearwords are found in the films in the corpus as they remain, in the UK, the most unacceptable terms and the impact of insulting racist swearwords is extreme. With Green (2010) outlining generational changes in the shock value of words, with young people being appalled not by the use of sexual and bodily terms like *fuck* and *shit*, but by racist slurs such as *nigger* and *paki*.

The intensifying nature of many swearwords is due to their association with societal taboos. Drawing on themes that are highly emotive, their word-field relates to; religion, sex, madness, excretion, nationality, sexual orientation, animals, disability, geographic provenance, death and out-groups (non-believers, foreigners etc). They are revealing indicators of social mores and reflect differing degrees of tolerance within and across cultures, the weight given to different terms being culturally specific. Swearwords vary in their content and use across cultures. There are many similarities between usage in English and Spanish, in both languages swearwords are used as adjectives and intensifiers with the majority of words referring to bodily function, sex, religion, and in both many set phrases exist.

Table 10.1. Example of subtitles with swearwords of similar strength

D	Choose a fucking big television.		
E	Choose a fucking big television.		
S	*Elige un televisor grande de cojones*.	B	Choose a big bollocking television.

The word-field of swearwords is in constant flux, reflecting changes in society. There are also various cultural gradations of severity and levels of acceptability vary over time. Cunt was once an acceptable term, as shown by its use in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales and as a London street name in 1272 (Hughes, 1991: 20). Partly due to feminist discourse it is currently considered the biggest of the "Big Six" in Britain. It is much more broadly acceptable in its Spanish usage, as reflected in its use in the translation of *bloody hell* in *The Full Monty;*

Figure 10.1 Example of subtitles with swearwords reflecting different cultural strength

D	- Bloody hell!.		
E	Bloody hell!.		
S	¡Coño!	B	Cunt!

There is a scale of swearwords, from mild to highly charged, differing in emotive force and flexibility of use. Swearwords with equal potency are often interchangeable terms of high emotional charge. In the example "For Christ's sake" / "For fuck's sake", it is irrelevant that one is religious and one sexual. It is the formula that counts and which conveys the exasperation in the utterance.

Some terms are gender specific e.g. the term *pig* is a male insult except when it refers to overeating, where it is genderless. There is prevalence of derogatory terms for female anatomy and many more swearwords related to femininity than masculinity. Words such as bitch or cow are directed at women and can be considered to have greater currency or potency than their male equivalents. Gender neutral terms include moron. There is a larger word-field relating to gay men than for lesbians.

The frequency of the use of the word *fuck* in English speech marks it out for special comment. It is an intensifier and can be used to modify nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs. Fuck has extraordinary grammatical flexibility and a broad semantic field as outlined by Hughes (adapted from 1991: 31)

1. Personal "You fuck"
2. Personal by reference "the fuck"
3. Aggressive (or expressive of annoyance) command "fuck off"
4. Cursing "fuck you"

5. General expletive of anger, annoyance frustration: "fuck!"
6. Explicit expletive of anger, annoyance frustration: "fuck it"
7. Capacity for adjectival extension: "fucking ----"
8. Verbal usage: "to fuck about"

9.3   The translation of swearwords from film dialogue for subtitles

The use of swearwords in film provides a variety of information to the audience, such as extreme anger, emphasis, disgust, contempt, surprise and happiness. This information is added to by the intonation of the actors' voices, their facial gestures and body language. The current research concurs with previous findings (Hjort,2009; Chapman, 2005; Jackel, 2001) that it is often eliminated during the subtitling process. This section of the present research explores some of the possible consequences of this. There exists a widespread belief in the recoverability of swearwords from the dialogue as swearwords in English are assumed to be familiar to the Spanish audience. However, the elimination of between 32% (*Trainspotting*) and 64% (*The Football Factory*) of swearwords in the current study may result in a reduction in communicative effect

A major issue facing translators of swearwords for subtitles is that of equivalence. A swearword may have a similar counterpart in the target language, but the two expressions may have different connotations and not be transferable. A real difficulty for the translator may arise as a result of the tendency for the connotative cultural meaning of the words to outweigh the literal ones. Therefore it is a mistake when translating swearwords to ask for example, "How do you say bastard in Spanish?" because in a cultural sense this does not translate and may result in a clumsy use of the word "bastardo". The question to ask is "What word, with equivalent strength to bastard, do Spaniards use to insult each other?" This is evidently a more time-consuming process. What is regarded as taboo varies considerably from one language to another; therefore swearwords need to be translated with words and phrases which carry the same weight in the target language.

Films full of swearwords, such as *Pulp Fiction* by Quentin Tarantino, where examples of dialogue such as "Get your motherfucking ass in here, motherfucker." "Fuck you, you dickless fuck. This motherfucker ain't going nowhere." (Burgen 1997: 63) provide a serious challenge to film subtitlers in their search for equivalence of effect with words and phrases that sound natural to the viewer. Pujol (2006) draws on his analysis of the translation into Catalan of *fuck*, a word he describes as a 'vulgar (English) word par excellence' to stress the need for translators of swearwords to take into account the lexical, contextual, pragmatic, and cultural dimensions of their task.

A vast range of topics form part of our swearword lexicography, however, cultures differ in this lexicography. There is a need to balance the intensity and potency of the term. In the following example the translation for the Spanish subtitle, despite its equivalence of meaning, does not match the English in terms of potency.

Figure 10.2. Example of subtitles with different linguistic potency

D	God, is there anyone I don't get bollocked by?		
E	God, is there anyone I don't get bollocked by?		
S	Dios, ¿hay alguien que no me eche la bronca?	B	God, is there anyone who doesn't row at me?

Figure 10.3. Example of subtitles with different linguistic potency

D	- "Marching With Hepworth"? - Jesus Christ!

E	- "Marching With Hepworth"? - Jesus Christ!		
S	- ¿"La marcha de Hepworth"? - ¡Santo cielo!	B	Hepworth's March Holy heaven!

¡*Santo cielo*!, meaning approximately *Oh my goodness* does not have equivalent potency to *Jesus Christ*.

Additional issues arise due to the huge variety of forms swearing takes, and the fact that often the meaning and intention of the words used are known only by the speaker, and are entirely misinterpreted by hearers. The same word yields many different meanings, stressing the importance of similarity of potency, e.g.

Table 10.2 Example of subtitles with different linguistic potency

D	What a wanker.		
E	What a wanker.		
S	Vaya elemento.	B	What a geezer!

The use of wanker in this example, also taken from *The Full Monty*, in addition to the tone of voice (arguably available to a Spanish viewer as well) provides a more accurate picture of the low opinion held by the speaker of the person described as a wanker in this exchange.

Due to the diversity of terms used as insults, these are the most easily misunderstood. Enquiring of Scottish friends and a search in on-line dictionaries of slang throw up various meanings for the term "biscuit-arsed" from the film *Trainspotting*, including; hungover, coming down from heroin, filthy, confused, pathetic and weak.

10.3. Example of subtitles with similar linguistic potency

D	I'm on the black, and he's sittin'in the corner looking all fucking biscuit-arsed.		
E	looking all fucking biscuit-arsed,		
S	Con un careto que te cagas…	B	With a shitty face (Looking rough and hungover)

While this can be said to be a reasonable translation, the following subtitle from The Football Factory is harder to justify.

10.4. Example of subtitles showing a possible misunderstanding of the source language

D	Well, stop punching your old woman about then, wanker.		
E	Well, stop punching your old woman about then, wanker.		
S	¿Por qué no te haces una paja? Te sentará bien.	B	Why don't you have a wank. You will feel better.

This subtitle appears to either have resulted from an error in understanding or is a very liberal take on the original.

Many factors need to be taken into account when translating swearwords if a natural sounding translation is to be achieved. Pujol (2006) categorizes the pragmatic functions of the swearwords used, expressing as they do emotion and not literal meaning. In examples such as "Fuck those spic pigs, man!" he demonstrates that the use of the word fuck serves the dual functions of expressing extreme anger and contempt. He claims that such swearwords serve a communicative function. It is not redundant speech; rather it provides important information about the development of the characters and the plot. Therefore the elimination of swearwords will have a corresponding effect on impact and should, accordingly be employed sparingly as a strategy.

The analysis of the corpus of the present study makes it clear that elimination is not employed sparingly, as shown example of the English subtitles and the corresponding Spanish subtitles of an extract of dialogue taken from the film *Happy go Lucky;*

Table 10.5. Extract of English subtitles with swearwords and the corresponding Spanish subtitles

English Subtitles	Corresponding Spanish subtitles
I'm going to ask you one more time.	Te lo pediré una vez más.
Please give me the keys to my car.	dame las llaves.
- I'm sorry, I can't.	- Lo siento, no puedo.
- Give me the fucking keys to my car,	¡Dame las putas llaves,
- you fucking bitch!	Zorra de los cojones!
- Get off me!	- ¡Suéltame, suéltame!
- Give me the... fuck...	- Apártate.
- Get off me. Get off me!	- Dame las putas llaves.
- Give me the fucking...	- No puedes tocarme.
- Get off me. You get away from me!	- Dame las…

- Give me the fucking keys! - You can't touch me, Scott. - Give me the fucking keys! - You can't touch me. You're out of order. - Give me those fucking keys! - You're out of order. Number of swearwords = 8	- No puedes tocarme. Estás zumbado. - Estás chiflado. Estás zumbado. Number of swearwords = 4

These subtitles are taken from a scene in *Happy go Lucky* in which one of the main characters, Scott, the driving instructor is extremely angry. The scene shows a man who struggles to control himself losing control spectacularly. The swearwords spoken by Scott are clearly audible and therefore potentially recoverable by the viewer and the repetition of the same swear word might sound forced to a Spanish audience. Semantic domain is maintained across the languages and the words selected breach the swearing constraint to an equivalent degree, having similar strength. The reduction in the swearwords in the subtitles may be felt to diminish Scott's reaction. He is clearly out of control, as demonstrated by his use of swearwords, however his intonation and behavior may not compensate for this loss as anger is expressed differently in different cultures. Scott's anger is seething and does not involve much physical expression. This is the first time we hear him swearing in the film and the reduction in the number of swearwords used along with the overall reduction in subtitles leaves some dialogue unsubtitled. Viewers can see that he is speaking; they may even recognise that he is swearing and repeating himself, but this information is not reflected in the Spanish subtitles. A frightening situation for Poppy becomes less so. Additionally, the terms *zumbado* and *chiflado*, while not swearwords are insulting terms. Poppy is trying to maintain control of the situation without angering Scott and the use of these terms turn the mild phrase "You're out of order" into an insult. Using insults is out of character for Poppy, who is the "happy go lucky" character of the film title, her niceness is the central element of the film. "No estás bien" might have been more appropriate as a translation. The subtitler may have included the terms in an attempt at compensation, but the words were put in the mouth of the wrong character.

9.4   What lies behind so much elimination of swearwords?

Subtitles serve a role in assisting the audience to follow the story. It is thought that the emphasizing nature of the use of swearwords can be derived from visual clues provided by the actors, for example anger, frustration etc. In the case of swearwords the subtitle commissioner may impose additional rules, such as a policy on obscenity or the avoidance of possible offence. Also not to be underestimated are the time constraints on the production of subtitles.

Swearing is a far more common aspect of speech than of writing, belonging to the realm of informal speech, so its omission is considered justifiable as its presence in written text is considered to carry more weight, more impact than in its spoken form. According to Ivarsson and Carroll (1998: 83) swearwords seem more unacceptable when written than when spoken. As subtitles are dialogue rendered in writing, they are understood not to be formal writing and occupy some sort of middle ground, some of the elimination of swearwords appears to be, whether consciously or unconsciously, censorship. Different rules are being applied according to whether the subtitles are L1 or L2. With L1 subtitles being virtual transcripts, not subject to condensation or the elimination of swearwords.

9.5   Censorship and subtitles

Greenall (in Serban et al, 2011: 46) describes the societal norm that restricts the use of swearwords as the "swearing constraint", a constraint of significant strength.

The use of swearwords as emphasizers denotes a certain type of group affiliation (youth, sub-cultures, etc.) where swearing is commonplace, or the expression of extremes of emotion. In sub-cultures where swearing abounds it forms an integral part of speech and its communicative effect is not one of shock. It is very difficult to say whether the swearing constraint is greater in Spain than in Britain, because some sub-groups in both societies swear habitually (as in *Trainspotting*) and some never utter a single swearword in their lives.

Both societies can be assumed to be more or less normatively similar, with some differences in word-field. However, there is in both cultural contexts a stronger swearing constraint in written language than in spoken language, the more formal mode producing a greater impact.

There is a long history of censorship in the audio visual medium. In 1934, Hollywood established a self-regulatory code of ethics, The Production Code, revised in the 1960's, which banned what it referred to as profanity. The word 'fuck' was not "openly printed in any form in the United States until 1926" and it was not printed in full in *The New York Times* until 1998 (Sheidlower, 1999: xvi).

Britain implements a "watershed" at 9pm with swearing and nudity permitted only in programmes aired after this time. The BBC's advertising standards authority The Broadcasting Standards Commission conducts research into how offensive words are considered to be by viewers. It is apparently used (at the very least by the BBC) as a guide to what words to disallow in live programmes and interviews, and is given below:

Table 10.6. BBC's ranking of swearwords according to acceptability

Appendix 2: list of words[20]

	% saying 'very severe'	% saying 'fairly severe'	% saying 'quite mild'	% saying 'not swearing'	Ranked position (2000)[21]	Ranked position (1998)
Cunt	83	13	3	*1	1	1
Motherfucker	79	15	4	*2	2	2
Fuck	71	22	6	*1	3	3
Wanker	37	37	22	4	4	4
Nigger	42	26	14	18	5	11
Bastard	33	33	25	8	6	5
Prick	26	36	29	8	7	7
Bollocks	25	32	34	8	8	6
Arsehole	22	34	36	7	9	9
Paki	34	26	16	24	10	17
Shag	27	28	32	12	11	8
Whore	26	33	25	15	12	13
Twat	26	27	27	19	13	10
Piss off	18	32	42	7	14	12
Spastic	32	24	16	28	15	14
Slag	19	31	33	17	16	18
Shit	16	26	49	9	17	15
Dickhead	16	24	44	16	18	19
Pissed off	14	24	47	14	19	16
Arse	10	21	47	21	20	20
Bugger	9	22	48	21	21	21
Balls	11	19	44	25	22	22
Jew	20	15	14	51	23	24
Sodding	7	18	45	30	24	23
Jesus Christ	14	13	27	46	25	26
Crap	5	15	48	32	26	25
Bloody	3	11	56	29	27	27
God	10	8	23	60	28	28

* Denotes fewer than 25 respondents.

[20] Those responding 'don't know' are excluded from this Table.
[21] Based on mean where 'very severe' = 3 and 'not swearing' = 0.

9.6   Instructions given to translators

Although the author has never received explicit instructions to moderate swearwords in the production of subtitles, anecdotal instances of such instructions abound and the most obvious external influence on a translator's decisions are instructions provided by employers. Pagano et al (in Serban et al, 2012: 139) outline a brief described as one usually received by Brazilian subtitlers in which the following is stated;

> *Your subtitles should keep within 16 characters per second and be produced in standard Brazilian Portuguese. Features of spoken Portuguese may be used if necessary, but swearwords and offensive language are to be realized by more neutral forms.*

Responses to a questionnaire conducted by Hjort (2009) in Finland, where no censorship rules or laws banning swearwords exist, showed that audiovisual translators regularly receive instructions for translating swearwords. As many as 70 per cent of the audiovisual translators reported having received instructions or some sort of guidance for translating swearwords. In comparison, only 16 per cent of literary translators had received instructions for their task. The instructions were reported to have been given in the main by the employer or a more experienced colleague, with professional literature being given as sources for guidance.

Several examples of advice given not to unnecessarily censor swearwords can be found in relevant literature (Pujol 2006; Díaz Cintas 2003) stating that the pragmatic functions of swearwords need to be correctly conveyed across the languages and reflect the scriptwriter's original purpose. A guide for translators by the Finnish National Broadcasting Company (Hjort 2009: 12) offers the following instructions:

> *Sometimes, it is insisted that so-called "dirty words" should be made "nicer" when written in subtitles. But if dirty words are used, they should be used in the translation as well.[—] You only need to know their level of strength and affect in the original country and here at home. Being prudish on purpose only makes the text – and the translator – seem ridiculous.*

The relevance of the swearwords should be recognised by the translators and pragmatic functions retained. According to Hjort it seems as though the very real tendency to eliminate up to 50% of swearwords may result from a mythical regulation. As many of the instructions were reported or remembered inconsistently and translators working for the same company did not always report the same instructions, indicating that such instructions are not always strict rules and that they are often not written down. The translators variously reported that the instructions concerned either only a particular time of the day or a particular target group, or all translations. They included bans on individual words, mainly *vittu*, a word which literally means 'cunt' but is used in a similar way to *fuck*. The large majority of the reported instructions stated that the translator should use milder and/or less swearwords in the subtitles compared to the originals. The explanation given was that written swearwords are harsher than spoken swearwords. Only one translator had been advised not to use milder equivalents but to translate swearwords "as they are".

An experienced translator and teacher of translation writes:

When translating harsh language and swearing, you should bear in mind that the force of the swearword is much greater when it is written than when it is merely said aloud. [—]. TV translators are often accused of watering down the message when they do not translate all of the swearwords yelled on the screen. However, it is often the case that by leaving out excess swearwords from the translation, the translator is actually able to render the message in full meaning and force. Translators may well trust that even viewers who do not know the original language are able to deduct from the expression and tone of the speaker the level of harshness. On the other hand, one should not shy away from harshness when it is called for. It is highly unlikely that in the trenches of WW2 a soldier would say "darn" (Vertanen 2001: 136).

Viewers often criticize translators for rendering swearwords in a milder form and translators respond with a list of explanations for why there tend to be fewer and milder in translations that includes:

1. Condensation is needed in subtitling.
2. Swearwords must be cut in order to fit in the most relevant information
3. It would make reading more difficult if every swear word was translated
4. The mood of the character using the swearwords is usually obvious from the image and sound.
5. Individual translator style

9.7   Strategies for the translation of swearwords

Issues can exist with literal translations of swearwords resulting in grammatically correct but infrequently used constructions that sound unnatural and forced. Translations need to be culturally appropriate otherwise they strike a false note with the audience. In subtitles swearing is considered to fall among those redundant elements so widely recognized in the English that they be eliminated without losses.

When asked by Hjort (2009) which general principles they apply to translating swearwords, translators listed among the most common choosing the right expressions for the right contexts and characters and being sensitive to the nature of the intended audience. Often, translators said that they sought to express the message of the swearwords by some other means than by using swearwords in the translations, and some felt that swearwords would not need rendering.

Another important principle mentioned was domestication, that is, translators want to use swearing appropriate to the target context. The majority of translators said that they did not feel that it was important to retain the grammatical form or the actual word even if similar forms or literal equivalents existed in the target language, with function counting most. However, when asked whether it was important to choose a word from the same semantic field, for example translate a religious swearword with a religious swearword and so on, surprisingly many said that it was very important or important (23.3% and 30%, respectively).

Many translators consider the omission of swearwords a better strategy than mollification, as viewers may react negatively to the mild words when used as equivalents of stronger original expressions. Many viewers really are annoyed by milder renderings and the omission of swearwords and critical viewer comments concerning mild word choices are common. Translations should not cause unnecessary attention when it is not intended in the original, the strategy of mild translations often unnecessarily catch the attention of viewers with sufficient language skills.

As a result of the strategies employed by translators, translations often have fewer and milder swearwords than the original films. Although attempts at some kind of censorship may occasionally explain this, there are many more reasons for this that are unrelated to censorship. The most commonly mentioned principles in Hjort's open-ended question were that there should be milder and fewer swearwords in the translations than in the originals. These principles were commonly explained by claim that swearwords are stronger when written than when spoken. Thus, the majority of the audiovisual translators had accepted the instructions they had been given and/or agreed with them. One respondent noted, however, that she was no longer certain whether she believed this to be totally true or whether it was just something that employers keep telling the translators year after year. In contrast, the most important strategy reported by literary translators was to retain the strength of the original word. Thus, the assumption that "swearwords are stronger when written" is shared by translators and their employers, and is not (to the author's knowledge) based on extensive research. Further viewer questionnaires and reception studies may provide some answers to this issue.

Translators aim at equivalence but believe that swearwords are stronger when written than when spoken. This view is also a reason why translations commonly have fewer swearwords than the originals: translators argue that the swearing would be overemphasized compared to the original if every swearword was rendered in the limited lines of the subtitle. Further reasons for omission include the feeling expressed by translators that the information gained from swearwords is either not very valuable or can be understood from the images and the tone of voice of characters, so they can be left out to leave space for other information. Also, the audience is very likely to understand certain foreign-language swearwords, so some feel that their translation is therefore unnecessary or carries added emphasis.

In his analysis of the 1996 film *From Dusk till Dawn*, Pujol (2006) focuses on the translation for dubbing of the word 'fuck' into Catalan with the intention of providing a useful frame of reference for assisting translators of swearwords. He argues that the strategies employed by dubbers can result in a reduction of impact on the audience of significant aspects of the original film. Pujol argues that if the intensifying function of swearing is not compensated for in the translation process, it stands to reason that impact of the original will be reduced.

Jackel's (2001) study into the subtitling of *La Haine* also found that the subtitling had the effect of reducing differentiation between characters due to a levelling or standardising of their language.

Chapman (2005) feels that the registers used in subtitles are frequently far too formal. They fail to reflect the vulgarity of the swearwords, as embedding the swearwords in a formal grammatical structure can make the language used sound incongruous and lessen its impact.

Many characters use very frequent repetitions of swearwords. This creates a problem as Spanish is a language less prone to the repetition of lexical items in the written form than English and the resulting text can sound unnatural.

Table 10.7. Subtitle with repetition in English and none in Spanish

E	and you go off and you fuck your boyfriend and you fuck your girlfriend.		
S	y te vas a follar con tu novio y con tu novia.	B	And you go and fuck your boyfriend and girlfriend

Some of the omission in the subtitling of swearwords is the omission of repeated use of the same word, however, the repetition in the English serves to emphasise that Scott thinks Poppy is bisexual.

Figure 10.5. Subtitle with repetition of swearwords

Translated into Spanish as "Estaba claro de cojones que ese cabrón iba a joder a alguien", making use of a wider word field.

9.8   Results of corpus analysis for swearwords

Graph 10.1 Frequency of swearword use in the film The Full Monty, original English dialogue, English subtitles and Spanish subtitles.
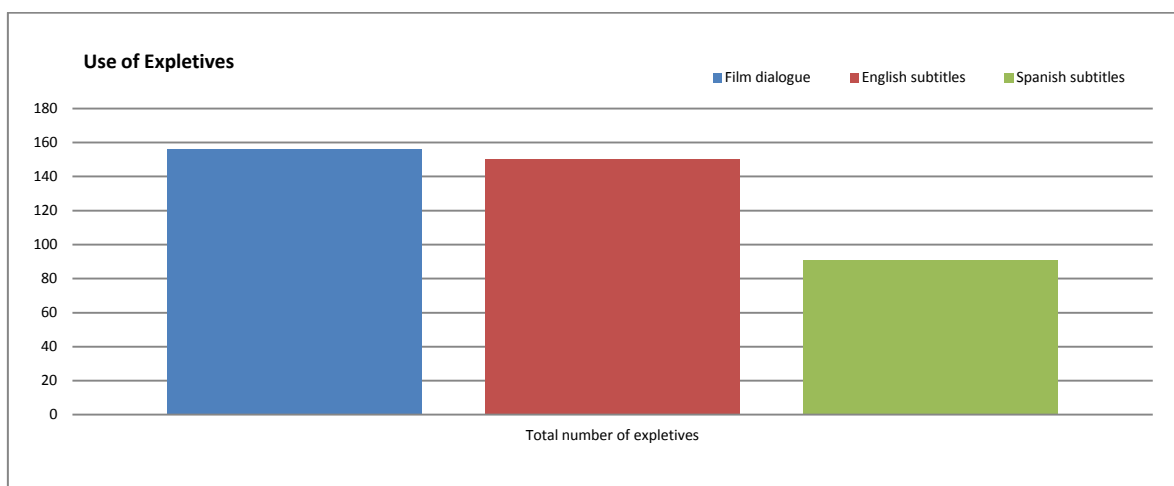
Table 10.8. Example of subtitle with elimination of swearword in Spanish

English subtitle number 329	Spanish subtitle number 328
Aye, he bloody would have.	*Típico*. (Typical)
27 characters 1,991 seconds	7 characters 2,086 seconds

In order to compare word fields, I classified the expletives in *The Full Monty* according to the categories proposed by Andersson (in Mattsson, 2007)

Table 10.9. Word fields for swearwords in The Full Monty

The Full Monty	Film dialogue	English subtitles	Spanish subtitles
Religion	36 (23%)	34 (23%)	20......(22%)
Sex	55....(35%)	53....(35%)	21......(23%)
Excrement	53 (34%)	51 (34%)	10......(11%)
Sexist and homophobic terms of abuse	9......(6%)	9......(6%)	31......(34%)
Disability	3......(2%)	3......(2%)	9..... .(10%)
Total	156	150	91

The most obvious differences are preference for sexist and homophobic terms of abuse (such as *maricón*) and a much reduced use of words to do with excrement (such as shit).

The classificatory taxonomy for translation strategies (given in the previous chapter in table 9.4.) has been simplified for swearwords, combining the categories equivalence and literal translation, as in the case of swearwords literal translation can result in unnatural sounding target text, e.g. Bastard – bastardo. The very few examples of compensatory use of swearwords have been included in this category. Specification and generalisation are not widely employed strategies when translating swearwords. Leaving the following;

1. Retention; swear word of equivalent potency used in subtitle
2. Substitution; translated for non-swearword
3. Omission; swear word removed and not translated for any other word.

Table 10.9. Demonstrating the tendency to eliminate swearwords in Spanish subtitles.

Film	Swearwords retained		Swearwords eliminated	
Happy go Lucky	48%		52%	
The Football Factory	36%	64%		
The Full Monty	48%		52%	
The History Boys	47%		53%	
Trainspotting	68%			32%

Tables 10.10-10.14. show the proportion of translation strategies used in each of the five films Not every strategy has the same impact on the translation, some swearwords can be substituted or eliminated with minimal impact, this is discussed briefly following each example.

9.9 Happy Go Lucky

Table 10.10 Proportion of translation strategies used in the film *Happy Go Lucky*

	HAPPY GO LUCKY		
Translation Strategies	Maximum fidelity--Minimum fidelity		
	Equivalence (retention of swearword)	Substitution (for non-swearword)	Omission
English Dialogue	52 total		
Spanish Subtitles	25 (incl. 1 example of compensation) (48%)	10 (19%)	17 (33%)
English Subtitles	52		

9.9.1 Example of retention of equivalent term in TL

Dialogue	Lazy buggers.		
English subtitle	Lazy buggers. What are we going to make, then?		
Spanish subtitle	Puñeteros vagos. ¿Qué haremos al final, eh?	Back translation	Lazy buggers. What will we do in the end, eh?

The two primary school teachers and flatmates are preparing a class about migratory birds. This is an example of a jokey use of a swear word, the speaker is refering to chickens not flying, describing them as lazy. The term "bugger" appears frequently in Poppy's lexicon and in keeping with her personality she uses it exclusively in a benign or affectionate sense.

9.9.2 Example of compensation

No la cagues con el ángulo muerto.

D	You don't want to mess up your blind spot.		
E	You don't want to mess up your blind spot.		
S	No la cagues con el ángulo muerto.	B	Don't shit it up with the dead angle

This example is taken from a scene where Poppy and her friends are talking in a pub about her driving lessons. They would prefer to stay on and have another drink, but say that considering Poppy has her next lesson in the morning they should call it a day early and go home whilst still reasonably sober.

9.9.3 Examples of substition

D	- No, they buggered off ages ago.		
E	- Are they still asleep? - No, they buggered off ages ago.		
S	- ¿Siguen durmiendo? - No, se han largado hace rato.	B	Are they still asleep? No they split a while ago.

The word "bugger" is a word with a high frequency in Poppy's lexicon, she uses it affectionately. Suzy asks if the other people who stayed the night after going out to a club were still sleeping and Poppy answers no, that they have "buggered off" meaning that they have left.

English dialogue			
She must be going through some shit, though, mustn't she?			
Sub No. 703	English Subtitle	Sub No. 657	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:43:28,640 --> 00:43:33,191 (4.5 seconds) Characters 56		Timing 00:40:57,960 --> 00:40:59,791 (1.8 seconds) Characters 43	
She must be going through some shit, though, mustn't she?		Ella debe estar pasando (23) Una mala racha, ¿no? (20) (She must be going through a bad spell, no?)	

This exchange follows an outburst by the Spanish Flamenco dance teacher, during which she ranted about her boyfriend's infidelity. To be "going through shit" is to be having a really hard time, to be experiencing lots of problems. Although substituted for non-swearwords, these examples retain an appropriate style and register.

9.9.4   Example of omission

The justification often given for using omission as a strategy is that it allows the subtitler to reduce the text; examples of omission are given with their corresponding character count and timings to indicate whether translation choices may have occurred due to constraints of time and space.

English dialogue			
- That looks crap.Thanks, Suzy.			
Sub No. 1245	English Subtitle	Sub No. 1147	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 01:19:03,079 --> 01:19:05,149 (2.1 seconds) Characters 33		Timing 01:11:49,399 --> 01:11:50,593 (1.2 seconds) Characters 32	
- That looks crap. - Thanks, Suzy.		- Son horribles.16 (They are horrible) - Gracias, Suzy.16 (Thanks, Suzy)	

"Crap" is a synonym of shit. Here Suzy says that the plants in her sister's garden look terrible. It is not a normal comment to make during a polite conversation about the garden, she is being both childish and moody and very rude and provocative to her hyper-sensitive sister.

English dialogue			
You're doing it again. You never give in for fuck's sake, you fucking bitch!			
Sub No. 1574	English Subtitle	Sub No. 1434	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 01:39:47,279 --> 01:39:49,270 (2 seconds) Characters 75		Timing 01:29:34,279 --> 01:29:36,031 (1.8 seconds) Characters 47	
You're doing it again. You never give in for fuck's sake, you fucking bitch!		¿No te rindas nunca? 21 (Don't you ever give up?) ¿Nunca te das por vencida? 26 (You never give up?)	

In this scene Scot, the driving instructor loses his temper with Poppy. He feels that she is being deliberately provocative, whereas she is simply being "happy go lucky" as always. This is the first instance of Scott having an outburst that contains swearing; as a result it has significant communicative impact.

9.9.5   Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

52% of the swearwords present in the dialogue of the film *Happy go Lucky* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing swearwords:

1. She must be going through some **shit**, though, mustn't she? (3)
2. Lazy **buggers**. (5)
3. **Fucking** morons! (16)
4. You never give in for **fuck's** sake. (20)
5. We've got a **hell** of a way to go. (22)

Table 10.11. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing swearwords before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: swearwords	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**-0.1**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed no change in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average decrease in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

9.10 The Football Factory

Table 10.12. Proportion of translation strategies used in the film *The Football Factory*

	THE FOOTBALL FACTORY		
Translation Strategies	Maximum fidelity---Minimum fidelity		
	Equivalence (retention of swearword)	Omission	
English Dialogue	Total 321		
Spanish Subtitles	101 (incl. 1 example of compensation) (36%)	206 (64%)	
English Subtitles	317 (99%)		4 (1%)

9.10.1 Example of retention of equivalent term in the TL

D	The fucking pain goes on forever.		
E	*The fucking pain goes on forever.* *But that's what makes it so exciting.*		
S	El puñetero dolor no se va, y es lo que lo hace divertido.	B	The fucking pain doesn't go away. And it is what makes it enjoyable.

The protagonist is speaking in voice over about how he feels when fighting at football matches. The language is harsh and aggressive in keeping with both his character and the situation. He states that the pain is intense, unrelenting and at the same time really compelling.

Substitution

There are no instances of substitution being used as a translation strategy in the Spanish subtitles of this film, with the majority of swearwords simply omitted.

Examples of omission

English dialogue			
Kicking fuck out of someone.			
Sub No. 14	English Subtitle	Sub No. 14	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:02:44,900 --> 00:02:47,000 (2.1 seconds) Characters 45		Timing 00:02:45,759 --> 00:02:47,259 (1.5 seconds) Characters 38	
And occasionally kicking fuck out of someone.		Y un poco de bronca 19 siempre viene bien. 19 (and a little row is always welcome)	

Tommy is describing what keeps him going through his dull life, "kicking the fuck out of someone" is to beat someone very severly often leaving them unconscious and bloody. There is a wide gulf in potency in this example. It is spoken in voice-over, calmly and politely, in contrast with the violent images and as such its recoverability is limited.

English dialogue			
You fucking animals!			
Sub No. 58	English Subtitle	Sub No. 54	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:06:53,800 --> 00:06:55,500 (1.7 seconds) Characters 20		Timing 00:05:54,360 --> 00:05:56,590 (2.2 seconds) Characters 20	
You fucking animals!		¡Sois unos animales! (You are animals)	

A woman pushing a pram, passing a mass street fight between rival fans pauses to shout at them. She is clearly disgusted by their behaviour and the viewers get the feeling that this is a frequent occurance. The argument here for omitting the swear word would probably be recoverability, the woman screams harshly at them from across the street and the word "fucking" is clearly audible. However, the omission could be considered surprising. The speaker is clearly incensed and the addition of "putos" before "animales" sacrifices nothing in terms of readability

English dialogue			
You give this fucking country a bad fucking name!			
Sub No. 59	English Subtitle	Sub No. 55	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:06:55,600 --> 00:06:58,200 (1.6 seconds) Characters 48		Timing 00:05:58,200 --> 00:06:00,350 (4.2 seconds) Characters 35	
You give this fucking country a bad fucking name!		¡Estáis echando a perder este país! (You are ruining this country!)	

"You give this _____ a bad name" is a set phrase meaning to bring something into disrepute, in this case the country. The woman inserts two swearwords into the phrase emphasising her anger. Swear word repetition very frequently leads to elimination in the TL subtitles, in this example both of the swearwords present in the dialogue and SL subtitles are lost.

9.10.2 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

64% of the swearwords present in the dialogue of the film *The Football Factory* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing swearwords:

1. I **fucking** had you there! – I fooled you/ I hit you/ laughed at you (4)
2. And occasionally kicking **fuck** out of someone. (11)
3. **Fuck** this. If they can't be grown up, let's go. (13)
4. he quickly changes into a complete **fucking** melt (7)
5. lazing about with his Penge **minge**. (19)

Table 10.13. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing swearwords before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: swearwords	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.6**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**1**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

9.11 The Full Monty

Table 10.14. Proportion of translation strategies used in the film *The Full Monty*

	The Full Monty		
Translation Strategies	Maximum fidelity---Minimum fidelity		
	Equivalence (retention of swearword)	Substitution (for non-swearword)	Omission
English Dialogue	151 total		
Spanish Subtitles	72 47%	22 (15%)	57 (38%)
English Subtitles	148 97%		5 (3%)

9.11.1 Example of retention of equivalent term in TL

D	- Bloody hell!.		
E	Bloody hell!.		
S	¡Coño!	B	Cunt!

The three people in this scene are surprised while trying to steal a metal girder to resell for scrap; they had assumed that the factory they had broken into was deserted. Here the utterance is an expression of surprise, which is expressed in a culturally appropriate way in the Spanish subtitle.

9.11.2 Example of substitution

D	- I think this bugger's sinking.		
E	I think this bugger's sinking.		
S	Creo que este cacharro se está hundiendo.	B	I think this wreck is sinking.

They try to escape across a canal by standing on a wrecked car floating in the middle of it. As they try to jump from the roof of the car to the bank of the canal it starts sinking. Gary refers to the car as a "bugger". The strategy used here is explicitation in a similar register with no loss in the corresponding subtitle.

9.11.3 Examples of Omission

English dialogue			
Don't be so bloody daft.			
Sub No. 174	English Subtitle	Sub No. 174	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:11:35,372 --> 00:11:38,489 (3.1 seconds) Characters 46		Timing 00:12:04,183 --> 00:12:07,436 (3.2 seconds) Characters38	
Don't be so bloody daft. We were just saying...		No seas tan estúpido. Sólo decíamos...(Don't be so stupid. We were only saying...)	

The men in this scene are at a compulsory job club as they are unemployed following the closing of the steel works. They are discussing increasingly outrageous ways of making money as Gary is getting desperate to pay his maintenance and be allowed access to his son. The tone is familiar and argumentative. The term *bloody daft* is replaced with the standardised term *estúpido*.

English dialogue			
And your bloody live-in lover's gonna do that?			
Sub No. 184	English Subtitle	Sub No. 184	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:12:20,932 --> 00:12:23,127 (3.2 seconds) Characters 39		Timing 00:12:51,689 --> 00:12:53,983 (2.3 seconds) Character 26	
And your live-in lover's gonna do that?		¿Y tu amante será el otro? (And your lover will be the other?)	

Here Gary is being denied access to his son due to his failure to pay maintenance. He is upset that his ex-wife's new partner appears to be replacing him in many aspects of his son's life. He refers to him disrespectfully as her "live-in lover". The swear word in the dialogue is eliminated from both the English and Spanish subtitles. There is a reduction in level of anger communicated in this example.

English dialogue			
Aye, he bloody would have.			
Sub No. 329	English Subtitle	Sub No. 328	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:23:18,532 --> 00:23:20,523 (2 seconds) Characters 26		Timing 00:24:17,374 --> 00:24:19,460 (2.1 seconds) Characters 7	
Aye, he bloody would have.		Típico. (Typical)	

Here the friends call round to Gerald's house (their ex-boss) to ask him to teach them to dance. There is an implication that they are resentful about his behaviour towards them during his period as their boss and a natural antipathy between them. They see that he has garden knomes, which they consider typical of him. The "aye" means yes. Although the Spanish subtitle expresses the pragmatic communicative effect adequately it is unnecessarily concise, perhaps even leaving the viewer wondering what had been left out.

9.11.4 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

53% of the swearwords present in the dialogue of the film *The Full Monty* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing swearwords:

1. That's not much of a **chuffing** SOS! (4)

2. You know where to find me when you tire of them **poofs**. (8)

3. I tell you, when women start **pissing** like us, that's it. (13)

4. As if you've ever given a **toss**. (19)

5. You don't have to fucking swim, you **divvy**. (23)

Table 10.15. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing swearwords before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: swearwords	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1.2**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.8**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

9.12 The History Boys

Table 10.16. Proportion of translation strategies used in the film The History Boys

	THE HISTORY BOYS		
Translation Strategies	Maximum fidelity---Minimum fidelity		
	Equivalence (retention of swearword)	Substitution (for non-swearword)	Omission
English Dialogue	75 total		
Spanish Subtitles	35 (incl. 1 example of compensation) (48%)	31 (42%)	9 (10%)
English Subtitles	75		

9.12.1 Example of retention of equivalent term in TL

This is because Mr Hector
is a homosexual and a sad fuck.

D	- This is because Mr Hector is a homosexual and a sad fuck.		
E	This is because Mr. Hector is a homosexual and a sad fuck.		
S	Y eso es a causa de que el Sr. Héctor es homosexual y un pobre pendejo.	B	This is because Mr Hector is homosexual and a poor arsehole

Here the boys are explaining how their teacher Mr Hector takeds advantage of giving them lifts on the back of his moped to grope them. Their tone is lighthearted and jokey, whilst at the same time disrespectful of their teacher. "A sad fuck" is a loser.

9.12.2 Example of substitution

English dialogue			
- You've got crap handwriting.			
Sub No. 324	English Subtitle	Sub No. 244	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:20:16,010 --> 00:20:19,106 (3 seconds) Characters 33		Timing 00:20:37,867 --> 00:20:39,467 (1.6 seconds) Characters 26	
- It's sheer competence was staggering - You've got crap handwriting, sir.		Tiene pésima letra, señor. (You've got terrible handwriting, sir)	

The boys are having their marked essays returned to them by the new teacher Mr Irwin, they are surprised as he thinks the standard is very low. The boys are used to being considered the "crème de la crème" and are cheeky in there responses. Timms tells Irwin that his handwriting is terrible, using a swearword, unusual in a teacher-student exchange.

9.12.3 Examples of omission

English dialogue			
God knows why you've learned *Brief Encounter*.			
Sub No. 532	English Subtitle	Sub No. 532	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:37:14,600 --> 00:37:17,733 (3 seconds) Characters 44		Timing 00:38:09,600 --> 00:38:11,733 (2 seconds) Characters 38	
God knows why you've learned *Brief Encounter*.		¿Por qué se aprendieron Lo que no fue? (Why have you learnt *Brief Encounter*?)	

The new teacher, Irwin is finding out what the boys have been studying. He is surprised by the kind of things they have memorised, such as parts of the scripts of films. The inclusion of a swearword in the English version (dialogue and subtitle) helps emphasise that this is an expression of perplexity.

English dialogue			
She was the one they told him was Miss Dish, only, when she turned up, she had a face like the wrong end of a camel's turd.			
Sub No. 206	English Subtitle	Sub No. 206	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:18:29,067 --> 00:18:33,800 (seconds) Characters 77		Timing 00:18:29,067 --> 00:18:33,800 (4.8 seconds) Characters 58	
Only, when she turned up, she had a face like the wrong end of a camel's turd.		Pero cuando llegó, resultó que era34 extraordinariamente fea.24 (But when she arrived, she turned out to be extraordinarily ugly.)	

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The headtecher asks the boys to remind him who Anne of Cleeves was. Timms gives a funny, colloquial response. His answer is a creative twist on the phrase "like the back end of a bus", with turd meaning shit. This is an example of humorous dialogue that has been completely standardized, leaving nothing of the flavor of the original.

9.12.4 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

52% of the swearwords present in the dialogue of the film *The History Boys* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing swearwords:

1. Jammy **sod**
2. sad **fuck**
3. **crap** handwriting
4. To take the **piss**
5. **Wanker**
6. **Cunt**-struck

Table 10.17. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing swearwords before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: swearwords	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**2.8**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**1**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed an average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

9.13 Trainspotting

Table 10.17. Proportion of translation strategies used in the film Trainspotting

	TRAINSPOTTING		
Translation Strategies	Maximum fidelity--Minimum fidelity		
	Equivalence (retention of swearword)	Substitution (for non-swearword)	Omission
English Dialogue	227 total		
Spanish Subtitles	154 (incl. 1 example of compensation) (68%)	11 (5%)	62 (27%)
English Subtitles	213 (94%)		14 (6%)

The Spanish subtitles of the film *Trainspotting* employed the greatest use of the strategy of equivalence.

9.13.1 Examples of retention of equivalent term in TL

D	Choose a fucking big television.		
E	Choose a fucking big television.		
S	Elige un televisor grande de cojones.	B	Choose a big bollocking television.

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This dialogue is in voice-over at the start of the film in a scene where the protagonists are being chased having shoplifted some books; conveying the idea that they exist outside normal law-abiding society. Renton is describing mainstream choices and the inclusion of swearwords is both for emphasis and to express distain. The option used in the Spanish subtitle is the modification of the adjective; the prepositional phrase "de cojones" is used after the adjective.

Fuck off! Jealous cunt.

D	Fuck off! Jealous cunt!		
E	Fuck off! Jealous cunt!		
S	. ¡Que te jodan! Capullo envidioso.	B	Fuck you! Jealous dickhead

The three people in this scene are high on herion. Spud kisses Sick Boy on the mouth, causing him to exclaim in disgust. Here an agressive, hostile order is translated with a commonplace Spanish expression of equivalent strength (Fuck off – que te jodan).

9.13.2 Examples of omission
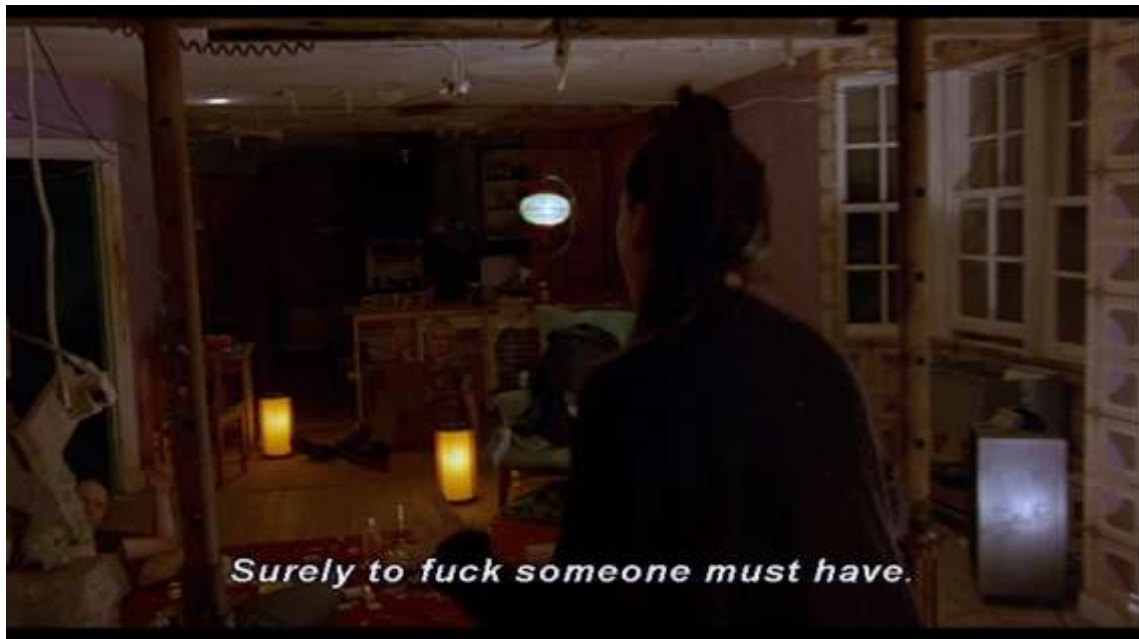
English dialogue			
- Surely to fuck someone must have.			
Sub No. 636	English Subtitle	Sub No. 468	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:37:37,240 --> 00:37:38,920 (1.6 seconds) Characters 33		Timing 00:34:43,272 --> 00:34:47,110 (4 seconds) Characters *34*	
Surely to fuck, someone must have.		*Seguro que alguien lo habrá hecho.* *(surely someone must have done.)*	

Dawn's baby has been discovered dead in its cot and Rento says that she seems to have been screaming for a week without receiving a response from anyone as they have all been out of their minds on drugs during this time. Here the desperation expressed is arguably recoverable from that conveyed in the speaker's voice and the hard hitting images.

English dialogue			
-Custom-fucking-designed for your needs.			
Sub No. 133	English Subtitle	Sub No. 106	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:07:29,040 --> 00:07:31,054 (2 seconds) Characters 38		Timing 00:07:29,632 --> 00:07:32,672 (3 seconds) Characters 31	
Custom-fucking-designed for your needs.		Diseñados para tus necesidades. (Designed for your needs)	

Renton is planning to wean himself off drugs, but has gone to a drug dealer for some drugs to help him through the withdrawal symptoms. The dealer only has valium suppositories which he claims are perfect for this; "custom-designed". This is another example where a swear word could have easily been included, but was left out.

...when this hard cunt comes in, obviously fucking fancied himself.

English dialogue			
Obviously fucking fancied himself like.			
Sub No. 282	English Subtitle	Sub No. 214	Spanish Subtitle
Timing 00:16:04,920 --> 00:16:07,520 (2.6 seconds) Characters 40		Timing 00:16:04,632 --> 00:16:09,191 (5.5 seconds) Characters 22	
Obviously fucking fancied himself, like.		se lo tenía creidísimo (He was really arrogant)	

Here Franco is telling his version of events of a previous evening at a pub. The story is interspersed with images of the actual events, very much at odds with Franco's version. A "hard cunt" is an aggressive man, quick to fight and afraid of no one. To "fancy oneself" means that he felt himself to be unbeatable in a fight. This constrasts starkly with the image of the shy, glasses wearing geek who actually does come in. Franco's continual swearing is central to his hyper-aggressive bullying character.

There are a few examples of the swearword being eliminated from the English subtitle as well.
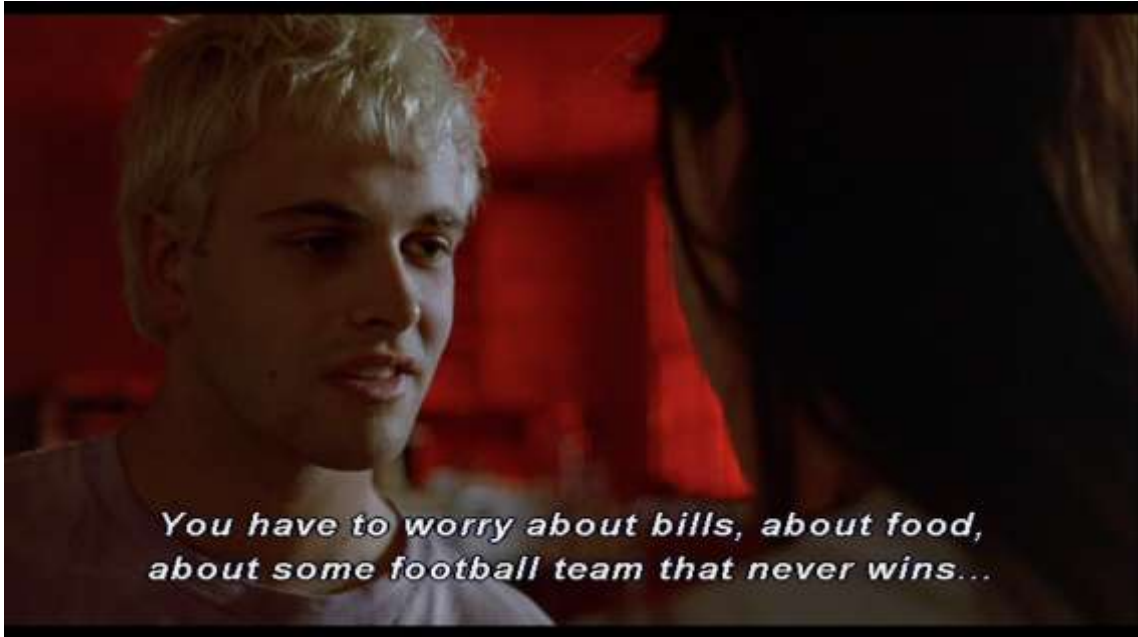
D	about some football team that never fucking wins.		
E	about some football team that never wins,		
S	por algún equipo de fútbol que nunca gana.	B	For some football team that never wins.

The voice over is describing life on drugs, saying that whilst on drugs nothing else concerns you, paying bills, having a girlfriend or caring about a football team. It is a spoken in a nihilistic tone.

9.13.3 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2: *Trainspotting*

32% of the swearwords present in the dialogue of the film *Trainspotting* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing swearwords:

1. "This **cunt** is no trying."
2. He **fucked** up good and proper.
3. When this hard **cunt** comes in.
4. What does the hard cunt do? **Shites** it.
5. Puts down his drink, turns and gets the **fuck** out of there.

Table 10.18. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing swearwords before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: swearwords	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1.2**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**-0.4**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a considerable average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average decrease in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

Table 10.19. Overall average increase in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing swearwords before and after viewing all five film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: swearwords	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1.2 words**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.7 words**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a considerable average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing swearwords.

CHAPTER 10: SLANG

This chapter comprises a general introduction to slang as a marker of orality, a brief overview of the history of its use, an overview of translation strategies for slang and the results of the corpus analysis. Slang has been the focus of fewer investigations than swearwords.

10.1 Definition

"Slang is a language that rolls up its sleeves, spits on its hands and goes to work" is how American poet Sandburg described the linguistic phenomenon of slang in the New York Times in 1959 (in Crystal 2006: 117).

The many definitions of slang agree that it belongs in the domain of speech. Defining slang is made complicated by the question of context, with words or phrases with established meanings in standard language being employed as slang in specific settings, meaning that it is best defined by its functions and uses. Eble defines it as follows; "In large part, slang is short lived, slippery in meaning, characteristic of marginalised groups, oral, and, most importantly, defined by social context and situation." (1996: 22)

Slang expresses much greater emotional content than standard speech, using informal words and expressions that are comprehensible only in certain social settings. As slang tends to originate in sub-cultures within a society, the expressions used may act as euphemisms and are used as a means of identifying with a peer group. The definition provided by the Oxford English Dictionary is "a type of language consisting of words and phrases that are regarded as very informal, more characteristic of speech than writing, and typically restricted to a particular context or group of people". It can be considered to be a distinguishing factor of group identity as slang expressions often embody attitudes and values shared by group members. In the following example the word "firm", meaning business or company in Standard English, refers to a group of football fans who fight the fans of other football teams.

Table 11.1 Example of English subtitle with slang not present in Spanish subtitle

D	Blliy was bitter, cos he never got to run our firm.		
E	Blliy was bitter, cos he never got to run our firm.		
S	Billy estaba amargado porque sabía Que nunca sería el jefe.	B	Billy was bitter because he knew that he would never be the boss.

Hayakawa describes slang as "the poetry of everyday life" (1941: 148), stating that it performs the same function as poetry in expressing people's feelings about the situations and things that they encounter. Slang foments a sense of group unity. Historically it has been spoken by marginalised groups as an act of rebellion to create barriers to comprehension for the establishment and out-groups. As such slang terms are considered an appropriate focus for the current study due to their nature as markers of orality.

The following example is highly vulgar, with the word "spunk" (a slang term for semen) being used to express a sense of wasting money. The list of "kebabs, fruit machines and brasses" serving as examples of things that a salary can be wasted on. They could be exchanged for other words such as betting, hamburgers and garden gnomes without the dialogue losing its pragmatic function. They therefore are not the key element of the dialogue, as they are in the Spanish subtitle.

Table 11.2. Example of English subtitle with slang not present in Spanish subtitle

D	Then go and spunk your wages on Kebabs, fruit machines and brasses?		
E	Then go and spunk your wages on Kebabs, fruit machines and brasses?		
S	¿Salir luego a tomar un kebab?	B	Then go out for a kebab?

For an expression to be considered slang it should meet at least two of the following criteria:

- It has an informal register.
- Its use implies familiarity with whatever is being referred to.
- It replaces "a well-known conventional synonym".

Slang is distinct from jargon, which is the technical vocabulary of a particular profession geared to a specific set of users and the environment of that use, and which meets only the second of the criteria given above. Jargon, like many examples of slang, may be used to exclude non–group members from the conversation, but in general has the function of allowing its users to talk precisely about technical issues in any given field. Jargon comprises words with a specific meaning used in a specific occupation. But because unlike slang, they aren't "made up" you can't substitute one term for another. Slang terms have their roots in existing words, but tend to change and evolve over time.

10.2 Categories of Slang

Partridge (1970) listed 15 reasons why people use slang, some of which are listed below,

1. High spirits of youth
2. As an exercise in wit, ingenuity or humour
3. To be different
4. To shock
5. To enrich the language and avoid clichés
6. To ease social intercourse
7. To induce intimacy
8. To establish a sense of belonging
9. To be secretive or not understood.

Slang can be regional (that is, used only in a particular location), but slang terms are often particular to a certain subculture, such as music. Nevertheless, slang expressions can spread

outside their original areas to become commonly used, eventually being absorbed into the standard lexicon, losing their status as slang. The word *mob*, for example, began as a contraction of the Latin term *mobile vulgus*. When slang spreads beyond the group or subculture that originally used it, its original users sometimes replace it with other, less recognized terms to maintain group identity. Slang plays a significant social role in maintaining relationships and marking identities. "The common sharing and sustaining of the constantly altering slang vocabulary increases group solidarity and serves for the inclusion and exclusion of individuals" (Trudgill 2003: 30). Chapman (1988) contends that slang serves as a psychological defence mechanism against the suppression of a community, its emphatic language giving a sense of strength.

Anderson and Trudgill (1990: 69-70) classified slang as belonging below the neutral level of standard language, in the range of colloquial to vulgar. The following table (Anderson 1990: 76) demonstrates the synonymic function of slang. When terms in the fourth category are used in an emotionally heightened context they serve the function of swearwords.

Table 11.3. Anderson's classification of slang

	1.	2.	3.	4.
Content	Neutral	Neutral	Bad	Bad
Form	Neutral	Bad	Neutral	Bad
Examples	food	grub	Prostitute	whore
	TV	tube	Faeces	shit

10.3 A brief history of slang

Many slang terms can be traced to synonymous or punning uses of Standard English and have their origins in dialect. The tendency to use slang terms originates from an attempt by uprooted peoples, forced to move away from their geographical roots, to maintain a sense of identity. Slang is a creative linguistic form and as such many terms are short lived, either being adopted into the mainstream or falling out of use. But some terms such as *booze*, have survived from 17th century canting. Cant or criminal slang was the calls of gypsy beggars who arrived in Britain in the 16th century, bringing with them their own language: Romani. There is much Romani influence in slang; the word *char*, meaning cleaner, comes from the verbs to scratch and to scrape; *corker, or* a big lie from *khokhav* meaning racket; *rum* for bad or odd; *stir* for prison. *Cushti* comes from the Hindi word for pleasure, *khush*, possibly finding its way into the language via the Roma.

Although its origins are unknown, Cockney slang is believed to have emerged in the early 19th century. It is best described as a working class dialect that originated in the East End of London, the home of many poor people living in overcrowded slum conditions. The vocabulary emerged from the desire to create a secret language and has spread and become part of mainstream slang due to both its adoption by the world of entertainment and media and the fact that the overcrowding and poverty of the area forced many people to move elsewhere.

"Mate", the number one form of address among cockneys being one of the most common terms to make it into the standard slang lexicon;

D	You time'll come, mate. What have you got for me?		
E	You time'll come, mate. What have you got for me?		
S	A su tiempo. ¿Qué me traes?	B	In its time. What have you brought me?

The Cockney accent and slang comes from the east end of London and is considered working-class speech. The word Cockney dates back to Middle English and means cock's egg or runt. Its use apparently a derogatory term for the scrawney inhabitants of inner city London. One is supposed to be considered to be a cockney only if born within earshot of Bow Bells. There are some alternative theories as to where the name originally came from, although most of them are improbable and likely to be apocryphal.

The characteristic sound of Cockney is to drop the leading "H" sound in words and to replace the "Th" sound with a "V" sound: Hello becomes 'ello and mother becomes muvver. It contains a variety of slang in which a word is replaced by a phrase which rhymes with it. The rhythms work with the Cockney pronunciation and not when pronounced in RP, as can be seen in the following examples

Cold potato (pronounced purta'er) is waiter.

Max Miller is pillow (piller).

Clipping the phrase is an integral part of the language, as with the expresson *Jack Jones* for alone, which becomes "on your Jack". They are usually humourous "trouble and strife" for wife and "Gawd forbids" for kids. The word, talk, is replaced with rabbit and pork, leading to the expression: rabbiting on, to describe someone who is speaking at length about something. Cockneys also use back slang, which is to say words backwards, "yob" for boy and "rouf" for four, together with a complicated system of numbers because Cockneys are traditionally a trading people and it is unacceptable to say or ask directly what something costs. Cockneys picked up and adopted many terms from immigrants groups also living in East London; from Yiddish came the words nosh and gazzump, from Hindi words such as deko, shufti, doolally and from Romany words like pal.

Table 11.14. An example of Cockney rhyming slang from The Football Factory includes the following subtitle where "lemon" comes from lemon tart, meaning smart:

D	Don't get lemon, Bill. It don't suit you. Spell it, you cunt.		
E	- Don't get lemon, It don't suit you. Spell it, you cunt.		
S	- No te hagas el moña. No te pega. -¿Cómo se escribe, cabrón?	B	Don't act the dummy. It doesn't suit you. How is it written, bastard?

Slang terms whose use is not limited to a specific geographical region come from French, *gaga* meaning senile, *pimp* from pimpreneau, a scoundrel. Yiddish terms require no translation for English speakers; *klutz*, *schlep*, *gazump*. *Fly*, *ill* and *mad* (all meaning good) come from the language of rap. From the Caribbean the terms *ragamuffin* (ghetto dweller) and *Babylon* (police) have been adopted by groups who speak street slang. Loads of music terms have been adopted from African American speech such as; *cool, dig, jazz, scene*, and those related to drug use; *stoned, pot*, along with greetings such as *man, give me some skin.*

As can be seen from this short selection of slang terms, its use is not limited to a criminal underclass. A standard slang exists, is intelligible and used by all native speakers of English, for example fella and chap are slang terms that are used by a very broad range of English speakers. Slang begins as a deliberate differentiation from the standard. It is informal, inventive, creative and often humorous, dependent on popularity for its take up and use by in-groups and then replaced when this popularity extends to the general public.

10.4 The translation of slang from film dialogue for subtitles

The use of slang as an in-group language of rebellion serves as a tool for film scriptwriters. Protagonists are characterised by their language use, providing information about the social group or community they belong to. Word choices, accents, colloquial speech, contractions, and slang all give characters a voice; a voice that places a character in a specific time and place.

The abundance of slang in film dialogue presents a great challenge for subtitlers. The pragmatic function and linguistic characteristics that typify slang should be taken into account when translating film dialogue for films such as *The Football Factory* and *Trainspotting*, texts which abound in slang, as the role of this slang is to distinguish and mark a character.

Although devoid of the apparent censorship that swearwords are subject to, slang can pose a challenge to translators producing subtitles. Especially with films such as *La Haine* where the slang is extremely complex, or *Clueless* where the scriptwriters even made up their own, instead of using current teen slang, they created their own original slang, e.g. "He's totally Baldwin". In *The Football Factory* the scriptwriters have included frequently incomprehensible slang such as the following:

Tables 11.5 and 11.6. Subtitles with hard to follow in-group slang

D	I'm fucking buzzin'! We've gone right through the slit.		
E	I'm fucking buzzin'! We've gone right through the slit.		
S	Puestísimo. Hasta las trancas.	B	Very high. Totally high.

D	Stay away from the OB and keep your fucking nut down.	

E	Stay away from the OB		
	and keep your fucking nut down.		
S	Aléjate de la poli y no me toques las pelotas.	B	Stay away from the police (abbreviated) and don't touch my balls.

10.5 Strategies for the translation of slang

The translation of slang can be a very difficult task. If as in the example from *The Football Factory*, the phrase "jog on" has been adopted from the standard, but used in a distinct context. To achieve an effective translation the translator requires in-depth cultural knowledge and to be up to date with the very rapid changes in slang in the relevant speech community. Slang expressions often have no equivalent in the target language."Languages differ from one another in respect of the referential domains covered by slang" (Hervey et al 1995: 116). Translators need to be aware of the character's specific social register, as each speaker's linguistic style triggers the listener to stereotype the speaker and the context.

Failure to translate the slang present in the ST results in a significant reduction in the expressivity of the TT. Various compensatory techniques may be employed. Compensation is an effective tool since equivalence is safeguarded not on the level of the single word, but on a global level. According to Hervey and Higgins (1992:35) these include "techniques of making up for the loss of important ST features through replicating ST effects approximately in the TT by means other than those used in the ST".

Hervey and Higgins (1992: 35-40) list four categories of compensation

a. Compensation in kind, e.g. the translation in *Trainspotting* of "nena" for "lassie".
b. Compensation in place, e.g. the translation in *Happy go Lucky* of "chiflado" for "out of order" to compensate for the standardisation of earlier language.
c. Compensation by merging, taking the original meaning of the ST and creating an idiomatic expression in the TT "Me granddad didn't like Bright". "A mi abue no le gustaba Bright".
d. Compensation in economy, either condensing or extending the ST in translation, as in *The Football Factory* use of the contraction "finde" for "weekend".

Graedler (2000:3) suggests four procedures for translating slang terms:

1. Making up a new word.
2. Explaining the meaning of the SL expression in lieu of translating it.
3. Preserving the SL term intact.
4. Opting for a word in the TL which seems similar to or has the same "relevance" as the SL term.

In subtitling practice it appears that few of these strategies are used with significant frequency, and certainly not in the corpus of films in this study.

10.6 Results of Corpus Analysis

From **Field** I selected Slang, a subsection of **Lexical-semantic strategies and constants.**

Figure 11.1. Example of slang

English subtitle number 56	Spanish subtitle number 41
When you're on junk, you have only one worry. Scoring.	*Cuando estas enganchado tú única preocupación es pillar.* *(When you are hooked your only concern is to get some.)*
54 characters 3.2 seconds	56 characters 3 seconds

Graph 11.1. The number of times slang terms are used in the film Trainspotting (1996 Danny Boyle)
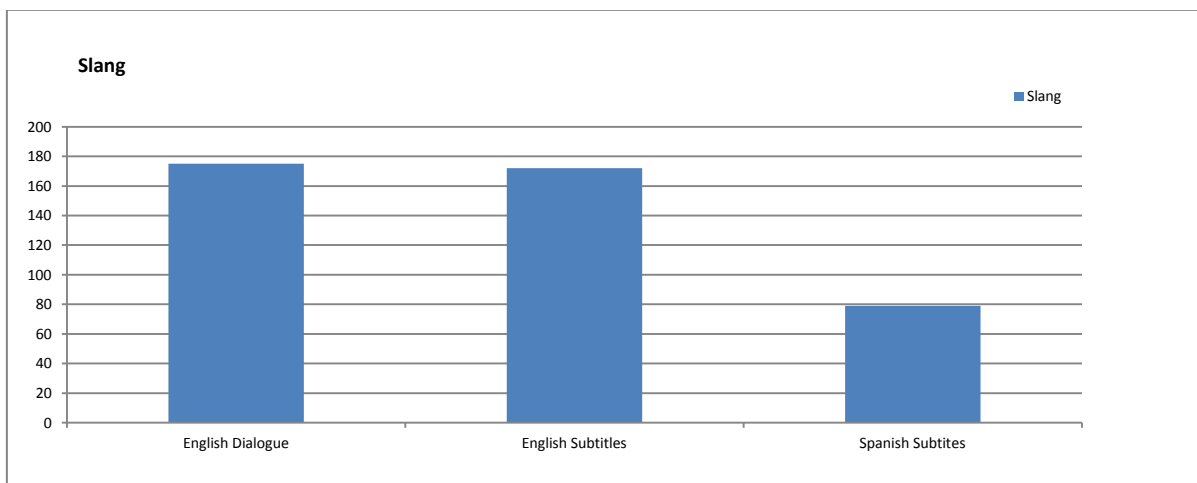
Of the films in the corpus, *Trainspotting* has the greatest proportion of slang in the Spanish subtitles. With an average of 25% of slang terms present in the English subtitles (across the corpus) being translated into equivalent terms in the Spanish subtitles, there is a strong tendency to standardize the target text with a consequent loss of relevant cultural information and flavor, as demonstrated by the following example, where the word "Meet" (highlighted as a noun) has the specific meaning in football hooligan slang of an organized fight between the fans of rival football teams. In the Spanish subtitle this meaning is not conveyed.

D	Yeah, we did. We should have had a Meet, mate. It would have been fun.		
E	Yeah, we did. We should have had a Meet, mate. It would have been fun.		
S	Sí. Si nos encontramos Lo habríamos pasado bien.	B	Yes. If we had met we would have had a good time.

The results show that for the corpus, compensation is not employed as a technique in the translations.

Table 11.7. Standardization of slang

Film	Translation into slang term		Standardised translations (Non-slang)
Football Factory	19%	81%	
Happy go Lucky	22%	78%	
The Full Monty	36%		64%
The History Boys	21%	77%	
Trainspotting	40%		60%

10.7 Happy go Lucky

Table 11.8. Translation strategies in the film Happy Go Lucky

HAPPY GO LUCKY						
Translation Strategies	Equivalence	Literal Translation	Specification	Generalisation	Substitution	Omission
English Dialogue	70					
Spanish Subtitles	6 (9%)	6 (9%)	2 (3%)	3 (4%)	40 (58%)	13 (20%)
English Subtitles	70					

10.7.1 Example of Equivalence

D	I ain't nicked nothing. onest, guv'nor.		
E	I ain't nicked nothing. Honest, guv'nor.		
S	No he mangado nada. De verdad, jefe.	B	I haven't nicked anything. Truly boss.

Poppy tries to engage the shopkeeper in conversation but as he continues to ignore her she resorts to making jokes. "Nicked" means stolen. Here the slang term "nicked" has been translated for an equivalent term "mangado".

10.7.2 Example of Literal Translation

D	- He sounds like a nutter. - He is a nutter.		
E	- He sounds like a nutter. - He is a nutter.		
S	- Parece chiflado. - lo está.	B	He seems crazy. He is.

The friends are talking about Scott, Poppy's new driving instructor, they both think that he sounds crazy, a "nutter".

10.7.3 Example of Specification

D	That's not hard, though, is it, eh, titch? No, I don't mean taller, I mean wider.		
E	- That's not hard, though, is it, eh, titch? - No, I don't mean taller, I mean wider.		
S	- pero no importa, ¿eh, enana?	B	But it doesn't matter, eh, dwarf?

In this scene four colleagues are talking about the children in their classes. Zoe says that the children are bigger than her (meaning fatter) and Poppy replies that it isn't surprising as she is so short. The affectionate use of the term "titch", meaning tiny has been translated into "enana" a term with equivalence of usage and effect.

10.7.4 Example of Substitution

D	Is he fit?		
E	- Is he fit? - Yeah.		
S	- ¿Es guapo? - Sí…No, para nada. Sólo es tu tipo.	B	Is he handsome? Yes…No, not at all. He is your type only.

The friends are once again discussing Scott the driving instructor. The slang use of the word "fit" implies a wider range of positive characteristics than are expressed by the standard term "guapo".

10.7.5 Example of Omission

D	Nothing doing? Not a sausage.		
E	- Nothing doing? - Not a sausage.		
S	- ¿Que cómo van? - ¿Nada?	B	How are they going? Nothing?

Poppy is in the pub with a colleague. Poppy's use of the cheery expression "not a sausage" when describing her love life is very typical. It serves as a further example of her "happy go lucky" approach to life, which is absent in the Spanish subtitle.

10.7.6 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

78% of the slang present in the dialogue of the film *Happy go Lucky* has been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing slang:

He is a **nutter**. (1)

That's not hard, though, is it, eh, **titch**? (4)

You're **out of order**. (10)

Gives me the **creeps**, to be honest (12)

Is he **fit**? (14)

Table 11.9. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing slang before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: slang	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.8**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**1.4**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed an average increase in correct answersa given to questionnaire items containing slang.

10.8 The Football Factory

Table 11.10. Translation strategies in the film The Football Factory

THE FOOTBALL FACTORY						
Translation Strategies	Equivalence	Literal Translation	Specification	Generalisation	Substitution	Omission
English Dialogue	183					
Spanish Subtitles	20 (10%)	14 (8%)	1 0.4%	1 0.4%	75 (41%)	73 (40%)
English Subtitles	183					

10.8.1 Examples of Equivalence

Sure you slipped the OB?

D	Sure you slipped the OB?		
E	Sure you slipped the OB?		
S	¿Seguro que no te ha visto la pasma?	B	Are you sure that the cops haven't seen you?

Here the protagonists are arranging a fight. The term to "slip" means to evade or escape from. Although the slang term "Old Bill", here shortened to "OB" was originally a Cockney term for the Police, it has been adopted throughout the UK, "pasma" serves as an equivalent term.

D	or the fact that you buy your charlie off a white man?		
E	or the fact that you buy the charlie off a white man?		
S	O te jode comprarle el fly a un blanco	B	You get fucked up buying coke from a white guy.

"Charlie" is a slang term for cocaine. "Fly" and "charlie" can be considered to belong to the same registerand would probably be used by a similar sub-group of society to mean cocaine.

10.8.2 Example of Literal Translation

D	Miles of golden sand and bronze tits.		
E	Miles of golden sand and bronze tits.		
S	Sino de arena dorada y tetas bronceadas.	B	.Rather of golden sand and bronzed tits.

Here Tommy's granddad is talking about moving to Australia. He is looking out of a window in the stairwell of his block of London flats at a bleak rainy landscape, imagining Australian beaches.

10.8.3 Example of Compensation

D	I'm just another bored male approaching 30 in a dead-end job who lives for the weekend.		
E	approaching 30 in a dead-end job who lives for the weekend		
S	Un tío aburrido de veintimuchos con un curro coñazo	B	A bored guy in his late twenties with a job that is a pain in the arse.

Tommy is describing his life in voice-over, explaining that his only satisfaction comes from being in the "firm" and fighting. Here "male" besomes "tío" and "dead end job" has been translated into the term "curro coñazo", which can be considered an example of the strategy of compensation.

10.8.4 Examples of Specification

D	Stay away from the OB And keep your fucking nut down.		
E	Stay away from the OB And keep your fucking nut down.		
S	Aléjate de la poli y no me toques las pelotas. Este chico me pone malo.	B	Stay away from the cops and don't bash my balls. This kid makes me sick.

Here Billy is on the phone to one of the younger members of the group who has a reputation for being unreliable. He is advising him to stay out of sight "keep his nut down". "Nut" means head. The slang term "OB" has been made more explicit in translation in the use of poli, but remains a slang term.

10.8.5 Example of Generalisation

Do you remember at Hampden Park?
He let it off on the fucking tube.

D	Do you remember that time at Hampton Park? He let it off on the fucking tube!		
E	Do you remember that time at Hampton Park? He let it off on the fucking tube!		
S	¿Recordáis aquella vez en Hampden Park, cuando lo abrió en el metro?	B	Do you remember that time in hampden Park, when he opened it on the metro?

The gang are telling stories about previous fights. Billy is recounting an incident in which Tommy let a smoke bomb off on the train on the way to a fight by mistake. The smoke bombs are used to throw into pubs to make everyone inside run outside into an ambush. Several cities have specific terms for their public transport system; London has the "Tube", Chicago "The L". This is not possible, and probably unnecessary, to convey in TL subtitles.

D	Oi, barman, three bottles of Bud, please, mate.
E	Oi, barman, three bottles of Bud, please, mate.

S	Camarero, tres birritas	B	Waiter, three little beers, do me the favour.
	Haz el favor.		

Billy is ordering a round of beers. Here a familiar slang term for a brand of bottled beer is used; this is translated for "birritas".

10.8.6 Examples of Substitution

D	Moonlighting! Fuck's sake, that's a joke		
E	Moonlighting! Fuck's sake, that's a joke!		
S	¡Pluriempleo! Hay que joderse. Vaya broma.	B	Mulitple employment! Fuck me. What a joke.

The racist taxi driver keeps up a rant about immigrants having two jobs or "moonlighting". In this example the slang word "moonlighting" is translated for the word "pluriempleo", a word of equivalent meaning in Standard Spanish.

10.8.7 Examples of Omission

he quickly changes
into a complete fucking melt

D	he quickly changes into a complete fucking melt,		
E	he quickly changes into a complete fucking melt,		
S	cambia por completo	B	Changes completely

In this scene Tommy meets his best friend Rod's girlfriend for the first time. He is annoyed at how Rod is behaving in her presence; saying that he is being an idiot. A "melt" is a pathetic weak man who is controlled by a woman. Here the slang element of the dialogue is eliminated.

10.8.8 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2: *Football Factory*

81% of the slang present in the dialogue of the film *Football Factory* has been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing slang:

1. Sure you slipped the **OB**? (4)
2. What's it gotta do with you, you **mug**? (6)
3. or the fact that you buy your **charlie** off a white man? (9)
4. **Moonlighting**! (12)
5. And keep your fucking **nut** down. (15)

Table 11.11. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing slang before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: slang	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.4**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed no change in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

10.9 The Full Monty

Table 11.12. Translation strategies in the film The Full Monty

THE FULL MONTY					
Translation Strategies	Equivalence	Literal Translation	Generalisation	Substitution	Omission
English Dialogue	110				
Spanish Subtitles	15 (14%)	23 (21%)	1 1%	63 (57%)	8 (7%)
English Subtitles	110				

10.9.1 Example of Equivalence

D	Little And Large prancing round Sheffield with their widgers hanging out!		
E	Little And Large prancing round Sheffield with their widgers out!		
S	¡El Gordo y el Flaco pavoneándose por Sheffield con sus lirios colgando!	B	Fat and Thin prancing around Sheffield with their lilies hanging.

Here Gordon is making fun of Gary's idea to raise some money by dancing striptease. He makes a reference to the comedy double act *Little and Large* who had a television programme in the UK from the 1970's to the 1990's. "Widgers" means penises and implies small size. In this example the word "widgers" is replaced by "lirios", maintaining the register and sense of the ridiculous of the original.

10.9.2 Example of Literal Translation

D	He's got no willy, for starters.		
E	He's got no willy, for starters.		
S	Para empezar, no tiene ni pilila.	B	To start, he hasn't got a willy.

Gary is critiscising the men in the poster. "Willy" means penis.

10.9.3 Example of Specification

D	That's all very well, but a big wanger is no use if you need a zimmer frame to tout it in.		
E	That's all very well, but a big wanger is no use if you need a zimmer frame to tout it in.		
S	Eso está muy bien, pero de qué vale una polla grande si necesitas un bastón.	B	That is very good, but what use is a big dick if you need a walking stick.

The men are casting dancers for their show. Horse, who dances very well, seems too old to them. They assume from his name that he has a big penis (wanger), but complain that he might need a "zimmer frame" or metal frame used to assist walking. To "tout" means to carry. The subtitle has been rendered more explicit," however, "pollón" may have been an appropriate translation here for big wanger.

10.9.4 Examples of Generalisation

D	- Gary the lad! What are you up to, then, shifty?		
E	What are you up to, then, shifty?		
S	¿Qué te va, pillín?	B	What's up, rascal?

The women have seen Gary putting up posters about his show and are teasing him about it. Gary has a bad reputation for being unreliable, hence "shifty" or someone who is constantly ducking the law. A specific slang term is translated here for a more generally used one.

10.9.5 Example of Substitution

D	They're 20 quid each, them! That were your bloody maintenance!		
E	They're 20 quid each, them! That were your bloody maintenance!		
S	¡Cada una vale 20 libras! ¡Esa era para tu manutención!	B	Each one is worth 20 pounds! That was for your maintenance!

This dialogue comes as the iron girder they have just stolen sinks into the canal. Gary is desperate as stealing it had been difficult and he has no other money making ideas. There are lots of slang term for money, with "quid" being one of the more common ones. The slang term "quid" in this example is substituted for the Standard Spanish word "libras".

10.9.6 Example of Omission

D	- Widgers on parade! Bring a microscope!		
E	- Widgers on parade! Bring a microscope! - I don't see why the chuff not!		
S	- ¡Traigan microscopios! - ¡No veo por qué no!	B	Bring microscopes! I don't see why not!

Gordon is continuing to tease Gary and Dave about the size of their penises. "Widgers" means small penises. "Widgers on parade" has been eliminated from the Spanish subtitle.

10.9.7 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2: *The Full Monty*

64% of the slang present in the dialogue of the film *The Full Monty* has been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing slang:

1. They're 20 **quid** each, them! (2)
2. All right, don't get a **benny** on. (5)
3. What are you up to, then, **shifty**? (9)
4. Little And Large prancing round Sheffield with their **widgers** out! (13)
5. I'm ont' **dole**, in case you hadn't noticed! (14)

Table 11.13. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing slang before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: slang	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.8**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.2**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

10.10 The History Boys

Table 11.14. Translation strategies in the film The History Boys

THE HISTORY BOYS				
Translation Strategies	Literal Translation	Generalisation	Substitution	Omission
English Dialogue	60			
Spanish Subtitles	11 (18%)	2 (3%)	46 (77%)	1 2%
English Subtitles	60			

10.10.1 Examples of Equivalence

No examples

10.10.2 Example of Literal Translation

Like particularly her tits, which only surrendered about three weeks ago.

D	Like, particularly her tits…		
E	*Like, particularly her tits, which only* *Surrendered about three weeks ago.*		
S	Particularmente, con sus tetas…	B	Particularly, with her tits…

In this scene Dakin is using a military metaphor to describe his pursuing of Fiona. "Tits" are breats.

10.10.3   Examples of Specification

No examples

10.10.4   Examples of Generalisation
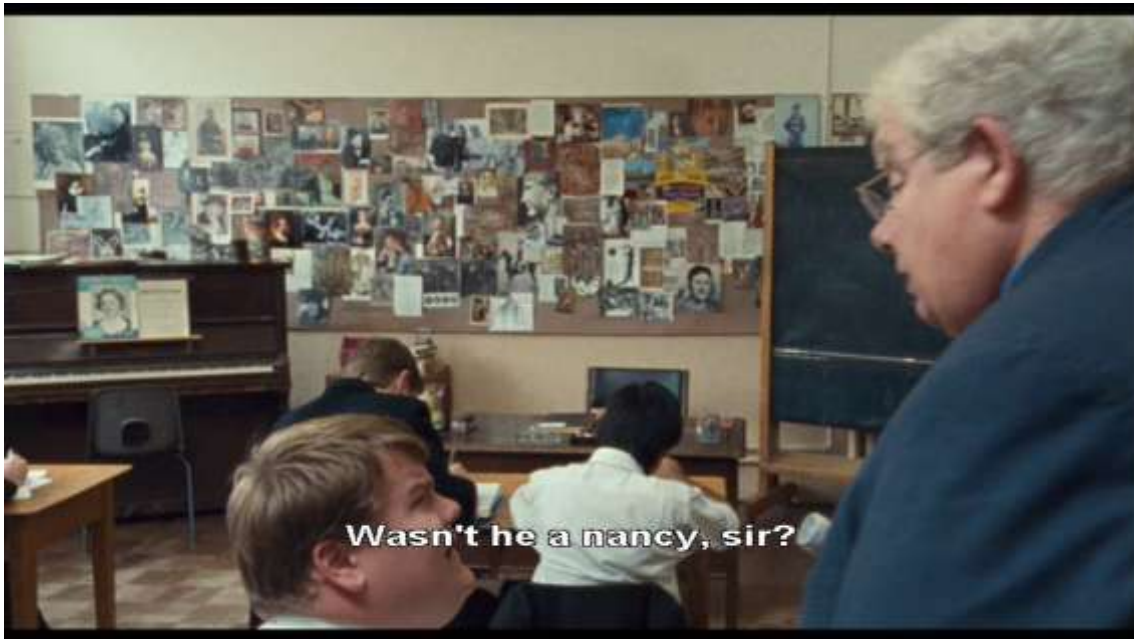
D	Wasn't he a nancy, sir?		
E	Wasn't he a nancy, sir?		
S	- ¡A.E. Housman, señor! - ¿No era marica, señor?	B	A.E. Housman, sir? Wasn't he a faggot, sir?

In this classroom scene, Mr Hector asks the boys for the name of an author. Timms asks if he was gay, a "nancy". The term nancy is old-fashioned, even for the setting of the film. The boys use of the term probably reflects the language of Hector as it would be more common for boys of their age to use a term such as queer, a more widely used general term.

10.10.5 Examples of Omission

D	Here mate. Lockwood, floor "C".		
E	Here mate. Lockwood, floor "C".		
S	Oye, soy Lockwood, del piso C.	B	Listen, I am Lockwood, from flat C.

Lockwood is asking the postman if there is any post for him, he refers to him in a familiar way as "mate", a very common slang term for friend. No translation of the term mate has been attempted here.

10.10.6   Analysis of Results from Experiment 2: The history boys

77% of the slang present in the dialogue of the film The History Boys has been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing slang:

1. Bouncer – a man who throws people out of bars /a cricket reference /a very fat person
2. Nancy –homosexual/doll/intellectual
3. Snogged –kissed/touched/punished
4. Filch –draw/take/abstract
5. smart arse – a show off /an unintelligent person /a very well-dressed person.

Table 11.15. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing slang before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: slang	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	0.2
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	-0.2

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a very small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a very small average decrease in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

10.11 Trainspotting

Table 11.16. Translation strategies in the film Trainspotting

TRAINSPOTTING						
Translation Strategies	Equivalence	Literal Translation	Specification	Generalisation	Substitution	Omission
English Dialogue	160					
Spanish Subtitles	33 (20%)	20 (13%)	3 (2%)	8 (5%)	70 (44%)	26 (16%)
English Subtitles	157 (98%)					3 (2%)

10.11.1   Example of Equivalence
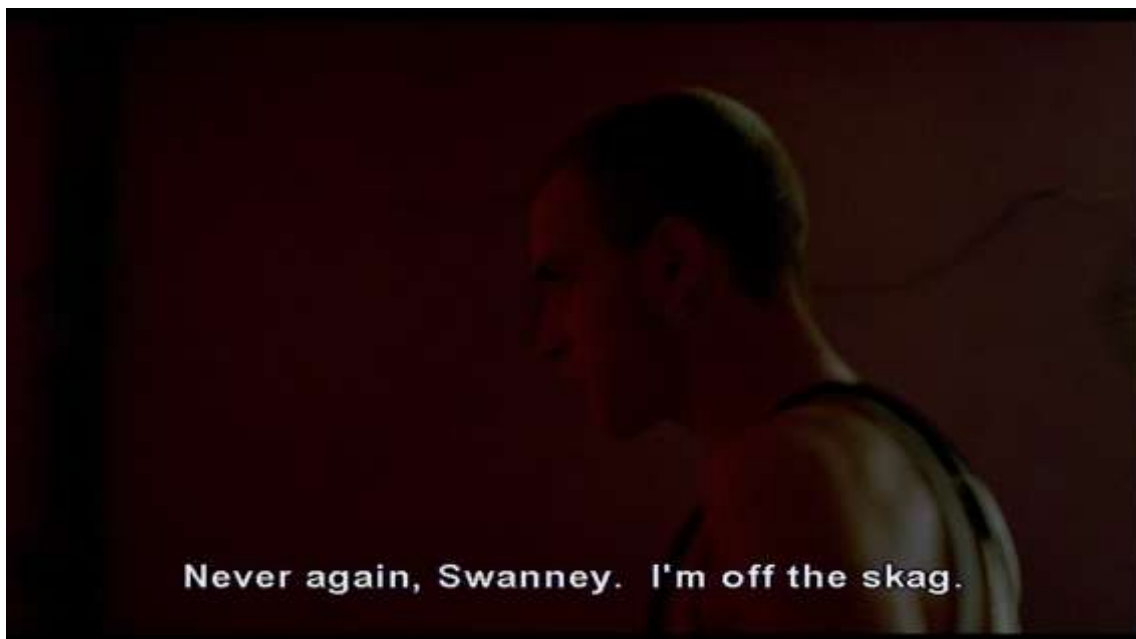
D	I'm off the skag.

E	Never again, Swanney. I'm off the skag.		
S	Nunca más, Swanney. Dejo el jaco.	B	Never again, Swanney, I am coming off the skag.

Renton is telling his drug dealer about his plan to come off drugs. "Skag" and "jaco" are slang terms for heroin in the same register, likely to be used by a similar sub-group.

10.11.2   Example of Literal Translation

D	- Well, that's up to you, man.		
E	It's up to you, man.		
S	- Bien, tú mismo, tío.	B	Well, yourself, man.

Swanney is sceptical about Reenton's plan to give up herion. The use of the word "tío" retains the meaning and register of "man" and is also a slang term.

10.11.3   Example of Specification

A little dab of speed is just the ticket,

D	- Yeah, a little dab of speed is just the ticket, mate.		
E	Yeah, a little dab of speed is just the ticket, man.		
S	Una pizca de anfetas es justo lo que me hace falta.	B	A pinch of amphetamine (contracted) Is just what I needed.

Spud has a job interview and is nervous about making the right impression whilst not actually getting the job. He is offered some amphetamine, or "speed". While retaining the slang nature of the word, "anfetas" is more explicit than "speed".

10.11.4   Examples of Generalisation

D	So he's got the hump, right?		
E	So he's got the hump, right?		
S	Así que estaba de mala hostia, vale.	B	So he was in a bad mood, right.

Tommy is telling his version of Franco's earlier story, describing him as being in a bad mood, "to have the hump". Here, the register is retained in the subtitle, but the phrase used is a more general term for bad mood.

10.11.5   Example of Substitution

-And your Giro's fucking finished, right?
-Right.

D	And your giro's fuckin' finished, right?		
E	And your giro is fucking finished, right?		
S	-Y se acabó el puto subsidio ¿verdad? -Verdad.	B	And the bitch unemployment benefit is over, right? True.

Spud and Renton discuss the problem with not trying hard enough at job interviews as if it is suspected that you are not interested in working your unemployment benefit (giro) will be stopped. Here "giro" is replaced by "subsidio".

10.11.6   Example of Omission

D	She'd shag one punter from Edinburgh, she'd shag the whole fucking lot of us.		
E	She'd shag one punter from Edinburgh,		
S	Si se folló a uno de Edimburgo, Es capaz de follarnos a todos.	B	If she fucked one from Edinburgh. She is capable of fucking us all.

Sick Boy is talking about Bond Girls, Pussy Galore in particular, referring to her having sex with Sean Connery's Bond. "Punter" means customer; often in relation to the customers of prostitutes. The word "punter" is eliminated.

10.11.7   Analysis of Results from Experiment 2: *Trainspotting*

60% of the slang present in the dialogue of the film *Trainspotting* has been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing slang:

1. And your **giro's** fuckin' finished, right? (2)
2. Like things get a bit **dodgy**, I just cannot be bothered. (8)
3. Relinquishing **junk**. (4)
4. Try some of this, Spud. - Yeah, a little dab of **speed** is just the ticket, mate. (5)
5. Like which school did I go to? How many **ogies** did I get? (6)

Table 11.17. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing slang before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: slang	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**5.6**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**-0.2**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a large average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average decrease in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

Table 11.18. Overall average increase in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing slang before and after viewing all five film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: slang	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1.6 words**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.2 words**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a considerable average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a very small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing slang.

CHAPTER 11: NON-STANDARD GRAMMAR

This chapter comprises a general introduction to non-standard grammar as a marker of orality, an overview of translation strategies for non-standard grammar and the results of the corpus analysis.

11.1 Definition of non-standard grammar variants

Variation in grammar is conditioned in part by social factors such as age and education. Variation is seen as an essential property of speech with speakers able to choose between alternative ways of saying the same thing, their choices conveying social, stylistic and geographic difference. Variation results from the opportunity provided by a language to offer synonyms such as; yeah and yes, nah and no, ain't and isn't. *Yeah* has been used as a non-standard informal variant of yes since the early 20th Century. Although not adopted into the standard, these are very frequently used words in colloquial speech

It is beyond the scope of this research to include a discussion of the theoretical linguistics that enable variation to arise in markers of orality (Labov's Variationist paradigm 1972, Bender's Multiple grammars 2001), but a brief description of the phenomenon is outlined below.

There are some difficulties in practice in distinguishing between features of non-standard grammar and features of non-standard regional variants, therefore terms included in this category are those that are neither slang nor specific regional dialect words. Sociolinguistic variation correlates with broad social categories, particularly as it represents the spread of linguistic change through and across communities. Non-geographically specific non-standard (UK) markers of orality are spoken in the main by the young and the working class. For example;

- "she's not coming", or "she isn't coming" (both Standard English)
- "she ain't comin" (non-standard, non-regionally specific)

Such speech is widespread (often across several dialects and sociolects), non-formal in style and is frequently a reflection of a lack of education or an indication of membership in a class or youth sub-culture.

11.2 The use of non-standard variants of grammar

The use of non-standard grammar does not determine communicative effectiveness, but in a native speaker it can predict some of the social evaluation the listener brings to the communication.

Non-standard variants enable a community to express the full range of their social concerns, and are capable of changing along with those concerns. As such, linguistic variation is central to the social functioning of language. Examples include contractions such as gonna and wanna. The expression, 'innit' can be used as a tag question, a contraction of 'isn't it?' But for many inner city English speakers 'innit' is used to cover a wide range of situations. It is likely that the current use of 'innit' in the UK has spread from immigrant groups of speakers in London to the

wider population. For some, 'innit' is invariant, while others will use both invariant 'innit' and a range of other tag questions, depending on the situation. Below are some examples of its use:

- "We need to decide what to do about that now, innit." (don't we?)
- "Now I can start calling you that, INNIT!" (can't I?)
- "I can see where my REAL friends are, elsewhere innit!!" (aren't they?)
- "I'll show young Miss Hanna round to all the shops, innit." (won't I?)
- "He can still wrestle good innit?" (can't he?)

11.3 Strategies for the translation of non-standard variants of grammar

It is important not to eliminate the complexities of real-world language use in training students of translation. Non-standard grammatical structures are a regular feature of English subtitles, reflecting the non-standard variants of grammar in the dialogue. However, in line with established practice this is not reflected in the Spanish subtitles. Good -practice guidelines (ESIST, in Ivarsson and Carol 1998) recommend that subtitles are written in standard language as this is considered to result in greater readability. An analysis of the corpus identified that much of the linguistic variation present in both the dialogue and the English subtitles is indeed standardised in the Spanish subtitles.

Lack of equivalents in the Spanish language for many common words in the colloquial register, e.g. "yeah", "aye", "gonna" etc. may account for much of the reduction in quantity of markers of orality. Invariant tags are common in other languages: Spanish has '¿verdad?' and '¿no?', however unlike "innit" they are not non-standard variants.However where equivalents do exist their use appears to be rejected in favour of standard lexical elements or they are simply omitted.

While there may be several valid reasons for this practice, such translation strategies cannot be justified by the constraints of time and space on subtitles as there is invariably both time and space to spare. Compensatory use of non-standard grammar, while presenting possible challenges to readability, are often equal or more compact in terms of character count to their standard forms.

Compensatory use of non-standard grammar might include the extensive use within colloquial Spanish of the dropped d, some examples of which are given below;

Cuidao'
Dao'
Dejao'
Envenenao'
Enterao'

11.4 Results of Corpus Analysis

From **Field** I selected **non-standard variants of grammar**:

Table 12.1. English subtitle with non-standard grammar

English subtitle number 84	Spanish subtitle number 84
Yeah, I slept good.	*Sí, he dormido bien*. (Yes, I slept well)
19 characters, 2.6 seconds	20 characters, 1.8 seconds

Graph 12.1: The number of times non-standard variants of grammar occur in the film The Football Factory The graph below demonstrates findings that reflect the norm across all five films.
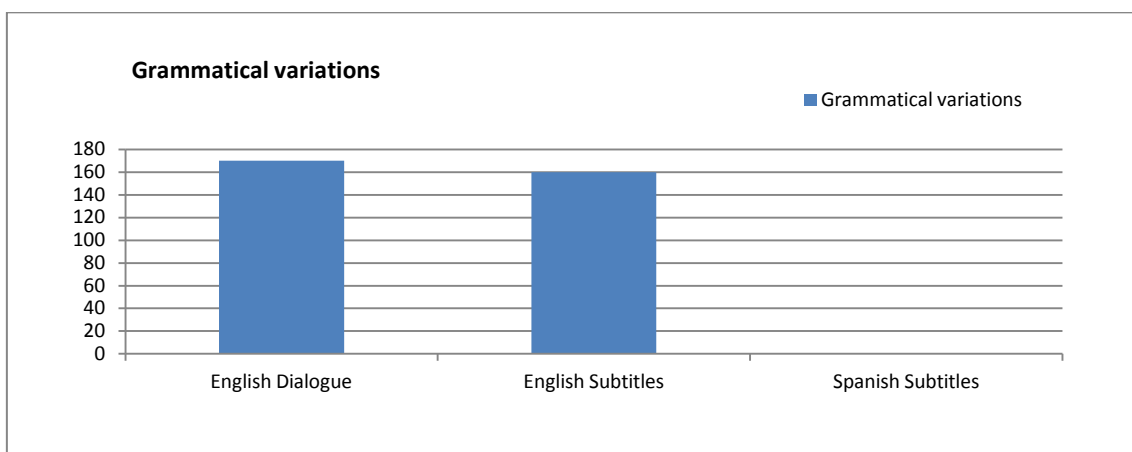
Table 12.2. Proportion of standardised grammar in Spanish subtitles of the five films in the corpus

Film	Non-standard grammar standardised	
Football Factory	100%	
Happy go Lucky	100% ("no probs appears as "no problem" in English in the Spanish subtitle)	
The Full Monty	1%	99%
The History Boys	100%	
Trainspotting	100%	

11.5   Happy go Lucky

11.5.1 Examples of Substitution

D	I ain't nicked nothing. onest, guv'nor.		
E	I ain't nicked nothing. Honest, guv'nor.		
S	No he mangado nada. De verdad, jefe.	B	I haven't nicked anything. Really, boss.

There are three examples of non-standard grammar in this subtitle; *ain't* for haven't, a double negative and the condensing of governor to *guv'nor*.

D	Hiya.		
E	Hiya.		
S	Hola.	B	Hello

There are several non-standard variants for hello in spoken English. Such variants are not available in the Spanish lexicon.

D	Yeah, I slept good		
E	Yeah, I slept good		
S	¿Estás bien? Sí, he dormido bien.	B	Are you well? Yes, I slept well

The use of "good" in place of "well" can be an Americanisation, an indication of class or education, but here Suzy is being cute.

D	I dropped her off to my mum's. Yeah?		
E	- I dropped her off to my mum's. - Yeah?		
S	- La dejé en casa de mi madre.	B	I left her in my mother's house

Here the subtitle contains an example of the non-standard use of the preposition *to*, in place of *at*.

D	Welcome in my class.		
E	Welcome in my class.		
S	Bienvenidas a mi clase.	B	Welcome to my class.

The film contains several dialogues spoken by the Spanish flamenco teacher where her grammar is incorrect; here she gets the preposition wrong.

D	what your English peoples turn into disgusting marmalade.		
E	what your English peoples turn into disgusting marmalade.		
S	que vosotros los ingleses convertís en asquerosa mermelada...	B	That you the English turn into disgusting marmalade..

Here there are several mistakes also made by the Spanish flamenco teacher, *your* for you and peoples as plural.

11.5.2 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

All examples of non-standard grammar have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles of the film *Happy go Lucky*. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing non-standard variants of grammar:

1. I **ain't** nicked **nothing. onest, guv'nor**. (7)
2. Yeah, I do, **as it goes**. (9)
3. **Yeah, what do you reckon**? (23)
4. **Cos** it can affect everything, can't it? (24)
5. Yeah, I know. **See how it goes, eh**? (25)

Table 12.3. Showing the difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: non-standard variants of grammar	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.8**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**-1**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises, subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises, subjects showed a small average decrease in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar.

11.6 Football Factory

11.6.1 Examples of Substitution for standard variants

D	I'm fucking buzzin'! We've gone right through the slit.		
E	I'm fucking buzzin'! We've gone right through the slit.		
S	¿Qué? ¿Cómo que cómo estoy? Puestísimo. Hasta las trancas.	B	What? How do you mean how am I? Very high.----

To be "buzzing" is to be very excited, or more likely in this example to be high on drugs. Dropping the final consonant from a word is a reflection of how the word is spoken aloud; it is a common technique to indicate the speech contains markers of orality.

D	- Yeah, yeah. Where's the others?		
E	- Sweet, Bill? - Yeah, yeah. Where's the others?		
S	- ¿Todo bien, Bill? - Sí, sí. ¿Y los otros?	B	Everything OK, Bill? Yes, yes. And the others?

English contains several non-standard variants for the word *yes; yeah, yup, aye*, all of which are indications of class, education, region, etc.

D	Me and Rod did everything together.		
E	Me and Rod did everything together.		
S	Rod y yo lo hacíamos todo juntos.	B	Rod and I did everything together

The use of the non-standard variant *me and Rod* instead of *Rod and I*, marks Tom's speech as working class.

11.6.2 Examples of changes in subtitle meaning, with standard grammar

D	Ban, what am I gonna do, walk?		
E	And what am I gonna do, walk?		
S	Sólo di un paseo.	B	I only went for a walk.

Gonna is a contraction of going to. Here Bill is expressing the how unlikely he is to walk anywhere, even with a driving ban imposed on him. This Spanish subtitle is a mistranslation.

D	What d'you mean, "fucking about"? What d'you mean, "what"?		
E	- What d'you mean, "fucking about"? - What d'you mean, "what"?		
S	No hay "es que" que valga...	B	There is no "it's just" that is enough...

The *do* has been contracted here to reflect the speech.

11.6.3 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

All examples of non-standard grammar present in the dialogue of the film *The Football Factory* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing non-standard variants of grammar:

1. **Ain't** trying to **wind anyone up**. (1)
2. Go on, **jog on**. (5)
3. **Yeah, yeah, he's a top bloke**. (17)
4. **Nah**, don't worry about it. It's sweet. (18)
5. Ban, what am I **gonna** do, walk? (20)

Table 12.4. Showing the difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: non-standard variants of grammar	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**-0.2**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises, subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises, subjects showed a small average decrease in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar.

11.7 The Full Monty

11.7.1 Example of Substitution

D	You sexy thang!		
E	You sexy thang!		
S	Cosita sexy!	B	Sexy Little thing!

In this example Gary is imitating the voice of the singer Errol Brown from the band Hot Chocolate.

11.7.2 Example of Omission

D	Nah.		
E	Nah.		
S	No subtitle	B	

Gaz uses the non-standard form *nah* to in rejecting the idea of stripping for money. It was omitted from the Spanish subtitle.

11.7.3 Examples of Substitution for standard variants

D	Gaz, who's gonna buy a rusty girder?		
E	Gaz, who's gonna buy a rusty girder?		
S	Gaz, ¿quién va a comprar una viga oxidada?	B	Gaz, who will buy a rusty girder?

Use of contraction *gonna* in subtitle, reflecting speech.

D	It's her money, innit?		
E	It's her money, innit?		
S	Es su dinero, ¿no?	B	It's her money, no?

In this subtitle innit is used as a tag question in place of the standard isn't it.

D	Now then! Cos of us. Men.		
E	Now then! Cos of us. Men.		
S	¡Qué me dices! Por nosotros. Hombres.	B	What are you saying! Because of us. Men!

Cos is a non-standard abbreviated form of because.

D	A few years and men won't exist. Except in a zoo or summat.		
E	A few years and men won't exist. Except in a zoo or summat.		
S	Dentro de unos años, los hombres dejaremos de existir, excepto en el zoo.	B	In a few years, men will stop existing, except in the zoo.

"Summat" is used here to mean something. It has been left out of the Spanish subtitle.

11.7.4 Example of Omission

D	Yeah, well, a lot. A very lot.		
E	Yeah, well, a lot. A very lot.		
S	Bueno, mucho. Mucho.	B	Well, a lot. A lot.

A very lot is an unusual construction which tells us that the speaker is uneducated. A valid strategy might have been to translate it as "muy mucho".

11.7.5 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

All of the non-standard grammar present in the dialogue of the film *The Full Monty* has been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing non-standard variants of grammar:

1. It's her money, **innit**? (6)
2. Frank **don't** fancy me and I don't fancy Frank, right? So give over! (7)
3. A few years and men won't exist. Except in a zoo or **summat**. (10)
4. Now then! **Cos** of us. Men. (11)
5. I tell you, he won't be the only one trying to top himself if you carry on **wi'** this caper. (21)

Table 12.5. Showing the difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: non-standard variants of grammar	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.4**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.6**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises, subjects showed a very small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises, subjects showed a very small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar.

11.8 The History Boys

11.8.1 Examples of Substitution

D	´Cept he's Jewish.		
E	´Cept he's Jewish.		
S	Excepto que es judío.	B	Except that he is Jewish

A contracted version of the word "except" has been used here to reflect the boys' speech patterns.

D	You still look quite young. That's cause I am, I suppose.		
E	- You still look quite young. - That's cause I am, I suppose.		
S	- Usted aún luce muy joven. - Será porque lo soy.	B	You still look very young. That will be because I am.

A contracted version of the word "because" has been used here to reflect the boys' speech patterns.

I say if they don't like me, then fuck 'em.

D	I say if they don't like me, then fuck 'em.		
E	What I say is, if they don't like me, then fuck 'em.		
S	Yo digo que si no les agrado, se vayan al carajo.	B	I say that if they don't like me, go fuck.

A contracted version of the word "them" has been used here to reflect the boys' speech patterns.

As they were mostly contractions, the examples of non-standard variants of grammar in the subtitles for *The History Boys* were not suitable for the questionnaire, so it contains only a few such items.

11.9 Trainspotting

11.9.1 Example of Substitution

D	All them fucking chemicals		
E	All them fucking chemicals		
S	Todos puta química.	B	All bitching chemicals

"Them" is used here as a non-standard variant of "those".

11.9.2 Examples of Omission

D	The other fucking week, doon the fucking volley.		
E	The other fucking week, down the fucking volley.		
S	En el puto Volley, Tommy y yo jugando al billar.	B	In the bitching Volley. Tommy and I playing pool.

The non-standard use of "down" as a preposition of place. The accent was not reflected in the English subtitle.

D	You could bring us jellies. No!

E	- You could bring us jellies. - No!

S	- Podrías traerme algún tranquilizante. -¡No!	B	You could bring me a sedative. No!

Here the plural "us" is used to mean me.

D	Well, this is a good fucking laugh, ain't it?

E	Well, this is a good fucking laugh, ain't it?

S	Vaya, joder, esto sí que tiene gracia, ¿eh?	B	Wow, fuck, this is fun, eh?

Here "ain't" used as a contraction of isn't.

11.9.3 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

All of the examples of non-standard grammar present in the dialogue of the film *Trainspotting* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing non-standard variants of grammar:

1. Well, this is a good fucking laugh, **ain't** it? (8)
2. **Nah**, me neither, really. (9)
3. **"I'm not wantin'** that cat," she says."Get the fuck, right". (10)
4. So I **squares** up, casual like. (16)
5. He was **gonna** chib him, I tell you. (22)

Table 12.6. Showing the difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: non-standard variants of grammar	Average increase in correct answers

236

Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.6**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises, subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises, subjects showed a small average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants

Table 12.7. Overall average increase in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar before and after viewing all five film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: non-standard variants of grammar	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1.9 words**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0 words**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed an average increase in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed no change in correct answers given to questionnaire items containing non-standard variants of grammar.

CHAPTER 12: REGIONAL NON-STANDARD VARIANTS AND SOCIOLECTS

This chapter comprises a general introduction to regional non-standard variants as markers of orality, a brief history of such variants, an overview of translation strategies and the results of the corpus analysis.

12.1 Definition

"It is important to understand that identifying a dialect as standard or non-standard is a sociological judgment, not a linguistic one." (Parker and Riley, 1994).

The term regional non-standard variant is used to describe when a speaker uses grammar, idiom and vocabulary distinctive to a region, which brings with it a set of social and regional associations. The term dialect will be used interchangeably to refer to a non-standard regional variant.

Variation in language constructs us as social beings. English as it is spoken in everyday situations draws on a rich vein of dialects. Regional dialects and sociolects may be considered by some to be sub-standard varieties of a language, spoken only by low-status groups. This fails to recognize that Standard English originates from the South East of the UK and is itself also a dialect, although one that is awarded high prestige. All dialects are equally effective as communicative tools, although they may not enjoy the same degree of social acceptance.

It is regional dialects and sociolects that are the variants of concern in the present study. Regional dialects are the distinct form of a language spoken in a certain geographical area, with inhabitants of these regions showing certain distinct linguistic features that differentiate them from speakers of other forms of English. Sociolects are the distinct form of a language spoken by members of a specific socioeconomic class, such as the working-class dialects in England.

In addition to sound variations, regional non-standard variants differ in grammar and vocabulary and dialects vary in their degree of difference from Standard English. The extent of the differences fall along a continuum, with some dialects showing considerable differences and others lesser ones. A person's accent can reveal much about them. It gives a good indication of where in the country they are from, as well as some more revealing information such as their place in the social strata. Historically, a determined accent could help you climb social and economic ladders, while another might well as prevent you from doing so.

The more traditional dialects still found in remote and rural areas of the country and some urban areas of northern and western England like Newcastle and Bristol, differ considerably from Standard English and may be difficult for others to understand at first. For example the following are West Country variations for "She isn't coming".

- "she bain't a-comin" or
- "her idden comin"

Such regional differences result from the fact that English, like all languages, is subject to constant changes. A new variant might start in a particular location and spread out to neighbouring areas, with some changes spreading across the whole country. However, it is more common for changes to only spread over a limited geographic area, leading to dialect differences between regions which have adopted the new form and areas which it did not reach.

Many English cities are multilingual, with people speaking many different languages as their mother tongue, such as Punjabi, Bengali, Italian, Chinese, Turkish and many others. New lexical items and speech patterns originate in major cities such as London, are adopted from such languages and tend to have an influence on colloquial language use. Immigrants from the Caribbean who speak patois have had a strong influence over variants of spoken English. These languages have arrived in the UK relatively recently, but Britain has a long history of being multilingual. Cornish and Welsh are examples of languages that survived (Cornish all but having died out after the 19th Century) from the Celtic languages spoken all over Britain before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. And a form of Scandinavian introduced by the Vikings called Norn, was spoken in Orkney and Shetland until the 18th century. The influence of Cornish and Norn can still be noted in the English of these areas, as can the influence of Welsh and Gaelic on the English of Wales and the Scottish Highlands.

The Roma, originally from northern India, arrived in Britain in late mediaeval times and brought with them the Romany language. Anglo-Romany, a variety of Romany, survives in England and Wales and consists of Romany words spoken with English grammar and English pronunciation. Several words have been adopted into English from this language, such as cosh and pal.

In the early years of the 20th century many speakers of the German-based Jewish language Yiddish lived in the East End of London, and Yiddish has given Londoners words such as nosh. Cockney is an East London dialect that originated in the desire to create a secret language; it includes rhyming slang, back slang and the use of variants to avoid directly saying numbers.

Scots, a sister language to English, includes terms such as *laird* (lord), *kirk* (church), *Hogmany* (New Year's celebrations), and *scunner* (aversion), as well as words that have made it into Standard English such as; *cuddle, eerie, greed* and *clan, pet* and *whisky*. Variants in spelling include: *auld claes* (old clothes), *parritch* (porridge), and *dreich* (dreary). Examples of variants in syntax include: *Is that you away then?* An avoidance of isn't and won't, replacing them with *'s not, 'll,not* and *amn't*, and structures including *I shouldnae never went*. In addition to expressions such as *peely-wally* (off-colour) and *she's awfie tattie-peelin* (stuck-up).

12.2 Dialect and accent.

A regional accent is pronunciation using a different mix of sounds than those used in Standard English, it is a variation linked to geography and social identity. Accent is the distinctive intonation and phonological features of language, it is not what is said, but how it is said, and

as such an analysis of accent is beyond the scope of the present research, but as all of the films in the corpus include regional accents a brief definition is given below.

Accent and dialect are indicators of class. In Shaw's *Pygmalion* Henry Higgins speaks the line "the moment an Englishman opens his mouth, another Englishman despises him". It provides information about two things: geographical origins, telling us that the speaker has roots in a particular region, and a mark of class, separating those at the top of society from the rest.

Accents say many things about speakers; they can reveal their geographic origins, class, socioeconomic level, education. L1 and L2 accents are distinct things. L1 accents are structural variations in language, a regional variety with the particular phonology of that area, where social meaning is layered onto speech. L2 accent is used to describe breakthrough of L1 accent into target language. Native speakers can detect minute nuances of speech, and make judgments based on stereotypes held about speakers on the basis of their accents.

An important component of personal regional identity is tied up with accent and dialect. And nearly all English monolingual speakers display regional features in their speech carrying at least some trace of accent and dialect identifying them as coming from a particular place, although there are people whose accents do not contains clues about their regional origin.

There is a hierarchy of accents, with the accent most closely associated with Standard English Received Pronunciation (RP) at the top. All other accents have less prestige but are not equal in their perceived inferiority to it. Many regional accents are further subdivided into class based accents, the most stigmatised accents being those associated with the urban working class. Although the list given below is not definitive and is constantly in flux, for example the Newcastle Geordie accent used to be associated with poverty but is now highly acceptable, being considered reassuring and trustworthy, helpful but not authoritative. Accent hierarchy can be described as follows;

- RP
- Educated Edinburgh English
- The corresponding middle class accents of Wales and Ireland
- Yorkshire (*The History Boys, The Full Monty*)
- West country
- Newcastle Geordie

With the accents competing for the bottom four places being:

- London (*The Football Factory – South London, Happy go Lucky – North London*)
- Liverpool
- Glaswegian/Working class Edinburgh (*Trainspotting*)
- West Midlands

RP is associated with education and regional accents with sociability and solidarity. Speakers of non-RP accents rate highly on friendliness, good-naturedness, generosity, kind-heartedness,

honesty, integrity, sense of humour and compassion. Deciding to give protagonists regional accents is an important consideration in the development of character in film.

12.3 Regional non-standard variants and class

According to Lippi-Green, there exists a "Bias towards an abstracted, idealized homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions" (1997: 64), leading to a devaluation of speech that does not conform to this mainstream. This is due in part to the dominance of Standard English in broadcast media (especially the news media), the corporate sector, entertainment and education, with teaching institutions promoting the notion of an overarching, homogenous standard language. Students of translation are infrequently taught about the validity and range of non-standard variants and are left unprepared for a professional environment in which they will encounter English in its many non-standard forms.

Reactions to the reception of regional non-standard variants are influenced by three factors; intelligibility, distraction and prejudice. In comparison Standard English is believed to bring with it greater range of comprehension and its speakers are associated (not always justifiably) with the following characteristics:

1. Higher than average or superior education
2. Easily and universally understood
3. Complies with consensus about what is correct in language

The social structure of the UK continues to be built largely on notions of class, and this is key to understanding the cultural context of modern British life. The corpus comprises five films in which the protagonists belong to the working class, established in the main by the markers of orality present in their speech.

It is important to define what makes someone working class. Marx argued that the working class are those who sell their labour power in order to survive. In 2002 68 percent of those surveyed by Mori in Britain described themselves as working class.

The labels 'working', 'middle' and 'upper' class first appeared in the 19th century as a way of classifying the social distinctions that arose in Britain during the Industrial Revolution. Social class came to be defined by occupation. It is clear that social divisions have not disappeared, and the traditional language of class still pervades society, shaping political thinking, and influencing career choices. Sociologists began to see classification by occupation as too simplistic, and argue that social class actually has three dimensions: economic, social, and cultural.

In 2013 the results of a survey; The Great British Class Survey conducted by the BBC (https://ssl.bbc.co.uk/labuk/articles/class/) and developed in collaboration with academics was published online. It measured these cultural dimensions of class for the first time, defining and measuring class according to a theoretical framework developed by Pierre Bourdieu who first published his theory of social distinction in 1979. The results were based on a survey of 160,000 residents of the United Kingdom most of whom lived in England and who described

themselves as "white" and recorded respondents' economic, cultural, social resources, and the social status of their friends, family and business contacts.

Analysis of the survey revealed seven classes: a wealthy "elite;" a prosperous salaried "middle class" consisting of professionals and managers; a class of technical experts; a class of 'new affluent' workers, and at the lower levels of the class structure, in addition to an ageing traditional working class, a 'precariat' characterised by very low levels of capital, and a group of emergent service workers.

The interactions between social class and regional variation can be thought of in terms of Trudgill's triangle: with greater variation the lower the class.

Figure 13.1 Trudgill's regional variation by social class triangle

1.1.1.1 Social class

Regional variation ⟶
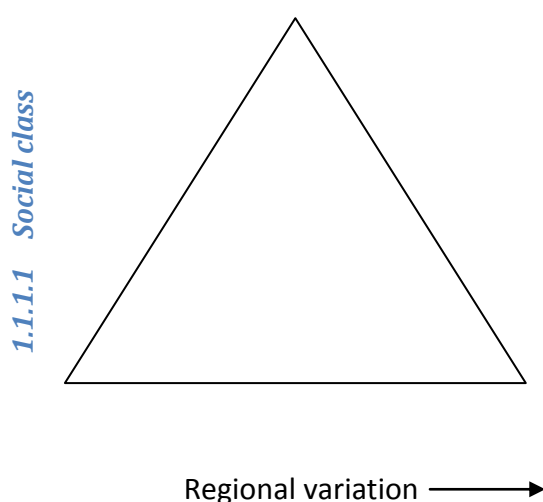
12.4 Sociolects

Sociolects are language varieties related to social groups, class, community and profession. Speakers of sociolects share speech patterns and lexical items that strengthen in-group membership by encouraging inclusiveness, intimacy, solidarity and equality. They are distinguished by their lexical repertoire, which is activated in group-specific contexts. The prerequisites to the speaking of a sociolect include membership of a social group with strong bonds and who have frequent contact with each other, a tradition and a sense of being different. The social group generates its own language, which in turn strengthens a sense of belonging, by serving as an identity marker distinguishing its members from outsiders. It provides tools for interpreting reality, eg. in *The Football Factory* a group of football hooligans creates a violent language which in turn consolidates the behaviour patterns of the group. Equally the language spoken in *Trainspotting* by a group whose central activity is drug taking reflects this, marking them out as members of a particular sub-culture.

Grabias (in Lewandowski 2008: 127) lists three essential features of a sociolect:

1. Professionalism – the usefulness of linguistic devices in the central activity of the group;
2. Secrecy – the ability to code information to make it accessible only to selected people;
3. Expressiveness – means of conveying attitudes to extra-linguistic reality,

Sociolects are said to be largely determined by these variables; and every sociolect contains terminology which is incomprehensible to outsiders. Grabias' concepts of professionalism and secrecy are secondary, as although professional jargon does exist, it is the language of a social group whose activity lies outside those of legimate professions, such as drug taking or violence where sociolects abound. Secrecy does not appear to be a central concern for those not directly involved in illegal activities, more important is a sense of in-group cohesion.

Kolodziejek (2006: 35-42) identified three layers of sociolectal variety.

1. Colloquial language – the lexical base of all social dialects. Generally understood and used by all native speakers;
2. General slang vocabulary – used by young people regardless of their social group affiliation;
3. Social group-specific vocabulary – lexical repertoire which is related to the kind of group activity. This is what sets apart the varieties of different social groups, in this case football hooligans, drug takers, school boys etc.

A sociolect generates an image of extra-linguistic reality. According to Grabias (1994: 140) it

1. Consolidates the interpretation of life experiences;
2. Shapes its users' attitudes to phenomena outside their social group;
3. Frames a course of action for group members in relation to themselves, to other social groups, and finally to those components of reality that are of interest to the speakers of this sociolect.

12.5 The translation of regional non-standard variants in film dialogue

Writers of film scripts use dialects and accents as a crucial part of the description of character. Bravo (2003: 243) states that dialects "transmit a large amount of information about the speaker and, if we know how to read the different codes, they immediately reveal to us their geographical origin, social class, education etc., […] translational practice has traditionally chosen to level out any accent and dialect differences present in the STs, replacing them with standard Spanish" (in Muñoz Gil 2007: 154)

Embedded in language are the ways we position ourselves relative to others, gender, age, regional origin, socio-economic class, occupation, degree of integration into social structures. A constellation of social stylistic and geographical factors are at play.

Strunk and White (1979) exhort writers not to attempt to use dialect unless they are experts and even then they recommend a minimum of deviation from the norm. It is possible to subtitle regional accents in the L1 because they have established orthographies.

12.6 Results of Corpus Analysis

12.6.1 Regional non-standard variants

From **Functional tenor or Tone** I selected regional non-standard variants.

Table 13.1.Example of a regional non-standard variant

English subtitle number 5	Spanish subtitle number 6
Gorgeous day for it, though, innit?	*Un día fantástico ¿verdad? (A fantastic day, no?)*
35 characters 2.2 seconds	26 characters 2.3 seconds

Innit is a widely used and extremely flexible word, mostly used in London.

Graph 13.1. The frequency of regional non-standard variants in the film Happy go lucky.
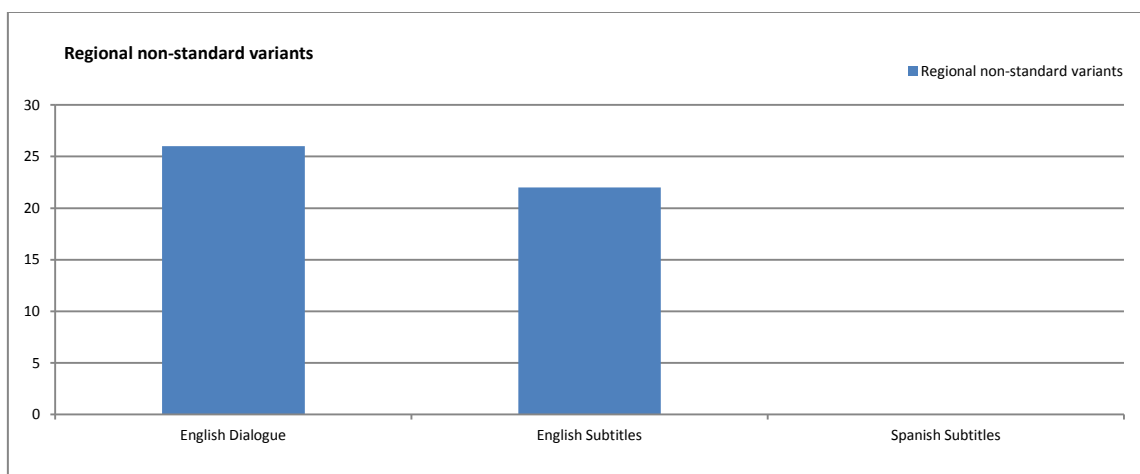
Table 13.2. Proportion of regional non-standard variants eliminated from Spanish subtitles

Film	Dialect term translated for non-dialect term or eliminated
Football Factory	100%
Happy go Lucky	100%
The Full Monty	100%
The History Boys	100%
Trainspotting	100%

12.7 Happy go Lucky

12.7.1 Examples of Substitution

D	I ain't nicked nothing. Honest, guv'nor.		
E	I ain't nicked nothing. Honest, guv'nor.		
S	No he mangado nada. De verdad, jefe.	B	I haven't pinched anything. Really, boss.

In this subtitle we see the double negative associated with London dialects and the use of guv'nor as a title.

D	. "You know she nearly 60. She getting old."		
E	"You know she nearly 60. She getting old."		
S	"Ya roza los 60. Se está haciendo mayor."	B	She is brushing 60. She is getting older.

A character in this scene speaks in a Caribbean dialect, dropping the "is" that would be present in Standard English.

D	G'day, blue, how's it going?

E	G'day, blue, how's it going?		
S	-Hola, ¿qué tal? -Las bebidas.	B	Hello, how are you? The drinks.

Here Poppy's friend speaks Australian English to recall a time they spent travelling.

D	It's not acceptable. Life's hard, but if you want to find a way you find it, innit?		
E	It's not acceptable. Life's hard, but if you want to find a way you find it, innit?		
S	La vida es dura, pero si quieres, puedes.	B	Life is hard, but if you want to, you can.

"Innit" is one of the London dialect words that has had the greatest impact on the colloquial speech of young people across Britain and serves as an affirmation.

12.7.2 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

All of the regional non-standard variants present in the dialogue of the film *Happy go Lucky* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing non-standard regional variants:

1. Bit **down in the dumps**, is he? – not getting enough sun / rubbish /depressed (6)
2. Oh, **leave it out**. – go away /stop doing something /take something outside (8)
3. Yeah, I do, **as it goes**. Actually /the best it can be /to agree about something (9)
4. **Ducking and a-diving**.(17)
5. Er... yes, it's a bit on and off. **Innit**? (18)

Table 13.3. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: regional non-standard variants	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1.2**
Average increase in correct responses from	**-1**

subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average decrease in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants

12.8 Football Factory

12.8.1 Examples of Substitution

D	I didn't mean nothing by it, Bill. It was only a bubble, that's all.		
E	I didn't mean nothing by it, Bill. It was only a bubble, that's all.		
S	Yo no he venido a vacilarte, Bill... Era una coña. Nada más.	B	I have not come to wind you up, Bill... It was a joke. Nothing more.

This subtitle contains both a double negative and an example of rhyming slang, "bubble" from bubble bath, meaning laugh.

D	Look at the fucking boat on it. Look, imagine them fucking…		
E	Look at the fucking boat on it. Look, imagine them fucking…		
S	Mirá esos caretos. Imagínate que…	B	Look at those ugly mugs. Imagine that…

The use of "boat" in this subtitle is rhyming slang; it comes from boat race and means face.

D	I'm gonna fucking ruin you. Let's have a butcher's here.		
E	I'm gonna fucking ruin you. Let's have a butcher's here.		
S	-…que te vas a enterar. - Están que te cagas.	B	…you are going to find out. They are so that you will shit.

The use of "butchers" in this subtitle is rhyming slang; it comes from butchers hook race and means look.

D	No. The gavvers are over there.		
E	No. The gavvers are over there.		
S	No. La poli está ahí detrás.	B	No. The cops are behind there.

"Gavvers" is a word meaning police and is thought to be Romany.

12.8.2 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

All of the regional non-standard variants present in the dialogue of the film *The Football Factory* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing non-standard regional variants:

1. It was only a **bubble**, that's all (2)
2. Sure you slipped the **OB**? (4)
3. Don't get **lemon**, It don't suit you. (8)

4. You'll be confused when I open your fucking **canister** up. – smash your head in/ break open your toolbox /break into your shop (10)
5. I'm gonna fucking ruin you. Let's have a **butcher's** here. (25)

Table 13.4. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: regional non-standard variants	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.2**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.4**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants

12.9 The Full Monty

12.9.1 Examples of Substitution

D	'Ey up! Security guard's back.		
E	'Ey up! Security guard's back.		
S	¡Cuidado! Vuelve el vigilante.	B	Careful! The guard is coming back.

"Ey up" is used here as an expression of surprise or alarm.

D	This is normal! In't it, Dave?		
E	This is normal! In't it, Dave?		
S	¡Esto es normal! ¿Verdad, Dave?	B	This is normal. Right, Dave?

"In't" replaces isn't in the Sheffield dialect.

Oh, aye. Everyday stuff, this.

D	Oh, aye. Everyday stuff, this.		
E	Oh, aye. Everyday stuff, this.		
S	Oh, sí. Es el pan de cada día.	B	Oh yes. It's everyday bread.

"Aye" is an affirmation. An attempt at compensation has been made here in the use of the phrase "el pan de cada día".

D	Nowt in a gym'll help you there, mate!		
E	Nowt in a gym'll help you there, mate!		
S	¡La gimnasia no te ayudará, colega!	B	The gymnasium won't help you, mate!

"Nowt" is a regional non-standard word meaning nothing.

D	There's some right good players.		
E	There's some right good players.		
S	Habrá muy buenos jugadores.	B	There will be some very good players.

"Right" used where really would be in Standard English.

12.9.2 Examples of Omission

D	I've got a degree in arse wiggling, mate. You learn us dancing, I'll learn you the rest.		
E	I've got a degree in arse wiggling, mate. You learn us dancing, I'll learn you the rest.		
S	Tengo un diploma en menear el culo. Si tú nos enseñas, yo pongo el resto.	B	I have a diploma in wiggling my arse. If you teach us, I will do the rest.

"Learn" is used here in place of teach, which would be the Standard.

12.9.3 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

All of the regional non-standard variants present in the dialogue of the film *The Full Monty* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact

this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing non-standard regional variants:

1. **'Ey up!** Security guard's back. (1)
2. All right?! - **Aye**, not so bad. (3)
3. I weren't in Girl Guides for **nowt**! (8)
4. How many **lassies** were there, though? (12)
5. I were **ont'** floor with Gaz. (18)

Table 13.5. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: regional non-standard variants	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.6**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants

12.10 The History Boys

12.10.1   Examples of Substitution (for standard lexical element)

D	But we never heard of it, sir.		
E	- But we never heard of it, sir. - Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*.		
S	- Nosotros no lo conocíamos, señor. - Walt Whitman, Hojas de hierba.	B	We haven't heard of it, sir. Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*.

D	In the long term, maybe, but with us, enjoyment don't come into it.		
E	In the long term, maybe, but with us, enjoyment don't come into it.		
S	Quizá a la larga, señorita, pero para nosotros, disfrutar no importa.	B	Maybe in the long term, miss, but for us, enjoying doesn't matter.

"Don't" is a regional non-standard variant of doesn't in this example.

D	We ain't got time to read the books. We ain't got time to look at the pictures.		
E	We ain't got time to read the books. We ain't got time to look at the pictures.		
S	No tenemos tiempo para leer los libros ni para mirar las imágenes.	B	We don't have time to read the books or to look at the images.

"Ain't" is a regional non-standard variant of haven't.

12.11 Trainspotting

12.11.1   Examples of Substitution

D	and death and all that shite, which is not to be ignored.		
E	and death and all that shite, which is not to be ignored.		
S	La gente cree que es sólo miseria, Desesperación, muerte y toda esa mierda…	B	People think that it is only misery, desperation, death and all that shit…

Shite is the regional variant of shit.

D	Can't get a girl. No chance of a ride.		
E	Can't get a girl. No chance of a ride.		
S	No tengo piba, no echo un polvo. Tengo una piba, demasiado agobio.	B	I don't have a bird, I don't get a shag. I have a bird, too much smothering.

"Ride" is the regional variant for having sex.

Mikey. Aye, it's Mark Renton.

D	Mikey. Aye, it's Mark Renton.		
E	Mikey. Aye, it's Mark Renton.		
S	Mikey?, Si, soy Mark Renton.	B	Mikey? Yes, I am Mark Renton.

Here "aye" is Scots for yes.

D	I'm on the black, and he's sat in the corner looking all fucking biscuit-assed.		
E	I'm on the black, and he's sat in the corner looking all fucking biscuit-assed.		
S	Yo estoy con la negra y el esta en el esquina Con un careto que te cagas…	B	I am with the black woman (possible translation mistake) and he is in the corner with a shitty ugly mug.

"Biscuit –assed" has various meanings, here it is likely to mean hung-over.

D	I remember when you were a wee baby.		
E	I remember when you were a wee baby. "Mama's little baby		
S	Me acuerdo de cuando eras un bebe. "Al bebito de mama	B	

"Wee" is Scots for small or little.

12.11.2 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

All of the regional non-standard variants present in the dialogue of the film *Trainspotting* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing non-standard regional variants:

1. givin' the boy herethe **tannin'** of a lifetime. (11)
2. in the corner looking all fucking **biscuit-arsed**. (12)
3. You **ken** me. I'm not the type of cunt that goes looking for fucking bother. (14)
4. and he can get the fat end in his **puss** any time he fucking wanted, like (15)
5. What does the hard cunt do? **Shites** it. (17)

Table 13.6. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: regional non-standard variants	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.6**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants

Table 13.7. Overall average increase in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants before and after viewing all five film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: regional non-standard variants	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.9 words**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.2 words**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a very small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing regional non-standard variants.

CHAPTER 13: IDIOMS

This chapter comprises a general introduction to idioms as markers of orality, a brief overview of categories of idioms and their use, a look at translation strategies for idioms and the results of the corpus analysis.

13.1 Definition

Although as Bartoll (2010) points out idioms can't be considered to be markers of orality as such, as they are frequently present in the written medium, however, their inclusion serves to enhance the orality of a dialogue.

Although they do not belong exclusively to the realm of speech, idioms are an essential element of expressive vocabulary and as such form an important element of any study into the comprehension of markers of orality.

According to the Oxford Dictionary (5th ed.), an idiom is a "form of expression peculiar to a language". Idioms are multifaceted and complex, and are therefore difficult to define adequately. They are Lewis' "multiword prefabricated chunks" (1997: 3) common in language use.

An idiom is a phrase or set expression peculiar to a language, which has a figurative meaning that differs from the literal definition of the individual words that compose it. An idiom is generally untranslatable word for word, and it can be difficult to express in another language. The following example is widely employed to illustrate the point:

>*Fred kicked the bucket*.

13.2 Categories of Idioms

The grammatical forms and meanings of idioms are not always subject to the norms of standard language. As with slang, idioms can refer to something without naming it explicitly. Thus idioms are particularly numerous for subjects concerning death, bodily functions and sex and those which are are illegal or taboo, or are considered improper, immoral or indecent.

Idioms differ according to the degree to which it is possible to imagine them, the ease with which an image can be reached from the idiom. For example the exhortation to *keep an eye out for something* can be more easily guessed at by means of visualisation than an idiom like *we are cooking with gas*, which has a lower degree of transparency.

Idioms are pictoral and the images they create vary across cultures, with cross cultural variation in idiomatic domains. In English there is a high frequency of idioms about body parts.

Many idioms have their origins in metaphors. For example, *to bury the hatchet*, *gnash one's teeth*, and *give someone a piece of one's mind*, are all rooted in metaphoric language. Some idioms have both a literal and an idiomatic meaning, with it only being possible to determine the intended meaning in light of the context. For example, *to pull someone's leg* can be interpreted literally or metaphorically. If the literal meaning does not make any sense in the context the phrase is likely to be an idiom. Others are euphemisms, involving the substitution

of a less offensive term for a harsh one. Many idioms use euphemisms concerning death, e.g. *snuffed it*, *pushing up the daisies*, *popped its clogs*, *shuffled off this mortal coil*, etc.

The Bible has provided many of the idioms of everyday speech in the English language;

- *To kill the fatted calf.*
- *It covers a multitude of sins.*
- *The prodigal returns.*
- *Hiding your light under a bushel.*
- *The mark of Cain.*
- *Salt of the Earth.*

13.3 The translation of Idioms from film dialogue for subtitles

As they are very common in speech and their metaphorical use is more common than their literal use, idioms present a particular challenge to language learners and students of translation. Like swearwords, the idioms of one language are frequently different from those of another. Translation of idioms can prove challenging as they are deeply entrenched in their cultures and cannot survive literal translation, for example:

- *to kick the bucket* in English is translated as *estirar la pata* or "to stretch one's leg" in Spanish
- *Rome was not built in a day* in English is translated as *No se ganó Zamora en una hora* or "Zamorra wasn't won in an hour" in Spanish

The idiomatic meaning is stored as a single lexical item that is independent of the literal reading. The literal translation (word-for-word) of opaque idioms will not convey the same meaning in other languages, see above. Some idioms, in contrast, are transparent; with some expressions having both a literal and an idiomatic meaning, such as i*t's better than a poke in the eye with a burnt stick*. Much of their meaning does get through if they are taken (or translated) literally.

Idioms are pervasive in speech. The creative use of language is a natural part of discourse and it is difficult to speak spontaneously without resorting to idiomatic usage. Speakers use such set phrases to express themselves, to gain attention, to amuse, and to challenge. Their comprehension is important in devising appropriate translation strategies. It is argued that learning an idiom is not the same as learning to associate the word string with its meaning. Swinney and Cutler (1979) postulated that idioms are recognized in the same way as long words. When a listener hears an idiom, ordinary linguistic processing, plus retrieval from the phrasal lexicon occur simultaneously. Usually, idiom retrieval occurs more quickly than literal expressions, because it does not require the lexical, syntactic and semantic processing involved in regular linguistic analysis.

Tabossi and Zardon (1993) claim that idioms are mentally represented not as lexical items, but as configurations of words, much like poems. Accordingly, the meaning of these expressions is retrieved not as the meaning of individual words, but triggered only after sufficient

information is available to the listeners to recognize the idiomatic configuration. Idioms are not difficult to understand in novel formats. For example, *he didn't spill a single bean* is clearly understandable; even though it strays from its original form of *don't spill the beans*.

Adequate translations of idioms depend on them being recognised and understood. Gibbs (1980) found that English speakers understand idioms as quickly as comparable literal expressions. In fact, highly familiar idioms are understood with more ease as idioms, than in their literal sense. It might be that idioms are non-compositional items that must simply be retrieved from memory in order to be understood. They are likely to be unfamiliar expressions to the subjects of the present study, therefore retrevieving them as lexical wholes from memory is not possible.

Several aspects contribute to making the understanding and translation of these expressions a challenging task. Idioms are usually defined within linguistics as being figures of speech that contradict the principle of compositionality. This principle states that the meaning of a whole phrase should be able to be constructed from the meanings of the parts that make up the whole. In other words, it should be possible to understand the phrase as a whole if the meanings of each of the parts that make up the whole are understood. Typically, idioms or figures of speech are combinations of words whose meaning cannot be derived from an understanding of their component parts. Idioms are phrases, the meaning of which cannot be predicted from the individual meanings of the words they contain.

For example the idiom *to kick the bucket* contains familiar words, but the meaning of it a unit is less familiar. Idioms such as this are extremely difficult to decode; it means to die, but other are less opaque e.g. *spill the beans* (to let secret information become known) and *leave no stone unturned* (to do everything possible in order to achieve or find something). Unless it is clear that an idiom is being used it is easy to misunderstand the meaning of a text and idioms are more easily understood by those with more knowledge of the culture from which the idiom comes.

The meaning of many idiomatic expressions seems to become available, in a similar process to that of the meaning of lexical items, through processes of retrieval from memory. However, idioms have a syntactic structure that is at times frozen, but on occasions can be highly flexible, able to be modified in various ways.

In the following example from *Happy go Lucky*: *Here's to our livers and all who drown in them*, a reference is made to the idiomatic phrase originally used when launching a ship *God bless her and all who sail in her*. Even partial phrases are instantly recognisable by native speakers as originating from idioms; once again from *Happy go Lucky:* "Fantastic, the earth moved".

13.4 Strategies for the translation of Idioms

Idioms are relevant in the context of foreign language learning due to the fact they present a large group of exceptions to the general rules of the language, and tend to confuse those unfamiliar with them. Students of a foreign language must learn its idiomatic expressions as vocabulary.

Idioms are important in translator training as they can be used to communicate a feeling or attitude toward an event in a way that literal phrases cannot. Idioms enliven speech, so native speakers use them frequently. They are a feature of discourse that frustrate simple logic, are transparent to native speakers, but a cause of perplexity to those who are acquiring a foreign language. In order to learn idioms, language learners have to progress through several challenging steps. They have to learn the meaning, as well as words that can be substituted for each part of the idiom. They have to learn the various constructions in which an idiom may appear.

To fully understand idioms, they have to recognize the feelings and emotions, as well as cultural ideas that the phrases convey. In order to use idioms properly, they have to learn to choose idioms appropriate to the message they want to communicate, and to use them in the correct social circumstances.

Native fluency in a language is equated with a mastery of idioms. It is necessary to be able to recognise a wide range of idiomatic expressions. Audiovisual material, being a rich source of such expressions has an important role to play in their teaching. The multi-channel nature of film helps language learners to guess at the meaning of idioms making use of context in addition to the meaning of similar expression in the L1.

13.5 Results of Corpus Analysis

From **Proverbs and idioms** I selected Idioms:

Table 14.1. Example of idiom in subtitles

English subtitle number 420	Spanish subtitle number 315
Cat got your tongue?	*¿El gato se llevó tu lengua? (The cat took your tongue?)*
20 characters 2.4 seconds	28 characters 3 seconds

Graph 14.1. The frequency of idioms in the film The History Boys
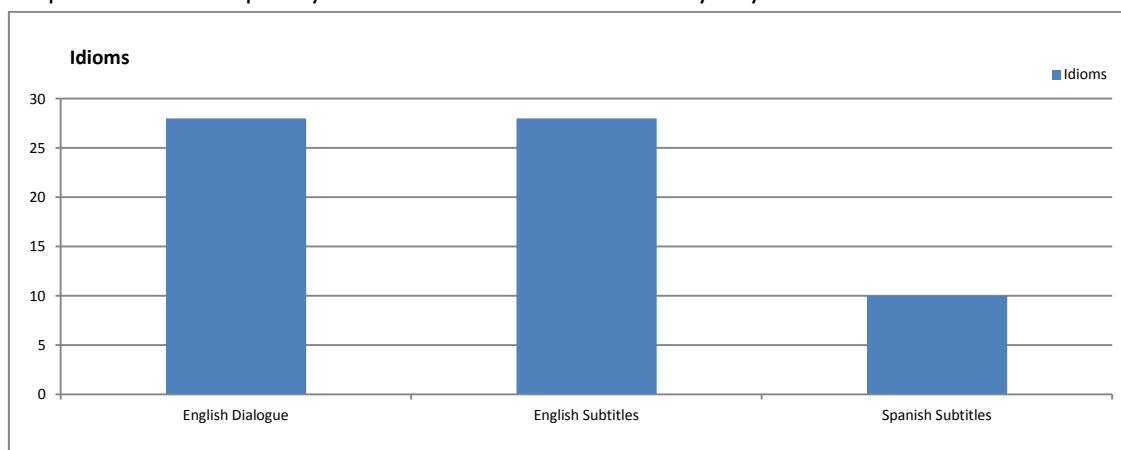
Table 14.2. Proportion of idioms translated into an idiomatic expression in Spanish subtitles

Film	Translated into idiomatic	Non-idiom or eliminated

	expression	
Happy go Lucky	33%	67%
The Football Factory	25%	75%
The Full Monty	22%	78%
The History Boys	31%	69%
Trainspotting	40%	60%

13.6   **Happy go Lucky:**

13.6.1   Examples of idioms translated into idiomatic expression in the TL subtitle

D	I'm cooking with gas. What we having?		
E	I'm cooking with gas. What we having?		
S	Feliz como una perdiz. ¿Qué comemos?	B	Happy as a partridge. What are we eating?

The colloquial expression *cooking with gas* has been attributed to Bob Hope after it was written into a script for him in 1941, it is used to mean *going full speed ahead*, or *doing really well*. Here it is being used in both the literal sense and as an idiomatic expression.

D	Yeah, hair of the dog.		
E	- Pub? - Yeah, hair of the dog.		
S	- Sí, beber cura la resaca.	B	Yes, drinking cures the hangover.

Here the far from transparent idiom "hair of the dog" the Spanish subtitle takes the form of the more literal "beber cura la resaca".

13.6.2　Examples of idiom translated into non-idiom or eliminated

D	I had to nip it in the bud with my lot before they flew out the window.		
E	I had to nip it in the bud with my lot before they flew out the window.		
S	Un poco más y salen volando por la ventana.	B	A Little more and they will fly out the window.

"Nip it in the bud" is an example of a relatively transparent idiom used to mean that I had to stop it before it grew too big or went too far. It conjures up gardening imagery of pruning plants before they grow out of control.

13.6.3　Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

67% of the idioms present in the dialogue of the film *Happy go Lucky* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing idioms:

1. Not much I can do about that. **Runs in the family**. (2)
2. Come on, ladies, **cop a load** of this. (11)
3. I had to **nip it in the bud** with my lot before they flew out the window. (13)

4. Yeah, **hair of the dog**. (15)
5. Some of us **miss the boat** completely. (21)

Table 14.3. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing idioms before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: Idioms	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.6**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

13.7 The Football Factory:

13.7.1 Examples of idioms translated into idiomatic expression

Shame, he's hung like a pike in here.

D	Shame. He's hung like a pike in here.		
E	Shame. He's hung like a pike in here.		
S	Éste la tiene como el cerrojo de un penal.	B	He has one like a prison bolt.

Hung like a ---- (followed by a range of animals e.g. horse, donkey) is a common idiomatic expression for having a large penis.

D	Bit rich, coming from him, Ain't it?		
E	Bit rich, coming from him, Ain't it?		
S	Quién habló, que a la casa honró.	B	Whose talking, that honours this house.

For something to be *a bit rich* is something that you say when someone criticizes you to show that you do not think they are being fair because they are as bad as you.

D	Mind you, premature ejaculation…that's right up your fucking street!		
E	Mind you, premature ejaculation… that's right up your fucking street!		
S	Era como si te hubieras hecho un pajote en plena calle!	B	It was as if you had had a wank right there in the street!

Right up your street is an expression that means, in this case, that something is typical of the person being addressed. For example, "they have pottery classes, you should go, it is right up your street", Not meaning close to where you live, but something that you are likely to enjoy or be suited to. In the example the speaker is joking with Tommy, accusing him of having a problem with premature ejaculation.

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13.7.2 Examples of idioms translated into non-idiom or eliminated

D	He knew the score.		
E	He knew the score. First bit of advice he give me was…		
S	Que iba a todos los partidos. El primer consejo que me dio fue:	B	He went to all the matches. The first advice he gave me was:

To "know the score" is a sporting idiom, meaning to know all the facts about something, especially the unpleasant ones.

D	However, they must have got their wires crossed.		
E	However, they must have got their wires crossed.		
S	Sin embargo, debieron de tener un pequeño descendimiento,	B	Nevertheless, they must have had a little put down

The expression crossed wires comes from the days of telephone exchanges when operators needed to connect wires for telephone calls to be made. When they put the wire in the wrong socket, people would be connected with the wrong person. It means that they had misunderstood each other.

13.7.3 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

75% of the idioms present in the dialogue of the film *The Football Factory* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing idioms:

1. Ain't trying to **wind anyone up**. (1)
2. However, they must have **got their wires crossed**. (16)
3. Shame. **He's hung like a pike in here**. (21)
4. Mind you, premature ejaculation…that's **right up your fucking street**! (22)
5. Don't **punch above your weight**, you long streak of piss. (23)

Table 14.4. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing idioms before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: Idioms	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.8**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed no change in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

13.8 The Full Monty:

13.8.1 Examples of idiom translated into idiomatic expression

D	I'm all in.		
E	I'm all in.		
S	estoy hecho polvo.	B	I have been ground to dust.

To be *all in* is to be exhausted.

13.8.2 Examples of idioms translated into non-idiom or eliminated

D	You should let a colleague do the lion's share for a change.		
E	You should let a colleague do the lion's share for a change.		
S	Es hora de que dejes a uno de tus compañeros que se encargue.	B	It is time that you let one of your colleagues take charge.

The lion's share is the biggest part. The speaker is suggesting that Gordon should work less, which is ironic as he lost his job months before.

D	Keep your hair on.		
E	Keep your hair on.		
S	Mantén la calma.	B	Keep calm

Keep your hair on means to remain calm.

13.8.3 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

78% of the idioms present in the dialogue of the film *The Full Monty* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing idioms:

1. It's all **to fucking cock**. (16)
2. **I'm all in**. (22)
3. You should let a colleague do **the lion's share** for a change. (23)
4. **Keep your hair on**. (24)
5. He'll **blow my cover**. (25)

Table 14.5. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing idioms before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: Idioms	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**1.4**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.2**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

13.9 The History Boys:

13.9.1 Examples of idioms translated into idiomatic expression
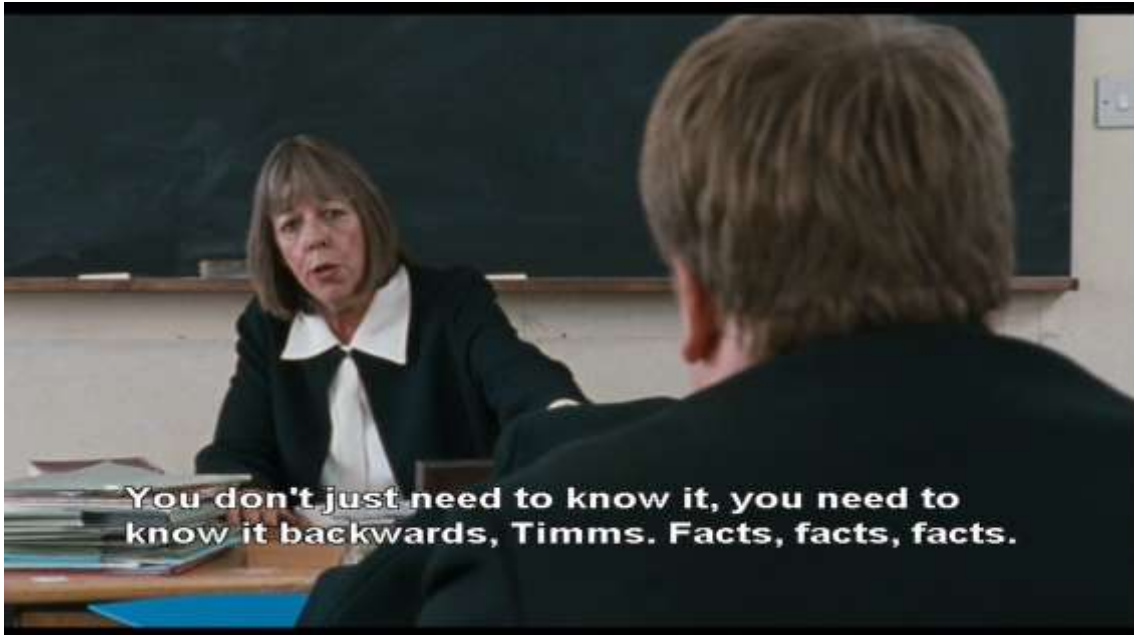
D	You don't just need to know it, you need to know it backwards, Timms. Facts, facts, facts.		
E	You don't just need to know it. You need to know it backwards, Timms. Facts, facts, facts.		
S	Necesitan saberlo al derecho y al revés, Timms.	B	You need to know it right through and backwards, Timms

To know something backwards means to know it thoroughly, to have it memorized.

D	- It's really just the icing on the cake.		
E	- It's really just the icing on the cake.		
S	- Es sólo la cereza en el pastel.	B	It is only the cherry on the cake

For something to be the icing on the cake is for it to be a nice, but non-essential addition.

13.9.2 Examples of idioms translated into non-idiom or eliminated

D	I sympathised, though not so much as to suggest I might be in the same boat.		
E	Though not so much as to suggest I might be in the same boat.		
S	Aunque no tanto como para dar a entender que estoy en la misma situación.	B	Although not so much as to let him think that I am in the same situation.

D	No! It's because other boys want to go there. It's the hot ticket, standing room only.		
E	No! It's because other boys want to go there. It's the hot ticket. Standing room only.		
S	No, es sólo porque otros chicos quieren ingresar. Es lo más popular.	B	No, it is only because other lads want to go there. It is the most popular.

D	It's cutting edge, it really is.		

E	It's cuttin´ edge, it really is.		
S	Es vanguardista. En verdad lo es.	B	It is in the vanguard.It really is.

D	Not my bag, Hazel. Irwin's your man.		
E	Not my bag, Hazel. Irwin's your man.		
S	- No es mi campo, Hazel, sino de Irwin.	B	It is not my field, Hazel, rather that of Irwin.

13.9.3 Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

69% of the idioms present in the dialogue of the film *The History Boys* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing idioms:

1. You have to **know it backwards** (3)
2. It is **tried and tested**. (5)
3. It is the **hot ticket**. (6)
4. To be still **in the game**. (15)
5. It is the **icing on the cake**. (23)

Table 14.3. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing idioms before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: Idioms	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.8**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**-0.2**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average decrease in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

13.10 Trainspotting:

13.10.1   Examples of idioms translated into idiomatic expression

D	Only to get my foot in the door.		
E	Yes, only to get my foot in the door.		
S	No! Bueno, si. Solo para meter la cabeza.	B	No! Well, yes. Only to get my head in.

In this scene Spud lied in his job application form "to get his foot in the door", or to not have been rejected out of hand.

D	Well... what's wrong, boy? Cat got your tongue?		
E	Cat got your tongue?		
S	Bueno, ¿qué pasa, chaval? ¿El gato se llevó tu lengua?	B	Well, what's wrong, lad? Did the cat take your tongue?

This is said to people when they don't answer a question or are particularly quiet.

13.10.2   Examples of idioms translated into non-idiom or eliminated.

D	Every chance you've had, son, you've blown it.		
E	Every chance you've had, son, you've blown it.		
S	Las oportunidades que has tenido, hijo, las has cagado.	B	The opportunities that you have had, son, you have shitted up.

To "blow" a chance means to not take advantage of it.

D	Yeah, a little dab of speed is just the ticket, man.		
E	Yeah, a little dab of speed is just the ticket, man.		
S	Una pizca de anfetas es justo lo que me hace falta.	B	A pinch of amphetamine (abbreviated) is just what I need.

To be "just the ticket" is to be exactly what is needed.

D	It does a man good to cut loose once in a while.		

E	It does a man good to cut loose once in a while.		
S	Sienta bien soltar las riendas de vez en cuando	B	It feels good to let the reins go from time to time.

To "cut loose" is to relax and overindulge. In this case Spud got extremely drunk.

13.10.3   Analysis of Results from Experiment 2

60% of the idioms present in the dialogue of the film *Trainspotting* have been eliminated from the Spanish subtitles. This section attempts to analyse the impact this may have had on the comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in this study depending on whether they viewed the film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish.

Examples from questionnaire of items containing idioms:

1. **Foot in door**? (7)
2. So, he's **got the hump**, right. (20)
3. It does a man good to **cut loose once in a while**. (23)
4. Well... what's wrong, boy? **Cat got your tongue**? (24)
5. He **fucked up good and proper**.- (25)

Table 14.6. Showing difference in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing idioms before and after viewing film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: Idioms	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**-0.4 words**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**-0.2 words**

For both experimental conditions, inter and intra-lingual subtitles, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average decrease in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

Table 14.7. Overall average increase in correct answers given for questionnaire items containing idioms before and after viewing all five film excerpts with subtitles in English or Spanish

Questionnaire items: Idioms	Average increase in correct answers
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with English subtitles	**0.7 words**
Average increase in correct responses from subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles	**0.1 words**

For the intra-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

For the inter-lingual experimental condition, following priming exercises subjects showed a very small average increase in correct answer given to questionnaire items containing idioms.

CHAPTER 14: CONCLUSIONS

The current study points towards the importance of moving beyond passive acquisition with regard to unfamiliar markers of orality, including active priming exercises designed to familiarize students with cultural context in teaching exercises involving film.

This study arose from the observation that many students of translation struggle to understand the markers of orality present in colloquial English an understanding of which is important if the student of translation is to develop sufficient competence in the way language is used in day to day speech. Subtitled film, demonstrated in various studies to be a useful tool in the teaching of foreign language, was proposed as a means of familiarising such students with this challenging aspect of language. In addition to presenting written language alongside its spoken counterpart and associated image, subtitled film provides relevant input in a non-threatening low-stress way. However, an initial pilot study indicated that not only were subjects failing to understand markers of orality as demonstrated by the answers they gave to a questionnaire, they were misunderstanding the broader general themes of the film used in the study; *The History Boys*, as reflected in their answers to an interview.

Such a low level of comprehension of markers of orality led me to consider how best subtitled film could be used as a tool in the teaching of translation and how the nature of the subtitles might affect any learning that occurs.

14.1 Aims of the research

The principal aims of the research were to investigate whether an improvement in understanding of markers of orality can be acquired through exposure to subtitled films and if so, what factors might influence any such acquisition.

This was carried out by means of several empirical experiments designed to measure improvements in understanding of markers of orality following viewing of the films in the corpus.

The author set out to:

i)   measure any acquisition of markers of orality following the viewing of subtitled films.

ii)   investigate which subtitle modality is most effective in assisting students of translation to acquire a greater level of comprehension of markers of orality.

iii)   assess the impact on comprehension of translation strategies employed during the subtitling process.

14.2 Summary of findings

The results of this research point to the possible benefits for students of translation of watching subtitled English language films in the source language. The consistently lower scores across all experimental conditions with Spanish subtitles and the corpus analysis indicate that there may be benefits in addressing the standardised nature of the translation for Spanish subtitles.

14.3 Findings from the empirical studies

In this comparison study of improvements in the comprehension of markers of orality achieved by subjects viewing films with English subtitles and others watching the same films with Spanish subtitles, slight differences were found. Subjects viewing with English subtitles scored consistently higher on tests of their comprehension of such markers of orality.

Subjects viewing with English subtitles also consistently gave more correct answers to questions asked during interview, designed to test their general understanding. Subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles more frequently failed to retrieve the meaning of the film as reflected by the interview questions.

The results therefore point towards the importance of actively involving students in teaching exercises such as priming, designed to familiarize students with linguistic variation appropriate to the cultural context, together with viewing with intra-lingual subtitles.

14.4 Findings from the corpus analysis

The findings of the corpus analysis demonstrate a strong tendency to reduce to a minimum or eliminate the linguistic variation reflected in markers of orality in the subtitles produced in Spanish. The majority of the markers of orality present in the films in the corpus, ranging from 51% of swearwords to 100% of dialect terms were eliminated or standardised in the Spanish subtitles. This tendency for subtitles to be rendered in standard language results in informal and colloquial registers being expressed in formal styles, the omission of many swearwords, the neutralisation of many slang words and much dialect or sociolect.

This study demonstrates that the language in which subtitles are written is a variable that affects the learning of a foreign language. For the films inn the corpus subjects viewing with inter-lingual subtitles showed small but consistently greater gains in comprehension of markers of orality and it is proposed that one possible reason for this may be the tendency to standardise shown in the Spanish subtitles, resulting in relevant linguistic input being presented in fewer channels of communication.

The strategies and language choices made during the subtitling process may affect the learning of a foreign language and the results of the current study appear to indicate that a viewer reading a standard subtitle is more likely to fail to understand the linguistic variation present in the dialogue than one reading a subtitle whose syntax reflects that of the dialogue.

14.5 Findings from the pilot study

The pilot study comprised a quantitative empirical experiment to explore how subtitled films can best be used as a tool in the comprehension of markers of orality and whether viewing

English language audiovisual material with subtitles improves subjects' comprehension of such markers.

This study investigated any differences in the comprehension of both general themes and specific lexical items between subjects viewing with subtitles in English or Spanish.

14.5.1 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Compared with subjects viewing an English language film with no subtitles, subjects viewing with either inter or intra-lingual subtitles will demonstrate a greater level of comprehension of the general themes and of markers of orality contained in the film.

Hypothesis 2: There will be a difference in the level of comprehension of markers of orality obtained by Spanish-speaking students viewing an English language film with intra-lingual subtitles than that obtained by Spanish-speaking students viewing the same film with inter-lingual subtitles.

14.5.2 Questionnaire results

As the results obtained were not statistically significant, it cannot be said that the hypotheses were supported. However, there was a tendency towards improved comprehension in the experimental conditions with groups 1 and 2 showing a greater level of comprehension than group 3. The results did not indicate clearly which subtitle modality (inter or intra-lingual) might produce better language acquisition.

For group 1 (English subtitles) the pilot study resulted in an average increase in comprehension of 0.2 words following viewing.

For group 2 (Spanish subtitles) the pilot study resulted in an average increase in comprehension of 0.3 words following viewing.

Responses to the questionnaire demonstrated very low levels of comprehension of markers of orality on one viewing of the film. T-tests carried out on the data showed no statistically significant differences between groups or conditions, neither was there any statistically significant improvement in comprehension of the markers of orality in the questionnaire after viewing the film in any of the experimental conditions.

Mean scores show a slight improvement in performance on the questionnaire following viewing in both subtitled conditions.

Initial results indicated very poor understanding of the markers of orality in the questionnaire, which improved only very moderately after viewing of the film. All subjects, regardless of experimental condition, scored an average of less than three (out of 10 and 35 questions respectively) correct answers both before and after viewing. The increase in the number of correct answers given by subjects in the English subtitle condition following viewing was 0.2

words and that of those in the Spanish subtitle condition was 0.3 words. Subjects viewing with no subtitles showed no improvement.

14.5.3 Interview results

Responses to the interview showed that general comprehension was very poor across all experimental groups

14.6 Findings from experiment 1

The aims of this phase of the study were concerned with investigating what parameters optimize learning outcomes for the comprehension of markers of orality from subtitled film.

The aim of this study is to measure any improvement in the understanding of five categories of markers of orality present in the film *The History Boys* in several different experimental conditions.

The poor results obtained by the subjects in both understanding of markers of orality and general theme led me to employ the following two techniques to enhance the attention paid to cultural references and markers of orality; priming and repetition.

14.6.1 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Subjects will demonstrate improved comprehension of markers of orality contained in the film following participation in priming exercises.

Hypothesis 2: Subjects will demonstrate improved comprehension of markers of orality contained in the film excerpt following repeated viewing.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a difference in the level of comprehension of markers of orality by subjects viewing an English language film with intra-lingual subtitles than by subjects viewing the same film with inter-lingual subtitles.

14.6.2 Results

An average greater increase in correct answers of 2 words out of 23 for those viewing with English subtitles as compared with Spanish subtitles.

As the results obtained were not statistically significant (with the exception of the repetition condition), it cannot be said that the three hypotheses were supported. However, a tendency towards improved comprehension in the experimental conditions is consistent, with a greater level of language acquisition demonstrated by those subjects who viewed the film with English subtitles.

For group 1 (English subtitles) of the priming condition the increase in the mean number of words correctly defined was 2.1, whereas the pilot study resulted in an average increase of 0.2 words.

For group 2 (Spanish subtitles) of the priming condition the increase in the mean number of words correctly defined was 0.1 words, the pilot study resulted in an average increase of 0.3 words.

Therefore the findings indicate that the priming plus English subtitles condition results in better comprehension of markers of orality. With subjects in this experimental condition showing an average greater increase in correct answers of 2 words out of 23 than those viewing with Spanish subtitles. The issue of why this difference of 2 words exists between the two subtitle conditions will be explored in the next chapter.

The repetition condition demonstrated the greatest acquisition with an increase in mean words correctly defined from 0.2 words to 4.3 words, making this the only condition to achieve a statistically significant result. This result is interesting in terms of language acquisition and is worth considering when advising language learners of effective learning strategies; however repetition is not considered practical in a formal learning environment. The increase in comprehension of markers of orality was not accompanied by an increase in understanding of the general themes of the film, which was poorer than that of both the priming groups.

Of the three groups, group 1 (priming and English subtitles) showed the greatest level of understanding of the general themes of the film.

14.7 Findings from experiment 2

As experiment 1 indicated a tendency towards obtaining better results from intra-lingual subtitled film, four additional films were selected and this study was carried out to investigate whether the results obtained in the priming condition of experiment 2 could be repeated. They were selected due the quantity of markers of orality they contain, which made it possible to design the questionnaire to measure any increase in comprehension across the five categories of markers of orality that are the focus of this study. Priming was employed in this phase of the study because it is more appropriate in the teaching environment of the subjects recruited for the study.

14.7.1 Hypotheses

- Hypothesis 1: Subjects will demonstrate greater comprehension of markers of orality contained in the films following participation in priming exercises.
- Hypothesis 2: There will be a difference in the level of comprehension of markers of orality between subjects viewing an English language film with intra-lingual subtitles and those viewing the same film with inter-lingual subtitles.

14.7.2 Results

As the results obtained were not statistically significant, it cannot be said that the three hypotheses were supported. However, there is a consistent tendency towards improved comprehension following priming, with a greater level of language acquisition demonstrated by those subjects who viewed the film with English subtitles.

Graph 8.9 Pre and post viewing with English Subtitles in all experimental conditions

1-8 experimental conditions

Series 1: average correct answers given before relevant experimental condition (viewing, priming, repetition)

Series 2: average correct answers given after relevant experimental condition (viewing, priming, repetition)

Graph 8.10. Pre and post viewing with Spanish Subtitles (in the experimental conditions that involved subjects viewing films with Spanish subtitles)

1-7 experimental conditions

Series 1: average correct answers given before relevant experimental condition (viewing, priming)

Series 2: average correct answers given after relevant experimental condition (viewing, priming)

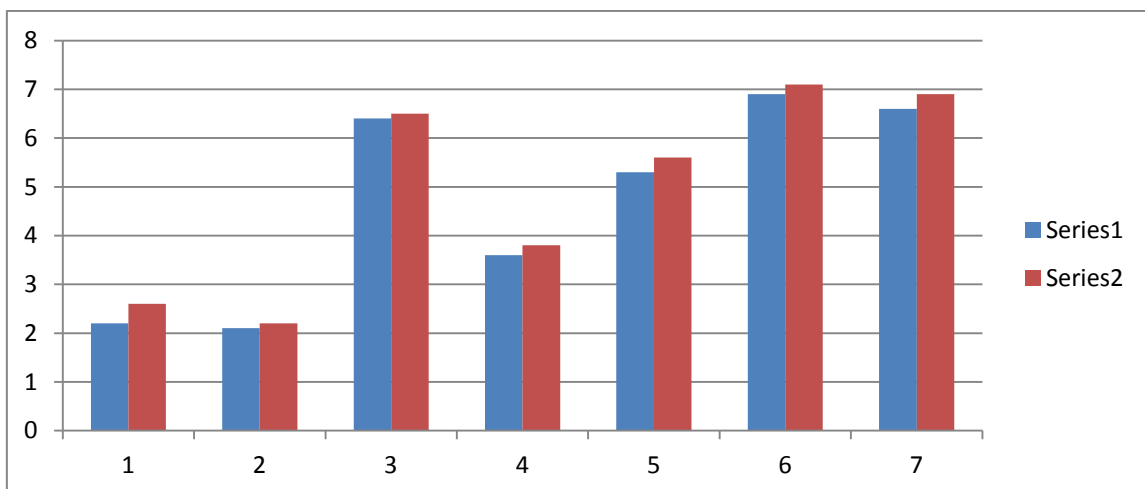Graph 8.11. Post-viewing word scores for both subtitle conditions

1-7 experimental conditions

Series 1: average correct answers given after viewing with English subtitles

Series 2: average correct answers given after viewing with Spanish subtitles

This third table clearly shows the difference between improvements in comprehension achieved by subjects viewing with either English or Spanish subtitles. There is a notable difference in all the priming conditions, in which both groups of subjects participated in the same lessons designed to prepare and familiarize them with the markers of orality associated with the film excerpts. Possible explanations for this difference include the number of times subjects in group 1 were provided with the input of such words and phrases in their original format, one more time than group 2, who viewed with a version of the marker translated into Spanish in the subtitle. It is concluded therefore, audiovisual material with L2 dialogue and L1 subtitles rendered in standard language may not best facilitate the learning of markers of orality.

As the results of this study are not conclusive conflicting evidence remains about whether subtitles are effective as a teaching tool. As markers of orality are advanced, complex linguistic concepts there may be some value in investigating their acquisition by means of L1 subtitles that reflect their presence in the dialogue.

14.8 Results from the corpus analysis

This chapter contains a comprehensive analysis of five of the linguistic elements categorised as markers of orality present the five films in the corpus. Following on from the previous chapters, in which the findings show that subjects viewing the films with Spanish subtitles score consistently lower on tests of comprehension than those viewing with English subtitles, this chapter takes as its focus the subtitling of markers of orality and considers what factors might be contributing to these results. The aim of this section being to establish to what extent the translation of the markers of orality present in the corpus might have influenced the poorer comprehension. An analysis of five elements of linguistic variants in five films was carried out to see whether one explanation for the results obtained may lie in the translation of the dialogue for the Spanish subtitles. This chapter demonstrates how the markers of orality are profoundly diminished by the process of standardisation and simplification inherent in the subtitling process. The inclusion of such markers may impede readability and therefore be considered intrusive, but their omission on this scale in the Spanish subtitles appears to impede comprehension. This tendency to render the target language subtitles in standard Spanish is widespread and its consequences for the learning of markers of orality will form the focus of this chapter.

The five markers of orality selected for this study;

1. Swearwords
2. Slang
3. Non-standard variants of grammar.
4. Non-standard regional variants.
5. Idioms.

These markers were chosen due to the frequency they occur in everyday speech and despite being an important element of the training of translators they are infrequently dealt with.

An overall numerical comparison for each of the five markers of orality was completed followed by a classification of translation strategies used.

A quantitative analysis of the translation strategies employed by subtitlers for each example of the five markers of orality was carried out, a brief summary of which is given below;

Results from swearwords

51% of swearwords present in dialogue eliminated from Spanish subtitles.

1.2 words – average improvement in questionnaire scores by subjects viewing with English subtitles

0.7 words – average improvement in questionnaire scores by subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles

Results from slang

72% of slang present in dialogue eliminated from Spanish subtitles.

1.6 words – average improvement in questionnaire scores by subjects viewing with English subtitles

0.2 words – average improvement in questionnaire scores by subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles

Results from non-standard grammar

100% of non-standard grammar present in dialogue eliminated from Spanish subtitles.

1.9 words – average improvement in questionnaire scores by subjects viewing with English subtitles

0 words – average improvement in questionnaire scores by subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles

Results from regional non-standard variants

100% of regional non-standard variants present in dialogue eliminated from Spanish subtitles.

0.9 words – average improvement in questionnaire scores by subjects viewing with English subtitles

0.2 words – average improvement in questionnaire scores by subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles

Results from idioms

70% of idioms present in dialogue eliminated from Spanish subtitles.

0.7 words – average improvement in questionnaire scores by subjects viewing with English subtitles

0.1 words – average improvement in questionnaire scores by subjects viewing with Spanish subtitles

14.9 Recommendations

All learning gains in this study were minimal, however it would appear that in the teaching of markers of orality by means of subtitled film an inter-lingual modality is more effective than an intra-lingual one. Resources such as those provided by "Speak up", a magazine which offers subtitled films together with additional information to prepare viewers for the English they will encounter are valuable in acquiring a foreign language.

It is widely acknowledged that a degree of text reduction is inevitable during the producton of intralingual subtitles and that aspects of the original text are sacrificed due to the practical constraints and the communicative needs of the audience, with ease of readability permitting

greater time to look at images. However, many of the authors mentioned in the study (Fawcett 2003, Chapman, 2005, Díaz Cintas 2009) lament the current subtitling style, consider that much is sacrificed needlessly and that compensatory strategies could be employed to minimize any reduction in impact due to standardisation. Counted among such authors is Assis Rosa (2001:216) who feels that subtitles are dominated by standardisation and the desire for clarity, and that they convey "the impression that the characters speak like the printed page".

This tendency to leave out many of the features of colloquial speech from the subtitles arises from the assumption that they are recoverable through other channels of communication, e.g. the images, tone of voice, assumed familiarity with terms. The current study brings into question the extent to which such elements are recoverable for the markers of orality present in the dialogue. The subjects who participated in this study demonstrated lower levels of understanding of both global concepts and specific lexical items when viewing with subtitles rendered in Spanish.

Subtitling practices result in standardized texts that lack culturally relevant information important in deriving an accurate understanding of English as it is spoken. Standardised language becomes colourless and detracts from comprehension of cultural context. Effective methods of improving such understanding are necessary when training translators. Despite having access to the images and dialogue, the results of this study demonstrate how heavily viewers rely on the written text in the subtitles. They indicate that a viewer reading a subtitle rendered into standard language is less likely to notice, disregard or fail to understand the linguistic variation present in the dialogue than one reading a subtitle whose syntax reflects that of the dialogue. Noticing is a crucial step in processing required for acquisition. If subjects fail to notice, they are more likely to fail to comprehend.

Current technology offers the option of watching English language films with tailor-made subtitles, which can be produced specifically to provide textual reinforcement of what students are hearing and seeing. Subtitles rich in linguistic variation could be produced for teaching purposes for film and other audiovisual media. In the example given below the Spanish subtitle is an explicated version of the dialogue, in which the truncated dialogue is expanded while the confident statement is left out. It is not the interview that is "in the bag", but the job, this is absent from the Spanish subtitle along with the swearword. The register is neutralised along with the characters' swagger, leading to possible confusion at his reaction in the following scene where he fails to get the job. An alternative subtitle is suggested, more closely matching the register, replicating the markers of orality present in the dialogue while remaining within an acceptable character count. The use of such subtitles in translator training merits further investigation.

6	344		343	
	See that? Interview.	20	¿Ves esto? Una entrevista. Me lo	32
	In the bloody bag. Mate from Harrisons.	39	ha conseguido un amigo de Harrisons.	36
			(See that? An interview. A friend from	

		59 total 3,993 seconds	Harrisons got it for me.)	68 total 4,161 seconds
Subtitle suggestion		¿Ves esto? Una entrevista. Conozco al jefe, el puto puesto es mío. (See that? An interview. I know the boss, the bitch post is mine.)		26 39 65 total

(note: back-translations are literal and therefore may read like stilted English)

There are numerous constraints in subtitling and there is no systematic recipe to be followed, no "cut and paste" solutions to the translation of markers of orality. .The current study points towards the possibility that a consideration of the compensatory use of slang, non-standard grammar and other markers of orality in the L2 subtitles may prove useful in a teaching environment, when the target audience is viewing with educational goals in mind.

Various recommendations were made by Pavesi and Perego (in Díaz-Cintas 2008: 222-225) for subtitles made to measure for teaching purposes:

1. the preservation of textual and syntactic patterns of the original dialogue
2. avoidance of raising the register
3. close synchronisation
4. use of loan words and calques
5. use of true friends
6. limited use of synonyns
7. maintenance of style and register
8. more extensive use of colloquial register
9. maintenance of repetitions
10. use of different font size and colour
11. inadvisability of drastic reduction in text
12. preservation of phatic expressions, discourse and politeness marker and other linguistic devices typical of spoken language

When producing subtitles for teaching purposes less text might be considered redundant, resulting in less standardisation which together with a greater focus on reproducing appropriate markers of orality in subtitles would help reduce the homogenising effect of standardisation thereby assisting comprehension.

14.10 Audience reception of subtitles

Although frequent reference is made to target audiences in discussions on translation, very few studies have dealt empirically with the issue of reception of subtitles. A loss in communicative effect results from the neutralising process undergone during subtitling, often meaning the difference between audiences getting the gist and achieving a deeper understanding the nuances of the film.

Translation strategies resulting in the standardisation of language influence viewer's perception and comprehension of film dialogue. The cultural experience of the audience influences the way they perceive a film, the way they interpret the unfamiliar. Those socialised in different cultural contexts derive meaning differently as cues are taken from an individual's own cultural context in order to interpret what is being said. Where viewers experience issues of salience, precedence is given to the processing of information that accords with a subject's cultural experience.

Faced with elements they do not understand, people strive to maintain a sense of meaning by interpreting the unfamiliar according to their cultural experience built up over years. The viewing of foreign language films may result in misinterpretation of cultural references as they are interpreted according to schema developed in a different cultural context.

In his 2003 study Fuentes questions the ability of viewers to comprehend the humour in a subtitled extract from the Marx Brother's film '*Duck Soup*'. Jäckel (2001) found in her study that the visual images did not compensate for the losses involved in the production of the subtitles. Working within the documentary genre Kaufmann (2004) demonstrated the neutralising effect that the translation process can have on any linguistic variation present in the spoken text. Chapman (2005) finds that hard-core English vulgarisms are often not rendered into their Cantonese equivalents even in films rated as only being suitable for adults. Longo states that failures in the subtitling of strong language diminishes the role of some characters in terms of interpersonal dominance.

Due to the presence of linguistic variants in the dialogue and their absence from the Spanish subtitles, viewers are deprived of valuable information about register, region, class etc., available to viewers exposed to English subtitles. An aspect of translator training involves enhancing the ability of students to see from another cultural perspective, and to become attuned to reformulating the meaning that they derive from a text according to that perspective. Whitman states that (2001:147) "translation means being aware of the intent of the original as well as the target audience's common pool of allusions".

Linguistic information is paired with images, serving either to assist in comprehension or reinforce erroneous assumptions, as appears to be the case with the experiment involving the film *The History Boys* where assumptions about images based on schema culturally familiar to the subjects were reinforced by standard language use in the Spanish subtitles associated with the more affluent classes. Spanish speaking viewers experience a gulf in Whitmans's "common pool of allusions" with respect to education and the British class system. References to the boys belonging to the working class were reinforced in the English subtitles by the presence of linguistic variation associated with this class.

The neutral language of standardization is employed in an attempt to enhance readability, permitting viewers to spend more time looking at the images. For the films in this corpus what results from this are best described by means of Leppihalmes' (1997) "culture bumps", those moments of mental effort experienced by English speaking viewers or those watching with English subtitles being absent for Spanish speaking audiences viewing with Spanish subtitles. Much of the language present in the films in the corpus (e.g. "jog on" and "through the slit")

would be unfamiliar to the majority of an English speaking audience. Their meanings need to be guessed at. Viewers watching with standardized subtitles will have a less challenging linguistic experience, with the concomitant loss of cultural information, resulting in a much less vivid experience.

With native speaking audiences required to make an active effort to immerse themselves in the world of the film, an argument can be made for subtitling practices for foreign language audiences to step back from the overriding goal of ease of readability. Preserving markers of orality in the subtitless would help viewers to reach a deeper understanding of the themes of the film. Subjects disregarded cues present in the dialogue and images because they did not accord with their own experience; this may have resulted in errors of understanding.

As demonstrated by the analysis of the corpus, practical considerations and subtitle constraints do not always explain the standardizing strategies employed by translators. So there must be other factors at work. Fawcett (2003) concludes that occasionally the original is neutralised in the subtitled version for "no good reason", but mentions stress, poor working conditions and unreasonable deadlines as possible causes.

This study is not a plea for fidelity in translation, piling as it would, additional pressure on translators. It does not call for the prescriptive use of translation equivalents or for a "Code of best practice" for markers of orality. It is rather a look at what effects current practices and strategies have on comprehension and makes the suggestion that compensatory strategies be considered in the translation of markers of orality when producing subtitles for films intended for teaching purposes.

14.11 Areas of further research

The discrepancy between the language of the English subtitles, the translations carried out for the Spanish subtitles and the subsequent impact on viewer comprehension provides food for thought for practicing translators, who regularly face such issues and this warrants further research.

The five markers of orality selected for this study are a regular feature of the English dialogue present in the corpus. The English subtitles reflect the non-standard variants of grammar in the dialogue. However, in line with recommendations, subtitling constrainst and considerations of readability, the Spanish subtitles of the films in the corpus are a standardised version of the original dialogue. Despite the recommendation to avoid non-standard grammatical structures in subtitles, they are present in inter-lingual subtitles. Petit (Díaz Cintas 2009:53) provides some examples of grammatic variants present in the French subtitles of the English language film *Chicago,* including contractions and the omission of *ne* in negative constructions. Petit found that many markers of orality including the use of the double negative, incorrect grammar and slang were present in the subtitles, reflecting the style, register and colloquial usage of the original dialogue.

Failure to compensate for the elimination of markers of orality leads to losses in style, affecting viewers' image of characters and possibly to failings in comprehension. Admittedly it is difficult to achieve equivalence in the Spanish subtitles. Some very common terms included in this

study do not have obvious translation equivalents in Spanish, for example *yeah*, the non-standard term for yes, the use of which provides us with information about the speaker which is lost in its translation to *sí*. As a way of maintaining the expressivity provided by the markers of orailty solutions could be adopted that adapt to the tradition of the target language such as use of the dropped d or r (e.g. usage such as; *pa'lante, pesao, timao'* etc*)*, employed extensively in films by Almodóvar. Mistakes may be made in attempting to recreate a sense of orality, but standardisation always results in loss.

The spatiotemporal constraints imposed on the subtitler by the medium mean that there is a limited amount of time and space to convey the spoken dialogue in text and issues of readability make standardization the most frequently used strategy. However for an audience of language learners the use of new DVD and internet technology allows for the "personalization" (Gottlieb 1998,: 248) of subtitles, meaning that a version rich in linguistic variants could be produced for teaching purposes. Such subtitles may benefit from the inclusion of markers of orality. It is recognised that there are limitations to how closely such non-standard variants will match the L1 and general strategies for variants that reflect aspects of film protagonists' characters such as level of education and or class rather than attempts at matching regional dialects are suggested.

A fruitful area for further analysis would be an investigation into the reading process for L1 subtitles for L2 films that reflect linguistic variation present in the film dialogue to establish whether readability is affected.

The table given below contains markers of orality present in the inter-lingual subtitles of several Spanish language films. It is by no means a comprehensive compilation as it was drawn from actual useage in film subtitles. It is not meant as a guide in selecting translation equivalents, but rather as items to be considered when attempting to reflect the markers of orality present in the SL dialogue. Such terms will often need to be considered for compensatory use instead of as translation equivalents. The pragmatic function of the word present in the source language dialogue will need to be taken into account when considering a strategy for translation, for example when considering swearwords; whether the word was meant to express vulgarity, whether it was intended to insult or intimidate, as an expression of surprise, being impressed, or even affection.

The films from which the following words and phrases were taken can be found in Appendix XXX.

14.11.1   Swearwords:

Swear word	Swear word in English (informative only, not meant as equivalent)
Cabrón	Bastard
Cabronazo	Intensifier of above
Cagar	To shit
Me cago en dios/puta/la leche	A forceful vitriolic phrase used to express anger, frustration etc. For fuck's sake
Te vas a cagar/la cagas	The first is used as a threat. You are going to fuck it up

Cagada	A balls-up/fuck-up
Coño	Literally cunt, but due to the distinct strength of the words in English and Spanish it is more likely to be expressed with any other strong swearword such as fuck or shit.
Carajo	Damn, fuck
Culicagada	Depends on context as can be used to mean childish. When used as insult means cowardly as in example from *Trainspotting* "What does he do, shites it"
Comemierda	Shiteater
Calientapollas	Prick tease
Cerdo/a	Pig
Hasta los cojones	To be up to armpits/tits/etc
Por dios	For God's sake
Follar	Fuck
Gilipollas	Dickhead
Hijoputa/hijaputa Hijo/a/s de puta	Son of a bitch
Hostia/s	Damn
Joder	Fuck
Hay que joderse	Expressing a need to endure suffering.Tough shit, I can't fucking believe it, etc
Jesús	Jesus
Marrano	Disgusting pig
Mierda/vete a la mierda	Go to hell
(Pijo) de mierda	Used as an intensifier, fucking posh git
Maricon de mierda	Fucking faggot
Maricon	Queen, faggot, queer
Mariconada	Used to describe something done in a manner considered to be gay
Mamón	Cocksucker
Me meo	I am pissing myself
Ostia	Form of hostia
Puta	When used as in "una puta", whore When used as in "A la puta calle", fucking
Puta madre	Fucking brilliant
Putada	A bummer
Puteo	Fucked
Pendejo/a	Arsehole
Polla	Cock/ dick
Pollon	Big cock/dick
Polvo	Shag
Zorra	Bitch

14.11.2   2. Slang

The following list of slang terms were taken from the Spanish subtitles of Spanish films, I have not attempted to give comprehensive translations for them as an accurate translation would

depend on context. What is included is the type of slang term that they might be considered for when producing subtitles.

Slang	
Bicho	Freak
Mal bicho	Creep
Burro	Dumb
Cachas	Fit
Camello	Mule
Cascó	For die; bit the dust/snuffed it
Chin	Cheers
Churri	An affectionate term for a partner
Chulear	To pimp
Coca	Cocaine
Cojonudo	Cool
Currar	To work/graft (few slang phrases for work in English)
Duro	Hard
Flipo	Freak out
Gaga	Gaga
Guasa	Kidding
Hala	Wow
Heavy	Heavy
Huevos	Balls
Huy	Oops/wow/yikes
La leche	The best/top dog
Maderos	Pig/cop
Mamada	Blow job
Majara/majaderia	Crazy
Maricón	Queer/faggot
La monda	Its the best/a scream/a riot
Napos	1000 peseta note
(que) Palo	Its a drag
Paja	Wank
La Pasma	The cops/ pigs/filth
Papa/papi/papito	Daddy
Pasta	Money
Pavo/s	A unit of money; buck/s, quid/s
Pedo	Fart/pissed
Pela/s	A unit of money
Pelado/a	Cold; parky Bald Skint
Pico/me pico	Dick/cock
Pis	Piss
Plata/platica	Money
Polla/pollón	Dick/big dick
Polvo	Shag
Querindongo	Lover
Rayita	Line of coke

Tetas	Tits
Tio/a	Mate
Tira	Fuck
Tronco	Mate
Uy	Wow
Ya	Already
Yonkies	Junkies
Zumbado	Crazy

14.11.3   Non-standard Grammar term:

The following list includes examples of non-standard grammar taken from Spanish subtitles of Spanish language films; they are not intended to be used as direct translations, but to be considered for use as compensatory indications that original dialogue uses non-standard grammar

Non-standard grammar
Agotá
Acojonao'
Cagao
Chau
Colocá
Cuidao'
Dao'
Dejao'
Envenenao
Enterao'
Qué *exagerá*
¿Hago tiempo?
Jodio
L*legao*
Machacá
Mañana en la mañana (non-standard in Spain)
Matao'
"Me meo toa"
Montao
"Mu sexy"
Na
Si no veo na'?
Olvidao'
P'arriba
Pa'
"Pa'acá"
"Pa'allá"
"Pa'alante"
"Pa'atrás"
Paece
Pesao
Puñao

Pirao
Prefabricá
Prometio'
Quedao'
Sio'
Tenio'
Tirao
Toa'
To'
Venio'
Zumbá

14.11.4   Dialect:

This is perhaps the most controversial area when it comes to producing subtitles as regional markers are never equivalent. It is rightly argued, for instance, that Scottish regionalisms cannot be substituted for Galician ones. However the compensatory use of dialectical forms might be considered to give an indication that the protagonist's speech is accented, something which is not conveyed by standardisation.

Dialect
Acá
"Achoncillo"
Apañadica
Apoltronadica
Curcusilla
Cuidaíco
Dinerico
Estomaguito
Filloas
Igualica
la (+ name, outside Cataluyna)
Momentico
Pajarico
Quietecica
Regularcilla
Tempranico
Terrenico

14.11.5   Idioms

Although sometimes difficult to translate, idioms do often have near equivalents in the target language.

Idiomatic expressions
Buena espina
Clavo ardiendo
Caerle a palos

Cara de sota
Cara de ladilla
Como vaca sin cencerro
Cara de palo
Daba largas
Fatal de los remos
Guay del Paraguay
Ha quedado frito
Ir al grano
Lavar trapos sucios
Lo lleva en la masa de la sangre
Mala leches
Manga por hombre
No me tiras de la lengua
No te salgas de tiesto
Pasarlo pipa
Patas arriba
Por la boca muere el pez
Pan con pan
Que corta el bacalao
Puso las cuernas
Rompe la cintura
Saca la gente del juicio
Se la ha tragado la tierra
Se te va la bola
Se va la olla
Tirandome las téjas
Tocar el fandango
Viajar sin dinero mariner
Volar los sesos/la cabeza
Vais a caer el culo

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APPENDICES

Appendix I - Pilot study: Questionnaire

Name:_____   Date:_____

Mark the correct definition of the following words:

1. Snogged –kissed/touched/punished

2. Glib –thoughtless/profound/old-fashioned

3. Nancy –homosexual/doll/intellectual

4. Grope –fish/unwanted/fondle

5. Filch –draw/take/abstract

6. Tosh –nonsense/level/human

7. Twerp –Violent person/feminist/idiot/

8.   Losers – felons/misfits/incorrect

9. Wuss –weakling/poet/young

10. Shambles –overweight/disorganised/walk with a limp

Mark the correct definition for the following idiomatic expressions

11. A full house – Lots of relatives visiting/card game reference (three cards the same)/A big family

12. It is tried and tested – known to work/efficient/worn out

13. It is the hot ticket – a warm potato/very popular/a sold out show

14. Let yourself down – to deflate/to fail or disappoint yourself/to fall over

15. Get your kit off –go away/to insult someone/undress

16. To take the piss – mock someone/go to the toilet/get drunk

17. He got me going – sent me away/started something/got me excited

18. Cunt-struck – totally focused on sex/paralysed/hit over the head

19. Be sharp –be quick/ be intelligent/be smart

20. Chin-up – to remain cheerful in difficult circumstances/to exercise/to not return a punch

21. Badgering me – pestering me/comparing me to a small mammal/hitting me

22. Farting about –not concentrating/making rude noises/misbehaving

23. Touching/feeling up –to borrow money/to touch someone sexually/to embrace someone

24. Thick sod –unintelligent/farmer/soil

25. Pep talk – punishment/a speech/a motivating chat

26. An outside chance –a lucky happening/outdoors/a small probability

27. Will that do the trick? – to give the desired effect/to perform a card trick/to cheat someone

28. It is not my bag –I don't own it/not something I like/not my area of interest

29. It is the icing on the cake –to decorate something/a further good thing/something irrelevant

30. You're headed for the bin –to be going mad/becoming useless/to make yourself unwell

31. To put the boot in –to give up/to attack someone when they are down/to pack things away

32. Give us the gist –do the work for us/help us to cheat/summarize it for us

33. I have pissed away my life –I am old and unwell/to have wasted my life/I have a urinary infection

34. The floor is open –you can leave now/anyone is welcome to talk/no one wishes to speak

35. To soft-pedal it –to ride a bicycle slowly/to deny something/to not emphasise something

36. Off the beaten track –highly populated/remote/in the countryside

37. A bit hit and miss –dependent on chance/to aim for something and miss the target/done with care

38. To step into my shoes –to show empathy/to take over someone's role/to work with someone

39. To get your marching orders – to retire/to become a soldier/receive orders to leave

40. You can't polish a turd –you can't improve something useless/to rescue something/to clean something up

41. I am kicking the tyres here –giving up/checking how something responds/expressing anger

42. To be that way inclined –to lean over/to desire something/to be gay

43. To push the boat out –to put a lot of effort into something/to go sailing/to fail to achieve something

44. To be up for it –to be forced to do something/to be willing to do something/to go away

45. For old times sake –to do something in order to remember happy times from the past/to do something repeatedly/to do something old-fashioned

Appendix II – Interview

1. Could you tell me what the film was about?

2. What subject were the boys studying?

3. What exams were they studying for?

4. What social class did the boys belong to (upper, middle or working class)?

    a. What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?

5. How wealthy were the boys and their families?

    a. What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?

6. What type of school is featured in the film (a state school or a private school)?

    a. What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?

7. Was the school co-educational (boys and girls)?

    a. What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?

8. Which characters do you think were homosexual?

    a. What features of the film helped you to reach this conclusion?

Appendix III – Lesson Plans

Happy go Lucky

- Examples of the material used for discussion in the priming lesson are given below:
- Introduction to and discussion around UK primary education insert image
- Discussion around learning to drive
- Introduction to and discussion around the UK class system
- The BBC Accents archive was used to familiarise subjects with London accents and grammar structures: (http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/recordings/)

A translation exercise was completed (given below)

How was your weekend?

Crap.

Oh, no, why's that, then?

I didn't do much, just stayed in, really.

It's the weekend, Tash.

 I know. I had a run-in with my mum.

Did ya?

Mm. My sister was working Saturday.

I had to look after Jasmine.

How is she?

That girl eats too much.

Bless her.

She ate three chicken legs and four jam tarts and then wants to tell me she's starving.

The little piglet.

I dropped her off to my mum's.

Yeah?

I said you've got to tell Sherryanne that she needs to put this girl on a diet.

You'll give her a complex, she's 7.

All of a sudden Mum doesn't want to get involved, for the first time in her life. Then I'm just leaving the house and my two aunts arrive from Dollis Hill.

Oh, no.

So we get the Spanish Inquisition. "Tash, you got a boyfriend? "Are you getting married soon? Why don't you give your mother another grandchild? "You know she nearly 60. She getting old."

Aargh...!

I was, like, "I haven't got a boyfriend. I won't be getting married soon, and, no, I won't be investing in a mortgage in the near future, thank you very much." Then I just closed the door and left. End of.

The Football Factory

- Examples of the material used for discussion in the priming lesson are given below:
- Introduction to and discussion around football "firms", or groups of football hooligans
- Introduction to and discussion around the UK class system
- The BBC Accents archive was used to familiarise subjects with London accents and grammar structures: (http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/recordings/)

An translation exercise was completed (given below)

- Are you fucking Chelsea, aren't you?
- Yeah.
- You flash cockney bastards. Do you know Stanley?
- Run!
- Go on, run, you pair of runts.
- Drive on again mate. Drive on.
- Fucking cunts, eh? Fucking running now!
- Cunts! Fucking cunts!
- Go on. Fuck off!
- Come here. You didn't fucking shine there, did you, son?
- What?
- I've gotta go to work on him now, stop him opening you up. You silly bollocks. What was all that about?

- But we did them, though didn't we?
- I knew Billy had a real punishment lined up for Zeberdee. He weren't exactly the forgiving type, but as long as Harris was around, he couldn't touch him. And Harris and Billy certainy did not need another reason to fall out.
- Right. No thieving, no bringing attention to yourselves. Just keep your nuts down. I wanna be outside and back on the road in five minutes. Oh, yeah, and whatever you do, no fighting.
- Bit rich, coming from him, Ain't it?
- Zeb, what's Billy said to you?
- He said we've gotta get his gear back to him by tomorrow. And we've got to apologise to his wife and kids.
- You've had a result there, boys you're lucky he's old school. He could have battered you.
- Blinding result?
- A geezer who's a complete nutter will never talk to us again, and everyone thinks we're thieving little cunts.
- You are thieving little cunts.

The Full Monty

- Examples of the material used for discussion in the priming lesson are given below:
- Introduction to and discussion around the UK class system
- The BBC Accents archive was used to familiarise subjects with Sheffield accents and grammar structures: (http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/recordings/)

A translation exercise was completed (given below):

- o   'Ey, listen. Music.
- Bloody hell!
  - o   What are they doing?
  - o   It's the works band. It's still going.
- About only thing round 'ere that is.
- 'Ey up! Security guard's back.
- "Won't take a minute", he says.
- "Won't take a minute." Now what?
- Shut up. I'm thinking.
- Can't we do normal things sometimes?
- This is normal! In't it, Dave?
- Oh, aye. Everyday stuff, this.
- I think this bugger's sinking.
- Pick it up, and try and slide it across other side.
- That's it.
- Oh, fucking hell, Nathe!
- They're 20 quid each, them!
- That were your bloody maintenance were that!
  - o   Oh, shit.
  - o   Oh, nice one.

- Nathe!
- Nathan!
  - Fucking hell!
  - Come 'ere, come 'ere, come ere!
- Jesus! Stay still.
- Stay still, stay still.
- All right.
- What's your initiative got to say about this, then, bog eyes?
- 'Ey up, there's someone coming.
  - All right?!
  - Aye, not so bad.
- "Not so bad"?
- "Not so bad"?
- That's not much of a chuffing SOS!
- All right, don't get a benny on.

Trainspotting

- Examples of the material used for discussion in the priming lesson are given below:
- Introduction to and discussion around the drugs sub-culture
- Introduction to and discussion around the UK class system
- The BBC Accents archive was used to familiarise subjects with Scottish accents and grammar structures: (http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/recordings/)

GLOSSARY

aboot	about
ah	I
anywey	anyway
awright	alright
ay	yes, indeed
baws	balls
chib	knife or blade
dinnae	don't
doon	down
dough	money
fae	from
fir	for
gadge	bloke, fella
goat	got
hadnae	hadn't
haud	hold
hud've	had've
intae	into
jist	just
ken	know
kin	can
lippy	loud-mouthed, outspoken
ma	my
mind	remember
nae	no
nivir	never
nowt	nothing / anything
oan	on
pagger	fight
pit	put
plukey faced wide-o	spotty-faced (wide-o probably means "someone who thinks a lot of himself?)
pus	face
saes / sais	says
scoobied (be)	doesn't have a clue
smert	smart
specky	**1**. *adj*. bespectacled, wearing glasses
spoke	spoken
stanes	stones
swedge	**1.** *n.* fight **2**. *n*. bevelled chisel **3**. *n*. mould
tae	to
telt	told
um	him
wee	little, small?
wid've	would've / would have
wisnae	wasn't

A translation exercise was completed (given below):

Below is the transcript for this scene for a student handout.

Cut tae the scene. Had a fuckin week thair, doon the fuckin Volley wi Tommy playin pool. Ahm playin like Paul fuckin Newman by the way, givin the boy here the tannin o a lifetime. So it comes to it, the last shot, the decidin bawl o the whole tournament. Ahm on the black n he's sittin' in the corner, looking all fuckin biscuit arsed.

N this hard cunt comes in, obviously fuckin fancied himsel like. Starts starin at me, looking at me, right fuckin at me as if to say, "come ahead square go!"

Ye ken me, ahm no the type o cunt that goes lookin for fuckin bother like, but ah at the end of the day ahm the cunt with a pool cue n he kin have the fat end in his pus any fuckin time he wanted like. So ah squares up, casual like, and what does the hard cunt do? Or the so-called hard cunt. Shites it! Puts doon his drink, turns and gets the fuck oota there. And after that, well the game was mine.

Appendix IV–

Princesas

Swearwords	Slang	Non-standard Grammar	Dialect	Idioms
cabrón	Tirar	Mañana en la mañana		
Puta	Papa			
Ostia	Papi			
Gilipollas	papito			
Zorra	plata			
Mierda	polvo			
joder	mamada			
Hijas de puta	cachas			
putada	Sale de los huevos			
follar	yonkies			
hijoputa	Paja			
	Tia/tio			
	tetas			

La Flor de mi Secreto, Almodovar

Swearwords	Slang	Non-standard Grammar	Dialect	Idioms
gillipollas	hala	"Me meo toa"	acá	Cara de ladilla
cago	Huy	Si no veo na'?	regularcilla	Lo lleva en la masa de la sangre
puta	ya	"mu sexy"	apolitronadica	No te salgas de tiesto
follar	leche	¿hago tiempo?	curcusilla	Como vaca sin cencerro
Me cago en dios	yonqui	"pa'acá"	igualica	Cara de palo
Por dios	maricón	"pa'allá"	"achoncillo"	
coño	¡chin!	"pa'alante"	¿Y la Leo?	
Hijo de puta	uy	"pa'atrás"		
jeeeeeeeesús	Tia/tio	Qué *exagerá*		
cabrón	tronchó	*llegao*		
puteo		*Na*		
polvos		*montao*		
marrano		*puñao*		

Mar Adentro; Gallician and Catalan subtitled in Spanish

Swearwords	Slang	Non-standard Grammar	Dialect	Idioms
joder	ya		filloas	Se va la olla
carajo	A guasa			Tirandome las téjas
Majaderia (tonteria)	monaguillo			Viajar sin dinero mariner
coño	hala			

Maria llena de gracia (Colombia)

Swearwords	Slang	Non-standard Grammar	Dialect	Idioms
mamón	El chino	chau	estomaguito	
caga	plata		momentico	
puta	platica			
culicagada				
pendeja				
joder				

Tesis - Amenabar

Swearwords	Slang	Non-standard Grammar	Dialect	Idioms
Joder Hay que joderse	cascó	"gore"		Volando los sesos
cojonudo	tío			Por la boca muere el pez
Pijo de mierda	Mal bicho			
coño	pasta			
hostias	chupa			
mariconada	pico			
	maderos			
	paja			

Entre tinieblas - Almodovar

Swearwords	Slang	Non-standard Grammar	Dialect	Idioms
Joder	pis	pirao		Guay del Paraguay
hijoputa	gaga	envenenao		Por la boca muere el pez
Pijo de mierda	La pasma	tirao		
coño	rayita			
hostias	Pela/s			
mariconada	amuerman			
	Me pico			
	coca			
	napos			

La mala educación - Almodovar

Swearwords	Slang	Non-standard Grammar	Dialect	Idioms
Hasta los cojones	tío	pesao		Ha quedado frito
cabrón	pedo	envenenao		Ir al grano
Hijaputa/hijoputa	polla	tirao		Manga por hombro
coño	duro	pá		Daba largas
hostias	pollón	colocá		
maricon	flipo	Pa'l		
cerda	burro	agotá		
putada	coca	P'arriba		
Lo que te salga de la polla	currando			
putos	heavy			
hostia	yonqui			
calientapollas	chuleabas			
Maricon de mierda	pasta			
cagas				
follar				
joder				

Volver - Almodovar

Swearwords	Slang	Non-standard Grammar	Dialect	Idioms
coño	mociquilla	pesao	tempranico	Cara de sota
Me meo			pajarico	Fatal de los remos
mierda	porro		terrenico	Se la ha tragado la tierra
	casting		La + name	Saca la gente del juicio
	La leche		cuidaíco	Clavo ardiendo
	molida		dinerico	Pan con pan
	curro		quietecica	Vais a caer el culo
	pelada		apañadica	Mala leches
	chirlas			Puso las cuernas
	bizca			Buena espina
	querindongo			No me tiras de la lengua
	pavos			Lavar trapos sucios
				Tocar el fandango

Carne Tremula - Almodovar

Swearwords	Slang	Non-standard Grammar	Dialect	Idioms
cojones	tío	Toa'	acá	Se te va la bola
cabrón	porra	Quedao'		Te parto la cabeza
hijoputa	toquillo	Cuidao'		Rompe la cintura
coño	camello	paece		Están pasando pipa
hostias	majara	To'		Lo que corta el bacalao
puta	zumbá	Matao'		
Me cago en la leche	Que palo	jodio		
joder	Churridao'	Pa'		
		machacá		
		Acojonao'		
		Sio'		
		Tenio'		
		prefabricá		
		Pa' acá		
		Enterao'		
		Venio'		
		Prometio'		
		Olvidao'		
		Dejao'		

Hormigas en la Boca -

Swearwords	Slang	Non-standard Grammar	Dialect	Idioms
cojones	gallegos			Tragando la tierra
Puta madre	La monda			Volar la cabeza
hijoputa				Caerle a palos
coño				Patas arriba
cabrón				Venga manzo a mí
comemierda				
Vete a la mierda				