

**Style as a translatable dimension of language: the applicability of
the translation of style in animated films**

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Contents of the Appendix

The files of the Appendix are contained in an enclosed CD. They contain the following files:

- Transcriptions in English, Catalan and Spanish of the selected scenes of the Corpus Analysis.
- A folder with the ethical clearing application form and testimonies for Chapter 3, including their consent to participate in this research.
- Ethical clearing application form for Chapter 4.
- Questionnaires used to collect subjects' perception for Chapter 4 in English, Catalan and Spanish.

Abstract

This thesis investigates how variational style is used in animated films, and whether this feature of language can withstand the process of translation. Variational style can explain instances of language varieties that appear in modern animated films, which implies a conscious design that confers various semiotic layers to the audiovisual text. We consider the case of four films that have been translated into Catalan and Spanish, and include instances of style with vernaculars in the source and target languages. *Shrek 2* (2004), *Shrek Tale* (2004), *Madagascar* (2005) and *Cars* (2006) present an opportunity to investigate how style supports the narrative in the original and dubbed versions. To this end, we apply a stylistic analysis to the four films in all three language versions to uncover how this dimension of language interacts. The corpus analysis addresses the local meanings of variation, which are established in relation to the space the variety plays in the narrative. Ultimately, we seek to determine whether the original style has been reproduced in the target texts.

Furthermore, we seek to account for the acceptability of these translations by examining the current visibility of language variation in audiovisual media in English, Catalan and Spanish, and determining the extent to which speakers of each language are exposed to variation, and possibly style. Translation is also used to explore the possibilities that are available when transferring style between two languages by means of dubbing. In this context, we highlight the ethical perspective. To further address the acceptability of these translations, the final chapter consists of an empirical study into the perceptions that native audiences have of selected characters. Overall, we are able to conclude that the translation of style is a resource that has been exploited successfully for some of the characters of the corpus, and that it is a feature that can be further applied to similar fantasy films. We nevertheless acknowledge the importance of the genre, fantasy and animation, in creating a desirable situation where distance from reality allows for variation to create meanings that are distinct from their social context, which is the key to their translatability.

Key words: sociolinguistics, style, media, audiovisual translation, audience perception, language varieties, fantasy genre

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Introduction. Is style a translatable dimension of language?

Since its origins the film industry has been a part of society. In 1927 audiovisual cinema emerged with the release of *The Jazz Singer*; from then on films were able to add sound to an otherwise visual product. This opened a new set of possibilities, but it also highlighted borders between countries, as language proved to be a barrier for communication. Success and profits required a wide distribution of films, hence resources had to be found and compromises had to be met to bring them to multilingual audiences: audiovisual translation was born. However, as trends, themes and genres developed, so too has the language use in cinema and media, which on occasion includes a diverse use of language variation. The inclusion of geographical and social varieties in media and their potential for translation in Catalan and Spanish is our main concern. In the following paragraphs, the reader will find the construction of the overall argument that will be looked in detail in the forthcoming chapters.

In English, cinema started with a canonical use of language, but throughout the second half of the twentieth century the film industry experienced a shift towards a more realistic and uncomplicated style (Kozloff 2000). It is precisely in this context that we are interested in the emerging uses in media of vernaculars, understood as non-mainstream variation. Vernaculars can be heard in recent films which, at the linguistic level, attempt to reflect the diverse linguistic reality of the English language, and in some cases it could be argued that they follow a specific audience design (Bell 1984) to engage with the viewers. This movement towards a greater visibility of vernaculars through naturalisation is central to this research, understood as a use of sociolinguistic resources with aesthetics in mind (Coupland 2001, 2007, 2009).

Within the range of filmic genres that include language variation, a particular format stands out: fantasy films, and particularly computer-generated animated films, where parallel worlds are presented, with diverse characters, landscapes and language varieties that work together to present the film. Precisely because these films take place in a made-up space, we can find instances of language variation that do not seek a link with a social reality, i.e. where a zebra might speak with a Cuban accent for no other reason than to support the character's personality in a styled way. This creative and localised use of vernaculars through style as a dimension of language is the point of departure for our analysis of the original and translations.

Shrek 2 (2004), *Shark Tale* (2004), *Madagascar* (2005) and *Cars* (2006) have been selected as a corpus to gain insight into the translation of style, as a case study. We argue that, together with the design of the story, the film and the physical appearance of the characters, the narrative has also been designed linguistically. Kozloff (2000: 18) points out that nothing in cinema is coincidental: it could therefore be argued that if some characters have a differentiated linguistic feature, it is for a reason. The collage of linguistic diversity that can be found in the films of the corpus is a conscious option chosen to achieve a very particular product and thus it is hypothesised that a similar texture can be achieved in the target language. Following Coupland (2007, 2009), we apply a stylistic analysis to the corpus, where we assess the meaning of variation locally and its function in the original film. We then establish what has been the process of translation into Catalan and Spanish for this particular feature.

The study of variational style in itself suggests a fertile field for research, where the need arises for an understanding of this creative use of variation. This then can be extended to translation, where the diversity and audience convergence of the original might be reproduced. Both the present Catalan and Spanish translations show attempts to translate varieties of the source language into varieties of the target language, although no single strategy can be perceived. One of the aims of this thesis is to establish the translation potential of style within a typology of situations that serve to aid the translation strategies for these new uses of vernaculars.

In order to provide a thorough exploration, several interwoven themes will be addressed throughout this thesis. The overriding question will be whether style, as a dimension of language, remains visible within the fantasy genre even after the process of translation. Translatability here is understood as a global aspect that includes language constraints, audience reception, stylistic options and ethical issues, which are all addressed in the thesis. With the vital role that the audiences play in the consumption of audiovisual products, it will be suitable to ask whether they are likely to accept variational style in animated films. In the process of translating vernaculars, inescapable ethical implications emerge: some choices can potentially lead to the stigmatisation of some varieties, so they will be taken into account. Augmenting the presence of vernaculars in mass media can have effects on the sociolinguistic processes of a minoritised language like Catalan, i.e. a language that has been planned as subordinate ‘through dominant ideologies and discourse’ (García 2011: 667). It can also affect a well-established language like Spanish. Therefore, the concept of translatability is acknowledged from a range of perspectives.

Chapters 1 and 2 concern factors that combine to support the main question of the thesis. To address this, one must touch upon subjects such as research on audiences and their media contexts; the translation of vernaculars; the specificity, history and functions of dubbing, and ultimately style as the dimensions of language that is behind the sociolinguistic features that appear in the corpus.

Chapter 1 is divided into two sections, the first of which is concerned mostly with sociolinguistic aspects such as defining the concepts of style and audience design, and in building a stylistic analysis suitable for the thesis. The second section is dedicated to investigating the visibility of language variation in audiovisual media in English, Spanish and Catalan: we research the language output regarding variation in public television channels, and we question whether style has entered the equation in all three languages.

Chapter 2 introduces the general topic of audiovisual translation and the specificities that operate within dubbing. Subsequently, various particularities of the dubbing process are detailed. Particular attention is paid to the Spanish and Catalan dubbing industry and how this has operated over the past eight decades, including the changes that have been incorporated and the reasons and functions behind the choice of dubbing over subtitling as a transfer method of foreign audiovisual products. The second section comprises an exploration of the way in which the translation of variation has been theorised. This will highlight how some authors have described the translation of variation as a necessity, while others have felt less optimistic about the materialisation of a transfer of language variation from one linguistic and cultural code to another one.

Chapter 3 includes a detailed analysis of the films that form the corpus. *Shrek 2*, *Shrek Tale*, *Madagascar* and *Cars* have comparable features: they belong to the same genre and target the same audiences, they are all computer-generated and seek to appeal both to a young and mature audience. And, most importantly, they use language variation in the original and some of the subsequent translations. The concept of style and audience design becomes the point of view to explain how the films resort to stylistic variation. We examine the functions that each character plays in order to establish the meaning of their vernacular at a local level. This aids in assessing the possibilities that can be exploited in the dubbed products but, most importantly, whether style has been relayed, how, and with what consequences, also with regards to ethical portrayals.

Chapter 4 comprises a brief study which explores the process of reception of selected characters of the corpus amongst native audiences. Methodology, results and conclusions

for this study are presented to provide vital information regarding the acceptability of these translations and the audience's perception of the original.

The conclusion to the thesis establishes the relevance of the findings regarding both the qualitative and quantitative results. This includes a discussion on the repercussions of the style dimension in media and translation. We offer a discussion on the ramifications that can stem from this research, and that touch directly upon an influential part of society such as audiovisual media.

Chapter 1 - Creating style with language varieties and their visibility in audiovisual media

1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the concepts that will be identified and analysed in the corpus of films that forms this thesis, and the audiovisual context in which these films are produced and received. The main body of the chapter provides a sociolinguistic background that will help identify the concept of style, audience design and audience convergence, followed by a brief account of the visibility of language variation in the media in English, Catalan and Spanish.

Language variation seen as style and the use of vernaculars in mass media is presented as a framework for explaining the corpus selection and its analysis. A trait common to all four films in the corpus is that they feature language variation to style their characters in the original version. Subsequently, in one or both of the translated versions into Catalan and Spanish, variational style has partially been recreated for some characters. It is the aim of the analysis to uncover how these resources are put to use creatively, within a theoretical framework established in Section 2.

Changes in the visibility of variation in media occurred initially in English, while the situations in Spanish and Catalan follow different routes directly linked to the political context of Spain and the Catalan-speaking areas, which will be outlined. A switch from a canonical use of language to an inclusive use of vernaculars in media can increasingly be perceived mostly in English, although the visibility of vernaculars has also been noted in Catalan and Spanish. Section 3 of this chapter will provide an overview of public television channels and domestic cinema. This will be central to understanding the kind of variation that audiences are exposed to, providing a context for the corpus of original films and their translations where audiences are an inescapable factor.

2. Language variation and style: conceptual framework

An essential concept to be described in the following pages is that of style. As will be thoroughly explored, style is understood here as the local contextualisation of variation, while its analysis reveals the aesthetic meanings that these sociolinguistic resources produce. The present thesis is not only concerned with uncovering this resource as it is exploited in the film corpus: furthermore, it seeks to assess the translation of style in a restricted platform such as animated films, which is presented in Chapter 3 as a case study.

The works of Coupland (2007, 2009) are of particular relevance in describing the concept of style. Variation is the most important feature of the sociolinguistic resources that are used in the corpus and, as in Coupland (2007: 4), variation as a reality of language is instrumental to understanding social styles,¹ hence the next section describes style and forms the basis for a stylistic analysis, which will be carried out in Chapter 3. The focus of the analysis in Chapter 3 is, therefore, on how styles are activated using variation in all three languages for the same material, namely four original animated films and their translations.² As with Coupland, our priorities include ‘analysing the creative, design-oriented processes through which social styles are activated in talk and, in that process, remade or reshaped’ (Coupland 2007: 3) in the local context of each film.

Language use is not uniform, and it depends on many factors, situations, contexts, status, relationships and, ultimately, people who actively utilise it for communication. Variables on language use are multiple, and include age, gender, subject, context, and, most importantly here, the addressers’ intention towards their audience and their product. The corpus is characterised by different contexts and usage that result in a diverse portrayal of language and style resources that are not spontaneous but which appear to be so, having been carefully selected.³ The significant contribution of this thesis is to uncover how the variable of style functions when a media product has been designed and styled to fulfil a narrative purpose, and how media products could be and have been translated following the same principles and awareness of the original product design. Here we take the specific point of view of style as a dimension of language that governs variation, which aids the process of storytelling in the case of the corpus. A consideration of Critical Discourse Analysis will also be offered under section 2.1 below.

The field of sociolinguistics will be central in explaining variation, language attitudes, style and stylisation. This section will also make reference to audience or speaker design, which is described and alluded to throughout this thesis, as a way to illustrate the convergence that exists between these products and the audience they address.

¹ An overview can be found in the introduction of the chapter by Milroy and Milroy (1998) and Coupland (2007).

² Authors such as Marco (2004) have tackled the translation of style as ‘the notion of style as the particular way of writing of an individual author or group of authors’ (Marco 2004: 88), which differs from the current concept of style, but can serve as useful background reading in the context of translation.

³ The initial section of Chapter 2 addresses the nature of the audiovisual texts at stake: they are not spontaneous but are created to appear so. Furthermore, Chapter 3 addresses the authenticity of mediated utterances.

2.1 Language variation and style

In order to define the extent of variation, the next section will outline the main concepts. One of the terms that will be used extensively throughout this thesis is variety, which has sometimes been used to replace what was traditionally known by linguists, and not always popularly, as a dialect. Variety will be used here mainly to designate linguistic differentiations that appear within what is generally recognised as a more or less homogenous code or language, and hence which represent a temporal, geographical, social or personal differentiation in Catalan, Spanish and English. The term dialect can sometimes carry negative connotations, and therefore the term variety will prevail here, although the former will also appear to refer to sets of linguistic items, as a synonym. Further reading offered by Hudson (1996: 30-32) on the extent of the word dialect and its origin is useful, as it offers a chronology and extension of the concept. The importance of this precise terminology reflects the historical use of the term dialect to refer to subordinated languages, such as Catalan during the Franco dictatorship or Italic languages other than Italian. This will be mentioned again under the overview and background on dubbing practices in section 2.5 of the next chapter.

A traditional approach to describing language variation is put forward by Casamiglia and Tusón (1999: 56), which builds upon work by Catford (1965: 85) and other scholars such as Hatim and Mason (1990), in which language variation is divided into use and user categories. It is relevant in the current context that Casamiglia and Tusón highlight the importance of the phonetic element in their distinction, as texts analysed are exclusively oral. Their understanding of variation can be illustrated in the figure below.

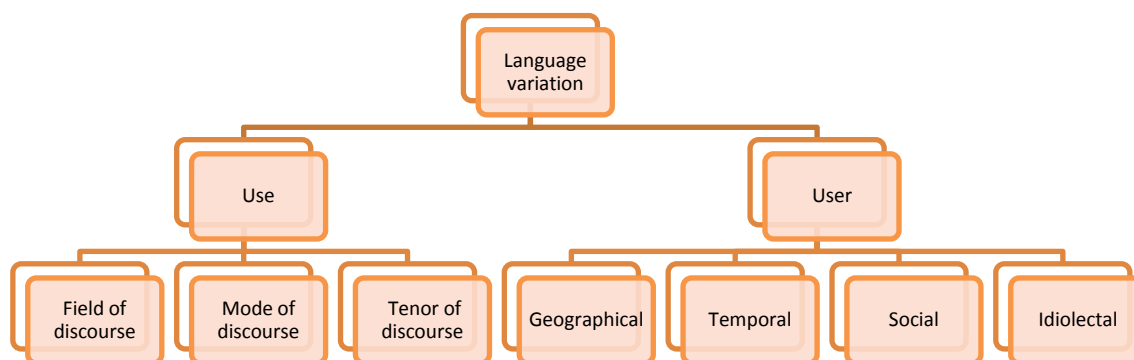


Figure 1: Language variation according to use and user (Casamiglia and Tusón 1999: 56).

Use-related variation, or transient variation (Catford 1965: 84), comprises registers and changes according to situation. Such situations can be described the using three hallidayan parameters: field of discourse, which reflects the social function of the text (Hatim and Mason 1990: 48); mode of discourse, which refers to the medium of the language activity (Hatim and Mason 1990: 49); tenor of discourse, which relays the relationship between the addresser and the addressee (Hatim and Mason 1990: 50). Casamiglia and Tusón further differentiate between the personal, interpersonal and functional tenors (1999: 328-329).

Style as a variant is a crucial point that is not included by all authors, but which is contemplated by Catford (1965), Bell (1984), Coupland (2007) and Bell and Gibson (2011). For Coupland and Bell, style overrides use-related variation. Bell (1984: 146) proposes intraspeaker stylistic variation instead, while Coupland regards user- and use-related variation as endorsing the view that ‘variation can be explained in linear terms’ (2007: 14), and defends the idea of style as a motivation for differences in speech. Especially in statements like the following, a certain determinism can be detected, which some scholars have questioned, defending the idea that speakers can perform different styles.

Temporal, geographical and social dialects are sets of linguistic habits corresponding to the temporal, geographical and social provenances of speakers and writers. *Idiolect* is the individual dialect: the variety related to the personal identity of the user. (Gregory 1980: 463)

A geographical variety can be described as a linguistic change motivated by geography that appears in some or all three levels of language, i.e. the phonetic, lexical and

grammatical levels. Similarly, when referring to the phonetic level the term accent may be used, ‘referring to nothing but pronunciation, [which] seems in general to be more sensitive to regional and social differences than grammar and vocabulary’ (Hudson 1996: 42).

Temporal variation is characterised by differential features registered through time and generations of speakers. Speed of change will depend on the language and the way it is coded, or how accepting it is of neologisms or trends. The needs that arise when translating a text from the fifteenth century will be similar to those of a text that is specifically set in the 1980s, in that both will require a skilled translator who is aware of specific markers in the original text, and who can transfer them to the target language, should the commission require this, and depending on the cultural system of the target audience.

Social variation traditionally has been described as dependent on social status, education, gender or even religion (Agost 1998: 84). However, in the case of authors like Bell (1984: 157), this is style-dependent, and as will be explained under point 2.3, responds to the principle of audience design.⁴ It is necessary to point out that on occasion there is some blurring between social and geographical variation as a result of historical factors, stereotyping or prejudice, or preference for a perceived standard language variety. The diagram above is complemented by Hatim and Mason (1990: 46) and Gregory and Carroll (1978: 12) with the added user variation of standard, which is considered problematic in the context of this work. To illustrate this it is useful to cite Coupland’s views on ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard varieties’, expressions that he feels need to be used with quotation marks.

A key problem with the terms ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ [...] is that we can really only understand one of them in relation to the other. There might be some social shadow of ‘educatedness’ around ‘standard’ grammar if we are made aware of there being a shadow of ‘uneducatedness’ around a ‘non-standard’ or vernacular alternative form. (Coupland 2007: 21)

The consideration of standard as a part of user-related variation is derived from an ideology that may have become obsolete. However, more importantly, the term standard ‘presupposes that there is a set of linguistic forms whose social value is known and uniform – they have an establishment-endorsed value, often called “prestige”’ (Coupland 2007: 42). This ideology will nevertheless be taken into account, especially with reference to the models followed currently or in the past by media broadcasters. Bibiloni (1997:22) explains how, initially, the standard language appeared in its written form, because a unifying model was required when printing was invented. After the creation of oral media, the written

⁴ In his theory on audience design, Bell solely contemplates social variation (Bell 1984: 151-152), which here will be expanded to embrace geographical and, to a lesser extent, temporal variation.

standard became the basis for creating the oral standard in Catalan (Bibili 1997: 22). Also with reference to Catalan, but extensible to other languages, Marí acknowledges that written language requires maximum uniformity, whereas there is no need to unify oral diversity under a single oral standard (Marí 1990: 21). Section 3 of the present chapter is concerned with how each language has dealt with the oral level in relation to the perceived standard.

Returning to the standard ideology, Coupland (2007) offers a discussion about the term 'standard', and how it 'presupposes that there is a set of linguistic forms whose social value is known and uniform' (Coupland 2007: 43), in detriment of the so-called 'non-standard forms'. When referring to variation outside mainstream varieties, the term vernacular will be used, 'defined relative to a less localized "standard"' (Coupland 2009: 285), even though we recognise Coupland's claim that 'we have to be wary of overconsolidating these terms' (Coupland 2009: 285), especially in relation to vernaculars, which could be over simplified. In light of this, in this thesis perceived standard varieties will be referred to as mainstream varieties (as used extensively in Lippi-Green 1997), which simply aims to reflect their wider, long-standing tradition or default usage in the media due to social conventions. Mainstream varieties can be described in opposition to less visible varieties or vernaculars that might have not been promoted as a 'standard' in the past, but that nevertheless are gaining visibility in new media products as equally valid forms of expression.

By contrast, regional varieties or vernaculars in general may not appear as prestigious as the favoured 'standard', often being linked to rural or poorer settings, different ethnicities or less educated backgrounds. It is in this idea that dialects and sociolects can converge into one in terms of social perception. This, together with what has been said above about standard language, can result in a blurring between social and geographical varieties, 'but a dialect is normally defined as a way of speaking typical of a group of people living in a certain region, and sociolects characterize groupings by social class, status, profession, and so on' (Fawcett 1997: 117).

Perceived prestige is a characteristic of all three languages in this thesis. The role of media in these perceptions is interesting for the next section, especially in light of the results of a survey that was used to compare current language attitudes with those of 1970 (Coupland 2007). It found that these had changed with respect to Received Pronunciation (RP), which although still highly appreciated, was not as widely desirable as in 1970 (Coupland 2007: 99). Furthermore, the second highest ranked variety according to the respondents was their own (Coupland 2007: 97-98). Attributing this shift to just one cause

would be difficult, but the presence of geographical variation in general media may have played an important role.

Referring back to the above classification of the user-related language variation, the final position shows idiolects, defined by Catford (1965: 85) as ‘the language variety related to the personal identity of the performer’, which can be styled into different genres. These are described as ‘culturally recognised, patterned ways of speaking, or structured cognitive frameworks for engaging in discourse’ (Coupland 2007: 15).

As pointed out by Aijón (2009: 341), each person’s speaking style is not a deterministic result of their place of origin or social situation, but rather styles are activated as a way to control the output of the message, and achieve different outcomes. This idea is comprehensively defended by Coupland (2007), and links with Bell’s ideas on audience design (1984). This lies at the core of stylistic design which will be extrapolated to cover a film as a macro-sign, instead of one speaker’s performance: ‘[s]torytelling, reading, and so forth [...] produce styles analogous to how people talk in different everyday situations’ (Bell 1984: 150). A text where style affects a whole mass-media product calls for simplification in distinguishing the characters’ social and geographical markers as a priority, away from the switches in style that are felt at a speaker level. Even though multiple codes are intertwined in every film, language varieties will play a central role. The differences between a dual and linear approach as shown above and the current sociolinguistic perspectives on style, especially as put forward by Bell and Coupland, are noticeable. Bell proposes that ‘style is *itself* one axis of sociolinguistic variation’ (Bell 1984: 146) and, although this might be a valid statement in explaining certain phenomena, we consider style as a supra-dimension, which acts above the aforementioned possibilities in variation, according to speaker and audience design, affecting the narrative of the films and their intentionality. This is in line with Milroy and Milroy’s understanding:

[I]t is usual, where possible, to recognize contextual style as a variable, and this variable tends to cut across or interact with the speaker variables. It is not a speaker variable in quite the same sense as the others, as variation according to social context or occasion of use (i.e., ‘stylistic variation’) is not a characteristic of the speaker as such, but of the speaker’s relationship to the resources of the language and of the situational contexts in which the speaker finds himself at different times. (Milroy and Milroy 1998: 50)

In the next section we elaborate the concept of style and propose which features need to be taken into account in a stylistic analysis.

2.2 Style and the basis for a stylistic analysis

The contextualisation of language variation is the focus of this thesis, which seeks to account for the occurrences where variation appears in specific audiovisual products by means of a stylistic analysis. Understanding the way messages are uttered and, furthermore, designed by the addresser (or films) with variation to potentially achieve different effects and support the narrative is one of the main objectives of this research.

In the current case, films have been designed at all levels of production, including the linguistic level, to present the audience with a particular end product, be it by the production team or in collaboration with the actors who lend their personas. It could be argued that in *Shrek 2*, *Shark Tale*, *Madagascar* and *Cars* the language dimension has been styled through the characters that use distinct variation, just like the rest of the visual appearance of the film and the textual contents.

Style has been clearly outlined and updated mostly by Coupland (2001, 2007, 2009), while Rickford and Eckert (2001), and Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (2007) offer an informative evolution of the concept. As Cutillas (2003) mentions, it has been neglected by authors including Wardhaugh (2010) and Hudson (1996), among others. Under the heading of style, Wardhaugh (2010: 47) equates this feature to registers, ignoring the intentionality and the potential to project identities that the selection of styles can bring about, which is addressed by other sociolinguists and discussed here. The need to look into the choices of speakers in greater detail, and in this case film-makers and audiovisual translators, will shift the attention to the works of Coupland and Bell, among others.

Rickford and Eckert point out that in the study of variation the focus had been placed 'on the relation between variation and the speaker's place in the world, at the expense of the speaker's strategies with respect to this place' (Rickford and Eckert 2001: 1).

Style could be described as a way of designing speech, consciously or not, by using linguistic resources, including variation, as Coupland (2007) discusses in some depth. In styling a speech act, the addresser is aware of the audience, and through different language resources, the message is moulded into a particular product. For Bell, '[s]tyle is essentially speakers' response to their audience' (Bell 1984: 145), a point that will be expanded under section 2.2. Aijón (2009: 340) believes that standard languages are the norm in mass media communication and that if texts are marked stylistically through variation, then it is safe to assume that further information is communicated, which is precisely the case we assume in the present corpus.

Cutillas, and Bell and Gibson have contributed to further defining style as a dimension of language, although it could be said their definitions differ considerably. For Cutillas, style ‘is that independent variable that motivates the selection of socially stigmatised forms or its prestigious equivalents due to causes other than the social characterisation of the speaker (that is, independent from their gender, social class, social network, age, etc.)’⁵ (Cutillas 2003).⁶ Cutillas’ view focuses on the schism that is created between the variety in question and its real context, and this is a key concept for the construction of the analysis, where vernaculars are not considered as deterministic indicators of provenance. This is also proposed by Coupland (2007), and discussed in forthcoming paragraphs: varieties have the capacity to index different attributes depending on their local meaning, and thus they can work differently to social portrayals. Contrary to Cutillas’ views, who does not believe the social characterisation of the character is intended when using variational style, Bell and Gibson highlight that staged performance events involve ‘the agentive use of language, building on the foundation of existing social meanings’ (Bell and Gibson 2011: 555). This point of view would assume a continuation between the variation presented and the stereotypical or socially deterministic indexing of such variation in the receiving culture. As suggested by Coupland and Cutillas above, in our analysis we will seek the meaning of vernaculars sought locally, be it if there is a reliance on the social or stereotypical meaning of a variety, or if the meaning has to be understood as an interaction with the story. In this sense, Irvine’s understanding of style is appropriate, in that she believes that styles play a function of distinctiveness (Irvine 2001). This is a relevant approach: characters who speak in varieties are distinct, and must be observed as such especially with a view to translation. Irvine’s understanding of style, however, involves social as opposed to local meanings, although she acknowledges the multitude of contrastive information that is needed to infer meaning and how nevertheless a final perception depends on the observer’s experience. As mentioned, Coupland (2007, 2009) is the author whose work can be mostly related to the present corpus, and whose understanding of the current trends in media will prove very useful for the analyses.

⁵ What is striking about Cutillas’ definition is the polarity in considering varieties, which are either stigmatised or prestigious.

⁶ The original Spanish reads ‘entendemos por estilo aquella variable independiente que motiva la selección de formas socialmente estigmatizadas o de sus equivalentes prestigiosos por causas ajenas a las caracterización social del hablante (es decir, independientemente de su género, su clase social, red social, edad, etc.)’.

We need to understand how people *use* or *enact* or *perform* social styles for a range of symbolic purposes. Social styles (including dialect styles) are a resource for people to make many different sorts of personal and interpersonal meaning. [...] Stylistic analysis is the analysis of how style resources are put to work creatively. Analysing linguistic style again needs to include an aesthetic dimension. It is to do with designs in talk and the fashioning and understanding of social meanings. (Coupland 2007: 3)

The intention here is to extrapolate this sense of stylistic analysis and apply it in a broader sense to an equally cohesive text, i.e. each one of the films and their versions, which works through their oral nature and in its potential to present styles. As mentioned in the previous section, a person can recount a past event, or express some personal views and enact different social styles, creating a cohesive text. A film is a more sophisticated form of storytelling that uses multiple characters to deliver a text, together with a more intricate visual channel that constitutes a macro-sign, where meanings are built from multiple channels and codes. In both cases it is a performance that takes place in a finite text, where linguistic resources can be activated. Understanding how a film resorts to social styles motivates the focus here: the analysis revolves around the way characters have been designed to achieve a particular product through language, much like speakers design their acts, and how these compare to their translated counterparts.

In the context of children's programmes that feature vernaculars such as animated films, '[t]his new media aesthetic does not assume any continuity between regional provenance and stylistic meaning' (Coupland 2007: 172). This suggests that films or products directed at children feature characters that speak in a variety that does not necessarily index geographical location or social position, but that is used to index other attributes that need to be understood contextually. However, it is necessary to make a distinction between cases in which a variety or accent is used to style a fictitious ogre who lives in a fantasy land such as *Shrek*, and when it is used to mirror a real setting. For example, English soap operas such as *Hollyoaks* (set in Chester), *Emmerdale* (set in Yorkshire) or *Eastenders* (set in London) create expectations as to which varieties the characters will use, as they are set in a very specific location and social context, together with specific demographics on age and social background. The actors required to sound local or authentic have to resort to a specific dialect in each case to feed the credibility and aid the diegesis, as geographic location is clearly outlined. The case of *Shrek* creates a different scenario, as there are in principle no expectations as to how a sensitive ogre from Far Far Away sounds like.⁷ This would

⁷ In *Shrek Forever After* (2010) a group of ogres can be heard using multiple varieties, further pointing out that there is no link between *Shrek's* Scottish accent and the design.

constitute an example of this kind of product that is growing in popularity that does not grant a continuation between variation and social space, which needs to be addressed taking into account the aesthetic values that it transmits, not in the wider social sphere, but in the local context.

[Vernaculars] are unlikely to function as models for wholesale patterns of language change because of their sheer range and diversity. But the significance of these developments lies in how the media contextualise vernacular speech in new ways, more than in a simple increase in exposure. [...] It is the current, local, performative 'use' of speech that matters and dialect provenance is subordinated to that concern. (Coupland 2007: 172)

Following with the Shrek example, this character speaks in a Scottish variety, but visually or narratively does not reference a Scottish background. The argument that will be developed is that the Scottish variety marks him as distinct, and it conveys a value that would not emerge had his variety been mainstream English, but that visually, culturally or socially there is no reference to Scotland. This is a type of variation that does not presuppose a specific social reference as an example of 'decontextualisation and transportability of performed speech' (Coupland 2007: 171). Also, it could be argued that this style can be used to mark very particular products and dress characters in a way that brings them closer to the linguistic reality of the viewers, where variation is an everyday occurrence. This convergence with the audience is looked at in detail in the section below on audience design.

An analysis of the aesthetic functions that variation plays will be essential in understanding the ways in which a potential translation has approached or could approach the original text. Having an understanding of the circumstances in which each dialect appears is also vital in uncovering an ethical portrayal, and its semiotic content for a subsequent translation. Despite the positive or local uses of variation that can be observed in the media at present, reliance on stereotypical portrayals of certain social or ethnic groups is still visible (Lippi-Green 1997, 2011). The stylistic analysis will be careful to distinguish whether there is a derogative use of variation outside mainstream varieties, and hence will seek to analyse vernaculars with ethics in mind. The findings offered by Lippi-Green on the portrayal of animated characters, mentioned under Section 3.2 of the present chapter will serve as guidance for the analysis. It will also be useful to assess whether attitudes in these animated films have shifted from the use of vernaculars for negative characters and mainstream for positive characters, as attested in Lippi-Green's findings.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was considered as a means to analyse the films that are used to form the corpus, given the social dimension of variation. However, it was dismissed due to its limitations especially on two fronts: the possibility of understanding varieties as a local construct, and the aesthetic dimension of variation. CDA is characterised by a problem-oriented approach that seeks to uncover relationships of power through language in relation to society, as ‘one of the aims of CDA is to “demystify” discourses by deciphering ideologies’ (Wodak 2004: 199). Another defining trait of CDA is that it is ‘interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent discrimination, power and control as manifested in language’ (Wodak 2004: 199), and it has an ‘interest in the semiotic dimensions of power, injustice, abuse and political-economic or cultural change in society’ (Fairclough, Mulderring and Wodak 2006: 357). The aim of the stylistic analysis of the present corpus material differs from these objectives and primarily seeks to describe the use of variation outwith its relation to society; ‘[t]he challenge lies in the argument that “who we are” [...] is not accounted for by “where we are from” or what social classes we notionally belong to’ (Coupland 2009: 286). A deterministic approach can be seen in CDA, and what is objectionable about it coincides with Coupland’s views on sociolinguistic essentialism, i.e. ‘the analytic tendency to presume that identities inhere “naturally” or “essentially” in the social categories that speakers are associated with’ (Coupland 2009: 286-287). An outstanding example to illustrate the contrastive, if not opposed, results of a stylistic analysis and a CDA analysis will be dutifully presented under the analysis of *Shrek* 2. In Section 5 of Chapter 3 the two analyses produce different interpretations: while CDA claims that variation is used to discriminate against the characters who use vernaculars, our stylistic analysis concludes that vernaculars are used as a tool for transgression of the established norms in an aesthetic and subversive way.

It is noticeable that CDA as a method of analysis of style is not present in any of the bibliography on variational style. Nevertheless, Stamou (2013) makes an attempt at combining the two, and concedes that ‘CDA has not much examined how particular linguistic variation phenomena [...] are mediated’ (Stamou 2013: 2). Stamou highlights how past studies have ‘focused on informational rather than entertaining genres of mass culture’ (Stamou 2013: 2); by studying advertisements, Stamou intends to uncover ideologies held about youth language. This, again, is a different aim to that of the present work.

We concluded that a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach would have limited application to the type of use that is made of variation in the corpus, where relation to social realities does not apply to all characters and variation is reshaped into new meanings

in local contexts. Through the creation of fantasy spaces, the link to reality is often broken, and this is why a stylistic analysis is more suitable and applicable to all the corpus material, as '[p]articular indexicals can contribute to the construction of different identities, depending on how they are locally contextualized' (Coupland 2009: 288). Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognise that these films exist within a specific context of production, that they have a US and Western point of view, and hence are part of a specific social structure. Therefore, we believe that CDA could be used for the present data, possibly including a bigger corpus, if the objective were to understand attitudinal changes towards the presence of vernaculars in animated films in relation to attitudes towards 'standard'. Other examples could be assessing whether the inclusion of vernaculars is done in an egalitarian way, or analysing the presence (or absence) of female characters and their use of vernaculars, which incidentally will be briefly addressed in the conclusions of Chapter 3. Having said this, the analysis of the second film of the corpus, *Shark Tale*, brings forward old stereotypes in a way that uncovers relations of power in the original, which are materialised through variation. However, the way styles are recreated in the dubbed versions use vernaculars creatively as opposed to stereotypically. Therefore, we still estimated the stylistic analysis, which includes a critical description of the characters and the narrative, would be the most relevant.

As described above, the stylistic analysis will look for the meaning of the varieties used by the different characters. In seeking a local contextualisation of variation, a way to determine whether accents are detached from a social meaning is to test whether they are interchangeable. When characters are unequivocally linked to a particular stereotype or social reality, it is a particular variety and not any other that would work in that space. This happens on many occasions in films where the storyline is linked to a real context. A clear example can be drawn from a film that seeks realism such as *Billy Elliot* (2000): if the child spoke in Australian English with no previous explanation, the contextual cues that make the text so marked would affect the credibility of such a character, as the visual elements point to specific conventions and expectations amongst the audience who can see a North of England landscape and architecture. However, the fantasy dimension present in the corpus allows for a break with the rules of reality, and here the argument will be in favour of understanding some of the language variation in the corpus as interchangeable, which is related to its characteristics as a locally-constructed and aesthetic meaning. That is to say that when varieties appear, they may index qualities that can be supplied by a number of dialects, and not just the one used. An illustrative example can be derived from Coupland's

analysis of variation in the media, by which children's television presenters Dick and Dom's Sheffield accent appears to suggest a break with the established rules:

Dick and Dom's voices do not index 'Sheffield-ness' as much as mildly anti-establishment stance and an 'edginess' of language and world-view that is felt to appeal to kids and to older people in popular culture genres. This new media aesthetic does not assume any continuity between regional provenance and stylistic meaning. Dick and Dom's speech seems to be important for being non-normative in canonical broadcasting, rather than for being 'Sheffield English'.
(Coupland 2007: 172)

It is easy to imagine that similar characters with other non-mainstream accents would have indexed similar values. It is reasonable to conclude that this interchangeability works partly in opposition: it functions because it is not mainstream, and makes a given character stand out, or be distinct, to use Irvine's (2001) nomenclature, in a local context. It is precisely this interchangeability that is necessary for a prospective translation: knowing whether a character is built upon a stereotype or if it is derived from a certain culture will be essential to ensure that similar principles are not overlooked in the translation.

Choosing a variety that indexes particular attributes may be a very subjective task, both at production and translation levels, and it can depend heavily on personal experiences. This would work in opposition to stereotypes, which are of a social nature and established, albeit unstable. The way to ensure varieties are not working alongside stereotypes would be by establishing strong ethical principles which would guarantee that a character does not index negative attributes gratuitously. The ethical principles needed for a prospective translation will be explored in Chapter 2, and will emerge again in the subsequent analysis. The decision to translate a variety from the source text (ST) will ultimately be at the translators' or dubbing directors' discretion, although as will be seen in Chapter 3, the control exerted by the studios may motivate some decisions to carry the style of the original. Dubbing stylistic features may also depend on the actors available for the translation, and what they can bring with their own experiences, nature or known personae. After all, it is evident that variation in some of the products appears for variation's sake, to break away from an otherwise linguistically homogeneous text and perhaps to converge with the audience's reality. This too confers some sense of normality on the resource of variation, in opposition to the characteristics of linguistically linear texts, and a more naturalistic style that in most cases moves away from stereotypical usage of variation. Including variation in such widespread media products can be a very positive move to

validate the use of dialects, away from stigmatisation or stereotypical uses, but can have the opposite effect if variation is mishandled.

To conclude, we will refer to a further notion linked to style, which is stylisation. Stylisation can be described as a ‘strategic inauthenticity in performance’ (Coupland 2009: 291), for which Coupland (2007:149) recycles a Bakhtinian concept that will be useful when highlighting a minority of occurrences in the analysis. This concept is also referred to as staged performance by Bell and Gibson, which indicates ‘the overt, scheduled identification and elevation of one or more people to perform, with a clearly demarcated distinction between them and the audience’ (Bell and Gibson 2011: 555). Bell and Gibson further state that ‘[s]tagged performances tend to be linguistically stylized, pushing the limits of language creativity. They have the potential to trigger significant sociolinguistic effects, circulating novel forms and contributing to language change’ (Bell and Gibson 2011: 555). This potential contribution to language change will be further discussed in the next chapter, and linked to translation strategies of domestication and foreignisation, i.e. whether the translations incorporate foreign traits that are not evident in the target culture. When this stylistic variation as a feature of language is translated, it inevitably has an impact in the target audiences and culture that is observed throughout this thesis. Such impact is not necessarily negative, but by acquiring a foreign trait, the process of translation is setting a different precedent in the target culture that was not there before.

[A]cts of identity in high performance events encourage a critical dialogue about the real versus the projected content of identity categories, such as maleness and femaleness, Welshness and other forms of localness or ethnicity, and so on. [...] [M]etasocial/metacultural acts of identity involve lifting a particular identity out of its immediate context. [...] For Bakhtin, stylisation has both specific and general meanings. It is ‘an artistic image of another’s language’ (1981: 362). But it is also a general quality of language use. [...] Bakhtinian stylisation is therefore not only ‘artistic’. It is a subversive form of multi-voiced utterance, one that discredits hegemonic, monologic discourses by appropriating the voices of the powerful, and reworking them for new purposes. (Coupland 2007: 149-150)

There may be some overlapping among style, stylisation and Bell and Gibson’s staged performance (2011) due to the hybridisation of the texts at stake: they are undoubtedly staged, but also intended to appear mundane. From here on style will be used to describe the characterisation using variation of the story as a whole. Stylisation, in turn, occurs for some of the characters, and will be pointed out when necessary. Style will be explained as a way to portray the aforementioned *mundane performance* that the films aim to recreate, which links with the initial section of the following chapter, where the dual nature of audiovisual

texts and their credibility is addressed. The style featured in the films is an artificial performance, one that is not authentic but intended to appear so, and is mediated, ‘e.g., in the representation of a dialect, not all grammatical features and divergences from the standard variety are retained’ (Stamou 2013: 3).

2.3 Audience design

In his theory of audience design, Bell (1984) conceives a framework by which in all speech acts ‘persons respond mainly to other persons, [...] speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk [...], speakers design their style for their audience’ (Bell 1984: 159). By accounting for the role and proximity of their audience, the speakers may follow different styles. Within this design, there are various factors to explain prospective approaches that may have to be taken into account in the translation of style. By assessing the role of variation in establishing a relationship between the message and the audience, beyond the metaphorical meanings that variation plays within the films that will be analysed in Chapter 3, a different translation approach may be called for: one that addresses the intent convergence in the original.

In devising this theory, Bell outlines two dimensions to style: the responsive and the initiative. For the first one, ‘a speaker shifts style in response to the extralinguistic situation’ (Bell 1984: 161). For the latter, style is used as a ‘dynamic force to redefine an existing situation’ which occurs ‘as a response not to the immediate audience but to certain third persons not physically present’ (Bell 1984: 161). Bell labels this audience as referees, which is crucial to understanding his view of mass media in audience design. Referees are ‘absent but influential on the speaker’s attitudes’ (Bell 1984: 161), which can be equated to the fact that target audiences are present in the mind of broadcasters or producers, as well as genres and expectations. For Bell, ‘[a]ll media language is initiative style design’ (Bell 1984: 192), and within this different attitudes will be accounted for.

There are three kinds of attitude that an addressee can have towards their audience: convergence, divergence and maintenance (Bell 1984: 162), but Bell only contemplates the initial two within initiative shifts. Convergence describes the audience response to an addressee in the addressee’s language, while divergence refers to a reaction against an addressee (Bell 1984: 185). They are both a response, but in opposite terms. Examples of convergence can be found in political speeches (Lippy-Green 2011: 147) when politicians address crowds of people they would like to see as potential voters and adapt to their audience’s context and sometimes use local expressions. A divergence could be exemplified

when a speaker does not wish to find a common ground with their interlocutor, and points this out linguistically by using distinct vocabulary or a different variety to the addressee's.

In previous sections there was the suggestion that new audiovisual products are emerging which use language variation in a way that does not follow a long-standing tradition, i.e. appearing as a dynamic force that locally redefines an existing usage. It is interesting to point out such change and equate it to what Bell would call audience convergence. By featuring variation, mass media are more representative of their audience than if a mainstream variety was used. A possibility to explain the translation of style is by applying the principle of convergence with the audience by means of using the same resources that exist among these audiences, i.e. their varying styles and vernaculars, in a way that the original audience are exposed to the products that are designed for them.

Perhaps the exact definition of convergence offered by Bell needs updating, however. Bell regards convergence as the 'response to an addressee [...] expressed in monolingual shift towards the addressee, in a bilingual's choice of the addressee's language, and so forth' (Bell 1984: 185). With the shift in the language used in the film corpus, a definition of convergence arises that is precisely the opposite, motivated by the diversity of voices. Instead of a monolingual shift, audience convergence should reflect the multitude of voices that form the mass audience of these films and reflect the audience's diversity. By the same token, media that use perceived standards could represent a divergence from the audience, understood as a diverse set of speakers (or referees) who use variation.

We have argued that audience convergence can account for the language shift from a canonical to a diverse use. However, an alternative way to explain the appearance of language variation in these products would be by Bell's aforementioned maintenance. Vernacular maintenance is described in Milroy and Milroy (1998) as an attitude against standard. By using a variety in unfavoured contexts, a speaker may use it as a symbol of resilience, but ultimately of identity. Vernacular maintenance (Milroy and Milroy 1998: 53), signals the validity of the vernacular for every context, which is one of the concerns for potential translations. Although it may be the case that some films advocate vernacular maintenance, the principle of convergence is satisfactory in explaining the diverse use of variation to address the audience in these particular contexts, and for prospective translations.

This opens a new angle from which to analyse the translation potential of the corpus texts: the local meanings established by different characters using variation, and the

perspective of a convergence with the audience by using vernacular varieties, seen in the light of a shift from a stereotypical standard to a general naturalisation cinema, from film dialogue to dress code and characterisation. The corpus will reveal an extensive use of mainstream varieties, both in the original and translations, and a use of varieties in a stereotypical light. However, amongst the various characters and situations, a convergent use of language varieties gives way to thinking that there is an intention to integrate the linguistic reality of English, which might be reproduced in Catalan and Spanish in a holistic approach to translation. The way audiences may accept or reject such convergence will be explored in Chapter 4 which presents the results of a study on the reception of selected translations.

3. The visibility of vernaculars in English, Spanish and Catalan in audiovisual media

Yesterday, language standards were defined by literature, school, the press. Is this the case today with the audiovisual media? Screens have changed the hierarchy between genres [...] which are no longer 'minor'. But are they really the place and power source of linguistic standardization? True, because of their omnipresence, they do help bring about certain linguistic changes.
(Gambier and Gottlieb 2001: xvi)

Audiovisual media have the potential to reach large, diverse audiences; their characteristics make consumption of the products accessible to many, and this will be considered here as a powerful motor of change, which brings about innovations and portrayals that can break traditions whilst founding new ways of experiencing the world. This is a view shared by Coupland, for whom 'mass media have already changed the terms of our engagement with language and social semiosis in late modernity, and with dialect and vernacular as part of that' (Coupland 2009: 296-297). Stories present in mass media have the potential to maintain or change viewers' preconceptions about the world and attitudes towards social phenomena. As recognised by Casamiglia and Tusón (1999), 'we should not forget the role that audiovisual media have [...] in shaping communicative behaviours (verbal and non-verbal) [...] of children and teenagers' (1999: 44),⁸ which can be extended to adults, whether directly or not.

The next section seeks to explore the evolution and visibility that language variation has experienced in audiovisual media in all three languages. To understand the potential

⁸ The original Spanish reads: 'no debemos olvidar el papel [...] que desempeñan los medios de comunicación audiovisuales [...] en la formación de comportamientos comunicativos (verbales y no verbales) [...] de niños y adolescentes.'

translatability and acceptability of audiovisual products that are styled with varieties in the original, it is necessary to examine whether a diversity of accents or varieties is represented in this medium, and how they are portrayed both in the source and the target cultures.

Language models have changed in the United Kingdom, and its media flagship, the British Broadcasting Corporation, now features newsreaders from different locations who can be heard using vernacular accents. The shift experienced in the BBC will serve as a case study to illustrate the change from institutional standardisation to favouring vernacular diversity. As will be shown, in the UK media in general there is a good representation of most varieties in both formal and informal programmes, i.e. those that require veracity like news bulletins and those that are solely for entertainment purposes. In Spain the Central Spanish or Castilian variety is favoured above the others for formal programmes, even on Canal Sur, the Andalusian television channel.⁹ In the case of Spanish, inclusion of variation is mostly restricted to informal programmes, local television or fictional characters. In the case of Catalan, the complex political situation, which will be overviewed in detail under section 3.3.2, has led to the creation of a heterogeneous media model, a pluricentric approach for each of the autonomous communities of Spain where Catalan is co-official, and another one for Andorra.¹⁰ Despite this pluricentric approach, variation can be identified in the speech of some reporters and presenters, which is a trend that has increased in the largest station, TV3, and that is actively used in the Balearic television channel IB3. Each of these languages will be assessed in the respective sections.

Understanding the visibility of vernaculars for each of these audiences -English, Catalan and Spanish- is essential to appreciate the literacy that viewers have of the uses of their own language. Furthermore, establishing the presence of language variation in domestic television or cinema productions is an essential task to assess the suitability and likely acceptability, ‘related to language norm, stylistic choice, rhetorical patterns, terminology, etc.’ (Gambier 2003: 179), of translation into varieties, understood as a translation of style. Studying the language that is portrayed in media in Catalan and Spanish can therefore lead to understanding whether the translation of variation is feasible from a cultural perspective: ‘if one wants to study the possible modes of transfer of film signs from a source set of

⁹ For a view on the contradictions regarding variation expressed in the Canal Sur style guide, see Aguilar (2009).

¹⁰ Due to the limited extension of the Andorra Televisió transmissions, which only cover some adjoining regions of Catalonia outside the Principality, it will not be taken into account here. However, Andorra Televisió follows a model based on the North-Occidental division of the language (Solís and Puigdomènech 2008).

codes to a target set of codes, one might do well to take into account from the outset the material parameters within which any such translation process is necessarily effectuated' (Delabastita 1989: 198). As is further pointed out by Nida, '[t]he conformance of a translation to the receptor language and culture as a whole is an essential ingredient to any stylistically acceptable rendering' (Nida 1964: 167). Nida continues by defining the three points where a natural rendering must fit, i.e. the receptor language and culture as a whole, together with the context of the message and the receptor-language audience (Nida 1964: 167), points that will be addressed throughout.

The notion of style will not be central in the following sections, as the main focus shifts towards an overview of the visibility of language variation in audiovisual media in all three languages, exploring potential tensions between vernaculars and the mainstream varieties. It will be possible, nevertheless, to conclude whether variational style is present in the target audiovisual media.

3.1 Variation in audiovisual media

Language changes that have taken place in English at corporations such as the BBC over the last twenty years represent a new sociolinguistic situation where the acceptability of language variation has been promoted and become commonplace in everyday television. This section is aimed at establishing what is the active framework for television broadcasts within Spain and the Catalan-speaking areas regarding the use of variation. The linguistic situation will be presented chronologically, taking into account the role of Spanish and English media and home production in shaping the future of the Catalan and Spanish audiovisual and dubbing industry. This will be complemented by an overview of the guidelines that have influenced media in Spain and the United Kingdom, with references to the cinema production of the United States, regarding the use of vernaculars. Only the nationwide public broadcasting bodies in the United Kingdom and Spain have been taken into account, due to their public status and lengthy experience, although other sources will be cited. In the case of Catalan, the different political approaches in each region after the end of the Franco dictatorship (1975) will call for a more individual approach. Because Catalan does not have official or co-official status outside of Andorra, the Principality of Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands, the city of Perpignan (France) and Alghero (Italy), attention will be centred on the aforementioned regions of the Spanish state, even though Alguer TV sometimes broadcasts in Catalan. Due to the limited impact of Andorra Televisió, only channels in Catalan within the Spanish state will be included.

3.2 Trends in English in audiovisual media and cinema

The models used in English on either side of the Atlantic have ranged greatly from a prescriptive and canonical use of language to a broad representation of the varieties used by real speakers. The use of a perceived standard and prestigious variety has gradually given way to the inclusion of vernaculars, and it could be argued that the current trends seek to converge with their audience; a real audience as opposed to a Chomskyan ideal audience. In order to study such changes, the transformations that have been perceived throughout the existence of the BBC will be explained as a case study of a shift taking place in a public broadcasting corporation that seeks to represent the real rather than ideal speakers of the language. This will be accompanied by additional information about how North-American films have given rise to a naturalisation of dialogue, often resorting to dialects. Despite the changes in cinema, in the US '[t]he Network Standard [...] is the model aimed for by TV and radio announcers whose audiences are national in scope [...] though, in reality, newscasters show some range in their pronunciation and occasionally their syntax as well' (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006: 314). This presents a different case to the BBC, where a single variety is no longer sought.

In 1921 the British Broadcasting Corporation started its broadcasts, and the linguistic model that was chosen for such transmissions was RP. Fennell describes how this preference for a southern-based RP standard had its precedent in 1870, when the Education Act enforced 'a dramatic change in speaking patterns' (Fennell 2001: 185), as children were segregated according to their economic status. Fennell's text suggests that the upper classes' privileges in such divided education led to speakers of other varieties adopting the more prestigious dialect. Before the Education Act was passed, 'most upper-class English men and women kept their local dialect [...] and the use of local dialect was not stigmatized' (Fennell 2001: 185). However, it seems clear that society wanted to adhere to the new-found standard, and this was also apparent later on in the BBC's 'global and imperial attitude towards English' (Fennell 2001: 186):

In Britain the BBC was responsible for the spread of RP as the pronunciation associated with public schools, universities, the professions, government and the Church. Yet only about 3 per cent of the population spoke RP. Even in Hollywood films of the 1930s this more 'refined' accent was aspired to. (Fennell 2001: 186)

Indeed, in 1927 the first feature-length talkies appeared in the United States. The English language that was featured in these films was known as 'Theatre Speech or Transatlantic English, which 'represented a neutral dialect that borrowed from both Standard British and Standard American pronunciations' (Withers-Wilson, 1993: 9). Taking into account that '[t]hroughout the 1920s, 30s and 40s Theatre Speech or Transatlantic was taught in America's professional acting schools' (Withers-Wilson 1993: 9), it must have been a way of rendering dialogue that enjoyed acceptance amongst the English-speaking world, at least for a while. This is an important point to remember because, as will be seen below, such an invention did not prove popular amongst Spanish-speaking audiences when the transatlantic quality was applied to Spanish.

It could be argued that the themes and point of view that were promoted in cinema at the beginning of audiovisual cinema 'were heavily influenced by theatrical models and reflected the dominance of the white upper class' (Kozloff 2000: 24). It is perhaps a gradual shift from the prescriptive to the descriptive that motivated the inclusion of variation, and more natural situations: 'method acting changed the rules for both theater and film, promoting what it claimed was emotional sincerity over eloquence or stagecraft' (Kozloff 2000: 24).

On the other side of the Atlantic, Britain was also experiencing changes in its linguistic approaches as 'during the middle part of the twentieth century attitudes towards RP and non-standard dialects began to change' (Fennell 2001: 186). It is suggested that not only did speakers begin to feel more confident about their own dialects during the 1960s, but that there was also a sense of rejection towards RP: 'because RP was associated with authority, material wealth and success, it also simultaneously engendered dislike and rejection' (Fennell 2001: 186). Television channels and cinema started to acknowledge this new reality, and the 1990s saw the first newsreaders to use varieties outside RP; in a television format where veracity and rigueur are sought, this is an indication that variation is accepted as equally capable of transmitting those values. As Fennell explains it, '[o]ne powerful indicator of the rehabilitation of regional language and a concomitant drop in the prestige of RP is the proliferation of regional accents now heard on the BBC' (Fennell 2001: 186). A curious example of a parallel trend in the use of variation in mass media, perhaps also influenced by other factors, could be exemplified by English music bands. In the 1980s Bell (1984: 194) explains how singers imitated an American accent; in Coupland (2009: 294), the Sheffield band Arctic Monkeys, formed over twenty years later, are described as an example of a band that actively uses their vernacular as a multi-layered identity.

As suggested by Coupland (2007: 172), the participation of people from different locations in television programmes of all sorts has given more prominence to regionally marked speech, away from a strict use of RP, by which he concludes that '[v]ernaculars are therefore more available nowadays through the mass media' (Coupland 2007: 172). It is apparent that the move towards a representation of all accents of English is still a matter that the British Broadcasting Corporation takes seriously today:

As a public service broadcaster, the BBC aims to acknowledge the English language in its current form by reflecting, via our broadcasters, the diversity that exists among English speakers across the UK - and around the world.¹¹

The convergence with language realities is now far from the situation that prevailed during the early days of audiovisual media, and it could also be concluded that the 'overall progression of film dialogue from 1927 to the present has been a movement toward realism, toward a more colloquial, naturalistic style' (Kozloff 2000: 24), where language variation has played a key role, as a resource that has aided this process. 'Undeniably, the tide of American culture in manners, dress and speech over the past seventy years has decisively shifted away from formality, toward individuality and naturalism' (Kozloff 2000: 24).

Nevertheless, the acknowledgement of language variation is not a synonym of egalitarian representation. Dialects in film have not always been used under similar standards; there have been cases of misrepresentation, heavy stereotyping or prejudice. Lippi-Green (1997, 2011) concluded that characters in selected Disney films 'with strongly positive actions and motivations are overwhelmingly speakers of socially mainstream varieties of English. Conversely, characters with strongly negative actions and motivations often speak varieties of English linked to specific geographical regions and marginalized social groups' (Lippi-Green 1997: 101). These matters potentially affect the prospective translations, as mishandled variation in dubbing could lead to unfortunate and unethical situations. These matters will be revisited in the forthcoming chapters under the rubric of ethics, as a secondary but inescapable consideration.

To conclude, media and cinema incorporate language variation as a stylistic resource, be it in a pejorative or neutral light.¹² This indicates that the context in which the present original films exist has an audience that is accustomed to hearing different voices, although

¹¹ As stated by Martha Figueroa-Clarke, BBC's Pronunciation Linguist and Unit Co-ordinator. Personal communication, August 2009.

¹² Instances of positive discrimination have not been taken into account, although this would undoubtedly constitute an interesting discussion.

there are reasons to believe that prejudices and preconceived ideas still prevail in some products, such as in Disney films.

3.3 The visibility of vernaculars in Spanish and Catalan through their media

The invention of television happened at a turbulent time for the Spanish state. Television channels started operating in Spain later than in the United Kingdom. The Spanish state television channel began its broadcasts exclusively in Spanish in Madrid in 1956, at a time when Spain remained under the Franco regime. It was not until 1964 that the whole of the Spanish geography was covered, when the Canary Islands finally received broadcasts, albeit delayed by one day.¹³

After forty years of dictatorship a new constitution was drawn up in 1978¹⁴ which devised the creation of the *Estado de las Autonomías* ('State of Autonomies'). Such a state structure implied the division of the Spanish state into 17 autonomous regions. Del Valle (2005: 392) notes the importance of the event, which aimed at resolving the historical dispute over the administrative delimitations in the organisation of the Spanish state. In 1978 the *Estado de las Autonomías* was a political and legal framework that sought to accommodate both the demands over the cultural and political unity of Spain and the requests of Catalan, Galician and Basque nationalisms (Del Valle 2005: 392). Del Valle goes on to explain that this modernising project also had to face complex linguistic problems, which ranged from the establishment of Spanish as the State language to the acknowledgement of the State as a plurilingual territory.

The organisation of the Spanish state with devolved regional governments permitted the linguistic decentralisation of the media in Spain and gave Basque (and other regional languages) access to the media, putting an end to the almost complete invisibility of regional languages during the Franco dictatorship. (Barambones 2012: 17)

However, such a division was detrimental to the future of Catalan language in the media, as political divisions exacerbated the potential creation of a common linguistic space, covered in section 3.3.2. The political divisions split the Catalan-speaking areas into three different communities: Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia.

¹³ Background information about Spanish television, by the Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de España <http://recursos.cnice.mec.es/media/television/bloque2/pag2.html#> [Last accessed 27 April 12]

¹⁴ Spanish Constitution: <http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1978/12/29/pdfs/A29313-29424.pdf> [Last accessed 19 November 12]

The arrival of democracy has seen the establishment of politically autonomous regions within the country, and this has allowed the minority languages of Basque, Galician and Catalan to be recognised as co-official with Spanish within their respective historical territories. The process of normalisation and standardisation of these languages, however, has not been free of problems [...]. In some cases, such as that of Catalan, different dialectal variations have even been employed for fundamentally ideological reasons. (Agost 2004b: 63)

The hegemony of the English or Spanish languages is a far cry from the numerous problems that the Catalan language faced after the dictatorship, during which it was banned from the public sphere, at a crucial time when television stations were created and especially with a view to the potential of such platforms to reach many audiences. Therefore, the following sections will be concerned with two very different scenarios and, although the political influences will only be alluded to, political implications may become apparent regarding the language status of Spanish and Catalan.

3.3.1 The Peninsular Spanish case

From a linguistic point of view, the trait that is most striking when comparing the language guidelines in media at the BBC to the ones at Televisión Española (TVE) is that 'standard' guidelines regarding language use have never fallen out of favour with TVE. Despite having had a similar initial approach to the BBC's, where attempts were made to build both languages' linguistic media model upon a single standard that coincided with the state's prestigious variety, the situation in Spanish has remained somewhat static compared to the shift that has taken place in English-language media. Spanish is considered to be a pluricentric language at a global scale, as a language that is used by various nations (Thompson 1992). However, Spanish in Spain does not operate as such, where mainstream language is based on that of the central regions. For this section, the case of the state television Televisión Española (TVE) will be taken into account, together with other audiovisual products and television channels.

Style books are a resource created by the different channels or media to establish the guidelines to be followed by journalists and broadcasters, and it can be useful to explore these with regard to the matter under study here. Aguilar (2009) concludes that the focus of the major Spanish style books, manuals that are edited by written and audiovisual press to establish the norms of the medium, is prescriptive (Aguilar 2009: 132). The article highlights the views of TVE on the pronunciation of dialectal features as *vulgar*, and prescribes the *norma culta*, or educated norm, for the correct pronunciation. This exemplifies the prescription that still reigns in audiovisual media in Spain for Spanish,

which is defended by Aguilar (2009). It is significant that the TVE style book does not address language variation.¹⁵ On the other hand, Pérez (2009) wonders about the survival of style books in Spanish, and concludes that in the current climate diversity cannot be addressed with the old and homogenising concept of style book (Pérez 2009: 218).

In the same sense, and although dubbing will be treated extensively in the forthcoming pages, it is useful to acknowledge the language attitudes that were held towards the first dubbed films. Such films were first seen in Spanish in the 1930s, as the Hollywood distribution companies wanted to reach the Spanish-speaking market, which was the second largest after the English. Hollywood tried to create a *neutral Spanish* that could be used both in Spain and Latin America (Ávila 1997: 44), presumably after having established that such a language model in English in the form of Transatlantic English had been successful. Like the English model, the Spanish model also borrowed elements from the language on both sides of the Atlantic, in an attempt to please as many Spanish-speaking audiences as it could. However, the project to create an international Spanish failed to the surprise of the US industry representatives, who were not able to understand how the accent diversity could meet with such strong reactions (Ávila 1997: 45). These versions ended up not pleasing anyone, and the short-lived resource of *neutral Spanish* ceased to exist.¹⁶ The Spanish point of view was that Spain's linguistic status and the prestige of Castilian was under threat, and they refused to accept any form of language that remotely signified granting recognition of Latin American Spanish.

Variety started to notice such protests in 1930, when accents and even syntax of films dubbed into Spanish angered the Madrid audiences and, logically, the Real Academia Española, who denounced the low quality of the Spanish language featured. (Ballester 2001: 85)¹⁷

From that point on, the battle had commenced for the Spanish-speaking countries: Latin-American countries refused to adhere to the Spanish norm, and Spain never gave up on what saw as their own linguistic superiority, and themselves bearers of the standard. Therefore Spain was on its way to forging its own dubbing industry, which ignored the influence of American Spanish.

¹⁵ TVE style book: <http://manualdeestilo.rtve.es/> [Last accessed 01 October 2012]

¹⁶ There are, however, cases like 'argentino neutro' that were created for commercial purposes and are still active for dubbing and subtitling in Argentina (Aguilar 2009: 142-143).

¹⁷ The original Spanish reads: '*Variety* empieza a hacerse eco de estas protestas en 1930, cuando los acentos e incluso la sintaxis de las películas dobladas al español enfurecen al público de Madrid y lógicamente a la Real Academia Española que denuncia la mala calidad del español.'

As early as 1939 Catalan, Basque and Iberian Romani were banned (Ávila 1997: 51) in order to impose Spanish as the language of prestige of Spain, and the only language shared by all Spaniards. Two years later, and in the first edition of a new cinematic magazine, *Primer Plano*, a ruling established that all films must be dialogued in Castilian. Dialects had to be avoided, and a dialectal pronunciation was only permitted for episodic characters (Ballester 2001: 88). Despite the clear prescription of this statement, there is ambiguity in the term *dialectos*, mentioned in the original. This rule was based upon Mussolini's policy of using Italian as the only viable language in Italy, over the profusion of local languages known in singular as *dialetto*. The above statement gains more sense if it is understood as a prohibition of the use any language spoken in the Spanish state other than Spanish. This is confirmed both by the nomenclature *dialectos del español*, a concept used under Franco's dictatorship to refer pejoratively to Catalan and Galician, and by Ávila (1997: 56, 57), who explains that Mussolini's law inspired the Franco regime to adapt any laws that would consolidate Spanish in Spain.

Castilian became the language of the audiovisual media, where variation was not contemplated, perhaps as an extension of the centralisation of the government. On the search for the information as to why Castilian was chosen as the prestige accent, it is always understood that this has been the *de facto* official and prestigious dialect, and that any other variations on that were either vulgarisms or mispronunciations. In Latin America, however, there are several centres of 'prestige' that operate independently (Thompson 1992).

As explained by Ballester (2001), in 1941 the Congress banned the use of foreign languages, and prescribed and regulated the variety of Spanish and register that had to be used in each film; consequently the sole use of Castilian was permitted for cinema products, whilst Latin American varieties were recommended only for films that were set in Latin America after the independence processes, and for cartoons (Ballester 2001: 85). Famously, until a few decades ago, Disney cartoons were dubbed in Latin America. It seems that the aforementioned attitude towards variation was visible for a while, as decades later Alvar held views along similar lines: when asked what variety needs to be promoted by the media, Alvar (1990: 158) suggests that it should be the language accepted by all and rejected by none, by which dialects should be used in programmes for limited audiences. Hence, it can be understood that some scholars still thought real varieties in media should not be promoted as an equally prestigious variety of language.

It could be said that there are indications that the prestige of Castilian has seldom been challenged. However, dialects of Spanish have been used by privately-owned television

channels for some of the characters featured in comedies, for example. In recent years series like *Siete Vidas* (Tele5) or *Aquí no hay quien viva* (Antena 3) have included characters who consistently use a different variety or stylise their speech for certain scenes, usually in Andalusian, as is the case in both of these aforementioned series. As for the public channel TVE, the presence of Latin American accents has been featured through *telenovelas*, a successful genre that has been imported for decades. The audiences that watch these drama series are exposed to Mexican, Venezuelan and Argentinian accents, amongst others. This means that, together with an increased participation of the Spanish population in programmes, the reality is that varieties have entered the Spanish mass media with the new formats that feature speakers in diverse styles. It is also safe to conclude that informal programmes accept presenters with different Spanish accents, that is programmes that seek to entertain rather than to inform, in format where veracity is not the predominant characteristic. This is similar to what Coupland notes for media in English, in which '[g]ame shows, quiz shows and "reality television" competitions are also rich sites for vernaculars' (Coupland 2007: 172).

Aijón (2009: 354) recognises that in informal media genres such as local sports or music programmes in Spanish, language variation is used with a communicative and stylistic aim in mind. However, his findings point at local and informal contexts for such occurrences, which differ from the language variation that can be heard in BBC formal news reports at a global level. One of the conclusions reached by Cutillas (2003) in this respect is that even in music programmes accent convergence between the presenter and the audience is not realised even at a local regional level. His suggestion is that convergence takes other forms that do not include variation, and that the formality of the situation justifies the radio presenter's use of the mainstream variety. This is in line with domesticating strategies that will be examined towards the end of the second chapter, which use converging domesticated humour, without resorting to language variation in some cases. New moves can be perceived, however, with state-wide informative programmes that seek veracity but that cover regional content. It is the case of *España en 24 horas*, whose Andalusian presenter uses a regional variety, although that is not the case with other regional newsreaders, and certainly not for the main news programmes. In any case, it signals a change.

It is also noteworthy that Spanish films are no longer restricted to a single variety, and good examples of this are some of Almodóvar's films such as *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de*

nervios (Loreña Galiano 2009), and it is the case of programmes aimed at children as well.¹⁸ These precedents might minimise the negative impact that translation of variation could have if audiences had not been exposed at all to such products.

Despite the initial static use of mainstream Spanish, and as noted above, it can be observed how, both in cinema and television, language variation is increasingly present. Therefore it is possible to conclude that the inclusion of varieties in a wide range of audiovisual products is a change that can be observed at state level, mostly in informal contexts where veracity is not required.

3.3.2 The linguistic area of Catalan and its media

This section about audiovisual media in Catalan, unlike for the English and Spanish sections, contains a map and dialect division to aid understanding of the situation that affects the different regions where Catalan is spoken. The following classification by Veny (2007) will support the information contained in the map.

¹⁸ It is interesting to note that the emergence of variational style can potentially be found in films such as *El espíritu del bosque* (2008), or *Papá soy una zombi* (2011), which would merit a stylistic analysis to further understand the exposure of the Spanish audiences to this feature of language.

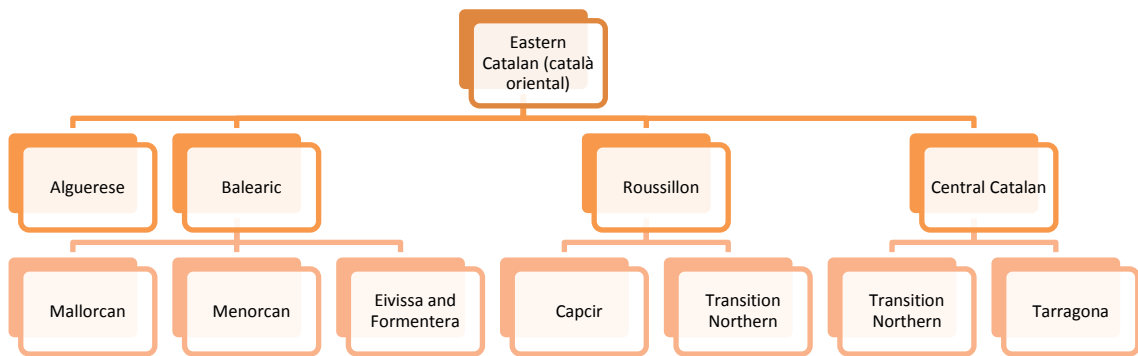


Figure 2: Eastern Catalan (Veny 2007: 24)

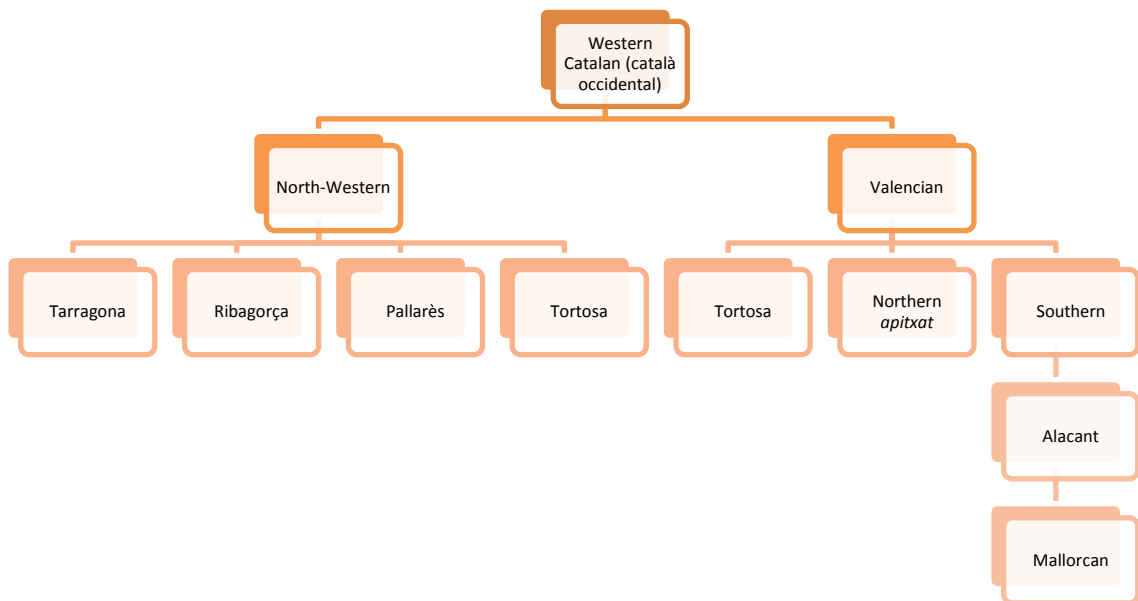


Figure 3: Western Catalan (Veny 2007: 24)

III. CLASSIFICACIÓ DIALECTAL

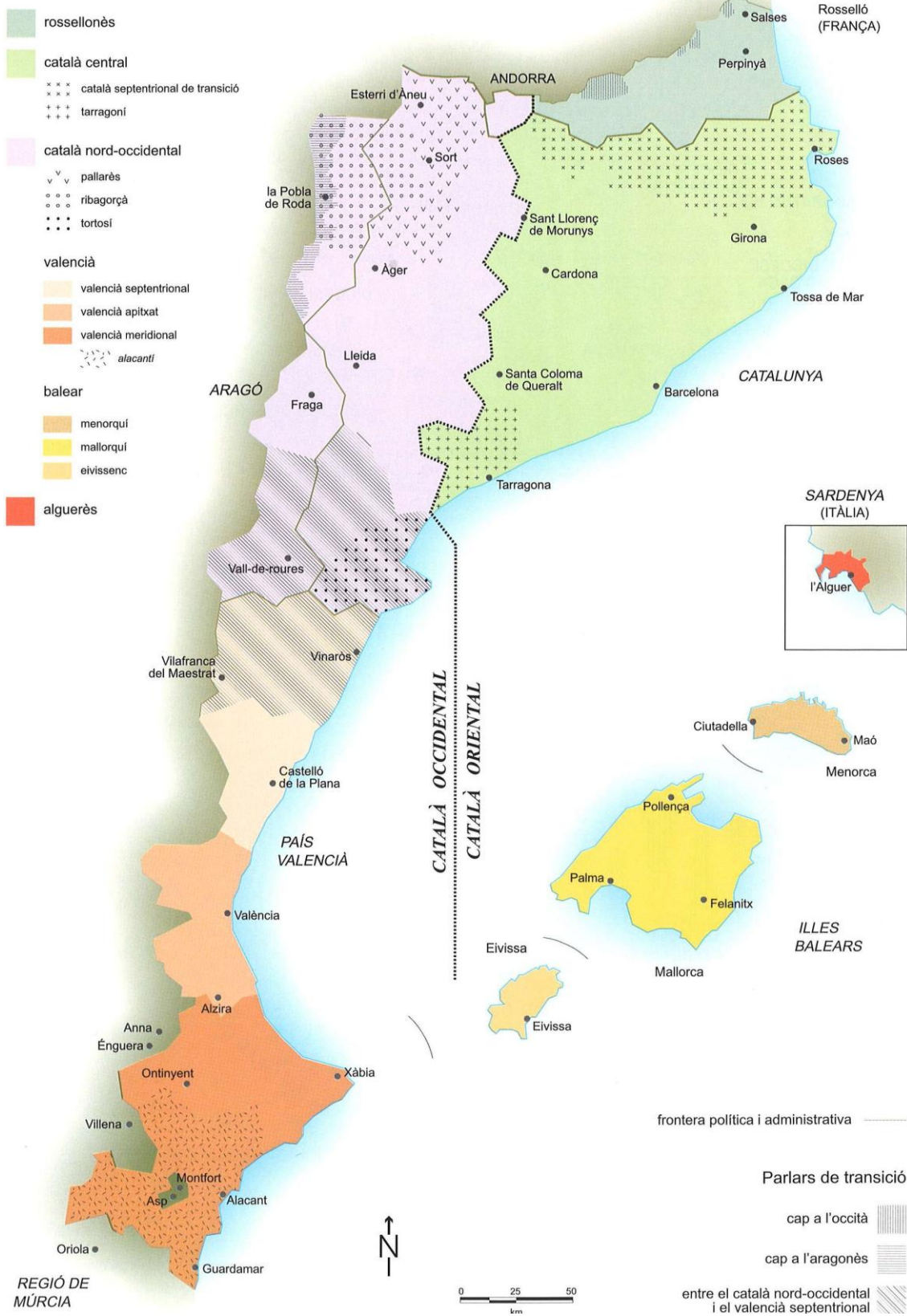


Figure 4: Map of the Catalan-Speaking Areas (Veny 2007: 29)

To understand the current situation of Catalan language in the media, it is necessary to acknowledge the political problems that are inherent to the linguistic situation for the Catalan-speaking areas contained within the Spanish borders. Contrary to the well-established state languages such as Spanish and English, the legal status of the Catalan language has fluctuated greatly throughout history. As Carbonell (1979) explains in his historical and sociolinguistic account, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, the once lively, united and widely spoken language has suffered a slow and steady decline after the *Decrees of Nueva Planta*, which introduced, under King Philip V, Castilian Law in Valencia (1707), and in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands (1716) (Ruiz Rodríguez 2005: 179-180).¹⁹ Peaceful periods have been intermittent with two dictatorships, that of Primo de Rivera (1923-1931) and Francisco Franco (1939-1975), the latter constituting the most planned and hostile aggression Catalan has sustained.²⁰ Such political instability has exacerbated problems such as the codification of the language and its development in a divided territory where it has been competing with Spanish.

Given the language's subordinate position and its decline, language planning programmes have been implemented to recuperate the use of Catalan after the Franco dictatorship, in what is commonly known in Catalan scholarship as linguistic normalisation, or *normalització lingüística*.²¹ In an overview of the significance of this process, Boix and Vila (1998: 314) begin by explaining the polysemy of the term normalisation which, in turn, has been applied to multiple scenarios relating to language planning. When appearing here, the term normalisation will refer to the process of language recuperation in the Catalan context. In the words of Boix and Vila, as echoed by other academics, normalisation designates a process that does not happen in a historic vacuum, and is an attempt to reverse a process of language substitution (Boix and Vila 1998: 317). The process of normalisation has given way to the *Llei de normalització lingüística* in the Balearic Islands, Catalonia and Valencia in the 1980s, which regulate the visibility and use of the Catalan

¹⁹ Carbonell (1979) offers a thorough overview of the measures that were in place to ban the use of Catalan from the implementation of the *Decretos de Nueva Planta* onwards, with references to other Romance languages, and to Roussillon and British Menorca, which stood at opposite ends of the crusade against Catalan, where the British, unlike the French, respected the local language.

²⁰ For a historical and linguistic overview of the Catalan situation, see Laitin (1989), and additionally a sociolinguistic view in Vallverdú (1984). Venuti (2005) offers an account of nation building and translation in the Catalan context that includes historic and sociolinguistic background. A compendium of laws and press coverage against Catalan language and culture is gathered together in Ainaud (1995).

²¹ Boix and Vila (1998: 316) also point at the success of the term amongst scholarship in other minoritised languages, such as Basque and Occitan. For a sociolinguistic perspective on Spain's minoritised languages see Lynch (2011).

language in areas like education and the media. Additionally, Catalonia passed the *Llei de política lingüística* in 1998, while the three autonomous communities had their *Estatut d'autonomia* ratified between 2006 and 2007. However, the legal framework of these laws has sometimes been deemed unconstitutional, or modified, as was the case of the *Estatut de Catalunya* or the recent changes experienced in the Balearic Islands with the new Government. This is due to political tensions with regards to the visibility of the Catalan language mainly in education and the media. Bibiloni (2006b) offers a detailed account of the laws that have been passed and modified by successive governments, while Bibiloni (2006c) offers a detailed comparison amongst the rights of the Catalan speakers as expressed in the laws, regulations and *estatuts*.

Moving to the media in Catalan, Marzà et al. (2006) usefully introduce the intricacies of the media audiovisual channels in Catalan in the current situation where the state is divided into Autonomous Communities:

[T]he governments of each autonomous region have a number of so-called 'competences' which are to a certain extent devolved from central government. Both linguistic and public media policies are among these devolved competences and therefore, although Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Community share the same language, they do not by any means share a common linguistic policy for public television [which affects] the language of television. (Marzà et al. 2006: 14)

At present, the share of television offered in Catalan in Catalonia is 30.1%,²² a figure that is likely to be significantly lower in the Balearic Islands and Valencia, respectively, while the remaining audiovisual offerings are in Spanish.

The first television channel to begin as an official autonomous institution was TV3 in 1983. This new media outlet was seen by some as a means that would engage all Catalan-speaking areas under the same media space, helping the process of normalisation. However, as early as 1985, academics from Valencia and Alacant, Lleida, the Balearic Islands and Perpignan -peripheral scholars outside of Barcelona- signed a communiqué stating that they recognised television transmissions as a useful tool to raise awareness and knowledge of the Catalan language, but that this was carried out almost exclusively in the Barcelona variety (Bohigas and Aramon 1990: 137). This neglect of the other varieties was seen as an impediment to the acknowledgement of language unity that had been in place

²² According to the Generalitat de Catalunya http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/Llengcat/Documents/Dades%20origen%20territori%20i%20poblacio/Altres/Arxius/4.1_televisio_oferta_evolutio.pdf [Last accessed 30 May 2013]

before, working to the detriment of all Catalan speakers and language recuperation in the Spanish state and beyond.

This controversy was not new, as the two leading Catalan philologists of the 1910s, one of Mallorcan origin and the other from Barcelona, engaged in a public dispute over the way Catalan should be codified, as explained through research and original letters and articles in Perea (2001). The two visions were completely opposed: the Barcelona grammarian, Pompeu Fabra, envisaged a system where the grammar was based on the Catalan language used in Barcelona, while Antoni Maria Alcover, from Mallorca, lamented that the language spoken in Valencia and the Balearic Islands was being neglected, underrepresented and not included in the grammar (Perea 2001: 248). The former became known for establishing the norms of the Catalan grammar, based on the Barcelona model, while the latter collaborated with Francesc de Borja Moll in writing the most thorough dialectal dictionary in Catalan, finished in 1962, in which the implicit praise of the Catalan language through its rich varieties is palpable, as a continuation of the vision that Alcover had for the codification of the language, inclusive of all its varieties.

As a related factor in post-dictatorship history, Sabater (1991) and Solà (2003) write extensively about the problems of language recuperation and applicability in the media after a 40-year silence, in which audiovisual media were new tools. Catalan was so cemented on the 1918 *Gramàtica Catalana* by Pompeu Fabra that reactions against this standard were fierce, because of the perceived unsuitability of a 60 year-old model that, as seen, was in itself controversial at the beginning of the twentieth century. For over 40 years, and due to an active persecution and lack of legal status, Catalan maintained the rules that had been established by the aforementioned grammarian, which took the Central dialect as the most valid for the construction a standard language, i.e. its codification. With the recuperation of media, editors, aware of their role in recuperating the Catalan language, persisted in the use of the long-established forms.

In the years after the dictatorship the maintenance of the old ‘standard’ caused a reaction among young journalists with a so-called modern view on the language situation, who had a radically different opinion about the language model that ought to be promoted (Solà 2003: 77). Whereas senior journalists had implemented language models that followed the old grammar, these young professionals had the idea that Catalan needed to be closer to the language spoken on the streets of Barcelona. As explained by Solà, this view disregarded the reality of an overwhelming influence of the Spanish language over Catalan vocabulary and grammar, and the linguistic distance that this new ‘standard’ would create relative to

other varieties of Catalan outside the main city (Solà 2003: 71-78). Given the unequal status of Spanish and Catalan, these choices appeared problematic to many. Eventually these journalists had reached positions of power towards the mid-1980s, and this meant that they could choose the language to be followed in the media. Amongst other subjects, they saw dialectal variation - that is, other than the one used in Barcelona - as a negative sign and centred their attention on the dialect of the capital to create a new language that would reflect modernity and dynamism (Solà 2003: 75). This undermined the normalisation process of Catalan, to the point that few speakers from outside the central region saw themselves reflected in the language, as will be explored later on. DiGiacomo (1999) offers a powerful insight to the difficulties experienced during this period.

In the early 1980s, the 19th-century polemic was brought back to life, but animated by a different range of meanings. There was rising concern that the 40-year absence of Catalan from school curricula and the mass media was producing two trends that would be very difficult to reverse: the substitution of Catalan lexical items and syntactic structures by Castilian; and the fragmentation of the language into its four main dialectal variants [...]. Again, the worst case scenario was that Catalans themselves would unwittingly bring to completion the program of linguistic genocide the Franco regime began [...]. (DiGiacomo 1999: 112)

It is important to contextualise the language model for the media in this new movement, known as *català light*, as opposed to *català heavy*, to understand that when the new television channel arrived, the language that was most trusted was that of the capital, although it is acknowledged that the initial stages were very tense in this respect (Puigbó 2000: 15). Judging by the origins of the scholars on either side of the disputes that we have mentioned above, both in the early and late twentieth century, there is a visible correlation between the origin of the policy makers and their vision of the language: peripheral linguists consistently raise awareness for the need of an integrational model that converges with all speakers, whereas central linguists from Barcelona are content to adapt language to their variety, as with Pompeu Fabra's grammar. In this context, the concept of pluricentric language applies. Forefronted by linguists 'such as French-Canadians or Latin-Americans (rather than those from Paris or Madrid)' (Clyne 1992: 1), a similar situation arises between those that claim their status as a centre and those that claim their share in the decision and policy-making process, central and peripheral respectively. Such attitudes are visible even on a much smaller scale, where Barcelona would be the main centre of the Catalan-speaking areas. As will be demonstrated below, this has had implications in the media space.

This historical episode is important in framing the models that would follow; it could be said that there was not a consistent application of the resources existing in the Catalan

linguistic space as a whole, and instead a centralised model of language was in place. This, together with politicised and uninformed views, caused many reactions, some of which are still alive. This also meant that a language that had not enjoyed any institutional visibility for a long time was failing to make all the voices of Catalan heard. The effect of this in the media when the Fabra model was followed caused some Balearic and speakers of the Western division of the language to feel unrepresented by the model (Navarro and Rull 2000: 271), much along the lines of what Alcover was claiming decades before (Perea 2001).

The absence of knowledge amongst the speakers of the diverse linguistic varieties has brought about serious social problems, such as the one that is still ongoing in the [Balearic] Islands and, above all, in Valencia. Ignoring the way our neighbours speak, or how our ancestors did [...] compromises the chances of moving towards a linguistic unity, different to the one presented in the literary register. (Dolç 1990: 225-226)²³

Coupland's point about 'standard' versus 'non-standard' mentioned under section 2.1 of the present chapter becomes important here, as a reliance on the Central Catalan and specifically the Barcelona dialect has converged in a situation where there is an active rejection of this variety from a specific sector of the Valencian and Balearic society. Those who insist that the dialect does not represent them are responsible for politically-motivated affirmations such as that the languages are different: 'we are witnesses to the division of a lesser-used language, a split made possible thanks to and through the mass media and due to a politically motivated decision with the excuse of satisfying viewers' preferences' (Zabalbeascoa, Izard and Santamaria 2001: 110). However credible and/or politicised those claims may be, it is the case that the Barcelona accent, and the 'català light' movement, have contributed to the glorification of one dialect to the detriment of the rest, at least for some time and to some people. This has had consequences in the rest of the territories, such as the profusion of language models, making Catalan a pluricentric language. This is by no means an isolated situation from a linguistic point of view, as this takes place in other languages as well (Clyne 1992). The status of Catalan, however, is what makes the situation different, putting the language in an even more vulnerable position. A good example of this is the media situation that will be presented below, where there is no common audiovisual space, also due to political reasons.

²³ The Catalan original reads: 'El desconeixement entre els parlants de les diverses varietats lingüístiques ha provocat greus problemes d'ordre social com el que encara es pateix a les Illes i, sobretot, al País Valencià. Ignorar com parlen els nostres veïns o com han parlat els nostres avantpassats [...] hipoteca les possibilitats d'avançar cap a una unitat lingüística different de la que ja es dona al registre literari.'

At present, each Autonomous Community in the Catalan-speaking areas of Spain has its own public television station, namely *Televisió de Catalunya* (TV3), *Televisió Valenciana* (TVV) and IB3, in order of creation. TV3 is produced in Catalonia and formerly broadcast in all regions; by a political move, TV3 is no longer received in Valencia (2011), despite the role that cultural bodies such as *Acció Cultural del País Valencià* had in funding the transmissions. TVV is produced in Valencia and broadcasts in the Autonomous Communities of Valencia, the Balearic Islands and Catalonia. The Balearic public television broadcasts in the Balearic Islands and Catalonia. The situation is heavily influenced by political changes and ideology towards or against the recuperation of Catalan, and it continues to be so up to this day.²⁴ Nevertheless, the population of the Balearic Islands has access to all television production in Catalan, while the Valencian Community only receives its own broadcasts, having had all other transmissions in Catalan blocked by the *Generalitat Valenciana*. This clearly influences viewers' exposure to different varieties. However, current technology and on-demand television via the internet can bypass institutional control, which may open the doors to internet users who had previously not been able to access production in Catalan.

As will be seen, the convergence with the audience with regard to their geographical variety works differently depending on the television channels. The Balearic channel addresses the whole range of Catalan speakers by having a broad representation of varieties of Catalan, whereas the Valencian channel only uses the Valencian varieties. An intermediate range would be found in TV3, where studies have pointed out that convergence with the audience also happens in Spanish (Bassols and Torrent 2007). Given the complicated situation in the language conflict with Spanish, and with the intention placed on assessing whether intralinguistic variation in Catalan appears, these matters will not be examined here. The next three sections seek to study each television channel in detail.

3.3.2.1 *Televisió de Catalunya*

Despite TV3's erratic beginnings, as discussed in the preceding section, the present subsection will focus exclusively on the visibility of language variation in TV3's broadcasts. In the context of language variation the Catalan corporation acknowledges in its style book

²⁴ Further information on reciprocity and legal agreements among television channels and further political agreements is offered in Guimerà i Orts and Blasco Gil (2011); for the use of audiovisual media as a vehicle for *normalisation*, see Gifreu (2011).

that geographic variation within Catalan is welcome.²⁵ This would be the case of professionals who do not come from the Central Catalan area, who in principle would not be discouraged to use their own variety. Originally, language variation was used for informal programmes or for home productions, where a character would sometimes be heard using geographical language from outside the Central area. This is the case of *Dones d'aigua* (1997), set in Tarragona, where a profusion of varieties, like Mallorcan, feature amongst the characters (Paloma and Segarra 2000: 55-56), perhaps to increase sensibility towards the lesser-heard varieties. This was the case of other home productions, such as *Poble Nou* (1994). It would be interesting to further study whether this could respond to styling, similar to the one found in the corpus.

In all, TV3's channels include accent variation to a degree, a trend on the increase. In news programmes such as *Telenotícies*, and especially the *Telenotícies Comarques*, with localised contents, a profusion of accents can be heard. Although Balearic, Western, Roussillon and Valencian accents were once reserved for news relating to these regions, they can now also be heard in the general news bulletins in a minority of instances, as we have observed. When asked about the inclusion of language diversity in their new bulletins, Ernest Rusinés, working at the Language Advisory Department at TV3, mentioned in a personal communication that 'language diversity is present in our media as a natural occurrence, although Central Catalan, especially due to reasons of demographics, is quantitatively more present' (Ernest Rusinés, July 2012).²⁶ The recognition of language variation in news bulletins is similar to the BBC's change of direction albeit to a much smaller extent, but it differs from the Spanish case.

3.3.2.2 Televisió Valenciana

The most useful discussion and reasoning about a linguistic model suitable for use in the prospective Valencian channel can be found in Ferrando (1990). Many linguists, writers and academics from all Catalan-speaking regions gathered in March 1987 at the Universitat de València to discuss the linguistic framework to be applied to the new channel, and what had been the Catalan precedent, TV3, which had already been broadcasting for over three years. Ferrando (1990) offers a compendium of articles that consider or respond to

²⁵ The updated version of their 1995 style book, also in the bibliography, is currently online: <http://www.ccma.cat/llibredestil/manuals-destil/llengua-variada-territorialment> [Last accessed 28 November 2012]

²⁶ Ernest Rusinés' original statement read: 'la diversitat lingüística té presència en els nostres mitjans de manera natural, si bé el català central, per qüestions demogràfiques especialment, és el quantitativament més present'.

behaviours that were seen as erratic in its Catalan counterpart. The reactions against what some academics saw as an elitist model, which benefited Central Catalan above all others were countered with the claim for a more representative, uniting model expressed throughout the articles, often citing the disparity between written and oral standards (Molins 1990: 185). Most discussions revolved around the construction of a valid standard, and how this could take into account all four major dialects.

In the end, when TVV's first broadcasts arrived, the language chosen was heavily marked by the Valencian variety, and this remains the current model. There has been a deliberate attempt to build this model away from the TV3 standard by using words that sound more Valencian, and a list was drawn up containing over five hundred 'Catalan-sounding' words to be banned (Agost 2004a). It is also noticeable that the TVV does not have a style book; this eludes any sort of quality control, and creates insecurities amongst translators (Agost 2004a). However, through personal observations, in formal contexts like in the news bulletins, the language follows a high register in Valencian, which makes it very similar to the language of other news bulletins in Catalan. Incidentally, the news department is the only one that 'receives language consultancy' (Agost 2004b: 69). This contrasts with the model followed for other programmes, where a kind of *folklorisation* is sought. As suggested by Marzà et al. (2006), '[t]he only reason for this impoverishment of the language is the desire to create an unnatural differentiation between dialects, which will in the end provoke the fragmentation of the language' (Marzà et al. 2006: 24). As suggested in the same article, even though films could be translated using just one version, both TVV and TV3 follow two different paths when translating into Catalan, which will be seen again under the section on dubbing for Catalan and Spanish in the next chapter. In concluding about the visibility of Catalan variation within TVV it can be said that it does not appear to exist outside of Valencian autonomous community.

3.3.2.3 Televisió de les Illes Balears

Under the name IB3 the Balearic radio and TV corporation started its broadcasts in March 2005. IB3 is not the first channel broadcasting in Catalan in the Balearics, although it is the first to be public and regulated.²⁷ From the beginning, the politicians who created it had a clear idea that they wanted it to be a bilingual channel. However, since it opened its

²⁷ For further reading on the media in the Balearic Islands before IB3, see Delgado, M. in Tubella, I. [ed.] (2002).

doors in 2005, IB3 has gone from being a bilingual²⁸ channel to being the main source of broadcasts in Catalan to the Balearic audience, due to a political change of government in 2007 away from conservative and centralist policies. In May 2011, the conservative government was reinstated, with a policy to reduce the visibility of Catalan.

Even in 2006, when the television channel had barely started and was ‘bilingual’, a plurality of varieties of Catalan was featured, both from the Islands and from other Catalan-speaking areas. This was highly valued in Bibiloni’s report (2006a: 7), which analysed in detail the language in use and its quality, although the overall language use and style did not receive a favourable review. The use of multiple varieties is a feature that cannot be found to such an extent in the other channels in Catalan. Furthermore, the Balearic viewers are the only Catalan-speaking audiences who have had access to both TV3 and TVV since their broadcasts started, exposing the speakers to other varieties of their own language. In this sense, they are potentially more literate in the uses of their own language.

The Spanish public television channel (TVE) had also broadcast local news in the Balearic Islands. Their team of linguists and newsreaders set a good example of how a Balearic oral model of Catalan should sound, taking into account that language features of the Balearics are different in each island. Picó (1997: 42) notes the effort that had been made by TVE in the Balearics to achieve a broad representation of the Catalan dialects in the oral ‘standard’, mentioning presenters from Menorca, Ibiza, Barcelona and Mallorca. In this case, it is suggested that lexical variation was also represented. Picó further points out that since the end of the 1980s local television channels have been broadcasting in Catalan, albeit without language supervision (Picó 1997:40).

Language variation is therefore very present on Balearic television, as noted by Bibiloni (2006), a feature that can also be seen in home productions. However, this is also due to the simple fact that insular Catalan is very diverse, and linked to its peninsular counterpart through lexical and phonetic features found in some or all of the four inhabited islands.

²⁸ Even though the Government at the time branded the television channel as bilingual, the adjective ‘bilingual’ would not apply to such broadcasts, as language uses were carefully selected, and not all broadcasts had an equal use of Catalan and Spanish regardless of formality or content. Therefore, these should not be considered bilingual transmissions, but more a bilingual quota.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has covered the principles of style, the most relevant concept for the analysis, summarised as the making of meanings at a local level through the use of language variation. In order to assess the potential reception of the translation of variation, seen as style and as a convergence with the audience, it is necessary to understand the position of language variation in the source and the target cultures. With regard to audience convergence, the second part has allowed for an overview of the visibility of language variation in public television channels, where references to convergence have been made.

It is possible to tentatively conclude that language variation is present to some extent in audiovisual media in Spanish, Catalan and English. The intricacies and status of each language makes each situation very different but, when estimating whether audiences are exposed to language variation in audiovisual products, the answer is affirmative, with perhaps the audiences of the Valencian channel as an exception. This is useful for prospective translations, and it gives information about the level of transgression that a translation would achieve if it were to include language variation to style characters as in the original.

It is evident that the BBC has changed its model towards an integration of the language varieties that represent its audience. However, this has not taken place to such an extent in Spanish in formal programming, but it is a regular occurrence in informal formats. In the case of Catalan, TV3 and IB3 have included different varieties both in formal and informal programmes. The scope of this thesis does not allow for the analysis of other audiovisual products, but what seems certain is that variation applied as style exists for all three languages. This would add to an existing precedent in the target languages and would not constitute a new phenomenon in translated products. Also, there are reasons to believe that animated films produced in Spanish exist where characters are styled with vernaculars. This makes it possible to consider the potential translation of varieties as a product that coincides with trends in the target language, and not as a foreign influence that has no precedent. Although there are no animated films produced in Catalan, variational style does nevertheless feature in Catalan media and audiovisual products.

One matter that is inescapable, however, is the different language status of Spanish and English on the one hand, and Catalan on the other. This is less to do with the differences in speaker numbers, but rather with policies and politics. As Thompson (1992) points out, language planning exists also for Spanish, which puts a further strain on the situation in

Catalan. What is most noticeable in the Catalan case is that a relatively small geographic and linguistic space has been divided in such a way that Catalan speakers do not enjoy a common media space; cinema is the only product that might reach all three audiences without alterations. The conclusion that can be extrapolated from such a complex and politicised situation is that there is a need for the systematic inclusion of Catalan variation to allow viewers to feel represented by the language in media. This was the hope of some scholars from the point that television in Catalan began to be broadcast; this would equally be a vehicle for normalisation and visibility of the extent of the language, as opposed to perceiving a fragmented whole in some media spaces. British television channels have been promoting linguistic diversity for some years now, in representation of their viewers, and the same seems to be an urgent requirement for the language planning of Catalan in media, and to a lesser extent for the Spanish viewers.

Chapter 2 – Audiovisual texts, dubbing and translation

1. Introduction

Having established the general principles of analysis that will be applied to the corpus in Chapter 3, in the present chapter we offer an overview of key elements within that corpus of films. The initial section describes the codes and channels that are used by audiovisual texts. We then explore audiovisual translation and specifically dubbing, followed by a literature review of the translation of variation; in this case, the literature does not cover the translation of style as understood in the present thesis, and therefore variation will be our focus with a consideration of its ethical implications. The concepts covered, including the implications of the translation of variation, are vital in the forthcoming corpus analysis, given the broad range of topics that the translation of stylistic variation touches upon, especially in a popular and visible field such as animated films.

Once the specificities of the audiovisual text have been explored, the third section is dedicated to a historic overview and an account of the extent of dubbing. The functions of dubbing are analysed, as are the constraints of the process, with a particular reference to the case of Catalan and Spanish. Understanding this background provides a perspective of the context of dubbing for the translated versions of the films analysed in this thesis. Dubbing into Spanish and Catalan follows a specific tradition and established rules, involving audiences, processes and professionals that will complement the information offered in the previous chapter concerning vernaculars in media. The aim of this chapter is to understand the constraints that are added to the already complex process of translation when the text is of an audiovisual nature.

When defining the process of dubbing, most authors agree that it is the process described by Fodor as the ‘separate and new sound recording of the text of a film translated into the language of the country in which it is to be shown’ (Fodor 1976: 9), while Rowe describes it as the process of making ‘phonetically dissimilar dialogue [...] appear visually similar while still preserving the semantic and stylistic parallel between the original and the dubbed lines’ (Rowe 1960: 116). This is a good starting point to understand a process that has been practised for the most part of a century in some countries of Europe, and which has undergone alterations, innovations and extensive criticism.

References to translation are made throughout given the interwoven nature of the process of dubbing. On this occasion, the word translator applies mainly to the body of professionals who transfer the filmic text from one language to the other. However, here

the term translation refers to both the process and end product, as it includes the work of the dubbing directors and actors, and sometimes language advisors, who assist in designing and finalising the transfer of the audiovisual product; as a result the translation process is distributed amongst a range of professionals. As had been the case with Delabastita,

I will take ‘film translation’ to stand for the *whole* set of operations [...] that accompany and make possible the transfer of a film from a source culture A into a target culture B. It is assumed that the processes of interlingual recoding (‘translation’ in the traditional sense) that mostly characterize such an intercultural transfer cannot be explained if they are isolated from the *whole* bundle of relations between the original and the translated film. (Delabastita 1989: 195)

Unlike Delabastita, who includes both cinema and television products under the label of film, here the preferred label is audiovisual products, which may include video games and theatre performances when specified.

2. Characteristics of the audiovisual text and its translation

Audiovisual texts are typically found in cinema and television, but their presence is much more widespread, especially recently with a proliferation of digital information which is cheap and quick to produce and distribute. As well as videogames and other new media products, audiovisual texts feature in theatre performances and, needless to say, in everyday face-to-face interactions. The focus here will be on film and television programmes and their potential for dubbing.

An audiovisual text has ‘two main features: (1) it is received through two channels, acoustic and visual and (2) the synchrony between verbal and non-verbal messages is essential’ (Bartrina and Espasa 2005: 84). Hence the notion of audiovisual text must be understood as a unit of meaning: ‘[t]hanks especially to semiotics, the notion of ‘text’ has expanded well beyond written genres. The film is an obvious case of a unit of meaning, which communicates through more than one channel’ (Denton 2007: 25). Delabastita (1989: 199) describes how the oral and the visual channels simultaneously contain verbal and non-verbal signs, ‘and should not be confused with the *codes* that are used to produce the film’s actual meaning’ (Delabastita 1989: 196). Therefore, audiovisual texts use two channels, but are capable of using numerous codes to communicate meaning, as set out in the next paragraph. Authors such as Delabastita, Izard and Mayoral have provided detailed explanations to account for the information that reaches an audience in cinema: for Delabastita (1989: 199) and Izard (2001: 43), the audiovisual text is transmitted through two channels, the acoustic and the visual channels, and with two codes, the verbal and non-verbal. Izard (2001: 43) alludes to the need of the audience to understand both in order to

access the whole meaning of the text. For example, sets of gestures can convey different messages across cultures, so it is important that the audience can interpret them as part of the entire text. Given that the majority of films that reach Spanish and Catalan audiences originate in the US, the decoding of body language or non-verbal messages is attained due to the long-standing tradition in which exposure to these products has been constant, a feature that will be revisited in the next chapter. However, this cannot be said about all foreign films whose cultures have not been so present amongst a given target audience.

Here we explain the codes that operate in audiovisual products, understood as cinema and television broadcasts and their multiple semiotic layers. Even though there may be an overlap with other types of audiovisual texts, such as theatre, characteristic features are not necessarily shared. As has been established, ‘a film constitutes a complex sign’ (Delabastita 1989: 197), which implies that audiovisual texts show translatable information that simultaneously transmits coded meanings visually and verbally (Chaume 2004: 30). Whether both sets of information can be translated will depend on the commission and the media used, and this is a noticeable difference between cinema and theatre translation that we revisit towards the end of the present section.

In classifying the codes active in audiovisual communication, Delabastita (1989: 196-197) calls them the verbal, the literary and theatrical, the proxemic and kinesic, and the cinematic. Under the verbal code, Delabastita includes stylistic and dialectal features, to which the translator must pay special attention, as it may be the case that they play a vital role in the story. This idea will be the focus in the next chapter, i.e. how do vernaculars support the narrative. Under literary and theatrical codes Delabastita places the plot, dialogue, all within the expectations of the genre; if genres are marked across languages or there is a tradition, such as in the adaptation of Shakespearean literature, the translator needs to account for it. Lastly, the cinematic code would refer mostly to film techniques, all of which are beyond the control of the screen translator who cannot change the images. Delabastita clarifies that ‘[s]igns from these codes may be combined in a whole range of ways to form the “macro-sign” of the film as a whole’ (Delabastita 1989: 197). Mayoral (2001: 34) points out other items that intervene in cinema communication, such as image in motion, static image, text, dialogue, narration, music and noise, which are specific to cinema’s artistic expression and are not relevant to all kinds of films where narration may be given preference over camera work.

Knowing this, Bartrina and Espasa (2005) state that ‘audiovisual translation can be taken to include theatre translation, dubbing, subtitling, voice-over, simultaneous interpreting and

half-dubbing' (Bartrina and Espasa 2005: 84).²⁹ Of recent, this list has been expanded to encompass new techniques such as 'respeaking through speech recognition[,] subtitling for the hard of hearing[,] fansubbing [or] fandubbing' (Chaume 2012: 3-4), among others included by the author.

Gambier (2003: 171-172) mentions the nomenclature that this type of translation has received, from film translation at the beginning, to multimedia translation or screen translation, which would exclude theatre translation due to its live format. Here, the term audiovisual translation (AVT) will be favoured, as it brings 'to the forefront the multisemiotic dimension of all broadcast programmes' (Gambier 2003: 171), and it will include theatre translation.³⁰ Even though '[o]ne of the major semiotic differences between a theatre performance and a film projection is the fact that the latter confronts the audience with a complex sign, the material of which was almost entirely determined beforehand' (Delabastita 1989: 197), there are common grounds between the two types of text that may be worth exploring. In the following section we discuss the characteristics of the audiovisual text, and specifically the filmic text with references to its translation.

Regarding the translation of cinema, Figure 5 is a good summary of film language according to Chaves (2000), which points at translatable information and translation outputs. The figure indicates the non-verbal elements in cinema, which cannot be changed. This is the main difference from theatre translation, where adaptations can take place that alter this part of the performance. The translation of cinema can then follow different routes in translating the verbal elements, namely having subtitles or the lesser-used inserts if the verbal elements are to be read. If the verbal elements are to be heard, the options are voice-over or dubbing. The former is used in Catalan and Spanish mostly for documentaries, where the original soundtrack is audible behind the translated oral text. The latter is where the whole sound track is replaced for a whole new one in the target language.

²⁹ Definitions of types of audiovisual translation beyond dubbing and subtitling can be found in Gambier (2009), although the most up-to-date account is currently Chaume (2012).

³⁰ Further reading on the connections between theatre translation and audiovisual translation can be found in Bartrina and Espasa (2005) and Delabastita (1989).

	IMAGE	SOUND
NON-VERBAL ELEMENTS	shot cut scene scenification movements illumination	noise music
VERBAL ELEMENTS	written texts (generic)	oral texts dialogues voice noises (hesitation, mumbling...)
TRANSLATION	inserts	subtitles
		voice-over
	dubbing	
	READING	LISTENING

Figure 5: Filmic elements and their translation (Chaves 2000: 37, my translation)

As can be gathered from figure 5, dubbing only allows for a translation of the verbal elements, leaving the other codes untouched and hence leaving them visible in the target text. Aside from theatre translation, no other method would prevent interference from the non-verbal codes that appear in the original. On the other hand, subtitling allows for the original work to be accessed fully, while it asks for the audience's effort in dividing their attention.

One of the most important features of the filmic text is the level of preparation that applies to every stage of production, which also applies to the verbal code. This feature is analysed in detail the next section.

2.1 The verbal elements of the audiovisual text

Having explained the codes that operate in film, the focus will now shift towards the verbal elements of audiovisual texts. The most salient characteristic of the language used in cinema is that it needs to sound natural and spontaneous as it artificially imitates real speech. The following figure presents the steps that are carried out to aid this effect, and the importance this has for subsequent translations. The mode of discourse used in films can be traced with the help of the following diagram by Gregory and Carroll (1978).

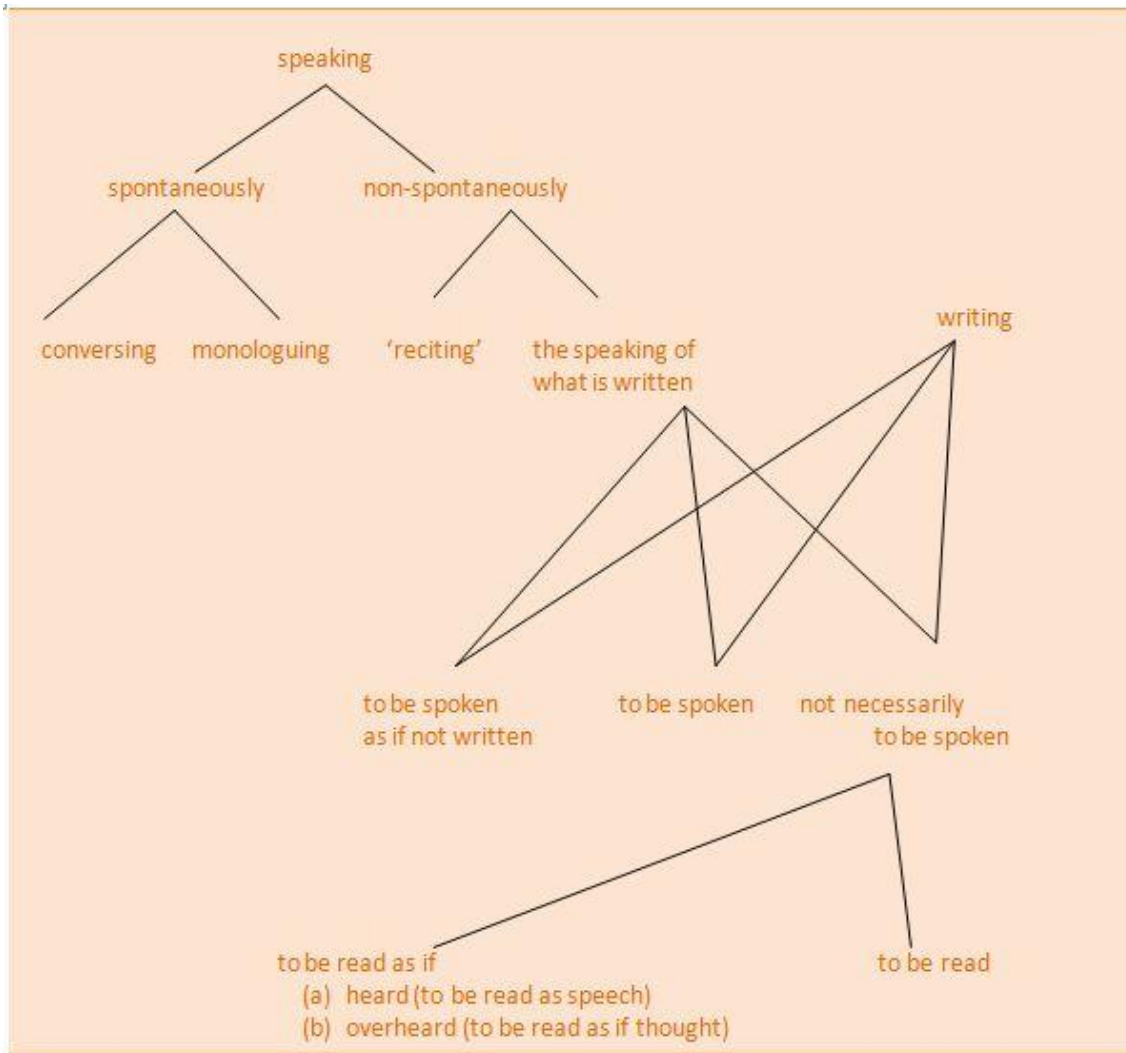


Figure 6: ‘Suggested distinctions along the dimension of situation variation categorized as user’s medium relationship.’ Gregory and Carroll (1978: 47)

It can be seen in this diagram that most scripted films or audiovisual products share a pathway to creating the illusion of cinema that can be described as follows: texts are expressed through the oral channel in a non-spontaneous way because actors perform what has been written to be spoken as if not written, unless they are purposely made using solely improvised acting. This idea that was conveyed in Chapter 1, when it was mentioned that texts in the corpus, or in film in general, should be regarded as *mundane performances* because although scripts are clearly staged performances, they seek to imitate spontaneous language, and this influences the style they portray. In any case, and as will be revealed when relevant, our corpus has a few instances where the original directors praised the ad-libbing offered by some of the cast.

In the nature of the filming process a written script is provided for the actors to base their performances on, both in the original versions and the subsequent dubbed versions.

There may be a degree of spontaneous acting in the actors' performance, but it could be said that the written text usually plays a crucial part, together with the director's indications and the aim of making cinema dialogue sound natural. The same path is applied for dubbing but the same cannot be said of the process of subtitling, where the audience relies on the superimposed written text and can still access the original material, as seen in Figure 6.

The creation of cinema is embedded in a process of communication between the director and the receiver of the text, or audience, through the text itself. However, Gambier asserts that 'audiovisual communication is inherently ambiguous: it's aimed both at the immediate addressees, namely the characters on the screen, and to viewers. The latter are often not directly addressed but are nevertheless constantly present' (Gambier 2003: 184), an idea shared by Bell (1984) by which mass media audiences are regarded referees, mentioned under point 2.3 of Chapter 1. Chaves (2000: 119) and Delabastita (1989) describe this type of reproduction as mass communication. As Delabastita puts it, 'film is commonly regarded as a phenomenon of mass communication: through mechanical reproduction it is in principle accessible to a large and not previously delimited group of people, irrespective of local barriers' (Delabastita 1989: 197). It is, nevertheless, an audiovisual text that is received by an audience, at which point it gains meaning with the viewers' input, their experiences and other factors; the text will then have completed the communication cycle. Audiences and their perceptions are increasingly gaining visibility and attracting interest. This is the reason why Chapter 4 of this thesis is dedicated to studying the reception of the films of the corpus, where information on reception will be broadened.

Looking more closely at the translation of audiovisual texts, most authors agree that audiovisual translation is a type of subordinate translation, where the verbal text is subordinated to the images. This can certainly be said of film translation, as the visual work cannot be altered, hence the oral text always has to adapt to the visual text. In the dubbing of films the only translatable information travels through the oral channel, whereas the image remains untouched. On the other hand, theatre translation is more malleable, as backdrops and costumes can be adapted to the target culture, as can culturally-bound gestures or time periods, which cannot be changed when the images have been filmed. Another effect of the difference between audiovisual texts is that theatre translation lends itself to adaptation.

An example of the versatility of a written text and its adaptations for the screen and theatre can be found in Irvine Welsh's novel *Trainspotting* (1993), originally set in Edinburgh. The film is also set in the Scottish capital, where the characters' language variety plays a crucial part in marking them as local. The dubbing of such a visually-bound film cannot override the setting, as the constant backdrop reminds the audience that the action is mostly taking place in Edinburgh. However, when the book was adapted as a theatre play into Spanish, the marginal lifestyle and drug-related experiences were recreated in San Blas, a district on the outskirts of Madrid, and the marked dialect became *cheli* slang, representative of an alternative lifestyle (Garcimartín 1997: 228). Whereas the dubbing of the film into Spanish used mainstream Castilian Spanish, the adaptation for theatre allowed details of the story to be adapted. The action took place in a real location as in the original, and by switching the marginal area and lifestyle to the outskirts of Madrid, the importance of the story was highlighted over its original setting.

There are clear examples of the limitations of the visual text in the present corpus, as we will see. In scene 8 of *Shrek 2* Puss in Boots carves a 'P' on a tree trunk with his sword, emulating Zorro and his well-known signature. When this film was dubbed both into Spanish and Catalan, the image of Puss in Boots carving a 'P' on a tree was left untouched, even though the character's name had been changed to coincide with the literary tradition in both languages, according to which his name begins with a 'G'. Conversely, in theatre the scenery, props and dress can all be changed and adapted to the requirements of the target culture, and Puss in Boots would have had the freedom to carve any letter without compromising the character's continuity. Actors' gestures, the kinesic code, will be different across languages, as will dress codes and furniture styles, so theatre performances can adapt all of these to a target culture, which cannot be done in film. Dubbing of foreign films only covers the oral text, while sporadic subtitles are the only option to translate written texts, such as the name of a shop or poster in a film. Having said that, with new technologies it is increasingly possible to modify written texts in computer-generated films. Songs in films sometimes elude dubbing and are subtitled, letting the original be shown in the target product, again affecting continuity. Nevertheless, audiences may be used to this effect, in which case their diegetic experience is not affected. Going back to the example of Puss in Boots, it is likely that the audience in Spanish and Catalan is so used to seeing such absence of correspondence between the oral and visual text that some information might not even register as anomalous. According to Chaume (2003: 99), audiences have been

educated to accept that they are watching a film, which means that there are certain expectations that lose importance. We refer to this elsewhere as the diegetic experience.

Returning to the type of text under examination, fictional orality in a film is a text that has been written to be read, which is subordinated to the images, and which needs to sound as natural as possible to aid the process of diegesis. Kozloff's comments on the naturalness of film dialogue are particularly relevant to our corpus material, where certain choices to be made by the translator are identified, whether or not they decide to include such intentionality in the translated versions:

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

With this amount of premeditation and preparation, the end result ideally is an audiovisual text that seems plausible to the audience, which is therefore culture-dependent in that it meets their expectations and does not transgress the cinematic illusion. All these items can be gathered together under the concept of credibility, which Izard (2004) describes as the ability to make cinema, and subsequently dubbing, seem true (Izard 2004: 35-36). In order to achieve it, Izard continues, what should be sought after by scriptwriters and audiovisual translators is not realism, but verisimilitude, as cinema dialogues are not real texts, but texts that want to create such an impression. Actual speech is not elaborated enough to be communicatively efficient, while fictitious dialogue follows conventional patterns and long-established norms that are embedded in the audience.

In line of this, we recognise that the vernaculars that will be examined in the next chapter are not necessarily a natural rendition, but that they are mediated, as proposed by Coupland (2009) and Stamou (2013), mentioned in the last chapter. Equally in Chapter 3 we will address the authenticity of the vernaculars featured, and how it may affect the original text. A similar situation happens when translations are mediated in the form of dubbese, i.e.

The register of dubbing, a kind of translationese that presents a balance between oral and written features in all traditional language levels [...]. Importantly, it also contains repeated - and sometimes outdated - translation solutions [...] that have become part of the dubbing register. Dubbese is a culture-specific linguistic and stylistic model for dubbed texts. (Chaume 2012: 182)

Chaume (2012) points to the effort that audiovisual translators have to make ‘at imitating spontaneous-sounding conversation in the target language’ (Chaume 2012: 82) in a way that sounds credible to the target audience. This is a second process of script-writing, following from the original, both of which share characteristics as pointed out by Kozloff (2000: 18). It is recognised that ‘the language of dubbing is essentially conservative and tends to stick to the grammar rules of the target language, especially in the phonetic and morphologic levels’ (Chaume 2012: 91). Therefore, the corpus is interesting both from the point of view of the original and its use of variational style, and also to establish whether some of the translations transgress these conservative norms. Interestingly, ‘dubbing was consolidated at a time when imitating real spoken language was completely unacceptable’ (Chaume 2012: 91), and therefore the particular genre we are exploring may be giving rise to different dubbing practices. This, in turn, is a change that was noticed in the last section of Chapter 1, and not surprisingly dubbese ‘is strongly influenced by the culture’s language policy’ (Chaume 2013: 293).

In the same aforementioned article by Izard (2004), she addresses the difficulties operating in the specific case of Catalan, where norms are far from real usage of the language. Although Izard is right to point out that verisimilitude is pursued by means of lexical resources, the different characteristics of the Catalan-speaking areas may lead us to question the validity of the statement. It should be highlighted that Izard also believes the phonetic level is overlooked, in a crucial text type such as an audiovisual text, and concludes by saying that it is very desirable for the Catalan language to find a balance between the normative usage of language and real usage (Izard 2004: 39-41).

To conclude, the films in the corpus, all computer-generated, have a very important visible component, aimed especially at children, who typically like cartoons. Adults are also targeted by means of content. The weight of the images and the visual language in this case, along with the design of the characters and even the colours used will play an important part, but the focus here will remain on the intended style and delivery of verbal message by the characters.

3. Dubbing in its context of production

The following sections explain the context in which dubbing needs to be considered. We include a thorough description of dubbing, its history and process. To this end, we describe the technicalities that are necessary to make dubbing a credible product, such as the synchronies. To finish the section, we include an insight into the functions of dubbing, as

this translation technique has served and continues to serve a purpose in the target languages. Interestingly, authors like Richart (2009: 124) define dubbing in terms of its cultural, economic and political dimensions, which seem inescapable in the context of the present corpus.

3.1 Birth and development of dubbing

In her work about cinema translation, Chaves (2000: 30) explains how Edwin Hopking first explored the process of dubbing in 1930. Dubbing was initially devised as a way to re-record a scene that had been filmed with poor sound quality due to background noises. Shortly after Hopking's experimentations, Jacob Karol, the director of the German versions of the Paramount studios, thought this would be an acceptable method of translating original dialogues into other languages, to replace a series of techniques that had proved unsuccessful and unpopular with the audience. From then on, dubbing would be a widely available mode of transfer, following a process of trial and error and elimination that shaped it into something accepted by the audience. However, not all countries followed this route, as some preferred other forms of transfer, discussed under the section on functions of dubbing.

Dubbing was not always the way that foreign films, and especially US films, were transferred into major European languages. The initial methods experimented with no translation and other solutions: 'until 1932-33, American film companies tried to solve the translation problem by producing multilingual versions of the same film' (Danan 1991: 607). As Chaves (2000: 29) explains, Hollywood was the leading cinema industry after 1927, and in a first instance Louis B. Mayer from Metro Goldwin Mayer declared that linguistic diversity was not going to be a problem, and he was convinced that the popularity of American films would make English the universal language of cinema. Shortly after, his somewhat naïve assumption proved problematic and European countries became reluctant to accept this new approach. This could have brought an end to Hollywood's monopoly in international cinema unless a way could be found to communicate in the same language as the receiving cultures. This is when different ways of transferring films into European languages began to be explored.

Initially, subtitling proved to be a potentially acceptable mode of transfer. However, the increasing complexity of film dialogue -which had been very limited at first after the transition from silent to sound films- as well as a cumbersome subtitling system, meant that Spanish viewers were largely not in favour of subtitling because of the high illiteracy rates.

Furthermore, a political intention to protect the language and the Spanish industry led in 1941 to the introduction of laws on dubbing, according to which only films dialogued in Spanish could be shown (Ballester 2001: 100). US cinema seemed destined for success in Europe, as it showed a multicultural and multi-racial society from its early beginnings, making it the most cosmopolitan in the world (Ballester 2001: 32). However, multiculturalism and multi-racial representation were the same factors that led to it being censored.

In the following paragraphs, a detailed and up-to-date description of the dubbing process is given. This precedes a description of the different applications that institutions have found in the process of dubbing, from exerting censorship to using it as a means of language planning. The final section, covering translation issues, presents the translation side of the topic.

3.2 The process of dubbing

Even though dubbing had been in existence for some decades, one of the most important academic books on dubbing did not appear until the 1970s, where satisfactory dubbing was described as a ‘faithful and artistic rendering of the original dialogue, an approximately perfect unification of the replacing sounds with the visible lip movements, and bringing the style of delivery in the new version into optimal artistic harmony with the style of acting’ (Fodor 1976: 9). Over the years this definition has been refined, as have the steps from the original to the end product. Furthermore, the meanings of ‘perfect’ have been questioned. Scholars have elucidated the steps in the practice of dubbing, providing a better understanding of all the processes and needs that arise; attention has also been paid to the professionals that make it possible, and their responsibilities. Audiences have also gradually taken centre stage and their expectations about certain practices are now considered.

The aim of dubbing, as described by Whitman-Linsen below, is very clear, even if the end product is influenced by the steps along the way, and factors such as where the emphasis rests or the nature of the audience being targeted.

The object of [dubbing] [...] is to produce a final target language script which is not only a skilful and accurate translation of the original, not only reads smoothly and can be spoken convincingly, but also conforms to the fundamentals of lip, voice and kinetic synchrony. (Whitman-Linsen 1992: 63)

This over-arching description is useful, although it does not address the adherence to the norms of the target language or the intricacies of the source text. A prescriptive use of language and the expectations of the audience play a very important part in the dubbing process, as we have established. Dubbing practices in different countries have accustomed their audiences to different styles, and these also have a weight that is explored in this chapter.

Chaume (2003: 17) accurately defines the stages of the dubbing process. The following description includes both the translation and dialogue writing of a script, until the process is finished by the actors' performance.

1. A public or private entity purchases the rights of a foreign audiovisual text.
2. A dubbing studio, be it the commissioner or the receiver of the commission, is in charge of the translation, adaptation and dramatisation of the text, i.e., until the text is ready to be viewed in the target language.
3. A translator is asked to translate the text, and sometimes adapt it.
4. The initial translation is adapted at the studio. In some cases, the adaptation will be carried out by the translator, or there could be a separate script writer.
5. The director and perhaps a linguistic advisor supervise the dramatisation of the new text by the actors.
6. The final sound tracks are recorded and mixed.

Although perhaps it ought to include two final steps -the final editing and mix, and obtaining the director's or the commissioner's approval- the description is otherwise representative. Most authors consider that the process of dubbing begins when a new commission is made, and ends when the final soundtrack in a target language replaces the foreign text, adapted to the expectations of a given community. The steps between these points will vary depending on the country.

Dubbing in Spain, for any of its official languages, generally follows the described route, although testimonies from professionals show a different approach depending on the studio, which means the process will vary slightly. Sometimes translators are expected to include an adaptation and dialogue writing of the text, whilst at other times these tasks are carried out by a dialogue writer, the actors or the director. In Martínez (2004) there is a good account of the steps that are carried out in a studio in Barcelona:

The dubbing preproduction process starts when the client, usually a television station, programme producer or distributor, sends a copy of the film or programme to the dubbing studio. Normally, this copy, known as the master, comes accompanied by the original script to facilitate translation, and by a set of instructions on such issues as, for example, whether songs are to be dubbed, whether screen inserts are to be subtitled, and whether certain dubbing actors should take certain roles, and so on. (Martínez 2004: 3)

The feature that differs between Spanish and Catalan for some of the films studied is number five from Chaume's list above. As pointed out by Agost (2004b: 68-69), of the translations for dubbing carried out in the Spanish state, which include commissions from television channels, language quality control is only offered in 'communities with languages that are undergoing normalisation' (Agost 2004b: 69). This is a recent move that formerly included Spanish, whilst Catalan, Basque and Galician continue to receive language supervision on occasion. The role of the linguistic advisor is neither mandatory nor commonplace in the industry. However, some dubbing studios or teams may choose to have one, either to ensure the language used in the dialogues adheres to the norm - especially in the case of Catalan- or for when translators have provided only a rough translation. Through my visits to the two dubbing studios that existed in Mallorca in 2009 it was possible to establish that one, 3D VideoGraphics, chose to employ a linguistic advisor for the products they were releasing in Catalan, whereas the other, Graus, did not. It would be interesting to compare the outcome of such a decision on the dubbed products, to see whether it has a noticeable influence. However, from personal communication with the linguistic advisor, Antònia Balaguer of 3D VideoGraphics (July 2009), it is clear that her role was essential in adapting translations and working alongside the director to ensure quality in the final product, effectively double-checking the grammatical accuracy of the utterances.

Returning to Chaume's list, what is most relevant to the translation process is the dissociation between translation and dialogue writing. For Chaume (2003: 117), dialogue writing can be understood as the part where the written text attains appropriateness in relation to the visual text, once the transfer into another language has been completed.

A different point of view is offered by Iazard (2001: 403), who only requires the translator to produce a literal translation of the text, where double-entendres, amongst other subtleties, would be missed. Then it goes through the process in which the text would gain credibility and become closer to the target culture; at this stage a dialogue writer would transform the rough translation, or else the process would be carried out at the studio by

the director and actors.³¹ Furthermore, Chaves (2000: 113) states that an audiovisual translator cannot simply transpose literal meanings from one language to the other, insisting that there are visual constraints, as well as those imposed by the varying length of utterances across languages for a similar concept. In any case, the insight given by Whitman-Linsen below is representative of the tasks that need to take place at the studio to turn dialogue into a coherent filmic text.

Now the rough translation is delivered into the hands of the dialogue writer, most often one and the same with the person who will be entrusted with directing the dubbed version. The craft required of him has been called 'texten' in German, 'adapter' in French, and 'adaptar' in Spanish, and in effect it is the skillful creation of a convincing, playable script, ideally meeting all the demands of the different types of synchrony discussed earlier, yet still creating the illusion of original dialogue. Idioms are to be re clothed in target language garb, stylistic level and linguistic register is to ascend and descend at the same points as in the original, regional accents must find some kind of vehicle to ride on, allusions must be attached to new antecedents familiar to the target audience, and puns must be re-penned. All in all, the original screenplay, which might have taken months to write, must be transformed to fit into the new linguistic and cultural setting, often in less than a week. (Whitman-Linsen 1992: 116)

We can see that in this process a credible dialogue and synchronies become mandatory, as does clarity and, essentially, making the written text match the original, this time in the target language. In dialogue writing many agents can modify the translated text, be it the director, the actors or the commissioner, none of whom may know the source language. Studio staff may not necessarily be trained in linguistic skills and may not even know the original language, but rather make the alterations that they think suit the final product better. It seems a clear advantage that a professional trained both in the source language and the target language should be in charge of bridging the two. The translator might appear to be the ideal candidate for this task but the translator rarely works at the studio. Chaume (2003:119) firmly believes it essential that the adaptation is carried out by the translator, insisting that this would represent a great advantage in having a final product that has not undergone changes by technicians. Perhaps coherence would be increased if the translator were able to perform both processes since in Spain, France and Germany the dialogue writing is usually done by staff who do not always know the original language (Chaume 2003: 119). Trained translators should be aware of nuances and needs in the

³¹ In my experience at dubbing studios, dubbing actors have an influence on the dialogues they are uttering, after the linguistic advisors have already validated those texts. While experienced actors can make dialogues sound more natural, they can also interfere with the translators' work, in which specific expressions may have been selected or the contents may have been synchronised with the images. Therefore the director's work becomes even more important.

original language, and would be able to provide such information. It is noteworthy that during my experience in dubbing studios, changes to the translated script might occur in situations such as an actor finding it difficult to pronounce an utterance. Needless to say, if a linguistic advisor is working alongside them, cohesion and coherence, not to mention accuracy, would be ensured if new sections were added to the text. However, even if Chaume and Whitman-Linsen believe only one professional should take on the job of translating from beginning to end, the improvisation provided by the dubbing director and actors cannot be overlooked simply because they lack specific linguistic knowledge if the job is to be carried out in a collaborative manner. Their experience is also vital in providing a naturalised and credible text, and this may also be the key to translation of stylistic variation.

3.3 Synchronies

Once a film commission reaches a studio, the professionals working there ideally have access to the written text and the images, and work collaboratively to create a translated version of the film. Synchronies here become an essential part of the process, as the images of the original version have to coincide logically with the newly translated and dramatised text. Synchronies between image and sound are of vital importance in dubbing, and are a key feature by which a dubbed film will be judged (Chaume 2004: 36). The images have a key role in the process, to which the new soundtrack must adhere. One of the aims of dubbing is to create a coherent and credible product; hence, the translation has to refer to the images as well as the written text to reach a product where the two communication channels work interdependently.

In providing an overview of the extent of the concept of synchrony and its applications, the works of Fodor (1976), Whitman-Linsen (1992) and Chaume (2003) serve as the primary source, together with our direct experience at 3D VideoGraphics dubbing studio (Santa Maria, Mallorca). Fodor considers synchrony to be concerned both with the source text (ST) and the target text and the relations they bear, and with the dubbing of the audiovisual text, whereas Chaume views it as a concept that applies only to the timing once at the dubbing studio. In Chaume's view the dubbing process is concerned with translation and other independent processes that work collaboratively. At an intermediate stage is the work of Whitman-Linsen, for whom synchronisation affects many processes, but who considers translation to be separate. We note that there is a time difference of fifteen to twenty years between each author's work and this could provide a reflection of the

evolution of audiovisual translation, which has gained prominence as a discipline in the last two decades.

Beginning with one of the first main works about dubbing, Fodor distinguished three kinds of synchronies, with corresponding dischronies: character synchrony, content synchrony and phonetic synchrony. Character synchrony is twofold. On the one hand it is concerned with the actors' voices, both in the original film and the dubbed version, 'such as individual timbre, pitch, intensity and speech tempo' (Fodor, 1976: 72), which give information to the spectator about the character. It is concerned with reflecting similar characteristics from the original text, such as making sure a child does not have an adult's voice. On the other, character synchrony, later to be known as kinetic synchrony, demands that the actor in the studio moves in a similar way to the actor on the screen for a more credible effect.

For Fodor (1976) content synchrony is the relationship that the source text has with the target text. Here his concerns lie with the impossibility of explaining puns or particularities by means of extra subtitling in a dubbed film, as if subtitles were footnotes. He mentions the need for 'gifted artist-translators' (Fodor 1979: 78) who prepare the text for synchronization. Content synchrony also relates to isochrony, where the sentence length needs to be the same in the audio and the visual part of the text. Fodor is concerned with the disparity between languages when it comes to sentence duration, which has to be addressed somehow in the dubbed version. This should raise the translator's awareness of certain flexibility in the translation for dubbing, which should account for these disparities in dialogues.

The final set of synchronies, to which Fodor dedicates the vast majority of his book, are phonetic synchronies. Fodor discusses the needs that emerge when creating a dubbed product that will give the impression of authenticity by not offering much disparity between the visible pronunciation and the audible messages. His point of departure is the human production of sounds, by which he illustrates the impact this has on the visual text. In his view, studios should really encourage the synchronization of sounds, thus providing a perfect lip-synch. It is interesting to consider Fodor's perception of the whole process of dubbing as a set of synchronies; if these synchronies are attained, the process is close to being a successful work. Fodor uses the term synchronization at times to refer to the translation for dubbing, which implicitly includes observation of all the synchronies. He duly points out, however, that 'an absolutely impeccable dubbing, one that is completely exempt from dischronemes *is inconceivable*' (Fodor 1976: 81).

Whitman-Linsen indicates that 'the basic objective of dubbing is to encourage the illusion that one is watching a homogenous whole' (1991: 17), which could be equated to the diegetic experience, where the spectator gets immersed into the story effortlessly. Whitman-Linsen distinguishes two kinds of synchronies, the first referring to the visual/optical field, and the second concerning the audio/acoustic synchrony (Whitman-Linsen 1991: 19). In the first division she includes lip synchrony,³² syllable articulation synchrony, isochrony³³ and kinetic synchrony.³⁴ However, Chaume simplifies this system of synchronisation, where the term is synonymous with lip-synch (Chaume 2004: 35), and is not concerned with the additional synchronies mentioned by Fodor or Whitman-Linsen. He places these items elsewhere in the dubbing process, i.e. the translation process and dramatisation. Whereas for Fodor the translation process is part of the content synchrony, and the choice of actors is placed under character synchrony, Chaume divides these processes and renames them, enabling overlaps with other disciplines, and a deeper understanding of other factors involved. Chaume also incorporates the advances in the discipline of translation studies to a field that seemed more concerned with industrial efficiency than with building a solid sustainable base. Nevertheless, Chaume's distinctions within synchronisation correspond to those outlined by Fodor (1976) in the phonetic division, which he calls isochrony or synchrony between utterances and pauses, phonetic or lip synchrony. Chaume adds kinetic or body movement synchrony (Chaume 2004: 43).

The fact that Chaume's concept of synchronisation describes a narrower view of the term possibly has to do with the fact that dubbing has now been widely used, generations of audiences have been exposed to it, and aspirations for a perfect system have given way to a tradition in Spanish and Catalan where isochrony is the all important synchrony. According to Whitman-Linsen (1991: 20) and Chaume (2003: 99, 100), the order of importance of synchronies is isochrony, lip synchrony and kinetic synchrony, the second of which is mostly observed in extreme close-ups.

According to each dubbing tradition, whenever synchronies are not present in the audiovisual text, we would encounter a dyschrony (Fodor, Whitman-Linsen), or asynchronization, as described by Hayward:

³² Whitman-Linsen refers to this concept secondarily as *phonetic synchrony*.

³³ Whitman-Linsen calls this *length of utterance synchrony* and *gap synchrony*. The term *isochrony* has been given preference here, later also used by Chaume.

³⁴ Primarily referred to as *gesture and facial expression synchrony*.

Asynchronization occurs when the sound is either intentionally or unintentionally out of sync with the image. In the latter case this is the result of faulty editing (for example a spoken voice out of sync with the moving lips). In the former, it has an aesthetic and/or narrative function. First, asynchronization calls attention to itself: thus the spectator is made aware that she or he is watching a film (so the illusion of identification is temporarily removed or deconstructed). Second, it serves to disrupt time and space and thereby narrative continuity, and as such points to the illusion of reality created by classic narrative cinema through its seamless continuity ending. (Hayward 2000: 18-19)

Asynchronization may lead to a loss of credibility, and hence a weaker diegetic experience, which could lead to an audience rejecting a film. For Palencia (2000: 2), the factors that promote dubbing efficiency are those that allow for a diegetic experience in the audience, and that do not obstruct it.

In the last few paragraphs the concept of credibility has emerged again. When entering the cinema, playing a DVD or streaming a film at home, audiences know that what they are going to see is fiction, and that it has been performed. It is, however, important that the process seems real and feasible, so as to aid the illusion of cinema and diegesis, in which the cinema is the narrator. Audiences do not generally expect a perfect product and, in the case of dubbing, as pointed out by Chaume above, every speaking community that is used to certain ways of presenting stories has expectations about the ways in which information is presented. In a similar manner, with tradition shaping audience expectations, some Catalan speakers are still coming to terms with the relatively new phenomenon of viewing films in Catalan, a subject that will be picked up later. However, the factors that make dubbing into Spanish more successful than into Catalan include the overwhelming majority of films translated into Spanish, the longer tradition of the medium, and the low availability of films translated into Catalan in cinemas, despite changes in the legal system. Cinema dubbed into Catalan often uses the same actors and translators as in Spanish; it would therefore be interesting to study whether the perception of the audience changes. In the final chapter we offer an approximation to this question with the conclusions to our study described in Chapter 4. In any case, '[t]he successful reception of an audiovisual production [...] depends not only on a good phonetic and character synchrony in the case of dubbing [...] but especially on the quality of the translation of the audiovisual text' (Fuentes Luque 2003: 293), which will be covered in coming sections.

3.4 The functions of dubbing

Contrary to what might be expected, dubbed products are used for different purposes than a mere linguistic transfer, depending on the country where they are consumed, or the historical point at which the dubbing system was adopted. It may appear self-evident that a common function to all dubbing is the linguistic transfer of a product. However, beyond this primary function there are others of greater or lesser visibility to the audience: the choice of dubbing over subtitling often carries an intentional function. This section is concerned with the functions that the dubbing process may have when applied in different national, political or cultural contexts, especially in the case of Spanish and Catalan.

Gambier (2009: 42) places dubbing and subtitling amongst the dominant types of audiovisual translation. The main difference between these two modes of transfer of audiovisual products is that the former substitutes the whole soundtrack content of a film for an equivalent in a target language, usually changing one language for another one, and leaving the same music, background ambience noises or other sound effects. The latter superimposes text on to the original images, allowing viewers to follow the original audiovisual text, albeit dividing their attention between the images in motion and the written text. There has been much debate over the years as to whether one of the two methods of transfer is more acceptable, faithful or in keeping with the original. At present there is abundant literature on the subject,³⁵ so this section will be concerned with the potential benefits, detractions and limitations of dubbing as a method of transfer, with a special emphasis on the intentional purposes it has served.

Since its beginnings, dubbing was adopted in a number of European countries as a means to distribute foreign films.³⁶ France, Germany, Spain and Italy had in common a larger potential audience than that of other countries with less widely spoken languages, together with a protectionist approach towards their language and culture. The overwhelming number of films coming from the US was soon regarded as a potential threat to the home grown cinema industry and culture. Therefore, in order to avoid linguistic and ideological imperialism, protective policies were put in place, such as

³⁵ For further reading on dubbing and subtitling in Europe see Luyken (1991), Dries (1995), O'Connell (1998), Díaz Cintas (1999). For a specific account on the Spanish case, see Mera (1999).

³⁶ A detailed description of the situation during the first half of the twentieth century in Western Europe is offered by Danan (1991), together with an account of the influence of dubbing policies on domestic cinema and other transfer choices. For details of the Spanish case and the incidence of dubbing on Spanish cinema, see Miguel González (2002).

restrictions and quotas on showings of foreign films (Danan 1991: 608). It was the use of dubbing, with its flexibility to disguise original contents that would prevail. However, further to the institutional intention to protect culture from US ways of life, there was the explicit desire to hear films in the target language, especially as European audiences wanted to hear their own languages (Ballester 2001: 42). Subtitling also had an added factor against its viability; illiteracy, with a variable but significant rate amongst Europeans, threatened the success of films among certain audiences, and it would have compromised profits on foreign cinema products had audiences not been able to read the subtitles, as discussed below in this section.

The choice of dubbing was deliberate, as the proliferation of *talkies* coincided with an unstable political situation across Europe. It was, therefore, the ideal method of transfer in countries where far right political dictatorships wanted to exert control, hence ‘the predominance of dubbing in Germany, Italy and Spain in the 1930s and 1940s was fostered by fascist regimes’ (Baker and Saldanha 2009: 18). In France, a desire to block excessive US influences motivated their preference for dubbing, which was also designed to strengthen the domestic film industry. In all four cases protectionist measures led to the preference for the dubbing system (Danan 1991: 607-608).

Both dubbing and subtitling can be used to censor the original text, but dubbing allows full control over what is said and how it is said, and it blocks the viewer’s access to the original text, unlike subtitled versions, and it works ‘as a “control mechanism” on the norms and values of the imported films’ (Karamitroglou, 1996: 61). Such a control mechanism can be used to disguise the original product, without the need to conceal the original images. It is clear from these characteristics that dubbing served as a useful tool to some European regimes, as the whole content of the dialogues and original speech could be altered. Subtitling, on the other hand, also allows for censorship, whether by editing out images, subtly changing the dialogues, or reducing the aesthetic value of the uttered messages.³⁷ Regardless of the useful although sometimes fruitless³⁸ debates over the convenience of either dubbing or subtitling, the former makes audiovisual texts more malleable than the latter, and it seems irrefutable that dubbing could potentially allow many more changes to the original text in the subsequent foreign versions without raising suspicion. This very nature of dubbing has allowed censorship to be direct and active in the

³⁷ See Gottlieb (2004) for an account of the implications of subtitling.

³⁸ Gambier (2003: 173) considers that with new technologies such as DVD this debate ‘about dubbing vs subtitling is therefore becoming obsolete and irrelevant given such developments’.

countries where it was originally used, as will be seen. The fact that the whole sound track needs to be replaced with a complete new dialogue in another language has been seen as an opportunity to change the contents, storyline or even tone of a film.

In Spain the use of dubbing, as opposed to subtitling, was primarily aimed at protecting the Spanish language and culture against foreign influences that could be seen in cinema; this started with the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, continued through the Second Republic (Ávila 1997: 46-52) and finally was exploited thoroughly by the Franco regime. In the case of Spain, dubbing would serve the process of censorship very well, allowing ideas and tendencies contrary to the far-right Franco regime to be concealed. Needless to say, a great number of films never made it to the big screen. Those that did had to undergo an extensive assessment by the censors, and agree to the changes proposed. Censorship can be exerted for various reasons, whether ideological, political, technical or commercial (Ávila 1997: 20); in the case of Franco's Spain, most were ideological and political. All examples of the use of censorship by the dictatorship reveal an intention to hide the original content, such as adultery in *Mogambo* (1953), or ideas contrary to the Franco regime in *Casablanca* (1942), in which Rick Blaine mentions his support for the Republican troops. However, Franco's Spanish agenda went a lot further, as there was an explicit wish to indoctrinate society and shield it from ideas outside of the far right, Catholicism and the regime's own ethos. With numerous censorship guidelines and laws in place,³⁹ and professionals employed to filter out inappropriate contents, films were seldom a fair reflection of the source text. The aptly named 'ideological adjustments' were intended to make the viewers witness an exemplifying kind of cinema, showing what was 'correct' (Gutiérrez Lanza 2001: 388). This reflects a clear intention to develop cultural planning for Spanish society, and to filter the liberal ideas that came from Hollywood or other countries that had greater experience of democracy. An important collection of examples from the 1940s to the end of the 1970s can be found in Ávila (1997), indicating censorship of nudity, allusions to sex, prostitution, violence or emancipated women, amongst other political 'threats'.

Censorship of dialogues is not a feature of a bygone era; modern-day examples can also be found. For example, on Italian television cartoons aimed at children are not allowed to include words like 'blood'. At the Third Media for All Conference⁴⁰ (Antwerp, 2009), speaker Ilaria Parini described how, in her work as an audiovisual translator, she had to

³⁹ A compilation of laws and other documents of the time can be found in Ávila (1997) and Ballester Casado (2000).

⁴⁰ An abstract of the paper can be found in http://www.mediaforall.eu/all3/pal_3b_parini.html [Last accessed 29 April 2012]

replace the Japanese mention of 'blood' with 'body fluids' in Italian whenever it featured in the *Detective Conan* series she was translating. It was suggested that such translation was possibly inducing a worse effect than if the word 'blood' had been used in Italian, especially in the case of a series where a child resolves crimes. In the case of Germany, Whitman-Linsen (1992: 158) explains that German audiences were uncomfortable with mentions of the Nazi past of the country, especially during the first years after the Second World War. Films can be found where the mention to such a past is diluted, dubbed over, or subtly changed in the case of expressions that may be reminiscent of a dark past.

After the Franco dictatorship, censorship was no longer applied institutionally, but what remained was a heavy tradition of dubbing. Even today, this is the mode of transfer preferred by the majority of audiences. Dubbing accounted for 65% of films shown in Barcelona cinemas over ten years ago (Zabalbeascoa et al. 2001: 105) whilst films dubbed into Spanish in Catalonia had an 80.8% share of viewers in 2000 (Palencia 2004: 2). This figure is not showing signs of changing, as the dubbing or subtitling traditions are self-perpetuating.

The strong polarisation in the use of method between the 'dubbing' and 'subtitling' countries is of significance, as audience research has shown that television viewers are very strongly conditioned by the respective predominant methods and, therefore, attitudes to, as well as acceptance of, different or new methods take a long time to mature. (Luyken 1991: 38)

Looking further onto the functions of dubbing for Catalan, when the Catalan language was no longer banned and could be used in cinema and the media, the immersion of its speakers into the Spanish tradition would play a very important role in determining the mode of transfer of foreign audiovisual products. Cinema director Magí Murià is credited for dubbing the first film into Catalan in 1931, *Draps i ferro vell (Bric-à-brac et cie)*, but there are no indications that this was a very extended practice that had a continuation. Hence, forty years of dictatorship had many effects on the language and customs. Catalan speakers in Spain had already become accustomed to watching dubbed films into Spanish for a very long time. When the time came to choose a mode of audiovisual translation for Catalan in the 1980s, Catalan would have qualified for subtitling as a method of transfer. This had been the case previously in Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and Flanders, and Greece, which have similar numbers of speakers to Catalan, as '[s]ubtitling [...] is the economical solution reserved for the restricted markets of smaller countries' (Danan 1991: 606). However, the situations in the aforementioned subtitling countries are different, as

[s]ubtitling [...] thrived in a group of rich and highly literate countries with small audiovisual markets (Scandinavian countries) and bilingual communities (the Netherlands and Belgium), as well as in other states with lower literacy rates but much poorer economies (Portugal, Greece, Iran and most Arab countries), for whom other forms of audiovisual translation were unaffordable. (Baker and Saldanha 2009: 18)

In the case of Catalan, it is easy to conclude that dubbing was not chosen because of speaker numbers or product profit margins, but due to two crucial factors. Catalan audiences within Spanish territory presumably would have found it difficult to adapt to subtitles once the ban on their language was partially lifted after the end of the regime. Not only was it normal to watch dubbed films, where no reading effort from the audience was required, but it would also have been challenging to some to read Catalan, as it had been banned from public life, including the education system. If instead of dubbing, subtitling had been used as the mode of transfer in Catalan, perhaps the impact at the beginning of the 1980s would not have been positive amongst viewers. Hence, an existing tradition in Spanish had accustomed Catalan viewers to dubbing as the default mode of transfer (Zabalbeascoa, Izard and Santamaria 2001: 109). More importantly, dubbing would serve as a tool for language planning to recuperate linguistic *habitus*, to use Bourdieu's terminology.⁴¹ Also, as pointed out by O'Connell (1998, 2003), audiovisual translation was used as a vehicle for normalisation of Basque and Catalan (Izard 2001: 401), which became necessary after a period of marginalisation of languages other than Spanish.

The advantages that led to the belief that dubbing was an acceptable form of language planning can be elicited from Izard (2001: 401-402). The author refers to the lack of a colloquial register that would be apt for the dubbing of foreign films and how translation has sometimes helped this end, in filling a gap in a language. In this case, the socio-political situation experienced under the Franco regime made it impossible to have cinema or a dubbing industry in Catalan, so the legacy of forty years of silence had to be tackled somehow: '[i]n such a vacuum, it is easy for foreign models to infiltrate, and translated literature may consequently assume a central position' (Even-Zohar 1990: 47-48). In this context, Japanese cartoons and other series that were bought up by TV3 were dubbed into Catalan, further examples of which can be found under Section 4.2 of this chapter, with reference to their domestication. In their translations, the intention to recuperate colloquial

⁴¹ Bourdieu describes linguistic *habitus* as 'the product of social conditions and [...] the production of utterances adapted to a "situation" or, rather, adapted to a market or a field' (1993: 78), and is differentiated from competence. He states that '*habitus* is a product of conditionings which tends to reproduce the objective logic of those conditionings while transforming it' (1993: 87).

terms was foremost, and they included new and accepted expletives and slang, to imbue viewers with these new expressions of the informal language that had not been able to develop naturally in informal public situations. When comparing the language found in series translated in the 1980s with films such as *Shrek 2*, it becomes apparent that in the former audiovisual products there was an intention to keep Spanish colloquial expressions at bay, which is not the case in current dubbing. Even today there is still a clear appreciation of the role played by dubbed cartoons in the 1980s and 1990s in making Catalan sound adequate in multiple contexts. Today, a Facebook group that translates as ‘Vegeta’s swear words helped enrich our Catalan’ has over 30,000 members who informally recognise the work undertaken by TV3 when they dubbed Japanese anime and other audiovisual products in the 1980s and 1990s, thus helping to revitalise colloquial Catalan, especially for young viewers. The use of creative and traditional expletives or expressions seemed to be equally praised amongst members.

In conclusion, the characteristics of dubbing make the original text vulnerable to the wishes of the target culture or institutions. Dubbing has been used to develop political or cultural programmes by changing contents and editing scenes, and in this sense it has altered the original work. However, the degree of manipulation varies depending on the political circumstances. Whereas it was acute for Spanish, where an entrenched censorship system ran alongside the dubbing process, for Catalan dubbing has served a different aim, used mainly for reasons of linguistic planning and language pedagogy. For the case of Catalan, where there is no intention to modify the ideological contents, dubbing has served as a powerful tool to reinstate the language. This was replicated in Basque (Chaves 2000: 107 and especially Barambones 2012) and Galician subsequently. In any case, the language planning agenda was included in the Spanish dubbing strategies from the start.

4. Translation

The next sections provide background information to explain the possibilities and constraints that emerge from the translation of language variation appearing in audiovisual products in English as a source text. To this end, an overview of the specificities that operate in translation for dubbing will be outlined, with specific cases in Catalan and Spanish, as target languages and cultures. Subsequently, an overview of the translation of varieties will be offered, where views for and against this possibility will be presented. To conclude, a section is dedicated to the ethical issues emerging from dialect translation, especially with a view to the collateral effects that certain decisions or handling of variation may have in the target cultures.

Offering here a complete overview of the history of translation might distract from the aim of this thesis.⁴² Hence the focus will be on audiovisual translation, specifically for dubbing, where translation types will also be discussed. References to authors who have written extensively on translation outside the audiovisual field are included in the treatment of dialect translation, which often includes their view on the translation process.

4.1 Translation for dubbing

Any professional who has been commissioned to translate an audiovisual text, paradigmatically a film, needs to take into account the specificities detailed above, as well as the lexical and grammatical requirements of the product. That is, as well as creating a text that bridges two languages, the translation needs to fit the length of the dialogue in the original, provide a rendering that sounds credible in the target language, and account for the expectations of the target culture and audience, bringing forward as many contents of the original as possible. Gambier (2003: 179) mentions accessibility as a key term in screen translation, which for dubbing includes acceptability, synchronicity, both defined elsewhere, and domestication strategies, ‘defined in cultural terms’ (Gambier 2003: 179), under section 3.2.1 of this chapter.

Beyond these elements, the translation may have to adhere to the specificities of a brief provided by the commissioner of a translation, which happens to be the case with the translations of the film corpus. Hence, the translator and the technical team have to pay close attention to those instructions whenever possible, and comply with whatever priorities have been set out. This links with the insight offered by Vermeer (2008), for whom the commissioner of the translation has to specify the goal of the translation or *skopos*. As we shall see in the next chapter, the commissioners of three out of the four films analysed propose a translation that has similar variational features in the target languages as it does in the original, hence setting out the specificities of their product. However, Vermeer says that ‘[t]he *realizability* of a commission depends on the circumstances of the target culture, not on those of the source culture’ (Vermeer 2008: 235, emphasis in original), which raises issues that will be discussed mostly under the section on ethics and under matters of domestication and foreignisation.

Ideally, to begin a commission it is essential that the translator is provided with the audiovisual material and the written text. Indeed, the audiovisual text is even more

⁴² Venuti (2008a) offers a comprehensive account of the different points of view of translation and relevant matters through history and recent decades. Richart (2009) regards dubbing from the perspective of different theories.

important than a written text because, although it would be time-consuming to transcribe the whole audiovisual material, it is from the audiovisual text that most meaning can be elicited. Multiple codes are intertwined and, although the only translatable information is the verbal text, elements that are unclear to the target audience, such as gestures, can be compensated for in the dialogue.

Referring back to the Puss in Boots scene mentioned above, where Puss carves the letter 'P' on a tree, it could be in the translator's hands to choose to edit out this scene in the translated version, although at the risk of losing the intertextual perception of Puss in Boots as some kind of Zorro figure. It becomes apparent that the audiovisual text is heavily marked from many points, and that these markers are likely to be culturally-bound, and have intertextual references that require an 'added interpretative effort by the translator to locate [...] and reproduce'⁴³ (Lorenzo 2005: 148). It is the job of the translator to then do their best to reproduce the work by prioritising the verbal code, which is the only level that can be modified, with reference to the visible context. Credibility and verisimilitude, as in the original version, will play a very important role here.

Translations do not happen in a vacuum, and context is always a factor in a translation as a process and as a product. No two translators will provide the same product nor will necessarily follow the same steps. If a translator at one studio gets paid more than another elsewhere, this may also impact on the end product, as will circumstances such as time constraints, necessary background research or specific knowledge.⁴⁴ In addition, the target culture, the traditions and the audience's consumption habits will play an important part. In this respect, the description by Chaume (2001: 389-397) below can help in accurately identifying the agents that potentially have an effect on an audiovisual product that has been translated. These can serve as an excellent guide to pointing out the barriers which translators find in audiovisual texts. The intention of this article is ultimately to put forward a proposal to analyse the problems encountered in the translation of audiovisual texts, as multidimensional texts, where various linguistic and extralinguistic codes serve to transfer information (Chaume 2001: 389).

In Chaume's proposal there are two dimensions that potentially influence the translation and that are useful in analysing the translation of a film (Chaume 2001: 389-397): an

⁴³ The original Galician reads: 'un esforzo interpretativo extra por parte do tradutor para localizar as referencias intertextuais e reproducilas'.

⁴⁴ For an overview of professional matters and constraints within audiovisual translation see Chapter 6 in Chaume (2004).

external dimension and an internal dimension, as well as the specific factors of the audiovisual translation. Some of these factors have already been revealed in the first and current chapters, whilst others will serve at a later stage to analyse the situation in which the corpus is produced and translated.

- a) The external dimension covers the factors previous to the process of translation that will condition the results. These include the crucial cultural and referential framework of the source text, among others. A further four subcategories are described:
 - historical factors, which include the period or year when the original text was composed or when the translation was commissioned, or existing previous dubbed or subtitled versions
 - professional factors, including time constraints, available text format (DVD, script, etc.), available reference sources such as dictionaries and conventions of translation for dubbing, among others
 - communication process factors, which refers to the roles of the sender, the receiver, the channel used, contents, context, code, etc.
 - reception factors, which for the dubbing process include the degree of flexibility of the representation of synchronies, the degree of acceptability of overacting or underacting, and the degree to which audiences expect a credible text and dialogues
- b) The internal dimension is concerned with linguistic and translation problems, as well as the characteristics of the original audiovisual text. It is further divided into the shared factors with translation, and those that are specific to audiovisual translation.
 - shared factors include the communicative, linguistic, pragmatic and semiotic
 - the specific factors include various codes, such as the linguistic and paralinguistic, musical, iconographic, etc.

Most of the external factors affecting the corpus will be dealt with in Chapter 3, when the films are introduced and their specificities are explained. In the previous chapter, matters affecting the audience's exposure to variation in media were accounted for, while the final chapter explores the audience's response to the films in their native language.

Regarding the internal dimension, the next chapter describes the linguistic and translation strategies applied to the specific corpus.

What is most striking about Chaume's proposal, however, is that genre is not considered an element to be taken into account when facing a translation for dubbing. However, such a differentiation proves very useful in the corpus analysis, as the components share some plot characteristics that are not found in all genres. As stated previously, conventions are very different, and historical dramas require a different approach to indie urban films, romantic comedies or war epics. However, as Hayward points out, 'because genres themselves are not static and because [...] they are composed of several intertexts, they are, of course, mutable', therefore 'attempts at straightjacketing a genre are virtually impossible' (Hayward 2000: 167). Nevertheless, some conventions apply to all the films in the corpus, and to the expectations within these films.

Genres do not consist solely of films. They consist also of specific items of expectation and hypothesis which spectators bring with them to the cinema and which interact with films themselves during the course of the viewing process. These systems provide spectators with means of recognition and understanding. They help render individual films, and the elements within them, intelligible and, therefore, explicable. They offer a way of working out the significance of what is happening on the screen: a way of working out why particular actions are taking place, why the characters are dressed the way they are, why they look, speak and behave the way they do, and so on. (Neale 2000: 27)

It is therefore vital to take genre into account, in its wider sense, as noted by Delabastita and mentioned above. The focus in this chapter will be on the fantasy film genre and the kidult-oriented animation.⁴⁵

The context in which translated films are inserted is a point of particular interest. When innovations are introduced, the question is whether these should be avoided to maintain certain expectations from the public, or included to carry the same challenges that they present in the original text. A good example arises when it comes to a salient feature as stylistic variation: ultimately, translations have to be at a level with the original, while taking into account, for example, that some languages use expletives in higher frequencies than others.⁴⁶ In the recreation of a fictional orality, Chaves (2000: 104) postulates that the language of the translation cannot imitate that of the streets, because that is really not used in cinema either. This statement is partly true, given the sharpness of dialogues and lack of

⁴⁵ Review of *Rango* (2011) with an overview of the kidult animation http://www.salon.com/2011/03/03/animation_rango/ [Last accessed 13 April 2012]

⁴⁶ A comparative study on expletives between English and Catalan versions of translated series in English was carried out by Blasco and Guix (1994).

hesitation; however, cinema uses realistic resources, and the language spoken on the street is among them. This has been referred to in previous pages, where Kozloff (2000) notes the progressive naturalisation of cinema language. In the same vein, TV3's style book, for instance, states that a group of New York policemen should not be translated to sound like Barcelona policemen under the pretext of making them more credible. This alludes to a negative reaction on the part of the public: the Barcelona speakers would experience this as too 'home-made', perhaps informal, whereas other Catalan speakers would get irritated, as stated on the website.⁴⁷ Perhaps this is not the clearest argument in favour of disregarding the use of a regionally-marked language, as it disallows further applications. Whether the target culture and professionals want to accept the innovations presented in new audiovisual products is at the very core of this research into the translatability of variational style.

Realistically, all these factors have an impact on the process of translation and the end product, which might be attenuated by professionalism and experience. Industrial situations at the studios and the background of each individual translator inevitably have an effect, and factors such as having expert translators and a comfortable work environment could minimise the negative effects. However, the reality is often far from the ideal.

4.2 Dubbing for Catalan and Spanish and its context of reception

The factors mentioned previously, of which possibly the most visible are the inherited culture of dubbing, together with the use of mainstream varieties, influence dubbing into these two languages. However, noticeable differences exist between dubbing into Spanish and Catalan. Dubbing into Spanish has been long-established, and for the most part follows the Castilian model that, due to the cohesion of the Spanish-speaking areas and the state-wide coverage of the public and private state channels, does not suffer the tensions and political debate seen for Catalan. Its foundations are well established and it has a clear target market and audience. This is very different for the Catalan-speaking areas, as we will demonstrate. Dubbing into Catalan also carries political implications at every step of the way, as was the case with Catalan media, which lacks a common media space outside cinema in Catalan.

The first influential publication to gather together guidelines for dubbing into Catalan was *Criteris lingüístics sobre traducció i doblatge* (1997), created by the Catalan Television Corporation, currently updated and accessible online. As cinemas did not regularly show

⁴⁷ Language consultation by TVC www.esadir.cat [Last accessed 19 April 2012]

films in Catalan, TV3 was the main platform for their broadcast and so this set of guidelines inevitably tailored the work carried out at different dubbing studios. The main accent to be featured was Central Catalan, which would again revive the controversy that emerged at the beginning and the end of the twentieth century, regarding the restrictiveness of this model.

In a hegemonic language like Spanish, Castilian has become synonymous with a model for the speakers and the media, but the same has not taken place in Catalan. However, to understand how unpopular dubbings made into Central Catalan are to some of the politicians of the Catalan-speaking regions, one must understand the political segregation that exists in Valencia and, intermittently, in the Balearics. It is necessary, therefore, to acknowledge that films dubbed into Central Catalan are not broadcast by TVV, and were only offered by IB3 during the 'Pacte de Progrés'.⁴⁸

Due to the [...] different linguistic policies, two separate and fully independent translation markets have been created around TVC and TVV (not yet around IB3),⁴⁹ which include translators, dubbing and subtitling studios, and dubbing actors. In the end, all these social, economic and political factors have favoured the appearance of two translation models and, therefore, two language models out of a single language. (Marzà et al. 2006: 14)

During this Pacte's term (2007-2011), two dubbing studios were operative in the Balearic territory, whose products were used as well as the material that is available to the Balearic channel via the FORTA.⁵⁰ From 2011 the current government has done away with the previous steps towards normalisation, and films are no longer shown in Catalan, but only in Spanish on the Balearic channel.

The same can be said about the situation in Valencia: despite having free access to audiovisual material in Catalan via the FORTA, the choice is not to take it, which means having to broadcast products in Spanish. Understanding what factors make politicians choose not to accept Central Catalan is outwith the scope of this thesis, but this nevertheless results in an adverse sociolinguistic situation for the Catalan language and its speakers. The question is whether the representation of all varieties of Catalan at the

⁴⁸ Political agreement between centre-left parties to govern which favoured the process of recuperation of the Catalan language (2007-2011).

⁴⁹ For some years dubbing in the Balearics was active for series, which mostly followed a Central Catalan model, as observed during my visits to dubbing studios in Mallorca (2009).

⁵⁰ The FORTA is a non-profit association for Spanish regional television broadcasters, which aims at sharing the members' budget to buy foreign audiovisual products: '[s]ince TVC, TVV and IB3 are members of FORTA, and share the same language, we could infer that the three regions constitute a single market for audiovisual translations. But it is not so.' (Marzà et al. 2006: 14)

beginning of the TV3 could have prevented this, or whether a product that can offer visibility to the linguistic reality can reverse some of the effects by existing in an independent media space. What is clear is that politics is a constant interdependent factor that affects the Catalan language. This contrasts with the translations into Spanish, which are shared by the members of the FORTA, who do not contemplate having regional dubbed versions of the same product.

The preference of dubbed films by Catalan and Spanish speakers still applies at present. As concluded by a survey released in July 2011, 64% of Catalans prefer to view dubbed films over subtitled films ('Baròmetre de la comunicació i la cultura' 2011: graph 49). If the preferences of viewers in Catalonia are representative, a similar percentage of viewers, if not higher, would prefer to view products dubbed in the rest of the Spanish state. The same source reveals that, of these, only 18% would prefer to see films dubbed into Catalan, against 46% of inhabitants of Catalonia who would prefer dubbing into Spanish. Whilst this may relate to the language status, it also reflects the lesser availability of films shown in Catalan in cinemas (in 2010 only 3% of films offered in cinemas were in Catalan),⁵¹ and a sense of normality in viewing US films dubbed into Spanish due to the overwhelmingly larger presence of such versions. As the data reveal, it is still somehow perceived as anomalous to see films dubbed into Catalan. The Catalan government devised a plan to reverse this, which included a 50% quota of films in cinemas to be shown in Catalan.⁵² This plan was harshly contested by the US distributors, and an agreement was finally reached in September 2011, which included a number of compromises by the Catalan government to their initial demands.⁵³ Nevertheless, newly released figures (April 2012) show a three-fold increase in cinema-goers for films shown in Catalan after this agreement increased the availability of films dubbed into Catalan, associated with a five-fold increase in box-office takings.⁵⁴

⁵¹ See press release mentioned under footnote 54.

⁵² The Catalan Government developed the *Llei del cinema* as part of the *Llei de política lingüística*. This applied to original productions, dubbings or subtitles.
http://www.observatoridelallengua.cat/arxius_legislacio/projecte_de_llei_del_cinema_de_catalunya.pdf [Last accessed 14 October 2012]. A summary of the news in English:
http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/11/world/europe/11barcelona.html?_r=1 [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

⁵³ Dossier including the technical details of the agreement, including figures and budget:
<http://www.slideshare.net/empresesculturals/dossier-de-premsa-acord-departament-de-cultura-gremi-dempresaris-de-cinema-de-catalunya-i-fedicine-per-al-doblatge-del-cinema-en-catal> [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

⁵⁴ Press release on the increase of cinema-goers in Catalan:
<http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/CulturaDepartament/menuitem.4f810f50a62de38a5a2a63a7b>

A section of the first chapter was concerned with the visibility of language variation in the Catalan-speaking areas and in Spain. This is important when considering the target audiences of translated products. In the case of the former, media in Catalan is fragmented, both regionally and politically.⁵⁵ Even though variation is increasingly heard in media, and each region actively uses vernaculars, the lack of effective communication channels amongst the regions allows for some of the population not to be exposed to variation outside their own in public media.

To conclude, it can be said that dubbing for Spanish is carried out for the whole of the Spanish population, be it for cinema or for television. However, for political reasons, dubbing into Catalan for television is divided by autonomous communities, following the same principles set out in the last chapter. A different scenario is presented for cinema that is dubbed into Catalan and shown in cinemas in the Catalan-speaking areas. This is the only opportunity where the same product can be shown unchanged, usually supported by non-profit organisations that work for the restoration of the language, such as the Obra Cultural Balear or Acció Cultural pel País Valencià, who also work to revoke the governmental decisions against television reciprocity.

4.3 Translation of variation

The translation of dialects has always been embedded in controversy, due to the evident cultural elements that every language system carries within it, which may be impossible to recreate in a target language for a target culture.⁵⁶ Understandably, language variation is deeply dependent on society, the system in which its culture develops, the situation and the intentionality of the speakers; it is very unlikely that identical linguistic situations take place across languages, easing the process of transposition of variation. Also, the usage of variation may be perceived differently from one language to another: there may be cases where prejudice towards non-standard language is greater in a given speech community than in another where diversity may be welcomed and encouraged. In the following paragraphs, the works of some of the scholars who have covered this aspect of translation will be highlighted, interlinked with examples of applications for published audiovisual

0c0e1a0/?vgnextoid=17f2923e6837a010VgnVCM1000000b0c1e0aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=17f2923e6837a010VgnVCM1000000b0c1e0aRCRD&vgnnextfmt=detall&contentid=1a2f9c3e384c6310VgnVCM1000008d0c1e0aRCRD [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

⁵⁵ See Guimerà and Blasco (2011).

⁵⁶ An interesting point is offered in this respect by Julià (1994: 567), who says the same is true for countries and mainstream languages: they are not comparable either, but translation nevertheless takes place between them. Hence, if two languages and their cultures can be bridged, the implication is that this is possible for variation to be relayed as well.

texts. The aim is to assess the perspectives within translation that can contemplate the translation of dialects as a feasible solution in some contexts.

The relatively short history of oral media means that experimentation with audiovisual linguistic resources is not homogeneous across languages, and perhaps this means that translators are reluctant to try to extrapolate linguistic styles when so many levels of semiotic content are at play in a language that may or may not be so accepting of linguistic diversity. However, linguistic choices are conscious moves in the present corpus, and on some occasions it becomes necessary to translate varieties that fulfil a certain purpose. Perhaps one of the clearest examples of the absurdity of a blanket ban on the translation and inclusion of variation can be found in episode 6.04 of the popular television series *Friends* (1994). Ross, who usually speaks in a northern North-American dialect, styles his speech with a southern English accent in his first lecture in order to conceal his fears of coming across as a dull professor. When dubbed into Spanish, the only difference between his normal Castilian accent and the one in the classroom is a subtly increased vocalisation and intonation, instead of a different accent. The joke is, therefore, lost on the Spanish audience. In this case, the joke could have been conveyed to the Spanish audience if Ross had used any accent other than his own. Of course, the joke was nothing other than him portraying a different persona, because he was too scared of being himself.

As will be revealed in forthcoming pages, many scholars in the field agree that translating dialects is both a difficult task, as well as a source of controversy, but not all see it as a translation problem. Although it would be ideal to find a global solution to bypass this obstacle, it is likely that disagreements and constraints will emerge if considering a single strategy, and that localised applications are more realistic. A single way of getting around the translation of varieties will not be applicable to a whole range of situations, genres or products, and it will rarely be as straightforward as the Ross case above. Not only are languages different across territories, but geographical characteristics and locations change across languages, as do systems of dialects across societies, and so too institutional attitudes towards them. Dialectal systems are not always comparable amongst languages, and levels of stigmatisation or prestige are not always commensurate. This, added to the context of each potentially translatable work, produces a different scenario in each case that could be difficult to systematise. However, we believe that variational style offers new windows of opportunity that will be thoroughly analysed our case study.

The intention here is to focus on the translation of geographical dialects, even if there is an overlap with sociolects. After an exploration of different authors' views on the matter,

the question will be whether a stylistic translation of varieties is applicable, in which cases, and with what results. Perhaps a stylistic translation might be needed when there is an important presence by a marked variety in a given text, and it may be that this is an attainable goal that nevertheless requires an informed, critical and ethical perspective.

Translation of variation has been covered by authors who have regarded it as an impossible feat, but also by authors who recognise the value of transferring diversity and semiotic content from one variety to another in different languages. An important point to be made is that none of the authors consulted consider the translation of variation from the perspective of style, except for Catford (1965), who recognises that ‘not much is known in detail about English styles’ (1965: 90), which suggests the need existed early on to refine the concept of style as it is described here. Hatim and Mason (1997) mention style-shifting as a feature that shows intentionality in the text. However, their explanation does not go into many details, and states that ‘[s]tyle-shifting enables speakers, among other things, to exploit the variables of power and distance, playing on aspects of their relationship with their addressees’ (Hatim and Mason 1997: 151), although this is included under the header of ideology. Except in some cases that will be pointed out, variation is rarely seen outside the realm of a realistic sociocultural anchoring by the following authors. In the light of this, translation of variation will be presented from the perspective of its detractors, the possibilities that have been explored, and finally the strategies that would suggest that such a translation is acceptable. This goes beyond the mere linguistic transfer aspect and into the ideological, for which an ethical perspective will be necessary.

4.3.1 A brief overview of the translation of variation

In written texts, writers who want to use dialects to shape their characters had to resort to an altered written code that would differentiate them. When a screenwriter or a director of audiovisual material wants to apply the same principle to design a character or style a film, variation becomes straightforward and uncomplicated to represent, as texts are oral and dialectal differentiation can be perceived immediately. Rowe (1960: 119) feels that neither dubbing nor literary translation provides opportunities for satisfactory translations of regional accents. However, this statement simplifies the constraints of two different mediums. Written and audiovisual texts are very different formats, and immediacy and the visual play a very important part in the latter. Accents can be characterised without the need to alter written conventions, but the audiovisual medium also subordinates the verbal text to the images. This creates many constraints that do not allow an adaptation of the context to accommodate certain features of the original, although some genres may be

more open to a playful outcome. One of the answers that this thesis seeks to find is the extent to which animated films are a resourceful arena for translation of varieties within dubbing, where light-hearted entertainment is the primary function and where the referential attachment to a realistic context is blurred. In this overview of translation of varieties, this perspective will play an important part. The emphasis here will be on studying translation of varieties when there is a contrast between two or more dialects, and one or more become marked varieties in the whole process of communication. Works that are written consistently in one variety outside the mainstream become the unmarked variety, and translation can therefore follow another path besides dialectal markers in the translation. Rabadán (1991: 96) also notes this: ‘complete texts written in dialect (literary works, of course) in translation behave in the same way as texts written in standard language.’⁵⁷ Here, both oral and written texts will be taken into account when describing the translation of dialects. However, a special emphasis will be placed on the applications for the latter and the constraints that exist when images are interwoven into the verbal text, unlike with written literature and theatre.

Starting with its detractors, one of the main oppositions to translating dialects of the source language into dialects in the target language is the difference in connotations that each dialect has for the population in each language: ‘[r]endering ST dialect by TL standard has the disadvantage of losing the special effect intended in the ST, while rendering dialect by dialect runs the risk of creating unintended effects’ (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 41). Translating variation that has a real link to language contexts needs to handle a number of semiotic levels at the same time, and it is not an easy task in principle:

Since each language is unique in its diversification, translation of intralinguistic variation is severely curbed. It is usually quite impossible to render these variations in a satisfactory manner. Although for instance, in the translation of dialectal passages, translators often try to reach ‘functional equivalence’ by resorting to presumably corresponding dialects in the target language (i.e. those commanding the same prestige among the speech community), this remains ultimately unsatisfactory. (House 1973: 167)

Fawcett (1997: 121) points out that popular perceptions might get in the way when translating a dialect, and this could lead to mishandling variation, with risible results.

⁵⁷ The original Spanish reads: ‘Los textos completos en dialecto (obras literarias, claro está) se comportan en traducción del mismo modo que los textos en lengua estándar’.

But the results of inept handling of sociolect and dialect can be far worse than laughable: they can lead to offensive stereotyping and to whole groups of speakers being gratuitously insulted. Hesse-Quack (1969: 230), for example, found that German dubbing made an unpleasantly consistent use of the Berlin urban dialect to characterize socially inferior characters in foreign films. (Fawcett 1997: 121-122)

As a result, this Berlin speech community is attributed this role through the choices of a particular translator who may not be aware of the full potential of those decisions. Similarly, Rabadán (1991) asserts that ‘the degree of acceptability of the target audience descends dangerously if they are presented with a text with Asturian features as a supposed “functional equivalent” of the Yorkshire dialect: Mieres is not Hull and the transposition does not seem “natural” to the Spanish reader’ (Rabadán 1991: 96).⁵⁸

Despite these potential problems, characterisation through variation is part of many literature currents such as Victorian literature, and is present in a wide range of audiovisual products. Soto (2001) points out the loss that the audiences experience when they are presented with a Victorian novel that has been translated into standard Spanish, causing it to lose vital original character features. He argues that the verbal characterisation, the local flavour and realism are substantial elements of the Victorian novel (Soto 2001: 9). The question is whether the same range of connotations and cultural elements could be recreated in a translated version of such a specific text, which seems very difficult given the marked context in which Victorian literature takes place. However, Soto realises this, and wonders whether a translator attempting to transfer a given dialect into Spanish should prioritise a historical, social or geographical point of view. What seems clear is that a complete recreation of a Victorian novel would have to depart from the original setting, historical and political context and be adapted. This can be applied to most other occasions when variation appears in audiovisual texts, such as the aforementioned *Trainspotting*, or *Billy Elliott* (2000), which is addressed by Alemán (2005). He proposes a translation of the film *Billy Elliott* into Spanish where the social and geographical traits of the characters outside a mainstream variety of English are expressed in Spanish through the use of vulgar markers. These vulgar markers would constitute, in his view, a ‘neutral sociolect formed by a group of stigmas of general vulgar Spanish’ (Alemán 2005: 71),⁵⁹ avoiding the possibility that they may be traceable to any region in particular. Even though the principle behind

⁵⁸ The original Spanish reads: ‘El grado de aceptabilidad del receptor meta descende peligrosamente si se le presenta un texto con rasgos bables como supuesto “equivalente funcional” del dialecto de Yorkshire: Mieres no es Hull y la transposición no resulta “natural” para el lector español’.

⁵⁹ The original Spanish reads: ‘un sociolecto neutro compuesto por una serie de estigmas del español vulgar general’.

this is intended to avoid the stigmatisation of a particular variety in the target culture, two problems emerge. First, it implies that the original Durham accent is equally vulgar, which is not the case, regardless of how it appears to some just because it is not ‘standard’. Second, it could be argued that the lack of a tradition of dubbing a product that marks some characters as having a so-called vulgar speech may encounter rejection amongst viewers, especially when the visual setting is so markedly distanced from the Spanish language reality, and events are clearly happening in a real context in the North of England. On this occasion, it could be argued that the context is too visible, and the implications of using vulgar markers are not fair to the original, suggesting that such a translation is not advisable. Fawcett finds that this is the case with Chapdelaine translating ‘the Southern American dialect in a Faulkner novel into rural Québécois’ (Fawcett 1997: 122).

Although this form of translation, somewhat confusingly called transparent to differentiate it from the kind of translation which renders the foreign invisible, has the noblest of aims, we should not delude ourselves as to what it can achieve. It takes us to the point where translation becomes impossible. (Fawcett 1997: 122)

Fawcett’s remark is partially true in cases such as the Victorian novel mentioned previously: if the translator is not to lose sight of the original material, a translation of all the subtleties of the original is not really possible. This may even be more true of audiovisual material, where long-established traditions are present in the viewers’ minds and, most importantly, images may point to a cultural context differentiated from that of the receiving culture.

That said, the need arises to focus on stylistic effects through language variation, especially when there is dissociation between the dialectal origin and the local context in which the text is produced. The examples listed when translation of variation is seen as impossible relate to a real referent, its complexities and subtle human relations. However, the use of variation might be used in a playful way, when the attribution of a real context of a story is not its principal function, but rather constructed locally. In the corpus of the thesis, it is necessary to consider whether Chris Rock speaking with traces of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) accent is untranslatable when he is playing a zoo zebra in *Madagascar*; that is to say, whether meanings that are established locally have the potential to release the anchoring to multiple semiotic levels. A thorough analysis of the result of such a choice within the filmic text is necessary, together with an explanation of the function of that accent in the narrative and an assessment to determine whether there is continuity between regional, ethnic or social provenance and stylistic meaning. As will be

revealed in the analysis, there is a poetic function behind the fact that Marty speaks in a marked variety outside mainstream and Alex does not. This is not an area of translation studies that has been taken into account in the literature consulted, but that becomes vital in the present thesis. The question is whether this style that resorts to variation can be translated, especially under circumstances of fantasy or when there is a break away from reality, a perspective that has not been addressed previously, although it is hinted at in Alemán (2005) and mentioned in Hernández and Mendiluce (2004). In the same line of thought, scholars like Baker point to the ways in which a suitable equivalent can be found.

The choice of a suitable equivalent will always depend not only on the linguistic system or systems being handled by the translator, but also on the way both the writer of the source text and the producer of the target text, that is the translator, choose to manipulate the linguistic systems in question; on the expectations, the background knowledge and prejudices of readers within a specific temporal and spatial location; on translators' own understanding of their task, including their assessment of what is appropriate in a given situation; and on a range of restrictions that may operate in a given environment at a given point in time, including censorship and various types of intervention by parties other than the translator, author and reader. (Baker 2011: 15)

Beyond this, some authors like Agost (1998) defend the possibility of translating and the need to translate language varieties in dubbing. Agost exposes the way in which translating dialects for dialects is necessary in order to transfer meanings across languages in the specific media of dubbing, and concludes in her article that the translation of linguistic variation causes problems for the translator, but that it is not impossible to solve them (Agost 1998: 94). However, the article is not clear in determining contexts of production where variation may refer to a realistic situation, which may be vital in dealing with such a possibility. Nevertheless, Agost reminds of the need for translators to be aware of the linguistic variation in original texts, and the role this variation has in translation, especially in the audiovisual text (Agost 1998: 84). Later in the article it is acknowledged that the problem begins when assessing whether equivalence is possible, and how this needs to be implemented (Agost 1998: 86).

In establishing the concept of equivalence, Nida described 'dynamic' and 'functional equivalence', where a 'translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his own culture' (Nida 1964: 159), referenced in the previous chapter. An example of a functional approach to translating variation can be found in Hatim and Mason (1990):

[T]he equivalence in the translation of *Pygmalion* into Arabic will be established functionally. The aim will be to bring out the user's social/linguistic 'stigma', not necessarily by opting for a particular regional variety but by modifying the standard itself. The user's status may have to be reflected not primarily through phonological features but through non-standard handling of the grammar or deliberate variation of the lexis in the target language. (Hatim and Mason 1990: 43)⁶⁰

The translation into Spanish of the filmic version of *Pygmalion*, however, is regarded by Rabadán (1991) as unfortunate, where the Buenos Aires variety is used to replace Cockney. Rabadán (1991: 105) considers that there cannot be functional equivalence between the English and Argentinian cities, and that the two varieties do not occupy the same space in each culture. Furthermore, she points out the unnaturalness of the Argentinian accent to the Spanish audience, which is nevertheless a debatable point.

Hatim and Mason continue to offer an insight into the opposition standard and vernacular. However, their understanding implies that the meanings elicited correspond to existing social groups instead of being built locally. The basic idea is constructive, as it calls for the awareness of the translators.

In understanding and describing standards/non-standards, it is, therefore, important to take into consideration functional variation and the way this finds expression in language. In situations where two or more codes coexist in a speech community, code switching is not random and the translator or interpreter, like all language users, must be able to recognise the question of 'identity' involved. For example, when non-standard forms of language are used in advertising to promote a product, identification with the values of a particular social group or class is being evoked. (Hatim and Mason 1990: 43)

Following from Nida's view, an interesting proposal for dialect translation is the need to reach an equivalent effect in the reader of the translated text with regards to the original (Mayoral 1997: 136). According to Mayoral (1990: 40), traditionally three major options have been followed by translators faced with a text where variation plays an important part. The first option is to find a corresponding dialect in the target language. The second option, when the first option is not possible, is to characterise the translated text with dialectal markers, which the reader can easily recognise but that are not attributable to an existing dialect. The final option is to choose a non-characterisation of the dialect. In support of this, a number of examples of these three strategies can be found in the corpus. However, some of Mayoral's proposals are for a stereotype-based translation, which we find problematic. In a similar way, Catford (1965: 87-88) suggests that, when it is necessary

⁶⁰ Hatim and Mason (1997: 97-110) give a complete analysis of this work, which includes comparisons in Spanish, French and Catalan of the attempt to translate the variety spoken by Eliza Dolittle.

to translate into a geographical variety, the way to do so would be to liken the situational cues or by matching the variation according to what seems an equivalent in the target language. To illustrate this, Catford (1965: 87-88) mentions an example which is similar to the case of the Berlin urban accent:

[I]n relation to the dialects of Britain, *Cockney* is a *south-eastern* geographical dialect. However, in translating *Cockney* dialogue into French, most translators would quite rightly use *Parigot* as the TL equivalent dialect. (Catford 1965: 87-88)

However, these strategies, if durable, may bring about problems, as has been mentioned. If the language were used to depict, say, presumably uneducated characters such as *Pygmalion*'s Eliza Doolittle, the reference in the audiences' mind would be to place these varieties in an unmovable spectrum. It may be the case that a whole strategy for the translation of varieties needs to take into account the potential damage that can be done to the speakers of a variety, as will be considered under matters of ethics. This is ultimately a stereotype-based approach to translation. Perhaps it would have the same effect on the target audience, but the question is whether that contravenes the ethics of translation. It appears more realistic to assume that pairs of varieties that could provide a good translation are context-bound, and that the suitability of a given option will depend on the local meaning a variety develops in a text, the audience and the function of the text itself. Otherwise, if such a translation were applied regularly, for example with perceived low prestige varieties across languages, it might perpetuate the prejudice, without giving a fair chance to that speech community.

In Venuti's work, Nida's point of view is criticised. Nida believes that 'a translator must be a person who can draw aside the curtains of linguistic and cultural differences so that people may see clearly the relevance of the original message' (Nida and de Waard 1986: 14), and that '[a]n easy and natural style in translating, despite the extreme difficulty of producing it [...] is nevertheless essential to producing in the ultimate receptors a response similar to that of the original receptors' (Nida 1964: 163). Venuti believes that Nida is 'in fact imposing the English-language valorisation of transparency on every foreign culture, masking a basic disjunction between the foreign and translated texts which puts into question the possibility of eliciting a "similar" response' (Venuti 2008b: 16). Venuti (1995, 2008b) develops a concept of translation by which there are two main strategies: domesticating and foreignising, applied mostly to translation into English.

The aim of translation is to bring back a cultural other as the recognizable, the familiar, even the same; and this aim always risks a wholesale domestication of the foreign text, often in highly self-conscious projects where translation serves an appropriation of foreign cultures for agendas in the receiving situation, cultural, economic, political. (Venuti 2008b: 14)

Venuti advocates the foreignisation of a text, which ‘signifies the differences of the foreign text, yet only by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the translating language’ (Venuti 2008b: 15), but nevertheless contemplates the domestication of a text ‘in the case of translating from a culturally dominant source language to a minority-status target language [because] it may help to protect the latter against a prevailing tendency for it to absorb and thus be undermined by source language textual practice’ (Hatim and Mason 1997: 145-146). This is especially applied to ‘imported English-language television serials into minority-status target languages’ (Hatim and Mason 1997: 146), examples of which can be found later in this section.

If applied to the possibility of translation of variation, Nida’s and Venuti’s views are not necessarily opposed, as highlighted by Mayoral’s view below. Nida’s advocacy of a functional equivalence and the insertion of a foreign textual element, which in this case would be stylistic variation amongst characters, can be combined to produce a translation that has functionally translated the stylistic variation in a foreignising way. By applying the principle of foreignisation, the style, transgressions or challenges of the original, which has used variation to stylise characters, are maintained.

Foreignization does not offer unmediated access to the foreign –no translation can do that- but rather constructs a certain image of the foreign that is informed by the receiving situation but aims to question it by drawing on materials that are not currently dominant, namely the marginal and the nonstandard, the residual and the emergent’ (Venuti 2008b: 19-20)

In this particular case, the foreignisation of a text would work against the trend of using standard language exclusively to style characters that originally have been expressed through variation outside mainstream varieties. On the other hand, examples of domestication can be found in both Spanish and Catalan dubbed products, especially in the translation of humour. For years, the Spanish channel Antena 3 dubbed cultural jokes in series such as *The Prince of Bel-Air* (1990-1996) and *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* (since 1998) by using stylisation and Spanish cultural references (Agost 2004b: 76). Domestication was also used in the initial years of TV3, due to the absence of home-grown material, to provide a model for colloquial language, which is what Hatim and Mason were referring to: ‘[s]ome years ago, when there was no home production in Catalonia, the tendency was to avoid all

sorts of cultural references that would have helped the viewers to properly locate the series' (Zabalbeascoa, Izard and Santamaria 2001: 111). Whether the avoidance of a precise location was a by-product or an end to itself, the truth is that there was an intention to recreate the colloquial language and product through the use of foreign material. A series such as *Premiers Baisers* (1991-1995), a French production, was domesticated into Catalan, to the extent of changing characters' names for Catalan ones and background music for Catalan pop (Agost and García 1994: 216). This technique, however, was not new, as one of the great Catalan writers and translators, Josep Carner, 'like other Noucentist writers, considered the translation of canonical literary works as a means of developing the Catalan language and literature' (Venuti 2005: 194).

As an example of domestication of an animated film, Hernández and Mendiluce (2004) analyse the transfer of humour through Venuti's concept of domestication in *Chicken Run* (2000). The authors conclude that the functional perspective to the translation, in which there is an important element of domestication of humour, works in this particular film for three main reasons. The first is that the dubbing is performed by well-known comedians, in this case comedy duo Gomaespuma who, in the opinion of the authors, fill the text with a Spanish flavour (Hernández and Mendiluce 2004: 17). The second reason attributed to the successful rendering is that the genre and the 'particularities of animation cinema allow some distancing with the original contents'⁶¹ (Hernández and Mendiluce 2004: 17). The third reason is the medium, as dubbing allows for a complete replacement of the original soundtrack and hence opens up to a plethora of language solutions. In their conclusion, the authors qualify the functional translation, as applied in the Spanish version of *Chicken Run*, not only as feasible, but also desirable in some contexts (Hernández and Mendiluce 2004: 18).

What is relevant especially for the case of Catalan is the converse case to the one mentioned above, where Venuti also advocates the use of foreignising translation as a means to enrich a minority language.

⁶¹ The Spanish original reads: 'Las particularidades propias del cine de animación facilitan el distanciamiento del contenido original.'

[F]oreignizing translation can be useful in enriching the minority language and culture while submitting them to ongoing interrogation. Because the precise nature of foreignizing translation varies with cultural situations and historical moments, what is foreignizing in one translation project will not necessarily be so in another. It remains true, nonetheless, that the current standard dialect of the translating language is the dominant choice for translation worldwide, suggesting that foreignizing variations on this dialect adopted in the United Kingdom and the United States might travel to some extent or at least illuminate the possibilities for translation into languages other than English. (Venuti 2008b: 20)

Here we recall Agost (1998: 84) who points to the necessity of taking sociolinguistic aspects into account, such as languages in contact, as these can lead to situations of bilingualism or diglossia, by which there is a redistribution of functions and usage of each language in conflict. However, it can be said that the same function was attributed to the domestication of an audiovisual product such as the aforementioned French series; the French production served as a starting product to fill in a gap in Catalan culture. This is an important point in this thesis, where the cultural, political and social situations of Spanish and Catalan call for distinct motivations. Dubbing into Catalan and Spanish has different functions for the speakers, or rather the former has the added function of recuperating habitus, for which this is a very important consideration.

Returning to Gambier's strategies, the scholar contemplates domesticating strategies and it would seem that everything is reduced to ideology: 'the effect of a particular strategy employed in a particular socio-cultural situation which is likely to have ideological implications' (Hatim and Mason 1997: 146).

To what extent might we accept the new narrative modes, expressed values and behaviours depicted in the audiovisual product? [...] In this respect, the needs and expectations of targeted viewers shape the adaptation of the source text [...]. Thus translation may ultimately be involved in exclusively domesticating programmes and films, manipulating them to please dominant expectations and preferences, for the sake of target-language fluency or reader-friendliness, sometimes going as far as reinforcing language purism, censoring dialogues or changing part of the plot to conform to target-culture ideological drives and aesthetic norms. (Gambier 2003: 179)

An insight to this can be found in Määttä (2004: 334), who proposes that '[i]f ideology is defined as a belief system or a world view which guides the interpretation of a text as a whole, all language use is ideological [which creates] a polyphony of focalizations and points of views [sic].' In his account of the translation of *The Sound and the Fury* (1929), Määttä's conclusion could well be applied to the corpus material, even though its ideological framework will not be addressed directly.

While the exact sociolinguistic stratification of the source text cannot be translated, emphasizing the role of dialect in the polyphonic structure of the text might give the readers of the translation an equal opportunity to discover the ideological framework of the novel by themselves. (Mättää 2004: 336)

What seems most logical having examined these authors' perspectives is that strategies need to be decided locally, as varieties in some contexts also build their relevance at such a level. Not all variation will be able to follow the same route because, as will be seen, it is not constructed in the same way.

In summary, translation of dialects has enjoyed neither generalised acceptance nor rejection. However, what is most striking is the lack of attention to genre in the aforementioned transfer of dialects, especially when it comes to film. Within this, little attention has been paid to the function that variation plays in the original work. Although some of the works have been dedicated to the specific area of audiovisual translation, it is still obvious that further refinements need to be made in order to attain a product that is not laughable. When considering the translation of *The Full Monty* (1997) or *The Color Purple* (1985), visual context and history play a very important role in setting the story in a realistic context. However, this is not applicable to all audiovisual products: it might be that a genre exists where dialects are not anchored in a heavily marked background, and that include a fantasy dimension, which can easily apply to the localisation of video games, the fantasy genre or children's literature. As in Fernández and Samaniego's conclusion (2002: 340), it would be sensible to agree that there is no one right way to reproduce varieties from the source text in the target culture, and that it all depends on the function of the text, and who it is for. As they mention, this attitude is dependent on the communicative context, as well as the target language, but also the commission and format.

Having a clear format in mind, here the question is not whether variation can be translated, but whether a dubbed film can recreate the different styles and voices from the original, after establishing what the local meanings are. In some of the views on the translation of variation examined above, scholars assume that variation does not have the same meaning across languages. This is different from the present intention, which is to determine the meaning of the variation in relation to the rest of the film, locally, as a move away from the ideal speaker-hearer concept. After all, if language variation appearing in films is seen ideologically as a convergence with the audience, said convergence can be attained using similar strategies that, like this thesis, consider the bigger picture and the potential collateral effects on audiences, home products and the film itself. Because in the

end ‘one of the major attractions of the media is the distinct entertainment value that can arise from merging the “marginal” with the “dominant”, the “parochial” with the “cosmopolitan”, and the “local” with the “global”’ (Johnson and Ensslin 2007: 14).

4.3.2 Ethical issues in handling variation

The aim of this section is to reflect on ethical translation mechanisms from texts that can be seen as socially or even ideologically marked. More than a literature review, this will highlight the ethical implications that may be encountered again in the next chapter.

Ethical problems, as set out in Baker (2011), can emerge if translators do not analyse the implications of their choices carefully. Amongst other issues, her question is ‘Do our choices make the character appear more or less intelligent than we might reasonably assume they are or than they appear to their own communities?’ (Baker 2011: 289). This question can be expanded to cover many collateral ramifications stemming from the translation of varieties. Pym’s edited volume (2001) has an in-depth approach to the ethics of translation, which may be of relevance. As suggested by Pym, ethics have returned to translation studies (2001: 129), an absence that was felt in the literature review above, where implications were discussed and the word *ethical* was circumnavigated but not mentioned. This is an opinion shared by Snell-Hornby, who states that ‘the “ethical turn” in Translation Studies has yet not been taken’ (Snell-Hornby 2006: 78). The cultural turn of the 1980s certainly highlighted the needs of the receiving culture, which for Toury implies ‘the entire social context involved in the translation along with the norms, conventions, ideology and values of that society or “receptor system”’ (Snell-Hornby 2006: 49). This turn ‘might also be described as an attempt by cultural studies to colonize the less established field of translation studies’ (Munday 2001: 136), and represented a move away from previous dogmas. Under a section on translation and ideology, Munday mentions a shift to perceiving translation from feminist or postcolonial points of view (Munday 2001). However, authors like Van Wyke (2013) suggest that ethics has gathered momentum in the last decade, and ‘has attracted the attention of scholars not necessarily interested in approaches associated with postmodernism, feminism or postcolonial studies’ (Van Wyke 2013: 555). He questions what the position of the translator should be, and who their fidelities should be for, specifically whether it is sufficient that this should be solely the author or the target culture (Van Wyke 2013: 549-550). These points are especially salient as we consider how style should be handled.

As we have seen, when variation appears in the original text, there is the option to try to recreate it by following principles of equivalence or lexical or phonological markers, or to elude the possibility and translate into an unmarked variety (Mayoral 1990). It is undeniable that some treatment of variation in translation can produce laughable results, or offensive stereotyping. However, as a long-term solution, the alternative of expressing vernaculars in a mainstream variety by default does not seem a good alternative in contexts such as the corpus.

The final product ideally needs to encompass a careful balance between what the audience is expecting, hence avoiding a reactionary reception amongst the target viewers, while also taking the original features into account. Therefore, it may be equally unethical to ignore the style of the original, especially if variation is gaining visibility in the source culture and particularly in the context where '[v]isibility has become an ethics-laden catchcry for women, sexualities, minorities of all kinds, and hybridity, breaking up the sameness once needed for universal principles' (Pym 2001: 129). In this case, vernaculars may be seen as a minority, a subtle feature that is gaining visibility in audiovisual media as an indispensable resource to converge with a realistic representation of the audience it addresses. As seen above, the descriptive translation studies would turn the focus towards the target culture, but we believe it is also important to highlight the globalising trends that are increasingly perceived across genres and artistic production.

Moving to the present subject, mishandling dialects in translation could result in an ethical problem in the target culture, where a given community might be gratuitously offended, as suggested by Fawcett (1997). However, this is not an automatic response, and it could depend on the local use of the dialect in the source culture and text, and the dialect chosen in the target language (TL). If the dialect in the source text indexes negative attributes, the likelihood is that these will transpire in the translation, and these might adhere to the chosen variety of the TL. This would also be the case if a variety is translated according to stereotypes allegedly portrayed. If specific varieties are consistently chosen according to negative or stereotypical portrayals, this could result in a long-term problem for the target culture, as the Cockney-Parigot pairing mentioned above demonstrates. Not only would the translator be overtly pointing to those stereotypes, but prejudice could easily emerge from such a situation. This would happen if ridiculous characters were persistently translated into a given dialect, preventing this variety from being used to portray intelligent characters. Instead, what the translator should aim at is a profound

analysis of the original, in order to distinguish whether a variety has been used stereotypically or with prejudice.

According to Baker's quote above, translations need to take the prejudices of the target culture into account. However, what if the text in question transgresses these same prejudices in the source culture? Is the translator to minimise the weight of this function? It was popularly agreed that the *Shrek* series of films present a transgression of the fairy-tale idyllic tradition, based on previous Disney instalments. To an extent, these challenges happen at a linguistic level, which cannot be overlooked. When Fawcett (1997: 121) notes that popular perceptions might get in the way, the question is how are popular perceptions ever going to change if the audience is never challenged in this sense, especially when the original audience might have been. We are reminded of the concept of foreignisation put forward by Venuti, which is important when applying different world views to a receiving culture.

Furthermore, translators have a very influential role in the visibility of variation, and need to be careful not to project their own views of the world.

There is no such thing as an 'average' viewer, even though translators can only aim at a potential target audience whose profile they inevitably construct on the basis of their own stereotypes and prejudices; they further have to proceed on the assumption that their own individual social and cognitive environment is that of the 'average' viewer. Translators make translation decisions about registers, interpersonal markers in dialogue, etc. on the basis of these assumptions. And, although this cannot be altered just yet, ethics of translation may ensure that diversity is represented. (Gambier 2009: 40)

Having established these considerations, the biggest concerns here regarding ethics will be analysing whether there is an ethical portrayal of variation, both in the original and in the translations. Situations where variation has been used in a negative light will be pointed out, especially with a view to their translations.

5. Conclusion

The function of the first and second chapters is to offer an overview of the multiple fields that a potential translation of stylistic variation needs to take into account. These include variational style as the point of departure to explain the variation seen in the corpus and audience convergence. Another important area of study is the exposure of different audiences to variation in the media in their own language, which was also covered in the first chapter; this also included collateral contents as policies in each language and historical factors that have affected the current usage of the language.

As established at the beginning of the present chapter, multiple codes are at play in order to convey the audiovisual message. Hence, audiovisual translation can be considered a process that overlaps and weaves many codes and processes together. And with it, the translation itself is carried out collaboratively, mostly by the translator, but also by the actors, directors and other staff who have an input in the final message. Even the translation of variation, as will be seen, might be motivated by a brief from the distributors.

With the changing images and trends in audiovisual products, the question is whether the need arises to devise new strategies. Beyond translation into mainstream varieties, will analyses of the original material make it possible to distinguish those occasions that demand an elaborate translation strategy, one that complies with the original material, and that does not dilute the original language diversity to satisfy perceived norms in the target culture? These norms or traditions might be obsolete, after all, or ill-informed, and may obstruct the challenges that appear in the original text with regards to linguistic diversity. Of late there has been a long list of films, and animated films specifically, that make use of dialects to further amuse the audience, distinguish characters, distance them or give them a twist, and not necessarily index dialect-related stereotypes. Should these intentions be erased? As pointed out by Izard (2001: 399), translations can fill in a gap in a community where a given tradition does not exist, and therefore open the gateway to a new way of doing things, such as creating a young register, as she suggests was the case for Catalan in the early nineties. Therefore, in this case, perhaps it would be justified to adhere to the source text norms and, by using target culture elements, try to honour the intended texture created with different styles in the original, thereby achieving the same convergence with the audience.

In this thesis, the point of departure is to explore how a corresponding variety in the target text appears in a translation of such a feature in the original, taking into account the function that the dialect plays in the text, and not the space that this dialect plays in either culture. In addition, there are some requirements to be fulfilled, such as the non-stereotypical use of a dialect, as well as a decontextualisation of said dialect, moving away from prejudice and applying an ethical perspective. It is difficult to argue that it is possible to supplant a dialect in all literary contexts where it has been used for a particular reason, but it is here that the selected genre, fantasy and animation, opens a plethora of possibilities. Therefore, efforts will be directed at separating a historical, socially-bound dialect from a dialect that has fewer implications with the real social context and whose

meaning is contextually-bound. The fantasy dimension will be treated as a unique playing field that can offer the opportunities to use stylistic diversity like few other genres can.

Chapter 3 - Corpus analysis: *Shrek 2*, *Shark Tale*, *Madagascar*, *Cars*

1. Introduction

In recent years, the number of animated films appearing in cinemas all over the world has increased significantly.⁶² The main characters tend to be fantasy creatures, animals or animated objects with diverse backgrounds that come to life in a parallel dimension where anything is possible. Characters in these films, and certainly in the present corpus, are physically very distinct, and also tend to be characterised by variational style. Such language variation plays a key role in the original English versions, as is the case with the four films selected to form the corpus, *Shrek 2* (2004), *Shark Tale* (2004), *Madagascar* (2005) and *Cars* (2006), where vernaculars are used by a good proportion of characters. Different varieties enrich the whole text, contribute to establishing character traits, aid the narrative and add texture to the inferences that would emerge from the use of a single language variety. Language variation in animated films creates a linguistic style that works alongside the visual to convey the whole message in the macro-sign that is the film. As we saw in the first chapter, the English-speaking film industry and mass media have experienced a shift towards a more realistic life-imitating style, and ‘the tide of American culture in manners, dress and speech over the past seventy years has decisively shifted away from formality, toward individuality and naturalism’ (Kozloff 2000: 24). This change can be perceived in recent films which, at the linguistic level, show an integrational and convergent approach to the linguistic reality of the English language which allow for vernaculars to be included and possibly encouraged.

The language used in cinema is carefully scripted and passes through stages where it can be modified and edited. Therefore, the collage of linguistic diversity that can sometimes be found in recent films is a conscious option chosen to achieve a very specific product, where styles are carefully chosen. Characters can gain a distinct personality or exoticism, proximity or distance through linguistic variation, and audiences can perceive different layers when these variables are represented through language and decoded locally. Hence, it is safe to assume that if characters speak in different varieties, it is a decision that has been carefully considered, taking into account which accent it would be appropriate for a character to speak with, be it for the purposes of realism, humour or the storyline.

⁶² For example, Dreamworks Animation SKG has made it its goal to release at least two computer-generated films every year. Source www.dreamworksanimation.com [Last accessed 17 November 2011]

When it comes to the adaptation and translation of such films from English into other languages for dubbing, decisions about the transposition of varieties need to be taken: whether to reproduce them with a real variety of the target language, an artificial variety featuring dialectal traits, or to omit variation. The translation of varieties has never been exempt from controversy: layers of constraints apply, from the semiotic level to the acceptability of variation amongst the target audience, or the characteristics of the commission. Furthermore, this kind of translation becomes very exposed when applied to products featured in the mass media, which potentially reach a great number of viewers, so it is necessary to observe the principles of acceptability as understood by the target audience. For the target cultures analysed in this thesis, audiovisual products form a medium in which a prescriptive use of language has been predominant, both in Spanish and in Catalan, albeit one which is showing signs of relaxation. The inclusion of varieties as part of a foreignising strategy could therefore contravene the expectations of a static language use, to which the audiences are accustomed through past practices. It is unsurprising that, to date, dubbing studios have generally been unwilling to use a range of varieties of Spanish and Catalan when dubbing into these languages. Rather, they have preferred to rely on the Mainstream Central Catalan and Mainstream Central Castilian varieties, as revealed by the great extent to which these resources have been used traditionally. This could be due to many reasons beyond a prescriptive use of language, such as pressure emanating from the public television corporations, a lack of trained translators, missing audiovisual material, whereby translators would only have written scripts, or simply habit. However, a change in intentions is increasingly apparent, and this is a characteristic that appears in the films that form the corpus. Since the release of these four films between 2004 and 2006, in English and subsequent dubbed translations in Catalan and Spanish, it has become possible to notice certain innovations in the field of translation of language varieties that the dubbing of these films brings about. Nevertheless, the films in this corpus are productions in which genre may play an important role, together with the year of production and the product design emanating from the studios.

This chapter will be dedicated to develop a case study in which the corpus of films is analysed to establish the traits of variational style. *Shrek 2*, *Shark Tale*, *Madagascar* and *Cars* will be analysed to describe and compare the resources that contribute to the creation of verbal style in each version. The analysis will also assess the techniques used to translate the language of the characters, and the way the end product is designed for the audience it addresses. Firstly, we analyse how the original was constituted stylistically and the

implications behind language choices with regard to the storyline. This will help determine whether language varieties serve a particular function, in accordance with their local meaning; the role of each variety is determined with regards to the narrative and in the real speech context. Hence, the emphasis is on the features of each character in the story: when they speak using a vernacular, the analysis determines where the spoken variety fits in; i.e., whether it indexes a relationship between the character and a particular variety or section of society, or whether it is used locally and is not linked to a sociolinguistic reality. The analysis also accounts for different resources used in the translation, such as a famous comedian dubbing the voices. The last stage explores how these varieties have been translated, if at all, into Spanish and Catalan, and which strategies prevail in the rendering of such diversity. Also, translations are compared to gain insight into the technicalities that operate in dubbed products in Spanish and Catalan, and how these industries use existing resources, or resort to creative solutions where these do not exist. Spanish and Catalan are two languages with different traditions and socio-political statuses throughout the areas in which they are spoken. Hence, it will be interesting to study whether this results in different translation strategies, especially when geographical variation is a resource available for the target text (T1).

This extended chapter provides a full contextual overview of the films, production and translation. We begin by describing common features of the corpus material, namely that all are US-produced, computer-generated films which are set in a fantasy dimension and contain stylistic variation in the original and in some of the translations. The next section encapsulates technical details of the films, such as the way animated films are created, translated and commissioned. This includes testimonies of industry professionals; their roles have been concealed to grant them anonymity (codes I-002 and I-004). Their testimonies were collected in accordance with ethical guidelines of the University of Sheffield (see Appendix).

After the necessary contextualisation, we explain the methodology applied to analyse the films, including the aims of the corpus analysis and the specific concepts that apply. The analysis seeks to account for the narrative meaning of style in the original, the strategies employed to translate stylistic variation, and ultimately to see if the style of the original is reproduced in the versions. The final section compiles all the relevant observations to draw conclusions on the characteristics of the variation that appears in the original versions, and how has it been translated, summarising the techniques that can be seen for each language

and how this affects the overall style. The collateral and ethical implications of variation will be mentioned when relevant.

2. General characteristics of the corpus

All four films have been selected following very similar criteria. The main traits that characterise them are that they are computer-generated films, they resort to stylistic variation in the original, and adapt this variation to some of the characters in the dubbed versions. An important contributing factor has been the availability of materials in all three languages, and the fact that they were released within the last decade. In the following points the selection is explained in greater detail.

2.1 Animation

The primary feature of all four films is that they are computer-generated and animated. Three of the films were created by DreamWorks Animation SKG (DW), while *Cars* was created by Disney Pixar (DP). There is a creative process common to all these films in the ways in which films are formulated and created using a collaborative environment to produce a cohesive film. DW offers a good overview of the process of moviemaking on their website, which is summarised below.⁶³

Making and releasing a film takes an average of four years, in which collaborative work by an extensive team of writers, artists, designers and technicians pushes the product forward. One of the initial steps is having a good script; as stated on DW website, some emerge from children's stories while others may be original themes. The next step is for the storyboard artists to recreate the narrative with actions, and to devise a story reel, combined with music, sound effects and dialogue. After a product has been defined, the Visual Development Department decide on the outlook of the film, and design every detail.

The most relevant part of the process to this thesis is the casting, where actors are chosen to bring given characters to life. DW point out that casting for computer-generated films, or CG films, differs from that done for live action films in the way they cast their actors: an actor is chosen to fit into the body of a character they have designed. Once the actor has been cast, video recording will help to bring the design to life in the animation process.

⁶³ Under heading *How we make movies*, www.dreamworksanimation.com [Last accessed 15 October 2012]

Since we create the physical characters on the computer first, we're much more concerned with what an actor sounds like than how he or she looks. In other words, we cast with our ears, not our eyes. We record the actors before we start animating. We usually videotape the actors performing their roles to help provide reference for the next phases of production and to make sure that we capture key expressions, reactions and other nuances.⁶⁴

Cameron Díaz (b. 1972), who gives her voice to Princess Fiona in the *Shrek* series, stated that she could certainly see herself in Fiona's movements, a look that was achieved by using some of her own movements that were filmed whilst she was in the recording studio.⁶⁵

Another example to illustrate the extent to which studios base their character animation on the actors' performances can be found in the production process of the initial *Shrek* film.⁶⁶

Mike Myers (b. 1963) was cast and he developed his character using his usual Canadian North-American accent. However, according to DW's CEO J. Katzenberg, on gaining access to the product as it was in its final stages of production, he realised the ways in which he could have contributed to the character, admitting to not having had a full understanding of the commission. He then proposed to change his performance so Shrek would have a Scottish accent, which became a signature feature of the character and has been used since in all four films in the Shrek series. The change meant that the team of animators had to adapt Shrek's movements to the new accent and language nuances; this became extremely costly for DW, but the changes and the attributes that the actor was contributing to his character were seemingly worthwhile. Hence, dubbing over these images will bring about the same constraints as films with humans, and this will be noticeable at a kinetic and phonetic level.

Also worth highlighting is the fact that actors rarely record their lines together, but in isolation, albeit with the help of the technical team and a pre-recorded track of the dialogues, which is sometimes played by the production team. The only actors who performed their lines together in *Shrek 2* were Julie Andrews and John Cleese, the King and Queen, and for *Shrek Tale* Robert De Niro and Martin Scorsese also had the chance to record together.⁶⁷ In some respects, this process is very similar to the dubbing process, in which actors are not present simultaneously, but are aided by directors and producers, and by existing recordings that serve as guides.

⁶⁴ Under the heading *How we make movies*, section titled *Casting*, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ Included in the *Shrek the Third* (2007) DVD Special Features, Spotlight on Fiona.

⁶⁶ The following example is taken from the Extra content of the *Shrek Forever After* DVD, which includes a summary of the character across the four films.

⁶⁷As stated in the DVD Special Features for each film mentioned.

After the voices have been recorded, the process that follows is modelling, which enables the character to have the desired articulation. The layout is then designed, as a sort of blueprint to determine the camera work and the background. The next step is the character animation, by which the animators bring the characters to life. The final steps are effects and lighting, which give more intricacy to the images, such as water reflections or splashes, skin or fur texture, or movement of clothes.

The process is interwoven in a collaborative manner, and some stages of production are carried out simultaneously: while the storyboard is created, designers may be working on the appearance of different characters, and so on. The collaborative process extends to the international release: as explained by I-002, the materials provided for translation usually include the written script and a preliminary version of the film. This version is lacking in final effects and lighting, but this allows for the translated versions to be dubbed while the film is still in production, awaiting the final cut to add sound to the images. In this way versions can be released with minimal delay compared to the original premiere.

This process reveals that even though the original actors give their voices to animated characters, much as the dubbing actors do, the stages are dissimilar. The dubbing actors are already aware of the outlook of the film, whereas the original actors are creating the characters linguistically and kinetically, and the whole film revolves around their interpretation and timing. The images and the music code are built for the original version and timings strongly influence the length of dialogues. The translated dialogues need to fit exactly into the soundtrack, which is static and includes music and sound effects. All these factors compromise the length of the new voice recording, even more so than traditional films, given the details in the accompanying sounds.

It could be said that creating a CG film is done in the opposite way to the dubbing processes, where a new soundtrack with new voices is added to an existing audiovisual product. In summary, the constraints that can be found in current CG films are similar to the ones found in traditional dubbing, although with some additional time constraints given the complexity of the soundtrack.

2.2 Fantasy dimension

In considering films that use stylistic variation to supply an aesthetic function or to supplement the characters' personalities or role in the story, the fantasy genre provides an excellent, fertile ground to find situations where dialects are used with such intentionality. All the films in the corpus are set in a dimension that goes beyond realism, where the rules

of real life situations do not necessarily apply. In this corpus, all films are computer-generated and are created with both children and adults in mind, which means that there are different layers of semiotic content available to a wide audience.

The fantasy dimension is reached through the construction of non-existing landscapes, where rules of real life are altered to accommodate characters and situations that are products of the creators' imagination. In CG films, laws of physics apply differently, violent scenes are funny through slapstick, and characters are often imaginary beings such as ogres and fairies, talking animals or animated objects, like vehicles. It is precisely this imaginary space where everything is possible that is interesting as a source of analysis: it offers the chance of finding varieties that are used in isolation from a given linguistic reality. From a contextual point of view, a Scottish variety appearing in a film such as *Braveheart* (1995), where approximate historic rigour is important to the plot, fulfils a different purpose than if it is used to characterise a sensitive and somewhat grumpy ogre in a context where ties with a socio-political reality or region are not visible, but rather established contextually. What is detectable in some of the characters of the selected films is that the accent itself occupies a space that fulfils a poetic function, as was argued in Chapter 1. As Fowkes states, '[b]y engaging the reader/viewer on both a psychological and a symbolic level, fantasy provides the opportunity to experience ideas outside the framework of reason and the boundaries of everyday reality' (Fowkes 2010: 9).

However, these landscapes may be equally culturally-bound. In *Shrek 2*, one of the geographical locations is Far, Far Away, which works as a magical kingdom whilst it simultaneously takes references from Western traditional literature and visual references from Hollywood. In *Shark Tale*, the action takes place underwater, but visual references are made to the city of New York. *Madagascar* starts in New York and ends on the homonymous African island. *Cars* is set in the fictional Radiator Springs and in California. These spaces are intertextual, built upon existing traditions and cultural references, and are anchored in Western cultures. They are, nevertheless, spaces that do not need such references in the audiences' psyche to be construed: even if Far, Far Away looks like Hollywood to those who have a clear image of the borough, it could still be understood as a magical space where there are talking donkeys and evil fairies. The same goes for the underwater world in *Shark Tale*, where the references to New York could be simplified and perceived as belonging to a generic big city. Equally, *Madagascar* takes off in the city of New York, with visual landmarks like Broadway or Grand Central Station, with very recognisable shots of the city recreated in animation; however, the jungle of Madagascar

erases any traces of a link with known reality, and the animal kingdom no longer overlaps with that of the humans. As for *Cars*, the action takes place in a town that stands alone in an arid landscape, somewhere along the American Route 66, where hills take the shape of vehicles, hinting a creative rendition of a real landscape such as Arizona's. The prevailing fantasy imagery and plot would probably still be understood by audiences in the target cultures, who would equally be able to enter this magical dimension and enjoy the diegetic experience. Perhaps some references would be lost, but the main storyline would still be carried to the target language. What is noteworthy in any case is that audiences already have experience with previous US productions, hence they have been exposed to the intricacies of these films as discussed below.

Since dubbing only allows for the audible track to be altered, certain films that are visually and linguistically anchored in a given territory, such as the aforementioned *Braveheart* would be problematic from a stylistic point of view. We argue that a made-up, fantasy place can change that, and offer the opportunity of adding linguistic texture to prospective translations, i.e. to let style survive the process. The focus here will be on exploring this particular genre, where fantasy and computer-generated films intersect, paying particular attention to the function that style plays, but also the way it is translated.

2.3 US films in the target cultures

The films that are included in this case study come from the US, and exist within that cultural system. However, the influx of US audiovisual products has been constant in Spain and Catalan-speaking regions since the first films were created, bringing with them a vision of North American culture, values, likes, dislikes and even sense of humour, with which the Catalan and Spanish audiences are now familiar. Even if American culture is not presented as homogeneous, exposure to body language and recurring traditions can provide audiences with enough information to understand most films. Given that Spanish and Catalan audiences have been used to watching dubbed US films since the 1940s, cultural differences have had a considerable length of time to be bridged, even if under the Spanish Dictatorship censorship was widely applied. Being exposed to a large number of American films has already taught audiences to decode effectively non-verbal communication, as well as cultural items, as concluded by Palencia (2002: 51). A similar conclusion was reached by Lorenzo, Pereira and Xoubanova (2003: 289) in their analysis of the translation into Spanish of *The Simpsons*, where 'there are a large number of cultural references that do not

constitute a translation problem because both the source and target cultures belong to the same macrosystem (the West)?

Referring back to the magical spaces, there are reasons to believe these would be equally comprehensible in both target cultures, even if allusions to real spaces are not immediately recognisable to all. An example of this would be the famous shopping district of Rodeo Drive, which appears in *Shrek 2*. In the scene, globally recognisable shops such as Burger King or Versace are transformed into Burger Prince and Versarchery, while keeping the same logos. Given the popularity of the brands that appear, the joke would be understood by some sections of the audience. Even if images are alien to the TC, there are reasons to believe this does not interfere with the diegetic process, as studied by Palencia (1998).

2.4 Dialect markers and their authenticity

The choice of these particular four films and their translations was motivated by the language diversity appearing in the original, and some of the translated versions, in either Spanish or Catalan, or both. By styling characters with variation, the original films offer linguistic texture that has been translated in some cases, for some characters.

A brief analysis of a large proportion of the characters' varieties will reveal that the dialectal markers are sometimes superficial aesthetic touches, as opposed to a strict rendering of a given variety. In most cases, variation affects the phonetic and lexical levels, seldom showing markers at the grammatical level. As can be perceived in many characters, their variety evokes its nature rather than intends to be a realistic representation; this is a phenomenon that Lippi-Green (1997: 86) also encountered when analysing Disney films. As is the case in her analysis, even if varieties are not fully represented at the grammatical, lexical and phonetic levels, here they will be considered as though they were, given the indexing properties that a distinct variety would evoke, regardless of its authenticity. In fact, Coupland (2007: 15) considers authenticity to be a secondary consideration, as '[m]any dimensions of authenticity relating to personhood and talk itself [...] are subordinated to the priority to entertain or just to fill out the performance role.' As mentioned in Coupland (2009), the examples found in the current corpus and other films or media products would constitute 'mass-mediated vernacular speech' (Coupland 2009: 284). Coupland (2009) includes a relevant discussion on authenticity that serves as further reading; he concludes that '[i]f we take the fact of mediated recontextualization seriously, then "accuracy" is irrelevant' (Coupland 2009: 298). Lippi-Green argues that differences in the performance of accents could happen when 'an actor is clearly contriving an accent' (1997: 86), but

taking into account the medium in which this lack of authenticity takes place it may also be due to a willingness to ensure that all audiences are aware of what is said, even if their experience with a given dialect is limited. This would still allow for the characters' variety to be perceived as different, while serving a stylistic purpose. Kozloff notes that 'genre conventions have been a powerful force in shaping film dialogue, ultimately equally or even more influential than time period' (Kozloff 2000: 26), and it may be the case that, when the wide public and especially children are addressed, authenticity is a secondary consideration. Coupland states that 'the demand of projecting identities consistent with particular media genres or media institutions might also be an important consideration' (Coupland 2007: 150). In this case, children and adults alike are exposed to the films' variation, but the level of expertise with language varieties will range greatly from one person to the next, depending on their experiences. To conclude, Coupland considers identity work to be 'sensitive to genre, in the sense that particular identity profiles are conventionally associated with specific activity types as well as groups' (Coupland 2009: 288).

The lack of authenticity of a variety happens with some of the characters in the corpus: for example, in the case of Shrek's Scottish variety, much can be said about the way the accent is expressed. However, the fact that it is not part of the film's mainstream variety and that it is different to the other characters' dialects has a function and serves a purpose, and this will be the centre of attention in the following analysis. On these occasions, differences work in opposition because they are not perceived as the unmarked variety, and this too works in Spanish and Catalan, where there is a distinct mainstream dialect.

Regardless of their accuracy, dialect markers can serve the 'poetic' function [...]. In the story in *Citizen Kane* [...], the phrase 'A white dress she had on' both stresses Bernstein's Jewish extraction and surprises us into imaginatively seeing the dress's whiteness. By the same token, in Ford's *How Green Was My Valley* (1941), Beth Morgan greets Bronwyn, her future daughter-in-law: 'there is lovely you are.' The uncommon syntax signifies 'Welshness' to an American audience, but, more important, it serves what the Russian formalist critic Victor Shklovsky's [*straniz*] identifies as the fundamental strategy of art, the effect of 'making strange'. (Kozloff 2000: 83)

Rather than focussing on the authenticity of specific varieties, the style that is created through the use of multiple varieties will be the main interest here, and the analysis will reveal how this effect is created by using dialectal features in some characters. This is why the emphasis will be placed on the aesthetic functions or the effect of 'making strange' that variation plays in the film, and how it translates for a dubbed product.

3. Technical aspects of the translations and their context of production

In order to assess the context in which the four films and their translations are situated as systematically as possible, the previous chapters have covered the sociolinguistic background, including the stylistic and audience factors, the audiovisual media spaces in each language, the specificities of dubbing and the translation of variation. Here the focus shifts to provide more details about the four selected films, and the characteristics of their translations.

The following overview takes inspiration from the principles of text analysis for translation put forward by Christiane Nord (1991, 2005). Given the wide spectrum that this analysis can cover, certain modifications and simplifications are necessary in order to take into account the specificities of a dubbed product. We supplement the analysis with the updates and application for audiovisual translation theorised by Chaume (2001), which was briefly discussed in the previous chapter. The emphasis will be on the translation of stylistic resources, in one or all three levels of language, i.e. grammatical, lexical and phonetic, and the ways in which this variational style from the original language is recreated or compensated for in the dubbed versions. As previously mentioned, academic sources are supplemented with the testimonies of professionals working in the dubbing industry, who may have worked in the translations of some of these films. Their insight, experience and professionalism is essential to gain an accurate perspective on the process, and the specificities of each culture.

3.1 The commission

The initiator of the commission of the translation for animated films is usually the international distributor for the production companies such as DP or DA. This sets the guidelines for the project, working closely with translators and studios to achieve a particular product. I-004 confirms that DW commissions a translation that is culturally domesticated, but that works together with the original, avoiding a complete re-write of the original film.

As explained by I-002, for the present corpus the distributors had two agents who work hands-on in the process of dubbing, including the translation process. As well as the instructions that accompany the text, the translator received the audiovisual preliminary film, on which to carry out the dialogue writing process and to gain access to the characters' gesticulation and audiovisual personality. Furthermore, the director also receives

a brief containing information on the character's verbal features, including the accent or dialect used by each character.

I-004 has indicated that the distributor is interested in creating a product that carries similar features from the original, especially in relation to the translation of variation. The script is hence annotated, and the directors receive a creative card with the information on the particularities of every character. Richart (2012) offers an insightful account about the control that is exerted by the production companies and distributors over the target text. In the case of the film *Shrek*, Richart highlights that the US studios created the film with the clear intention to have it dubbed into other languages (Richart 2012: 76). Even though Richart does not mention dialectal stylistic features, she exposes the commissioner's intention for the product to reach its audience the way it was designed at origin (Richart 2012: 78).

Regarding stylistic features, the main reservation that the informants had to the inclusion of variation to the target text appears to be an awareness of the existing tradition in the target culture where language variation in translation does not feature prominently.

3.2 Widespread success

The following figures represent the economic impact of the films in terms of international gross profit: *Shrek 2* (2004): \$ 919 million. *Shrek Tale* (2004): \$ 367 million. *Madagascar* (2005): \$ 532 million. *Cars* (2006): \$ 461 million.⁶⁸

The figures not only reveal the way success is measured in film nowadays, but also point to the likely large financial resources available to achieve a quality product in all languages. With regards to the translation, these kinds of productions differ from other types of audiovisual translation in that they are better remunerated than the ones commissioned by television channels, as confirmed by I-002. These products will be available in cinemas, and later in formats for home viewing such as DVDs or internet streaming. Extensive publicity campaigns are created to market this kind of product, so a higher rate for the translation and dubbing teams is probably a way to ensure a higher quality of the dubbed product, together with the involvement of the distributors.

What the figures do not reveal, however, is that the funding for the translations emanate from different sources. While for Spanish it is the distributor who foots the bill, the Catalan government subsidises the translations into Catalan, as part of their effort to increase the

⁶⁸ Source: www.boxofficemojo.com [Last accessed 15 October 2012]

visibility of the language and ensure that audiences can access mainstream films in Catalan. This function of dubbing as a vehicle for normalisation is still active today. This creates a difference in budget that affects the resources available in Catalan as opposed to Spanish, which has an impact on the inclusion of well-known actors and comedians, for example.

3.3 Period of publication

The translated versions of the films were released shortly after the original versions, reflecting the parallel processes of creation and translation. The release dates in the United States are as follows: *Shrek 2*, May 19th, 2004; *Shark Tale*, October 1st, 2004; *Madagascar*, May 27th, 2005; *Cars*, June 9th, 2006.⁶⁹ In Spain, the release dates for the Spanish version are: *Shrek 2*, June 30th, 2004; *Shark Tale*, October 8th, 2004; *Madagascar*, June 17th, 2005; *Cars*, July 6th, 2006.⁷⁰ It has not been possible to identify the release dates for the Catalan versions beyond the DVD release dates. The present analysis of the films is based on the DVD recordings released in Spain, which contain all three versions that were created for cinema in English, Spanish and Catalan, and additionally in Portuguese for *Madagascar* and *Shark Tale*.

3.4 Access to industry professionals

One of the weaknesses of this analysis is the inability to contact the creators and designers of the texts directly to enquire about the product they wanted to achieve. It is noticeable that the language design process is excluded from the DW site mentioned before. However, having access to industry professionals who were involved in the translation process is incredibly valuable in gaining first-hand knowledge of the process, their priorities and their constraints. Because anonymity was granted, roles and responsibilities will be mentioned but not directly attributed to any informant.

4. Methodology

The translation of variation, as has been established, can be a very controversial area, and even the use of vernaculars in the original can elicit different interpretations. Therefore, the key to this analysis will be a careful assessment of the properties and features indexed by variation and the characters behind it, both in the original and in the translated versions, by means of a stylistic analysis. This will be done in relation to the story and the role that the character plays, as a way to contextualise the occurrence: “[i]ndexicality is a multistage and multilevel process, implying that what a way of speaking “means” is

⁶⁹ Source: www.boxofficemojo.com [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

⁷⁰ Database on dubbing into Spanish www.eldoblaje.com [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

determined by how it is locally and culturally contextualized and how it is culturally “enregistered” (Coupland 2009: 285). A section of the analysis will be dedicated to describing how the film has been styled through four main characters, both for the original version and the translations, which will constitute a stylistic analysis. This analysis will further mention other characters that have been styled with vernaculars or foreign accents. A distinction will be made between two groups. The first one is formed by those characters whose variety is linked to a social or geographical reality, thus their dialect may index stereotypes linked to those markers. The second group is formed by the characters who are styled with a variety that works independently from society or geography and indexes other features that are context-dependent. Therefore, emphasis will be placed on distinguishing the role that variation plays in the finished original product. Thus, the corpus analysis aims to provide a stylistic analysis of the original film, which will then be contrasted with the translations into Spanish and Catalan from an equally stylistic perspective, which is nevertheless inclusive of translational and cultural items.

4.1 Aims of the corpus analysis

Ultimately, the aim of the analysis is to uncover the way style works through language variation for the four films, and to assess whether this dimension of language withstands the process of translation in this case. Hence, the aim of the corpus analysis is to gain insight into the way variation is used in the original versions of the films, and how translations have embraced the transfer of language varieties into Spanish and Catalan in these specific titles belonging to the same genre. This will be achieved through a close observation of the original text, and the context in which these language varieties appear. The findings will then be compared with the Catalan and Spanish versions, especially for the characters who display language varieties in either TL. Given the access to two languages and two systems that operate independently, the results will gain in contrasting value. Translations are commissioned while the original film is still in production, which means that translations come out almost simultaneously; this reduces the possibility that one dubbed version has been influenced by the other. By analysing four films and their subsequent translations into Spanish and Catalan, the intention is to uncover the approaches to style and its translation in a very specific setting, genre and time period.

The answers to the following questions will be sought through the qualitative analysis of the corpus. Each of these questions contributes to the overall question in the thesis, by analysing the details of the originals and the translation to be able to assess whether style is a translatable dimension of language.

- What role do vernaculars play in the original text?
- What resources are applied to translate an original character that speaks in a vernacular, into Spanish and Catalan?
- What are the outstanding features emerging from translation strategies in Spanish and Catalan?
- In which cases are originals and translations problematic from an ethical point of view?
- What happens to characters that are stereotypically portrayed in the original when they are translated?

Each of these questions helps understanding the intricacies of a process that involves many aspects that have been examined in the preceding chapters. Uncovering the use of stylistic features in three versions requires taking into account cultures, techniques, ethical issues and how these are regarded in the films through their characters but, ultimately, the film as a message.

It is necessary to point out that, although two-thirds of the corpus consists of translated material, the focus of the analysis does not derive from theories of translation studies, but from sociolinguistics. For translation studies in the 1980s, ‘the criteria were shifted from the linguistic components of the source text to the function of the translation in the target culture’ (Snell-Hornby 2006: 64), and exploring such a function among the corpus material is not yet our concern. Agost (2004b) and Díaz Cintas (2004), among others, place Even-Zohar’s Polysystem Theory (1990) at the heart of their understanding of a descriptive analysis of translation. The Polysystem Theory ‘is a conceptual framework that integrates translation into the study of culture and which holds that texts and translations are conditioned by the cultural systems that they are immersed in’ (Agost 2004b: 66).

Instead, we intend to further explore the concept of style, contributing to a better understanding of this dimension, be it in original or in translated material. In any case, throughout the thesis we have taken into account the sociolinguistic and some of the socio-political context in which the languages are inserted, to account for the system in which the texts operate. Our focus nevertheless is on what is said with vernaculars, the poetics of variation, how style is constructed in different versions of the same material, and how that affects the whole narrative and output. So the inclusion of these translated versions is regarded as important because stylistic features are enabled, and hence comparable.

Understanding how style is exploited in the original can also contribute to industrial applications, both for studios and for the dubbing industry, where we have seen that the translation of style might be encouraged on the commissioners' part. In this sense, our analysis would perhaps more likely respond to principles of localisation in translation studies, understood as 'taking a product and making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale (country/region and language) where it will be used and sold' (Munday 2001: 191).

4.2 Structure of the analysis

In the present chapter, sections 5 to 8 contain the analyses of each of the four films of the corpus. We have devised three stages, as detailed below. The first stage involves a general assessment of the original structure of the film and the role the characters play in it. The next stage explores the way the selected scenes are constructed. Finally, the third stage assesses how Catalan and Spanish have dealt with the features that will be pointed out. The analysis is accompanied by a transcription of the scenes in all three languages, which is contained in the Appendix. References to the transcriptions will be pointed out in the lines in which occurrences take place by using brackets including the line number (L followed by the line number that corresponds to the transcription of the relevant scene). We seek to assess whether there is a change in style for each selected character from the original to the translated version. At the end of each film it will also be possible to conclude whether audience convergence happens in a similar way across languages.

4.2.1 Indexing qualities

In the first stage, after an overview of the film is offered, attention shifts to the way in which the original text is constructed from a stylistic point of view. The task here is to understand what characteristics are indexed by the varieties used in light of a prospective translation. That is to say that the analysis accounts for the contextualisation of variation in discourse and the making of local meanings from sociolinguistic resources. Initially, an explanation reveals the story and personality of the characters and the relationships these bear with the variety they express themselves in or, to be more precise, they have been designed to use. With this information it is possible to determine what functions these varieties play in relation to the story, and see the characters whose dialect is tied to a realistic situation, and those whose variety indexes other principal traits that are to be found in the contextual situation. It is essential to reveal whether varieties appearing in the text index a linguistic reality or other attributes unrelated to a social or geographical

context; details of this distinction are offered in the next section. An overview of the rest of the cast follows, noting whether further stylistic variation is used; if language varieties appear in the remaining characters, their use and purpose has been described. An analysis of the characters' functions from the original in English exemplifies the relationships between the characters and the context, their personalities and the reflection that this has on their language use and, most importantly, the overall style of the film with a view to translation.

4.2.2 Scene analysis

The contextual analysis gives way to specific items of the text, which are identified and compared to those of the translated versions in Spanish and Catalan. In order to do this effectively, only a sample of the text is analysed: four main characters have been selected for each scene, given the stylistic contrast that can be heard when two or more of them speak in a different variety to mainstream English in the original version. The stylistic resources used in the ST are determined, as is the context for their use. These are then compared to the TTs, to determine what strategies have been applied in each case. Special attention will be given to domestication and compensation strategies, and level of equivalence, taking into account that if variation has been maintained, it responds to a foreignising strategy. A further contextualisation frames the analysis, which includes comments from the industry professionals wherever available. Information on the actor behind the voice is included to determine whether there is a correlation between some actors and the variety they use to portray a character.

The characteristics of the scenes are very similar in that all four relevant characters speak as they either meet for the first time or reunite, which facilitates conversations amongst them. *Shrek 2* is the only film where there are no additional characters interacting in the scene. In two of the films, *Shark Tale* and *Cars*, additional characters are heard interacting and this is unavoidable, while in *Madagascar*, the four characters are watching a singing number in a scene unrelated to their dialogue. The length of the scenes is variable, dependent on allowing sufficient time for linguistic features to appear. These same scenes are used to carry out the empirical study presented in Chapter 4. Another characteristic common to the samples, given the intention of the films to engage younger audiences, is that action is a constant throughout the scenes; hence, slapstick and general noise are interwoven with dialogues, which is an unavoidable limitation. A clear dialogue exempt from interferences and distractions would have been preferable for the purposes of this study.

4.2.3 Translating style into Catalan and Spanish

The final stage of the analysis involves studying how the overall mapping of the films is carried out in Catalan and Spanish. To attain this, we evaluate how the other versions for the four selected characters in the same scenes of each film activate sociolinguistic resources to create style. An overview of the rest of the cast will be presented, establishing what, if any, further variation is used in the translated versions.

In a similar structure to Mainstream US English in the original version, here we consider default varieties to be Mainstream Castilian Spanish and Mainstream Central Catalan. Given the apparent lack of variation in some versions, character review will be carried out globally instead of specifically. Only when a given character speaks in a distinct variety in the translated version will the analysis become specific to said character.

Emphasis will be placed on the level of variation, and also the degree of domestication included in the translations. Noting the degree of domestication into the TC can reveal whether there is a correlation between the level of language variation and naturalisation of the text. As with the original versions, attention will be paid to the actors that supply the voices and characterisation in each role, as this may also point to different strategies in each language.

General conclusions, strategies and a quantitative summary of the analysis will appear at the end of the film analysis, where answers to the aforementioned research questions will be sought.

4.3 Specific concepts and nomenclature for the analysis

The films of the corpus feature variational style, which works in contrast with the unmarked variety, spoken by most characters in all three language versions.

Manuals of dialectology that have been consulted for English include Trudgill and Hannah (2008), Schneider (2008), Kortmann and Upton (2005). For Catalan we made use of the principles pointed out in Veny (1982), and received assistance from Dr Jaume Corbera (UIB). Spanish dialectology in the corpus has been contrasted with Alvar (1991), Vaquero (1996) and Moreno (2009).

Materials for lexical research include the *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (1962)⁷¹ and the *Diccionari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (2011) for Catalan. For Spanish, sources include *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (2001) and *RAE* (2005). For English, *Merriam-Webster* (2012) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2011) have been consulted. For colloquial or slang lexical items, the crowd-sourced *urbandictionary.com* has been used for English, and *elplop.com* for Spanish; the latter is no longer active but contained slang words and uses covering the whole Spanish-speaking areas. A similar resource does not exist for Catalan slang words.

The unmarked variety in each language works by proportion: it is the variety used by most characters, and it corresponds to what will be named Mainstream United States English, Mainstream Central Catalan and Mainstream Castilian Spanish. The main traits that define each variety are expressed below, limiting the description to those that, in combination, are exclusive to said variety. The following mainstream features are summarised from the dialectology works mentioned on this page in the relevant language, combined with features noticed in the corpus material.

The characteristics of Mainstream United States English, abbreviated as MUSE, can be defined as follows:

- rhotic pronunciation
- contraction of 'out of' /outa/, going to /gonna/, want to /wanna/
- intervocalic /t/ becomes flap [ɾ]
- use of [æ] in words as *dance*, *half*, *bad*
- American general vocabulary

The abbreviation MCC will refer from here on to Mainstream Central Catalan, present in the films as the unmarked variety. These are its most prominent features:

- atonal vocalic system has three sounds: [ə], [i], [u] (and allophones [j] and [w])
- 1st person singular verb ending in the present tense is /o/, pronounced [u]:
/canto/ ['kɑntu]
- Barcelonès area vocabulary

⁷¹ We acknowledge the early publication date of this dictionary. However, it has proven useful as a reliable source of dialectal words such as *xeiv* (found in the Catalan version of *Shark Tale*), which are not featured in general modern dictionaries.

- formal default treatment is *vostè, vostès*
- use of definite articles *el, la, els, les*
- dropping of final occlusive sound in consonantal groups: *marc* ['mar], *vent* ['ben]
- synthetic pronoun use: *em, et, es, ens, us, es*

The traits that distinguish Mainstream Castilian Spanish from other varieties of Spanish, which will be abbreviated as MCS from here onwards are:

- *ceísmo*, pronunciation in [θ] for <z>, and <c> before <i> and <e>
- vocalic system of 5 sounds: [a], [e], [i], [o], [u]
- distinction of preterites if action is linked to present: *he ido, fui*
- pronunciation of final /s/, and tendency to pronounce consonants in coda positions
- use of lexical terms from general Peninsular Spanish
- pronunciation of voiceless fricative [χ] for <j> and <g> before <i> and <e>
- use of *vosotros* for the second person plural

In analysing accents and varieties that appear in the films, it is necessary to distinguish between variation that happens within the same language, and pronunciations with an alien phonology to the main language of the film. Translation strategies sometimes treat such variation differently, so it will be important to point out a French or Spanish accent when they appear in English, as well as an RP accent in English. The use of descriptive words such as 'foreign' to refer to accents from other languages is problematic in cases where Spanish phonology is alien to English, but not a foreign language to the US; a similar problem emerges with a Spanish accent in Catalan, when most of the Catalan-speaking areas are contained within the Spanish borders. The words interlinguistic and intralinguistic variation have been devised to refer to these, respectively; the term intralinguistic has previously been used by House (1973) and Rabadán (1991) in the context of Translation Studies. The abbreviations in interL and intraL will be applied.

5. Analysis of *Shrek 2*

Directors: Andrew Adamson, Kelly Asbury, Conrad Vernon

Studio: DreamWorks SKG

5.1 The original text

Shrek 2 is by far the most diverse film of the corpus with regard to the use of varieties in the original, and it has a number of characters that provide abundant examples. The film continues the story of *Shrek* (2001), where a peacefully solitary ogre receives the unwanted company of reject fairytale characters in his swamp, a situation that will lead to a series of adventures while he attempts to materialise his will to be left alone in his home. Under the government of Lord Farquard in nearby Duloc, a mission has begun to expel magical creatures from the land to achieve the Lord's perceived standard of beauty. In order to inconvenience the rebel ogre, who has scared some guards, the creatures are ordered to occupy his swamp. The Lord is an insecure character, of a despotic nature with an over compensatory personality, given his small physique; he is very unlikeable, and speaks in MUSE. At this point the relationship between Shrek and Donkey begins, as they are both outcasts of the pompous and superficial society that Lord Farquard wants to promote. The Lord's path crosses that of Shrek when the latter addresses to the Lord his complaints about the arrested fairytale creatures dumped on his swamp. To evict the uninvited guests, Farquard proposes that Shrek and Donkey save Princess Fiona from the tower, as he has resolved to marry her in order to become King, but is too cowardly or physically weak to go himself. At the same time, Fiona is desperate to be rescued and receive her true love's kiss to break the spell that turns her into an ogre every night, in order to appear human permanently. Even though Farquard and Fiona are about to marry, the Lord is defeated by Shrek and Donkey, the heroes and saviours of the story, and ultimately by true love and positive values, in the form of Fiona and Shrek's relationship. Fiona accepts Shrek and her ogre self after understanding that true love is a very deep feeling that goes beyond superficial appearance, and that the passive princess role she was made to fit into is not her true self. This is precisely the opposite of Lord Farquard's superficial view, and so the allegory about being true to oneself is complete.⁷²

⁷² It is noteworthy that in Richart (2009), where an extensive analysis is done of *Shrek* in English and Spanish, variational style is not mentioned for either version. Similarly, Hopkins (2004), in an extensive monograph on the development of *Shrek* and *Shrek 2*, there is no mention of the varieties used in the film, which is a palpable absence among complete technical details.

Shrek 2 begins after Shrek and Fiona's honeymoon, when they go back to live in their swamp. Right at the start, the newlyweds get invited to the kingdom of Far, Far Away by Fiona's parents, the King and Queen. Shrek is nervous about not fitting in, in the eyes both of his in-laws and the people of the kingdom. He is quite happy being himself, but knows he is not the type of prince that anyone expects as Fiona's new husband, and neither is Donkey, his faithful companion, expected to be there instead of a beautiful horse that would correspond to an archetypal prince. The film will be a struggle between Shrek's desire to be accepted for who he is, which means that he has to overcome his own insecurities, and his wish to please Fiona in the way he thinks is expected, i.e., by turning into a handsome human. Along the way, Harald the King, Prince Charming and Fairy Godmother will try to boycott Fiona's choice and the acceptance of the ogre in the kingdom. The King will go so far as to hire Puss in Boots to get rid of Shrek, only to find that the feline takes the ogre's side and becomes his loyal friend. The film culminates in Fiona's refusal to become human in recognition of her happy life as an ogre with her chosen partner, in an overt parody of Disney's *The Beauty and the Beast* (1991), implying that the core values are being true to oneself and pursuing one's happiness regardless of appearances. Whereas in the Disney film happiness is restored when the beast is discovered to be a handsome prince, in *Shrek 2* happiness is achieved when Fairy Godmother is killed by her own spell in a team effort of all previously outcast creatures, and Fiona and Shrek make the conscious decision to carry on being ogres.

Shrek 2 is essentially a subversion of the traditional tale hierarchy, having the prototypical heroes and villains conform to different roles and values and, [a]s Adamson put it, it was a task of "deconstructing traditional fairy tales and reconstructing a new fairy tale" (Hopkins 2004: 14). In this case, an ogre, a talking donkey and a cat are the heroes of the story and, instead of a helpless princess, the female character is a strong but sensitive ogre. Replacing a handsome, virtuous and brave prince, Prince Charming is interested in fame, feeding his narcissistic personality, and in playing along to his mother's desires to see him as King. Fairy Godmother, Charming's mother, is in this case a corrupt and power-hungry businesswoman who blackmails Fiona's father, the King, for her son's and her own benefit. As with the previous instalment, *Shrek 2* culminates in a defence of accepting oneself and others for who they really are, beyond physical appearances or traditional plotlines. After all, it is an inverted 'rags to riches' traditional tale, in which the heroes and lead characters have been replaced by traditionally secondary or negative ones, such as Puss in Boots and

Donkey, and Shrek respectively. In this case, the acceptance of all sorts of creatures breaks the expectations and interpretations, opening the doors to new traditions.

5.1.1 Indexing meanings: a contextual overview of *Shrek 2*

Shrek 2 openly twists the traditional tale, and the breaking of the rules is also be noticeable at a linguistic level, as the heroes of the story are non-mainstream and use non-mainstream variation. They are an ogre who speaks in a Scottish variety, a talking donkey who speaks African-American Vernacular English (AAVE), and a cat that is a native speaker of Spanish and hence has the expected accent and some code-switching with well-known Spanish words. Not only are they characterised with vernacular maintenance, but they are proud of themselves as they are: they accept their appearance and express themselves in their variety, and do not try to conceal them. Meanwhile, the King and Queen, the Fairy Godmother and Prince Charming all speak in the traditionally expected RP. With regards to accent differentiation, and following on the findings by Lippi-Green (1997, 2011), in this case all RP-speaking characters, except for the Queen, are corrupt and have very low ethical values. Examples of this can be found in the fact that the King wants to kill Shrek so that Fiona can marry someone akin to her status. The Fairy Godmother and Prince Charming are so superficial and power-hungry that they can go to any extreme to achieve the power they covet. The King, who is discovered to be a frog in reality, had been keeping a human appearance through a deal with the Fairy Godmother so that he could marry Queen Lillian. Even if the King is discovered to be a frog in the final scene, the maintenance of appearances and perceived status is done through the use of RP. On the opposite side of the spectrum, the heroes of the story all speak in varieties that traditionally have not been associated with the heroes of fairy tales. This demonstrates a change in style from that found by Lippi-Green (1997: 191), by which mainstream varieties of English in Disney films were reserved mainly for positive characters, while negative ones would prey on existing negative stereotyping.

Fiona, as a princess who has decided to continue her life as an ogre after a spell cast on her gave her the chance to choose, has a different accent to her parents', which hints that she may a modern version of a fairytale royal, and that unorthodox behaviour may follow. Whereas her parents speak in RP, as they are the King and Queen and fulfil the audience's expectations as to how royalty speak, princess Fiona speaks in MUSE. This corresponds to her role in the storyline, as she breaks the rules as to what is expected from a princess: she is feisty, driven, strong, and ultimately an ogre. These values are not carried in MUSE *per se*,

it is the opposition of this to the parental RP that gains in metaphorical value in this local context.

The main point here is that the three heroes, fronted by Shrek, speak in a variety that does not correspond to those portrayed in traditional fairy tales in audiovisual products, an important precedent of which are the Disney series of audiovisual happy-ending tales. In an attempt to update the rules of folklore, the lead characters' vernaculars index notions that are not traditionally associated with the heroes. In this case, they are opening the door to perceive heroes as no longer being handsome princes, and no longer speaking mainstream varieties, hence indexing a 'new hero' variety. The heroes here converge with the audience in using multiple voices and appearances outside the mainstream style. Where traditionally the ogre has been the negative character, a literary figure shared in Spanish and Catalan traditional tales, the chance is now to see it as a positive and humanised character, together with his friends.

The aforementioned principle of interchangeability, by which a number of vernaculars could be used instead of the one represented to attain the same end, would apply to Shrek: the accent used by this character is not linked to a specific reality, but is locally constructed. His variety supplies an aesthetic function and could be replaced with another vernacular, as long as it had not been associated with the top layers of fairytale hierarchy, as RP has. It is a universal theme that gets dismantled, possibly as a metaphor of the changing times, and plausibly to give a voice to the characters that were boxed into a prefabricated negative destiny. This is a move that has a repercussion for the visibility of non-mainstream varieties as well.

In opposition to this view, Pimentel and Velázquez (2005) claim that the application of CDA results in the three main characters being heavily based on stereotypes of the African-American and Latino communities in the US, and point to Shrek as representing the immigrant population. However, the article appears to be biased towards proving this case and failing to recognise the role in the story that these characters play. These three characters along with Fiona are the carriers of the positive values in the story: friendship and love, sacrifice for a good cause, being true to oneself. The article also neglects a very important piece of the narrative, which is that the white, RP-speaking characters except for Queen Lillian are all corrupt, unscrupulous and have very superficial views on life; they are materialistic and intend to follow their agendas regardless of whom they hurt, and end up not getting their 'happy ever after' as a direct result of their wrong-doings. Hence, the white characters with the exception of the queen are all carriers of negative traits. Also, Fiona,

who is an ogre, speaks in MUSE, a 'minority' character who uses a mainstream variety. Furthermore, the King, who has a lot of trouble accepting Shrek, is finally ousted as a frog prince who had been living under a spell of the Fairy Godmother that made him look human, which turns out to be the reason why she had the power to blackmail him. Being a frog is his true self, and the reason why he thought he was doing a good thing by shielding Fiona from non-human creatures, i.e., the ones against whom he holds a prejudice. He finally comes to understand his behaviour as wrong after seeing how Fiona and Shrek are happy as they are, and that his wife the Queen accepts him for who he is. As the majority of RP speakers are highly prejudiced, the story makes the viewers get on the side of the three unlikely heroes that are presented as flawed but brave and intelligent, with very positive values. One item that is addressed in the Pimentel and Velázquez article is the physical appearance of the three characters, which Lippi-Green (1997: 93) also mentions with regards to the Disney characters. The fact that the three characters do not have a human appearance could be interpreted as stereotypical or even prejudiced, but in this case it reinforces the idea that their accents are based on the character that the actor has conferred them, rather than a static feature. Given the lack of physical cues, except perhaps for Puss in Boots with his Zorro mannerisms, the three characters' accents could be interchangeable, and a proof of this is that this happens in the Spanish and Catalan versions, as they are removed from the English context. A strong point in the film is that physical appearance is not important, so perhaps there is still a further point to be made, which is that characters should not be judged by such appearance, but by their motivations and attributes. The main problem with the Pimentel and Velázquez's application of CDA in this case, is that it does not allow for the meaning of variation to be established locally, especially in socially discontinued situations such as the fantasy genre. That is, their interpretation has not taken into account the internal narrative and the rise of the underdog to power through lawful situations. Even if the film is constructed on Western realities and values, Shrek, Puss and Donkey do not *have to* speak in the varieties they use, it is not essential to the plot, and it does not seek a stereotypical portrayal -as will be seen below with *Shark Tale's* Oscar- but rather it is a stylistic feature of the film. That said, the cue to Puss in Boots' Hispanic origins is the intertextual Zorro-style carving of the P on the tree and a tune played on a Spanish guitar as he enters the scene.

Nevertheless, if the interpretation of the characters as suggested by the Pimentel and Velázquez is applied, and if the case that the stereotyping suggested by the authors does happen, then the story and the journey of the main characters would gain in allegorical

value, as it comes to represent the arrival of these characters to power through lawful methods. It would therefore imply that the new heroes in films are no longer expected to speak like royalty or perceived *privileged* speakers, but are characters that have strong positive values, in whatever variety they may speak, and whatever physique they may have.

Viewing Shrek et al. as stereotypical of immigrants, African-Americans and Latinos is incomplete, and it does not take into account the full contextual situation of the film. The conclusion here is that these three heroes, Shrek, Puss in Boots and Donkey, index ‘non-orthodoxy’, as they break traditions and expectations through their vernacular maintenance and their desire to be themselves, and do not follow a stereotypical portrayal; rather their varieties could imply a very positive allegory. The reality is that these varieties are interchangeable with any that would index similar qualities in the local context in the target languages, and this is necessary information for the prospective translation, given the strong weight this has on the narrative of the film. On the other hand, a variety that indexes ‘royalty’ or ‘member of the court’ would have to be chosen for the RP-speaking characters in a translation. In the case of Fiona, her choice of destiny away from the palace justifies her differing accent to her parents’. With a prospective translation in mind, the characters who may be translated into a vernacular in the TT are all except the King and Queen, the Fairy Godmother and Prince Charming. These four characters’ accents have a referential value in the literary traditions in all three languages, whereas the rest are newly created and enjoy a detachment with any past traditions.

Regarding the visual constraints that could anchor the story to a particular context, in this case the references to fairy tales and castles give enough room for them to be perceived as Western, and not just US. The exception to this is the representation of Far, Far Away as a sort of a Los Angeles with the characteristics of a fairy tale location. Even then, the visual cues are not overly marked and univocally linked to a particular geography, and audiences may decode this successfully in most cases, depending on their experience.

Shrek 2 shows a great diversity of accents beyond the characters that have been mentioned above. As well as the dialects of English appearing in the original version, attention must be paid to the interlinguistic accents that feature, as some will be recreated in the translated version. A quick overview of the rest of characters that have short roles reveals that some of them have either interL or intraL variety features, as follows: Three Blind Mice, RP; chef, a French accent; Doris, the Ugly Stepsister, New York accent; G r me, French; Three Piglets, German. These remaining characters will be useful to compare with their translated versions.

5.1.2 Linguistic features of the characters

The four selected characters are Shrek, Donkey, Puss in Boots and the Fairy Godmother, each characterised with a specific variety that creates a unique linguistic texture.

As can be seen with Shrek, authenticity is a secondary consideration to the evocative quality of his Scottish variety. This does not happen with the Fairy Godmother or Puss in Boots because, as will be shown, the varieties that they speak are their own, instead of a variety within the actors' repertoire or Sound House.⁷³

In this scene Shrek and Donkey are lost in the woods when Puss in Boots enters the scene to assassinate them on order of the King. After they become friends, the Fairy Godmother appears towards the end, when her magical business card is activated.

5.1.2.1 Shrek

The variety used by this character can be described as Scottish accent with some token lexical elements. The actor behind Shrek's voice is Mike Myers (b. 1963), who is a Canadian actor and comedian. He is famous for styling characters with different dialects, as can be seen in the *Austin Powers* series. The initial instalment of Shrek was played by Mike Myers and it was his decision, just as he finished recording Shrek's role in his own variety, to redo the whole script in a stylised Scottish accent, which was subsequently accepted and used throughout the Shrek series. On the Special Features (SF) of *Shrek Forever After* (2010) he explains that it was important for him that the character had a connection to the stories of his childhood. Hopkins gathers that this decision was based on Mike Myers' experience with the Scottish fathers to his childhood friends, which he saw as passionate fathers; 'none of them were, in fact, ogres, but the fit was undeniable' (Hopkins 2004: 7).

Starting with the **lexical level**, the use of the affirmative 'aye', characteristic of the Scottish vocabulary, reinforces the character's dialect on a superficial level. Alternative markedly Scottish words, such as 'wee' for little, are scattered along different moments of the film, but not used persistently. The **grammatical level** does not have any particularities on this section, and it does not receive much more attention elsewhere, as the most noticeable traits happen at the phonetic level. The **phonetic level** is the richest area of features where it becomes easier to distinguish between unique utterances within the film. Shrek's variety is rhotic, which affects length of some vowels or the way they are uttered in

⁷³ Lippi-Green (2011: 48-52) defines a person's Sound House as their native phonological system, which may include more than one variety.

other cases. The pronunciation of /r/ happens at the end of words, like in *tender moment*, or between a vowel and a consonant like in *work*, and it is differentiated from its American /r/ counterpart in that it is [r] instead of [ɹ]. The vocalic system adapts to the Scottish English, and there is a degree of monophthongisation in his speech, which is unlike any other character's accent; examples of this are 'away', 'Donkey' or 'phone' (L 52).

5.1.2.2 Puss in Boots

This character is played by Antonio Banderas (b. 1960), a world-famous Andalusian actor who usually plays characters of a Hispanic or Latino background, likely to derive from his marked diction and influence of Spanish in his phonological system. He famously interpreted Zorro in *The Mask of Zorro* (1998), which hints a degree of intertextuality with this character, as implied by Banderas himself in the SF. It is noteworthy that he refers to his character as Spanish, and not Latin-American as Zorro may have been, and that the only reference to a real geographical space is to the Galician city of Santiago de Compostela, in Spain. Both physically and verbally this character could easily be identified with Zorro, given that he also carves his initial P on a tree with his sword, imitating Zorro's signature, in clear reference to one of Banderas' most famous performances.

Puss in Boots' mother tongue influences his English variety, especially at the lexical and the phonetic level, where Spanish pronunciation and words are present. Although not blatantly in this scene, it is noticeable that his accent is Spanish and not Latin-American, as revealed by the pronunciation of /c/ and /z/ as [θ], or *ceísmo*, which does not occur on the American continent.

The **lexical level** is scattered with common Spanish words, likely to be recognised and decoded by the non-Spanish speaking audience. Examples are *señor* (sir), *sí* (yes) and *por favor* (please), and Puss can be heard speaking and mumbling in Spanish to himself in other scenes. The **phonetic level** is dominated by the major Spanish vocalic system which affects his pronunciation of English and, as a result, vowels are not pronounced as open or long. English diphthongs simplify to five vocalic sounds, although with the inclusion of [ə] in some cases; consistent examples exist throughout his dialogue (L 32). There is a tendency to realize the voiced fricatives of English performed as voiceless, as in examples like 'garbage', as well as the pronunciation of /z/ as unvoiced, due to the lack of voiced fricative sounds in final position in Spanish. Another feature is the loss of final occlusive consonants when preceded by another consonant, in this case the alveolar [j] in *gold*.

At the **grammatical level**, Puss uses a vocative with the archaic *ye*, when Puss in Boots refers to the ogre by placing the vocative in between the adverbial and the imperative predicative: ‘Now, ye ogre, pray for mercy’. This sort of order reinforces the idea of an intentional imitation of the traditional speech of swordsmen, which will receive attention in the translation.

5.1.2.3 Donkey

The dialectal features in Donkey’s speech correspond to the AAVE variety. Eddie Murphy (b. 1961), who has a rich Sound House, is behind this character for which he uses a variety included in his linguistic repertoire (Lippi-Green 1997: 49), and one of his many personae as a comedian.

At the **lexical level** there are no major differences between Donkey’s vocabulary and that of the rest.

The **phonetic level** reveals many features, such as the non-rhotic pronunciation, which appears in words from the selected text such as: darkest, Barker, farmer. Another feature is monophthongisation, a clear example of which is *I say* (L 37); the pronunciation is different to Shrek’s in that Donkey’s elongates vowels.

In Donkey’s traces of dialect, at the **grammatical level** the use of *got* instead of *has* is used to refer to a possession. It is the case when he says ‘he got a piece’, which has elided the copulative verb. When explaining his traumas, he uses unmarked verb preterits, or elision of ‘would’, ‘and he have’ (L 55). However, this occurs after a past event has been mentioned, hence the temporal marker has appeared. Other features are the use of ‘ain’t’ for ‘am not’ and double negations, like in the case of ‘I ain’t never gotten over that’ (L 55).

5.1.2.4 Fairy Godmother

The actress behind Fairy Godmother’s character is Jennifer Saunders (b. 1958), an English comedian whose short speech clearly can be described as RP. The lack of markers on most of her scene for the lexical and grammatical levels shifts the focus to her phonetic system.

Her speech is characterised for being a non-rhotic variety, exemplified by the pronunciation of ‘personal’, where the <e> gains length and roundness. These properties can also be felt on other vowels such as the <a> in words like ‘after’. Regarding the consonants, all /h/ are aspirated; the /t/ realisation acquires a dental quality, as opposed to

alveolar, except in the case of 'is it on' where the intervocalic /t/ becomes voiced and flapped.

5.2 Translation into Catalan

The Catalan version of *Shrek 2* does not have, at first sight, the degree of stylistic resources contained in the original story. This is the only sequel included in the corpus, so perhaps this is due to the existence of a 2001 precedent which, for reasons of credibility, had to be taken into account to create this version and maintain continuity with the characters already presented to the audience. However, the profusion of characters in this version as opposed to the previous one would have been a good ground to include a certain level of variation, which has nevertheless not appeared.

5.2.1 Scene-specific stylistic features

The dominating variety in the Catalan version of the film is MCC, with the exception of Puss in Boots, who has a Spanish-accented Catalan. The rest of the characters have been translated into the same variety, hence flattening the texture that was created in the original, and erasing the stylistic layers.

The outstanding character in this passage is Puss in Boots. His accent remains interlinguistic as in the original version, given that he is portrayed as being of Spanish origin, in all probability Andalusian. Lexical, phonetic and grammatical features will be described in the following paragraphs.

The **lexical level** for all characters reveals MCC vocabulary, with a notable influence of some Spanish expressions that have crept up in colloquial language. It could be argued that this too is a geographically marked feature of the language, as the incursion of such words has not happened in a homogeneous way around the Catalan-speaking areas, and are especially prominent in Barcelona. Examples can be found in originally Spanish expressions like *para el carro* ('hold your horses'), or *estar de bon rotllo* ('being in a good mood'), and Spanish words of address such as *tío* ('mate').

The entry of Puss in Boots into the scene is quite abrupt, and he opens by addressing Shrek, his opponent, in the *tu* form, the second person of singular pronoun. This signals little respect as they have just met, claiming power over the ogre.⁷⁴ However, as soon as Shrek gains control over the cat and picks him up by the scuff of the neck, Puss begins addressing him using the 2nd person of the plural *vos*, which indicates a higher degree of

⁷⁴ It may be the case that this is just a slip in cohesion, as others can be found elsewhere in the film.

formality. Simultaneously, it marks the text in a more traditional way than if *vostè*, the more modern and mainstream option, were used. Puss' character brings about a certain vintage appeal as an elegant swordsman of yore; the vocative indicated in the preceding section is not uttered in the translation, but the use of *vós* efficiently manages to compensate for its absence.

Donkey's outstanding style of the original has found no match in the Catalan version. Finally, the character that stands out at a lexical level is Puss in Boots due to his use of scattered words in Spanish, similar to the ones appearing in English, to provide the audience with the same effect, that he is of Spanish origin.

The predominant variety at the **phonetic level** is, in all cases including Puss', MCC; in any case, this character speaks with the influence of his perceived first language, Southerner Spanish. This affects his performance in Catalan in cases where there would be voiced fricatives, which Puss in Boots utters as voiceless, as in *us ho* ('to you' L 39) or *reguitzell* ('group' L 41). Other cases are the aspiration or palatalisation of phonemes, especially /s/, as in *si us plau* ('please' L 39) and *escombraries* ('litter' L 41). However, his accent is much less consistent than in English: whereas in English the character can only pronounce around six vowels, in the Catalan version he uses the eight tonal vocalic sounds existing in Eastern Catalan. Also, in the English version most voiced fricatives become voiceless, given the actor's actual dominant phonology. This is something that does not happen throughout in the dubbed version, as the actor is imitating an Andalusian accent but is with all probability a native speaker of Catalan. As in the case of *gosen* ('you dare' L 21) the utterance contains the neutralisation of /o/ in /u/ and an [ɛ], both features of MCC. Also, the pronunciation of *senyor* ('sir' L 39) contains an /ə/, which is not a sound of Spanish. The whole effect nevertheless creates the illusion of foreign speech.

Regarding the rest of the characters, features of MCC apply, but Shrek can be heard pronouncing *guaita* ('look' L24) with a monophthongisation in /o/, common in colloquial dialogue. The **grammatical level** follows the MCC rules in general.

5.2.2 Transfer of style

In general terms, the Catalan translated version abstains from using intralinguistic variation. This conclusion can be reached by looking not only at the scene analysis above, but also throughout the rest of the film, with just a minuscule exception: an anecdotic interjection by a female frog that says 'no te conec, jo?' when she asks the King whether

she knows him. She uses the full pronominal form ‘te’ instead of the MCC ‘et’, which could reference a Menorcan variety given the Eastern Catalan pronunciation.

Cases of interL variation in the Catalan version are somewhat more prominent, starting with one of the stars of the film, Puss and his Andalusian accent, and continuing with other minor characters that used this type of variation in the original; this makes the translation of the feline character less of an exception. In this case, the French-accented characters, the cook and Fairy Godmother’s assistant G r me keep their accent, whereas other minor characters are dubbed into MCC. As will be seen, in Spanish interL accents are kept in greater number.

5.3 Translation into Spanish

The most outstanding feature of the dubbing into Spanish of *Shrek 2*, which differs from its Catalan counterpart, is that it includes performances by well-known actors and comedians, including Antonio Banderas dubbing his own character into a styled version of his mother tongue. As in the first *Shrek* film, Shrek and Donkey are dubbed by comic duo Cruz y Raya, i.e., Juan Antonio Mu oz (b. 1965) and Jos  Mota (b. 1965), respectively. Other well-known personalities in the cast include Michael Robinson (b. 1958), a famous English footballer and current sports commentator on Spanish television, in the role of Doris, the Ugly Stepsister, originally played by Larry King (b. 1933).

The fact that a comic duo was cast for Shrek and Donkey initially seems to be a comparable choice, as with the initial cast, in which both characters are interpreted by famous comedians in English, albeit on a different scale.

5.3.1 Scene-specific stylistic features

In general terms, the three main characters except for Gato con Botas have been translated into MCS. A salient feature of the scene is that Puss in Boots’ interlinguistic accent of the original version becomes an intraL variety of Spanish.

The **lexical level** in the scene belongs to MCS, although it could be argued that, unlike Catalan, the current usage of the *vos* pronoun would mark Gato con Botas’ utterances as archaic, appearing to replicate the original sense of him belonging to another era. It is noticeable, however, that such usage is not constant, and that it fluctuates more than in the Catalan version, perhaps due to the increased mark of archaism; utterances combining *vos* and *t * are also more prominent than in Catalan. This, however, creates ambiguous

sentences, as when Puss addresses the ogre or both Shrek and Donkey (L33), exemplified below:

G: **Escucha** [eh'kuʃa], ogro. **Pedid** piedad **al** [aʀ] Gato con **Botas** ['bota].

Regarding Donkey, it transpires that, unlike the Catalan actor, José Mota is a comedian, as he appears more spontaneous in the Spanish version and, as with Eddie Murphy in the original, ad-libs his performance. Also, Donkey in the Spanish version uses common colloquial expressions in Spanish that are not so visible or non-existent in the Catalan version, such as *no me cueles el marrón* or *tú de buen rollito con papá* ('don't pass me your problems' and 'you keep the good vibes with Daddy').

The **phonetic level** reveals that all characters except for Puss in Boots adhere to the MCS phonetic system. In this case, Antonio Banderas' performance is characterised by a Malaga Andalusian accent with differentiated traits from MCS. This is not the actor's on-screen usual accent, but nevertheless belongs to his Sound House, making features consistent with few deviations. The outstanding traits that can be heard in this passage are pointed out and exemplified in the following lines. Aspiration or dropping of coda /s/ is a salient trait, and can be found in words such as *escucha* or *botas*, respectively (L 33). *Ceceo*, by which /s/ is pronounced [ʃ] or [θ] in some Andalusian regions, can be found consistently in the passage, as in 'si osáis' ('if you dare' L 22), for the first two <s>; the third one, in final position, is inconsistently uttered in this case. Liquid neutralisation of /l/ in /r/ is also a feature, found in 'al gato', where the MCS /l/ becomes /r/ ('to the cat' L 33). Another trait is the fricative pronunciation of /tʃ/, as in *hecho* ('done' L 40), where the <ch> becomes /ʃ/. Another final feature of this passage is the dropping of approximant /d/, especially in past participles, as in *preguntado* ('asked' L 47). This feature is currently spreading to colloquial Spanish, probably the reason why Shrek and Donkey can also be heard uttering a past participle as such (L 51). At the **grammatical level** there are no outstanding features.

5.3.2 Transfer of style

As mentioned above, one of the most salient features of the Spanish version of *Shrek 2* is the participation of well-known comedians and famous actors to dub the main characters. This adds some characteristics that appear in the original. For example, the Spanish Donkey ad-libs more than his Catalan counterpart. His dialogue is more spontaneous, and includes items from colloquial Spanish such as the pronunciation of the past participle as /callao/ instead of *callado* ('quiet'), or slang words like *dabuten* ('cool'). It

could be said that the general tone of the translation into Spanish uses domesticated expressions: a good example of this is elsewhere in the film when famous fairy tale characters appear on the red carpet; the English version has Joan Rivers presenting the event, which is possibly lost to the Spanish audience, but it is compensated for by the commentator's speech, where he quotes a traditional Spanish children's song in passing.⁷⁵ Such an equivalence with another children's song was also a feature of *Shrek*, as concluded by Richart (2009: 32) in her analysis of its translation to Spanish.

The only intraL accent featured is that of Puss in Boot. However, some of the intraL and interL accents of the original have become interL accents in the Spanish version, added to those that already appeared in the original. These include the Three Blind Mice speaking with an English accent, The Three Piglets speaking with a German accent, and the cook and G r me using a French accent. As well as these, Michael Robinson dubs Doris using Spanish with some traits of English phonology.

5.4 Conclusions

In comparing all three versions of *Shrek 2*, taking the original as a reference, conclusions can be drawn regarding the level of stylistic resources included in the TL to convey features from the ST. Looking strictly at the diversity of stylistic variation, the gradation would have English as the most diverse film, followed by the Spanish version and then finally Catalan, which in total portrays three interL accents. This is a substantial reduction from the original, in a film where, as seen, most accents can be perceived as indexing meanings that are established locally, hence allowing for a creative translation without direct socio-political implications. The challenges at a linguistic level, both with regards to the twisting of the traditional tale and the inclusion of variation for the quirky characters have therefore not been transferred to the Catalan and Spanish versions. Hence, styles of language do not have the same weight in the original and the translations.

With regards to the strategies used, as in the English original, the Spanish version has been recreated using the voices of famous people in a foreignising way that uses domesticated resources. The Spanish version would therefore be closer to rendering the intertextuality of its characters because, if recognised, it would register as a comic act in the minds of the hearers, and this would fulfil a similar function to the original version. The presence of Antonio Banderas, speaking in an Andalusian accent, is an ideal situation in which the actor is dubbing himself, but hardly a routine occurrence.

⁷⁵ *Vamos a contar mentiras.*

To sum up, *Shrek 2* presents a story where stylistic features accompany the narrative in the original, but are not salient in the translated versions, making the Spanish and Catalan creative use of vernaculars an inconsistent feature. It can be argued that the Spanish text is more domesticated with the inclusion of the comedians and in some of the lexical expressions. In all, the audience convergence seen in the original, where multiple voices are heard that cater for a wide range of viewers is recreated only to a limited extent in Spanish and only for Puss in Catalan.

6. Analysis of *Shark Tale*

Directors: Bibi Bergeron, Vicky Jensen, Rob Letterman

Studio: Dreamworks SKG

6.1 The original text

The present film of the corpus takes place underwater, in a city reminiscent of New York, recreated with corals and shells, where all characters are marine beings. The story follows the life of Oscar, a fish at the bottom of the social structure of the reef, who quickly climbs to the top after some chance encounters and deceit that will change his destiny. The film focuses on the friendship between fish Oscar and shark Lenny, who meet accidentally at a time when they both need each other even though they come from opposed backgrounds. In this unlikely relationship, they will transform themselves and the world around them.

Oscar's desires to be rich and famous, and to earn easy money through business ideas that do not fructify, have caused him to be in debt with his boss, Sykes, who owns a whale wash but also has dealings with the shark mob headed by Don Lino. The story begins when Sykes offends Don Lino by insinuating that Don Lino's son Lenny is not gangster material, unlike Lenny's brother Frankie. Angered by these words, Don Lino orders Sykes to repay the money he owes immediately, which includes Oscar's debts. Poor and without means, Oscar accepts his friend Angie's economic help to repay Sykes, but the money never reaches his boss as he spends the sum on a losing racehorse. Oscar is then unable to repay his debt, after which Sykes orders jellyfish Ernie and Bernie to 'take care of him'.

While Oscar is being held and tortured by the jellyfish in an underwater clearing, shark Frankie is trying to teach his younger brother Lenny how to behave like a gangster. The previous night their father vented his disappointment at the latter's lack of aptitudes as a shark, such as being a vegetarian and not being cold-blooded. In seeing the sharks

approach, Ernie and Bernie leave Oscar tied in the clearing. Frankie orders Lenny to attack the tied fish to start his practice as a shark. Exasperated by Lenny's lack of ability to perform even this task, Frankie tries to eat Oscar; however, an anchor from a ship above squashes Frankie. Lenny is left feeling guilty and unwilling to return home now that his brother is dead, as he feels he is not welcome by his species and social group. Oscar benefits from the situation, as Ernie and Bernie return to the scene to find a dead shark and Oscar next to it, erroneously linking the two as consequential.

Oscar's lie allows him to become known as the reef's official shark slayer, bringing him his coveted fame and money. Meanwhile, Lenny finds acceptance in Oscar's circle of friends, and integrates into the reef life by hiding his shark identity behind a dolphin costume. After some back and forth threats, further misunderstandings and blackmailing, Lenny's father Don Lino threatens Oscar. In a meeting, he discovers that Lenny, who he thought had died at the same time as his older brother, is still alive. The news makes him so happy that he comes to understand the need to be more appreciative of his son's personality and to back down on his demands. The film culminates in a display of friendship amongst all of the creatures of the reef, regardless of their past extortionate or violent behaviours.

6.1.1 Indexing meanings: a contextual overview of *Shark Tale*

Shark Tale is a very diverse film from a linguistic point of view, but the use made of language variation is for purposes of stereotypical portrayal, rather than to achieve a stylistically diverse text where meanings are constructed locally. Oscar, Ernie and Bernie, Sykes, Don Lino and Frankie, are all characterised with variation outside MUSE, but there is a direct link between their varieties and their social or geographical provenance. It is evident that the film is reminiscent of old New York gangster films such as *The Godfather* (1972); having moved this movie typology and customs to the underwater world, it gets diffused behind a full-colour reef where different animals represent personality types. Here the biological chain serves as a measure for hierarchy and intimidation: the sharks are the gangsters, while other dangerous species fulfil similar roles in the eyes of the physically defenceless plain fish of the reef. Language stereotypes and old filmic New York social order have also been transposed in the underwater world, as will be explained in the following description of its hierarchy.

Beginning with the most threatening of species, the shark mobsters are characterised with a New York Italianised variety intrinsically linked to the actors who play them. The

head of the shark mob is played by Robert De Niro (b. 1943), while Martin Scorsese (b. 1942) is Sykes, a puffer fish and owner of a whale wash who has close dealings with the mob. Both actors lend their voices and intertextual Italian gangster clichés to the film. Italian influences and mannerisms can be seen throughout, such as Don Lino's wife wearing a head scarf, men kissing on the cheeks, hand gestures, all reminiscent of a stereotypical filmic vision of the Italian community. In fact, Don Lino 'is ethnicized as Italian by way of very specific signifiers. For instance, Lenny (his son) tells Oscar that Lino is the godfather, Lino speaks with an accent usually associated with New York Italians, and Frankie (Lino's other son) receives a Catholic burial, performed in Latin, after he dies' (King et. al 2010: 41). In this whole context where sharks are mobsters, Lenny is anomalous because, even though he is a shark and should be scary and cold-blooded, he is a vegetarian and does not feel comfortable with the lack of ethics and level of violence amongst his family members. Lenny generally speaks MUSE, but in scenes where his father or brother are present, his variety is convergent with his peers in a New York accent. The characterisation is a two-way resource because, at the same time as it portrays Lenny as being distinct from his peers, the New York accent is feeding from existing stereotypes because it is used exclusively by the gangster group. The audience are positioned by Lenny's side: he does not want to kill fish, is respectful of all beings, and generally is more sensitive and sensible than the cold-blooded sharks. Lenny is not understood by his peers and Don Lino can be heard saying that he gets *agita* when Lenny essentially behaves like himself, which is exposed in a way that makes his family seem intransigent. When Lenny moves to the reef and finds acceptance, Lenny's MUSE becomes associated with an environment where one can be accepted for whom he is, away from family demands.

At the next level in the social hierarchy, Ernie and Bernie are two jellyfish who appear threatening and to have very low ethical values as their job is to intimidate clients. Sykes' hired thugs speak with a Jamaican accent and visibly display a Rastafarian aesthetic, but clearly they do not adhere to the Rastafarian religious principle of respect for all living things.⁷⁶ They are unscrupulous and, together with Sykes, change their relationship with Oscar as soon as he gains fame. It is easy to conclude that the Jamaican accent was chosen for these jellyfish for stereotypical reasons. Even though the characterisation is entertaining because the tentacles are reinterpreted as dreadlocks, considering Jamaica's very real

⁷⁶ Further information about the Rastafarian religion:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/rastafari/beliefs/beliefs_1.shtml [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

problem with gun, drug and gang violence, this stereotypical portrayal is, to say the least, insensitive to a real social issue on the Caribbean island.

The main character Oscar is at the bottom of the social and biological chain, and his job as a tongue scrubber exemplifies this. His boss Sykes, during a conversation, is very clear about the reef hierarchy which, in summary, starts with sharks, then himself as a puffer fish, then normal fish, then plankton and even whale excrement, and then Oscar at the very bottom. Oscar's allusions to a *ghetto* lifestyle and imagery accompanying his dreams constantly signal the African-American community as a reference '[h]is blackness is found not only in his accent and place of residence, but also in his mannerisms, behavior, and jewelry (that is, "bling"), which are highly racialized signifiers' (King et al. 2010: 40); and it does so promoting long-standing stereotyped social structure and background. His variety is MUSE for the most part, but on occasion he stylises his speech with AAVE, giving an overall impression of a belonging to the African-American community. He is constantly fixating on making easy money fast and moving to the top of the reef; gradually his positive values emerge, but mostly towards the end of the film. The final scenes show Oscar becoming appreciative of his life; he gets his job back at the whale wash again, accepting his role in the reef.

Amongst the MUSE speakers are the aforementioned Lenny, son of Don Lino, as well as Angie and Lola. These female fish are both Oscar's love interests, and completely opposite in personalities. Angie is sweet and caring, and secretly in love with Oscar; she warns him of his careless lifestyle but stands by his side, both while he is a *nobody* and later when he is a *somebody*. Lola is very selfish and attractive, superficial and materialistic, and ends up betraying Oscar when he confesses to her that he is in love with Angie. Lola is the only negative character that uses MUSE, briefly reversing the trend of the rest of the film, where characters with low values or impoverished backgrounds speak in non-MUSE varieties.

There is further interL and intraL variation amongst the rest of the cast. Angie's neighbour at the South of the Reef is a character of Latin-American ascent, Mrs Sánchez, who is 'an overweight, middle-aged, single, Mexican-accented female fish, with permanent rollers in her hair' (King et al. 2010: 41). Additionally, although featured only briefly at the start, two yellow New York fish taxi drivers are originally speakers of an Asian language, which influences their English accent. For these three characters, the stereotypical portrayal would also apply. Finally, the sea race horse commentator speaks in RP, but his voice only features during the race.

After these observations, it is noticeable that the varieties chosen to portray the underwater livings are taken straight from film traditions or real stereotypes, much in line with the view offered by Bell and Gibson (2011), where CDA would be applicable. Hence, the main purpose of language variation in the narrative, even though the film culminates in a celebration of friendship in conciliatory scenes, is for a variational profiling of the characters. This trend is not reversed throughout the film, as there is not a redemptive debate amongst the characters that had held negative intentions throughout. The film does not offer a discontinuation between the real-life stereotypes and the stylistic characterisation with variation; even though all species blend into one harmonious society and Oscar gains an appreciation of his roots, roles have not been contested and a general amnesty is applied without discussion. Therefore, the conclusion is that there is no justification for the use of variation other than for a stereotypical portrayal of a specific social order in New York City. It is certainly done with an aesthetic and intertextual motive in mind, which nevertheless fails to create local meanings and relies on stereotyped or even prejudiced views to aid the characters' narrative and social space in the reef.

Due to these problematic continuations of old-established stereotypes, *Shark Tale* has not been without controversy and was even subjected to an organised boycott in the United States.⁷⁷ Because of concerns that it would encourage a new generation of children to accept these stereotypical portrayals of the Italian American community, the Coalition Against Racial, Religious and Ethnic Stereotyping (CARRES) started a campaign to avoid the film being released (Della Piana 2004). It is certainly valid to debate whether a film like this has a place in modern-day media aimed at children, given the range of stereotypes that are exploited throughout, often linked to violent behaviour. Moreover, this is in keeping with the assessment of Disney films by Lippi-Green (1997, 2011), where speakers of non-mainstream varieties of English had for the most part negative portrayals. Interestingly, out of all the films in the corpus this is the only one that has not had any sequels.

With a view to a prospective translation of style, the negative motivations behind some of the characters' behaviour should be taken into account. Even though the underwater world offers a fantasy dimension that allows for a disguise of the real linguistic and cultural stereotypes, a translation that chose varieties of the TC would run the risk of adhering these negative qualities to the chosen TL variety. As a result, some varieties used in the translation risk continuing to appear stereotyped in the TC, or to be presented in a bad

⁷⁷ Information on the boycott of *Shark Tale*:
http://www.osia.org/documents/pamphlet_boycott.pdf [Last accessed 9 October 2012]

light. For the sake of debate, it could be argued that choosing marked varieties according to similar stereotypes would be an acceptable translation if the same principles and aims of the ST are applied. However, this would raise further issues in terms of the ethics of translation. It could even be rendered a futile exercise, given the visual cues that tie the original text to a particular context. As will be seen, the translation has used variation, but the links to real situations are not always obvious.

6.1.2 Linguistic features of the characters

The characters chosen for this scene are Oscar; Ernie and Bernie, treated here as one; Sykes and Lenny because of the linguistic texture that is created amongst them. Some of these characters have been translated into a variety of the TL, hence the choice of these over characters who had longer dialogues.

In the scene, Sykes and Ernie and Bernie meet Oscar at the races, where Oscar loses the bet he had placed with the money he owed Sykes. Exasperated about not getting his money back, Sykes orders the jellyfish to ‘take care of him’. Ernie and Bernie take him to a clearing, where Lenny appears with his brother Frankie.

6.1.2.1 Oscar

Oscar is played by Will Smith (b. 1968), famous for his role as the *Prince of Bel Air*, which is the most recognisable persona behind this fish in *Shark Tale* through mannerisms and social background shared by both characters. The characteristics that define him linguistically are the broad use of slang words and a constant code-switching between MUSE and near-AAVE, mostly felt through prosody and vocabulary.

In this passage there are triggers that make him stylise his speech, as the situation has tense moments that he wants to attenuate. For the most part, Oscar uses MUSE, but changing features are uttered when his horse loses the race and he becomes nervous, switching on some features of AAVE. The most noticeable trait is at the **grammatical level**, with the loss of copulative verb, as in ‘he just playing’ (L 50), ‘we good to go’ and ‘we in the money’ (L 58):

Oscar: Remember your ‘happy place’, Sykes. **Yo**, that was crazy, right? Who knew? I mean, everything’s set, it’s a lock, **we** [Ø] **good** to go, **we** [Ø] **in** the money and he trips underwater. Who in the halibut trips underwater? And, by the way, on what?

On the **lexical level**, there is only one word that marks the text, which is ‘yo’, commonly used in colloquial contexts. It may have its origins in Philadelphia,⁷⁸ but it is sometimes attributed to a particular social context, as satirised on urbandictionary as a marker for ‘gangsterness’.⁷⁹ At the **phonetic level** there are no items of note, except AAVE intonation at times, motivated by stylisation to signify changes in his performance. Overall, Oscar gives the impression of being streetwise throughout the film. As seen in this fragment, linguistic features are not very prominent, but appear regularly throughout.

6.1.2.2 Ernie and Bernie

This pair of jellyfish are played by two different actors, Ziggy Marley (b. 1968) and comedian Doug E. Doug (b. 1970), who are Jamaican and American, respectively. The variety with which characterise Ernie and Bernie is Jamaican English, with hints of Jamaican Creole, making them very similar. Given the difficulty to precisely distinguish each character in the scene dialogues, and that their variety occupies the same semiotic space, their act is treated under the same section, even if the variety is genuine for the Jamaican musician but contrived for the American actor and comedian.

The variety has markers in all three levels of language. On the **lexical level** the scene, like the rest of the film, is scattered with Jamaican slang and expressions, such as the term of address ‘mon’ (L63) or ‘bloodfire’ to signify excitement (L 69).

The **phonetic level** is characterised by suprasegmental features like intonation, stress and rhythm of Jamaican English, and even some pronunciations of Jamaican Creole as in the word ‘race’ [ɹies] (L 49). The accent is typically non-rhotic, although sentences such as ‘Oscar, you cute, but you’re a nobody’ (L45), the /r/ reappears after ‘you’re’ due to its position after /o/. There is an example of reduction of a consonant cluster in ‘effect’ (L 67), where the final t is dropped.

At the **grammatical level**, sentences lacking the copulative verb can be seen in cases like ‘Oscar, you cute’ (L 43). Another example of a Jamaican English mesolect is the absence of the third person verbal marker, such as in ‘he like you, mon’ (L 63) or ‘I like the funny face he make’ (L 87). This trait is combined with the absence of tense markers in the

⁷⁸ Informal background history about the term ‘yo’<http://www.nytimes.com/1993/08/19/opinion/sorry-new-york-yo-was-born-in-philadelphia.html> [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

⁷⁹ ‘Filler-speech when a need to look "gangsta" is at hand’
<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=yo> [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

sentence ‘Him say take it easy on you’ (L 63), together with the accusative used as a subject. Other examples are the use of ‘me’ (L 67) to refer to first person possessive.

In all, Ernie and Bernie’s variety affects all levels of language and it does not seem overly adapted for the film, appearing realistic.

6.1.2.3 Sykes

Martin Scorsese (b. 1942) is the voice behind Sykes, whose role in the story feeds off some of his previous characters. The overall impression from his variety is that he is a speaker of New York English (non-rhotic), similar to Don Lino’s variety, played by Robert De Niro (b. 1943). It could be argued that there is a palpable intertextuality with past films where both actors collaborated, such as *Goodfellas* (1990). Sykes’ accent alternates rhotacism with influences of an Italian background, which can be perceived at the **phonetic level**. Examples of the fluctuating rhotacism exist throughout, as in the passage where he pronounces all words as non-rhotic, but ends up pronouncing ‘personal’ as rhotic (L 60); further examples are pointed out in the transcription. His pronunciation also reveals the diphthongised pronunciation of the non-rhotic New York variety, visible in words like ‘afford’ (L 31).

At the **grammatical** level there is one case of verb elision at the beginning, where he says ‘that kid [had] better show up’ (L 1) and, although none others are audible in this passage, features like double negations appear elsewhere (min. 10: ‘he ain’t exactly no killer’). At the **lexical level** there are no markers in this scene.

The overall effect of this character’s variety is that he belongs to a specific background in New York, even if features are not realistically visible or consistent. Part of the character’s personality takes after the persona created by Scorsese for other films that serve as intertextual information.

6.1.2.4 Lenny

Lenny is played by Jack Black (b. 1969), who uses MUSE for the most part of the film but whose phonetic features accommodate to his peers. Lenny is worried that he is disappointing his father and so he tries to be a gangster, which affects his language as demonstrated by his non-rhotic pronunciation when he is around his Italian-American peer group. No other features of the New York variety apply to his speech in this passage, but the absence of /r/ affects the vowels in contact in a similar way to the New York accent, as was perceived with Sykes. In this scene, he must show his brother that he is capable of

running the reef, so he attempts to use gangster markers, which in this film coincide with an Italian-American background. At the **lexical level** words, such as ‘capishe’ (L 81) mark the text, although he makes a direct allusion to not understanding ‘wise guys’ (L 76). Unlike his brother Frankie, Lenny does not use any markers at the **grammatical level**, in a scene where Frankie can be heard using double negations, omitted subject and not distinguishing the third person, as in ‘Don’t get no easier’ (L 82). Lenny’s **phonetic level** includes examples of New York non-rhotic pronunciation, such as ‘or’ (L 72), where the /r/ is omitted or ‘more’ (L 76). It is significant that, when Lenny is talking to Oscar, his pronunciation becomes rhotic again, in ‘turn’ (L 99) and ‘are’ (L 104), i.e. converging with his audience, Oscar, who uses MUSE for the most part.

On the whole, Lenny comes across as having a toned-down version of his family accent, which in other scenes becomes even less marked. As discussed, this has a repercussion in the way he and his family are portrayed.

6.2 Translation into Catalan

As a general overview, this translation is more adventurous than some other Catalan versions, as it includes some stylistic features in the form of intraL variation. A vernacular flavour is only applied to Ernie and Bernie, but it is a move away from the previous Catalan translation of *Shrek 2*, which only included interL variation. These characters in the original are somewhat problematic for a prospective translation given the stereotypes attached to their speech, which will be addressed in the comments of the present translation.

6.2.1 Scene-specific stylistic features

The translation into Catalan follows MCC for most of the characters, but it includes a few differentiations. One of the most outstanding traits is the variety for Ernie and Bernie, which is an artificial creation based on Western Catalan linguistic traits, in contrast with the Eastern-based MCC system. Within this, it mixes features that belong to Valencia, Lleida and Tortosa, i.e. Southern and Northern Western traits. This is one of three resources for the translation of variation described in the second chapter (Mayoral 1990), by which TT variety is not traceable to a unique origin. Sykes and Lenny have been translated using MCC in this scene, erasing any traces of Italian phonology or vocabulary. As with the rest of the characters, a colloquial style is intended, which does not include the use of vernaculars. The original stereotypes adhered to any of the four selected characters have been erased in the translation, as *a priori* there are no semiotic correspondences between the original and the Catalan portrayal.

The characters that warrant most attention in this scene are the jellyfish. The made-up variety that characterises Ernie and Bernie at the **lexical level** presents dialectal vocabulary such as the vocative *xeic*, meaning ‘mate’, possibly used to replace the original ‘mon’, from the Tortosa area. However, the scene also has an intense use of Spanish words, presumably to recreate a colloquial level with slang. Examples of this can be found in italics in the transcription, such as *careto* (‘face’, ‘mug’ L 83), *pirem* (‘blow out’ L 84), *colegui* (‘mate’ L 64), or Sykes’ *esquaquejat* (‘slope off’ L 22). Nevertheless, Ernie and Bernie also use Spanish words to replace common use vocabulary, such as *palillo* (‘toothpick’ L 25). In the first set of cases, it is noticeable throughout the analysis that it has become a common practice to resort to Spanish slang for dubbed products. However, using Spanish words that do not fill a slang niche does not happen in any other film of this corpus, as the word for toothpick exists in Catalan. At the same time, *xeic*, which aids in portraying Ernie and Bernie as different, presents an example of dialectal lexis that is often advised against, as was the case for the TVC guidelines (esadir.cat).

Regarding other characters’ vocabulary, the word *capish* is mentioned by Lenny and Frankie, when the contextual information refers to the former’s inability to perform as a gangster. The reference to understanding ‘wise guys’ (*argot gangsteril*) is prompted after Frankie mentions the deadly expression *al canyet* (L 71), also a dialectal expression from Barcelona and Tarragona, contextually decipherable as a euphemism for ‘to die’.

The **phonetic level** for Ernie and Bernie falls typically in the Western division of Catalan; the next points present a differentiation from MCC. Western Catalan has five atonal vowels, and is characterised by the lack of neutralisation in [ə]. The final <r> is generally pronounced, as in *arreglar* (‘to fix’ L 58). Also at the final position, /a/ becomes /e/, as in the North-Western region, both for verb endings, as in *importa* (‘it matters’ L 58) or words such as demonstratives: *aquesta* (‘this one’ L 59).

Ernie & Bernie: No importa /importe/. Tant li fa. Perquè tot **lo** que no va, **es** pot **arreglar** /areglar/. Així és [e] com **se** canta aquesta [ə'kete] cançó. Sí, senyor. A lo Sykes li caus bé, **xeic**. Ha dit que no ens passem amb tu. Però **lo** Sykes no **és** /e/ aquí. **És** /e/ veritat.

The accent in this case is contrived and features are not constant, perhaps exacerbated by the fictional nature of the variety. Sykes, on the other hand, shows two instances of colloquial pronunciation that no other character has, where *dóna’m* becomes /dom/ (L 34), and *res* /rɛ/ loses the final sibilant (L 56).

At the **grammatical level**, all characters fall within MCC, except for the jellyfish. Ernie and Bernie's verb endings fluctuate between Valencian and North-Western varieties, in cases such as the aforementioned pronunciation of /a/ endings, which coincides with the Valencian verb endings for first person indicative, also in /e/. Another feature of the Western dialects is the use of the possessive *meues* (L 63). As for other features that characterise their variety, a remaining trait is the made-up third person of the verb *ser*, which is uttered as /e/, found in a small area of Lleida (L 60). Amongst other elements of the grammar used by Ernie and Bernie is the dialectal masculine article *lo* and *los*, constant throughout, unlike the fluctuation between full and reduced forms of pronouns, such as the third person reflexive pronoun *se/es*, respectively (L 58-65).

As for the remaining characters, all follow MCC grammar, while under the **lexical level** the most salient trait is still the use of Spanish vocabulary to supply the colloquial style.

6.2.2 Transfer of style

I-002 informed that, on this occasion, the creative card indicated the original accent for Ernie and Bernie; unsure of how to tackle the linguistic diversity, the translation was approached intuitively, resorting to a made-up variety that mixes up several traits of Western Catalan, and some artificial features. When Ernie and Bernie are translated with a variety that is not mainstream in television, the stereotypes attached to the Jamaican history and political situation are diffused, as the Western Catalan speakers do not share the same gun problem nor the elevated crime rates, at least not of the violent kind. On this occasion, their appearance would be of two crooked characters with a particular accent, instead of a clear reference to a type of culture, stereotype or even prejudice, as occurs when the Jamaican accent is used in such a specific context in the English original. The allusion to a Jamaican criminal lifestyle is therefore erased, leaving in the musical references and some reproduction of vocabulary representing brotherly loyalty, such as *respecte* or *lligam de sang* ('respect', 'blood ties'). Bob Marley's song *Three Little Birds*, unlike in the Spanish version, has been translated using similar lyrics to the original in English. As for the physical appearance of the jellyfish, references to a Rastafarian heritage are still visible, together with their mannerisms and dance moves, as with all dubbings.

The emergence of other intraL and interL variation are scarce outside the case of Ernie and Bernie. Don Lino, Sykes and the rest of the gangsters have not been characterised with an Italian pronunciation, making them speakers of MCC. The limited appearance of the taxi drivers includes an interL accent, in the form of an Asian pronunciation, which does

not feed off a Catalan reality. This dilutes the existing stereotype of the English version, much like the Italian gangster flavour that is not rendered at all in the translated version.

On the whole, it could be concluded that the Catalan version of *Shark Tale* introduces intraL variation in a contrived and mediated performance that does not correspond to a real variety of Catalan. Therefore, stylistic variation appears, but in the transposition of style from English into Catalan, Ernie and Bernie have lost a stereotypical attribution of personality and rather use variation that does not exploit previous meanings, creating them locally. The illusion of variation is limited to including features of certain Western varieties. In this case, taking into account that authenticity is a secondary consideration, the intention would be the aforementioned ‘making strange.’ As for the rest of the characters, the linguistic differences are diffused. However, the social implications of this film’s characters make the translation a similar task to that of a film outside the fantasy genre, where the referential value of the varieties is real and not constructed locally in the original.

6.3 Translation into Spanish

As with the original text, the Spanish version of *Shark Tale* uses language variation for some characters, but it applies to fewer than in the original. The texture of the original has been recreated for Oscar and Ernie and Bernie using variation in the TL. However, Sykes, the shark mob and even Mrs Sánchez, the Latin-American character, have not been dubbed into a distinct variety of MCS.

6.3.1 Scene-specific stylistic features

On this occasion, as is the case with *Shrek 2* and will be seen with *Madagascar*, famous actors are behind the voices of some of the main characters of this film, which confer an intertextual dimension to the dialogue.

The actor chosen for Oscar is Andalusian actor Fernando Tejero (b. 1969), who lends his voice and recognised persona to the fish character. Tejero is known for his code-switching between MCS and his own Cordoba dialect or, to be more precise, for being an Andalusian actor who contrives his MCS. This implies that in passages where he is speaking quickly, or casually, Andalusian features appear in his speech. A different scenario is applied in the translation of Ernie and Bernie. They have been dubbed into a contrived Cuban dialect.

The rest of the characters that appear in the scene have all been dubbed into MCS, and all markers of specific gangster allusions have been erased, with the exception of the

anecdotic *capish* that Lenny and Frankie use (L 81-82). From here onwards, the detailed analysis will focus on Oscar and Ernie and Bernie.

The **lexical level** for Ernie and Bernie can be considered MCS or mostly Peninsular, including the colloquial and slang expressions, which further point at the Cuban variety as artificial and mediated. The jellyfish can be heard using slang expressions like *careto* ('mug'/'face'), *tronco* ('pal'), emerging from the Castilian urban 'cheli' slang (De Hoyos 1981: 32), and the diminutive *-illa* in *dudilla*, which is not as prominent in the Caribbean as it is in Peninsular Spanish, and especially Andalusian. The same can be said for Oscar, whose vocabulary can also be included in MCS, with colloquial expressions such as *largarse* (L 108). One of the expressions he uses, *un poquito de por favor* (literally, 'a little bit of please'), was coined by Tejero, allowing for an intertextual joke that refers back to the series that he is most famous for.⁸⁰ Even though the original does not have a specific expression referring back to Will Smith in the same instance, the overall text makes it explicit that it is based on his persona; this could be branded as an effective way to recreate a similar influence from the actor whilst efficiently domesticating the product.

The **phonetic level** reveals a differentiation amongst the characters, even if Lenny and Sykes are excluded. In this case, Oscar's actor is contriving a MCS variety, but presumably his relaxed approach to doing so is intentional. Andalusian features are especially felt in the pronunciation of final <s>, which are either aspirated, assimilated or dropped, dependent on the speed of the discourse. Numerous examples can be found throughout, such as *espera* ('wait' L 40), *refrescos* ('soft drinks' L 25) or *ves* ('can you see' L 50), respectively. The Andalusian accent is also noted with the loss of some approximants, such as the <d> in *empanado* ('distracted' L 18) and the velarisation of <n> in final position, as in *también* ('as well' L 27).

Ernie and Bernie's variety is inconsistent and clearly recreated by speakers of Peninsular Spanish, but the overall effect is that the accent is Cuban. As with the Andalusian Spanish, similar processes affect the pronunciation of <s>, with examples of aspirated, assimilated and dropped, in *está* ('is' L 60), *Oscar* (L 43), and *los demás* ('the rest' L 68), respectively. In Cuban Spanish, the Peninsular /θ/ is pronounced as an /s/, but there are slips as in *hacen* ('they do' L 68), which nevertheless has a velarised /n/, another feature of Cuban Spanish. Other features are the aspiration of /χ/, as in *jefe* (L 2) and *ojo* ('eye' L 48), and the assimilation of /r/ to /l/, as in *pedirlo* ('ask for it' L 2) or 'Ernie' (L 67). These two

⁸⁰ The series was *Aquí no hay quien viva* (2003-2006) by Antena 3, which appeared in section 3.3.1 of Chapter 1 as an example of series where some variation was visible.

characters, like the rest, use MCS for the **grammatical level**, and not Cuban grammar. An example of this is the use of the perfect preterite *ha dicho* ('has said' L 64), which in Cuban Spanish would be replaced with the indefinite preterite.

6.3.2 Transfer of style

The scene analysed above reveals that there is an active intention to include language variation in the translated version for certain characters. However, these examples represent the full extent of variation in this version of the film, which has erased traces of the differentiation of New York Italian sharks in the original.

As seen in the Catalan version, the choice of variety for Ernie and Bernie does not carry forward the stereotypes from the original, but instead attributes them a Cuban accent. As with the Catalan version, the chosen variety in Spanish is not linked to violent crime, and the modern history and society of Cuba is substantially different to the Jamaican one. In this sense, the stereotypes derived from the use of Jamaican English are not activated in the Spanish version, as the two Caribbean islands do not elicit similar characteristics due to their different socio-political situations. Curiously on this occasion, and unlike on many others, geographical references are the same in the translation, but this is as far as coincidences go.

In the case of Oscar and his code-switching into idiolectal expressions and Andalusian variety, it could be argued this situation can be equated to a stereotypical use of variation in the target language, similar to the original version. Incidentally, Mayoral (1997) equates AAVE with an Andalusian variety. Andalusian varieties do not generally enjoy a high status amongst some Spanish speakers, and can carry stereotypes such as laziness and lack of education to some. This, together with the fact that this is a character from an impoverished background, suggests a similar choice of variation as in the original.

6.4 Conclusions

The main complexity in translating this film lies in the fact that the original use of variation is heavily based on stereotypes and intertextual references for the character-building process. Therefore, the translation of a film like this, where real linguistic references are exploited, faces the same difficulties found for a non-fantasy film where stylistic meanings are not established locally. It is a sensitive situation, especially taking into account that neither target language has a long-standing tradition of dubbing products into varieties. However, from a strictly translational point of view, the references are similar for the original and Spanish versions of Oscar; the translation exploits the same resources as

the original, especially in light of the work done by Mayoral (1997), where he suggests translating African-American variation with Andalusian. However, because the original does not show an entirely ethical use of variation, neither does the translation, trusting the audience's recollection and activation of stereotypes on socio-economic background to aid the construction of the characters' personality.

Regarding Ernie and Bernie, the differences between the Catalan and the Spanish versions are mostly the fact that the Catalan uses a made-up variety, which by-passes a direct relationship to a real group of speakers, although it is traceable to the Western division of Catalan. The Spanish Cuban accent is contrived, but the references are unique and do not correspond to known portrayals of Cuban inhabitants. Hence, in both cases the stereotypes of the original are not activated and a style with vernaculars is created that did not exist in the original. The solutions that have been applied to reproduce some degree of variation in the target languages by using vernaculars that are not immediately linked to violent behaviour are the next best thing after maintaining a mainstream variety. However, because the film is in itself recreating stereotypes and using characters that are not very likeable, the resource risks becoming unethical.

The resource of variation for this kind of film, where clearly there are negative connotations attached, demands a careful approach, as the use of variation may be detrimental to an ethical translation. If, by offering language variation in the translated version, certain vernaculars become attached to characters with negative motivations or stereotypical portrayals, the result may further stigmatise variation in the target cultures. Since variation is still not yet a common occurrence, it does not seem appropriate to introduce or advocate it through prejudiced portrayals, especially when locally-built varieties seldom have had a chance to appear regularly. The danger here is that variation could start a trend that has begun to be abandoned in English, namely overt stereotyping, of which this film is a good example, as opposed to the majority of characters in the corpus.

7. Analysis of *Madagascar*

Directors: Eric Darnell, Tom McGrath

Studio: Dreamworks SKG

7.1 The original text

Madagascar tells the story of four New York Zoo animals who, through a chain of errors, end up on the African island of Madagascar, where they will have to cope with being away from their comfort zone. In this journey, however, they also discover their natural instincts and the power of friendship through adversity.

The story begins in the New York Zoo, where main characters Alex the lion, Marty the zebra, Gloria the hippo and Melman the giraffe lead a comfortable life in an enclosed and protected space, admired by their affluent visitors and spoiled by zookeepers. Marty, an adventurous, nonconformist and free-spirited character, believes the outside world, erroneously coined 'The Wild', can offer him a life that he craves, away from the limitations of the zoo. On his tenth birthday he decides to make that dream come true, and escapes from captivity onto the streets of New York, on his way to Connecticut, where he believes 'The Wild' is. His worried friends decide to search for him around the city, where scenes that seem plausible in the animals' eyes appear as mayhem from the human perspective. Such contrast marks the difference between their fantasy perspective and the real world; they speak and act as humans, but it is impossible for them to interact as intelligent animals, making the audience enter their alternative world. After a night on the run, they are captured and shipped to the Kenyan Wildlife Preserve on a transatlantic ship, following complaints from environmentalist groups against animals in captivity. On the transfer they are joined by the other zoo animals: the penguins, a highly organised group, and a couple of chimpanzees.

While Marty had dreams about running free, the penguins too had been planning their escape to Antarctica; by holding the boat's crew hostage, they change the course of the journey and head for the southern region. In the meantime, the four protagonists fall off the boat in their crates and end up on the island of Madagascar. Once stranded on the island, they meet the local lemur and aye-aye population, with King Julian and Maurice as the main characters. Meanwhile, the four friends discover their true nature whilst overcoming tense situations that will end in the desire to go back to where they feel they belong, New York.

7.1.1 Indexing meanings: a contextual overview of *Madagascar*

The original version of *Madagascar* contains a noticeable linguistic contrast, reached through the use of vernaculars. Of the main characters, Alex and Melman are the most attached to the comforts and routine of the New York Zoo. Alex is the star of the zoo and the attention he receives indulges his self-centred personality, whilst Melman is an insecure hypochondriac who enjoys entertaining his fears with treatments offered by the zookeepers. On the other end of the spectrum, Marty dreams of a life outside the zoo walls, while Gloria plays the role of the mediator, bridging clashes between the male characters.

The way in which the four main characters are styled verbally bears a tacit link to their personalities and dreams. Taking into account the contextual cues and the storyline, a gradation could be drawn between MUSE and AAVE and their local meanings. The closer to MUSE a character speaks, the less inquisitive he or she is, and the more attached to life in the zoo. Alex and Melman both use MUSE as their variety and they are firmly against the idea of leaving the zoo to fulfil Marty's curiosity about the outside world. Melman is very insecure and depends on his medicines, while Alex does not want to give up on his life of luxury and attention. Marty is keen to see the world outside the zoo and wants to discover his true self; his variety is characterised by near-AAVE traits, which at a linguistic level aids the portrayal of his non-conformist personality. These traits locally work in opposition to the use of MUSE; the meanings indexed by his variety are not linked with a stereotypical portrayal of an AAVE, but index traits that are linked to his role in the story, with a poetic function. Gloria's character sits in between: as pointed out by co-directors Eric Darnell and Tom McGrath,⁸¹ she is tough and strong, and bears the role of helping 'keep these three neurotic males in line'; she tries to listen to all the characters and make the most of any situation. Her variety switches from MUSE to near-AAVE, especially portrayed through intonation. At first sight, such gradation may not work outwith the main characters, as the penguins speak in mainstream varieties of English, mostly MUSE but also Southern English. However, their goal is very precise in that they intend to go back to Antarctica, while Marty wants to explore life beyond the zoo, hence the curiosity factor would remain viable in marking a difference.

When the characters arrive in Madagascar, they are greeted by the local population, headed by King Julian and Maurice, a lemur and an aye-aye respectively, who have the

⁸¹ All references to Tom McGrath and Eric Darnell are extracted from the *Madagascar* DVD film commentaries, unless stated otherwise.

most dialogue. King Julian is played by Sacha Baron Cohen (b. 1971), known for his multiple personae and satirical films such as *Borat* (2006) and *Briino* (2009). There is some uncertainty as to what accent King Julian is supposed to have: according to co-directors Tom McGrath and Eric Darnell, Baron Cohen was cast for the role and gave it an Indian accent with French influences, although the former seems to dominate the general characteristics. This is an excentric character, whose idiolectal accent reinforces this idea as it is the only accent of its kind in the film; personality-wise, he also thinks highly of himself but is ‘dumb as a post’, as expressed by McGrath. Maurice, who makes up for King Julian’s mistakes and lack of intuition is played by Cedric the Entertainer (b. 1964), an American comedian, who uses a non-rhotic near-AAVE variety. Interestingly, the co-directors commented on the fact that they initially thought of using Malagasy accents to mark the local population, but decided against it when they saw the actors’ accents were working well.

Other intraL English accents can be found in minor roles, such as that of one of the chimpanzees, Mason, and Private, one of the penguins, who both speak in Southern English. The NYPD horse that briefly speaks to Marty uses a New York accent, while the rest of minor characters use MUSE. No additional interL accents were identified.

7.1.2 Linguistic features of the characters

This section is a detailed analysis of the linguistic features that appear in the dialogues between Alex, Gloria, Marty and Melman. As with other films of the corpus, the actor behind the voice is very important to the character they play. McGrath and Darnell praised the work of the actors in ad-libbing their performances and bringing their professionalism in building characters, especially those of Ben Stiller, as Alex the lion, and Chris Rock as Marty the zebra. This points in the direction of casting dubbing actors that are capable of reproducing this aspect of the role.

This scene shows the arrival of the four main characters to Madagascar. At first they are under the impression that they are in San Diego, but later find that the local population is composed of lemurs, when they meet King Julian and his subjects.

7.1.2.1 Alex and Melman

Both these characters are very attached to their life in New York City, and the variety they use is MUSE. The voice behind Alex is Ben Stiller (b. 1965), whose trade mark is

‘arrogant and short-tempered’ characters,⁸² which would apply to the personality of this lion. Self-centred and dependent would be other defining traits, although he overcomes these during his stay in Madagascar. Playing Melman is David Schwimmer (b. 1966), who portrays the character as paranoid and neurotic.⁸³ The lack of diverse characteristics outside MUSE is linked to their desire to remain in the urban space, and works in opposition to other characters’ vernaculars.

7.1.2.2 Gloria

Gloria is played by Jada Pinkett-Smith (b. 1971), whose utterances are mostly characterised by MUSE, although with AAVE stylisation, especially intonation, activated depending on the topics discussed within the scene. ‘According to Tarone (1972, 1973), AAVE speakers frequently employ a wide pitch range, often using the falsetto register to signal various modalities, including anger, humor, or skepticism’ (Edwards 2008: 188), and this is the case here. An example of this could be found towards the end of the selected scene, where Gloria realises that Alex is missing (L 93-94), and utters a string of questions, presented with a particular intonation, affected by her nervousness. On occasion, her accent becomes non-rhotic (L 70) but usually this is not the case, even when she addresses Marty (L 65). It would be interesting to assess whether, had the actors recorded their lines together, their vernaculars would have converged more significantly.

7.1.2.3 Marty

As seen above, Marty is a happy-go-lucky zebra, with a thirst for knowledge and authenticity, keen to explore beyond his known world. The character is played by Chris Rock (b. 1965), a famous stand-up comedian and actor, known for his performances where he uses AAVE. As expressed by McGrath and Darnell, Chris Rock contributed a great deal of expressions that make the text unique; this too reinforces the idiolectal features of Marty as a character.

In this scene, at a **lexical level**, four items are worth pointing out given the way they mark the text. These expressions are either created by Chris Rock or included by him as they did not appear in the original script; as stated by co-directors McGrath and Darnell, these items were ad-libbed. The new additions confer an idiolectal component to the scene and, by extension, the film, which may grant an opportunity for the translation team to be

⁸² According to the Internet Movie Database <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0001774/bio> [Last accessed 17 October 2012]

⁸³ Special Features, ‘Behind the Crates’, Madagascar DVD.

equally creative. The first lexical item is ‘sugar honey ice tea’ (L 35), which elongates the ‘sugar’ replacement of an expletive with added words. The second is ‘crackalackin’ (L 48), which in context has very positive connotations, but is slang that is not necessarily transparent according to some popular culture sources.⁸⁴ A culturally bound concept appears with ‘Puffy Party’, an expression that comes from a kind of party thrown by P. Diddy, where lavishness and groomed physical appearances are key. The last term is ‘off the chizain’, which is Rock’s transformation of the existing expression ‘off the chain’.

At a **phonetic level**, features of AAVE are intermittent and his accent is mostly evocative of the variety rather than authentic. For example, rhotacism is a fluctuating feature that occurs in sentences like ‘I hear now’ or ‘Puffy Party’ (L 69 and L 86), but not in utterances like ‘I could hang here’ (L 48). Monophthongisation is not present in the scene, but there is one example of consonant-cluster simplification when Marty is trying to guide the dolphins (L 27) and says the words ‘your left’ without pronouncing the /t/. This could be due to the speed of the dialogue, but nevertheless the pronunciation of those words remains as [jou ‘lɛf].

The style Marty uses to express himself includes stylised passages with falsetto voices and different intonations, similar to those occurring for Gloria. Nevertheless, it appears to be less precise than in Gloria’s case: in Marty’s dialogue, traits of MUSE and AAVE are intertwined much more often and in the scene it is not possible to distinguish a trigger. The exception to this is when Marty is surfing and directing the dolphins, where there is a lot of excitement and fast-paced dialogue.

At a **grammatical level**, contrary to what could be observed in Donkey’s dialogue where AAVE traits are more prominent, there are no grammatical features in this extract that would be exclusive to AAVE. Therefore, it could be concluded that Marty’s variety is perceived to be near-AAVE and contains an idiolectal component.

7.2 Translation into Catalan

In general terms, the translation into Catalan of *Madagascar* does not include the accent diversity existing in the original with regards to the main characters. However, as will be pointed out, King Julian has been styled differently.

⁸⁴ Such as www.urbandictionary.com [Last accessed on 17 October 2012]

7.2.1 Scene-specific stylistic features

Out of all the films in the corpus, this is the translation that includes least variation for the selected four characters, who all use MCC as the default variety. Unlike some characters in the Spanish version, the Catalan version does not feature famous comics or actors. Nevertheless, it is necessary to establish if there is any degree of variation or domestication in specific levels.

At the **lexical level**, expressions and terminology generally belong to MCC, with a clear intention to maintain an informal level. Examples of this are the inclusion of words such as *parar el carro* ('hold your horses' L 37), *mega-passada* ('mega-cool' L 45), *tio* ('mate' L 76), *conya marinera* (see paragraph below L 81), which are shared in the Spanish colloquial lexicon. The first expression was also noted in the selected scene in *Shrek 2* and *Shark Tale*; even though it might now be well-established in Catalan, its usage is very overly frequent in translation. This could nevertheless be due to the same translator having worked on the three texts.⁸⁵

Regarding the use of the expression *de conya marinera*, there seems to be a disparity between its meaning in this scene and its original signifier in Spanish. In the context, Marty uses it to refer to the lemur party as something very positive; however, *coña marinera* in Spanish refers to an implausible story, or a joke, in colloquial language. The sources consulted refer to *conya marinera* as having the same meaning as in Spanish, i.e., *animus iocandi* (Montesinos 2003: 14). This is worthy of mention, as there is another case in the film (min. 24), with an attempt to incorporate Spanish colloquial language. In this case, another discrepancy occurs between the meaning in the scene and the social meaning of the expression in Spanish. The expression in question is *nasty de plasty*, which means 'no' or 'no way'; this was very commonly used throughout the 80s, during the *Movida Madrileña*.⁸⁶ However, as with many other expressions of the decade, it has now declined in use. The interesting fact is that it is used to mean 'fine' in the sense of 'everything will be fine' (*tot anirà nasty plasty*), which is not the meaning that this expression has in Spanish. This would suggest that Spanish colloquial language is used as a source of colloquial vocabulary for Catalan, but that on occasion its meaning is altered in the process, or simply misused, as might be the case with the above expressions. Colloquial language in Catalan has not

⁸⁵ Technical details for the films are catalogued in www.eldoblatge.com for Catalan and www.eldoblaje.com for Spanish.

⁸⁶ The *Movida Madrileña* is a 'catch-all phrase to describe the apparently magical transformation of the Spanish capital city' (Stapell 2009: 345) after the dictatorship, which was a sort of counter-culture that also developed its own slang, with connections to *cheli* slang.

developed independently from Spanish, but what is remarkable is that the mechanism to reinstate colloquial language is subordinated to Spanish, even when expressions are used wrongly. Genuine colloquial expressions, albeit regional, are not contemplated. Thus, it would appear that Spanish expressions are preferable amongst the translating teams over existing or novel Catalan expressions that could gain some *habitus*.

Moving onto the idiolectal expressions that Marty utters in the original, the expression ‘sugar, honey, ice tea’, which plays with the initial sound of ‘shit’, is changed to *campi qui pugui* (‘every man for himself’). It is a very well known Catalan expression, but loses the playful phonetic aspect it has in English.

From a technical point of view, this scene includes a missed opportunity for compensation and domestication with regards to using the TC to produce a culturally-bound joke for the Catalan audience. When Alex mentions Shamu in the English version (L 58), the translation into Catalan omits the name of the killer whale in favour of ‘that orca’, and leaves the audience to infer that there is a famous whale in the San Diego Zoo. However, it would have been a good option to refer to Ulisses, a popular killer whale that lived in the Barcelona Zoo for ten years before famously moving to San Diego in 1994 when its pool became too small. Even if young children might miss the reference, the older audiences would likely remember what used to be one of the star attractions of the Barcelona Zoo. This is indicative of the low level of domestication of the translation; a likely reason for this could be the rooting of the original in a particular context in the translator’s eyes. Despite the fact that the initial scenes of the film happen in a version of New York, the fantasy allows enough room to domesticate contents like these.

There is no significant variation at the **phonetic level**, and all four characters speak in MCC. This includes Marty and Gloria, who blend in with the rest of the characters, hence losing their verbal styling of the original that indexed adventurousness, curiosity or open-mindedness. The same goes for the **grammatical level**, where the only item worth pointing out is an appropriate use of weak pronouns, sometimes overlooked in translation into Catalan, which makes the text flow more naturally.

7.2.2 Transfer of style

The translation into Catalan of *Madagascar* includes one character that uses variation, although the four main characters are not distinguished stylistically. Because of this, the poetic functions existing in the original text are not replicated in the target language for Marty, Gloria, Melman and Alex.

King Julian is the only character who retains differential linguistic features in the Catalan version. The creative card provided by DW stated that his accent was Pakistani and/or Indian, but the result is more of an idiolectal speech with recurring features. In order to transfer the accent into Catalan, King Julian uses a type of interL accent based on language features that make him stand out but that cannot be clearly linked to a precise accent. Such features include the palatalisation or voicing of /s/, in cases like [ʃi'lɛnʃi] (silence) or [zə'βɛ] (saber); trilling of flap alveolar r, as in [kor] (cor); consistent pronunciation in /u/ of tonal /o/, in examples such as the subjunctive *acostis* [ə'kustis], pronounced [ə'kɔstis] in MCC. The latter is a feature of Roussillon Catalan, in French territory, which would link up with the original traits of the artificial accent in English, but it is more likely to be due to pure coincidence.

King Julian is the only character with a distinct accent, which stems from the dubbing team's initiative to experiment with this character. The option of resorting to intraL variation in the TT was not considered for the rest of the characters, because of the perceived semiotic differences that the team felt existed between the two languages. Even if they recognised that dialects appeared disconnected from a social or geographic reality, it did not seem feasible to use them to attain a credible product.

The level of domestication is low in the translation into Catalan, as references to the TT are scarce throughout the film, keeping the overall feel of the film quite neutral, and not culturally engaged with the target audience.

7.3 Translation into Spanish

The Spanish version of *Madagascar* relies, as is the case with the previous films analysed, on famous Spanish-speaking actors and comedians to replace the voices of the original characters. Alex is interpreted by Andalusian actor and comedian Paco León (b. 1974); Gloria by actress Belén Rueda (b. 1965); Marty by Cuban comedian Alexis Valdés (b. 1963), and Melman is played by actor Gonzalo de Castro (b. 1963). As well as this, two of the penguins have been dubbed by two actors, journalists and presenters, Arturo Valls (b. 1975) and Manel Fuentes (b. 1971), the latter also a native speaker of Catalan. All characters speak in MCS aside from Marty, who uses a Cuban dialect, although some of the vocabulary and grammatical structures used by him are closer to Peninsular Spanish than Caribbean Spanish, as will be pointed out.

7.3.1 Scene-specific stylistic features

The **lexical level** of the scene is dominated by MCS vocabulary, used by all characters. This includes Marty, who is dubbed by a Cuban comedian; despite the actor's origins, his vocabulary includes colloquial words belonging to Peninsular Spanish. Examples at a **lexical level** can be found in colloquial meanings of words, such as *apalancar* (L 53), literally 'levering', which in Spain also means 'to remain comfortably in a place' when expressed in the reflexive form. Another example would be *pillar el punto* (L 80), used in Spain to refer to 'get into the swing of things'. The original Marty actor includes many idiolectal and culturally-bound expressions throughout the film. The way these have been translated here reveal that such idiolectal component is not as visible, but still there are good solutions. The translation for 'sugar, honey, ice tea' keeps the same playful way of avoiding an expletive: the word commonly used in the same situations is *Miércoles*, which on the scene works with an addition to create *Miércoles de Ceniza* ('Ash Wednesday'), which is a creative solution to elongate the expression as in the original.

At the **phonetic level**, the three actors dubbing Alex, Gloria and Melman adhere to MCS, even though Paco León is known for his code-switching into Andalusian Spanish in some of his comedy routines and characters. Alex loves living amongst humans in a big city like New York, so it makes sense that the translation does not alter the mainstream variety of the lion.

On this occasion, the translation into a Cuban variety manages to support the narrative in a similar way to the original. Marty is the most adventurous animal, and the one who does not use a mainstream variety. The chosen variety does not work similarly because it is befitting with *The Wild*, but because he does not feel satisfied in the urban scapes of a big city, where the majority may use a mainstream variety. Valdés characterises Marty with a Cuban variety that is not contrived, as it is his own. However, in a close analysis of Marty's Cuban accent, it is evident that the phonetic level reproduces the Cuban phonology, although with some fluctuation within it. One of the consistent features is *seseo*, the pronunciation of [s] for words that MCS would pronounce [θ] as in *ceniza* [se'nisa] (L 32). Other accent features of Cuban Spanish that can be heard include assimilation, aspiration and dropping of coda /s/, as *este* ['ette] (L 43), *les pago* [leh'paɣo] (L 23), and *ustedes* [uh'tede] (L 24). These features of Cuban Spanish do not appear regularly, as he also pronounces *izquierda* [is'kierda] (L 23), where the /s/ is present; also, the /r/ is not assimilated to the /d/, which is another feature of Cuban Spanish that does not appear in

the same word. Intonation is another feature of the language that points towards the ‘Cubanness’ of his accent.

Marty: Bien, muy bien, correcto, correcto! No, **izquierda**, izquierda, no, la mía no, **la vuestra**. ¡Aquí está bien! **Chavales**, ahora no llevo nada suelto encima, así que **les pago** luego, ¿eh? (Dolphin sounds) **a ustedes**.

At the **grammatical level**, Melman, Gloria and Alex speak similarly, using MCC grammar. In this case, it is again Marty’s character that carries the most differences, using Cuban grammatical forms, although influenced by MCS. This character features the use of the form *ustedes* to refer to the second person plural, a feature of Cuban Spanish, which is used in conjunction with the Peninsular form *vosotros*. The sentence in lines 22-24 exemplifies this, when Marty is addressing the dolphins: he refers to ‘their left’ using *vuestra* (referred to *vosotros*), but then uses *les pago* and *ustedes* (both referred to *ustedes*). Regarding verb tense usage, Cuban Spanish to refer to past events with the indefinite preterite, regardless of whether the action is linked to the present, unlike MCS, which uses the perfect preterite. In this passage, Marty uses the latter, *ha hecho* (‘has done’ L 67), although in other parts of the film he can be heard using the indefinite preterite in similar circumstances.

Marty’s fluctuating dialect prompts some hypotheses. Likely reasons behind this could be Valdés’ interpretation of a text written by a translator using MCS vocabulary and grammar, or the fact that the director wanted to keep the Cuban grammatical and lexical marks of this text to a minimum. This would imply a consideration for the target Peninsular Spanish audience, as the American market has its own versions. Another reason might be Valdés’ experience with Spanish audiences, and hence he could be contriving his variety to adjust to a stereotypical portrayal of a Cuban accent. This way, the evoked aspect of an exotic dialect would function albeit without some of the grammatical and lexical features characteristic of Cuban, in favour of MCS. The result is nevertheless convincing, particularly given his native Cuban accent.

7.3.2 Transfer of style

Even though not all characters have been dubbed into a variety of Spanish in the translated version, it can be agreed that the most important ones have been, in this case Marty and King Julian. Given their role in the story, these characters carry the most value in terms of symbolism. Marty’s desire to know about the outside world is reinforced by having a different variety to his friends’, and the functional translation of a near-AAVE

variety to a Cuban one achieves this local meaning. Meanwhile, the extravagant King Julian speaks differently to the rest of the Malagasy jungle, reinforcing his eccentric personality. King Julian speaks in an idiolectal variety with consistent features: closing of /e/ [iskeleto] (esqueleto); voicing and palatalisation of /s/, [ezo] (eso), [ˈʝolo,ʝon] (sólo son), among others.

As for the rest of the characters that have a distinct variety in the original, they have not been recreated as such in the Spanish version. The NYPD horse that speaks to Marty is a cultural allusion, as it uses a New York variety in front of the neon lights of Times Square, making it a very culture-dependent item to translate. Both the chimpanzee and Private have been translated into MCS.

7.4 Conclusions

The Spanish version of *Madagascar* can be considered accomplished because it keeps a key feature of the character narrative in the translation, which is Marty's differentiation as the inquisitive character. By using a Cuban variety, the effect of having a non-conformist character who thinks outside the box (and outside the zoo), is carried to the Spanish version. The qualities indexed by AAVE and Cuban Spanish may not coincide when considered in a realistic context, in view of differing historical and social events. However, when applied to a very specific context such as a fantasy film, and when the dialects are used by a zebra who wants to escape the zoo, the qualities indexed are similar, rendering the implications of the respective varieties secondary. Their varieties also work in contrast to the mainstream, which reinforces their interchangeability: as long as there is a differentiation, other varieties would have indexed these vital meanings in either language. This works in favour of creating a linguistic texture that is otherwise ironed out if the main characters speak the same way, as is the case with the Catalan version. The Spanish translation is technically comparable to the original in another feature: what is translated is the character. Both Valdés and Rock are comedians in their own languages, and this trait is also communicated.

King Julian has been kept as speaking in an idiolect in both translations, which reinforces his unique personality. Given that this character may come across as stupid or naive, it is a good idea to use bespoke idiolects, instead of stigmatising a given variety that may be seen as indexing these properties gratuitously. Therefore, a similar style to the original is maintained.

8. Analysis of *Cars*

Director: John Lasseter

Studio: Disney Pixar

8.1 The original text

The fourth and final film of the corpus tells the story of a young racing car who dreams of winning the Piston Cup and becoming very successful, but who discovers that the small things in life are more valuable than prizes, and that they require an effort. In this story, vehicles are the only characters, amongst which Lightning McQueen, Sally, Mater and Doc will be the main focus. Unlike in other DP films, in this film there is no interference with a human world within the film, which means the action happens in a contained fantasy space.

The story begins when a three-way tie takes place in a racing competition between Lightning McQueen and two other cars, and the need arises to run the race once again to determine the winner. The tiebreak competition is to be held in California, where McQueen wants to arrive in plenty of time to meet with a powerful potential sponsor. During the journey, he insists that his teammate and driver truck Mack continues driving through the night to reach their destination. However, somewhere along the Interstate Mack dozes off and McQueen inadvertently falls off the truck, ending up in the village of Radiator Springs, situated on the old Route 66. Due to confusion and darkness, he causes damage to its main street, and is subsequently arrested and sentenced to repair the road. This delays his journey to California but forces him to discover a world that he would have not seen otherwise, where friendship, respect and love humbles him and makes him appreciative of values that he did not hold before, hence understanding life as the journey and not the destination. The main characters that help with this process are Sally, Mater and Doc, together with the rest of the village inhabitants, who witness his final success as he declines to win the race and instead saves an injured competitor. This allows the third car to win the race, but Lightning wins new friends having learned positive values.

8.1.1 Indexing meanings: a contextual overview of *Cars*

The original version of *Cars* features language variation primarily as the action moves to the fictitious village of Radiator Springs. Most characters use MUSE, although Southern North-American English appears regularly in the context of car racing, as is the case with Mr. Tex, the Dinoco sponsor, and The King, his sponsored car. This is a feature of the real

culture, where Southern states are usually linked to this type of car racing, as home of the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR). The references to NASCAR are visible, also with the re-naming of the real Winston Cup as the Piston Cup. Once the action focuses on the village there is the chance to hear dialogue from other characters, some of which use interL and intraL variation.

Of the four main characters, Lightning McQueen and Sally speak MUSE. They are both originally outsiders to the village, and also the newest car models compared with the rest of the residents. Sally escaped her demanding job in California to pursue a calmer pace of life in Radiator Springs, whilst McQueen is there against his will, although ends up calling it his home. The rest of the characters of the village are long-term residents, amongst which Doc and Mater speak with features of Southern North-American English, a subtle one for the former, and a broad and mannerist variety for the latter. The rest of the population includes Flo, who speaks in near-AAVE; Ramone, who speaks with a Mexican accent and is Flo's partner; Luigi and Guido, who are of Italian origin, and speak with an Italian accent, or only in Italian in the case of the latter. The remaining village cars, Sarge, Fillmore, Lizzie all speak MUSE, while the Sheriff shows some Southern prosody, similar to Doc Hudson's.

As with any film, it is important to determine whether certain vernaculars are socially constructed or whether the function of the variety is independent of its real referential meaning. Contextually, the village of Radiator Springs is fictional and does not exist on maps. Nevertheless, similarities can be drawn between this location and the real villages dotted along Route 66; both the Interstate and the Route 66 are real spaces that are shared in the film's setting. However, the fact that the film is inhabited by animated cars and that there are no humans means that the fantasy parallel universe is created without interferences, and that rules of real life do not necessarily apply. It could be convened, therefore, that the fantasy space allows a set of fantasy rules to be established, but that references to real life may appear in allusions to NASCAR racing and its Southern following, or real spaces such as California.

Of the four main characters, Doc and Mater warrant the most attention due to their Southern accents, and particularly because their linguistic portrayals are not similar, given the context, their backgrounds and their personalities. Paul Newman (b. 1925), behind Doc

Hudson's character, decided to play him old, smart, Southern and tired,⁸⁷ as he is a 1951 retired Hudson Hornet, a race car turned village doctor and judge. Doc's personality is serious, untrusting but gentlemanly and, as stated, he is intelligent with a respectable status. On the other hand, Mater is played by comedian Daniel Lawrence Whitney (b. 1963), also known as Larry the Cable Guy, famous for his on-stage persona as a blue-collared Southern North-American who, according to the New York Times, portrays Mater as a 'garrulous, snaggle-toothed, dimwitted tow truck'.⁸⁸ For a prospective translation, this creates a problem in the TC: if choosing a non-mainstream variety, it could imply that the dialect selected evokes the same qualities as Whitney does when he exaggerates a Southern variety, alluding to the stereotypes that exist about the despectively-termed *rednecks*. The New York Times review picks up on this personality trait, which is again exploited for the second *Cars* instalment: '[a]s if to prove that certain groups have escaped the protection of political correctness, the Southern-fried Mater is dumb, excitable and puppy-dog loyal, his idiot-savant automotive expertise grounded in humble, blue-collar simplicity'.⁸⁹ However loving and loyal Mater may be, the potential problem is that he is portrayed as being innocent and less intelligent than the rest of the cast, and this is reinforced through the intentional use of a particular variety that is marked in the psyche of the US audience, and activated in this context. While Mater's variety seems problematic, Doc's speech indexes his attachment to his surroundings, but does not openly appeal to existing stereotypes about the South. The intentionality behind the use of varieties for each character reveals that, even if the action takes place in a fantasy dimension, stereotypes from real life are taken and used for the portrayal of Mater.

As for the rest of the characters in the village, the physical appearance of the ones using intraL and interL varieties do not univocally link to a particular ethnical or cultural background in the absence of linguistic traits. The exceptions are Luigi and Guido, given that they display the Italian flag and that Luigi is a Fiat 600, which is a visual contextualisation of their original personalities. Ramone has a Mexican accent and represents the car equivalent to a tattoo artist, displaying features of 1950s Kustom Kulture-like pinstripes, flames and lowriding. Flo speaks in a near-AAVE variety and is a vintage car; at times she gestures similarly to a stereotyped African-American woman, but it

⁸⁷ Interview with Paul Newman <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4bMnWT58pGU> [Last accessed 15 October 2012]

⁸⁸ and ⁸⁹ Review of *Cars 2* by the New York Times: <http://movies.nytimes.com/2011/06/24/movies/pixars-cars-2-with-larry-the-cable-guy-and-owen-wilson-review.html> [Last accessed 15 October 2012]

feels insufficient to class her in such way from a physical point of view. It is likely that both Ramone and Flo are there to confer some diversity to the village, and that they are representing two ethnic groups of the United States, which can be even applicable to Luigi and Guido. However, this does not necessarily mean that a translation should take the specific origins of Flo and Ramone into account in order to maintain the diversity aspect into the TLs. What would be interesting for the translation is to mark these two characters differently, or else mark another character if more suitable, through the resource of compensation and taking into account the target culture. As an example, Fillmore is physically a *hippy* car that could have received a non-urban accent. The rest of the village cars speak in MUSE, and all of them are vintage cars. In all, it can be concluded that intraL variation is supplying a function separated from stereotypes, except for the case of Mater, who is visibly and linguistically marked as built upon a less educated character.

8.1.2 Linguistic features of the characters

In an interview, director John Lasseter explained his decision-making process when choosing actors for his films is to ask them not to play any roles, but rather themselves.⁹⁰ On this occasion, he describes the way the actors are asked to ad-lib their characters, which explains why, when including a comedian such as Larry the Cable Guy, stereotypes about the South surface. This comedian's acts exploit this idea, and Mater is very much a character built around this on-stage persona. As for the other characters, even if they are based upon existing stereotypes around the actor, they do not come across as having negative traits.

The following analysis is based on the selected scene comprising the moment Lightning McQueen is sentenced to community services for having ruined the main road of Radiator Springs. He is woken up by Mater, and then meets Sally and Doc in court. Even though the scene has the intermittent appearances of other voices, it offers a good opportunity to hear the four main characters interacting.

8.1.2.1 Lightning McQueen and Sally

Lightning McQueen is played by Owen Wilson (b. 1968), and the voice behind Sally is Bonnie Hunt (b. 1961), presenter and comedian. There are no remarkable items in this section that would mark their speech outside MUSE.

⁹⁰ Interview with John Lasseter, director of *Cars*:
<http://movies.about.com/od/cars/a/carsjl053006.htm> [Last accessed 15 October 2012]

8.1.2.2 Mater

Mater is a character created by Larry the Cable Guy (b. 1963), a comedian known to use an over exaggerated Southern North American accent for his performances which, together with its content, result in a stereotyped portrayal of the region's speakers. His variety presents markers in all three levels of language, with examples as follows.

At the **lexical level** in the specified scene and the rest of the film, examples of Southern North-American appear regularly. Words such as 'dad-gum' (L18), 'purty' (L41) or 'howdy' (L56) mark Mater's speech as regional. However, it would be interesting to know whether the frequency in which these words appear is similar to real speech situations to find out the extent to which Mater's speech is exaggerated. For the first example, which is not contained in regular dictionaries, the Urban Dictionary makes it explicit that it is a marked expression that points specifically to the Southern allegedly uneducated white population.⁹¹ Whether or not that is the case, it is likely that the comedian is resorting to popular stereotypical perceptions to mark his act. The second is a metathesis of the word 'pretty', and it appears in dictionaries as a common dialectal occurrence in North-American English, while the last example is marked as prominent in the Western US. Additional marked vocabulary is scattered throughout the film, possibly in a similar proportion to the present scene.

At a **phonetic level** the character follows the prototypical pronunciation of Southern North- American English, with features like monophthongisation in words like 'town' (L 15) or 'right' (L 55), and vowel shift as in 'sleeping' (L 2).

Aside from these marks, the **grammatical level** also shows differences throughout the film. In this scene, the only example can be found in Mater's opening sentence (L2), when he does not distinguish the verb 'to be' in the second person, which is a recurring trait.

8.1.2.3 Doc Hudson

As previously pointed out, Doc is an elderly car, whose pace is slow and calm, but also confident. He comes across as being Southern, mostly through the prosody of the dialogue. Unlike Mater, Doc Hudson relies on pronunciation and a few grammar marks rather than vocabulary to convey his difference. This is also influenced by the context conversation, which is taking place in a court room of which he is the judge. Still, there are four elisions at the **grammatical level**, where the conditional conjunction 'if' (L 116), the article 'the' (L

⁹¹ Entry for dad-gum: <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=dadgum> [Last accessed 16 October 2012]

106) and the subject 'it' are omitted (L 99 and L 116); also, the adjective 'nice' is used instead of its adverbial form (L 111).

The **phonetic level** has mostly suprasegmental marks in the intonation, although a differentiated pronunciation from MUSE can be heard (L 38-43), for example, with the pronunciation of 'move him'. The overall impression is that Doc belongs to the area, but he does not come across as a stereotyped character, unlike Mater.

8.2 Translation into Catalan

The translation into Catalan of the main characters has been performed using MCC, although with one exception, which is Mater. In this case, the tow truck has been characterised with a fictitious variety of Catalan that nevertheless has the effect of evoking a dialect outside MCC. As for the rest, Doc has some marks that distinguish his style and status, while McQueen and Sally use MCC.

8.2.1 Scene-specific stylistic features

The resource used for Mater's character corresponds to one of the techniques described by Mayoral (1997), namely creating a variety that does not exist by mixing certain dialectal traits, as was seen with Ernie and Bernie. As discussed by I-002, from the start there was an intention to reproduce the sort of accent from the original in the TT, although avoiding a clear reproduction of a real variety. The effect is achieved by changing features of MCC mostly at the lexical level, which work in opposition to the other characters' variety. An outstanding and consistent example is at the grammatical level with the use of the weak pronouns, which Mater uses in their full form: *me, te, se, nos, vos, se*. Another change is the increased use of typically Catalan colloquial vocabulary, as opposed to expressions borrowed from Spanish; this contrasts noticeably with cases discussed previously. Whilst prominent examples of this are absent from this scene, elsewhere the use of the dialectal verb *xalar* (to enjoy), which is used in the Ebre region, Mallorca and Menorca and the Empordà, confers a touch of diversity (min. 55). Additionally, Mater's character cannot be heard using Spanish expressions that have crept up into MCC from Spanish, such as *tío*, but rather more traditional words such as *nano* ('kid', 'lad' L 99). The variety is not traceable to an identifiable region, which means that the stereotypes attached to the original Mater have dissipated, in favour of a more neutral representation of a non-mainstream variety that still evokes a non-urban provenance, in keeping with the rural setting of the film. Such aesthetic touches can be perceived at a phonetic level, with examples of colloquial assimilations and metathesis. Respectively, examples of this are *despertaries mai* ('you'd ever wake up' L 2),

where the voiced /s/ at the end of the first word is assimilated into an [r], or the very common feature as in *formós* ('beautiful' L12), where the /r/ has switched positions to follow the initial consonant. A discussion on the effects that a traceable variety would have had in this particular instance will be addressed in the final sections of the chapter, including whether it would have potentially had a negative impact.

As for the other cars, Doc Hudson is not characterised with an equivalent and distinct variety in the Catalan version. However, there are a few features that set his formal style aside on the lexical level. An example is the use of the formal address *vostè* by the rest of the characters when addressing him, which adds a distance and respect that is only contextually perceived in the original version. Moreover, Doc Hudson refers to all participants in the informal *tu* form, which uncovers his superior status, be it through age, role in society, or both. Other linguistic traits would be the use of the lesser-used negative adverb *pas* (L 111), which contrasts with Lightning McQueen's preceding sentence, where he is quite informal, as exemplified by the expression *pari el carro* ('hold your horses' L 110).

The rest of the characters, Sally and McQueen, have been translated using MCC. The latter nevertheless shows in this fragment markers of informal speech, which are exemplified by the aforementioned *pari el carro*, and also the verb *petar* (L 56), which is a Spanish slang word with multiple meanings, and in this case means 'to work'.

The lexical level in the Catalan version varies from the original in that there are more references applied to car parts. A recurring expression is *fums* ('smokes') for 'shoot', which is in itself the replacement of an expletive from the verb *fotre* ('to bug'), while 'quit yappin' becomes 'put your tongue in the hood' (L 23), and 'holy shoot' is expressed as *revatua la grua* (L 109), which combines the traditional expression *vatua* with the word for crane.

8.2.2 Transfer of style

As far as this scene goes, the translation into Catalan of the four main characters has been carried out following different criteria given their personalities and role in the story. Mater is the character that stands out the most linguistically in the original version, and the one that received most attention in the TT. Even if his translated variety is not a representation of a particular one, the effect of evoking non-urban traits is achieved by making simple adjustments to MCC. Given the complexity of stereotypes arising with the original character, and the impact that this had on his intelligence, choosing language features instead of a single variety is the most ethical choice. It is still in a sense pointing out at the age-old stereotype that rural inhabitants are 'simple' compared to urbanites, and

this would have been dissipated if Doc Hudson was similarly characterised. Nevertheless, given the visual contextual cues, it makes sense that Mater sounds non-urban; ideally this should be the principal idea conveyed by his speech, and not a prejudiced portrayal.

Doc Hudson, Sally and McQueen are all speakers of MCC; Sally, as an attorney in the scene, uses formal vocabulary. The inclusion of more traditional terms for Doc Hudson and colloquial words and expressions for Lightning creates more dimensions and allows for a distinction between the generations and statuses. Ramone and Luigi stay Mexican and Italian respectively in the Catalan version, and their varieties are hence kept as interL. As will be the case with Spanish, Ramone's Mexican prosody is reinforced with the word *cuate*, referring to 'mate', and the Spanish word *arañar* ('scratch'), which appears here as an interference among Catalan words. There are no traits to distinguish the Sheriff in this scene in Catalan, but there are examples that describe him as having a similar speech to Doc's in the Catalan version. An instance would be when the Sheriff can be heard using the double negation with *pas* and the word *vaiiet* for young man, marked as traditional and reminiscent of the language uses of the first Catalan dubbed products (min. 26).

In all, even though the whole of the original style has not been kept, there are traits that allow for a linguistic texture to be perceived amongst the characters. InterL variation on this occasion has been maintained, but intraL variation has also been carried to the TT.

8.3 Translation into Spanish

The Spanish version of *Cars* is the least diverse of the corpus of dubbed films into this language. The main reason stems from the policies applied by DP, which are not to develop translations that include such variation in the TT, in contrast to DW's encouragement of a degree of domestication. It differs from the translated Catalan version because, as explained by I-002, the Catalan market was regarded as somewhat forsaken at the time of the translation; there was not such an emphasis on achieving a particular product as with the Spanish version, and hence there was more room for experimentation. An additional factor might be that this version employs professional dubbing actors rather than famous actors or comedians of the TC, again in contrast with the previous films by DW. Nevertheless, some dialectal features and variation have been carried to the Spanish version.

8.3.1 Scene-specific stylistic features

This film contains the least variation in the Spanish version out of the whole corpus and the **lexical level** is no exception, as all characters adhere to MCS vocabulary. However, by

using colloquial expressions from MCS, a contrast is achieved between Mater and the rest of the cast, creating an audible distinction. In any case, it is not as representative as the original or if a variety had been used, but noticeable nonetheless. Examples of Mater's marked vocabulary in Spanish can be found in verbs like *currar* (L 97) and *pillar* (L102), which are colloquial ways to say the verbs *trabajar* (to work) and *coger* (to catch), respectively. In contrast with the original and the Catalan version, however, these word choices do not evoke a rural provenance, and are quite generalised in colloquial MCS. Therefore, the Spanish version of Mater's character is the least differentiated out of the three versions.

Doc Hudson's paced speech, tone of voice and voice frequency transfer the message that he is an elderly character, which is also visible through his physique as a vintage car. In this version, there are no cues to perceive Doc differently. However, his pronunciation includes a phonetic trait that is currently recessive in Castilian Spanish, which used to be a feature of mainstream Spanish. The pronunciation of <ll> in [ʎ], usually [j] in MCS, confers a quality of seniority and experience to his speech, reminiscent of old productions, although it is doubtful that it would be noticeable enough. There are two examples in this passage to illustrate this, *rollo* ('sermon' L 69), and *allí* ('there' L 106).

As for Sally and McQueen, no noticeable traits outside MCS can be perceived. In comparison with the original and even the Catalan version, McQueen uses fewer colloquial expressions. As a result it is hardly noticeable that he and Sally speak in different levels of formality according to their immediate context. In the original McQueen refers to the Sheriff as 'babe', making it obvious that he is cocky, which does not come across in Spanish. As for the increased range of expressions contextualised into a car world that was observed in the Catalan version, the translation includes creative vocabulary for Mater. Instead of 'shoot', Mater says *tuercas* and *retuercas*, which do not replace any expletives, but allude to mechanical items, 'bolts' and an exaggerated version with the emphatic suffix 're-.'

8.3.2 Transfer of style

Despite the intralinguistic variation in the original, all characters can be described as speakers of MCS. Therefore, the remaining product is solely styled with this variety, with the exception of some secondary characters that include intraL and interL variation. Doc and Mater are hence left to be differentiated by what is said and their performance, but not by the diversity of accents present in the original. However, the lack of variation does not

allow Sally and McQueen to be marked linguistically as outsiders, as they all share the same variety.

As for the rest of characters, Ramone keeps his Mexican accent, making it intraL variation in Spanish, as opposed to interL in English. This allows for some existing diversity in the village to be carried into the TL; the variety is, however, recreated prosodically with the inclusion of stereotyped Mexican words to the script, such as *cuate*, which would signal this kind of variety to the general audience. Luigi and Guido remain Italian, so the interL is kept with added Italian words, such as *macchina* to refer to ‘car’, not present in the original. No other dialectal traits are maintained in Spanish, although the California governor, made to resemble Arnold Schwarzenegger, is heard saying ‘no problemo’, imitating the common wrong way of uttering the Spanish expression *ningún problema*.

To conclude, the linguistic diversity of the original is not recreated in this version. Unlike DW’s profusion of famous voices, on this occasion, the only celebrity voice for those in the know is that of Fernando Alonso, the Formula 1 driver, who lends his voice to a cameo towards the end. As noted by Fowkes (2010: 122), Disney films used to rely on their popularity as a brand rather than the featured actors to market their products. This is no longer true for the English versions, especially in their collaboration with Pixar, but it is the case for the Spanish version, especially when compared with DW’s choice of dubbing voices and reliance on famous actors or personae.

8.4 Conclusions

In general terms, it is noticeable that the Spanish version of this Disney film follows a very different pattern to the DreamWorks ones, with a lack of famous dubbing voices and variation; in this respect it is in keeping with all the Catalan versions. On the other hand, the Catalan version carries some of the variation of the original in a rather ethical way. By having a made-up variety dubbing Mater, the Catalan version avoids pointing at a single variety as the stupid one. Instead, it recreates a variety that is not traceable but that nevertheless points out at a rural origin, in keeping with the visual context offered by Carbuertor County.

Doc’s character is old and seems comfortable in his village, despite his hidden past as a race car. The translations into Spanish and Catalan compensate for the lack of variation for Doc with the use of formal forms of address, *usted* and *vostè*, respectively. The addition in Spanish of the old feature /ʎ/ is a very good solution, which could have been

complemented with additional features. In Catalan, the character could have benefited from similar traits, given that his pronunciation is very much MCC.

The original style of Cars is partially recreated in Catalan for the most salient character. It is noticeable that the Spanish version of this film is very different to the DW ones; testimonials point to the requests of the distributors as a likely reason for such differences.

9. General conclusions

After analysing the original versions and subsequent translations of these films, the conclusion is that there is a conscious intention to style the originals linguistically with variation, which transpires for some of the characters in Catalan and Spanish. Looking at the films as a macro-sign that is stylised with variation, it cannot be said that the overall style sought is similar in the translated versions. However, style does feature for certain characters. This implies that language convergence -understood as a reflection of the audience's voices in the audiovisual text- is not as prominent in the translated versions as it is in the original, but it is also possible to conclude that stylistic variation is slowly being included in the translated versions through functional equivalence.

No wonder that vernaculars start to occupy new social spaces in late-modernity. In new spaces, their earlier 'stigmatised' associations (although some vernaculars were not obviously that) may still be relevant, or they may be *much less* relevant, or put to service in *new* interpretive frames. (Coupland 2007: 105)

Having considered character development in the English versions, it might be concluded that some characters are still based on stereotypes, but that there are many that move away from this reliance and break away from old expectations into a late-modernity styling. Three typologies emerge from the characters analysed who speak in vernacular, which can be helpful for prospective stylistic analyses and translations. Firstly, there are those who enjoy complete detachment from real referents by building local meanings, who index attributes other than those attached to their variety and are interchangeable, like Shrek. Secondly, there are those that are somewhat attached to their surroundings, such as Doc, who speaks differently and in tune with the fantasy surroundings built on real imagery, but who is still interchangeable in the local context. Thirdly, there are characters that are built on an existing portrayal of a particular variety, and assume a stereotypical or even prejudiced previous knowledge, as is the case with most characters in the English versions

of *Shark Tale* or *Cars*' Mater. Within these typologies, it is important to distinguish those that have positive motivations or values, and those that are associated with negative traits.

Further exemplifying the variation character typology, Donkey as a character has been perceived by some as having racist associations. However, we believe there is a palpable distinction between Donkey's use of vernacular and Oscar's. The latter is both visually and lexically based on a stereotype. Donkey or Marty *per se* do not necessarily portray any African-American identity, as opposed to the fish, because the visual and contextual cues are neutral, and the only reference from the former is the verbal text, whereas for Oscar the cultural and social cues are constant, both audibly and visibly. Donkey, Shrek, Marty and Puss also represent a move away from previous uses of diverse accents noted by Lippi-Green (2011: 122), such as the case with Disney's *The Lion King*, where one of the negative characters was dubbed by Whoopi Goldberg (b. 1955) with a near-AAVE variety. She also highlights the case of Disney's *Aladdin* (1992), in which negative characters have an Arabic accent, while the protagonists speak in MUSE, even though they are also Arabic.⁹²

Donkey is a positive character, as are Shrek and Puss, and his journey brings about an important change in *Far, Far Away* regarding the perception of fairy creatures. However, Fowkes warns of the danger of having Donkey 'being implicitly racist as Murphy's exaggerated jive lingo recalls the "Jim Crows" in *Dumbo*' (Fowkes 2010: 122). The main criticism of *Dumbo* was the stereotypical portrayal of the African-American identity, which was presented as lazy and hedonistic (Lippi-Green 2011: 123). Ultimately, this may point to the fact that these new occurrences may arouse suspicions among audiences regarding local uses of vernacular, and it may take some time for all viewers to perceive vernacular non-stereotyped voices as equally valid and different to past expectations. This links with Coupland's view on sociolinguistic essentialism, mentioned under section 2.2 of Chapter 1 regarding the tendency to naturally attribute identities to speakers without taking into account other aspects, such as the local contextualisation. Therefore, understanding Donkey as a character detached from an African-American identity is possible, and it is indeed what happens in the translated versions, pointing to the aesthetic use of a vernacular variety, as opposed to a stereotypical usage. A simple change in his vernacular would exemplify this. A stereotyped perception of Donkey or Marty could also be attributed to the actor who fills the scenes with his own persona and the previous knowledge that some

⁹² An interesting intersection between the exoticism and translation of the other can be found in Di Giovanni (2003), which refers to Disney films in the cases when they refer to cultures that are distant through time and space.

audiences have of him. In any case, communication ends when the message is received in a particular context; each viewer will attach indexing properties to the different characters depending on the way these are portrayed locally, but also depending on the viewer's experiences.

The innovations that these films bring, in style and the locally established meanings, are that vernaculars are used for main characters, which is a move away from previous films where variation was mainly relegated to minor roles. Hence some language attitudes in film seem to have evolved away from those analysed in the study by Lippi-Green (1997, 2011), where vernaculars were relegated to secondary characters. This is undoubtedly influencing the target languages, which is an important factor of change in the visibility of vernaculars in media for the target cultures.

On the other hand, a use that remains static is the presence of female characters. Lippi-Green (1997, 2011) concluded that female characters were a minority in her corpus, a feature that here appears unchanged. Furthermore, what is very noticeable is that vernaculars feature in male characters: female characters use mainstream varieties of English in the original versions with Gloria as a minor exception. Put into perspective, the number of male characters is overwhelmingly greater, so the lack of vernacular use amongst female characters may be due to a matter of proportion rather than a gender-specific issue. Under the section 'Women and Vernacular Speech', Coates (2004) describes how some studies pointed at male speakers as using vernacular more often than women. An example of such findings is gathered in Milroy and Milroy (1998), where 'females tend toward the careful end of the continuum and males toward the casual end' (Milroy and Milroy 1998: 56). However, 'in some communities it is women who are closer to the vernacular' (Coates 2004: 83-84), so it could not be said that the films' tendencies are a reflection of reality, and justification must be sought elsewhere.

Returning to the analyses, they also reveal that translation of varieties is now becoming a reality for the Spanish and Catalan markets. However, the circumstances of each are somewhat different. The majority of variation is found in Spanish and, although the Catalan versions feature intraL variation through an amalgamation of vernacular features, is still feels hesitant. The next sections will provide details of the resources used in the translated languages.

9.1 Resources exploited in Catalan

When compared to the original and Spanish, it is noticeable that the Catalan versions are less adventurous when it comes to introducing vernaculars. In the English original, vernaculars appear in twelve out of the sixteen selected characters, yet the Catalan version only recreates a degree of variation on three occasions. Out of these three, one constitutes interL variation, as Puss has an Andalusian accent. The remaining two show variation; however, the resulting variety is not a genuine dialect, but an accumulation of vernacular features. Although authenticity is not a consideration, the resource still does not point at vernaculars as a translation solution, but to vernacular features.

Domestication is not a rare occurrence in Catalan dubbing, as the first dubbed products experimented with different degrees of domestication, especially to fill a niche in the domestic media. However, it could be said that foreignisation is not widely applied to introduce the original resource of variation for character development in the translation of variation, but that valid attempts have been carried out.

A trait that has been pointed out is that the Spanish and English versions use famous actors or comedians in the dubbed films whereas the Catalan versions do not. The budget difference might be a clear indication of the reason behind this. It is not possible to know the proportional difference of budget, but as the Catalan versions are subsidised, luxuries such as celebrity dubbings may be rejected. It could be argued, however, that the inclusion of famous actors and their personae who use vernacular varieties would work in a similar way in Catalan as for the other two versions.

As well as budget limitations, there are also translation constraints. When asked about the decision not to include language variation in the Catalan version, I-002 implied that there were semiotic constraints, as well as the lack of actors native to a vernacular. However, when asked about interL variation, they seemed to regard the translation opportunity in a different light, and to conclude that the case was different and more likely to be translated; also, recently for these cases authenticity was sought by using interL speakers of Catalan.

However, the political and social situation of the Catalan language may make dubbing a difficult ground to introduce vernaculars. As discussed in section 3.3 of Chapter 1, the Catalan media space is fragmented and dependent on different regional policies, it is still not a normalised language that is used by default in all layers of society, and it is subject to

disadvantageous laws (Plataforma per la Llengua 2009). The Catalan dubbing industry has had just under thirty years' experience at a television level, and practices have not always been comparable to the situation enjoyed by Spanish, especially because films dubbed into Catalan are still rare in cinemas. The lack of habit is palpable, and has been gathered in the conclusions of the 'Baròmetre de la comunicació i la cultura' (2011), with consumers still showing scepticism towards these translations.

Introducing changes to a language that does not have a high status and is constantly competing with Spanish, and where audiences are fragmented, seems a difficult move. However, precisely because it is fragmented and it does not relate directly to all the audiences simultaneously, cinema and dubbings could work as a great motor for change in the field of language policies, and 'enable marginal agencies to surface' (Johnson and Ensslin 2007: 14). Making characters such as the ones in *Shrek 2* or *Madagascar* speak in different varieties of Catalan would give a visibility to vernaculars in that media that otherwise would not exist, resulting from the translation of a foreign product that fills an existing niche in the target language, in this case a linguistically diverse genre, similar to the domestication of TV series in the 1980s onwards to fill in a void in the TC. These films have the potential to become the common linguistic product in a situation where television channels are divided by political frontiers. It is a sign of inclusion in any language to take into account all its forms in audiovisual products, in a move to de-stigmatise previously marginalised dialects. This would also work for a language like Spanish; beyond the utility of such a translation for language planning, this would bring vernacular visibility for the Spanish markets as well, especially when Latin-American and Spanish dubbings work independently and in a state like the Spanish where stigmatisation of vernaculars is still visible.

In terms of quality of language used, one of the most salient features in all films at a lexical level is the reliance on Spanish words to recreate a colloquial register. The frequency of some expressions is noticeably higher than might be expected in real speech situations; for example, *parar el carro* features in three out of four of the selected scenes. However, this is not a coincidence, as the translator for these three films is the same.⁹³ This could give rise to a debate on the imitation of a descriptive language use that aims to sound natural, and may point at the likelihood that 'media producers [are] foisting their own values onto media consumers' (Coupland 2009: 289), which is in line with Gambier's views expressed in

⁹³ As stated in www.eldoblatge.com [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

Chapter 4. The norms of language use of Catalan, especially the oral level, have been the subject of much academic and social debate, as the historical facts affecting its normalised use have created an anomalous situation where there is no referential colloquial style and Spanish is borrowed instead. However, these uses are not homogeneous, nor representative of the wide range of spoken Catalan situations. And it is also worth keeping in mind that 'language is a fluid, discursive construct [...] that is itself contextually situated and thus reflects the specific ideological programmes(s) of those agents who engage with it discursively and performatively' (Johnson and Ensslin 2007: 14). It would be a jump to conclude that the use of the aforementioned Spanish expression is a clear representation of this, but it could be argued that the translations studied do not take into account the extension and diversity existing amongst their Catalan-speaking audience, with which they are not converging. Although this can also be said of the Spanish versions, the differing status of Catalan involves further fragmentation of an already non-existent media space.

Other interferences from Spanish appear at a visual level. Written information that is seen in the original is offered only in Spanish, such as shop names or other written texts (as is the case of the initial images in *Shark Tale*). These appear in English and Spanish in the respective versions, but are not offered in Catalan, making the visual text anomalous. It is nevertheless true that written information has not always been translated in older dubbings, and hence it is decoded as normal by the audience.

9.2 Resources exploited in Spanish

Overall, the Spanish versions carry variation of the main characters on four occasions. This is still a low number, comparable to the Catalan case. However, these are four instances of intraL variation, which in all cases reproduces real varieties, and are not the result of an amalgamation of vernacular features. Hence, the Spanish versions could be said to consider vernaculars as a resource and to partially reproduce the original style and audience convergence. In three of the cases, the actors behind the voices are famous, with Ernie and Bernie being the exception.

The Spanish translations of the films differ from the Catalan versions in two major ways. At a textual level, the inclusion of domesticated expressions is more noticeable than in the Catalan counterparts, whose focus turns towards the original cultural references. This happens in cases like *Shrek 2*, where there is a reference to Shirley Bassey that is maintained in Catalan, but in Spanish is replaced with Miss Piggy, a more widely-recognised character in Spain, albeit still foreign. The second differentiating feature is, as mentioned before, the

inclusion of famous actors and comedians in the translated version, which helps recreate the original tone and ad-libbing of the original. The dubbed versions have a restricted timing for the characters' dialogue but, in general, the text and disconnection with a real context allows for a new interpretation of the original. In effect, these famous actors and comedians develop a domesticated product, in the sense that they add intertextual information to the target text from their personae or target cultures; a clear example of this is Fernando Tejero and his famous *un poquito de por favor*. The Spanish versions are, therefore, closer to the English in employing actors that fulfil similar roles in the target culture. Also, '[f]amiliar voices are part of the pleasure for adult audiences of animated films, particularly when the stars' on-screen and off-screen personas permeate the animated character' (Fowkes 2010: 122), and this is a feature of the Spanish translation that is missing in the Catalan versions.

Related to this is a surprising lack of recognition for audiovisual translators and the dubbing team in general, including actors, who are not mentioned in the credits of any dubbed version. For example, it is striking that at the end of the Spanish version of *Shark Tale*, shots of the characters appear with the original actors' names underneath, when the audiences in Catalan and Spanish have not seen or heard Will Smith or Renée Zellweger. Even if Will Smith helped create the original Oscar through his performance of the character, his physique is not unequivocally recognisable, and Fernando Tejero's performance remains unaccounted for. If these recognisable dubbing actors were considered a selling point in the TC, this would surely be a sign of a successful relay of the ST.

9.3 Maintenance of style in the dubbed versions

The dubbed versions convey the contents of the original, but the styles are somewhat different. After considering the analysis of the original films and the translated versions, it is appropriate to conclude that the Spanish versions are more versed in using varieties than are the Catalan versions. However there seem to be three main reasons behind this. At a technical level, the budget for Spanish is larger, and this has a direct incidence over important features such as the inclusion of famous actors and comedians who are direct agents in recreating some of the vernaculars. Also, the Spanish dubbing industry is more experienced, and the language status is not comparable to the situation of Catalan, which even struggles to show films in this language in the territories where it is spoken. All things accounted for, the Catalan versions show great advances in translation compared to past

dubbings that did not include variation, and the versions are also successful in conveying the original contents and some of its form.

Regarding the distance that exists between the translated versions and the original, the Catalan versions are closer to the *ST* in terms of lexical references, hence maintaining a foreignising strategy. The Spanish versions are more adventurous in the way they functionally translate the effects of the original versions but resort to Spanish to create a similar effect in the target audience. Variation and domestication are prominent, and at a technical level the functional translation of characters is efficient. This concept of translation needs to be regarded as an all-encompassing process: the *TC* personae permeate the text, in a genre that offers sufficient flexibility to recreate the product in the *TC*, in a context where allusions to real life can be concealed behind fantasy spaces.

From an ethical and critical point of view, there are a few cases that merit further discussion. Mater, Ernie and Bernie and Oscar are based on stereotypes of the source language, and they do not always appear in a good light in the original. Mater is less intelligent than other characters; Ernie and Bernie are unscrupulous and violent; Oscar is part of a marginal population of a big city. In these cases, the translation has managed to diffuse the negative stereotypes for all except Oscar. This is an important feature, as it moves away from translating a stereotype in the *SL* for a corresponding stereotype in the *TL*, which could be an acceptable translation practice from certain perspectives, and is defended by authors like Mayoral (1999). However, if ethics are to enter the equation, then such a strategy requires careful planning and consideration of its collateral effects.

Translation of style or variation is not yet a common practice and it could be argued that audiences have not yet been accustomed to it or trained in it. If, on top of that, a traceable variety is attached to a loveable yet less intelligent character such as Mater, the implications on the use of vernaculars are clear. The argument of this being a valid translation, as it does the same as in the original, fails from the point of view of ethical translation, whereby the *TL* should not be used to implicitly offend speakers outwith mainstream varieties as this was not included in the original text. Hearing dialects in Spanish and Catalan in mainstream media is still not as common as in English, so strong principles should be in place to ensure both a good translation and a good rendition of the original, taking into consideration unwanted effects of (mis)handling vernaculars. After all, the alternative of not using variation does not seem to be a long-term solution, as vernaculars have increased their visibility in original productions: ‘vernacular linguistic and cultural forms do have strong

presence and appeal in different mediated genres' (Coupland 2009: 297). The translation of style, as has been exemplified, can be used effectively, although it will require an ethical perspective, combined with time for audiences to get accustomed to it, and a good team of professionals who are aware of the original nuances. If products become more ethical in the way they represent speakers, this should be an easier task to carry out.

Regarding the foreignising and domesticating strategies applied, it can be concluded that they are applied simultaneously when a vernacular features in the SL and TL. The foreignising strategy to include variation has to be combined with a domestic vernacular, thereby combining the two with what could be labelled a functional equivalent. With regards to the correlation between the level of domestication and inclusion of vernaculars in the TT, the Spanish translations register higher levels of both features throughout the analysis. However, it is also the case that, when vernaculars appear among the main characters, they are linked to a famous personality in 75% of the cases, namely Antonio Banderas, Fernando Tejero and Alexis Valdés. However, the case that a larger budget has a direct correlation to the visibility of vernaculars cannot be established as a trait, as the Catalan versions only differ by one less character who speaks in a vernacular.

To conclude, the analyses reveal that vernaculars are used in the target languages, and that the translation of style is a possibility. However, we highlight the need to understand the semiotic value of the vernaculars used, as well as establishing their in the local context. In this case, we would support the idea that vernaculars are a translatable feature of language for these specific cases, where fantasy plays such an important part. A valuable exercise would now be to observe whether target audiences perceive these nuances in their own language, and therefore the next chapter will present a study that gathers the perceptions of these characters in the audiences' native languages.

Chapter 4 – Quantitative research into audience perception

1. Introduction

The innovations present in the films and their translations that were analysed in the previous chapter demonstrate an active use of variational style in CG fantasy films; these demand special attention because of the challenges that they introduce. The analysis of the corpus shows that not only are original CG films utilising stylistic variation, but that there is the intention to carry at least some of the original style into the target text. The implications of translating varieties from one language to another are significant, in terms of potential changes in language use and perception, but also commercialisation and even political impact. This is particularly true if the text at stake is a film that may be seen by millions. In order to assess the impact of these products and their potential acceptability there is likely to be a benefit in gathering data from empirical research into the field of translation of varieties and its influence on viewers.

Studies into the reception of translated audiovisual products are scarce, as '[a]lthough many theories and studies talk about the reader as the key factor, very few focus on reception, and there are hardly any empirical studies on the reception of translated texts' (Fuentes Luque 2003: 294), an opinion shared by Denton (2007: 27). Furthermore, Gambier (2009: 52) asserts that '[v]ery few studies have dealt with the issue of reception in AVT, and even fewer have looked at it empirically, even though we continually make reference to readers, viewers, consumers, users, etc.'⁹⁴ In response to Gambier's views, this study seeks to add to the empirical evidence into the reception of AVT through analysing the perception of individual characters in each language by native audiences.

Qualitative analyses of the films and their translations are crucial in describing the intricacies of the audiovisual text, but a quantitative tool that assesses audience reception is useful when observing whether the original films and their translated counterparts are comparable using statistical methods. Measuring the impact of an original filmic text on English-speaking audiences and the subsequent translations on the target audiences increases the knowledge of the potential acceptability of these dubbed products. If isolated correctly, it could also provide information regarding the impact that specific choices have on the way characters are perceived. The right analysis could reveal whether the decisions

⁹⁴ Gambier (2009) offers a broad overview of the possibilities of studying reception empirically from different perspectives.

taken in translating a corpus of films affect the product when it is presented in different languages.

In the context of this thesis, each film is considered to be a complex macro-sign that carries a stylistic message; the individual characters are a medium through which variation is carried. For the purpose of this quantitative analysis, the same scenes that were analysed in Chapter 3 are considered to constitute macro-signs that can be evaluated in their own right. This chapter evaluates the responses given by native audiences using the Semantic Differential Scale (SDS) as a tool to gather information on character perception where the variable elements are translation and language varieties.

This chapter is introduced by an overview of the process of data collection and analysis. The following section covers the design of questionnaires, followed by a description of the methodology of this trial. This includes the experimental aims and the subject profile, along with an outline of the process of reception. Finally, the data collected is used to draw conclusions about the acceptability of this form of stylistic translation as perceived by the target audience.

2. Methodology

In the next paragraphs we present the general research aims. Following that are a justification for the choice of questionnaire, a description of how the measuring scale was designed including the process of selecting appropriate adjectives for the SDS, together with the technical details of the study. Then we outline the subjects' profile, followed by their demographics and the description of the process that was performed. A section is dedicated to further explaining the selection of clips for the study, and background information on the way audiovisual messages are perceived. The final section comprises the statistical analyses applied to the results. This study was performed with ethical clearance from the University of Sheffield according to relevant guidelines.

2.1 Experimentation

The purpose of this study is to gather information on the reception of dubbed products amongst native audiences by examining the perception of characters in films with language variation. This involves using the SDS to elicit responses from native speakers of English, Catalan and Spanish who viewed film clips featuring characters who showed intraL or interL variation in the corresponding language.

For this work the following questions are addressed:

- What is the perception of each selected character in each language?
- To what extent does the translation of style affect the perception of characters?

The data are collected in order to determine whether variation has an impact on the ways characters are perceived across languages. Some personality traits are inherently perceived through characters' behaviour, but this study seeks to chart dissimilarities in the perception of the same character across languages, and to determine whether these derive from the use of varieties.

The relevance of this study is to determine whether the acceptability of stylistic renditions of original material exists amongst Spanish and Catalan audiences. When assessing the translatability of stylistic features, an inescapable factor is the audience. In the previous chapters, we considered the audience by means of examining their exposure to vernaculars in audiovisual media, and the features of the dubbing tradition in which they are immersed. Here, to complement this speculative background, we gain direct insight into audience perception.

2.2 Semantic Differential Scale

This chapter builds on work by Palencia (2002), who explored a related topic in her doctoral thesis. Palencia's results point towards the suitability of the SDS in testing different text formats, allowing an exploration of the influence of dubbed products on the perception of characters. Palencia solely explores the impact of four scenes in order to determine the way in which the dubbing process influences viewers. To that end, she isolates both original and dubbed audiovisual versions, but also the soundtrack without image, and the images without the soundtrack. This work does not assess the translation process nor the dubbing actors' performances, so the discussion is based upon comparing the perception of different modes of viewing, rather than content.

In Palencia's work, data collection is performed using Osgood's Differential Scale and, doing so, builds upon other studies that utilise the same method for related topics within audiovisual media. The original scale was designed by Osgood et al. (1957), and subsequently has become widely known as the Semantic Differential, or Semantic Differential Scale. The SDS will be used here, as in the original works, to measure the meaning of items, in this case the affective meaning of the selected characters as perceived

by audiences. By requiring subjects to define their perceptions of different aspects of a character, a subjective response can be quantified and analysed using statistical methods. Generally, a Likert scale is used, which allows respondents to grade their perception between two opposing adjectives (Likert 1932), which allows for a more sensitive distinction than a simple positive or negative response.

The SDS was chosen not only with reference to Palencia's experience, but also for its reliability in eliciting viewers' responses, and for its widespread applicability across disciplines. Also, '[t]he SDS has been used extensively in language attitude studies as a means of measuring subjects' attitudes towards various languages, dialects, accents, as well as the speakers of different varieties' (Al-Hindawe 1996: 1). Whilst other techniques to measure audiences' affective responses exist,⁹⁵ a full discussion of their merits lies outwith the scope of this work. The SDS is widely used in attitudinal studies, both in academia and industry settings, and has previously been validated in areas such as the audiovisual media and variational research. In combination with its previous use by Palencia (2002) in the specific area of dubbing, a valid precedent therefore exists for its use in this setting.

The SDS has also been used to elicit speakers' attitudes towards dialects. It would have been preferable that, for this study, as in previous variational studies, the voices of actors could be heard in isolation. However, the nature of the original and translated texts, as well as the technical constraints (background music and sound effects), did not allow for this. Although it would be possible to dissociate the visual text from the soundtrack, this was not considered relevant to this study given that the primary aim is to provide an overview of the global perception of individual characters, which incorporates both audio and visual cues. Furthermore, the presence of certain characters that combine mainstream varieties and vernaculars in the original and subsequent versions allows the impact of varieties to be isolated to a certain degree.

In all, the SDS allows for a relatively robust approach to data collection and quantitative analysis. Additionally, '[o]ne advantage of this technique is that it forces subjects to focus on the expected dimensions since the categories are already provided' (Agheysi and Fishman 1970:148), which was considered an obvious advantage.

⁹⁵ See Chapter 5 on audiences' affective responses in Gunter (2000).

2.3 Construction of the differential: selection of adjectives

Previous quantitative works using the SDS guided the choice of adjectives. The following table shows the adjectives and layout that were chosen to carry out this study in English, Catalan and Spanish respectively.⁹⁶

Balanced								Unbalanced
Humble								Arrogant
Calm								Nervous
Confident								Insecure
Intelligent								Stupid
Extravert								Introvert
Strong								Weak
Sincere								Hypocrite
Close								Distant
Credible								Non-credible

Figure 7: Questionnaire in English.

Equilibrat								Desequilibrat
Humil								Orgullós
Tranquil								Nerviós
Segur								Insegur
Intel·ligent								Estúpid
Extravertit								Introvertit
Fort								Feble
Sincer								Hipòcrita
Proper								Distant
Creïble								No creïble

Figure 8: Questionnaire in Catalan.

⁹⁶ A complete set of questionnaires in each language can be found in the Appendix.

Equilibrado								Desequilibrado
Humilde								Orgullosa
Tranquilo								Nervioso
Seguro								Inseguro
Inteligente								Estúpido
Extrovertido								Introvertido
Fuerte								Débil
Sincero								Hipócrita
Cercano								Distante
Creíble								No creíble

Figure 9: Questionnaire in Spanish.

Palencia (2002) short-lists eight adjectives from a pilot study that was performed prior to the design of her definitive tool for data collection. The purpose of that survey is to determine which pairs of adjectives appear most useful to a group of subjects, from a longer list of seemingly redundant or unnecessary adjectives. In the final selection, Palencia includes the semantic duality of ‘credible’, which has also been incorporated here. The importance of this adjective will be highlighted at a later stage in this chapter, as it offers direct access to the viewers’ opinions on the character as a whole. For the present study it was considered that this work would be an ideal starting point, given the similar aims of both studies in determining the reception of dubbed films on given audiences by focussing on the perception of individual characters.

For this particular study, ten pairs of opposing adjectives are chosen, with the addition of a further category, ‘close-distant’. This is used to account for the possibility that viewers would be less familiar with certain varieties and find them different to their own reality. This aspect of analysis would be dependent on classifying viewers according to their native variety; this is not possible for the present study due to a limited subject pool. Therefore, this adjective was included in the data collection but its importance could not be analysed fully due to heterogeneity of the subjects’ varieties.

Al-Hyndawe (1996) raises awareness about the implications of using pairs of adjectives that may not be complementary antonyms or that may lead to ambiguity. In view of this, precision of language was a priority in translating adjectives from the original Spanish -as used by Palencia- into English and Catalan.

2.4 Construction of the differential: layout design

The main objective in designing the layout was to obtain a grid that was neat and easy to understand. For the SDS, a seven-point scale was used to determine the grade within a polarity of a given pair of adjectives. Although the scale is often annotated with numbers 1-7, written between two adjectives, in this case the resulting layout was confusing; it was therefore decided to simplify the scale by using seven clear boxes. If a mark was placed in the middle of the grid (box 4), it meant that the subject did not feel strongly on that category, whereas placement towards one or other adjective indicated a preference whose magnitude increased with proximity to the end of the scale. All subjects were asked to complete all categories for all characters.

2.5 Subject profile

As per the languages of the original and translated versions of the films, English, Catalan and Spanish, three groups of adult native speaker subjects were devised. For the present study, a minimum of twenty subjects per language was considered adequate. All subjects were approached via email and invited to take part in this anonymised study. They were informed that the only information collected would be age, gender and their questionnaire responses according to the language they were recruited for.

An important feature of the Spanish native speakers was that they were all from Spain. This meant that they were familiar with the Spanish dubbing style, which differs from that of other Spanish-speaking countries where the concept of vernacular and mainstream language is different. This way, their diegetic experience would be complete and effortless. Also, it was intended that all subjects forming the Spanish group were not bilingual in any other languages of Spain, so they would be accustomed to watching films dubbed only into Spanish, so the recruitment process was targeted at this kind of subject. However, this was not possible for the Catalan speakers, as all Catalan speakers are bilingual. This raises a further issue: viewers in Catalan, although native to the language, may not be as accustomed to viewing films in Catalan, as most exposure is to films dubbed into Spanish. Furthermore, a recent survey about the habits of Catalan speakers, detailed in section 3.6 of Chapter 3, reveals a preference for watching films dubbed into Spanish. Therefore, their diegetic experience might have been altered in cases where the viewer is used to consuming dubbed films in Spanish, but on this occasion it is not possible to determine to what extent this was an issue. All native English speakers originated from the British Isles.

The selection of participants was performed regardless of whether the subjects had previously seen the films. Given the worldwide popularity of all four films, limiting the study to subjects that had not seen any would have seriously limited the chances of finding sufficient participants. Although it was not possible to control for this aspect in the study, an attempt to limit its impact was made in the way the clips were presented. Clips were treated as a text that has a beginning and an end in the form of a scene, and no other information was given on the film. Subjects were therefore encouraged to base their views on the selected scenes, and not to consciously recollect their memories of the film. We realise that this is a limitation of this form of audience perception research.

The composition and demographics of the three groups are shown in Table 1, along with the results of statistical tests for between-group differences. The groups did not differ in their age or gender demographics although there was a trend for Catalan participants to be older, which did not reach statistical significance..

Additionally, the intention was to include speakers of different varieties within their languages, so as to represent as wide an audience as possible. Although this aspect is not analysed in detail within this study, this could be taken into account for future research. Another feature that was not part of the study criteria but that was noted is that all participants were either graduates or in higher education, due to the nature of the recruitment process.

	English	Catalan	Spanish	p, Statistical test ⁹⁷
Total participants	28	20	20	
Female: Male (%)	57.1:42.9	50.0:50.0	50.0:50.0	p = 0.23 (ns), Chi-square test
Age range (years)	20 – 34	18 – 65	20 – 34	
Mean age (St Dev)	25.7 (4.5)	31.2 (11.2)	25.9 (5.3)	p = 0.05 (ns), Kruskal- Wallis test

Table 1: Demographics of participants.

⁹⁷ In this statistical analysis the p value represents the likelihood that observed differences are due to chance, i.e the smaller the value the more likely it is that there is a true significant difference between the groups. Unless otherwise stated statistical significance is accepted where $p < 0.05$. At this level, there is a 5% chance that observed differences represent sampling variation alone.

2.6 Description of process

The process started by inviting native speakers of the relevant languages to participate in this study (see Appendix). For logistical reasons, the viewings were divided into several groups. The groups contained unequal numbers of participants, given the varied availability of the subjects. All viewers followed exactly the same process, viewing all clips in the same order, supervised by the same researcher. Although it was not possible to standardise the equipment or viewing room for all groups, it was ensured that the sound was optimal for all subjects, and that the screen orientation was satisfactory. All films were shown from four original DVDs of the Spanish edition of each film, which contained all three language versions.

At the start of the viewing session participants were given precise instructions about the correct process for answering the questionnaires, as follows. Upon arriving at the session, subjects were requested to take a seat and examine the questionnaires. These were a collection of stapled pages with two grids per page. At the top of each grid there was the name of a character and a brief description to aid their recognition. This limited description was as neutral as possible, so as not to influence the viewers. The viewers were then invited to ask questions about any adjectives that were unclear. Emphasis was placed on ensuring that the quality of 'credible' was understood, even when clarification had not been requested, to coincide with the meaning provided throughout this thesis, i.e. whether they thought the character was well constructed and that it fitted in the scene. There were a total of sixteen grids, one for each character to be assessed.

After clarification of the adjectives, the participants were requested to follow instructions on answering the questionnaires. They were shown each clip twice. During the first viewing they were asked to listen and look at the screen, to try to form their opinions of each character. They were required not to take any notes at this stage to aid a global perception of the characters in the text as a whole. They were requested to complete the questionnaires during the second viewing of the clips. It was reiterated that all categories should be filled in, and that if they did not feel strongly about a particular adjective pair, they had the chance to select the middle column, which served as the neutral perception. It was not possible to separate subjects physically such that they could not see other participants' answers, but sincerity was encouraged, and they were informed that there were no right or wrong answers.

After the viewing of the films was concluded, an informal discussion was held to comment on the clips and each person's perceptions, motivated by the divergent opinions of the different participants. The motive of the research was revealed at this stage, once subjects could not be influenced by the purpose of the study on stylistic features. The information exchanged at this stage was sometimes very valuable, but it was not analysed for this study; this could be considered for future research as a source of qualitative perceptions.

2.7 Selection of clips

The clips shown to subjects were the same that form the corpus for the case studies in Chapter 3, as the qualitative analyses provided the necessary insight into each character to be able to provide an interpretation of the quantitative reception results. As discussed in section 2 of Chapter 3, a prerequisite for each clip was a sequence where the four main characters intervened in a conversation. At least two of them used variation in the original, some of which had been carried to the dubbed versions.

2.8 Combined cues in audiovisual texts

When exposed to an oral text, listeners undergo different stages of comprehension, in which they perceive different features of the content and the form of the message. Rodríguez (1998) proposes a model to describe listening mechanisms, by which listeners, 'after identifying the voices in relation to their own memories, surroundings and experience, decode the meaning of these voices through their previous knowledge of the language in which these are expressed' (Palencia 2002: 89).⁹⁸ This process explains how listeners can also learn arbitrary languages that aid the diegetic experience when viewing dubbed films, an example of which is the asynchronisations found in Spanish with reference to phonetic synchrony, which is decoded as unproblematic, as discussed in Chapter 2. And, most importantly, they attribute meanings locally depending on their previous experience and the current context, as noted by Coupland (2007: 45).

In this study the soundtrack was not isolated from the images, so the images, music and accompanying sounds may have exerted an influence on the audience. The weight of these animated images could be considered very significant, as the gesticulation is constant, the physical appearance of the characters is caricaturised and music and sounds work together

⁹⁸ The Spanish original reads: 'tras la identificación de las voces en relación a su propio recuerdo, entorno y experiencia, descodifican el sentido de esas voces gracias a su previo conocimiento de la lengua en que éstas se expresan'.

with the dialogue to transfer meaning. As was concluded by Palencia (2002: 335), who studied the narrative capacity of images and sound separately, attributes are transmitted via both channels. Therefore, the visual aspect plays an important part in the global perception.

In these films, as we saw in the introductory section of the previous chapter, the cultural elements will not necessarily be as visible as with films that are based on real spaces. Furthermore, as Palencia points out, if the receiver is familiarised with the body language of a given culture, especially US American, they will decode images correctly and jointly; hence visual messages complement the oral messages (Palencia, 2002: 50). That is to say that kinetic movements containing instances of body language will not appear as alien to the foreign viewers and will aid in the transfer of meaning. This is true both for Spanish and Catalan viewers, because they have similar traditions and exposure to dubbed products through a virtually exclusive consumption of US films (Palencia 1998: 152).

If Palencia's previous research allows the assumption that body language does not interfere with the process of decoding speech, then any differences that arise can be attributable to dialogue. For each language version, images act as an invariable text, together with sound effects and music.⁹⁹ This could lead us to think that the distinctive features, if they appear, will derive almost exclusively from the translation or dubbing decisions, and limiting the possibilities of divergence.

2.9 Statistical analysis

The answers for each questionnaire were converted to a numerical scale, with each adjective for each character assigned a value from 1 to 7. As will be seen in the graphs, for each character and language analysed, the values were summarised by calculating the mean and standard deviation. Additionally, the mean and standard deviation were calculated for all selected characters combined, shown in the first column for each adjective. Statistical differences between languages were tested using one-way ANOVA, and post-hoc Tukey-Scheffe correction for multiple comparisons. Statistical significance was accepted at $p < 0.05$.

Statistical analysis and data representation were performed using Microsoft Excel 2007 and SPSS 20.0.

⁹⁹ This refers exclusively to accompanying music. *Madagascar* features a music number by King Julian with translated lyrics.

3. Results

The following section contains ten graphs showing the results obtained for the perception of four characters, and their overall perception combined. Only four characters have been chosen from the sixteen that the participants assessed. The selection criteria for these characters depended on their variation in the original and the subsequent versions, to allow for the exploration of contrasts amongst them. The selected characters were **Lightning McQueen**, who speaks in a mainstream variety in all three versions of the films; **Mater**, who uses a vernacular in English and Catalan, but not in Spanish; **Marty**, who uses a vernacular in English and Spanish, but not in Catalan; **Ernie and Bernie**, who use a vernacular in all three versions.

The aforementioned characters presented a unique combination between the original and the translation of variation across languages. Lightning McQueen and Mater are taken from *Cars*, and no characters are taken from *Shrek 2*. Although it would have been preferable to include one character from each film, it was felt that there was no ideal candidate in *Shrek 2*. Puss in Boots may have been an acceptable choice, but his interL variety in English and Catalan becomes intraL in Spanish, hence this feature is not constant. The other character that could have been useful from *Shrek 2* is Fairy Godmother because she uses a mainstream variety in all three versions; however, hers is not MUSE, which contravenes the general unmarked variety. Characters who use MUSE are Melman, Sally, Alex and Lightning. To minimise the influence of gender, only male characters were chosen; hence Sally was not selected. Finally, Lightning was selected over Melman and Alex due to the fact that he enjoys a clearer dialogue for the selected scene.

The section below contains the graphs and tables that emerged from analysing the ten opposed adjectives presented in the grid, accompanied by a brief explanation. The section that follows (3.2) will seek to account for the differences that emerge from looking at ethically sensitive attributes, namely intelligence, confidence and credibility, and discuss general findings.

3.1 Presentation of tables and graphs

The following tables summarise the mean, standard deviations and between group statistical comparisons for all characters. Statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$) are highlighted in the accompanying graphs which include the the magnitude of difference between mean values. A short explanation accompanies each graph. Extended comments will be offered in the next section.

Close Scores by Language and Character				
Mean (+/- St Dev)				
Character	English	Catalan	Spanish	P
Overall	3.3 (1.6)	4.2 (1.7)	4.0 (1.5)	p = 0.000*
Lightning	3.1 (1.5)	4.1 (1.3)	3.3 (1.4)	p = 0.06**
Ernie and Bernie	2.4 (1.3)	2.7 (1.8)	2.8 (1.4)	p = 0.583
Marty	3.6 (1.4)	4.6 (1.1)	4.7 (1)	p = 0.008***
Mater	4.0 (1.9)	5.5 (1)	5.2 (0.6)	p = 0.001****

* Overall higher scores in both Catalan and Spanish than English. No difference between Catalan and Spanish.
 ** Non-significant trend for higher score in Catalan than English but not Spanish. No difference between Spanish and English.
 *** Higher scores in both Catalan and Spanish than English. No difference between Catalan and Spanish.
 **** Higher scores in both Catalan and Spanish than English. No difference between Catalan and Spanish.

Table 2: Summary of results and statistical tests for close scores.

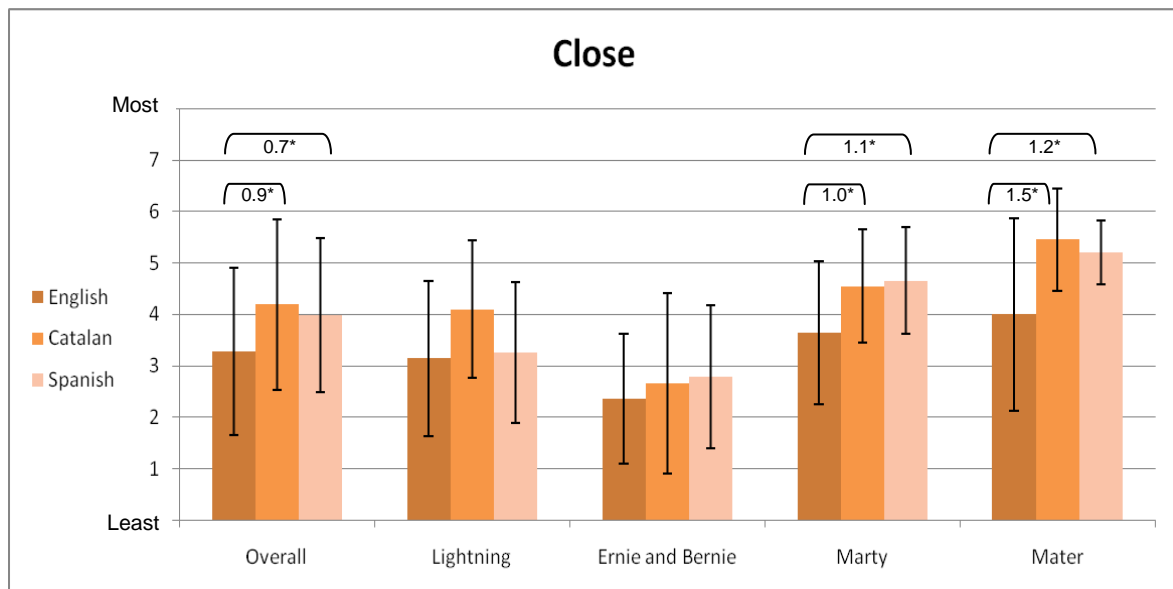


Figure 7: Mean score for close, +/- standard deviation. Asterisk (*) signifies statistically significant difference between language versions.

For closeness, Figure 7 shows that Marty and Mater are perceived differently in Spanish and Catalan compared to the original. This affects the overall perception for the group as a whole. The relatively low score given to Mater and Marty in English might be attributed to

the fact that the group of native English speakers were all from the British Isles, assessing characters with American varieties. This aspect was not controlled in the study, and should be considered for further research in which a dialectal profile of the participants may be created.

Sincere Scores by Language and Character				
Mean (+/- St Dev)				
Character	English	Catalan	Spanish	p
Overall	3.5 (1.6)	3.6 (1.7)	3.4 (1.7)	p = 0.727
Lightning	2.8 (1.1)	3.1 (1.4)	2.1 (1.3)	p = 0.053 *
Ernie and Bernie	2.6 (1.3)	2.2 (1.6)	2.5 (1.3)	p = 0.598
Marty	3.6 (1.3)	3.9 (1.3)	3.7 (1.5)	p = 0.701
Mater	5.1 (1.2)	5.2 (1.2)	5.2 (0.8)	p = 0.382

* Trend for lower score in Spanish than both English and Catalan. No difference between English and Catalan.

Table 3: Summary of results and statistical tests for **sincere** scores.

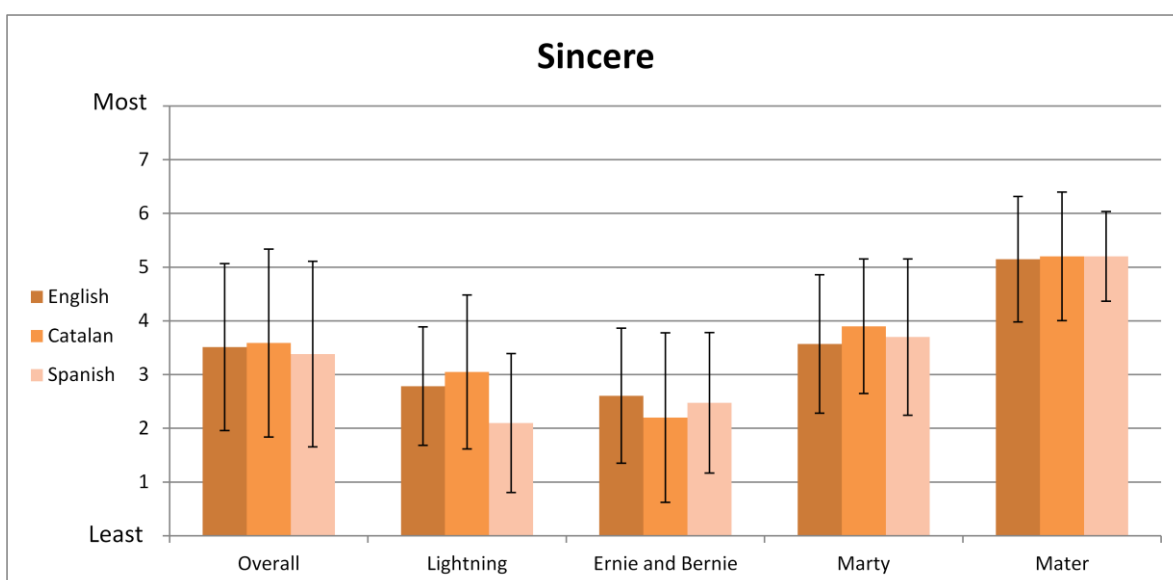


Figure 8: Mean score for **sincere**, +/- standard deviation. Asterisk (*) signifies statistically significant difference between language versions.

There are no significant differences on the perception of sincerity across languages.

Strong Scores by Language and Character				
Mean (+/- St Dev)				
Character	English	Catalan	Spanish	p
Overall	3.5 (1.2)	2.9 (1.7)	3.3 (1.2)	p = 0.016*
Lightning	3.7 (1.2)	4 (1.3)	3.9 (1.3)	p = 0.654
Ernie and Bernie	2.9 (1.3)	2.8 (1.6)	3.0 (0.9)	p = 0.831
Marty	3.7 (1.2)	2.9 (1.7)	3.3 (1.3)	p = 0.123
Mater	3.5 (1.3)	1.9 (1.6)	3.2 (1.2)	p = 0.000 **
* Overall lower score in Catalan than English but not Spanish. No difference between English and Spanish.				
** Lower score in Catalan than both English and Spanish. No difference between English and Spanish.				

Table 4: Summary of results and statistical tests for **strong** scores.

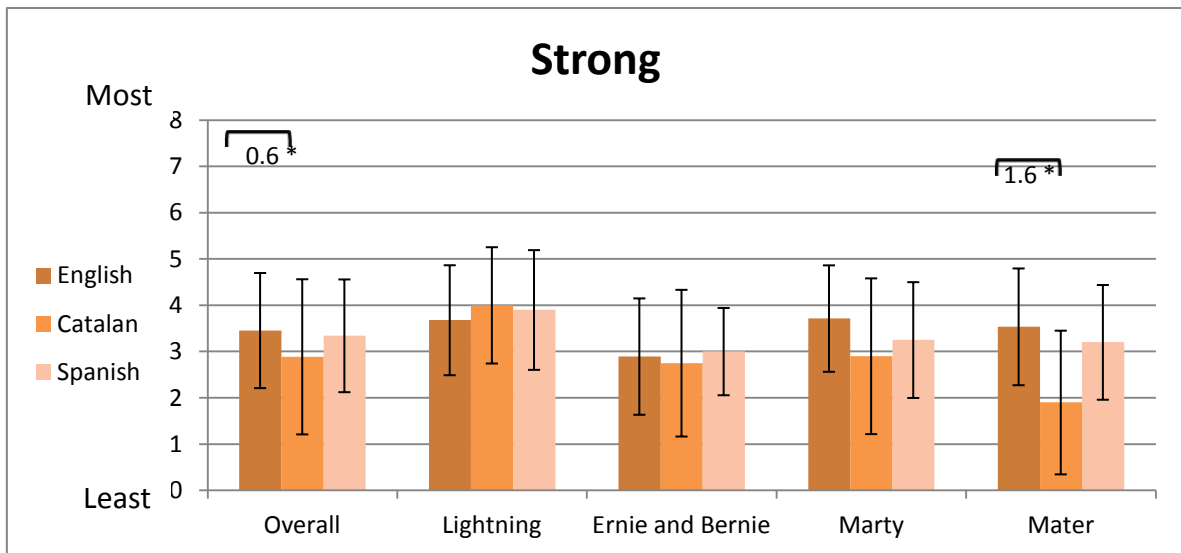


Figure 9: Mean score for **strong**, +/- standard deviation. Asterisk (*) signifies statistically significant difference between language versions.

The only statistically significant difference in Figure 9 with regards to the strength of the characters can be seen between English and Catalan in the case of Mater, with a difference of 1.6 points, which in turn affects the overall result.

Extravert Scores by Language and Character				
Mean (+/- St Dev)				
Character	English	Catalan	Spanish	P
Overall	4.6 (1.2)	4.6 (1.3)	4.4 (1.4)	p = 0.523
Lightning	5.3 (0.9)	5.3 (0.8)	4.2 (1.5)	p = 0.001 *
Ernie and Bernie	4.1 (1)	3.9 (1.3)	3.9 (1.4)	p = 0.872
Marty	5 (1.1)	4.7 (1.3)	5.2 (0.8)	p = 0.358
Mater	4.1 (1.2)	4.5 (1.6)	4.4 (1.5)	p = 0.626
* Lower score in Spanish than both English and Catalan. No difference between English and Catalan.				

Table 5: Summary of results and statistical tests for **extravert** scores.

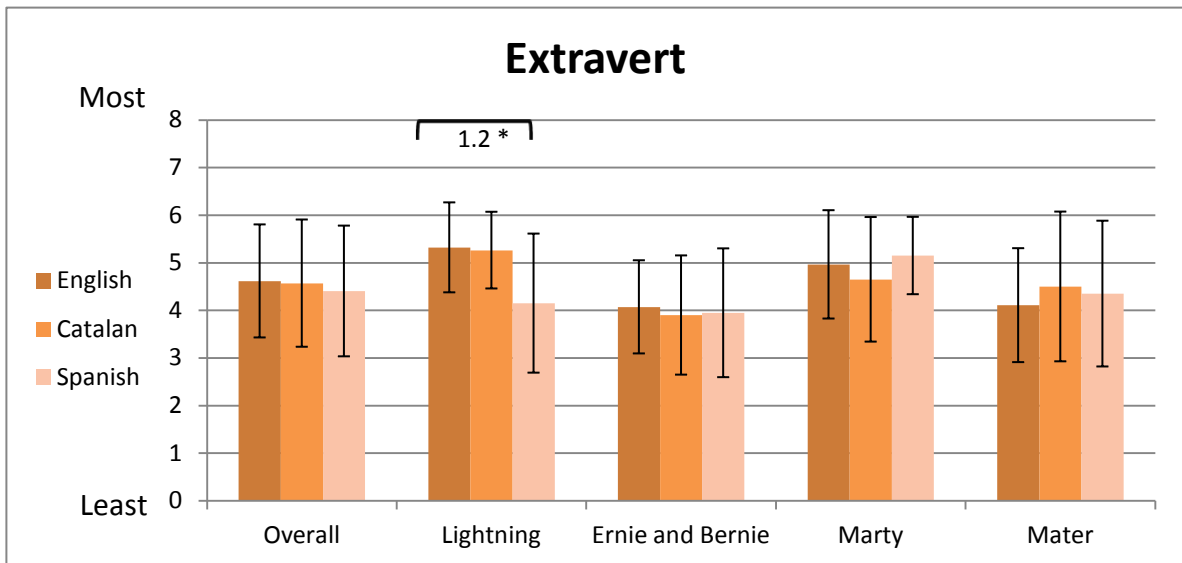


Figure 10: Mean score for **extravert**, +/- standard deviation. Asterisk (*) signifies statistically significant difference between language versions.

There are no statistical differences between the language versions of each character except Lightning, who was perceived as less extravert in Spanish compared to English and Catalan.

Intelligent Scores by Language and Character				
Mean (+/- St Dev)				
Character	English	Catalan	Spanish	p
Overall	2.5 (1.6)	2.6 (1.8)	2.6 (1.7)	p = 0.974
Lightning	4 (1.2)	4.1 (1.4)	4.2 (1)	p = 0.913
Ernie and Bernie	1.8 (1.1)	1.6 (1.4)	1.6 (1)	p = 0.847
Marty	3 (1.3)	3.1 (1.3)	3.3 (1.5)	p = 0.792
Mater	1.3 (1.3)	1.5 (1.8)	1.2 (1.3)	p = 0.750

Table 6: Summary of results and statistical tests for **intelligent** scores.

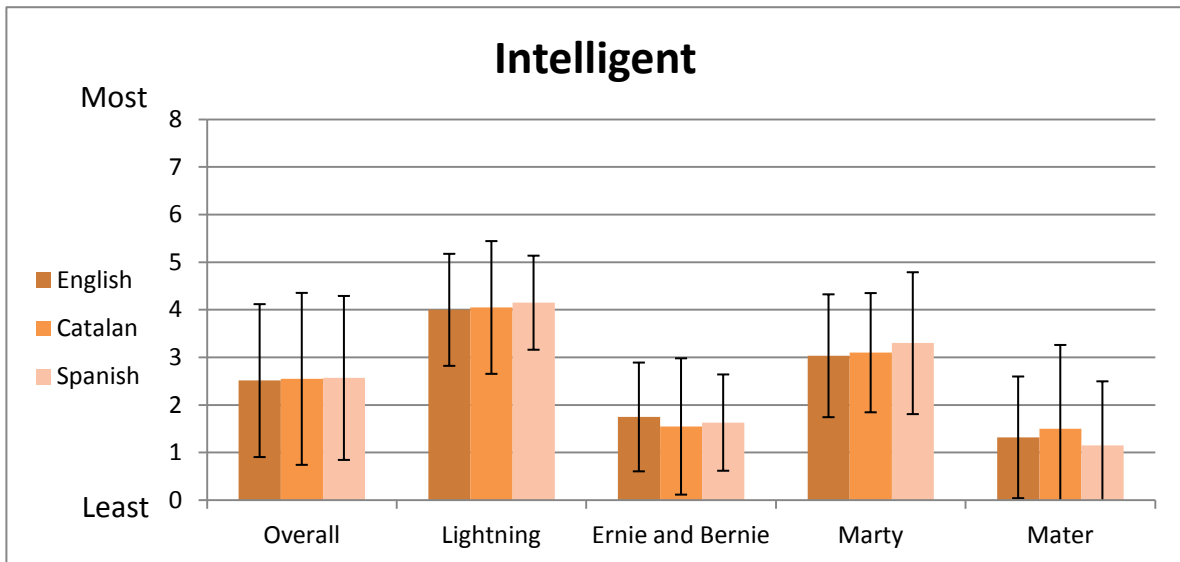


Figure 11: Mean score for **intelligent**, +/- standard deviation. Asterisk (*) signifies statistically significant difference between language versions.

The values for intelligence are uniform across versions. An extended comment on this will be offered below.

Confident Scores by Language and Character				
Mean (+/- St Dev)				
Character	English	Catalan	Spanish	P
Overall	4.3 (1.4)	3 (1.8)	3.8 (1.4)	p = 0.000*
Lightning	4.9 (1.5)	4.2 (1.6)	4.6 (1.3)	p = 0.277
Ernie and Bernie	3.9 (1.4)	3 (1.6)	3.6 (1.1)	p = 0.081**
Marty	4.8 (1.3)	3 (1.7)	3.6 (1.4)	p = 0.000***
Mater	3.8 (1.2)	1.9 (1.8)	3.4 (1.6)	p = 0.000****
* Overall higher score in English than both Catalan and Spanish. Lower score in Catalan than Spanish.				
** Trend for lower score in Catalan than both English and Spanish. No difference between English and Spanish.				
*** Higher score in English than both Catalan and Spanish. No difference between Catalan and Spanish.				
**** Lower score in Catalan than both English and Spanish. No difference between English and Spanish.				

Table 7: Summary of results and statistical tests for **confident** scores.

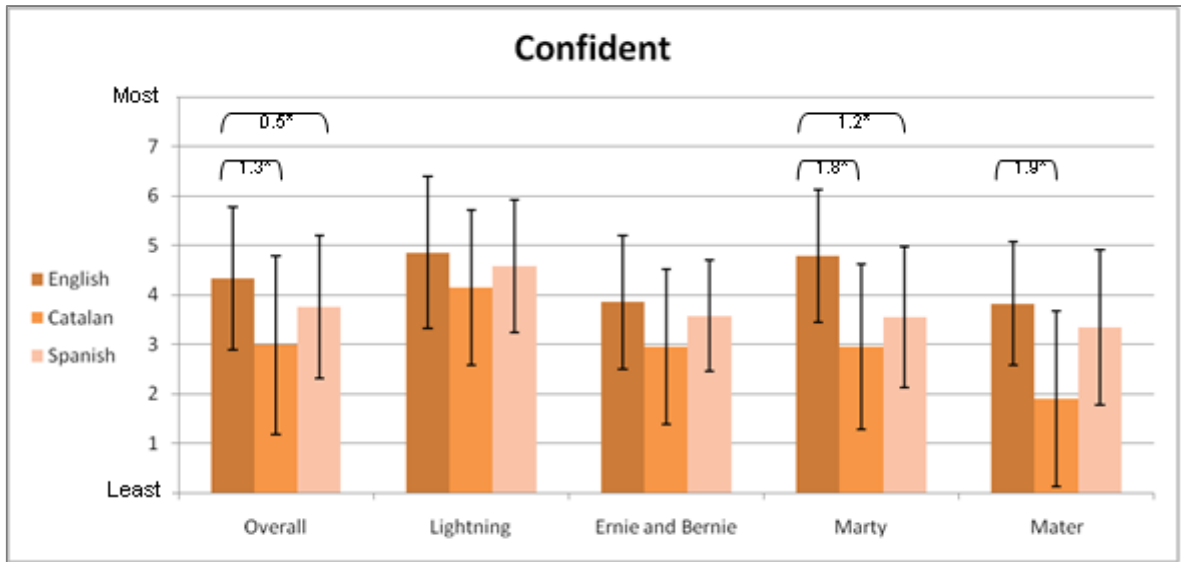


Figure 12: Mean score for **confident**, +/- standard deviation. Asterisk (*) signifies statistically significant difference between language versions.

Characters are perceived as less confident in Spanish, and even less so in Catalan when compared with the English version. It is notable that, statistically, these differences are highly significant ($p < 0.001$ overall and individually for two of the characters). Further comments will be offered in the following section.

Calm Scores by Language and Character				
Mean (+/- St Dev)				
Character	English	Catalan	Spanish	p
Overall	3.6 (1.5)	2.7 (1.8)	2.7 (1.8)	$p = 0.000^*$
Lightning	3 (1.4)	2.1 (1.4)	2.4 (1.2)	$p = 0.066^{**}$
Ernie and Bernie	3.6 (1.6)	3.2 (1.8)	3.2 (1.9)	$p = 0.565$
Marty	3.4 (1.4)	2.3 (1.5)	1.7 (1.3)	$p = 0.000^{***}$
Mater	4.4 (1.3)	3.3 (2.1)	3.5 (2.2)	$p = 0.089$
* Overall higher score in English than both Catalan and Spanish. No difference between Catalan and Spanish				
** Non-significant trend for lower score in Catalan than English. No difference between English and Spanish.				
*** Higher score in English than both Catalan and Spanish. No difference between Catalan and Spanish.				

Table 8: Summary of results and statistical tests for **calm** scores.

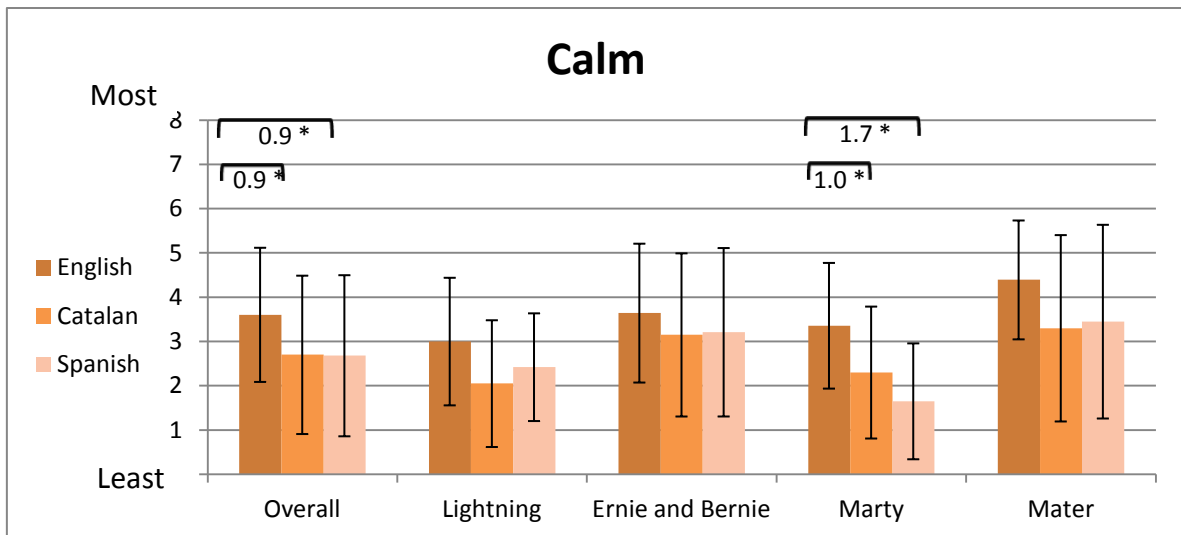


Figure 13: Mean score for **calm**, +/- standard deviation. Asterisk (*) signifies statistically significant difference between language versions.

Overall, characters are perceived as less calm in Spanish and Catalan compared to English, although for individual characters a statistically significant difference was only observed for Marty. It is noteworthy that Palencia (2002: 330) also identified higher perceptions of nervousness in the dubbed version into Spanish in comparison with the original in English; there may therefore be a systematic bias in the perception of calmness in these languages.

Balanced Scores by Language and Character				
Mean (+/- St Dev)				
Character	English	Catalan	Spanish	P
Overall	2.6 (1.5)	2.5 (1.5)	2.4 (1.6)	p = 0.668
Lightning	3.4 (1.4)	3.3 (1.4)	4.2 (1)	p = 0.047*
Ernie and Bernie	2.4 (1.7)	1.8 (1.4)	1.5 (1)	p = 0.091
Marty	2.4 (1.2)	2.7 (1.6)	2.4 (1.4)	p = 0.788
Mater	2.2 (1.4)	2.2 (1.5)	1.5 (1.2)	p = 0.185
* Higher score in Spanish than Catalan. No difference between English and Catalan.				

Table 9: Summary of results and statistical tests for **balanced** scores.

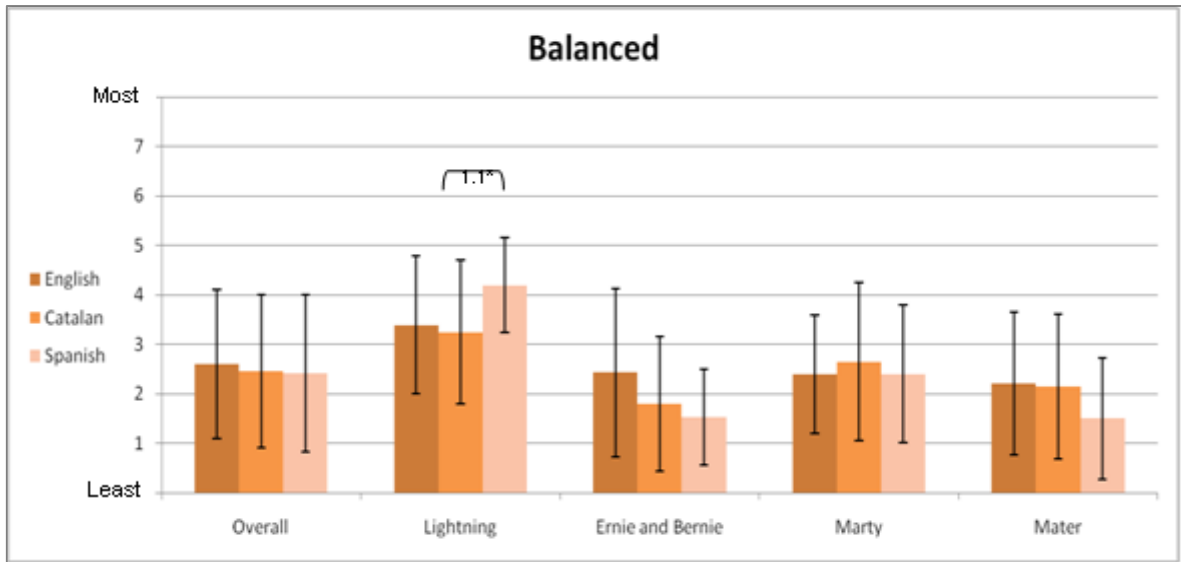


Figure 14: Mean score for **balanced**, +/- standard deviation. Asterisk (*) signifies statistically significant difference between language versions.

Lightning is perceived as more balanced in the Spanish version, but the difference only marginally meets statistical significance.

Humble Scores by Language and Character				
Mean (+/- St Dev)				
Character	English	Catalan	Spanish	p
Overall	2.7 (1.9)	3.1 (2)	2.8 (1.9)	p = 0.472
Lightning	1 (1.3)	1.4 (1.7)	0.9 (0.7)	p = 0.408
Ernie and Bernie	2.8 (1.4)	2.5 (1.5)	2.8 (1.4)	p = 0.682
Marty	2.2 (1.2)	3.2 (1.5)	2.4 (1.3)	p = 0.048*
Mater	5 (1.1)	5.4 (1)	5.3 (0.9)	p = 0.465
* Higher score in Catalan than English and Spanish. No difference between English and Spanish. Only just meets statistical significance.				

Table 10: Summary of results and statistical tests for **humble** scores.

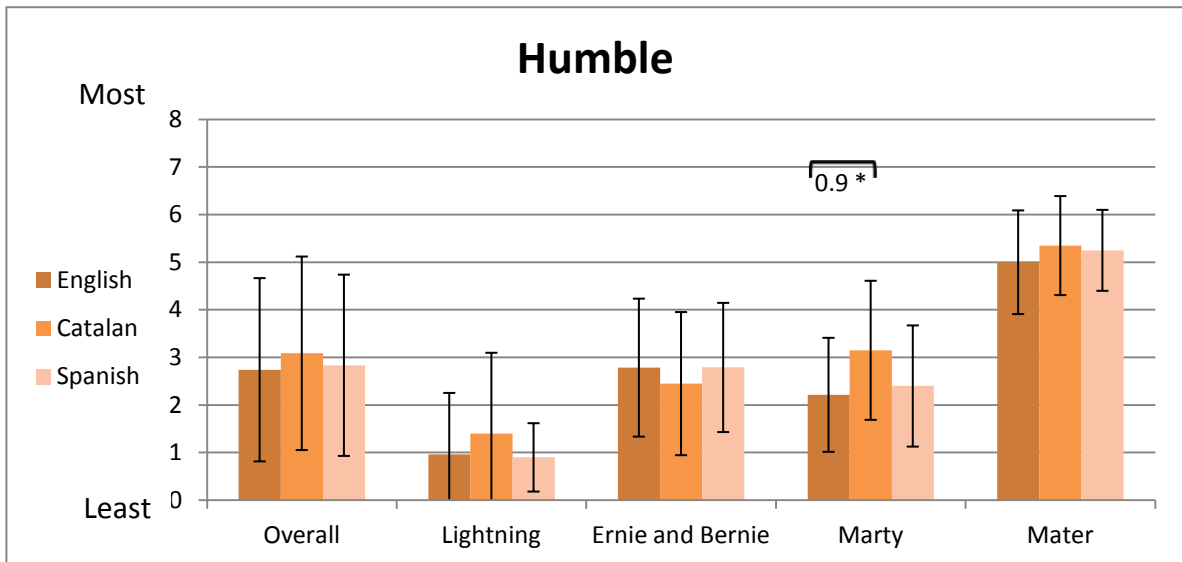


Figure 15: Mean score for **humble**, +/- standard deviation. Asterisk (*) signifies statistically significant difference between language versions.

Catalan Marty, the only Marty who does not use a vernacular, is perceived as marginally more humble; the rest do not show any significant differences.

Credible Scores by Language and Character				
Mean Score (+/- St Dev)				
Character	English	Catalan	Spanish	P
Overall	3.8 (1.5)	3.8 (1.6)	3.6 (1.4)	p = 0.672
Lightning	4.3 (1.4)	4.1 (1.1)	4.1 (1.5)	p = 0.333
Ernie and Bernie	3.4 (1.5)	2.4 (1.4)	3.1 (1.4)	p = 0.030*
Marty	3.8 (1.3)	4.6 (0.9)	3.5 (1.5)	p = 0.070**
Mater	3.6 (1.7)	4.3 (1.7)	3.8 (1.3)	p = 0.774
* Lower score in Catalan than English. No difference between English and Spanish.				
** Non-significant trend for higher score in Catalan than Spanish but not English. No difference between English and Spanish.				

Table 11: Summary of results and statistical tests for **credible** scores.

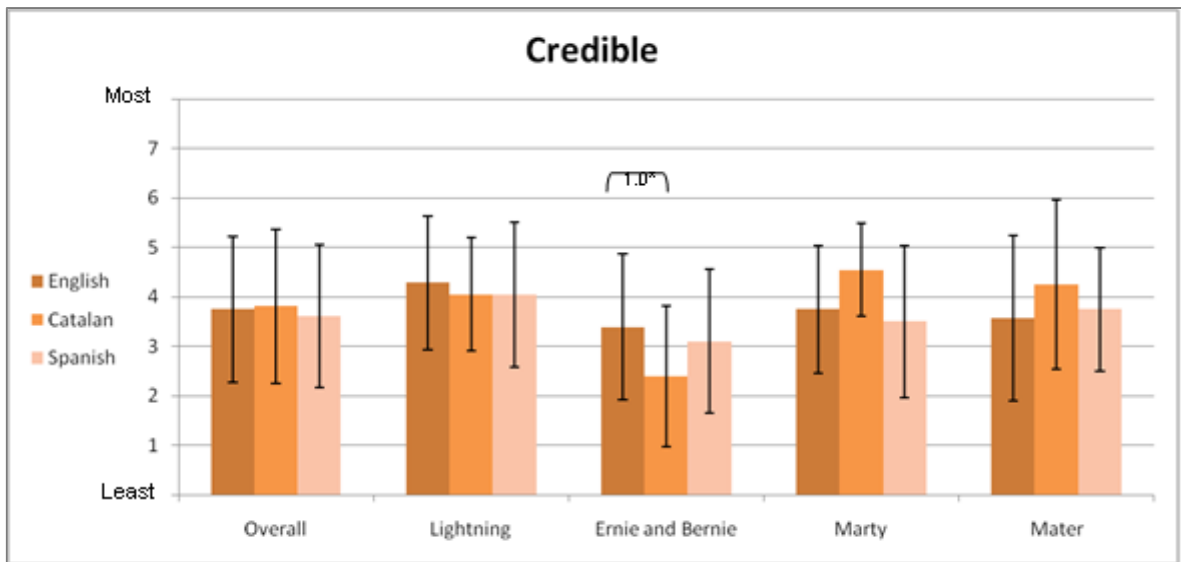


Figure 16: Mean score for **credible**, +/- standard deviation. Asterisk (*) signifies statistically significant difference between language versions.

Credibility does not show any general difference across languages, although Ernie and Bernie are marginally less credible in Catalan than in English. The findings of Prado et. al (1997: 2-3) concluded that formal texts are perceived as more credible than informal texts, which may account for the relatively low marks for credibility in a text where formality is not sought.

3.2 Discussion of the results

In general, there is evidence of statistically significant differences in several measurements and characters. However, it is important to note that the majority of these are of marginal statistical significance ($p < 0.05$ but > 0.005). It may be that small discrepancies such as these have no meaningful impact on the overall perception of characters. Furthermore, when differences do appear, they happen both for characters who use mainstream and vernacular varieties, be it in a case like Lightning, who uses a mainstream variety throughout, or characters such as Marty and Mater who use a vernacular in two out of the three versions. It can therefore be concluded that the choice of mainstream or vernacular does not have a general effect on the translation of characters within the macro-sign of the scene.

The emphasis will now move to the discussion of the results for intelligence, confidence and credibility. Consideration of the perception of intelligence has particular relevance to matters of ethics, and notably regarding the question posed by Baker: 'Do our choices

make the character appear more or less intelligent than we might reasonably assume they are or than they appear to their own communities?’ (Baker 2011: 289). Even though this question could be taken as an illustrative example, the analysis of this specific aspect may reveal particular prejudice with vernaculars amongst audiences. Although there was no initial intention to comment on the perception of confidence, the finding of highly significant differences between the English and Catalan versions requires further examination. Finally, credibility can be shown to be useful to access the global perception of a character: if credibility is impaired, it might be considered that the translation as a whole suffers.

In this study, no significant impact of the translation process on perceived intelligence was demonstrated. However, it is striking that all characters were rated mostly below 4, indicating that they were not perceived as particularly intelligent. This could reflect the animation genre, where this trait may not be prominent or sought, or the length of the scenes analysed, which potentially were insufficient for this feature to be fully perceived; further research would be necessary to determine a cause conclusively. Nevertheless, considering the specific cases of Mater and Marty, it is notable that perceived intelligence is not affected even when they speak in vernacular. These characters use vernacular only in two of the three versions so, to answer Baker’s question, the use of vernacular in translation does not affect the perception of intelligence at least for these characters and based on these data. In this aspect, other features might be more important to the global perception, such as imagery, gesticulation and soundtrack.

With regard to the perceived confidence, the values are significantly lower for the translated versions, especially in the case of Mater.¹⁰⁰ These differences are especially pronounced for Mater and Marty in Catalan. Overall results show that, whilst there is a statistically significant difference in confidence between Spanish and English, there is a further difference between Spanish and Catalan; Catalan characters are perceived as less confident than either English or Spanish, regardless of whether vernaculars are used. It could perhaps be speculated that the low perception of confidence is a projection of minority language status, as Catalan has historically not been considered a necessary language for positions of power and voices of authority. Further research into the perception of confidence in other minoritised languages that use dubbing, such as Galician

¹⁰⁰ In the results presented by Palencia (2002: 330), where only the original and Spanish versions were assessed, confidence was not affected, although the genre of the film for Palencia’s corpus, *Peter’s Friends* (1992) was very different.

and Basque, could be crucial to understand whether this link exists. It would be enlightening, both for the field of audiovisual translation and sociolinguistics, to establish how the speakers of these languages feel when consuming products in their own language.

Finally, as with Palencia's analysis (2002), credibility is an important feature in assessing the global perception of the character, and hence it is interesting to analyse this in depth. Figure 11 reveals that credibility is similarly perceived across languages for these characters, with only a marginal difference in the case of Ernie and Bernie. This is of particular interest when considering characters which are portrayed with different prejudice or stereotypes in the original and translated versions. For example, as discussed in the qualitative analysis, Mater's portrayal in Catalan has less visible prejudice than in English, but this did not affect the credibility. However, Ernie and Bernie were described as demonstrating negative prejudices in English and a contrived use of variation in the translated versions, and this appears to be accompanied by low levels of credibility in all three languages. This could be due to the portrayal of the characters: in the informal chats held after the questionnaires, many viewers thought these characters were not very likeable, hence considering them to be poorly developed which affected their credibility. This is an important feature to address in future studies, with relation to style and ideas on authenticity in determining the differences between a contrived and genuine variety.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented an insight into the possibilities of empirical research into character perception. It has been useful in determining that, overall, audience perception of characters does not show a generalised pattern of differences across languages. Nevertheless, there is evidence of subtle differences in perception of certain traits. The SDS has proven to be a useful method for collecting data to determine character perception overall, independently of whether variation is a factor. It is most applicable in determining the reception of the text at a global scale, that is including the complete soundtrack and visual cues that are certain to be transferring additional information. Although there are some isolated cases where differences might be attributed to vernacular use, other factors are always in play, namely the intricacies of the visual channel and the remaining soundtrack.

There are apparent areas in which methodology could be modified, particularly in improving the isolation of variables to reveal more definite results. Such variables include age, gender, and particularly native dialect. If adequately controlled, groups divided by

geographical varieties, or by contrasting groups of mainstream versus vernacular speakers, could give significant information on the language variation in these products. This could determine whether different groups respond to vernaculars in a similar way, although this would concern mostly the sociolinguistic aspect.

As per the effects of style and its translation, there are no indications that variation affects the perception of characters in general, but needless to say, a larger study group would provide more statistical power. Nevertheless, this study is very useful in gathering information on how originals and translations are regarded in general terms, highlighting relevant trends and differences. At this stage, there is no clear evidence that preserving vernaculars in the translated product has a globally detrimental effect. Varieties are shown to be just one part of the message when there are multiple communication channels such as character, body language and personality, soundtrack, and even the colours used on the scene or voice frequency. Therefore, a larger study involving more participants would give more information about the way this new product is perceived amongst audiences, and the acceptability that variation has in an increasingly accepting diverse world.

From the test results, it can be inferred that in the cases where a character has been translated using varieties, it has a comparable match in most of the traits. The exception to this is the confidence perceived by the Catalan audience. Due to the lack of previous studies, it is not possible to determine a definite cause for this general reduction. There is a clear need for further research into this aspect, which would gain particular relevance if it could be compared to the translations in other minoritised languages.

Conclusions

The original aim of this thesis was to determine the translatability of style as a dimension of language. Throughout the past four chapters several axes that hold the main research question have been addressed. In the first chapter, we explored the concept of style and audience design, together with the visibility of language variation in media for English-, Spanish- and Catalan-speaking audiences. The second chapter was concerned with the dubbing technicalities and industry, and the translation of variation, including its ethical dimension. These were indispensable elements to take into account for the corpus analysis in which the originals and their translations were assessed. Finally, a chapter was dedicated to exploring first-hand how audiences receive these products. This objective has been explored thoroughly through each of the areas it affects, namely the industry, the audiences, the languages in which these translations operate and, ultimately, on a corpus of work where such dimension and its translation are palpable.

The analysis of the films in the corpus leads to the conclusion that style, as a dimension of language, has the potential to be translated effectively using similar sociolinguistic resources in the target languages. This is an especially salient feature of products that use variation whose meaning is constructed locally in the particular genre of fantasy and animation. As the films of the corpus reveal, this has been practiced with highly successful audiovisual products in terms of the audiences they have attracted. The mainstream and popular films in the corpus in Spanish and Catalan, where some presence of vernaculars motivated by the original occurrence is noticeable, have already incorporated variation for some of the characters. Testimonies from the dubbing industry show that they are increasingly open to the idea of relaying style in the target languages, and ethical matters can be taken into account with a deep understanding of the source and target cultures. In principle, such local understanding could be recreated in the translated films, and this is seen with some characters within the corpus. However, there is a second type of character that resorts to stereotypes in the original construction of meanings. From here, two situations take place. On the one hand, the stereotypes can be dissipated in the translated versions when these do not seek the same homologous exploitation of a vernacular in the target language. In this case, the translation uses sociolinguistic resources but avoids stigmatised uses in the target language for reasons that are not always possible to uncover. On the other hand, a third situation arises in which characters in both the original and the translated versions employ stereotypes as a resource. Therefore it could be concluded that, when handling socially sensitive material as is the portrayal of variation, an ethical approach

is necessary especially regarding the cases where stereotypes are activated. Further research into the ethical implications of the translation of variation is a necessity in the context of current cultural perspectives that regard diversity as an aesthetic value. Beyond these ethical issues, the industry may benefit from increasing understanding into the place of vernaculars within media, in terms of marketing products that do not conflict with the audiences they are addressing. This would imply a view of language diversity as a commodity that needs to be framed in a way that is inclusive and converges with all audiences, who are the ultimate consumers of such audiovisual products. It could be concluded that animated films are shaping up to be a particularly playful ground where the translation of stylistic variation may take place. Specifically, fantasy films present a scenario where there can be a dissociation between vernaculars and their contextual situation in the original text, which leads to optimal situations for creativity to be activated in the target language to reproduce a degree of stylistic variation. This process aids the building of meanings at local level, depending on the roles the characters play and the metaphorical meanings of their vernaculars. At this stage, the findings cannot be extrapolated to other genres, where variation may be more visibly tied to social and cultural spaces and where realism or verisimilitude is sought.

The primary limitation of the present study is that it concerns products within a genre that is fashionable but that may end up being transient. It may also be that the dubbing industry, especially in light of current internet and broadcasting developments, where audiences can be catered for in their own terms, will become less necessary in the future. However, the present exercise has been useful in providing a vision where two disciplines overlap, namely translation studies and sociolinguistics. Previously, style had not been successfully integrated within translation strategies involving variation. The intention of this research was therefore to explore the possibilities that lay at the hands of translators and broadcasters should language diversity become well-established and a common occurrence in films and media products. Even if translation were not to be a factor, understanding the possibilities of variational style when it is applied to media products is enlightening to develop further research into the field of sociolinguistics: '[s]ocial change, certainly over the fifty-year history of sociolinguistics, is reconfiguring social and sociolinguistic hierarchies. Mass media are undoubtedly implicated in these changes' (Coupland 2009: 285). Conversely, if translation is part of the equation, further research should address the potential changes in the shape of the target cultures, when inclusion of language variation is external, and hence it is foreignising and influencing audiences. Another important aspect

of this research has been the study of vernaculars as ‘worthy cultural objects’ (Coupland 2007: 181), hence uncovering ways in which their visibility in the target languages can equal that of the source. Awarding them increasing visibility by applying foreignising strategies to translation is worthy of further study as is a deeper understanding of the creativity that is at the hands of translators, broadcasters and audiences simultaneously.

As seen in the fourth chapter, the perception of the corpus translations is on a par with the original regardless of the strategy applied in the presence of vernaculars. Further research into audiences would be essential to understand the acceptability of these foreignising products. Similar quantitative research into the global perception of characters would be very valuable in recognising the product as an audiovisual whole that transfers meanings across complex semiotic layers. In addition, if accurately divided by geographical variety, audiences could provide a clearer picture as to their perception of variation in the media that would also benefit other fields such as sociolinguistics with studies on prestige. Furthermore, one striking and unexpected result from the quantitative analysis highlights a perception of confidence amongst Catalan audiences that is lower to its Spanish and English counterparts. As previously discussed, it would be valuable to investigate whether this is a common occurrence in minoritised languages, which links up with areas of sociolinguistics such as languages in conflict, loyalties and language status.

A point that has been implied throughout the text is the impact of these translated films in a speech community such as the Catalan, whose media space is divided. Furthermore, films translated into Catalan are not widely available and are currently only offered by TV3 and a limited number of cinemas. Therefore, studying these translations from the perspective of language planning could reveal whether the visibility of variation offered in these films, in the absence of domestic products, could serve to further re-establish the normalised use of language, for it to regain habitus. Similar research into the repercussions of such translations into Spanish would be very useful in seeing whether the media are prepared to include vernaculars in what seems to be a space that still relies for the most part on MCS. For Catalan, the implications could evolve into a rejection of the product, as audiences are inserted in a political climate that discourages the visibility of other varieties of Catalan, mostly outside the Balearic Islands. However, the benefits of a diverse language use in a media space that is politically divided are innumerable: approaching the inclusion of dialects might be an acceptable form of language planning to reinstate the shared space that does not exist at present through either the public or private broadcasters.

It has been concluded above that the style dimension of language has been translated in the films analysed, which can be extrapolated to films where meanings are established locally. It is acknowledged that the fantasy genre is a very rich ground to explore this topic; nevertheless, it would be useful to explore other materials in which this might be possible. As has been established, audiovisual texts impede the dissociation of the image from the audible track, so films with a visible context do not allow for the same creativity in the subsequent versions. However, there may be value in exploring whether the stylistic approach to translation observed in this corpus might have similar success in other genres and even other platforms such as video games.

In all, the value of research into these matters is that it not only can improve the language output of the current audiovisual products, but it can also have a positive impact upon speech communities. This could increase the visibility of vernaculars in the media for formal and informal products, and not just for animated family films. The cases in which this positive impact is identified bypass the stereotypes that can still be seen in some of the film corpus, and focus instead on situations where vernaculars are considered equally valid as the perceived standards, either as a creative resource or as a suitable variety for formal programmes. Vernaculars, therefore, are not only useful to establish metaphorical meanings, but their locally established use could serve to reflect normality in diversity, and a convergence with the audience by featuring the reality of language in audiovisual products.

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Footnote 14: Spanish Constitution:

<http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1978/12/29/pdfs/A29313-29424.pdf> [Last accessed 19 November 2012]

Footnote 15: TVE style book: <http://manualdeestilo.rtve.es/> [Last accessed 01 October 2012]

Footnote 22: Statistics by the Generalitat de Catalunya

http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/Llengcat/Documents/Dades%20origen%20territori%20i%20poblacio/Altres/Arxius/4.1_televisio_oferta_evolicio.pdf [Last accessed 30 May 2013]

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Footnote 40: An abstract of the paper can be found in

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Footnote 45: Review of *Rango* (2011) with an overview of the kidult animation

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Footnote 52: The Catalan Government developed the *Llei del cinema* as part of the *Llei de política lingüística*. This applied to original productions, dubbings or subtitles.

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Footnote 53: Dossier including the technical details of the agreement, including figures and budget: <http://www.slideshare.net/empresesculturals/dossier-de-premsa-acord-departament-de-cultura-gremi-dempresaris-de-cinema-de-catalunya-i-fedicine-per-al-doblatge-del-cinema-en-catal> [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

Footnote 54: Press release on the increase of cinema-goers in Catalan:
<http://www20.gencat.cat/portal/site/CulturaDepartament/menuitem.4f810f50a62de38a5a2a63a7b0c0e1a0/?vgnextoid=17f2923e6837a010VgnVCM1000000b0c1e0aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=17f2923e6837a010VgnVCM1000000b0c1e0aRCRD&vgnnextfmt=detall&contentid=1a2f9c3e384c6310VgnVCM1000008d0c1e0aRCRD> [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

Footnote 62: For example, Dreamworks Animation SKG has made it its goal to release at least two computer-generated films every year. Source www.dreamworksanimation.com [Last accessed 17 November 2011]

Footnote 63: Under heading *How we make movies*, www.dreamworksanimation.com [Last accessed 15 October 2012]

Footnote 68: Source: www.boxofficemojo.com [Last accessed 15 October 2012]

Footnote 69: Source: www.boxofficemojo.com [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

Footnote 70: Database on dubbing into Spanish www.eldoblaje.com [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

Footnote 76: Further information about the Rastafarian religion:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/rastafari/beliefs/beliefs_1.shtml [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

Footnote 77: Information on the boycott of *Shark Tale*:
http://www.osia.org/documents/pamphlet_boycott.pdf [Last accessed 9 October 2012]

Footnote 78: Informal background history about the term ‘yo’
<http://www.nytimes.com/1993/08/19/opinion/sorry-new-york-yo-was-born-in-philadelphia.html> [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

Footnote 79: (about ‘yo’) ‘Filler-speech when a need to look "gangsta" is at hand’
<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=yo> [Last accessed 14 October 2012]

Footnote 82: According to the Internet Movie Database
<http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0001774/bio> [Last accessed 17 October 2012]

Footnote 84: (about ‘crackalakin’) Such as www.urbandictionary.com [Last accessed on 17 October 2012]

Footnote 85: Technical details for the films are catalogued in www.eldoblatge.com for Catalan and www.eldoblaje.com for Spanish.

Footnote 87: Interview with Paul Newman <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4bMnWT58pGU>
[Last accessed 15 October 2012]

Footnotes 88 and 89: Review of *Cars 2* by the New York Times:
<http://movies.nytimes.com/2011/06/24/movies/pixars-cars-2-with-larry-the-cable-guy-and-owen-wilson-review.html> [Last accessed 15 October 2012]

Footnote 90: Interview with John Lasseter, director of *Cars*:
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