A Corpus-based Study of Intra- and Extralinguistic Cultural Reference in English Subtitling of Chinese Films

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Doctoral Dissertation

A Corpus-based Study of Intra- and Extralinguistic Cultural

Reference in English Subtitling of Chinese Films

（中国映画の英語字幕における文化的指示の翻訳研究）

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

For ease of references, the following abbreviations will be used throughout this study to refer to some linguistic terms.

AV   Audiovisual

AVT   Audiovisual Translation

CRs   Cultural References

DTS   Descriptive Translation Studies

ECRs   Extralinguistic Cultural References

ICRs   Intralinguistic Cultural References

SA   Source Audience

SC   Source Culture

SL   Source Language

ST   Source Text

TA   Target Audience

TC   Target Culture

TL   Target Language

TS   Translation Studies

TT   Target Text

Chapter 1 Introduction

With the rapid development of globalization and the cinema industry, movies have become not only entertainment in daily life but also an important tool to enjoy and learn foreign cultures. Subtitling of cultural factors, in this sense, has drawn a considerable amount of scholarly attention because it is not a simple mapping from a source text (ST) to a target text (TT). One of the typical obstacles is a spatiotemporal constraint. How should a local dish or a saying be translated in a short subtitle?

A challenging task for translators is to deal with these local cultural references (CRs) because CRs are closely connected with the language and culture where they are produced. They are often bound to a particular culture or even to a specific group of people within the culture. In addition, some types of CRs such as jokes rely heavily on both linguistic features of the source language (SL) and the cultural features of source culture (SC), which are often different from the target language (TL) and target culture (TC). Transferring a CR would be more difficult due to the great differences between language pairs such as Chinese and English. Apart from linguistic and cultural problems, tackling CRs in subtitling also involves technical and textual restrictions.

In this light, numerous theorists in the field of translation studies (TS) have examined the subtitles of the movies which are full of ECRs and ICRs that cause translation problems of AVT.

In this chapter, after overviewing the research background (1.1), we will

present the purpose of the study (1.2) and research questions (1.3). The last section will illustrate the organization of the dissertation.

1.1 Research Background

1.1.1 Audiovisual Translation Study

Audiovisual translation (AVT) is the term referring to the transfer from one language to another verbal components contained in audiovisual works and products. It covers the translation of films, television programs, theatrical plays, musicals, opera, Web pages, and video games etc. As the word "audiovisual" suggests, the translation is conducted according to both audio (sound) and visual (seeing). That is to say, audiovisual materials are meant to be seen and heard simultaneously, which are doomed to be different from the translation of printed materials.

Dubbing and subtitling are the two main translation modes of AVT. Traditionally, Western Europe has been divided into the subtitling block (e.g., Scandinavian and Benelux countries, Greece, and Portugal) and the dubbing block (e.g., France, Italy, Germany, and Spain). Nowadays, with the development of technology, the situation is not that clear-cut; the cost-effective subtitling has entered many dubbing countries as an alternative. Subtitling can be defined as:

> a translation practice that consists of [presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavors to recount the original dialogue of speakers, as well as the discursive elements

that appear in the image (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, placards and the like), and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (songs, voices off). (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 8)

According to this definition, it can be found that subtitling constitutes a genuine and demanding challenge to AVT professionals because the transference is from an ST which consist of not only verbal information but also non-verbal information from audio and visual channels, to a written TT which is constrained by the limited time and space on the screen (section 5.2). In subtitling, the original dialogue is at all times available to the audience, which might require a faithful translation, whereas in dubbing, a freer translation is possible due to the unavailability of the original soundtrack. Schröter (2003) drew a quantitative comparison between the dubbed version and the subtitled version of one English film, and found that the dubbed version shows 96.6% reduction of the original text whereas the subtitled version shows 65.7% (p. 108).

As for AVT in China, it was virtually non-existent before 1949 (Qian, 2009, p. 13). Only a few big cities like Shanghai had some big cinemas providing simultaneous interpretation facilities for the audience to appreciate movies. It is not until 1949 that some studio started to dub films because at that time China still had a considerable number of illiterates or semi-literate who could not read the subtitles on the screen, let alone understand foreign languages. After China opened itself to the outside world in 1978, there is a boom of Hollywood AV products imported into the domestic market. Many

people, especially young generation, tended to watch the subtitled versions instead of the dubbed versions to appreciate the original flavor of the films or to learn foreign languages. Thus, subtitling has become more and more popular way of translating foreign movies. In addition, Chinese language films exported are always subtitled in English rather than dubbed (Qian, 2009, p.15). In spite of the unchallenged dominant position of the American media industry, China has the ambition to reverse the current by exporting as many productions as they imported. Subtitling is regarded as the most popular AVT mode for the translation of Chinese language films (see 3.3.3).

The language barrier, the unfamiliar settings and the different culture are the problems for the translator to conquer when they subtitle Chinese language films into western world, especially when translational constraints in subtitling are at their most vivid.

1.1.2 Culture References

Translation and culture are closely related to each other, and the relationship between them began to be thoroughly studied after the 'culture turn' in Translation Studies in 1980 (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 69).

Vlahov & Florin (1969) coined a term "realia" for words or composed locutions which are typical of a geographical environment, of a culture, of the material life or of historical-social peculiarities of a people, nation, country, or tribe (p. 438). In other words, realia refer to expressions which carry a national, local or historical color and do not have precise equivalents in other language. Oksaar (1988) introduced the concept of "cultureme" for them, and

4

Newmark (1991) prefers "cultural terms". Baker (1992) labels them "culture-specific concepts" as a type of non-equivalence at the word level. Foreman (1992) as cited in Narváez (2015) does not limit "cultural references" to culturally marked lexicon but extends them to cover symbols, icons, gestures, etc. The term "culture specific item" proposed by Franco Aixela (1996) is more explicit to refer to "textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text" (p. 58). Leppihalme's (1997) "allusions" are what may create a "cultural bump" to the translators, namely, a small-scale culture shock which may cause problems in finding the right cultural equivalent.

Few scholars in TS, and even less in AVT, have provided a definition of cultural reference (CR) and conducted an empirical investigation into these cultural elements. Among the scholars who have tackled this problem in reference to subtitling is Pedersen (2005, 2007, 2011). He proposed the concept of "extralinguistic cultural reference (ECR)" which refers to the lexical items, typically nouns and names, designating phenomena specific to the culture in which they are used. He thought that ECRs "stand out from run-of-the-mill translation and require extra special care and the active and conscious employment of subtitling strategies" (Pedersen, 2011, p. 41). His investigation is based on the Scandinavian Subtitles Corpus which consists of 100 Anglophone films and TV programs and Swedish, Danish, and some

Norwegian subtitled versions of the said films and TV programs.

Pedersen (2011) systematically carried out the empirical investigation of ECRs, but explicitly excluded what he called "intralinguistic cultural references (ICRs)" such as idioms, proverbs, slangs, and dialects. However, ICRs are another culture-bound translation problem that are more complicated and have not been paid enough scholarly attention to. ECR would not be enough for exploring the subtitler's attitude to the subtitling of movies in general. ICRs, according to Leppihalme (1997), involve "idioms, puns, wordplay or ways of, for instance, addressing a person, complimenting him or her, or apologizing" (p. 2). Until now, no scholar has given a clear definition of ICR and little systematic research has been made in the area of subtitle translation. Therefore, in this dissertation I want to call the attention to the fact that all cultural references should be taken into account when conducting an analysis. ECRs and ICRs are the preferred terms of culture elements in this dissertation although "cultural references (CRs)" may be used as a general term.

1.1.3 Research Gaps

As mentioned above, with the rapid development of globalization and the cinema industry, movies have become not only entertainment in daily life but also a crucial tool to enjoy and learn regional cultures. Watching movies is more widespread than reading books and other forms of written media to learn local culture.

[…] the film is a mirror of the culture which it unfolds, along with

the materials, attitudes and intones of its screen play, author, and

director all conveyed through the language and visual images

which serves as their vehicle. (Whitman-Linsen, 1992, p. 10)

Yet, as Gottlieb (2009) states, although audiences in the United States

and the United Kingdom enjoy Anglophone productions, they only

occasionally appreciate foreign-language works. Because "[t]he international

exchange of films and TV productions is becoming increasingly asymmetrical"

(Gottlieb, 2009, p. 21), and only a small number of non-English movies are

exported to Anglophone countries, most scholars who engage in investigations

into AVT have put little emphasis on the language transfer from a non-

Anglophone language into English.

Note, however, that Gottlieb just notices one-side of this asymmetry of

AVT studies and neglects that the language pairs studied are mostly English

and Spanish, Italian, German and Scandinavian language. That is to say, most

of the research done in this field centers on the European scene (Gambier,

2008, p. 14). Thus, their relevance and applicability to AVT between

linguistically and culturally distant language pairs, like Chinese and English,

are open to question. It is one of research gaps that is worthy of investigation.

English-speaking movie viewers receive most information about Chinese

culture through subtitles, since almost all Chinese movies released abroad are

subtitled. Since Chinese culture, compared with the American culture, is not

in dominant position, movies will be the most attractive means for western

countries to learn China.

Now, how have Chinese film exports been? Before 1992, they were few, and the overseas sales revenue was almost zero. By 1998, Chinese films and TV productions were being exported to more than 20 countries, mostly in Asia. Subsequently, Chinese films were sold to 53 countries. In 2013, the US accounted for 35.17% of the total overseas box office sales revenue (Wang & Duan, 2014, p. 169) and became the largest overseas market for China.

However, as box office revenue data show, the acceptance of Chinese films in North America is not widespread. There are two reasons for this low acceptance. One reason is that audiences in the US and the United Kingdom, unlike all other countries, "do not often enjoy foreign-language productions, whether dubbed or subtitled" (Gottlieb, 2009, p. 21). The second reason is that most Western audiences do not know much about Chinese cultural elements, with their distinctive national characteristics. Chinese films contain many verbal localisms such as outlandish expressions, alien allusions, and foreign settings, which would need to be "more palatable to a predominantly monolingual Anglophone audience" (Gottlieb, 2009, p. 22). These elements cause more translation problems than other noncultural factors in subtitling.

Interest in the translation of Culture-bound elements "arises from a cognition that culture-bound concepts, even where the two cultures involved are not too distant, can be more problematic for the translator than the semantic or syntactic difficulties of a text" (Cordero, 1984, p. 473, as cited in Leppihalme, 1997, p. 2). When the two languages involved are too distant, like Chinese and English, it is hardly surprising that these elements are

considered a tricky problem in translation. Many scholars such as Pedersen, Alex and Gottlieb, have revealed that people speaking European languages are more likely to understand the Cultural References (CRs) in each other's countries, and the original lexical form of CRs in ST is easier to be retained in the TT. As for the subtitling from Chinese to English, however, the languages in question are so different from each other that proper names, for instance, cannot be recognized in the dialogue because their spelling in the subtitles looks gibberish and incomprehensible. This is the main reason why this study must fulfill the need for data on non-Western CRs.

In the previous studies on CRs, the scholars like Pedersen and Gottlieb have focused on mainly extralinguistic phenomena; Alex and Leppihalme sees culture-bound translation problems as not only extralinguistic but also intralinguistic and pragmatic, but their works do not involve AVT. The culture-specific phenomena, especially intralinguistic phenomena, remain under-explored in the field of AVT studies, let alone in the Chinese-language movies. When he investigated the strategies used in the subtitling of ECRs in 5 films from Danish into English, Gottlieb (2009) built up a hypothesis that when non-English films were subtitled into Anglo-Saxon territory, they are prone to have a substantial part of their verbal localisms deleted or domesticated. Can his conclusion be applied to Chinese movies with subtitles in English? ECRs in Danish films tend to be not preserved when subtitling into English, but the picture drawn according to his results is much more complex than anticipated as he did not reveal whether the genre of the film rather than the language direction play a part in some cases. In addition, his conclusion is supported by

the data focused on the data of ECRs by excluding that of ICRs.

Descriptive research is widely encouraged by translation scholars and large-scale systematic descriptive research in AVT is necessary. However, the AVT study confined to the language pairs of Chinese and English are mostly centered on dubbing from Chinese to English (e.g., Chen, 2007; Xie, 2007; Wang, 2007 etc.). With regard to AVT research into subtitling Chinese-language films, to my knowledge, there are only two articles. Zhang Qiulin (2011)'s research is a case study on ECRs in Chinese language film *Confucius* published in China. His article is based on a small amount of data and confined to prescriptivism. Li Zhihui (2012) made a qualitative investigation of the ECRs in one category of Chinese films. There is no research into the English subtitles of CRs in Chinese language based on larger-scale corpora. The lack of large-scale systematic descriptive research often results in bias and subjectivism. Thus, there is undoubtedly a need for descriptive research into the field of CR subtitling because the descriptive approach is an ideal way to "giving account of the real, not ideal, nature of translations that have been done and consumed" (Díaz Cintas, 2004a, p. 63).

In general, previous research on AVT has been imbalanced in many respects. It is mostly focused on the Hollywood films, and language pairs studied are closely related. The traditional approaches to subtitling often overstress linguistic and technical aspects, lacking the study of cultural aspect. The previous investigations focus too much on the translation of ECRs, neglecting ICRs, and genre considerations has not featured prominently in the study of AVT. No large-scale systematic descriptive research concerning

10

subtitling Chinese language films has been conducted so far. Therefore, this dissertation will seek to remedy the situation by a descriptive investigation based on a self-built corpus involving more film genres, and explore how ECRs and ICRs are rendered in subtitling films from Chinese to English, with its many special conditions and circumstances.

1.2 Purposes of the Study

The primary concern in this study is to look at the subtitling of CRs, namely the meeting of languages and cultures when the Chinese language films enter the American film market. In this dissertation, I focus on verbal localisms, especially extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs) and intralinguistic cultural references (ICRs).

First, the dissertation addresses to revise Pedersen (2011)'s definition of ECRs and translation strategies to make it more applicable for the AVT of the Chinese scene because the previous studies on the definition of CRs and their translation strategies are more appliable for the AVT under the European scene. Specifically, the present study provides the definition of ICRs and the taxonomy of ICRs translation strategies because most of the scholars who are engaged in the AVT studies more focused on the exploration into the translation of ECRs and the investigation of ICRs like idioms, proverbs, slang, and dialects is neglected.

Second, the present study tries to remedy the asymmetry of AVT studies by a descriptive investigation based on a self-built corpus and explore how

ECRs and ICRs are rendered in subtitling films from Chinese to English, with its many special conditions and circumstances, because the previous studies do not pay enough attention to the transfer between the language pairs which are linguistically and culturally distant.

Thirdly, this study attempts to see whether Gottlieb's (2009) hypothesis can be applied to the language pairs of Chinese and English. Gottlieb's data show that English subtitles of the Danish films are very faithful to the TT. The present study tries to verify the universality that the subtitles are generally target-oriented in subtitling from the non-English films into English. In addition, according to Gottlieb's data, the film genre, rather than the language direction, seems to play a part in some cases. Previous study like Cheng (2014) stressed the importance of the concept of genre but he did not identify his hypothesis by empirical investigation; Gottlieb (2009) conducted an empirical investigation, but five films are not enough to draw a conclusion. Thus, this study also examines whether the film genre plays a role in the subtitling tendency and to what extent genres and translation fidelity co-vary.

Finally, this study also investigates reasons behind the different fidelity to different film genres and explains the motives by Skopos Theory, which accounts for the departure from the ST by accepting that a translation should be carried out on the basis of TT's skopos.

1.3 Research Questions and Hypotheses

In light of the purposes of the study, the present study aims to delve into the

following three research questions.

Research Question 1

Are some film genres more local than others?

Hypothesis I

As proposed by Gottlieb (2009), some film genres are much "more local than others and may not lend themselves to translation" (p. 34). That is, how many words and utterances are used, or how much dialog is present, depends on the genre. For example, in war movies, the characters tend to act without speaking, whereas in epic films, politicians may talk much more. The number of total CRs and CRs/hour can demonstrate the different degrees of localism.

Research Question 2

If so, is this reflected in the distribution of translation strategies?

Hypothesis II

Given the fact that some genres are much more local than others and may not lend themselves to translation, the translatability of films with different genres may be reflected in the distribution of translation strategies. In other words, the films of certain genre may display the tendency to the frequency of certain translation strategy and to the faithfulness towards ST.

Research Question 3

Does this affect the subtitler's translation fidelity to ST? And why?

Hypothesis III

When subtitling ECRs or ICRs from the non-Anglophone films of a "weaker"

culture, i.e., Chinese Culture, into US culture, the subtitlers will be confronted with a dilemma: they are in a tug-of-war between fidelity and audience concerns. When the works rooted in Chinese culture enter the Hollywood-dominated movie market, the priority task for the subtitler is to cater to the needs of the TA. In other words, the fear of alienating the TA, paired with the need for condensation in subtitling, will win over subtitler's professional ambitions to faithfully convey localism to their TA. However, the subtitler's translation faithfulness to ST varies with the film genre because the film of a certain genre is a product for a given situation in order to perform a certain function. It is not the ST but the skopos that determines the shape of TT, and the TA is a main factor that determines the TT purpose.

1.4 Organization of the Dissertation

As aforementioned, the aims of the study are to investigate how CRs are subtitled within the field of AVT. Chapter 1 briefly introduces the research background and purpose of the study. It then presents the research questions and hypotheses that are to be answered in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2 introduces the methodological foundation of my research. This chapter illustrates the theoretical framework under which the present research and analysis have been conducted. As the research has been carried out in the framework of Descriptive Translation Studies, this chapter will first give an account of why and how I conducted the investigation under the descriptive paradigm. Then, I will explain the statistic method used in this investigation,

especially the calculation formulae put forward by Gottlieb (2009), by which the scores of localism identity, fidelity share and fidelity index can be obtained. The rest of the chapter discusses the idea and premises put forward by some scholars who engaged in the Skopos theory and which have also influenced, to a certain extent, the set-up of this research.

Chapter 3 is an overview of the theoretical issues and practical challenges related to AVT and subtitling. This chapter firstly views the scholarly literature on AVT in TS, namely, its evolution as an autonomous field within the broader domain of TS and dependence of AVT study on other related disciplines. It also addresses AVT mode, distinguishing three main types of AVT: subtitling, dubbing and voice-over, with special emphasis on subtitling. In addition, it reviews the history and classification of subtitling, particularly the previous studies which mainly focus the study of subtitling on the linguistic and technical aspect. The unsolved problems are thus pointed out to justify the methodological approach adopted in this study and prove that the DTS is a viable theoretical framework for this study, and the Skopos theory is one of the translation theories that best explains the reasons behind translators' translation activity.

Chapter 4 classifies film genres for Chinese language films, and the characteristics of each genre are also discussed. This chapter also briefly introduces 24 Chinese films selected for this investigation. Then, I will investigate, analyze and discuss a number of other scholar's research into the definition ECRs and ICRs, which serves as backup that is essential for the definition and selection criteria of ECRs and ICRs in Chinese language films.

It then sheds light on the relationship among language, culture, and translation to point out the difficulties involved in defining ECRs and ICRs. Following this, a detailed definition and selection criteria for ECRs and ICRs are presented. Lastly, this chapter introduces the corpus including the Chinese ECRs/ICRs, their English subtitles and their corresponding translation strategies, which is built for the research goal.

Chapter 5 tries to explore the CR subtitling strategies that are suitable for Chinese language films. It starts with a brief discussion on the multimodal nature of film texts, various kinds of constraints of subtitling such as technical and polysemiotic constraints, and the effects on the process of subtitling. Then, by exploring and discussing the taxonomies of CR translation strategies proposed in many studies, this chapter will show that the strategies are placed between the two poles of "source-oriented" and "target-oriented", from which subcategories of strategies can be further divided according to the faithfulness to the ST. Later, combined with the taxonomies provided by the previous studies and the subtitling practice of ECRs and ICRs in Chinese language films, we will see the corpus-based typology of translation strategies, and the degree of faithfulness towards the ST.

Chapter 6 serves as the practical analysis of the English subtitles of Chinese language films. It focuses on the analysis of the data that were collected from 24 Chinese language films of 6 genres. The analysis investigates ECRs and ICRs with continuous reference to subtitling strategies to argue that (1) some film genres are much more local than others, (2) the films of certain genre may show a tendency to the frequency of some strategies,

(3) the film genre plays a role in the subtitling tendency, and (4) the faithfulness of the TT to the ST varies to the film genre.

Chapter 7 summarizes the major findings form the empirical work and draws the main conclusions and implications of the results with regards to the theoretical framework and the research model. Limitations and issues worthy of further research are also covered.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Frameworks

2.1 Introduction

The goal of this dissertation is to offer regularities and patterns with ample examples from a large corpus of data under the descriptive paradigm, and this chapter deals with the methodological approaches to this investigation and the theoretical frameworks under which this research has been conducted. More precisely, it considers (i) the relevant parts of Descriptive Translation Theory (DTS), which have a direct bearing on this study, (ii) the statistical analysis, especially Gottlieb's calculation formulas, and (iii) Skopos theory, which explains the statistic results. The aim of this chapter is not to give an exhaustive account of all concepts or points of view, but to show the theories are useful tools for my analysis. The theories' applicative studies of Cultural References, the main subject of this work, are dealt with in Chapter 3.

2.2 Methodological Approach Associated with Skopos: The Descriptive Paradigm in AVT

Certain aspects of Extralinguistic Cultural References (ECRs), such as proper-noun allusions, have already been paid much scholarly attention to. I adjusted the categorizations and investigation conducted by other scholars in this realm into my model and compared my data with the ones that have provided qualitative and quantitative results related to mine.

Intralinguistic Cultural References (ICRs), on the other hand, are such

an underdeveloped concept that I could hardly fall back on any previous definition, categories and research models that would lead to the kind of quantitative results I am interested in. The following approach to CRs was chosen to establish an analytical model suitable for the investigation into the effect of the film genre on the subtitling of both ECRs and ICRs, which would also be available for other scholars who are interested in this field to do further exploration such as a comparative study or a study using different language pairs.

2.2.1 Descriptive Translation Studies

James Holmes, a pioneer of Translation Studies (TS) distinguishes two sides of the field; one is 'pure' and the other is applicative. The applicative side is practical and prescriptive, and it deals with how and in what way Target Text (TT) should be made. The pure side is theoretical and descriptive in the sense that it probes the characteristics of TT which is already there. It aims to find out what translation is, but not what translation should be like.

In other words, from a prescriptive point of view, we look at a CR and decide how to put it in another language, whereas from a descriptive point of view, we find corresponding units for comparison and then to describe the relationship between the ST ECR/ICR and its counterpart in the TT.

Holmes (1994) further claims that the 'pure' approach has two main objectives: "(1) to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience, and (2) to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be

explained and predicted" (p. 71). The former one is empirical, and he calls it Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS); the latter is of more theoretical nature and he refers it to as theoretical translation studies (ThTS). TS is nowadays used to refer to the entire field of study whereas DTS is used as a more concrete term and employed when talking about a particularly scholarly approach.

Although only a few DTS works cover translation modes such as dubbing and subtitling, the DTS paradigm works well for the study of subtitling. Since this study is based on empirical observation of translation behavior, it makes sense to place my study within a ThTS framework, especially DTS.

Firstly, the application of DTS paradigm can solve the problem of whether subtitling is a form of translation or not. When talking about the application of DTS in AVT, the term 'plolysystem' coined by Even-Zohar is an inevitable concept to discuss because this concept is sufficiently flexible to allow us to talk of a film as polysystem. Díaz Cintas (2004b) argues that the film polysystem is made up of the original products and the translated ones, dubbed and subtitled, and "deals with the relationships that are established among all of them" (p. 23).

The relationship between ST and TT, the heart of Toury's (1995) model of analysis, is methodologically examined by using "coupled pairs", that is, "solution + problem" units which are established and extracted from the ST and TT under investigation (p. 38). As Pedersen (2011) had mentioned, coupled pairs, like CRs and their TT renderings, "can be used as indicators

of translation strategies" to generalize some patterns or norms, and the members of a pair can be compared with each other (p. 26). "After a large number of isolated pairs have been studied, *regular patterns* should be looked for which may have governed all these pairs, or subgroups thereof" (Toury, 1995, p. 81). His model is summarized by Pedersen (2011, p. 27) in the following way.

1. Present a target text, and its standing in the target culture:

2. Establish the source text and map (all of, or parts of) the TT onto it, particularly coupled pairs, and establish what relationship pertains between these pairs:

3. Formulate first-level generalizations.

Pedersen (2011, p. 27) further applies each step to his data as below.

1. The TTs, i.e., the subtitled films and TV programs that constitute the material, are presented and discussed as in the standing of TV subtitles as the preferred mode of AVT in the subtitling countries.

2. Couple pairs are extracted and the relationship between the members of pairs is analyzed. In this case, the coupled pairs that are isolated, extracted and analyzed are ECRs.

3. Tentative generalizations and norms are formulated and discussed.

Let us slightly modify Pedersen's formulation to adapt it to our corpus.

1. The TTs, i.e., the English subtitled Chinese-language films that

constitute the material, are presented and discussed; the subtitles are the preferred mode of AVT in the U.S.

2. The couple pairs, ECRs/ICRs and their renderings, are isolated, extracted and analyzed.

3. Tentative generalizations are formulated and discussed.

Secondly, as Diaz Cintas (2004b) has indicated, the reason why the DTS paradigm works very well for the study of AVT is mainly that this paradigm does not really presume anything about a translation, but 'collect' the segments of the vast phenomenon of translation, which "allows analysts to build upon the work of others and includes the results of others when presenting their results" (Pedersen, 2011, p. 26). The nature of 'collectiveness' and 'accumulation' of DTS is one of the main contributions of Toury (1995). He states that, "Only a branch of this kind can ensure that the findings of individual studies will be intersubjectively testable and comparable, and the studies themselves replicable, at least in principle, thus facilitating an ordered accumulation of knowledge" (Toury, 1995, p. 3).

Let us take Gottlieb (2009) as an example of 'collectiveness' and 'accumulation'. He tests his hypothesis that "non-English films rendered into Anglo-Saxon territory are prone to have a substantial part of their verbalism deleted or domesticated", which would "make them more palatable to a predominantly monolingual Anglophone audience" (Diaz Cintas, 2009, p. 12). By a thorough analysis of the strategies used in the subtitling of ECRs, he gets a result that on the whole fewer localisms tend to be preserved when

subtitled into English. However, Gottlieb's conclusion is not that persuasive because he only tested the subtitling from Danish into English, but the languages are linguistically and culturally close to each other. Does this hypothesis hold when applied to other language pairs, like Chinese and English? In addition, the results based on the data only from five Danish films and two American ones would be insufficient for the true generalization. Last but not the least, it seems "the genre of the film rather than the language direction plays a part in some cases" of his investigation (Diaz Cintas, 2009, p. 12). Thus, in order to further test Gottlieb's hypothesis and to gain more knowledge, I built a relatively large-scale ECR corpus based on English subtitled Chinese-language films of different genres and compared my results with his. Then, the corpus is extended by including ICRs and the step 2 above is repeated for each additional text and higher-level generalizations are sought.

In general, the steps of the descriptive procedure of this study are implemented as follows: First, twenty-four Chinese language films covering six film genres (Section 4.2) are selected; the original dialog and the English subtitles are transcribed. Next, with ECR definition (based on Pedersen's), ICR definition (my definition) and their selection criteria (Section 4.3), I extracted Chinese ECRs and their English subtitles from the aforementioned transcription; combined with taxonomies for ECR translation strategies in the literature (Section 5.3), the extracted ECRs/ICRs and their subtitles were analyzed to determine what translation strategies were used for subtitling Chinese language films, and they were ranked according to their degree of

ST fidelity (Section 5.4). Together with their corresponding translation strategies, the ECRs/ICRs and their rankings were compiled into a corpus (Section 4.4). In the final step, the statistic method, especially Gottlieb's (2009) calculation method (pp. 38-40), is used to compute the fidelity share and the fidelity index score, by which the translation tendency and the effect of film genres on the translation fidelity were compared (Chapter 6).

2.2.2 Statistics

My approach is both quantitative and qualitative. The calculation of the number of different translation strategies is instrumental when drawing statistical conclusions. The most obvious advantage of using statistics is that it elucidates objectively how translators deal with subtitles. It allows us to analyze the translation products and discover how subtitlers try to help the audience to access ECRs and ICRs. By using statistical data, it is possible to test some aspects of translators' attitude to CRs, such as the way of translating different categories of ECRs/ICRs in subtitling. The following is the Gottlieb's calculation formulae, which will be used to make statistical analysis.

Gottlieb's (2009) calculation method (pp. 38–40) was used to compute the fidelity share and the fidelity index score, by which the translation tendency and the effect of film genres on the translation fidelity were compared.

Fidelity share is the "percentage of source-oriented translation strategies used" (p. 38). In Section 5.4.2, I explain that by using maximum-fidelity translation strategies (transliteration) and high-fidelity translation strategies (direct translation, official equivalents, and specification), the original localisms are communicated as localisms. In other words, the semantic load of the original ECRs is almost retained, indicating fidelity toward the original ECRs. Therefore, Fidelity Share was the added percentages of transliteration, direct translation, official equivalents, and specification items for the total number of ECRs and was calculated as:

$$\frac{\text{Number of (transliterations + direct translations + official equivalents + specifications)}}{\text{Number of ECRs}}$$

The fidelity index (FIX) is "a measure of how many localisms get through to the secondary audience without being adapted or deleted in the subtitling process. It is calculated simply by multiplying the number of ECRs per hour by the fidelity share" (p. 38). It is calculated as the number of ECRs/hour × fidelity share:

$$\text{ECRs/hour} = \frac{\text{Number of ECRs} \times 60}{\text{runtime in minutes}}$$

The reduced formula is:

$$\text{FIX} = \frac{60 \times \text{number of source-oriented strategies}}{\text{runtime in minute}}$$

25

Gottlieb's calculation formulae are reasonable in that he considered almost all the factors that may affect the secondary audience for the ECRs and their translations. Another advantage of these formulae was that the ST-oriented strategies are lumped together to calculate fidelity share and index, which made the comparison of my results with those of other scholars possible. And as explained in section 2.2.1, the calculation formulae can be also applied to explore ICRs.

Some conclusions on the distribution of CRs and their corresponding strategies and the score of fidelity share and index among the different genres can be drawn if the number of these items sensibly varies from genre to genre. However, although empirical description is the basis of my study, it is not the goal of the investigation. The goal is to seek explanations for the results and the patterns found at the descriptive stage, which may be used to predict the appearance of future translations. Since we need a theory to explain the objective behind the translation behavior, let us take a look at Skopos theory.

2.2.3 Skopos Theory

The goal of this investigation is not only getting results and generalizing patterns at the descriptive stage, but also exploring the reason behind the statistical results. Skopos theory supposes that translation is a purposeful activity (*Skopos* is a Greek word meaning "purpose"), and it is one of the translation theories that best explains the reasons why the subtitler chooses to domesticate or foreignize a ST or a certain type of ST by considering the context and situation of the TT audience.

Skopos theory is first proposed by Hans Vermeer in the late 1970s and further developed in the book co-written with Katharina Reiss (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984) and translated by Nord (2013). Reiss and Vermeer argue that the shape of a TT must be determined by the function this text is meant to perform in the target context. In other words, the function of the TT in the TC determines the TT. However, a ST is always produced for the SC to perform a certain function; and when the ST is translated into a TC for a certain community of TA, the function of TT sometimes would not be in line with that of ST. Thus, the TA is one of the main factors determining the TT's purpose. Translation purpose and text functions are two very important concepts which form parts of the theoretical framework of this investigation.

One of the research goals of this investigation is to identify Gottlieb's hypothesis that when subtitling from a "weaker" culture to a "stronger" culture, the translation tends to be target-oriented. Thus, the first procedure is to establish who the target culture audience is and what their circumstances are, paying special attention to how much their culture differs from the SA's. In the case of my study, the research subject is Chinese language films whereas in Gottlieb's investigation, the subject is Danish films. In both cases, the TA is basically American living in the United States. As I have mentioned above, the author of a film usually has a specific kind of audience in mind when producing it, so that a ST is usually oriented towards a SC. However, when the film is translated into the TC, the translator has to face a new TA who may lack the awareness of or be more familiar with the SC which is necessary to fully comprehend the text; thereby the TT must be translated by

considering the assumed knowledge that the TA should have. It is safe to assume that American audience has little knowledge of Chinese culture and seldom shares CRs with the Chinese viewers. Thus, it would be a legitimate supposition that translators of, say, Chinese and Danish language films might show different attitudes toward the subtitling of CRs after considering the TA's familiarity of the ST and culture distance between the ST and the TT, when they try to bridge the gap between two cultural systems.

The subtitling tendency of Danish and Chinese films into the American culture is evaluated by the fidelity share. If the English TT of Danish films and Chinese films show similar subtitling tendency, it means that Gottlieb's conclusion would be universal. Furthermore, the primary purpose of the subtitled versions i.e., to reach as wide a foreign audience as possible to attain the same box-office records that the film achieved in Danish and China, can explain this similar subtitling tendency.

Another research goal of this investigation is to examine whether film genres play a part in the subtitling tendency and attitude. The concept of genre in the subtitling of films is closely related to the aim of the text, because the function of a certain genre is the best clue to what the skopos of the text would be. For instance, if it is a documentary film, then its informative function would determine the purpose of TT, that is, to provide a text that should be a representative of the ST to the TA (see Section 3.4.1). The translator should follow Vermeer's (1996) idea that "it is not the source-text and/or its surface-structure which determines the target-text and/or its surface-structure, but the skopos" (p. 15), and realize that the situation of TA

would call for certain degree of foreignization. Another example is the comedy in my investigation. The purpose of this genre is (at least partially) to amuse, and the subtitler has to recreate the humorous language. The subtitler might show an awareness of the aim of this genre by using more target-oriented strategies. Thus, if some genres prove rather source-oriented and some others target-oriented, it indicates that the skopos of the film genre plays a role in subtitling tendency. In addition, if the score of fidelity index sensibly varies from genre to genre and ECRs and ICRs are similar in patterns of the rankings of the fidelity index, it means that the function of the TT (to make the TA cry, laugh or learn as much as the SA did) would always play a part in the subtitler's decision-making.

2.3 Summary

Research in the field of subtitling CRs as part of AVT in TS can be done by the application of DTS, statistics and Skopos theory. All these models contribute something to the study of subtitling. DTS with a self-built corpus is of great use to empirical description; the statistics elucidates objective results; the Skopos theory helps explain the results.

Chapter 3 Audiovisual Translation and Subtitling: Theoretical Issues and Practical Challenges

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is primarily intended to provide a review on Audiovisual Translation (AVT) studies, especially on subtitling, in Translation Studies (TS) in general. Thus, the chapter opens with the discussion of the history of AVT, focusing on its development as an independent research field in TS and its dependence on other disciplines. Then, it is followed by an investigation of the forms of AVT with special emphasis on subtitling. The chapter then moves on to look into subtitling, with special focus on the history of subtitling and classification of subtitles, on which some unsolved problems are observed. Also, part of these subsections is concerned with the history of AVT and subtitling in China. Finally, the chapter highlights the study of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and the Skopos Theory, which will solve the problems and construct the theoretical framework for present research.

3.2 Audiovisual Translation

3.2.1 The History of AVT

Since the way of communication is everchanging, there have been a certain number of controversies about how to term the field where the ST consists of different forms of information from both audio and visual channels. "The first studies in our field tended to resort to terms like *cinema translation* and *film*

translation to name their research before TV and videos became popular (Díaz Cintas, 2009, p. 5). However, these terms can comprise only full-length movies and, therefore, excludes other audiovisual materials such as documentaries and series (Delabastita, 1990, p. 105). Then, the term 'screen translation', covering the translation of all those programmes that are distributed via a screen such as cinema, television, computer or mobile screen, begins to enjoy a certain currency in this field because it "opens the door for inclusion of the translation of products that until now had escaped more accurate categorization, such as computer games, web pages and CD-ROMs" (Díaz Cintas, 2003, p. 194). The term 'multimedia translation' is also used but restricted to "those products where the message is broadcast through multiple media and channels" (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 12). The appellation 'audiovisual translation' is widely accepted and covers translation for not only subtitling and supertitling, but dubbing, voiceover, subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, audio description for the blind and the partially sighted, and sign language interpreting. All the aforementioned terms are restricted to some types of AVT and ignore others. Nevertheless, whatever the restriction is, film subtitle translation falls in the scope of all these studies. The present study will adopt the term AVT because of its generic and flexible characteristics.

AVT is becoming an important academic research field within Translation Studies. For several decades, most countries in the world have developed their own traditions of the audiovisual industry, which has provided a very influential and fertile ground for translational activity carried out in the audiovisual realm. In the context where the language and culture exchanges are so frequent and the technology development are so fast, it seems imperative to

31

review the scholarly studies in reference to the history of AVT and its socio-cultural implications.

Romero Fresco (2012) claims that "the most fruitful studies on AVT include or assume to some extent two basic notions: the independence of AVT as an autonomous discipline and its dependence on other related disciplines" (p. 183). This seemingly paradox aptly illustrates two sides of the development of AVT: (1) AVT is developed from literary translation into an autonomous field within the broader domain of TS; (2) AVT is by nature heterogeneous and interdisciplinary. It is worthwhile to investigate both sides in some greater detail in this investigation because an investigation into: (1) the reasons why we should treat audiovisual products as a 'text type' that subsumes many different genres, not as a 'genre' within the literary translation would provide the perspective looking into the present study; and (2) heterogeneous and interdisciplinary nature of AVT would explain the reason why the theoretical framework of the present study is built.

The study of AVT starts in the late 1950, begins to prosper from the early 1960s and meets its golden age at the end of the 20th century. The articles on AVT studies initially scatter on the journals of diverse research area, like cinema, translation, or even newspapers and weekly magazines, which means that in a considerate period of time it was difficult for scholars to know what others had already studied in this field when they did their own research. Laks's (1957) *Le sou-titrage de films* is regarded as the first volume that have provided a very comprehensive overview of the subtitling technique.

The decades of the 1960s and 1970s witnessed the prosperity regarding subtitling. The journal *Babel* published a special issue in 1960 on cinema

translation which are contributed by some scholars like Caillé, Cary, and others, although most of the articles were not written in English. After that scholars of this field began to focus investigation on exploring the figure of translator and the different translational stages, the differences between subtitling and dubbing and the way in which the audience was seen to experience subtitling (Díaz Cintas, 2009, p. 2). However, in this period, AVT was understood not as a 'text type' that subsumes many different genres, but as a 'genre' within the literary translation. Snell-Hornby (1995) place AVT within the larger area of literary translation by regarding AVT as "phonological aspects of specific relevance for certain areas of translation" (pp. 34). Bassnett (2002) states that TS could be "roughly divided into four general areas of interest" (pp. 17-18): History of Translation, Translation in the TL culture, Translation and Linguistics as well as Translation and Poetics. The fourth category covers "the whole area of literary translation, in theory and practice", including investigation of the "problem of translation for the cinema, whether dubbing or sub-titling" (Bassnett, 2002, p. 18). In fact, the idea of superstructure known as the 'audio-medial text type' (see section 3.4.1) has been put forward by Reiss (1977/1989).

As stated by Karamitroglou (2000), the field of AVT "frequently raised the question whether translation studies can actually include AVT within its broad scope" (p.10). Karamitroglou explained some reasons why AVT can be accepted as a sub-field of TS: the subtitler is usually given a written form of original audiovisual texts to translate, which is line with written translation; typological studies in AVT have already presented a fact that many scholars have applied various transfer methods or theory in a coherent and scientific

way into AVT within the framework of TS, just like they have done on literary translation; AVT, like literary translation, was derived from the same drive to cross language barriers (2000, p. 11). Furthermore, there are some rules (or conventions) and restrictions that arise basically from the nature of audiovisual texts, which are specific to the audiovisual media and differentiate AVT from other forms of translation, say, literary translation.

The concepts and theories based on literary translation cannot be fully applied into AVT because information in audiovisual texts, unlike that of literary translation, in conveyed simultaneously through an acoustic and a visual channel. AVT should build its own theoretical framework within TS.

Generally, AVT has been regarded as being inferior to literary translation. The reason is probably "the lack of cultural prestige in audiovisual mass-media, compared to canonized literature" (Ballester, 1995, p. 178). However, the audiovisual mass-media has begun to gain its cultural prestige. First, we are in a society changing from the paper-oriented towards the media-oriented. Second, as audiovisual products are globally spreading, the demand of much more AVT practice has enormous impact on society. As pointed out by Díaz Cintas (2009), "[t]here is no doubt that the ever-increasing prominence of audiovisual media in our society has had a positive knock-on effect on the social and cultural visibility of AVT, attracting enormous interest in this form of communication" (p. 6). What is more, conferences, studies and academic trainings focusing on the field of AVT allow it to claim the status of a scholarly research area in its own right. It is, thus, worthwhile for this dissertation to explore the AVT from a sociocultural perspective.

Although it may be an independent research field, AVT is by nature

heterogeneous and dependent on other related disciplines. As Romero Fresco (2012) says: "if the autonomy of AVT is the starting point for research, its interdisciplinarity is the way forward […], as it is drawing on other disciplines that AVT finds new and fruitful avenues of research" (p. 183). Because of the heterogeneous nature of the AVT, a translation that transmits only the linguistic component without considering the other semiotic dimensions would be terrible. Since, as stated by Schwarz (2002), the subtitler is faced with multi-media performance, "where the dialogue operates together with the visual image, soundtrack and music" (para. 7). The present of both visual and acoustic origin poses special obstacle to subtitlers.

Another difference between AVT literary translation is that many people such as actors, directors, producers, screen writers and editors are all involved in the process of producing audiovisual products whereas the literary work is often regarded as being produced by one and only one writer. It follows that factors taken into consideration in the process of AVT are more complicated than that of literary translation. The dilemma the translator faces in the process of literary translation cannot be applied to the case of subtitling.

Thus, many of the translation concepts and theories based on the translation of canonical works might cease to function when they are applied to AVT, which has driven scholars to do interdisciplinary investigations into AVT. Descriptive studies and concepts such as norms and polysystem (see Section 2.2.1) will be heuristic tools for AVT study.

3.2.2 Types of AVT

When it comes to the study of AVT modes, there used to be a tendency to group the different AVT modes all together. AVT modes share common characteristics, but what distinguish them from others is worthy of an in-depth investigation because specialty of each mode would have its specific limitations on translation and pose different translation problems in the process of translation. It is just as what Díaz Cintas (2004a) said:

> The reduction is fundamental to subtitling but not so much to dubbing; the translation of exclamations and interjections is not a problem in subtitling, but it is critical in dubbing; the shift from oral to written does not occur in dubbing; the problems of linguistic variation are practically irresolvable in subtitling than in dubbing; the coexistence of the two languages in the subtitled version has an impact on the translation of subtitles that has no parallel in dubbing, etc. (p. 53)

In general, there are two basic approaches to dealing with the transfer of the spoken dialogue of the original audiovisual productions into another language: in one mode, oral output remains oral, and in the other mode, oral output is transformed into written one. In the first approach, the original soundtrack is replaced by a new one in the TL, and the replacement could be total or partial. The total replacement is known as dubbing by which the TA cannot hear the original dialogue whereas the partial replacement is called voiceover by which the original spoken dialogue is faintly audible in the background. In the process of dubbing, the original soundtrack which contains

the actors' dialogue is replaced by a TL recording that reproduces the original message, ensuring the synchronization of the target language sounds with the articulation movements of the character, the actor's body movement, and the duration of on-screen character's utterances. Voiceover involves reducing the volume of the original soundtrack to the auditory level in the background to ensure that the reproduced TL recording which is overlapped on to the original soundtrack can be heard by the TA. Moreover, the TL recording in voiceover often set on several seconds after the original foreign speech starts and finishes several seconds before the original speech ends.

In the second approach, a written text is often presented along the bottom of the screen, translating the original spoken dialogues as well as other linguistic elements that forms part of the visual image like banners, or of the soundtrack like songs.

As for the film translation, after more than eighty years of practice, the major approaches are now dubbing and subtitling. The preference to subtitling or dubbing is linked to economic conditions, as "subtitling is some ten to 20 times less expensive than dubbing" (Díaz Cintas, 2003, p. 196). Countries with economic potentials can afford dubbing whereas poorer countries would like to prefer subtitling. Of course, there are some other reasons, such as local habits and traditions, cultural reasons and political requirements or censorship policy, for giving the priority of a certain type.

From the perspective of translation fidelity, dubbing, with the absence of original dialogue, is a domesticated approach because it is more likely to adjust SL expressions to the sociocultural norms of the TL. Subtitling, compared with dubbing, is considered as a form of foreignized translation because the intact

original text and the subtitled version added on the screen would lead to subtitler's endeavor to stick to the original.

But it does not mean that one type is better than the other. The United States, for example, was described as a special one that "neither dubbing nor subtitling is common" because people are reluctant to accept foreign audiovisual products (Díaz Cintas, 2003, p. 196). However, new audiovisual markets are being explored by means of subtitles, since the audience is now used to emails and chat rooms, which "are teaching young people to communicate through subtitles" (Díaz Cintas, 2003, p. 197). China had a long tradition of dubbing because of historical and cultural reasons (e.g., high level of illiteracy) and political requirements or censorship policy (e.g., the policy of adjusting some SL expressions to the sociocultural norms of the TL), but recently they prefer subtitling the foreign audiovisual productions. We can safely conclude with Luyken et al. (1991), "preferences may not be unalterable and that they might be transformed by familiarization with other alternatives" (p. 112).

3.3 Subtitling

Subtitling is a form of translation to which AVT theorists are increasingly giving the importance. In this section, we will overview its history (3.3.1), its types (3.3.2), subtitling in China (3.3.3), and its cultural aspects (3.3.4).

3.3.1 History of Subtitling

The history of subtitling can be traced back to the silent film *College Chums*.

In the era of silent cinema of the early 20th century, there was strong intention to transfer the "dialogue which is spoken by actors to the viewers" (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998, p. 9); thereby, the intertitle that is "a piece of filmed, printed text that appears between scenes" (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 26) was added on the film screen to "convey character dialogue and descriptive narrative material related to the images" (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998, p. 9). However, intertitles might destroy the audience's appreciation of films because they are sporadically inserted between scenes, interrupting the flow of the images, although they do not ruin the image by occupying the whole screen. "Scientists tried to improve the way of inserting subtitles on the distribution copies of the movie. Success came in 1933 when chemical subtitling was invented in Hungary and Sweden" (Ivarsson, 2002, p. 8). Subtitling became prominent with the arrival of talking pictures (Ivarsson, 2009).

Now subtitling can be defined as follows:

> Subtitling is the translation of the spoken source language text of an audiovisual product, generally movie dialogues, into a written text, which is superimposed onto the image of the original product, usually at the bottom of the screen. (Luyken et al., 1991, p. 31)

> A translation practice that consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavors to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, placards, and the like), and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (songs, voices off). (Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007, pp. 8-9)

3.3.2 Types of Subtitling

Gottlieb (1997a, pp. 71-72) characterizes subtitles from both linguistic and technical perspective. Linguistically, there are two kinds of subtitling: intralingual subtitling and interlingual subtitling. Intralingual subtitling involves the transfer within the language while interlingual subtitling is between two languages. The former involves both the local programs subtitled in the same language for the deaf and hard of hearing and subtitles for amateur singers (in the case of karaoke) or for people who want to learn languages. What changes in intralingual subtitling is not the language but the mode. The latter involves in changing both the language and the mode for the distribution of a movie or program in a foreign market although interlingual subtitling can also benefit second language learners. Technically, Gottlieb classifies two types of subtitles: open subtitles and closed subtitles. Open subtitles go with the original film or the television version because they are part of the video and cannot be turned off. Closed subtitles can be voluntarily added both to teletext and satellite channels and can be turned on and off by the viewer.

Some other scholars also provide their classifications. For example, besides subtitling for cinema and television, Ivarsson (1992) tries to include more types into his category, such as multilingual subtitling (the subtitles appear in more than one language), reduced subtitling (the subtitles for live events like sports broadcasts), and the subtitling of opera, conferences. Díaz Cintas (2001) put forwards, apart from the traditional types (intralinguistic subtitles, interlinguistic subtitles, open and closed subtitles), bilingual subtitles —a new type which is produced in geographical areas where two languages are spoken and in international film festivals to attract a wider audience (Díaz

Cintas & Remael, 2007, p. 18). It shows that the types of subtitling are changing with the development of the social need and the technology. The norms or conventions governing the subtitling is thereby changing. Thus, my investigation should choose 'modern' films to exclude the translations that might have been made according to norms that were abandoned a long time ago.

In addition, although no classification can cover all types of subtitling, most of scholarly investigations focus on two general aspects: linguistic and technical. The investigation into subtitling on technical aspect includes the placing of subtitles (whether the subtitles are always found in the place or not), the filing of subtitles (whether the subtitles are an inseparable or independent part of the audiovisual), the mobility of subtitles (whether the subtitles move or are fixed while they appear), the optionality of subtitles (whether they are closed or open subtitles) etc. As to the linguistic aspect, the most basic and important investigation to subtitling is language, that is, whether the transfer is within the language or between languages. However, to explore subtitling from a mere linguistic or technical approach is clearly insufficient because subtitling is believed to be an intercultural rather than interlinguistic communication act.

3.3.3 Subtitling in China

China has a long history of AVT practices which can also be traced back to the silent film era. Till now, AVT has played an important role in all aspects of life (e.g., cross-cultural communication, trade business and industry development) in China. There are three main directions of AVT activities of China, that is, translating foreign audiovisual products into Chinese, translating Chinese

41

audiovisual products into foreign languages and audiovisual translation into ethnic minority languages in China (Jin & Gambier, 2018, p. 26).

The first direction has the longest history of practice. Before 1949, mainland China did not have AVT because there was almost no television and only a few big cities like Shanghai had several big cinemas providing simultaneous interpretation facilities for the audience to watch foreign films. After the founding of People's Republic of China, with the import of more foreign films, Chinese people in mainland sometimes watched dubbed western films because at that time China still had a considerable number of illiterates or semi-literate who could not read the subtitles on the screen, let alone understand foreign languages. After China opened itself to the outside world in 1978, there was a looser control over the import of foreign movies. It is reported that from 1957 to 1999, the Shanghai Film Dubbing Studio dubbed more than 1000 feature films. It follows that dubbing was the preferred way of translating foreign films during this period. Several years later, there was a boom of the imported American audiovisual products, particularly the American soap operas, sitcoms and action movies shown on TV and in cinemas. With the booming of the online streaming platforms at the beginning of the 21st century in China, foreign films began to be shown on internet channels. Films on TV are mostly dubbed whereas the films on internet are mostly subtitled. Moreover, the cinemas also provide watching halls of subtitled and dubbed version for the audience to choose. Many people, especially younger generation, tend to prefer the subtitled version rather than the dubbed version in order to experience the original flavor of the film or to learn English. Thus, subtitling has become a more popular way of translating foreign works.

Being aware of the international market by Chinese filmmakers and companies, in 1920s and 1930s, Chinese and English bilingual intertitles were added on the screen to help Chinese products enter the international market. This is the second direction. Today, even when Chinese films are screened in China, Chinese and English subtitles are already added. Subtitling is the dominant translation mode for translating Chinese language movies abroad.

There are several reasons for subtitling being regarded as the most popular mode to render Chinese language films. First, it is too difficult to find Chinese actors who are fluent in English and too expensive to hire foreign actors to dub the films. Another reason is that subtitling, as opposed to dubbing, is a better way for non-Anglophone countries to face with the unchallenged dominant position of the American culture. Szarkowska (2005) argues that "dubbing is a form of domestication whereas subtitling can be regarded as foreignization" (para. 2). It decreases the sense of otherness. In the process of subtitling, the subtitler would be more faithful to the original dialogue when he or she realized that audiences would understand the original dialogue, and feel something is missing or wrong if they have the knowledge of the SL.

The third direction is related to the fact that China is a multiracial nation. This country has 56 ethnic groups and some ethnic minorities like the one living in Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region have their own languages that totally belong to another language family than Chinese. Even the educated people who understand oral Mandarin in those areas have difficulty in reading. Therefore, there is a necessity to translate audiovisual products into ethnic minority languages and dubbing is the best choice.

In general, as a prominent mode of AVT in China, the investigation of

subtitling should be given enough attention.

3.3.4 Translation and Culture

TS is a relatively new discipline and AVT research concerning Chinese language films is not widespread in the academic field. "While Translation Studies supply the indispensable framework to theorize operational guidelines […] film studies can contribute to the field by describing the formal/aesthetic effects of translation" (Emilio, 2014, p. 97). It is reasonable to argue for an interdisciplinary approach to investigating the translation of Chinese language films within the field of TS.

Chaume (2012) defines the audiovisual text as "a semiotic construct woven by a series of signifying codes that operate simultaneously to produce meaning" (p. 100). If we want to establish a link between the subtitles of films and TS, we should discuss subtitling within TS by considering the cooperation between different filmic signs. In fact, there has been an increased amount of research looking into the interaction of different channels, i.e., how subtitles collaborate with images, sounds, written words and even the camera movement in the film, and the way it affects translation. These investigations tend to limit to techniques and linguistic features. There is a lack of investigation into the film translation from the social-cultural aspect.

Topics of research are widening in scope, departing from the technical and linguistic approaches to encompass the sociocultural dimension. As Pym (2000) stresses:

The simple fact of translation presupposes contact between at least two

cultures, and does so in relation to language use, the social activity that perhaps most effectively and insidiously weaves relations of cultural identity. To look at translation is immediately to be engaged in issues of how cultures interrelate. (p. 2)

This cultural approach or "cultural turn" is a theoretical and methodological shift in TS. The cultural approach, although primarily developed from the study of literature, "implicitly embraces all kinds of translation" (Snell-Hornby, 1990, p. 84). This 'cultural turn' is slowly but surely starting to have a clear impact on the research conducted in AVT. The scholars like Bassnett & Lefevere (1998) increase the awareness of the cultural embeddedness of translation.

The most typical research related to this study is the exploration of cultural references in AVT (see Chapter 4), because CRs stands out as the first instance of cultural representation which can be singled out to analyze conventional patterns, but they still need more comprehensive and systematical exploration within TS.

3.4 Skopos Theory and Descriptive Translation Studies

Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and Functionalism have shifted the focus of Translation Studies (TS) from the traditional approach which regards the ST as a determining factor in translation to an approach being interested in the TT and how it functions in the TC (Toury, 1995; Nord, 1997). As a new trend within the field of TS, this approach to translation stresses the importance of the socio-historical context in understanding the translating process and the

translated products in all their implications.

3.4.1 Skopos Theory

Skopos, a Greek word for "purpose" or "aim", was introduced, as a technical term for the purpose of a translation and translating action, into translation theory in the 1970s. From this new perspective, it is not accuracy or faithfulness but the skopos that decide the translation process and product. In other words, the purpose of the translation determines the translation methods and strategies employed to produce a functionally adequate result. According to Skopos theory, "equivalence" or "faithfulness" to the ST are never the most authoritative criterion to judge whether the translation is successful or not.

Skopos theory experienced four stages: Katharina Reiss's functional category of translation criticism (1971), Hans J. Vermeer's Skopos theory (1978); Justa Holz-Manttari's theory of translational action (1981) and Christiane Nord's theory of function plus loyalty (1997), which will be over-viewed in the following paragraphs one by one.

Skopos theory, put forward by Hans J. Vermeer, is the core of the functionalist translation theory which is developed in Germany in the 1970s. In 1978, Vermeer, in a German journal *Lebende Sprachen,* introduced this theory (Skopostheorie) as "Ein Rahmen für eine allgemeine Translationstheorie" ("A Framework for a General Theory of Translation") because he thinks that

> Linguistics alone won't help us. First, because translating is not merely and not even primarily a linguistic process. Secondly, because linguistics has not yet formulated the right questions to tackle our problems. So

let's look somewhere else. (Vermeer, 1987, p. 29)

Vermeer's general Skopos theory seeks for a way not to translate only depending on linguistics level. Vermeer's theory shifts the translation paradigm from predominantly more formal and linguistic concepts to a functionally and socio-culturally oriented framework.

Katharina Reiss, in her book *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik* (Possibilities and Limits of Translation Criticism) which is regarded as the "starting point for the scholarly analysis of translation in Germany" (Nord, 1997, p. 9), states that the ideal translation would be the one "in which the aim in the TL is equivalence as regards the conceptual content, linguistic form and communicative function of a SL" (Reiss, 1977/1989, p. 112). Based on equivalence theory, Reiss (1977/1989) puts forward text-typology which is in accordance with the categorization of the three functions of language proposed by German Linguist Karl Bühler. Reiss (1976) suggests that specific translation methods are chosen according to the text type. The main characteristics of each text type are summarized by Reiss (1977/1989, p. 108-109) as follows:

(1)   Informative text type — the text of this type is designed for 'plain communication of facts' (information, knowledge, opinion, etc.). The TT of this type should be totally representative of the ST, avoiding omissions and providing explanations if required, so that the TT should be explicit and brief.

(2)   Expressive text type — the text of this type is 'creative composition' designed for communication of artistically organized content. It is a

higher level of literary text like poetry where the TT, in addition to ensuring the accuracy of information, should reflect the artistic form and aesthetic features of the ST. In this case, the author is foregrounded, as well as the form of message.

(3) Operative text type—this type is designed to 'induce behavioral response' from the reader or 'receiver' of the text to act in a certain way, for example, to persuade the receiver to buy a product or serve of an advertisement. The TT should therefore produce the same impact on its reader as the reader of the ST.

(4) Audio-medial text type—it is a 'hyper-type' involving the audiovisual texts like films, television advertisements, etc., which supplements the other three functions (i.e., informative function; expressive function and appellative function proposed by Karl Bühler) with images and music of the TC in the TT.

Reiss's text-typology is important for my investigation because it highlights the function of the text type in the process of translation. However, a text is not always mono-functional; for example, a biography might be not only expressive when it conforms to the aesthetic standards as that of literature works, but also informative as it provides some information about the author for readers. The text type of audiovisual products is especially multifunctional as mentioned in (4) above. Furthermore, Reiss' text-typology is at the textual level rather than at the word or sentence level, and it is in practice almost impossible to produce a TT that is functionally equivalence to the ST.

In order to bridge the gap between theory and practice, Hans J. Vermeer

gives up the equivalence theory and lays Skopos theory on the foundation of functional theory. Skopos theory was further developed by the combination of the aforementioned general skopos theory and Katharina Reiss' functional category model which is introduced in their collaborative book in 1984. According to them, the first rule to obey in the process of any translation is the so-called 'skopos rule' which states that a translational action is determined by its skopos. It can also be interpreted as "the end justifies the means'" (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984/2013, p. 90). The term 'Skopos' usually refers to the purpose of the target text. Vermeer (1978/1983) states that:

> Human interaction (and as its subcategory: translation) is determined by its purpose (skopos), and therefore it is a function [in the mathematical sense of "being dependent on", C.N.] of its purpose – IA (Trl) = f (Sc). (…) The purpose can be described as a function of the receiver: Sc = f (R). (p. 54, Nord's translation)

It means that the ST has to be translated into TL in such a way that TT becomes part of TC, which can be interpreted by the receiver as "coherent with his situation" (Vermeer, 1978/1983, p. 57). There could be a relationship between the ST and TT, which is described using the term of 'coherence'. According to Reiss & Vermeer (1984/2013, pp. 98-106), there are two kinds of coherence: intratextual and intertextual.

The intratextual coherence known as 'coherence rule' is the second rule imposing unto translators the requirement that any TT should make sense according to the TC of the TL so that the receivers can understand.

The third rule, the 'fidelity rule', necessitates intertextual coherence

between the ST and TT because the TT is produced in accordance with the information offered by the ST. The coherence rule and the fidelity rule are always subordinate to the skopos rule. If the TT happens to fulfil the same function as the ST, there could be a relationship of "fidelity" between ST and TT; if the TT does not fulfil the function of the ST, the purpose demands a change of function, and it is not fidelity to the ST but adequacy or appropriateness with regard to the translation skopos that is the required standard (Nord, 1991, p. 93).

According to Vermeer, who treats translation as a form of social action, there are three possible kinds of purpose in the field of translation: the general purpose aimed at by the translator in the translation process, the communicative purpose aimed at by the target text in the target situation, and the purpose aimed at by a particular translation strategy or procedure (Vermeer, 1989, p. 100, qtd in Nord, 1997, p. 27). This means that the TT has to "be translated/interpreted/spoken/ written in a way that enables the translation to function in the situation it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function" (Vermeer, 1989, p. 20, translation in Nord, 1997, p. 28). Reiss and Vermeer's skopos theory are more suitable for non-literary work, like audiovisual products, but it could be criticized in that their theory downplays the importance of the ST. This investigation does not move away from the ST since the subtitler is indeed responsible to both cultures (SC and TC). If subtitles enable the reception of STs by the American audience, it is obvious that they work in the interest of Chinese culture, as well as the American culture. Therefore, the focus of interlingual subtitling is equally on both the ST and TT.

Justa Holz-Mänttäri put forward the theory of translational action which is based on action theory and designed to cover all forms of intercultural transfer. Holz-Manttari (1984) sees translation as an action involving a series of players (i.e., initiator, commissioner, ST producer, TT producer, TT user, TT receiver), each of whom performs a specific role in the process. In other words, this theory views translation as cooperative and functionally adequate communication across cultural barriers. Her theory keeps the translator at the center of the communicative function, right from the initiator up to the final receiver. Thus, translators play a key role in skopos theory linked to Holz-Manttari's translational action theory. The translator is expected to make the ST go through many translational changes to functionally fit the TT and TC for the benefit of the target reader. The emphasis once again stays with the target reader and TC, as strategies the translator decides to employ should reach a set of addressees in the TC. Holz-Manttari argues that not the ST but the target situation is of utmost importance to the translator because during cross cultural communication, the culture in which the TT is to be produced determines various steps that are taken to overcome the culture specific barriers. Cultural issues in a sociolinguistic context therefore need to be considered. Her theory is beneficial for the study of the subtitling profession since it is the closest to what actually goes on in the process of subtitling in the sense that she sees translation as an action involving a series of players and each of them performs a specific role in the process. However, stressing the importance of TT inevitably leads to making light of the comparison between ST and TT.

Christiane Nord in her work *Translating as a Purposeful Activity* (1997) points out two interdependent shortcomings of Vermeer's Skopos rule while

admitting the merits. One shortcoming is the fact that one translation purpose cannot satisfy all target readers due to the different expectation to the TT. The other involves in the relation between the translator and the ST author: when the purpose of a translation is contrary to or incompatible with the intention of the original, there would be no restriction to the range of the possible TT produced by the translator. In translation practice, the translator "is always acting within the boundaries of a particular culture community" and cannot "take the liberty of choosing any translation scope for a particular text even if that is what the customer asks him to do" (Nord, 1991, p. 94). The (intended) function of the TT may be the most important criterion for the translator's decision, but a general theory is not concerned with a culture-specific convention valid in a particular culture. As what Nord announced at the 1990 FIT congress that "whenever we claim that a certain text 'must be' translated in such and such a manner, we are subject to a culture-specific convention". Thus, in order to "tak[e] into account the culture-specific conventions of translation and the expectations the members of a particular culture have of a translated text" (Nord, 1991, p. 92), Nord puts forward the 'loyalty principle' of Skopos theory. She thinks that the convention determines readers' expectation to a translation, and if a culture expects the use of one set of conventions, the translator has the responsibility not to deceive the users of his translation and should "at least inform the other participants of what has been done, and why" when he or she acts contrary to the conventions (Nord, 1991, p. 95). This responsibility is what Nord refers to as 'loyalty'. Although in practice the satisfaction of every party involved in the translation is only an ideal, Nord's loyalty principle encourages the freedom of the translator to

refuse to produce any kind of translation in accordance with the client's belief because 'loyalty' considers the interests of all the participants involved. Nord's theory responds to criticism of skopos theory, that is, the apparent neglect of the ST, undue emphasis on the TT and the freedom skopos theory gives the translator to produce any kind of text which would be far from the intentions of the author of the ST.

Skopos theory is suitable for my investigation because it recognizes that (1) TT need not be faithful to ST, (2) the text has different functions, the function decides its translation in the TC, and the translation purpose affects the translation strategies applied, and (3) every participant involving in the process of translation plays some role in producing the TT.

However, Skopos theory has some problems to be solved. As summarized in Munday (2016), it "does not pay sufficient attention to the linguistic nature of the ST nor to the reproduction of micro-level features in the TT" and "[e]ven if the skopos is adequately fulfilled, it may be inadequate at the stylistic or semantic levels of individual segments" (p. 130). Another issue is that it does not answer to what extent ST type determines a translation method and what is the logic of the link between ST type and translation skopos (Munday, 2016, p. 130).

Thus, we need a theory that provides Skopos theory with a method to analyze empirical data to illustrate the link between ST and TT. In the next subsection, we will see Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) would be such a theory that complements Skopos Theory.

3.4.2 Descriptive Translation Studies

DTS would help account for the semiotic complexity of the audiovisual text, because it corresponds to "a descriptive, empirical, interdisciplinary, and target-oriented approach to the study of translation, focusing especially on its role in cultural history" (Rosa, 2016, p. 193). This approach starts in the early 1970s, prospers in the 1980s, booms in the 1990s and is still popular by seeking to "delve into translation as cultural and historical phenomena, to explore its context and its conditioning factors, to search for grounds that can explain why there is what there is" (Hermans, 1999, p. 5).

The conceptual framework of DTS which developed mainly with literary translation in mind would probably requires adapting when it is applied into AVT; and in some cases, it needs further adjustments when other disciplines and research questions are brought to tackle AVT. In the following subsections, I would like to foreground the potential validity of DTS in the field of AVT by briefly summarizing the basic principles of DTS, selectively overviewing some investigations on DTS related to the theoretical framework of this investigation, and discussing the problems posed in descriptive AVT studies.

3.4.2.1 Basic principles of DTS

Alexandra Assis Rosa (2016, p. 193-194) lists a selective presentation of the main principles of DTS:

a. The choice of the term '**studies**' instead of 'science' is a means of explicitly affiliating the discipline to the Humanities (Holmes [1988] 2000).

b. **Translation** is defined by Toury ([1995] 2012) as any text presented and

functioning as a translation in a target context. […]

c. For a '**contextual**' study of translation, DTS tends to focus on the relations between textual and contextual variables, by resorting to concepts such as (poly)system, norms, laws or patronage; […] Actual translation relationships result from culture-specific **translation norms**, that is, contextually valued models for performing the social role of translator. […]

d. In reaction to previously dominant source-orientedness, the '**target-oriented**' approach of DTS means a shift of the main research focus to both the target text and context, which, however, does not exclude the source culture and text or the wider international context as being essential to understanding translation in context (Toury [1995] 2012).

e. Only an '**interdisciplinary**' approach can encompass such a complex object that beyond its linguistic nature is also considered in its historical, cultural, social, economic, political and ideological nature (Even-Zohar 1990).

f. '**Descriptive**' studies undertake to diagnose the status quo of translation in a given time (or time-frame) and space, and they have developed historically in explicit opposition to extant mainly prescriptive, speculative, evaluative approaches to translation, as well as to the predominance of applied studies (Toury [1995] 2012).

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

The principles listed above are also widely applied to research on other text types like audiovisual texts and translation modalities like audiovisual translation, although DTS is mainly formulated with literary translation in mind. The principle of '**contextual**' study of translation is clearly beneficial for the AVT study in respect to considering national audiovisual polysystems which encompass both translated and non-translated systems and thereby performing comparative studies. The principle of the '**target-oriented**' approach refocuses the studies of AVT mainly on the target context to produce "broadly systemic target-based descriptions" (Pym, 2001, p. 276). The principle of '**descriptive**' studies stresses the need to analyze the norms or conventions in terms of all the semiotic modes involved. The principle of '**empirical studies**' identifies regularities (universals, laws, norms, strategies etc.) and is associated with creating and analyzing AVT corpus, as well as using specific tools like effective hardware or software and statistics etc. It is an '**interdisciplinary**' approach beyond merely linguistic approaches, for semi-automatic qualitative and quantitative analysis.

3.4.2.2 A Selective Overview of DTS: Polysystem and Norms

The works of Itamar Even-Zohar in 1970s and Gideon Toury in the 1980s contributed to the departure of TS from the traditional approach of source-orientedness to the approach of target-orientedness. The term 'polysystem' coined by Even-Zohar refers to a group of semiotic systems that dynamically co-exist within a particular cultural sphere. It stresses the importance of the socio-historical context in understanding the translating process and the translated products. Even-Zohar (1990a) states:

The polysystem of a given national literature is viewed as one element making up the larger socio-cultural polysystem, which itself comprises other polysystems besides the literary, such as for example the artistic, the religious or the political. Furthermore, being placed in this way in a large sociocultural context, 'literature' comes to be viewed not just as a collection of texts, but more broadly as a set of factors governing the production, promotion and reception of these texts. (p. 28)

In this light, the literary polysystem comprises "a range of literatures, from the canonical to works and genres traditionally considered minor (children's literature, popular and romantic fiction, thrillers, etc.), as well as translated works" (Díaz Cintas, 2004b, p. 23). If this view is productively applied to audiovisual texts, it is sufficiently flexible to allow us to talk of a film polysystem which is "made up of the national products and the translated ones -- dubbed or subtitled -- and deals with the relationships that are established among all of them" (Diaz Cintas, 2004b, p. 23). Lefevere (1992, pp. 2-3) developed Even-Zohar's work by explicitly stating that cinema, television, and popular music have taken the place of the book which used to occupy the central position in the system. His statement acknowledges the existence of the audiovisual polysystem. The audiovisual polysystem, which is composed of subtitled, dubbed or other translated audiovisual texts, functions as the literary one, which deserves the in-depth investigation. In other words, Even-Zohar's approach reclaims the statues of some traditionally marginalized social activities in academic exchanges like audiovisual translation.

In fact, Even-Zohar never regards translated literatures as holding a

peripheral position in the literary polysystem. He writes:

> Through the foreign works, features (both principles and elements) are
> introduced into the home literature which did not exist there before.
> These include possibly not only new models of reality to replace the
> old and established ones that are no longer effective, but a whole range
> of other features as well, such as new (poetic) language, or
> compositional patterns and techniques. (Even-Zohar, 1990b, p. 46)

Even-Zohar thinks that the translated text is an active force in competing the center of the polysystem. This statement seems especially suitable in my study because through the translated text CRs are introduced as new elements into the home literature, and they become an active force to competing the position in another culture. Even-Zohar (1990b) argues there are three major conditions favoring the centrality of translated texts within a culture:

> (a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say,
> when a literature is "young", in the process of being established; (b)
> when a literature is either "peripheral" (within a large group of
> correlated literatures) or "weaker', or both; and (c) when there are
> turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in literature. (p. 47)

The dynamics of the polysystem which is characterized by continuous changes and internal oppositions for the central position in the system opens a way to study the establishment of a direct link between the national system (i.e., Chinese language films) and the foreign system (i.e., subtitled films).

The polysystem theory allows me to do a comparative study on the way

films in 'peripheral' or 'weaker' position (Chinese language films or Danish films) enter into a foreign system in a 'central' or 'stronger' position (American film market). The theory also helps investigate whether there exist similarities and/or discrepancies in the way they are competing for the central position in this foreign system.

Even-Zohar's polysystem theory does not influence the method of the analysis directly but generally shapes the perspective by which this research is carried out.

The different norms postulated by Toury (1980, 1985 and 1995), and reworked by Hermans (1999), take on special importance in the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Norms, the notion borrowed from sociology and social psychology, is understood by Toury (1995) as:

> the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community—as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate — into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioral dimension [...]. Norms are acquired by the individual during his/her socialization and always imply sanctions— actual or potential, negative as well as positive. (p. 55)

According to Toury (1995), norms are a central element in the translation process, occupying a middle position between the absolute rules (i.e., the rules of the abstract and modelling society) and pure idiosyncrasies (the idiosyncrasies of each translator):

Between these two poles lies a vast middle-ground occupied by intersubjective factors commonly designated norms. The norms themselves form a graded continuum along the scale: some are stronger, and hence more rule-like, others are weaker, and hence almost idiosyncratic. The borderlines between the various types of constraints are thus diffuse. Each of the concepts, including the grading itself, is relative too. (p. 54)

The study of norms will help to account for the criteria shared by the collective of users and the instructions implemented by the translator in genuine cases of a particular historical context. Toury categorizes norms into preliminary norms in reference to the policy that regulates the whole project before the start of the actual translation process, and operational norms which interest the act of translation itself and are further divided into matricial norms and textual norms. The matricial norm may govern "the very existence of target-language material as a substitute for the corresponding source-language material (and hence the degree of fullness of translation), its location in the text (or the form of actual distribution), as well as the textual segmentation" (Toury, 1995, pp. 58-59). The textual norms may govern the choice of target textual-linguistic material to replace the corresponding one in the ST. "At a macro-structural level, these norms allow us to determine which are the distinctive characteristics that regulate the delivery of the dubbed or subtitled discourse, bearing in mind the many different constraints imposed by the medium"; "at a micro-structure level, they help us to observe the translator's behavior in the linguistic mediation" (Díaz Cintas, 2004b, p. 26). Operational

norms have a more direct bearing on the present research because: the textual norms which apply to translation in general have an impact on the TT chosen to replace the ST, which further effects on the translation strategies chosen to translate the original text; the matricial norms is addressed every time the translator deal with the linguistic segment, which in turn is revelatory of certain norm-governed behavior.

3.4.2.3 DTS Research on AVT

Delabastita (1989, 1990) has emphasized the importance of extending the descriptive potential to the field of mass communication, that is film and TV translation. In view of the application of DTS on AVT, Diaz-Cintas (2004b) believes that DTS offers a platform for "a more theoretical and less anecdotal approach" (p. 31). Furthermore, given that Toury emphasizes the establishment of norms that regulate the translator's behavior in any particular socio-historical moment, it would be more productive to carry out the contrastive analysis of several films rather than just one. Pedersen (2011) points out that "one problem that has plagued the discipline of audiovisual translation research is that very studies are case studies, i.e., the corpus has been one film only" (p. 124). Haphazard case studies are insufficient for general conclusions, just as what Díaz Cintas (2004a) has said:

> A systematic and detailed mapping of what really happens in the world of subtitling is *sin qua non* to be able to investigate both the norms that regulate the profession as well as those which underline the translator's behavior. It would be very productive to carry out work,

in research groups, that analyses sufficiently broad corpora and allows

the derivation of substantial conclusions. (p. 63)

Corpus-based translation studies (CTS) has become an established subfield of the descriptive branch of the discipline, including different strands: the exploration of the hypothesis of translation universals, i.e., supposedly invariant features which characterize all translated texts independently of SL and translation direction (Baker, 1993); individual variation like translator style, i.e., coherent and motivated patterns of choice "recognizable across a range of translations by the same translator", which "distinguish that translator's work from that of other translator" and "cannot be explained as directly reproducing the source text's style or as the inevitable result of linguistic constraints"(Saldanha, 2011, pp. 30-31); and translation norms and conventions whose level of generality stand in between the two aforementioned.

CRs have been most representative elements that can be extracted from the audiovisual text, compiled into corpus and used to test the hypothesis of translation universals, explore individual variation of translator style and generalize the prototypical norms of subtitling. For example, Pedersen (2011), by using the corpus of Swedish and Danish subtitles of English films or TV series, made comparative analysis of the ECRs treatment that is regarded as symptomatic of underlying translation norms and indicative of the subtitler's decision-making process.

3.5 Summary

It has been noted in section 2 that, despite the independence of AVT as an autonomous field within TS and its dependence on other discipline, AVT shows a lack of systematic and theoretical investigation, especially the investigation on the socio-cultural aspect. In section 3, I have explained the complementary roles between Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and Skopos Theory, a functionalist approach that is prevalent in the German tradition of Translation Studies. These approaches are seen as the most relevant for the study of subtitling, although neither of the models has not been developed for the study of subtitling.

The present study, based on a self-built corpus, is mainly descriptive and product-oriented in nature. One of the main objectives of this investigation is to explore the translation strategies in subtitling CRs in Chinese language films of different genres, which means the function of a translation in the target context should be explored. The translation process will also be viewed by the fidelity degree of the translation product to the ST for didactic purposes and for discovering what steps subtitlers experience during the process of their choice-making; and the patterns or norms will be generalized by the comparative descriptions of several translation acts conducted in the same ST or in the different STs under the similar socio-historical context. Therefore, DTS approach and Skopos theory should be combinedly applied into this investigation.

Chapter 4 ECRs and ICRs in Chinese Language Films

4.1 Introduction

ECRs and ICRs are something that we encounter in all kinds of texts, written or oral, in our everyday lives. We interspersed our talk with some brand names, names of people or institutions; we also reflect upon different aspects of our lives by using proverbs, idioms or even swear words. In addition, we are exposed to films or television programs full of many CRs involving social, psychological, linguistic, philosophical, biological, historical, and etymological factors, which provide us with entertainments and the opportunities to learn foreign cultures. The complex nature of ECRs and ICRs have interested many scholars.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part focuses on the classification of film genres of Chinese films based on the classification of the AMC theatres. Then, the characteristics of each genre distinguishing one from the other are discussed. This part ends with a brief introduction of the films selected for this investigation. The second part starts with a brief overview of a number of other scholars' research into the definition of CRs, which are of great importance to this study. It then surveys the relationship between language and culture to point out the difficulties involved in defining ECRs and ICRs, which is followed by a detailed definition and selection criteria for ECRs and ICRs with some examples. The third part introduces the corpus which is built according to the research goal and includes Chinese ECRs/ICRs, their English subtitles and their corresponding translation strategies.

4.2 The Film Genres

4.2.1 The Classification of Genre for Chinese Language Films

One factor that might affect translators' attitude is film genres. Cheng (2014) stressed the importance of the concept of genre as below.

> The genre of a film may affect its function, style of discourse, pace, focus of information on the screen, and the reading pattern of the viewer. For example, the function of a comedy is to amuse, and thus the priority of the translation is to create humorous effect rather than conveying the exact meaning while losing the joke; the style of discourse of a historical drama is different from a present day comedy or an animation for children, and thus the translation is expected to show the difference; an action film may have its focus on the images, and thus the translation is supposed to be concise and easily understood; in comparison with a romance, the viewer may rely more on the translation to follow the plot of a crime or espionage tale, and thus the translation will have to be more detailed. (p. 76)

If genres and translation fidelity co-vary, to what extent? To clarify this point, I need an appropriate catalog of film genres. Although various classifications would be possible, AMC Theatres, the largest movie theater chain in the world, uses the following ten genres:[1] Animation, Romantic Comedy, Western, Sports, Mystery, Fantasy, Sci-Fi, Gangster, Courtroom

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[1] See https://www.amctheatres.com/american-film-institute/ten-top-ten

[2] See https://www.filmsite.org/genres.html

Drama, and Epic. In this study, I adopted the categories used by AMC Theatres and definitions provided by Tim Dirks,[2] with slight adaptations to accommodate for Chinese movies. The following six genres are used in this investigation, because they capture all the major films in China and cover all the recent works exported to America.

i. *Epics*: Epics take a historical or imagined event and a mythic, legendary, or heroic figure and add an extravagant setting or period. Epics include lavish costumes and accompany all aspects of the story with grandeur and spectacle, dramatic scope, high production value, and a sweeping musical score. Epics are often a more spectacular, lavish version of a biopic film. Most Chinese epic films share elements of Wuxia films (see ii) and war films. However, for the purposes of this study, if the main theme of the film was historical, it was included in the category of epic films.

ii. *Wuxia (武侠)*: Typical Wuxia films describe adventures of martial artists in ancient China. "Kongfu films" may be more familiar to the Western audience as a genre, but this term is limited to fighting action movies. What is emphasized in this category is the inner chivalrous spirit, or *Xiayi* (侠义). Therefore, if the film is related to *Jianghu* (江湖), or an ancient community of martial artists and the spirit of *Xiayi* (侠义), it was included in this category.

iii. *Crime and Gangster*: Gangster films are developed around the sinister actions of criminals or mobsters, particularly bank robbers, underworld figures, or ruthless hoodlums who operate outside the law, stealing and murdering their way through life. The criminals are often

counteracted by a detective-protagonist with a who-dun-it plot. Crime & gangster films are often categorized as *film noir* or *detective-mystery* films and sometimes as courtroom or crime legal thrillers because of underlying similarities between these cinematic forms. Although Chinese hard-boiled crime & gangster films reached their peak during the 1970s and 1980s in Hong Kong, they have survived to the present day.

iv. *Comedy*: Comedies are light-hearted plots consistently and deliberately designed to amuse and provoke laughter (with, e.g., one-liners and jokes) by exaggerating the situation, language, action, relationships, and characters. This category includes various forms such as slapstick, screwball, spoofs and parodies, romantic comedies, and black comedy (dark satirical comedy). What is problematic is that laughter depends greatly on culture. Because humor and laughter are derived from a group's life and culture, comedies often suffer from "cultural discount" and lose value when they cross cultural boundaries (see Lee 2009 and references cited therein).

v. *War*: War (and anti-war) films acknowledge the horror and heartbreak of war, letting the actual combat fighting (against nations or humankind) on land, at sea, or in the air provide the primary plot or background for the action of the film. War films are often paired with other genres, such as action, romance, suspense, historical epics, and even comedy, and they often take a denunciatory approach toward warfare. They may include prisoner of war tales and stories of military operations and training. Most Chinese war films cover the

67

modern history of China.

vi. *Documentary*: Documentary films are non-fictional, "slice of life," factual works of art. They were originally either short newsreels, instructional pictures, records of current events, or travelogues (termed actualities) without any creative storytelling, narrative, or staging. Over time, documentaries have branched out and taken many forms, some of which are propagandistic or non-objective. A documentary may explore, for example, a living person, a well-known historical event, a live performance, a sociological or ethnographic examination following the lives of individuals over a period of time, a sports event, and nature- or science-related themes.

Although the classification above is intuitively clear, the boundary of each genre is sometimes blurred and there is always the question of how to include one film in one genre because some films overlap multiple genres. I classified the films according to their prominent features and characteristics. The war in the film *The Taking of Tiger Mountain*, for example, focuses on a conflict between a People's Liberation Army and a bandit gang. Historical accuracy is less important than how the audience feel about the battle. Thus, it was legitimate to include this film into the genre of *war*. The war scenes of *Founding of a Republic*, on the other hand, are all historical events in Chinese history. *The Assassin*, whose setting is the real Chinese dynasty and in which some figures are historically real, cannot be categorized into historical epics, because its main theme is the growth of a female martial master, emphasizing the discovery of her inner chivalrous spirit, or *Xiayi* (侠义). *Infernal Affairs* is

a prime example of a typical Hong Kong crime & gangster film. *Personal Tailor* is a product by the famous Chinese comedy director Feng Xiaogang, who is a master of using wordplay to create humor for the audience. All the other works selected for my corpus shared most of the typical features. Notably, the categorization of the films is not ad hoc and can be justified.

4.2.2 Genre and AVT

I will perform a descriptive analysis of segments taken from Chinese-language films of a specific genre to observe some patterns. Thus, the genres investigated must have some special characteristics that make themselves distinguished from others, which encourage certain translation strategies. As Chaume Valrela (2003) points out, "the distinction between genres is only relevant if it entails different translation strategies, which are the key matters for the professional" (p. 189, as cited in Matamala, 2009).

The *Epic film* may contain the most ECRs on general historical topics (i.e., place names, people, army names, historical events) and ICRs of common sayings. Epics involve more historicity than storytelling. The audience expect the story to be faithful to historical facts. This expectation would determine the form of the equivalence required for a faithful reproduction of general historical issues.

The *Wuxia film* which is rooted in Chinese culture contains many exotic factors such as *Jianghu*, *Xiayi* spirit, love, and duty, which are barriers to the audience appreciating the whole story. The settings of the Wuxia films are all ancient China, which means that the CRs in wuxia films are distant from our modern life and thereby difficult to transfer into other cultures. Intertextuality

is also highly important in *Wuxia* films and there are constant references to other movies, novels, and historical events. It portrays a large number of characters that everyone who read the Wuxia novels or exposed to the Wuxia films and TV series would be very familiar with, which should be taken into consideration in translation, when a film makes use of the same characters as the ones in novels or historical events.

The *Comedy film* is a genre prone to the humorous resource, where the play on words uttered by the characters relies on visual representation. This kind of film is packed with witty, bitter, and absurd words used to obtain an arrogant "big laugh" and entertain the audience. The priority of the comedy films to produce humor means that translators must do their best to keep in the TT as many humorous elements as possible. This type of humor cannot be conveyed by literal translation and they cannot be compensated for by the plot and accompanying images. Sometimes, the rendering of the humorous ECR/ICR in Chinese comedy films would be nearly impossible because some punchlines created by the association or linguistic nuance of an ECR/ICR are only identifiable by Chinese people.

The *Crime & Gangster film* and *War film* attract people by using complicated plots and intense chasing and fighting scenes, which means the films of these two genres contain relatively less lines and thereby less ECRs/ICRs. Note that the Chinese war films are often related to some historical events in Chinese history so that the ECRs may be difficult to replace but they are sometimes not important in understanding the plot.

As for the *documentary film*, one of the features that distinguish it from other genres is that they deal with reality. Documentaries record the reality

70

involving a wide range of subjects, without evaluating the truth of such reality. The presumed target audience include many experts while non-experts will also appreciate the work; hence a subtitler must satisfy both types of audience. Furthermore, the number of ECRs/ICRs would depend on the subject the documentary focus.

4.2.3 The Films

4.2.3.1 Media

Many scholars (de Linde, 1995; Kovačič, 1998; Pettit, 2004, to name but a few) believe that the genre of the texts (including TV series, news, and so on) is an important factor in a translator's choice of strategy. Furthermore, some scholars (Cheng, 2014; Gottlieb, 2009) mention that different genres within the category of films may affect their function, style of discourse, and focus of information etc. However, no one has conducted a systematic investigation into how and in what way genres affect the film translation.

In order to see how film genres would affect a subtitler's decision-making, this investigation adopted the categories and definitions used by AMC theatres, and slightly adapted them for Chinese film. The classification covers epic, *wuxia*, comedy, crime & gangster, war, and documentary films.

However, the purpose of this study is not to examine how a specific genre is distinguished from the others. The point here is that different genres have different functions and translation skopos, which would affect the subtitler's choice of translation strategies.

With the goal of investigating the effect of film genres on the subtitling CRs, the best way to gain easy access to films of different genres seems to be

the use of digital versatile discs (DVDs), because the DVD medium is becoming more and more popular on the home entertainment market. Furthermore, DVDs are more convenient to transcribe the subtitles. Thus, DVDs rather than other media like TV broadcasts etc. are the core of my resource to build the corpus.

Another reason for the use of DVDs is that they are easily available from Amazon.com. Films which are released in America and sold on Amazon means that these works are chosen by the western film market and they are subtitled for the 'general public'. The 'general public' means that the subtitled versions of these films target American adults who are presumed to have normal reading speed. As mentioned before, the American are accustomed to reading subtitles on the screen and subtitling has traditionally been very common in America, and in fact, most Chinese films exported to U.S are subtitled.

The present study intends to include 'modern' films produced in 2000 or later. The main reason of choosing the relatively recent years as a date limit is that (1) there are few Chinese language films available in early times and to my knowledge, the first Chinese movie bought by Hollywood is *Inkstone* in 1995; (2) the film *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon,* released in 2000, is the first film in the history of Chinese-language films that won the Oscar's Best Foreign Language Film, which led to a boost in popularity of Chinese wuxia films; (3) it would exclude the movies with the subtitles that might have been made according to outdated norms.

In addition, the distribution company of the films selected for this investigation should be as many as possible because the subtitler would be guided by certain instructions regulated by a distribution company. The results

would be affected if the researcher focused on the analysis of products marketed by one and only one distribution company.

The following is a summary of the criteria of selecting the films:

- the Chinese films with an originally Chinese-language soundtrack

- produced in 2000 or later

- released in America

- released on DVD with English subtitles

- available from www.amazon.com

- distributed by diverse distribution companies

4.2.3.2 The Resulting Films

The number of films selected for the present study has to be big enough to draw convincing conclusions and small enough to be manageable. Within each genre, four films were selected to acquire objective results that are based on several films subtitled by several different subtitlers. The identities of the subtitlers, together with the names of the companies they worked for, were not available within the films. This kind of information is also hidden on DVDs. It is common for translators to translate into their mother tongue. However, according to the talk between Jin & Gambier (2018), a lot of translators who translate the Chinese language films are Chinese. Jin & Gambier (2018) explained the reasons: (1) "with the large number of foreign language learners, China tends to have more bilingual translators who can translate Chinese AV products"; (2) "it is much more expensive to hire foreign translators than Chinese translators for the AV company"; (3) "Chinese people are very proud

of their works and fond of sharing them with the rest of the world. The identity of the subtitler did not matter too much for my investigation since the aim was to analyze the handling of CRs on a specific media (films) and through a specific form of AVT (subtitling)" (p. 30). This was done whilst taking a close look at the recurring strategies in general and exploring translation strategies used in different contexts. This enabled me to form a more detailed picture of the work carried out by the subtitlers. Accordingly, with the 24 DVD films with subtitles in English and Chinese bought for this study, the subtitling strategies observed are comprehensive and the yielded results are objective.

Here, then, is a list of all the 24 films of six genres covering diverse cultural backgrounds of different era, or even different kinds of Chinese (as the stories are set in different periods, social classes and regions, and the dialogues may be full of obsolete, regional or personal flavor, or may be in non-standard Chinese), with the production date, the director and a short introduction for each.

Table 1. The Resulting List of Films

Genres	Film & Distribution Company	Date	Director	Outline
Epics	《建国大业》 *The Founding of a Republic* (138 min.)	2009	Huang Jianxin Han Sanping	It is a film marking the 60th anniversary of the People's Republic of China, telling a series of stories from the end of the anti-Japanese war to the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.
	《孔子》 *Confucius* (115 min.)	2010	Hu Mei	The film starts from the time Confucius took office at the age of 51 but was rejected and became a wandering scholar after a lot of complex politics and war until his death at the age of 73.
	《建党伟业》 *Beginning of the Great Revival* (118 min.)	2011	Huang Jianxin Han Sanping	It is a film marking the 90th anniversary of the Communist Party of China, narrating a series of major historical events in China during the 10 years from the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution until the first National Congress of the CPC.
	《建军大业》 *The Founding of an Army* (133 min.)	2017	Andre Lau	The film commemorates the 90th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army. The story begins in 1927 at the beginning of the Nanchang uprising, the first major Kuomintang-Communist engagement.

Wuxia	《卧虎藏龙》 *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (120 min.)	2000	Ang Lee	The story presented in the film is adapted and condensed from the storyline of the fourth book in the five-part novel series by Wang Dulu. It tells a story of how a woman warrior finds her way to be free from the gender role imposed on her.
	《剑雨》 *Reign of Assassins* (117 min.)	2010	Su Chao-pin John Woo	The story is about the various forces fighting for mummified remains of a legendary Indian Buddhist monk, Bodhi, which is said to have mystical power.
	《龙门飞甲》 *House of Flying Daggers* (125 min.)	2011	Tsui Hark	This film is a sequel to *Dragon Gate Inn* (1966) and *New Dragon Gate Inn* (1992). It describes a Wuxia world by the fighting of chirality against the court.
	《刺客聂隐娘》 *Assassin* (105 min.)	2015	Hou Hsiao-hsien	This film is loosely based on the late ninth-century martial arts story "Nie Yinniang", a core text in Chinese swordsmanship and Wuxia fiction, about an assassin who is directed to slay corrupt government officials but finally gives up.

Crime & Gangster	《无间道 I》 _Infernal Affair_ (101 min.)	2002	Andrew Lau	It is a Hong Kong crime film, in which a police officer who infiltrates a Triad, and another officer secretly working for the same gang. It is followed by _Infernal Affairs_ II and III.
	《白日焰火》 _Black Coal, Thin Ice_ (106 min.)	2014	Diao Yinan	The film tells the story of an alcoholic and suspended police officer in Harbin investigating a murder case and falling in love with the criminal involved.
	《寒战 II》 _Cold War II_ (106 min.)	2016	Longman Leung Sunny Luk	This film is a Kong Hong crime film, telling the story that the hero Liu Jiehui tried to save his family who were kidnapped by the former murderer while carried out power game with his colleagues.
	《雪暴》 _Savage_ (111 min.)	2018	Cui weisi	It tells the story of a confrontation between a police officer and a gold robber, taking place in a small border town in the far north of China.

Comedy	《非诚勿扰 II》 *If You Are the One II* (120 min.)	2010	Feng Xiaogang	This film is the sequel of the 2008 movie *If You Are the One*. with a relaxed and humorous tone, the film continues the story of Qin and Liang questioning their relationship after watching their friends' lavish divorce ceremony.
	《私人订制》 *Personal Tailor* (120 min.)	2013	Feng Xiaogang	The story of this film centered on a company that grants wished to people looking for a day away from their ordinary lives.
	《我不是潘金莲》 *I Am Not Madame Bovary* (137 min.)	2016	Feng Xiaogang	The film uses the humorous language describing the story of a woman who was slandered by her husband as Pan Jinlian and thereafter she persisted in seeking justice for herself.
	《我不是药神》 *Dying to Survive* (117 min.)	2018	Wen Muye	This film is based on the real-life story of Lu Yong, a Chinese leukemia patient who smuggled cheap but unproven cancer medicine from India for 1,000 Chinese cancer sufferers in 2004. The film tells the story in an ironic and humorous way.

War	《金陵十三钗》 *The Flowers of War* (146 min.)	2011	Zhang Yimou	The story is about a group of escapees in Nanjing during the 1937 Nanking Massacre in the Second Sino-Japanese War, finding sanctuary in a church compound, try to survive the Japanese atrocities.
	《智取威虎山》 *The Taking of Tiger Mountain* (146 min.)	2014	Tsui Hark	Based on the novel *Tracks in the Snowy Forest* by Qu Bo, It tells the story of a conflict between the People's Liberation Army of China and a bandit gang.
	《战狼 II》 *Wolf Warrior* (121 min.)	2017	Wu Jing	It is a series of a loose cannon Chinese soldier who takes on special missions around the world. In this sequel, he finds himself in an African country protecting medical aid workers from local rebels and arms dealers.
	《芳华》 *Youth* (136 min.)	2017	Feng Xiaogang	This film is based on the novel written by Geling Yan, chronicles the lives of a group of idealistic adolescents in a military art troupe in the People's Liberation Army during the Cultural Revolution and the Sino-Vietnamese War in 1979.

Documentary	《我在故宫修文物》 *Masters in the Forbidden City* (84 min.)	2016	Ye Jun Xiao Han	It is documentary film about the restoration process of the rare cultural relics and the life of the restorers in the fields of painting and calligraphy, bronze ware, palace clocks, woodware, ceramics and palace embroidery etc.
	《我们诞生在中国》 *Born in China* (84 min.)	2016	Lu Chuan	It is a nature documentary film, focusing on a snow leopard and her cubs, a young golden snub-nosed monkey, a female giant panda along with her daughter and a herd of chru.
	《塑料王国》 *Plastic China* (81 min.)	2016	Wang Jiuliang	It depicts the lives of two families who making their living recycling plastic waste imported form developed countries.
	《摇摇晃晃的人间》 *Still Tomorrow* (84 min.)	2016	Fan Jan	It chronicles the life of Yu Xiuhua, a Chinese rural poet with cerebral palsy, who is known as the Chinese Emily Dickinson.

4.3 ECRs and ICRs in AVT

This section presents the key terminology and their definitions used in this research.

4.3.1 Literature Review: ECRs and ICRs

CRs have been one of the most essential topics in translation studies. Hermans (1988) argues that "the translational norms underlying a target text as a whole can in essence be inferred from an examination of the proper names in that text" (p. 14). Although scholars in TS have not unanimously agreed upon systematic definition of the ECRs and ICRs, Leppihalme's (1997) 'allusion', Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993) 'culture-bound problems', and Florin's (1993) 'realia' have been crucial contributions to this area. Pedersen (2007b, 2011) in particular presents a new approach to this old problem in reference to subtitling. In what follows, an overview is offered of the most relevant academic approaches to these cultural elements. The previous research provides justification for the choices of perspective made in this dissertation.

Finkel is one of the earliest scholars who pinpointed the characteristics of cultural elements, which he regards as the elements "standing out from the common lexical context, they distinguish themselves for their heterogeneity, and consequently they require a reinforcement of attention in order to be decoded" (1962, p. 112, translated by I. Ranzato). Although he did not name them and precisely define the nature of these elements, Finkel called for attention to cultural elements in TS.

A few years later, Vlahov & Florin (1969) termed these cultural elements

'realia' and offered a more precise and classical definition, according to which these elements are words or composed locutions typical of a geographical environment, of a culture, of the material life or of historical-social peculiarities of a people, nation, country, or tribe and which, thus, carry a national, local, or historical coloring and do not have precise equivalents in other languages (p. 438). Their definition clearly limits the CRs into the items of "objects, ideas and other phenomena specified to a given speech community" (Tomaszczyk, 1983, p. 289), but the boundary between culture-specific and non-culture-specific is fuzzy.

Florin (1993), later, defined the term as follows:

> Realia (from the Latin realis) are word and combinations of words denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development of one nation and alien to another. Since they express local and/or historical color they have no exact equivalents on other languages. They cannot be translated in a conventional way and require a special approach. (p. 123)

Florin's definition seems simple and may cause confusion by defining realia as something belonging to one nation and being alien to another. Since cultural knowledge does not always follow the national borders, some of the realia related to the tradition in China are likely to be familiar to the Japanese. Similarly, some characteristics of the American lifestyle such as Christmas, while not belonging to Chinese way of life, are not exactly alien to Chinese people, because of the decades of frequent exposure to American culture through media. Thus, Leemets' definition (1992) sounds more suitable to

culture-bound material because his definition compensated what Florin did not stress. He states that:

> Every language has words denoting concepts and things that another language has not considered worth mentioning, or that are absent from the life or consciousness of the other nation. The reasons are differences in the ways of life, traditions, beliefs, historical developments—in one word, the cultures of the nations. Also, differences can be observed conceptual level. Different languages often nominate concepts from different viewpoints, and they also tend to classify them slightly differently. (Leemets, 1992, p. 475)

He thinks that some concepts or similar concepts may exist not only in the SC but also in the TC; the difference between these CRs in two cultures involved exists in the viewpoint from which the TC and the SC look at them. In other words, the boundary between the culture specific references and non-culture specific references is a matter of degree. Mailhac (1996), referring to the degree of opacity, states that "by cultural reference we mean any reference to a cultural entity which, due to its distance from the target culture, is characterized by a sufficient degree of opacity for the target reader to constitute a problem" (pp. 133-134). His definition points out the distance between SC and TC, which causes a varying degree of subjectivity in the interpretation of CRs. This kind of subjectivity may sometimes even constitute understanding barriers for a part of the source audience (SA) because different people have different educational and social backgrounds, and age, even if they are supposed to be from a given country or community with the same culture.

The culture-specific translation problem is termed 'culture specific item (CSI)' by Franco Aixela (1996) who clearly points out the dynamic nature of the relationship between two cultures by stating how the translation problems may stem from two different situations. He says that:

> those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem in a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text. (Franco Aixela, 1996, p. 58)

In his definition, he describes two situations when dealing with CSI: the ST CSI does not exist in the TC; the ST CSI has different intertextual status in TC. The former situation refers to an objective one in which the ST CSI does not exist in the TC. The latter situation is a relative one in which the relationship between the ST and the TT keeps shifting and varying. In other words, the translation strategies used at some point may not be appropriate at the other time because the relationships of two elements at some point may change over a sufficient period of time.

Leppihalme (1997) investigates 'allusion' — a culture 'bump' to the translator by the great quantity of examples covering from simple quotations to more oblique hints. She divides allusion into proper-noun allusion and key-phrase allusion, and provides the translation strategies of each subcategory. In addition, she pays great emphasis on the reader's reception and the role of the reader which have been the growing interest of researchers since the 1980s. Her allusion refers to the translation problem alluding not only to previous

literary tradition but also to some experience the writer shares with the reader. Leppihalme's investigation awards the term 'allusion' a wide scope, but she focuses more on literary references that allude to the "pre-formed linguistic material" (Meyer, 1968) in either its original or a modified form, and of proper names, to convey often implicit meaning.

In the field of AVT, few are the authors who have provided definitions of CRs. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) studied 'culture-bound problems' in film subtitling. He stressed that films are "products of the culture from which they arise" and this "may cause problems if a film is to be shown in a different cultural framework" (Nedergaard-Larsen, 1993, p. 207). Her definition emphasizes the dependence of the phenomenon on cultural differences and their effect on translation.

Pedersen (2005), at the European Union 'multidimensional translation' conference, first proposed the concept of 'Extralinguistic Culture-bound Reference'.

> Extralinguistic Culture-bound Reference (ECR) is defined as reference that is attempted by means of any culture-bound linguistic expression, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process, and which is assumed to have a discourse referent that is identifiable to relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopedic knowledge of this audience. (p. 2)

In his following study of Scandinavian Subtitles, he conducted a comparative investigation of 100 Anglophone films and TV programs and their Danish and Swedish subtitles, and revised the term 'Extralinguistic Culture-

bound Reference' into 'Extralinguistic Cultural Reference'. He also further enriches the ECR definition and claims that ECRs refer to extralinguistic entities or processes such as places, people, institutions, customs, and food that may be unknown to the audience even if they know the language in question (Pedersen, 2011). He clearly defines the ECR by referring these cultural references to something outside a language system, thereby explicitly excluding what he calls 'intralinguistic cultural reference' such as idioms, proverbs, slangs, and dialects from his investigation. In addition, according to his definition, some expressions like "*xiǎo bái cài* (小白菜)" (lit. 'little cabbage') (example 35 in section 5.4.3.3) could be either ECRs or ICRs. It could be argued that we could not possibly consider a Chinese reference "*xiǎo bái cài* (小白菜)" as 'extra' linguistic, and it would seem inappropriate not to consider the connotation of 'slut' of this word as ICRs as they are in fact the cultural references relative to concepts inside the language. The difference between these two kinds of cultural references will be discussed more thoroughly later in this chapter.

Chiaro (2009) also refers to the problems of dealing with what she calls 'translational hurdles' in AV materials. She gives the following definition:

> CSRs are entities that are typical of one particular culture, and that culture alone, and they can be either exclusively or predominately visual (an image of a local or national figure, a local dance, pet funerals, baby showers), exclusively verbal or else both visual and verbal in nature. (Chiaro, 2009, p. 155)

Different from the classification of some scholars like Pedersen (2005,

2007) or Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007), she categorizes CRs into three groups; (1) highly culture-specific references (e.g., place names, references to sports and festivities, famous people, monetary systems, institutions, etc.); (2) language-specific features (terms of address, taboo language, etc.); and (3) areas of overlap between language and culture (songs, rhymes, jokes, etc.).

To conclude this section on definitions of CRs in subtitling Chinese language films to English, I would like to stress the importance of the concept of 'degree of opacity' and the dynamic nature for AVT in general and for the translation of ECRs and ICRs in particular. Films are a special text-type in which not only the verbal language but also the components that make part of the image, such as geographic place, historical period, and dress code, play role in strengthening 'the degree of opacity'. That means the more a text is embedded into a culture, the more difficult it is to transfer it to another culture.

4.3.2 Selection Criteria: Language and Culture

Before starting the analysis, I should define CRs and clarify their selection criteria to extract and compile them into the corpus. The first problem in defining them derives from the fact that, "in a language everything is culturally produced, beginning with language itself" (Franco Aixela, 1996, p. 57). Thus, 'Language' and 'Culture' are two key factors for the definition.

Reiss & Vermeer (1984/2013) say "the world is like refracted light through a prism" (pp. 23). They gave four refractions (pp. 23-24) as follows:

(1)   Culture-specific conventions (tradition):

Through the process of their socialization ('enculturation'), humans

become members of a cultural community and often of other communities as well (e.g. a nation, a religious community, a football club). People growing up in a cultural community share specific conceptions of what the world like as well as specific forms of expressions.

(2)　Individual attitude (disposition):

Social and linguistic conventions may be overruled, corrected or confirmed by individual views based on specific situations.

(3)　Different realities (possible worlds):

Certain cultures or some individuals believe that, apart from what is regarded as the real world, there are other possible worlds (e.g. the world of the fairy tales).

(4)　Frozen traditions:

Culture-specific and individual views about the worlds are, in a way, 'frozen' in language as a means of communication and thought. Some conventional expressions continue to be in use, although they do not correspond to what we now know about the world.

(5)　Value systems:

The values assigned to objects and phenomena vary from culture and from individual to individual.

All these refractions can cause translation problems. Culture-specific conventions in (1) may give rise to Sapir-Whofian problems. Different subtitlers have different individual attitudes to the same text as in (2), although who gives subtitles is hidden on DVDs and it is impossible to get the background of the translations and subtitlers' individual attitude. As for

possible worlds in (3), an imaginary *wuxia* world is a traditional form of fantasy, and its popularity has caused it to spread to diverse art forms such as Chinese opera, comic books, movies, television series, and even video games. This culture-specific atmosphere might also bring about translation problems. Frozen tradition in (4) is related to ICRs. Especially, Chinese is full of set phrases that consist of three to seven characters. Many of them originate in legends, historical facts, or fictions. With regard to value system in (5), it is likely to cause a translation problem whether a particular form of behavior or language conforms to the expectations of the audience.

In sum, when we transfer a text of one language into another, Cultural References (ECRs + ICRs) are one of the most prominent translation problems translators deal with. As seen in the review of ECRs and ICRs, Pedersen (2011) explains his choice of the term 'extralinguistic' by considering these cultural items as not being part of a language system, therefore the term 'intralinguistic' would refer to linguistic expressions such as idioms, proverbs, slangs, and dialects which are quintessential cultural references specific to a given culture. Thus, language (whether it is extralinguistic or intralinguistic) and culture (whether it is specific to a culture or not) are the two selection criteria for ECRs and ICRs. A subtitler needs to have "not only bilingual ability but also bi-cultural vision. Translators mediate between cultures (including ideologies, moral systems and sociocultural structures); seeking to overcome those incompatibilities which stand in the way of transfer of meaning" (Hatim & Mason, 1990, p. 223).

4.3.3 Definition of ECRs

In my investigation, I will use the term ECR and its definition given by Pedersen (2011):

> ECR is defined as reference that is attempted by means of any cultural linguistic expression, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process. The referent of the said expression may prototypically be assumed to be identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopedic knowledge of this audience. (p. 43)

To make this definition more understandable, I now explain several concepts in detail. First, the linguistic notion of reference that would be a property of a noun phrase in use was too narrow because my investigation explores all the translation problems caused by the relation between a linguistic sign and extralinguistic cultural reality. Therefore, although most ECRs are proper nouns, ECRs include word-classes, such as verbs and adjectives (e.g., criminal penalty *zhàngshā* [杖杀] "to flog") which designate phenomena specific to the culture in which they are used.

Second, an extralinguistic entity or process need not exist in the real world; those found in the imaginary world of, say, legends, fictions, films, or TV series, can also be counted as ECRs (e.g., *qīng luá* [青鸾], a phoenix-like divine bird in Chinese ancient myths and legends) if they are rooted in one particular culture and stored by culturally literate users in their encyclopedic knowledge.

This definition of ECRs has allowed other scholars to extract the same sort of samples from any text. Whether or not a term is extralinguistic and cultural is the selection criteria for extracting the ECRs from the materials

investigated.

Notably, although 'extralinguistic' is related to matters outside language, ECRs are always expressed verbally. What is extralinguistic is "the entity or process to which the ECR refers" (Pedersen, 2011, p. 45).

Additionally, 'cultural' means referents are culture-specific in that they are only accessible through encyclopedic knowledge of the people of a certain culture. Let us see three nouns in (1).

(1)   a.   *shù* (树) "tree"

    b.   *guànlǐ* (冠礼) "capping ceremony" (*The Assassin*)

    c.   *hánshānsì* (寒山寺) "Hanshan Temple" (*Personal Tailor)*

All the nouns in (1) refer to extralinguistic entities in the real world. In other words, the entities to which these linguistic signs refer to are extralinguistic. Are they all ECRs? The answer is no. Why? This is where the culture criterion is relevant. If you know the Chinese language but not Chinese culture, you can easily understand the basic meaning in (1a). Therefore, (1a) is not an ECR. If you know Chinese, you can understand the meaning of the compound word formed with *guàn* (冠) "crown" and *lǐ* (礼) "ceremony" in (1b). However, the basic dictionary meaning is insufficient to access the cultural connotation of the ceremony where a young man is recognized as being sufficiently mature to marry and participate in various activities. Example (1c) is also cultural, in that it is the proper name of a place in China and can only be understood by the people who have the encyclopedic knowledge of Chinese culture.

Pedersen (2007, 2011) distinguishes three types of ECRs: transcultural,

monocultural, and infracultural. Some names of famous countries, such as

fǎguó（法国）"France," Zhōngguó（中国）"China," and *Měiguó*（美国）

"America," which are specific to the source culture in its original usage, were

not taken into account in this study because they are so widely disseminated

that they can safely be considered a part of global common knowledge. Thus,

I expect those words not to cause any cultural barriers or translation problems.

They are what Pedersen (2007, 2011) calls 'transcultural ECRs'. Note that

whether an ECR is 'transcultural' or not is a relative concept because different

people have different degree of acquaintance with SC. The concept of

'transculturality' can just highlight the cultural distance between SC and TC

but not be a property of the reference. Thus, the present study will compile all

the ECRs into the corpus except the above mentioned globally famous city

names.

A monocultural ECR refers to people, things, places, history, politics, or

social aspects of an SC that are only locally known. An infracultural ECR is so

specific that it is known to only a negligible number of members of the SC.

Pedersen (2007a) indicates that it is monocultural ECRs that usually cause

translation problems and need a translator's intervention.

ECRs can occur in any kind of translation whether it is audiovisual texts

or printed texts, but in subtitling, they are more challenging because of the

limited time and space available, accompanied by possible feedback from the

image and soundtrack. The function of an ECR may be to provide information

about the character, the background of the story or the plot of the whole film.

If a character graduated from Tsinghua University (清华大学), this implies this

person is very smart. A historical war on the screen may evoke political or

social implications. A famous car brand, say, BMW may remind the audience of something related to the luxurious life. Since it is 'extralinguistic', it does not include 'intralinguistic' cultural references such as idioms, proverbs, dialects etc., which will be explained in the following section.

4.3.4 Definition of ICRs

Pedersen (2011) did touch upon 'Intralinguistic Cultural Reference (ICR)', but did no research on this topic. Leppihalme (1997) just mentioned that intralinguistic problems involves "idioms, puns, wordplay, or ways of, for instance, addressing a person, complimenting him or her, or apologizing" (p. 2). To my knowledge, however, no works give a definition of ICRs, let alone dealing with the problem of ICRs in subtitling. My own definition of ICR reads as follows:

> Reference that is attempted by means of any linguistic expression that refers to culture-specific facts or events whose interpretation goes beyond the mere words used and involves indirect and implicit messages or connotations. These half-hidden messages contained in that said expression can only be understood if a relevant audience can connect the clue with intertextual knowledge (fictional or non-fictional) or linguistic performance (puns, dialects, registers, etc.).

Several concepts should be further explained to make this definition more understandable. First, while 'extralinguistic' means that cultural features are embedded into the entities or the process which are outside language, 'intralinguistic' means that cultural features are embedded into language itself.

ICRs as well as ECRs have been recognized for the specific cultural significance and have been inherited from generation to generation. The 'intralinguistic' references, according to Nedergaard-larsen (1993), may be for example metaphors, idioms, vocative forms, or grammatical categories that exist only in this language. In spoken language these also include dialects and intonations that carry meaning (Nedergaard-Larsen, 1993, p. 210). This investigation is only involved in verbal localisms in subtitling. Thus, the intonation is not included in the corpus though ICRs about intonations are much more important in the study of dubbing.

Second, "the half-hidden message beyond the mere words used" means that apart from the first semantic layer, that is, the literal meaning, a new unexpected semantic layer is added between the ICR and what the ICR refers to. This new semantic layer eventually come to be expected by the listener from their intertextual knowledge or linguistic performance.

Third, the intertextual knowledge or linguistic performance involves the knowledge accumulated by an individual from the previous texts including audiovisual text and printed text, or even the past events. For example, "瓜田李下 *guātián lǐxià*" (lit: melon field, beneath the plums), a Chinese 成语 *chéng yǔ* (four-character set phrases) derived from an excerpt of a Han era poem *Jūnzǐ Xíng* "君子行" (A gentleman's conduct). The poem includes the lines in the original text "瓜田不纳履，李下不整冠 *gūatián bù nà lǔ, lǐ xià bù zhěng guān*" (lit: Don't adjust your shoes in a melon field and don't tidy your hat under the plum), which means that "君子 *jūnzǐ*" or a gentleman should not do those behaviors to avoid suspicion of stealing. The real meaning of this *chéng yǔ* surpasses the sum of the meaning carried by the four characters. It is meant to

convey the message and the code of ethics from which they are derived. Without the knowledge from the previous text, the listener can only catch the semantic layer of literal meaning but not the added layer. Chinese people begin to learn *chéng yǔ* including the context where the *chéng yǔ* was born as part of the basic curriculum when they are in elementary school and this education has almost run through the nine-year compulsory education of China.

Another example of ICRs is "外甥打灯笼—照舅（旧）*wàishēng dǎ dēnglong—zhào jiù (jiù)*" (lit: Nephew handling a lantern—illuminating his uncle [or following the old way]), whose half-hidden meaning can only be achieved by the relevant listener's linguistic performance. In this 歇后语 *xiē hòu yǔ* (allegorical sayings), 舅 *jiù* (uncle) and 旧 *jiù* (old) are homophones, and 照 *zhào* means "according to, following" as well as "to illuminate". The standard communicative function of language is deliberately disrupted by the playful use of homophony, since in the stable relationship between 外甥打灯笼 (Nephew handling a lantern) and 照舅 (to illuminate his uncle) a new semantic layer, 照旧 (according to the old way, or to be as before) is added. The foregrounded lexical ambiguity caused by homophony can only be decoded by the listener's linguistic performance — "the actual use of language in concrete situations" (Chomsky, 1965, p. 4).

How can we select ICRs? Following and extending Pedersen (2011, pp. 45-49), I propose here two ICR selection criteria: *intralinguistic* and *cultural*.

Intralinguistic: relating to matters inside language. Consider the following four-character expressions:

(2) a. *hǎo jiǔ bù jiàn* (好久不见)

very long not see

'Long time no see.'

b. *gū hún yě guǐ* (孤魂野鬼) (from *Reign of Assassins*)

lonely soul wild ghost

'lonely ghost'

c. *sān jiào jiǔ liú* (三教九流) (from *Crouching Tiger*)

three creed nine school

'three religions and nine schools of thought'

The expression (2a) is not an ICR. It is a common greeting and those who have no Chinese background often use its calque in English 'Long time no see'. The phrase (2c), on the other hand, is a typical ICR because it would be impossible to understand without knowledge about Chinese religions. How about (2b)? It can be understood literally, but it is also an ICR. Why? This is where the "cultural" criterion counts.

Cultural: relating to a certain culture. The literal meaning of (2b) 'lonely ghost' is not enough to access its metaphorical meaning of "a person who has nobody to depend on and is in a very difficult situation". In Chinese culture, if a person dies without leaving descendants who would hold a religious service for them, s/he would bring harm to the living. This kind of ghosts are called 孤魂野鬼 *gū hún yě guǐ*. In (2c), 三教 *sān jiào* and 九流 *jiǔ liú* are not simple philosophical/religious concepts but classifications of social status and occupations in ancient China. The three religions refer to Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and 'nine schools of thought' refers to the 'upper, middle

and lower' classes among three religions. ICRs do not refer to concrete entities in the real world. This will pose serious challenges to translators.

Some terms that were simultaneously ECRs and ICRs were categorized according to the context as to what this word/expression indicates as in (3).

(3) a. *wūshāmào* (乌纱帽) "black gauze cap" (*The Founding of a Republic*)

   b. *gōngzhǔ* (公主) "princess" (*Personal Tailor*)

ICRs refer to culture-specific facts or events whose interpretation is beyond the mere words, involving indirect and implicit messages or connotations. *Wūshāmào* (乌纱帽) in (3a) is not only a hat of ancient bureaucrats but is also used as a metonymy of the official position. Because of its rhetorical meaning in a certain context, it was included as an ICR. In other words, it is an ECR when it is used as a generic term for a hat on an official; but it is an ICR when it refers to the official position that the hat represents.

With the development of the times, the cultural connotation of some words may change, and the cultural connotation of a CR changes with shifts in cultural attributes. *Gōngzhǔ* (公主) in (3b) is the title of the daughter of the emperor and the daughter of the emperor's brothers, but the noun is given a new meaning that refers to the girls in KTV (K is the first letter of karaoke; TV stands for "television" for the channel MTV). KTV is generally a place for night entertainment where the main business is karaoke and drinking service. These types of names were also included in ICRs. The literal meaning of an ICR is superficial and the true meaning is in connotation; an ICR states something in the text diverging in grammar or semantics from normal language use.

In summary, identifying a reference as an ECR or ICR according to these

two selection criteria reduces the risk of excessive subjectivity in extracting ECRs or ICRs because it would not rely too much on the researcher's personal intuition and more on an objective evaluation of the culture embedded in the expression. Of course, because of different degrees of audiences' acquaintance with the SC, not all individuals from a given country or community will have the same understanding of the meaning of an ECR/ICR; however, that does not imply that the ECR/ICR is not potentially retrievable by the culture of origin. To avoid the subjectivity, all the ECRs and ICRs (whether they are transcultural or monocultural) are extracted from the ST and compiled into the corpus. When we encountered problematic terms that arguably could have been assessed as ECRs or ICRs, I applied this selection principle: "*Is the linguistic expression enough transparent to enable someone to access its referent without cultural knowledge?*" (Pedersen, 2011, p. 48). In this manner, the ECRs and ICRs from 24 movies were manually identified and extracted. In what follows, the types of ECRs and ICRs that are included in my corpus will be discussed.

4.3.5 Types of ECRs and ICRs

In this investigation, I classify the cultural references by the extra- or intralinguistic nature. And the ECRs and ICRs are further divided into different domains according to their sematic domains. For example, 清华大学 (Tsinghua University) belongs to the domain of institution names; "瓜田李下 *guātián lǐxià*" to the domain of 成语 *chéng yǔ*.

Scholars have given their own classification of ECR domains; Newmark's (1988, p. 70-84) proper names, institutional terms and cultural terms, Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993, p. 211) four domains: geography, history, society

and culture, and Pedersen (2007b, 2011)'s classification based on the material in the Scandinavian Subtitle Corpus. The domains are not given the overriding priority in this investigation, but they are taken into consideration inasmuch as they are convenient for the extraction of ECRs/ICRs from the subtitles and useful for the explanation of some subtitling behaviors and patterns. The domains of the ECRs used in the present model are based on Pedersen (2011)'s classification combined with the material in the Chinese-English film subtitles, and are divided into as follows:

1. Weights, measures and currency (e.g. *liǎng* [两], *Reign of Assassins*, 0:04:53; *shí chén* [时辰], *Reign of Assassins*, 0:26:49; *cùn* [寸], *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, 0:12:03; *kuài* [块], *Plastic China,* 0:14:30)

2. Proper names, subdivided into

   i.   Personal names (*Hé xiāngníng* [何香凝], *The Founding of a Republic*, 00:25:22)

   ii. Geographical names (*guǎng zhōu* [广州], *Beginning of the Great Revival,* 1:37:50)

   iii. Institutional names (*běi jīng dà xué* [北京大学], *Beginning of the Great Revival,* 0:45:41)

   iv. Brand names (*hēng dé lì* [亨得利], *Youth*, 0:14:54)

   v.   Dynasty names (*míng cháo* [明朝], *House of Flying Daggers,* 0:02:06)

   vi. Festival names (国庆日, *The Founding of a Republic,* 2:10:59)

3. Professional titles (*zǒng sī lìng* [总司令], *The Founding of an Army,* 0:03:35)

4. Laws and regulations (*zhàngshā* [杖杀], *The Assassin,* 0:01:47; *jiē bā* [接

99

班], *Masters in the Forbidden City,* 0:14:26)

5. Entertainment (*yí méng sòng* [沂蒙颂] (the title of a song), *Youth,* 1:43:11)

6. Literature (*xiū shì lù* [髹饰录], *Masters in the Forbidden City,* 0:52:14)

7. Articles/goods (*jū* [鞠] (a ball for an ancient game), *The Assassin,* 0:04:32; *luán* [鸾] (a legendary bird), *The Assassin,* 0:13:36)

8. Others

There are many ways to classify the domain, depending on the priority given to the aspect of the ECR. Almost all classifications of domains are overlapped including the classification in this investigation. However, my classification is just for the sake of the extraction of ECRs and ICRs by other scholars and explain certain patterns in subtitling behavior. The overlap in domains may increase their explanatory power. For example, *pān jīn lián* (潘金莲) is a personal name and also belongs to the domain of literature. When it has the function of referring to a person by the name, it would be transliterated into the TT; when it has the function of alluding to the image described in the literature work, it would be explained in the TT.

While "ECRs are references pertaining to realia" (Pedersen, 2011, p. 44), ICRs are references related to culture-specific language art and are sometimes used for playful purposes. ICRs are "cultural linguistic heritage" (Crystal, 1998, p. 103). Thus, I assume that ICRs in Chinese-language films are classified into seven categories: *chéngyǔ* 成语 (four-character set phrases), *guànyòngyǔ* 惯用语 (idioms), *xiēhòuyǔ* 歇后语 (allegorical sayings) and *yànyǔ* 谚语 (proverbs), dialects, swear words, ways of addressing a person (humble and respectful addresses).

1. *Chéngyǔ* (成语)

Chengyu, or fixed expressions, are stereotyped expressions in Chinese vocabulary. *Chengyu* is considered the collected wisdom of the Chinese culture, and contain the experiences, moral concepts, and admonishments from previous generations of Chinese. *Chengyu* is one of the traditional Chinese idiomatic expressions, which is mainly composed of four characters (e.g., 窈窕淑女 *yǎo tiǎo shū nǔ* 'virtuous and beautiful lady'), a few three characters (i.e., 莫须有 *mò xū yǒu* 'unwarranted'), five characters (i.e., 欲速则不达 *yù sù zé bù dá* 'Haste makes waste') or even more than seven characters (i.e., 醉翁之意不在酒 *zuì wēng zhī yì bù zài jiǔ* 'to have other intentions'；只许州官放火，不许百姓点灯 *zhǐ xǔ zhōuguān fàng huǒ, bù xǔ bǎixìng diǎn dēng* 'The magistrates are free to set fires, while the common people are forbidden even to light lamps.'). The constituent elements and structural forms of *Chengyu* are fixed, and morphemes cannot be changed, added, or removed at will. For example, 唇亡齿寒 *chún wáng chǐ hán* ('to share the same fate', lit: (When) the lips perish, the teeth become cold) cannot be changed into "唇亡牙冷 *chún wáng yá lěng*" or "唇亡牙寒 *chún wáng yá hán*" although "牙冷 *yá lěng*" and "牙寒 *yá hán*" have the same meaning with "齿寒 *chǐ hán*"; the sequence of "来龙去脉 *lái lóng qù mài* (origin and development)" cannot be shifted into "去脉来龙 *qù mài lái lóng*". The fixed structure of *Chengyu* is applied as an integral component, acting syntactically as the subject, object, and attributive, in the sentence because *Chengyu* are integral in meaning. Its meaning is often not a simple addition of the meanings of its constituent elements, but the summarized meaning from the story behind that *Chengyu*. For example, "狐假虎威 *hú jiǎ hǔ wēi*" literally means that the fox uses the power of the tiger, but

101

the actual meaning refers to someone who relies on the power of others to oppress people.

Chengyu was widely used in Classical Chinese and are still common in both modern written and spoken Chinese, serving to succinctly convey a complex or multifaceted situation, or concept. They are used fittingly and elegantly, marking a speaker's/writer's erudition. Thus, it is not a surprise to find that according to the corpus investigated, in the Wuxia films and epic films of ancient settings, there are much more *Chengyu* than in other film genres.

2. Xiēhòuyǔ (歇后语)

Xiehouyu (lit. 'words after a pause') is a special language form of Chinese proverbs created by Chinese working people since ancient times. It is a short, funny, and figurative sentence, consisting of two parts: the former presents a novel scenario while the latter provides the rationale thereof. *Xiehouyu* is a witticism of "figurative-explanatory" in structure, that is, the latter part is the explanation of second semantic layer which is derived from the meaning of the former part. One would often only state the former part, expecting the listener to know the latter. It can also be regarded as a kind of wordplay. *Xiehouyu* can be realized by two ways. One is logical reasoning, which means that the explanatory part is the reasoning result of the previous metaphor. For example, "哑巴吃黄连 *yǎba chī huánglián*—有苦说不出 *yǒu kǔ shuōbùchū*" (lit. dumb eats goldthread, unable to speak) consists of two parts: the former acts as a leading riddle; the latter part plays the role of the answer to the riddle. By reasoning the reaction of the dumb tasting the bitter plant called goldthread, the logical result that he cannot speak out the bitterness will be inferred, and

one gets the meaning 'to be unable to express one's discomfort, or to be forced to suffer in silence'. In this case, it can usually be transferred directly to the TT, as the process of logical reasoning is the same in both the SC and TC. Another technique used in *Xiehouyu* relies heavily on the playing on homophony. Homophony occurs when two words are similar in sounds but different in orthography (e.g., 外甥打灯笼—照旧[舅]; see Section 4.3.4).

Various kinds of *Xiehouyu* are found in my data. Most of them are used by the script writer for the humorous effect. When subtitling, they require a kind of re-creation on the subtitler's part, which involves preserving the humorous effect at the expense of the meaning or the content of the utterance, as it is nearly impossible to play on the same word in two different languages, especially when these two languages are very far from each other such as Chinese and English.

3. *Yànyǔ* (谚语)

Yanyu, which would be called 'proverb' in English, refers to simple, concrete, traditional sayings which are generally passed down orally and widely spread among the people. Most of the Chinese *Yanyu* reflect the practical experience of working people. In the West, the Bible and medieval Latin have played a considerable role in distributing proverbs. Chinese *Yanyu* are the wisdom of Chinese people and reflects the content involving all aspects of social life, such as meteorology (e.g., 朝霞不出门，晚霞行千里 *Zhāoxiá bù chūmén, chúfēi jǐ mò wèi* [lit. if there is morning glow, you cannot go to travel; if there is sunset glow, you can.]), agriculture (e.g., 枣芽发，种棉花 *Zǎo yá fā, zhǒng miánhuā* [lit. when jujube buds, cotton can be planted.]), health (e.g., 饭后百步走，活

到九十九 *Fàn hòu bǎi bù zǒu, huó dào jiǔshíjiǔ* [lit. walk 100 steps after a meal, then live to ninety-nine]), society (e.g., 若要人不知，除非己莫为 *Ruò yào rén bùzhī, chúfēi jǐ mò wèi* [lit. if you don't want others know, you cannot do it.]), and learning (e.g., 世上无难事，只怕有心人 *Shìshàng wú nánshì, zhǐ pà yǒuxīnrén* [lit. there is no difficulty in the world if you want to get it over.]). Although almost every culture has its own unique proverbs, some exist in more than one language because people borrow them from other languages and cultures. For example, "不入虎穴，焉得虎子 *Bù rù hǔxué, yān dé hǔ zi* (lit. you cannot catch the tiger's son, if you do not enter the tiger's den.)", which corresponds to "no pain no gain" in English, is directly translated in Japanese to be "虎穴に入らずんば虎児を得ず *Koketuni irazunba, kozio ezu*".

4. *Guànyòngyǔ* (惯用语)

Guanyongyu refers short and stereotyped expressions. They are often colloquial and are commonly used in various regions. Their interpretation may not be inferred from words of standard Chinese. Some of them are so expressive and they may have hidden or derogatory meanings.

Guanyongy are derived from many resources. Some are originated from dialects, but they are now widely accepted as common knowledge by speakers of other dialects. 侃大山 *Kǎn dà shān*, for instance, is originated from Beijing dialect, which refers to a chat about something trivial, inappropriate, or invalid for a long time. Some are derived from institutions and customs; [打]入冷宫 *dǎ rù lěng gōng* (lit. be demoted into a cold palace) means the concubines were demoted into 冷宫 *lěng gōng*, or an isolated palace for placing out-of-favor concubines of the emperors of the feudal society. Some are derived from

religion and superstition. For example, in 敲木鱼 *qiāo mù yú*, 木鱼 *mù yú* is the dharma instrument beaten by nuns when they are chanting, but *qiāo mù yú* is now used to indicate warnings; 鬼门关 *guǐ méng guān* is a passing gate of the 阴曹地 *yīn cáo dì fǔ* 'a place for the dead' in Chinese superstition legend, and it refers to the life and death threshold or a dangerous place. A few are originated from historical events. For example, [下]逐客令 *xià zhú kè lìng* 'the order to drive away guests' comes from a story in which the Country of Qin ordered the expulsion of Guest Officials from other countries. Some *Guanyongy* are from legends or stories; 破天荒 *pò tiān huāng* means something unprecedented or unheard-of. It comes from a story in Tang Dynasty. It is said that many students from Jingzhou took the Jinshi examination, but no one could pass the examination, which is regarded as 天荒 *tiān huāng* 'wasteland'. Later, for the first time, someone from Jingzhou passed the examination, which is called 破天荒 *pò tiān huāng* 'break wateland'.

Guanyongyu could be regarded to be ICRs and ECRs at the same time. For example, 冷宫 *lěng gōng*, 木鱼 *mù yú*, 鬼门关 *guǐ méng guān*, and 天荒 *tiān huāng* are all entities in the reality or fictions. However, they are no longer used to refer to the entities when embedded in *Guangyongyu*, so they are safely grouped into ICRs.

Besides being concise and vivid, *Guanyongy* are also flexible. Most of them can be disassembled and embedded into other components; some internal morphemes can be changed appropriately; and the word order can be reversed. For example, 敲竹杠 *qiāo zhū gang* 'raise the price or obtain property by taking the advantage of other people's weakness') can be 敲他的竹杠 *qiāo tā de zhū gàn* by adding possessive pronoun 他的 *tā de* 'his'; it can also be 敲

105

竹棍 *qiāo zhū gùn* by changing 杠 *gàng* into 棍 *gùn*, but the meaning is unchanged; 耳朵软 *ěr duo ruǎn* and 软耳朵 *ruǎn ěr duo* both refer to a person who has no opinion and is likely to believe others' words, although the word order is reversed.

5. *Dialect*

In my investigation, dialects are a variant of a language that is not Putonghua (普通话 'common speech'), or Standard Mandarin, the official language of the People's Republic of China. In the films *The Flowers of War*, three nationalities (Chinese, American and Japanese), three languages (English, Japanese, Putonghua) and two dialects (Nanjing dialect, and Shanghai dialect) are involved. Zhang Yimou, director of the film, uses several languages, especially the Nanjing dialect, for conveying local culture because the brutal killings happened in Nanjing, the capital city at that time, which is known as the Nanjing Massacre. All these make this movie rather complicated, since it is not only interlingual (Putonghua, Japanese, and English) but also interdialectal (Putonghua and local dialects: Nanjing and Shanghai dialect). The dialects included in the work might not be noticed or distinguished by the western audience, but the majority of Chinese audience will probably realize the dialects in the film according to the accents but cannot understand the meaning because a dialect in some area is a foreign language for the audience from other regions in China. It would be clearer to the audience when the switching of dialects is marked in subtitles, such as an indication in brackets at the beginning or the end of the subtitles. Dialects are ICRs, but what kind of dialects should be included in the ICR corpus? For example, Nanjing dialect is a variation of

106

Putonghua, which belongs to Jianghuai Mandarin (江淮官话). It is different from standard Putonghua in terms of its tone and pronunciation. The grammar of Nanjing dialect is similar to Putonghua, but there are some unique vocabulary and phrases in the dialect which is regional culture-specific and may not be understood by people from other regions, let alone the audience of different culture.

(4) Nanjing Dialect: 不要以为就你们会说洋文，啊是滴啊？

buyao yiwei jiu nimen hui shuo yangwen, a shi di a?

'(You) should not think that only you can speak a foreign language, is that right?'

Putonghua: 不要以为就你们会说洋文

buyao yiwei jiu nimen hui shuo yangwen

'(You) should not think that only you can speak a foreign language.'

"啊是滴啊 *a shi di a*" is a typical saying in Nanjing dialect, which equals to "对吗 *dui ma?*" 'is that right?' in Putonghua and is usually used to stress what has been said before. Although it is culture specific to Nanjing area, it is not an ICR because there is no one more semantic layer other than the literal one. However, the following example is different.

(5) Nanjing Dialect: 他一大早就颠得唻

ta yidazao jiu diandelai

'He ran away in a hurry very early this morning.'

Putonghua: 他一大早就跑掉了

ta yidazao jiu paodiaole.

'He ran off very early this morning.'

In this example, the word "颠 *dian*" means 'flee or run off in a hurry' only in Nanjing dialect. In subtitles, it was translated into "run", a superordinate word, by which the understanding of the TA is not affected, but some zest of Nanjing dialect is lost.

6. Swearwords

Swearwords are defined by Andersson (2004) as words that derive from or are related to subjects of taboo in the culture, which are used as expressions of anger, surprise etc. Swearwords are a common feature of informal conversation (Fagersten, 2012), which exist in most languages and cultures, but "global cultures develop diverse swearwords taken from different sources, which can result in divergences in the way people swear between communities" (Soler, 2001, p. 74). That is to say, what aspects are regarded as offensive is different from culture to culture. When swearwords are literally translated into other cultures, they may lose their connotation, because different cultures have different sensibilities towards violent or strong language.

Swearwords are usually considered to be irrelevant for the progress of a film's storyline or the overall comprehension of the plot, and thus they can be disregarded to save the subtitle space (Mattsson, 2006). However, swearwords are important to indicate the overall tone of the film or the specific characterization of a certain character in the movie. Furthermore, the retention, the substitution, or the omission of the ST swearwords in the TT will also partially show the subtitler's attitude in subtitling ICRs.

7. Chinese Honorifics

Chinese honorifics are words, word constructs, or expressions in the Chinese language that convey self-deprecation, social respect, politeness, or deference. Once ubiquitously employed in ancient China, many of them have fallen out of use in the contemporary Chinese lexicon. However, usage of classical Chinese honorifics is occasionally employed by the author of Chinese literature and television or cinematic productions that are set in the historical periods. In general, language that refers to oneself exhibiting self-depreciating humbleness is called 谦语 *qiān yǔ* 'humble language', while language that refers to others showing approval and respect is called 敬语 *jìng yǔ* 'respectful language'.

Humble language employs modified words or substitutes called 谦辞 *qiāncí* (lit. humble vocabulary) that convey a sense of self-deprecation and humility for the speaker, like 寡人 *guǎ rén* (see example 49 in section 5.4.3.6), whereas respectful language employs modified words or substitutes called 敬辞 *jìngcí* (lit. respectful vocabulary) that convey a sense of respect for the addressee, like 令尊 *lìng zū* (see example 48 in section 5.4.3.6). In ancient China, humble and respectful forms of address were mostly used for various social relationships and situations, often in adherence to the concepts of 尊卑 *zūn bēi* (lit. above-beneath, which means social hierarchy), 贵贱 *guì jiàn* (lit. worthy-worthless, which means social class) and 辈份 *bèi fèn* (seniority).

Chinese honorifics reflects not only the vivid relationship between language and culture, but also the characteristics of national culture. When the complicated ICRs of Chinese honorifics are rendered into Modern English in which there is no grammatical system of honorific speech, the concepts such as *zūn bēi*, *guì jià* and *bèi fè* would more or less disappear in the TT.

8. Kinship terms

The Chinese kinship system is one of the most complicated of all kinship systems. It minutely designates almost every one of ego's kin based on their generation, their lineage, their relative age, and their gender. For example, a mother's brother and a father's brother have different terms. A father's younger brother has a different terminology than his older brother. Indo-European kinship, like old English, is originally as complicated as Chinese. However, it was gradually simplified and the appellation in modern English is relatively simple. Thus, it is a great challenge for the translator to convey the complicated relationship indicated by the Chinese kinship terms into the culture that does not have the equivalent terms, as in the example (42) in section 5.4.3.5.

We have seen eight types of ICRs. Some ICRs are more language-based and others are more culture-based. The former ones are sometimes close to play on words. For example, some *xiehouyu* (歇后语) is formed by words with more than one meaning, or homophony. It goes without saying that this kind of ICRs is one of the most challenging cases for translators. The culture-based ICRs means that the understanding of an ICR depends more on the meaning triggered by the cultural images contained in that ICR. In transferring this type of ICRs into another culture, if the cultural image accessed by the SA is the same with that by the TA, this ICR would not cause the translation problem; if the meaning triggered by the cultural image in the ST ICR is opposite or partially overlapped to the meaning of the image in the TC, the rendering of this ICR would be much more complicated. Chapter 5 will analyze the translation strategies applied in dealing with different types of ECRs and ICRs in practice.

4.4 Corpus

4.4.1 ECRs and ICRs

After setting up six genres for Chinese movies based on AMC Theatres: Epics, Wuxia (武侠), Crime & Gangster, Comedy, War, and Documentary, I selected 24 films on DVD to compile a corpus of verbal localisms including spoken verbal elements—dialogue, narrative, and the written verbal elements, namely displays and captions, in the Chinese (SL) and English (TL) subtitles. Their timings are manually transcribed from the DVD and are collected in Word format readily for comparison. If needed, the images were extracted from the works for a more concrete and effective illustration on the dissertation.

Then, I began to extract ECRs and ICRs according to their definition and selection criteria. As discussed in section 4.3.1, Pedersen (2011) has defined ECR as elements outside language system that closely related to a local culture, society, history, or geography. I used Pedersen's definition and make it more applicable for Chinese AVT. An ECR in Chinese language films may be not only a noun phrase, including an entity, a concept, a policy or fictional elements from existing literature, films, or ancient mythology, but also other word-classes, such as verbs and adjectives which designate phenomena specific to the culture in which they are used.

In this investigation, the ST viewers are native speakers of Chinese (or to be precise, the films primarily target the viewers who speak Mandarin). The TT viewers are American who are native speakers of English. Although Pedersen (2011) proposed three levels of transculturality (transcultural, monocultural, and infracultural), the degree of transculturality is relative and the audience's familiarity with the ECR is very much subjective. Thus, all ECRs, whatever

they are, are extracted and complied into the self-built corpus, except the global known country names (see section 4.3.3).

The ICRs in present study included different usage of the language: *Chéngyǔ* (成语)*, Xiēhòuyǔ* (歇后语)*, Yànyǔ* (谚语)*, Guànyòngyǔ* (惯用语)*, Dialect*, *Swearwords*, *Chinese Honorifics*, and *Kinship terms.* All ICRs, as in ECRs, whether they are monocultural or transcultural, are compiled into corpus. Notably, non-verbal but visual references, like posters in the street, product labels, TV programs and so on, have been included in the corpus.

ECRs and ICRs may cause translation problems because even the viewer has the knowledge of the TL, he or she will miss cultural implication embedded in that ECR/ICR; and it will be more problematic if the implication is crucial to understand the story. When it comes to subtitling, the translation of ECRs and ICRs are more complicated. Due to the technical constraints, the strategy of translating an ECR or ICR in printed materials, such as annotation, is infeasible in subtitling. In addition, the presence of other signs, such as image, sound, and music, may be a barrier to the comprehension of the CR, and limit the translator's choice. By investigating how ECRs and ICRs are treated in subtitling, we can extrapolate some patterns or subtitlers' choice when they deal with different genres of films, and the priorities in their mind when translation problems arise. Thus, in the corpus, the corresponding translation strategies are also included. ECRs, ICRs and their corresponding translation strategies are all compiles into corpus in Excel format.

4.4.2 Translation Strategies

As a descriptive study of AVT, the main body of this work is to explore

translation strategies by comparing the ST ECRs/ICRs and the corresponding translation. Strategy, technique, procedure, or method are the terms used with most frequency by scholars to explain the translation procedures adopted by translators. No matter what terms they use, these terms are to a greater or lesser degree synonymous; as Chesterman (2005) stated, "different scholars use different terms for what seems to be more or less the same thing" (p. 18), in that they are used to reflect the possible relationships between the ST segment and the corresponding TT. The term 'strategy' is adopted here because it is generic and is widely used in the theoretical domain and in the applied branch for the translator's training.

The present corpus is based on 24 Chinese language films with 6 genres of various lengths (from 88 minutes to 2.4 hours), totaling more than 46 hours. To my knowledge, it is the largest corpora for the quantitative and qualitative analysis of CRs in Chinese language films. 5657 translational units will be compared with their STs (dialogue, narrative, displays and captions in the original films) in order to observe types of translation strategies, including how frequently each translation strategy appears and in what way. Strategies applied for subtitling ECRs and ICRs in Chinese language films are discussed in chapter 5; some patterns will be observed by the exploration into the frequency of translation strategies from the self-bult corpus and the rationale reasons behind such patterns will be explained in chapter 6.

4.5 Summary

First, I selected 24 Chinese language films are selected from 6 genres that are

typical on American film market and popular on www.amazon.com.

Before collecting a corpus of data, I defined ECRs and ICRs. As has been discussed, ECRs and ICRs encompass a wide range of elements. The definition of ECRs and its selection criteria put forward by Pedersen (2011) was used for the analysis of subtitling in my investigation, though some adjustments were necessary to deal with the ECRs which are linguistically and culturally specific in Chinese language films. I also proposed a definition of ICRs (section 4.3), which is not pre-existed.

Lastly, I complied a corpus of ECRs, ICRs, and their corresponding translation strategies extracted from 24 Chinese language films and their English subtitles.

Chapter 5 Subtitling Strategies for ECRs and ICRs

5.1 Introduction

Having defined ECR and ICRs and described their features, it is now time to discuss how subtitlers deal with them in TT, and how it is possible to describe the process or the end results of a translation action in transferring CRs to TA. As Chesterman (1997) puts it, "[i]t seems reasonable to assume that it is mainly at the problem points that translators have recourse to strategies, as ways of overcoming temporary hitches in the translation process" (p. 89), although this investigation aims to generalize some patterns by the scrutiny of the end results, the process is observed during the scrutiny of the end results.

This chapter starts with the discussion of what distinguishes subtitling from other forms of translation. Then, the previous taxonomies of translation strategies for dealing with cultural references are enlisted. The last section of this chapter is dedicated to the taxonomy of translation strategies for ECRs and ICRs in Chinese language films, with special focus on subtitling.

5.2 Subtitling ECRs and ICRs

ECRs and ICRs often travel badly between any two languages and cultures, as they are closely related to the language and culture in which they are produced. In other words, the task of a translator becomes challenging when attempting to render ECRs and ICRs across two different languages and cultures. In fact, subtitlers' jobs become even more difficult if they work within the technical

rules and conventions of subtitling, such as timing, spatial constraints, synchronization, and elements. The target of this study is ECR and ICR translations in subtitling which have distinctive characteristics as a special translation. Thus, before talking about the taxonomy of translation strategies of CRs, I will discuss how the technical constraints that distinguish subtitling from other forms of translation and what their effect is to subtitling.

5.2.1 Media Constraints

Delabastita (1989, p. 200) claims that translators are limited by three main technical constraints: the spatial layout on the screen, the number of lines allowed and the number of characters per line. Gottlieb (1992) distinguishes the "formal (quantitative) and textual (qualitative) constraints on subtitling" (p. 164). Formal constraints refer to spatio-temporal limitation, that is, the space that the subtitle can occupy on the screen and the time that the subtitle can appear on the screen. The textual constraints refer to "those imposed on the subtitles by the visual context" of the movie (p. 164). Gottlieb's formal constraint and Delabastita's technical constraints both refer to the space and time factors, though rules of the space factor vary from language to language.

The space given to the languages of the alphabetic writing system is 35-40 characters per line, with a maximum of a two-line subtitle within 70-80 characters (de Linde & Kay, 1999, p. 6). For Chinese, which uses a logographic writing system, the space on the screen allows 11-15 characters per line or 26 characters two lines (Wang, 2006, p. 62). The rules also depend on the size of screen (e.g., the cinema screen allows more characters per line

than the TV screen) and on film companies or TV stations.

As for the time factor, the ideal displaying time suggested is 2-6 seconds (Gottlieb, 1992). This 6-second suggestion is based on some studies of several alphabetic languages (Hanson, 1974; Gottlieb, 1992; d'Ydewalle et al., 1987; Luyken et al., 1991). Fong (2009) suggests that the ideal displaying time for a Chinese subtitle of 11-15 characters is 3-5 seconds because the average reading speed of the Chinese is 150-180 word per minute. The reading speed is also affected by the genre of the film, the complexity of information in the film, the action on the screen and viewers' interest in the topic (de Linde 1995, p. 10-11). In addition, the average reading speed is increasing with the development of new technology because the younger generations are frequently exposed to media and internet.

Textual constraints concern the interaction of the subtitle and the image, or synchronization of the subtitle with visual and audio information (de Linde & Kay, 1999, p. 7). Baker (1998) also argues that film audience simultaneously deal with four different types of channels.

(i)   The verbal auditory channel, including dialogue, background voices and maybe lyrics;

(ii)   The non-verbal auditory channel, which is made up of natural sound, sound effects, as well as music;

(iii) The verbal visual channel, comprising the subtitles and any writing within the film, as for example, letters, posters, books, newspapers, graffiti, or advertisements;

(iv) The non-verbal visual channel, which includes the composition of the
image, camera positions and movement as well as the editing which
controls the general flow and mood of the movie.

Therefore, subtitle translators need to take into consideration all these
constraints when subtitling. In another words, these constraints must affect
the translator's subtitling process.

5.2.2 Media Constraints on the Subtitling Process

The medium is a main factor that makes subtitling distinguished from other
kinds of translation, and it certainly has major influence on a subtitler's
decision-making.

First, subtitlers work within the spatio-temporal constraints. Time
available for displaying subtitles depends on the speed at which the dialog is
spoken, the viewers' average reading speed, and the necessity of short
intervals between subtitles, so that subtitles generally begin simultaneously
with the onset of speech and end 0.5 to 1.5 seconds before the speech has
finished. These restrictions often lead the dialog to be reduced or changed and
the subtitler face the difficult task of choosing what should be transferred to
the TA and what should be left out without any important semantic loss. It will
be more difficult for translators when they come across CRs because they
sometimes have to add extra information to help the TA to understand these
references. Beneš (2011) states that when a translator encounters a cultural
item in a literary text, s/he can expand the translated text so that s/he can

transfer the cultural references adequately and s/he can also use footnotes to help the reader get message (p. 32). However, in subtitling a CR in audiovisual productions, the subtitler's task is more complicated since traditional technique like footnotes is nearly impossible for lack of time and space. Gottlieb (1997b) finds that the reduction as a strategy in subtitling is used almost twice as frequent as in translating novels by comparing the way idioms are treated in translating novels and subtitling (p. 333).

Second, subtitling is a form of diagonal translation (Gottlieb, 2001, p. 16). Subtitlers should transpose an oral ST into a written one, which means that they should translate an informal, sometimes even ungrammatical dialogue into a more formal and grammatical text. It means that apart from technical constraints, the transfer from the spoken to the written will result in reduction as written language is more condensed. Translators, for example, tend to omit the elements, such as the repetition or discourse marker like *oh* and *you know*, which are more common in dialogues but less in written texts, though most words or expressions in film dialogues are carefully designed and meaningful to deliver the message to the audience. It will be more difficult when the subtitler meet some non-verbal ICRs such as intonation or accents, facial expressions, and body language with cultural meaning, although it is not included in this investigation.

Furthermore, since the ST and TT are juxtaposed in different modes in the sense that subtitles are visual signs while the original lines remain audible, Gottlieb argues that the audience's knowledge of the source language can affect the subtitler's translation fidelity to the ST. For example, in the

language pair of Chinese (SL) and English (TL), most of the target audience has little knowledge of the SL. This means that if an SL ECR was replaced by another, it was difficult, if not impossible, for the TA to notice it. When English is transferred into Chinese, by contrast, the Chinese may recognize it if an ECR in SL is replaced, because Chinese people have better knowledge of the SL. Gottlieb (2009) says that "in societal contexts in which large segments of target audiences know enough of the original language on screen (which most often is English) to second-guess the subtitler, this parallel and simultaneous viewing of the original and the translated dialogue will inevitably draw the subtitler toward the loyal end of the axis," which ranges "from strictly verbatim rendition of the original (verbal) text to free, target-culture recreation of the text" (p. 24).

Finally, subtitles are "part of a polysemiotic text" (Gottlieb, 2004, p. 227), which means that the information in the films is transferred through more than one semiotic channel, including the verbal audio channel (the dialog), non-verbal audio channel (music and sound effects), verbal visual channel (text on screen), and non-verbal visual channel (composition and montage). These channels may save the subtitler effort because the information conveyed by the non-verbal channel can compensate for the subtitles. For example, in some cases, the contribution of other non-verbal signs such as body language, facial expression and the actor's accents is of great help in the sense that they enable the audience to supplement some information that is not delivered through subtitles. The following is a typical example that can illustrate the great contribution of the image on the screen to the understanding.

(我不是潘金莲 *I am not Madame Bovary* 00:08:24)

This dialog takes place in the situation where the heroine Li Xuelian took the judge to her ex-husband's new apartment to prove that the man cheated her to marry another woman. When arriving downstairs, the judge asked: "哪一个 *nǎ yī ge* (which one)?". According to the context, the judge wanted to know which one is the window of his new apartment, so Li Xuelian answered: "贴喜字那一个 *Tiē xǐ zì nà yī ge* (The one pasted with the character "喜 *xǐ* (happiness)")." The original "喜(happiness)" is subtitled into "the paper cutout". In fact, "喜(happiness)" is only one type of the paper cut appearing in the form of "囍 (double happiness)", which originally refers to two happy events at the same time. It is mostly used in weddings to express the joy of the bride and bridegroom. "囍 (double happiness)" is often placed on daily necessities such as tea sets, soap boxes and basins, and pasted on mirrors or windows. It is very easy for the SA to connect "囍 (double happiness)" with the newlyweds. The subtitle of "the paper cutout" does not have the connotation of 'newly married couple' but helps understand the message since the audience knows clearly what room the speaker refers to. Here, intersemiotic redundancy facilitates condensation.

However, the intersemiotic redundancy might cause serious translation problems when a visualized CR does not exist or means the opposite in the TC. For example,

(An Invitation to Tea)
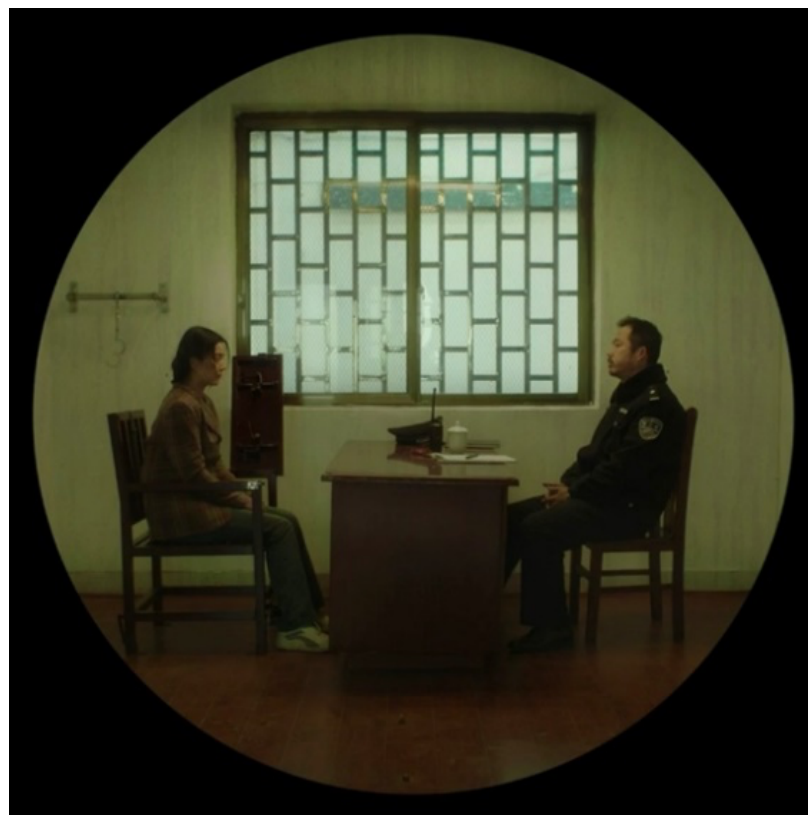
(我不是潘金莲 *I am not Madame Bovary* 00:24:02)

"喝茶 *hē chá* (drink tea)" in this situation has a meaning beyond the mere combination of "喝 *hē* (drink)" and "茶 *chá* (tea)"; it means 'being investigated or cross-examined by the police'. This ICR is monocultural and is not known in TC. Consequently, the TA could not understand why the subtitle of "an invitation to tea" is synchronized with the scene that the character was forced into a car. In this case, the subtitler creates semiotic tension instead of cohesion between the channels. Due to the absence of the activity "invitation to tea" through the whole scene, the polysemiotics tell the audience that the subtitle does not follow the picture, which leaves the viewer confused and in doubt of the correctness of the subtitle. Technical and textual constraints in subtitling often require translators to resort to more creative translation strategies. To create viewer-friendly subtitles, translators need to have media literacy—being sensitive to the polysemiotic nature of the ST and knowing how to use it (Oittinen, 2008, p. 86).

Given the fact of various constraints involved in subtitling, it is meaningful to explore how subtitlers deal with CRs. Some researchers have designed taxonomies of translation strategies particularly for rendering CRs in different modes (Tomaszkiewicz, 1993; Aixela, 1996; Davies, 2003; Pedersen, 2011). Previous studies on CR translation and the way they are handled will be discussed in the next section. These scholarly taxonomies provide the basis for my classification, although most of the studies focus on the translation between English and European languages. Detailed investigation of Chinese subtitles, which are the main target of this study, is covered in section 5.4.

5.3 Taxonomies of Translation Strategies of ECRs and ICRs

5.3.1 Previous Study of Translation Strategies

This subsection presents the classifications of translation strategies for rendering CRs that I observed in the literature (see Section 3.3.1) that were relevant to this study. Taxonomies of translation strategies to deal with ECR and ICRs are mostly discussed within a more general TS. Thus, I started by investigating general translation taxonomy. One of the most influential one is Vinay and Darbelnet's (2000, pp. 84-93), which is not aimed at CR translation but has been the basis of later works, contains insights which are directly related to our purpose. In their analysis, they use the terms "methods" and "procedure" instead of strategies. The two methods are direct translation and oblique translation, each of them covering a range of procedures:

Direct Translation	Oblique Translation
Borrowing	Transposition
Calque	Modulation
Literal translation	Equivalence
	Adaptation

Borrowing is the simplest method that foreignizes a text by leaving the terms unchanged into the TT. By this method, the TT sound exotic to the TA. Calque is another way of borrowing by literally translating each element of a word, as in "摩天楼 *mó tiān lóu*" (lit. scrape-sky-building) for *skyscraper*. Literal translation is similar to calque in the sense that it is used to literally

translate longer phrase by obeying the TL's grammatical norms, as in 'A man becomes learned by asking questions', translated in Chinese with '不耻下问才能有学问 *Bùchǐxiàwèn cáinéng yǒu xuéwèn*' (lit. do not be ashamed to ask to become educated).

As to the oblique translation procedures, transposition refers to the replacement of one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message. In the Chinese translation of the proverb '长什么树，结什么果 *Zhǎng shénme shù, jié shénme guǒ*' for 'As the tree, so the fruit', *tree* and *fruit* are nouns and "长树 *Zhǎng shù*" and "结果 *jié guǒ*" are verbs, although the meaning of the phrase remains virtually the same. Modulation is a variation of the form of the message by a change in point of view and a different expression of the same concept. An example of modulation is 'It is never too old to learn' for '活到老，学到老 *Huó dào lǎo, xué dào lǎo* (learn till you are old)'. Equivalence is used to render a situation using completely different structural and stylistic methods. An example would be 'When the cat is away, the mice will play' for '山中无老虎，猴子称大王 *Shānzhōng wú lǎohǔ, hóuzi chēng dàwáng* (when the tiger is away, the monkey says he is the king)'. The last method, adaptation, is considered as the extreme limit of translation. When the SL message is unknown to the TC, translators have to create a new, equivalent situation. For example, 'cricket' can be adapted into 'baseball' in US or in Japan. 'I swear to God!' would be translated into '我向毛主席保证 *Wǒ xiàng máo zhǔxí bǎozhèng* (I swear to Chair Mao)'. Thus, adaptation is a form of situational equivalent encompassing an extreme form of rewriting.

Direct translation and oblique translation reflect two translation

policies — foreignization and domestication. Note, however, as Pedersen (2007b, p. 113) states, their taxonomy is largely based on syntax and a very common strategy based on semantics, generalization, is excluded from it.

Aixela (1996) claims that the TA might not be able to comprehend all CRs from an alien culture and that the reproduction of CRs might not help the target audience comprehend the ST as effectively as finding some pragmatic equivalents in the TC. Aixela (1996, p. 59) proposes eleven strategies that can be used in translating CRs.

Conservation	Substitution
Repetition	Synonymy
Orthographic adaptation	Limited universalization
Linguistic translation	Absolute universalization
Extra-textual gloss	Naturalization
Intra-textual gloss	Deletion
	Autonomous creation

Aixela's taxonomy compensates what Vinay and Darbelnet did not cover. The strategy of orthographic adaptation contains the transcription and transliteration of the CRs when the TL uses a different alphabet from the SL. For example, the name of a Chinese character '潘金莲 *Pān Jīnlián*' is changed to 'Pan Jinlian' in the English translation. The strategies of synonymy, limited universalization, and absolute universalization permit the semantic departure of the TT from the ST by using a synonym, a superordinate or an explanation

127

to translate ST. In addition, Aixela's taxonomy allows the omission of the ST CR in the TT for ideological or stylistic reasons.

Leppihalme's (1997) taxonomy for rendering proper name allusion and key-phrase allusions which are quotations to other texts are as follows:

Strategies for proper name allusions	Strategies for key-phrase allusions
Retention with three subcategories: as such; adding some guidance; adding a detailed explanation, for example a footnote	Standard translation
	Minimum change
	Extra-allusion guidance
Replacement with two subcategories: by another SL name; by a TL name	Footnotes, endnotes, or the like
	Internal marking
Omission with two subcategories: omitting the name but transfer the sense by other means; omitting the name and the allusion altogether.	Replacement by preformed TL item
	Rephrasal to clarify their meaning
	recreation
	omission

Leppihalme's strategies for the translation of proper name allusion is simple but useful because it contains the basic procedures—to keep the name unaltered, to change it, and to omit it. They can be applied, with some elaboration, to the translation of CRs in general. Her taxonomy for the translation of key-phrase allusions is important for translating longer and more complex units which have been neglected by many scholars. As these longer units are included in this study as ICRs, her taxonomy of translating key-

phrase allusions is a valuable instrument for further insights into the analysis of CRs. Leppihalme (2001, 2011) later proposed a taxonomy for translating *realia*. The strategies are conceived as direct transfer, calque, cultural adaptation, superordinate term, explicitation, addition, and omission. In this taxonomy, she prefers the terms of 'direct transfer' and 'cultural adaptation' rather than that of 'retention' and 'replacement' of 1994. 'Calque' includes literal translation; a superordinate term involves a form of generalization; and 'explicitation' is conceived as paraphrase and/or addition (Leppihalme, 2001, p. 143). 'Addition' refers to the extra-information given in footnotes and the like, and the omission is complete deletion of the CRs from the TT.

Now let us move from general translation taxonomies onto subtitling taxonomies. First, Gottlieb (1992) proposes ten strategies for subtitling, upon which other works are based.

(i)   Expansion: expanded expression, adequate rendering (culture-specific references etc.)

(ii)   Paraphrase: altered expression, adequate rendering (non-visualized language-specific phenomena)

(iii)   Transfer: full expression, adequate rendering ('neutral' discourse — slow tempo)

(iv)   Imitation: identical expression, equivalent rendering (proper nouns, international greetings etc.)

(v)   Transcription: anomalous expression, adequate rendering (non-standard speech etc.)

(vi)   Dislocation: differing expression, adjusted content (musical or visualized language-specific phenomena)

(vii) Condensation: condensed expression, concise rendering (normal speech)

(viii) Decimation: abridged expression, reduced content (fast speech of some importance)

(ix)   Deletion: omitted expression, no verbal content (fast speech of less importance)

(x)   Resignation: differing expression, distorted content (untranslatable elements)

According to Gottlieb, (i)-(vii) provide corresponding translations which do not involve in semantic departure from the ST; (viii) and (iv) affect the semantic and stylistic content of the ST; (v)-(ix) are "more common in subtitling than in printed translation" (Anderman, 2003, p. 295), and (vii) is in particular typical of subtitling. Resignation can be found in all types of translation. Later, Gottlieb (2009) deals with the translation of ECRs and compared them with the strategies by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), Leppihalme (1997), and Pedersen (2005). By the analysis of a small corpus made up of five Danish films and three US films, he established what he believed to be an exhaustive taxonomy of strategies—retention, literal translation, specification, generalization, substitution and omission — on a scale of maximum to minimum fidelity to the ST. In addition, he emphasizes that for larger corpora these categories may "deserve further subdivisions" (Gottlieb, 2009, p. 32).

The taxonomies with a similar research object and the same medium are

more suitable than the more general one. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) argues that the optimal strategy for subtitling extralinguistic culture-bound problems should consider, for example, genre and expectations of the audience. He generalizes eight strategies to subtitle ECRs, including six major types and four subtypes (Nedergaard-Larsen, 1993, p. 219) as follows.

(i)   Transfer/Loan:

    a. Identity: the foreign item is copied directly to the TT (non-translation), as commonly happens with names of places, professional titles etc.

    b. Imitation: calque (loan translation) or a direct transfer but adapted to the TL (the SL item does not exist in the TL).

(ii) Direct translation: literal translation, usually for elements that in both TL.

(iii) Explicitation: making explicit by specifying a certain aspect of the foreign item that has direct reference to the specific situation, which includes using a more general term to explain the connation of the foreign item.

(iv) Paraphrase: an explanation of the foreign item.

(v)   Adaptation to TL-culture

    a. Situational adaptation: the foreign item is translated into a concept/situation in the TL.

    b. Cultural adaptation: the foreign item is replaced by a completely different item in the TL which has similar subtext.

    c. Omission: the foreign item is missing, not represented in the TT in any form.

In Nedergaard-Larsen's taxonomy, the difference between paraphrase and explicitation is hard to tell because explicitation is often achieved by paraphrasing and paraphrase is always involved in explicitation. The difference between imitation and direct translation lies in whether the corresponding translation of the SC ECR has entered and fixed in the TC or not. As for adaptation to TL-culture, the ST and the TT are partially equivalent in situational adaptation; the ST and the TT are non-equivalent in cultural adaptation.

Distinguishing between source-oriented and target-oriented strategies—except for the official equivalent which is regarded as a special one involving any kind of strategy involved, Pedersen (2005, 2007, 2011) proposes a list of subtitling strategies for ECRs along with their subtypes, which extends Leppihalme's (1997) taxonomy and especially has a certain similarity with Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993).
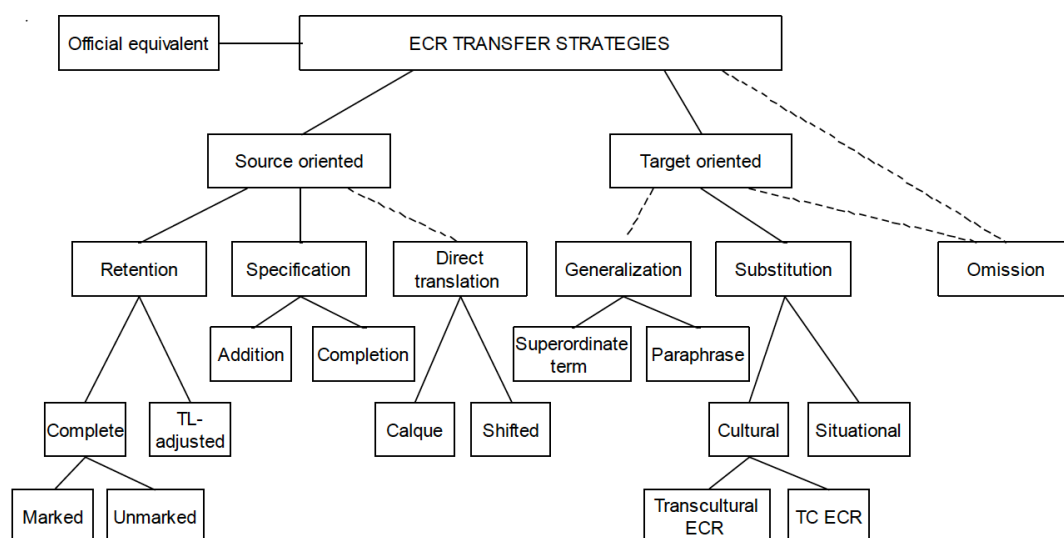
Figure 1. Pedersen's taxonomy of translation strategies (2011, 75)

Pedersen's 'retention' is equal to Nedergaard-Larsen's 'transfer', with which the ST ECR is moved to the TT unchanged, or adjusted slightly to conform to TL conventions, by dropping an article, altering the spelling and so on. Direct translation is a literal translation by which the only change is not semantic but linguistic. It covers Nedergaard-Larsen's direct translation and imitation. As for specification, the SC ECR is retained by just adding extra-information to specify it, completing the shortened or elliptic form of the ST ECR and in a few cases, using a hyponym. Generalization refers to replacing the SC ECR with a superordinate term or paraphrasing its sense or connotation. Specification and generalization are different forms of Nedergaard-Larsen's explicitation and paraphrase. When it comes to substitution, Pedersen also uses 'cultural' and 'situational' to mark different subcategories. However, the elaboration of these two subcategories is completely opposite to Nedergaard-Larsen's because by cultural substitution, ST ECR and TT ECR might be partially equivalent whereas by situational substitution, they are non-equivalent. Official equivalent may involve any kind of strategies proposed; omission is a complete deletion of the ECR from the TT. Although the orientation of omission is debatable, the decision to adopt omission is usually based upon target-oriented considerations.

In summary, there are a number of strategies that can be used by subtitlers, and they all have a baseline, that is, foreignizing a CR or domesticating a CR. Which kind of taxonomy is most appropriate depends on the research goals and language pairs under investigation. Thus, the applicability of these strategies to Chinese subtitles is open to question and research.

5.3.2 Subtitling Tendency: Source-oriented or Target-oriented

When talking about translation strategies, there are generally two levels: the macro level and micro level (Gambier, 2008, p. 23). The former focuses on the whole text and the latter smaller segments/units. This study aims to analyze subtitles at both levels: the way ECRs or ICRs, given units, are treated, and the strategies applied to the texts as a whole, i.e., the binary classification of foreignization and domestication (Venuti, 1995), by which the general subtitling tendency of subtitlers toward the subtitles of Chinese movies can be detected.

The taxonomies that are successful as the models available to other scholars' research have the kind of baseline on which the taxonomy is based. As explained in section 5.3.1, it can be found that the general trend of constructing the sort of taxonomy by each scholar is to arrange the strategies along an axis of foreignization and domestication. The names of the extreme points of the axes vary between writers. In this dissertation, I use what Pedersen (2011) regarded as "more neutral and transparent terms" 'source-oriented' and 'target-oriented' to term two extreme points (p. 35). The strategies close to one pole are called the source-oriented strategies; the ones close to the opposite pole are called the target-oriented strategies. From this baseline, strategies can be further grouped depending on the research purpose and the kind of data one uses.

Table 2 shows that the strategies are on the continuum from the source-oriented to the target-oriented, although only several scholars' taxonomies are listed here for the benefit of the reader. While Leppihalme (1997) has proper-

name allusion and key-phrase allusion as her object of study, Leppihalme's taxonomy is decidedly suitable for the present investigation in the sense that her investigation respectively covers both extra- and intra-linguistic cultural phenomena. Nedergaard-Larsen's (1993) strategies are useful because he specified his study object into subtitling extralinguistic culture-bound problems. When it comes to media, Gottlieb (2009) and Pedersen (2011) are helpful because they took the media-specific constraints into account. Taking methodology into consideration, Pedersen (2011) and Gottlieb (2009) would be more suitable due to the fact that they both worked within the descriptive paradigm for the study of ECRs.

Table 2. Taxonomies of ECRs translation strategies

Direction	Source-text fidelity	Nedergaard-Larsen 1993	Franco Aixelá 1996	Leppihalme 1997	Gottlieb 2009	Pedersen 2011
Source-oriented	Maximum fidelity	Identity	Repetition	Retention	Retention	Retention
			Orthographic adaptation	Retention with explicitation		Specification
	High fidelity	Imitation	Linguistic translation		Literal translation	Direct translation
		Direct translation	Intra- and extra-textual gloss			
Target-oriented	Low fidelity	Explicitation	Synonymy	Replacement by SL element	Specification	Generalization
					Generalization	
		Paraphrase	Limited universalization	Replacement by Target Language element	Substitution	Substitution
		Situational adaptation	Absolute universalization			
		Cultural adaptation	Naturalization			
	Minimum fidelity	Omission	Autonomous creation	Omission with sense transfer	Omission	Omission
				Total omission		
						Official equivalents

Taking all the above explanation into account, a combination of Pedersen's taxonomy and Gottlieb's ranking method would be desirable. Thus, the translation strategies are divided by their faithfulness to the ST (Table 2), as Gottlieb (2009) did. It is obvious that this ranking is applicable to other scholar's taxonomies. According to Table 2, some different category labels denote the same content; Gottlieb's literal translation corresponds to Pedersen's direct translation. Some of the labels may be the same but the content is different, as in Gottlieb's and Pedersen's specification: the former aims at generalizing ECRs by replacing it with a specified expression, while the latter specifying ECRs by adding an explanation. It is worth mentioning that Pedersen's classification, which focuses on Scandinavian subtitling and is believed to be applicable to subtitling in most European languages, is also applicable in this investigation because his taxonomy is comprehensive and clearly defined. Gottlieb's ranking method and Pedersen's taxonomy are used in the following section, with some adjustments to better fit the English subtitles of ECRs and ICRs in Chinese language films.

The aim of this study is to explore the translation strategies in subtitling CRs in Chinese language films of different genres, clarify subtitlers' attitudes toward fidelity in translation through ECRs and ICRs, and identify similarities or differences in the patterns identified in other language pairs. No study has investigated the similarities or differences in subtitling non-Anglophone languages into English by CR translation fidelity, while attempting to identify the film genres affecting the subtitler's translation fidelity.

5.4 CR Subtitling Strategies used in Chinese Language Films

5.4.1 Corpus-Based Taxonomy of Translation Strategies

Twenty-four Chinese language films subtitled in English were collected to analyze what actual translational practice is currently like with regard to CRs. However, as already mentioned, Pedersen's (2011) taxonomy of translation strategies for subtitling ECRs in AVT should be adjusted to subtitling ECRs and ICRs in Chinese language films. Table 3 presents the list of strategies, ranked according to their degree of ST fidelity. They will be explained in the following sections and exemplified by dialogue excerpts from the corpus. Each strategy will be discussed in detail below.

Table 3. Strategies for translating ECRs and ICRs

Direction	Source-text fidelity	ECR Strategies	ICR Strategies
Source-oriented	Maximum	Transliteration	Direct Translation
	High	Direct Translation	Retention
		Official Equivalents	Official Equivalents
		Specification	Specification
Target-oriented	Low	Generalization	Generalization
		Substitution	Substitution
	Minimum	Omission	Omission

Compared with Pedersen's taxonomy for subtitling ECRs, 'retention' is no longer in the list and the term 'transliteration' is added to the list as it is common for transferring names between different writing system (e.g., Chinese

to English); the term 'official equivalent' are conceived as a little bit different concept from Pedersen's because it is almost impossible to find ready-made equivalents in English to translate Chinese ECRs. As to the ICRs strategies, his seven terms of strategies are all applied, but redefined.

5.4.2 ECRs Subtitling Strategies

One important factor relevant to the translation of ECRs is the transferability of the ECR. Pedersen (2011, p. 106–110) called this "transculturality," highlighting the cultural distance between the SC and the TC. It may be true that "the smaller the cultural distance, the more Transcultural ECRs would be found in a text", but it is not always the case that "the greater the culture distance, the more Monocultural ECRs would be found in a text" (Pedersen 2011: 107). Notably, the transfer from English to Chinese is much greater than from Chinese to English because Western audiences know little of Chinese culture while Chinese audiences are familiar with Western culture. Therefore, compared with creating Chinese subtitles from English, creating English subtitles from Chinese requires more effort on the part of translators.

In the following subsections, for each strategy or sub-strategy, one or more examples of translation solutions from the self-built corpus are given to concretize the strategies. The citation method used in this section is: The ST ECR comes first followed by pinyin romanization system, then the English subtitle and the origin (the film that ECR is originated from and the time its subtitle occurs on the screen) of that ECR given in brackets.

5.4.2.1 Transliteration

Transliteration is to represent the speech sound of Chinese characters with English alphabets that have similar pronunciation. The language pairs, for example, English vs. Spanish, Italian, German and Scandinavian, belong to the same alphabetical writing system whose "writing is done by means of sound symbols organized in alphabets" ("Alphabet" in *Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language*, 1998), whereas Chinese characters are logograms whose "writing is done by means of symbols that directly represent ideas or words" ("Logogram" in *Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language*, 1998). Because of the complete difference in pronunciation and writing systems, Pedersen's retention, or direct copying, of proper names in Chinese was impossible. As a result, the term 'transliteration' is used here when subtitling an ECR from a language whose writing system is different from the TL writing system, and its application for proper names is fundamentally the same as Pedersen's retention for names because in both situations the SL ECR is basically intact.

(1)   浙江

        Zhèjiāng

        Zhejiang

        (*The Founding of a Republic* 1:26:43)

    Zhè jiāng is a city located in the east coast of China. The geographic name in, say, Spanish subtitles is usually copied directly into English, but we do not find any such examples in Chinese subtitles. They are always transcribed into alphabetical languages. As it is difficult for American viewers to pronounce

140

some Chinese Pinyin romanization system, some subtitlers prefer the postal romanization, a system of transliterating Chinese place names in Latin letters, which is developed by postal authorities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The postal romanization was based on Herbert Giles' *A Chinese-English Dictionary* which was published in 1892 and it popularized the Wade-Giles method of transliteration. For many Chinese cities, the postal romanization was the most common English-language form of the city's name from the 1890s. Although since 1977, the United Nations officially switched to using Chinese Pinyin to spell out places in Mainland China, many well-known institutions and universities with a long history still retain their old names such as *Tsingtao Beer* for 青岛啤酒 *Qīngdǎo Píjiǔ*, *Tsinghua University* for 清华大学 *Qīnghuá Dàxué*, *Peking University* for 北京大学 *Běijīng Dàxué*, and *Soochow University* for 苏州大学 *Sūzhōu Dàxué*. Some place names already have the customary spelling of the Latin alphabet which is based on phonetic spelling in the dialect area, for example, *Foochow* for 福州 *Fúzhōu*, *Canton* for 广州 *Guǎngzhōu*, Amoy for 厦门 *Xiàmén*, etc. Some translators prefer these place names unchanged. The names of the persons who are famous in Chinese history are still transliterated according to the Wade-Giles method of transliteration. Thus, we find the following examples in my corpus.

(2)　　南京

　　　Nánjīng

　　　Nanking

　　　(*Beginning of the Great Revival* 0:14:39)

(3)　　　北京大学

　　　Běijīng dàxué

　　　Peking University

　　　(*Beginning of the Great Revival* 0:45:41)

(4)　　　广州

　　　Guǎngzhōu

　　　Canton

　　　(*Beginning of the Great Revival* 1:37:50)

(5)　　　蒋介石

　　　Jiǎng Jièshí

　　　Chiang kai-shek

　　　(*The Founding of a Republic* 0:01:57)

Whatever kind of romanization is used in subtitling an ECR into the TT, the connotation of that ECR will be lost. Although the TA sometimes can be compensated by the context or other filmic signs, the effect it has on the SA is weakened. For example, 北京大学 *Běijīng dàxué* is one of the best universities in China and many famous leaders in the film *Beginning of the Great Revival* graduated from this university. When 北京大学 *Běijīng dàxué* is simply transliterated, the connection between the film and real life which the script writer regards as the common knowledge that the Chinese audiences know is lost and is not transmitted.

Transliteration also includes transliterate from the original pronunciation, like example (6).

(6)　　东京

　　　　Dōngjīng

　　　　Tokyo

　　　　(*Beginning of the Great Revival* 0:20:45)

Some ECRs in Chinese films are person or place names from the Third Culture, such as 东京. It is pronounced *Dōngjīng* in Chinese, but when subtitled into English, it was always transliterated from its Japanese pronunciation 'Tokyo'.

Sometimes, complete transliteration was unnecessary, for example,

(7)　　锦江饭店

　　　　Jǐnjiāng fàndiàn

　　　　Jingjiang Hotel

　　　　(*The Founding of a Republic* 0:45:39)

锦江饭店 *Jǐnjiāng fàndiàn* is the name of the hotel in the real world and should be treated as one ECR. However, 锦江 *Jǐnjiāng* was transliterated but 饭店 *fàndiàn* "hotel" was directly translated because the transliteration *fandian* would confuse the audience. In this case, the strategies used here were "transliteration + direct translation," but for the sake of statistics, the cases such as example (7) were classified as transliteration because 锦江 *Jǐnjiāng* is the focus of this ECR. Thus, transliteration was regarded as the main translation strategy in this type of example.

In fact, transliteration of the ECRs in example (1)-(7) offers the TA unrecognizable ECRs. In other words, this strategy does not allow a non-

Chinese speaking audience to understand the ECRs. It is reasonable to suppose that the more familiar the ECR is to the TA, such as the names of characters in famous books or films, the places or the persons in the history, the more likely it is to be retained unchanged or made minimal linguistic changes by conventions. However, the retention as such is applied not just to familiar names but also to names very likely to be unfamiliar when the other filmic signs offer sufficient clues, or the loss caused by the unfamiliarity is deemed not serious.

With the strategy of transliteration, the original localisms were communicated as localisms straightforwardly; it is a strategy which "leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him" (Schleiermacher, 1981/2004, p. 49). Thus, transliteration is one of the source-oriented strategies and expresses the highest fidelity toward the original ECRs.

5.4.2.2 Direct Translation

Direct translation refers to a close rendering of the ST in content and wording; the meaning and expression of the ST are basically untouched. The only part changed by this strategy is the language but not the semantic content. It can also be called literal translation and near-literal translation by which the small adjustments that the ST ECR underwent are to conform to the TL grammar and syntax. The term Direct Translation is used to cover these two levels of literalness. In other words, when the semantic load of the ECR in ST is unchanged, that is, nothing is added or subtracted, the translation is direct. This strategy can hardly be used for proper nouns but is usually found in the translation of names and titles that are made up of common nouns.

(8)   民政助理

mín zhèng zhù lǐ

civil affairs assistant

(*I Am Not Madame Bovary*: 0:10:47)

Example (8) is the name of an official position. It has compositional sense of 民 *mín* 'civil', 政 *zhèng* 'affaires' and 助理 *zhù lǐ* 'assistant', which are literally translated as "civil affairs assistant" without any grammatical or syntactic alteration. However, due to differences between languages, literal translation or word-for-word translation is hard to achieve.

(9)   a.   中国共产党

        Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng

        The Communist Party of China

        (*The Founding of a Republic*: 0:01:28)

    b.   中国共产党

        Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng

        the CPC

        (op. cit.: 0:09:52)

    c.   中共

        Zhōnggòng

        the CPC

        (op. cit.:0:02:09)

中国共产党 *Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng* in (9a) was directly translated into "The Communist Party of China" by the shift in word order. 中国 *Zhōngguó*

"China" in SL ECR was shifted from the phrase-initial position to the final position. Although the TT does not follow the exact wording of the ST ECR, the meaning is untouched. The subtitle "the CPC" in (9b) is the abbreviation of "The Communist Party of China." 中共 *Zhōnggòng* in (9c) is the abbreviation of 中国共产党 *Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng*, and only when 中国共产党 *Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng* appears for the first time in this film was it fully translated into "The Communist Party of China." Afterward, the audience would naturally understand that "the CPC" is the abbreviation of "The Communist Party of China" according to the development of the plot. The translation strategy used for all the three examples was direct translation because no extra information was added into the TT, and no effort was made to guide the TT audience in any way. Thus, direct translation is also a source-oriented strategy although it is less source-oriented than transliteration because the ST ECRs *are* "translated", and in most cases, translators perform some optional shifts on the ST ECR to make the ECR more unobtrusive.

5.4.2.3 Official Equivalents

If the referents in both texts are the same, and the relation between the terms in SC and TT is not *de dicto* or "about what is said" but *de re* or "about the thing," we consider them officially equivalent even if their relation was not administrative. Notably, Pedersen's definition of official equivalents did not completely fit for our investigation because Chinese ECRs rarely have a "preformed TL version" (Pedersen, 2011, p. 98), and it is an opposite case in subtitling from English to Chinese because of a long-time invasion of American culture into China, e.g., Micky Mouse is "米老鼠 *Mǐ laǒ shǔ*" and Donald Duck

is "唐老鸭 *Táng laǒ yā*". And even if an ECR has a ready-made or pre-existing translation, e.g., 阴阳 in Chinese and *Yin Yang* in English, it seems impossible to identify the so-called "equivalent by decree" (Pedersen, 2011, p. 97).

(10)　何香凝

　　　Hé xiāngníng

　　　Mr. Liao's wife

　　　(*The Founding of a Republic*, 00:25:22)

(11)　长江 *Chángjiāng*

　　　the Yangze River

　　　(op.cit. 01:07:38)

(12)　赣

　　　Gàn

　　　Jiangxi

　　　(*The Founding of An Army* 2:04:19)

(13)　滇

　　　Diān

　　　Yunnan

　　　(*Youth* 1:05:04)

The ECR in (10) refers to a woman who is very famous as one of the pioneers of the feminist movement, one of the main founders of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China) and the Republic of China. Chinese people would know that she is also the wife of Liao Zhongkai (廖仲恺), who is also one of the leaders of the Kuomintang. The river *Chángjiāng* (长江) in (11) has another name *Yángzǐjiāng* (扬子江). *Gàn* (赣) in (12) is the short form

147

of the place name *Jiāngxī* (江西). China's four municipalities, five national autonomous regions and twenty-three provinces all have their own shortened names. Most of them come from the first word in the province name (e.g., *Hēi* 黑 for the province of *Hēilóngjiāng* 黑龙江), and some are the last word or part of the province name (e.g., *Chuān* 川 for *Sìchuān* 四川 and *Nèiméng* 内蒙 for *Nèiménggǔ* 内蒙古). Some provinces are famous for their mountains or rivers in their territory, after which they are named. *Gàn* (赣) in (12) is the alias of *Jiangxi* (江西) due to the famous river *Gàn jiāng* (赣江). Some are given the names by their old names handed down from the ancient China. *Yunnan* (云南) is named *Diān* (滇) as in (13) from the ancient *Diān* (滇) country. In the examples (12) and (13), the ST ECR is translated into another ECR from SC, but the subtitle and ST ECR refer to the same entity. Therefore, they are supposed to be officially equivalent. In other words, this strategy involves replacing the ST ECR with a different ECR from the SC. It is distinguished from the cultural substitution in that the link between the ST ECR and TT ECR relies on the same referent they refer to, whereas by the cultural substitution, the link between the ST and its TT does not.

I regard official equivalents as a source-oriented strategy because some parts of the cultural reference are retained in the TT. Opposite to the domestication of the text by substituting the ST ECR by a TC ECR or a third culture ECR that would be more familiar by the TA, official equivalents in my taxonomy foreignizes TT with the SC ECR. Notably, this strategy also differs from the "situational substitution" strategy. Official equivalents are a ready-made solution that has been used by many translators, and situational substitution is used to manage individual problems on a case-by-case basis.

5.4.2.4 Specification

In specification, some extra information is added in the TT to make the target ECR more specific than that of the ST. The extra information is implicit in the ST but is easy for the SC audience to retrieve.

Specification is subcategorized into Completion and Addition. The former involves the completion of abbreviated forms, official names and someone's or some place's full name etc. The latter involves adding the information not as part of the name, but as part of the sense or connotations of the ECR.

(14)   川

      Chuān

      Szechuan

      (*Beginning of the Great Revival* 0:28:52)

(15)   CC

      Central Club

      (*The Founding of a Republic;* 0:11:47)

(16)   天安门

      Tiān'ānmén

      Tiananmen Square

      (op.cit., 2:13:22)

The completion in (14) gives the TC viewer the full version of the name of Szechuan (四川 *Sì chuān*) Province. As was explained in example (12)-(13), the ECRs of this kind are somewhat elliptic in nature, and the completion in the TT is in line with cohesion. Completion also includes spelling out abbreviations, like example (15). CC, an anti-communist extreme-right

149

political faction in the Kuomintang, is the acronym for the Central Club. The abbreviated form is expanded in the TT. Different from 中国共产党 *Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng* "The Communist Party of China" and its translation "CPC" in (9), it is the first and only one use of CC. By this expansion, CC becomes explicit. With the extra information and the image on the screen, the audience will understand what CC means.

The process of Addition is based on meronymy in example (16). *Tiān'ānmén* (天安门), literally "Gate of Heavenly Peace" in China, refers not only to the monument but also to the whole square where Tiananmen stands. In this case, the ST ECR has not been semantically unchanged; one of the meanings of the ST ECR has been specified excluding another by adding "square" after "*Tiān'ānmén* (天安门)". In other words, *Tiān'ānmén* (天安门) has more meanings than *Tiananmen square,* as it refers to two real world objects. The main purpose of using specification is to explain and disambiguate the ECR so it can be comprehended immediately. It is useful when the ECR needs to be retained and requires explanation as well.

The semantic load of the original ECRs is mostly retained by using the strategies of transliteration, direct translation, official equivalents, and specification. Subtitlers show their source-oriented attitude by using these four strategies. That is why they are strategies of high fidelity in my investigation.

5.4.2.5 Generalization

This strategy is used when the subtitler needs to replace "an ECR referring to something specific by something more general" (Pedersen, 2011, p. 85). The generalization can be done using a general term that has the relationship of

hyponymy or meronymy with the ST ECR, or a paraphrase that is generally less specific but more or less synonymous with the ST ECR.

(17)　杖杀

zhàngshā

kill

(*The Assassin,* 0:01:47)

(18)　僧侣

sēng lǔ

Lama

(*Personal Tailor,* 0:21:15)

(19)　豆皮

dòu pí

Doufu

(*Reign of Assassins* 1:07:55)

(20)　藩镇

fānzhèn

the militarized provinces

(*The Assassin,* 0:00:47)

Typically, generalization by a general term involves translating the ST ECR by a hyponymy. In (17), *zhàngshā* (杖杀) is a means of executing a criminal by hitting the convict dead with a rod, which would be said to be a way to "kill" somebody, but this would also be true of executing a criminal by cutting his or her head and many other kinds of penalty. In respect to *zhàngshā* (杖杀), "kill" is a very high-level hypernym and thus much more general. The

subtitle of the ST ECR translated by a superordinate term is often not an ECR but a more general word, like "*kill*", which is not culturally specific. In this example, the name of a specific penalty in ancient China has lost its uniqueness of reference in the TT. However, it is not always the case. Sometimes, the specificity can be retained through the use of an ECR whose semantic field is included with that of the original ECR. For example, *sēng lǚ* (僧侣) in (18) refers to the ordinary monks and nuns whereas the term *Lama* means a venerated spiritual master or a head of monasteries. In other words, *Lama* is the honorific title conferred on a monk, nun, or advanced tantric practitioner. It seems that the TT ECR refers to a group of people who is more specific than the ST ECR, but the strategy used here is still regarded as the generalization because the subtitle does not provide TA with any specific or guided information. The only reason for this subtitle would be to keep the local flavor and to save the screen space. In example (19), the ST ECR *dòu pí* (豆皮) is replaced by another Chinese food *doufu*. *Dòu pí* (豆皮) is a part of byproducts during the production of *doufu*, and *doufu* is more familiar to the TA, or we can say, *dòu pí* (豆皮) a quasi-meronym of *doufu*.

The hyponymy terms "*kill*" "*Lama*" and a meronym term "*doufu*" were chosen here to shorten the subtitle for the sake of space limitation because the detailed information contained in this ECR is deemed inaccessible to the TA and not essential to understand the story. In these cases, generalization is a practical solution for subtitling. Besides the factor that subtitling calls for brevity, the image and soundtrack will help recover the loss of information. Generalization, however, has sometimes been used even when the ECRs in question are necessary to understand the film, as in example (20), in which the

longer explanation enables the TA to understand the meaning despite space constraints. What *fānzhèn* (藩镇) refers to in the middle and late Tang Dynasty was more complex than the subtitle "militarized provinces" although they were initially established for the purpose of the military defense. In the film *The Assassin*, *fānzhèn* (藩镇) refers to the three "military towns" of Chengde, Weibo and Lulong, which were called the "Three Towns of Heshuo". They nearly correspond to small countries segregated one side from the imperial court because the Tang Dynasty declined after the Anshi Rebellion, although they respected the court on the surface and to a certain extent implemented the policies and decrees of the Tang Dynasty. Since *fānzhèn* (藩镇) would be unknown to the TA, the subtitler opted for deleting the ST ECR and replacing it with a paraphrase that retains relevant information about this Chinese ECR. This strategy twists the ECR as the subtitle "the militarized province" focuses on a certain attribute of the ST ECR. Of course, the length of the TT paraphrase varies greatly with the media constraints, the degree of familiarity of the TA with the ECR, and the importance of the ECR to the film plot.

Specification and generalization are both used for the sake of the TA's understanding. In generalization, on one hand, the ST ECR is removed and replaced with a general term. In specification, on the other hand, the ST ECR remains in the TT by transliteration or direction translation + generalization. Generalization has a movement towards the target-orientation, producing a TT subtitle that is less specific than the ST ECR. When specification is used, the movement goes in the opposite direction. Thus, the strategies of specification and generalization build the fence between the source-oriented and target-oriented strategies.

5.4.2.6 Substitution

This strategy translates an SC ECR into a Transcultural or a TC ECR (Cultural Substitution), or into something that fits the situation (Situation Substitution). The process involved in cultural substitution is not at language-level but at the text-level and "the world"; by situational substitution, every sense of the ST ECR is removed. With the former sub-strategy, there is still a link between the ST ECR and the TT ECR; with the latter sub-strategy, that is not the case. In Pedersen's (2011) subcategory of cultural substitution, he mentions that the ST ECR can be replaced with a better-known ECR from the SC. This kind of cultural substitution would probably be useful when subtitling from English into Chinese, because of heavy Anglophone influence. However, when going from Chinese into English, it is almost impossible to find this kind of better-known ECR. The strategy of Substitution by Transcultural ECR and TC ECR is discussed in detail below as example (21) – (22)

(21)　　道姑

　　　　dàogū

　　　　Nun

　　　　(*The Assassin,* 0:09:19)

(22)　　县城

　　　　xiànchéng

　　　　the county seat

　　　　(*I Am Not Madame Bovary,* 0:02:36)

(23)　马年

mǎnián

New Year

(*Personal Tailor,* 1:18:31)

Substitution may involve using a transcultural ECR to explain a monocultural ECR. for example, in (21), *dàogū* (道姑) refers to a female Taoist. A 'nun' is a member of a religious community of women in the enclosure of a temple. This ECR may exist in numerous religious traditions, for example, Buddhism, Christianity, and Hinduism, but its image is completely different from *dàogū*. In this rendering, the impression of priests as shamans, medicine women, and others are lost. And the only problem by the substitution of Transcultural ECR in this case is that the viewers might notice the ST-TT difference by the disharmony of the image "*dàogū*" on the screen and the subtitle "nun", and the subtitle might be seen as an "error". However, the substitution by a Transcultural ECR "nun" is used when the relevant connotation of the ECR is more important than the ECR itself for understanding the passage, and the replacement in the TT does not affect the plot. What is conveyed here is not reference but connotations. In other words, this strategy is seldom used when the denotation of the ECR is more important than the connotation because the substitution of the SC ECR may cause a credibility problem. In example (9), the subtitler would not replace *Zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng* (中国共产党) with another party known to the SA and TA.

The example (22) is another instance of substitution of ST ECRs with TC ECRs. In this case, although the ST ECR is replaced by a TC ECR, the

replacement is unnoticeable, as many of the government and social systems in the TC are similar to those in the ST culture. The TL ECR "the county seat" here has the similar functions in the TL society to that of the ST ECR in the ST society, and the TA may not be aware that the ST ECR has been replaced by a TC ECR. As stated by Pedersen, cultural substitution used for ECRs "from the domains pertaining to titles, food and beverages, government, education and institutional names" does not cause credibility gaps because "the audience will assume that what they see on the screen is a TL equivalent of the ST ECR" (Pedersen, 2011, p. 182). Substitution also involves making the ST ECR more explicit by a kind of paraphrase that fits the situation or the context and has no semantic connection with the ECR. Pedersen calls it situational substitution. In (23), *mǎnián* (马年) 'year of the horse' is the new year only under the specific situation in that film, and it may not be used in any other context.

As shown in Examples (17–23), generalization and substitution are low-fidelity strategies, and they imply a substantial semantic departure from the ST.

5.4.2.7 Omission

This strategy involves replacing the ST ECR with nothing. ST ECR is completely lost.

(24)   清一色 *qīng yīsè*

(25)   一条龙 *yītiáo long*

(26)   捉五魁 *zhuō wǔkuí*

   (*Personal Tailor,* 0:56:26)

In (24)–(26), all three ECRs are terms of a Chinese game called Mahjong

and indicate the three methods of winning the game. The rules were impossible to explain in the limited space and time; thus, the subtitler omitted them. Omission is applied when the relevant implication of the ECR can be retrieved from the context or other filmic signs, or when the ECR is not important for the comprehension of the plot. In the film *Personal Tailor*, the girl named Xiao Bao from the company that grants wishes to people looking for a day away from their ordinary life played a granddaughter to visit an old man's grave. According to Chinese tradition, when sweeping the graves, the offspring would burn the paper money and pretend to chat with their ancestors. Thus, in this film, according to the context what the girl said is not important. The point of the passage is to tell the audience that the offspring just pretends to show respects to the dead, which is clear from the context, and thereby the omission does not impede comprehension.

Omission is a valid strategy for subtitling ECRs, especially when subtitling the ECRs like (24)-(26) makes the situation more complicated. Considering the time and space constraints, the translator will evaluate what is best for the TA. This strategy shows minimum fidelity toward the ST because nothing is retained in the TT.

5.4.3 ICRs Subtitling Strategies

To my knowledge, the taxonomy of the CR translation strategies has been constructed primarily for the rendering of ECRs. In this dissertation, the terms of Pedersen's seven strategies are used with some modification for describing the ICR translations, since, as stated by Pedersen (2011), the taxonomy of ECRs translation strategies "could be modified to function as a tool for analyzing

other phenomena as well" (p. 74). Like the taxonomy of ECRs which is based on semantic operation, the taxonomy is also based on semantic operation and not too much involved in analyzing syntactic shift between the ST and the TT. The strategies on the baseline of Table 2 are explained in the following subsections one by one, from direct translation to omission. All full examples are represented as below: the ST ICR or the sentence containing the ST ICR comes first followed by pinyin romanization system, then, literal translation and subtitle, finally the reference of where the ICR or the dialogue is from and when the subtitle was visible on the screen.

5.4.3.1 Direct Translation

This most source-oriented strategy is also called word-for-word translation. The most faithful way to retain the ST ECRs is the transliteration, a Romanization strategy seen as in *Beijing* for the capital of the People's Republic of China. As for the ICR, the most faithful way is direct translation, a near-literal translation strategy wherein almost all the ICRs may be adjusted slightly to meet the TL conventions. For example,

(27)　延年益寿

Yán　　nián　yì　　　shòu

extend　year　benefit　longevity

Extend your life.

(*Reign of Assassins*, 1:39:43)

(28)　　藏拙于巧

Cáng　zhuō　　yú　qiǎo

hide　　clumsy　in　skillful

Hide weakness in deftness

(*Reign of Assassins*, 1:49:14)

(29)　　猫哭耗子假慈悲

māo　kū　　hàozi　jiǎ　　cíbēi

cat　cry　rat　　false　sympathy

spare me your false sympathy.

(*Personal Tailor,* 0:10:20)

　　Example (27) is a typical example of *chéng yǔ*（成語）, or four-character set phrases. They are a major feature of traditional Chinese culture, and some of them are considered to be collected wisdom of the Chinese culture in the sense that they contain various experiences, moral concepts and admonishments from previous generations of Chinese people. The objective things or phenomena represented by many four-character *chéng yǔ* have the rhetorical color of antithesis. *Yán nián yì shòu* 延年益寿 in (27) represents the typical structure of antithesis in Chinese *chéng yǔ,* in which the two parts, i.e., *yán nián* 延年 'extend your life' and *yì shòu* 益寿 'good for longevity' are closely related in meaning, or two aspects of the same thing. The two parts either complement each other or explain the same thing. However, the structure of antithesis in the ST ICR cannot be reproduced in English. Thus, the subtitle 'extend your life' is a direct translation for the source ICR because the ST ICR is just slightly adjusted to meet the TL conventions.

159

Example (28) is another example that represents the structure of antithesis. The two parts, *cáng zhuō* 藏拙 'hide clumsy' and *yú qiǎo* 于巧 'in skillful' complement each other. This phrase is a modified ICR which is from *cài gēn tán* (菜根谭) "*Vegetable roots discourse*" written circa 1590 by Hong Zicheng, a Chinese philosopher who lived during the end of the Ming Dynasty. The original form is *cáng qiǎo yú zhuō* (藏巧于拙 [lit. hide skillful in clumsy]), which means that the talent should not be displayed. The direct translation of (28) does not convey this implicit background knowledge, but it helps the audience concentrate on the movie and enjoy it.

Although it is rare, an SL ICR is sometimes retained in its original foreign flavor to give local color. (29) is an example of *Xiehouyu*（歇后语）ICR, which consists of two parts: the first half presents a novel scenario while the second half provides the rationale thereof. In daily conversation, the addresser can speak out the whole sentence or just the first part to expect the addressee to infer the meaning of the second part. In this case, the ST ICR provides the answer hidden in the riddle, and *jiǎ cí bēi* (假慈悲) in the ST ICR is directly translated into "spare me your false sympathy". Although *māo kū hào zi* (猫哭耗子) 'A cat cries for a mouse; to cry crocodile tears' is not translated due to the constraint of time and space, the strategy used here is still regarded as direct translation. However, if the second part is not provided in the ST ICR, the strategy used for the subtitle of "spare me your false sympathy" would be the generalization by explanation (see section 5.4.3.5).

The half-hidden messages contained in some Chinese *chéng yǔ* is overt, that is, the connotation of the ICR can be literally inferred. It means that a literal rendering is transparent enough on a metaphorical level; even the viewer

160

who meets it for the first time may well guess its meaning without recourse to the original source, e.g., *Yán nián yì shòu.* This type of *chéng yǔ* do not cause too much translation problem. The translation problem arises when dealing with the one that the second semantic layer, that is, the new unexpected semantic layer added between the ICR and what the ICR refers to, is covert and may rely on an allusion that is specific to the SC, as in (28) *cáng qiǎo yú zhuō.* Similarly, the second semantic layer of example (29) is overt and the subtitler need not spare more effort in thinking over the answer. In the case of example (28), the context and the filmic signs help the subtitler's decision-making, that is, the translation priority should be given to the first semantic layer. Example (27)-(29) show different degrees of adjustments of the ST ICR into the TT, but the ST and the TT are basically the same on the literal level.

5.4.3.2 Retention

Different from direct translation which describes the 'literal' or 'near-literal' translation process, retention does not retain the meaning of the first semantic layer in the TT, but the images that contain connotation or trigger the meaning of the second sematic layer. By using this strategy, the image of the source ICR remains completely or partially untouched, and the metaphorical meaning is often abandoned. Although the translation is not literal, the change is minimum as in (30)-(33).

(30) 皇亲国戚

huáng   *qīn*   *guó*   *qī*

emperor relative nation relative by marriage

royalty and officials

(*Crouching Tiger,* 0:12:43)

(31) 公事公办

gong   *shì*   *gong*   *bàn*

public affairs public conduct

official business

(*Crouching Tiger,* 0:31:35)

(32) 到了庙里就说和尚话

dào le *miào li* *jiù*   *shuō*   *hé shàng* *huà*

arrived in shrine as soon as speak monk   talk

talking like a monk.

(*Crouching Tiger,* 0:44:24)

(33) 她前夫说她是<u>潘金莲</u>

tā *qián fū*   *shuō* *tā* *shì* <u>*Pān Jīn Lián*</u>

her ex-husband said she is Pan Jin Lian

To ger husband, she's a <u>Pan Jinlian</u>.

(*I Am Not Madame Bovary,* 1:04:40)

In example (30), 皇亲 *huáng qīn* 'royal relatives' and 国戚 *guó qī* 'families of emperor's wives' synecdochally mean a very powerful person. The subtitler retained the 皇亲 *huáng qīn* as 'royalty' in the ST and translated 国 戚 *guó qī* as 'officials'. In ancient China, before the civil service examination

162

system was established, all the officials in the Court were from the families of royal relatives and emperor's wives, so the change in translation is minimum.

In example (31), 公事公办 *gōng shì gōng bàn* means 'do business on the principle of official business without considering personal feelings'. In its subtitle, 公办 *gōng bàn* is omitted but its meaning is implied by retained 公事 *gōng shì* 'official business'.

In regard to example (32), 到了庙里就说和尚话 *dào le miào li jiù shuō hé shàng huà* 'entering a temple, talk like a monk' is a Chinese proverb, which means 'when you go to a place, you will follow the customs of the place' or 'when in Rome, do as the Romans do'. The sentence appears in the conversion that Master Li didactically persuaded Yu Jiaolong to be his disciple, but Yu was tired of his speech. The subtitle "talking like a monk" on the screen reflected Yu's irony to Master Li, that is "you are talking like a monk chanting scripture over and over" and "stop chanting and put it simple". The retention of the image 和尚 *hé shàng* in the TT is better for the audience's understanding.

Retention is partial in most of the cases, as in (30)-(32), though there are a few instances of complete retention. In example (33), 潘金莲 *Pān Jīn Lián* is regarded as not an ECR but an ICR because the meaning of *Pān Jīn Lián*, according to the context of this dialogue, is beyond the character that it refers in the Chinese novel 水浒传 *Shuǐ hǔ zhuàn*. It metaphorically means the image of the slut, as the narration at the beginning of the film said, "since the Song Dynasty, people have called indecent women 'Pan Jinlian'". In this example, the image of Chinese character *Pān Jīn Lián* is retained in the TT, which tends to reduce a TA's chances of fully comprehending such an ICR or a dialogue containing this ICR. In other words, this ICR was transliterated as 'Pan Jinlian',

without taking it into account that *Pān Jīn Lián* is used in the context as a rhetorical device while 'Pan Jinlian' does not normally have this sense in the TT. The retention as such would obscure connotations of the whole sentence '她前夫说她是潘金莲 *tā qiánfū shuō tā shì pān jīnlián*', making the American audience wonder why her ex-husband said she was Pan Jinlian. However, we should not forget the media constraints of audiovisual texts. As explained in section 5.2.2, constraints would sometimes become advantages. The ICR in this dialogue appears in one hour four minutes and forty seconds from the commencement of the film. At the beginning of the film, the narrator has explained what Pan Jinlian represents, with the pictures on the screen describing the story of Pan Jinlian, from two minutes and twenty-one seconds to fifty-three seconds. And in addition, just at three minutes and seven seconds, the ICR *Pān Jīn Lián* is substituted by an TC ICR *Madame Bovary* to further push forward the TA's understanding (see example (46) in section 5.4.3.6). Thus, the English subtitle will not be impenetrable or inadequate here.

5.4.3.3 Specification

Specification retains the linguistic structure or the images in the ST ICR, but adds information that is not apparently present in the ST. While directly translated or retained, the TT ICR becomes more specific than the ST ICR.

The label *Completion* describes instances where the added information is latent in the first semantic layer, whereas *Addition* was used to describes the cases that the information added is latent in the second semantic layer. For example,

(34)　生离死别

　　　　shēng lí　　　　sǐ　　bié

　　　　living separation death loss

　　　　Partings are hard—in life or death.

　　　　(*The Flying Swords of Dragon Gate* 1:12:18)

(35)　a.　　我们觉得她是<u>小白菜</u>

　　　　　wǒ men jué de tā shì <u>xiǎo　bái cài</u>

　　　　　we　　feel　she is   little cabbage

　　　　　To us, she's <u>a tenacious pest, a little cabbage</u>.

　　　　　(*I Am Not Madame Bovary,* 1:04:40)

　　　b.　　她自己觉得自己冤得像<u>窦娥</u>

　　　　　tā　zì jǐ jué de zì jǐ yuān de　xiàng　<u>dòu é</u>

　　　　　she self feel　self injustice like　　Dou Er

　　　　　And she thinks of herself as <u>Dou Er, a victim of injustice.</u>

　　　　　(*I Am Not Madame Bovary,* 1:04:43)

(36)　三头六臂

　　　　sān　　tóu　　liù　bì

　　　　three　heads　six　arms

　　　　a many-headed monster!

　　　　(*I Am Not Madame Bovary,* 1:04:53)

　　　The direct translation of (34) would be 'parting alive and by death', and 'are hard' is added. Since this supplementary material inferred from the first semantic layer makes the implicit meaning explicit, the strategy used here can be subcategorized as 'completion'.

165

The example (35) is a typical example of specification by addition. This dialogue happens just as the two officials, a Governor and a mayor, commented on the heroine Li Xuelian. 小白菜 *Xiǎo Bái cài* is a girl who lost her mother and was abused by the stepmother, and the 窦娥 *Dòu É* is a lonely and helpless woman who was framed and was sentenced to death by a corrupt official. Like 潘金莲 *Pān Jīn Lián* in example (33), what 小白菜 *Xiǎo Bái cài* and 窦娥 *Dòu É* mean here is beyond the character they refer to in the Chinese novels. They are all metaphorically used to describe different people's opinions on Li Xuelian's experience. However, unlike the reoccurrence of the ICR 潘金莲 *Pān Jīn Lián,* the two ICRs only appear once in the whole film, so that it is impossible for the TA to grasp the connotations of the whole sentence. In the subtitles, such additions, "a tenacious pest" and "a victim of injustice" explain the implicit connotation contained in the second sematic layer while the images in the ST ICRs are completely retained.

In (36), the images of "heads" and "arms" in the ST ICR are partially retained but the information "monster" was added. The specification as such would convey the meaning of the whole dialogue whether or not the ICR itself is recognized. The major drawback of this strategy is that it is space consuming.

5.4.3.4 Official Equivalents

When an SC CR has a ready-made TL equivalent through common usage, the equivalent is official. In (37), 大喜之日 *dà xǐ zhī rì* and 'wedding night' refer to the same thing. This is the only instance that uses this strategy in my corpus.

(37)　大喜之日

dà　　xǐ　　　zhī　rì

great　pleasure　of　day

(Lit. day of great pleasure)

Subtitle: Her wedding night.

(*Reign of Assassins;* 0:24:22)

5.4.3.5 Generalization

This strategy makes the TT rendering less specific than the ST ICR. It replaces the ST ICR with something more general by either a paraphrase or general term. By this strategy, the ICR is replaced by a superordinate term to clarify its meaning. Generalization by a paraphrase tries to convey the meaning, but abandons the actual words forming the ICR. In other words, the second semantic layer is usually explained but the first sematic layer is omitted.

(38)　博古通今

bó　gǔ　tōng　jīn

gain　old　know　now

Knowledge is remarkable.

(*Crouching Tiger,* 0:12:26)

(39) 你不是一个<u>滥杀无辜</u>的人

nǐ bú shì yī gè <u>làn   shā wú gū</u>   de rén.

you not be one excessive kill innocence of person

(Lit. You are not the person who indiscriminately kills the innocent.)

You <u>use it justly</u>.

(*Crouching Tiger*, 0:04:11)

(40) 内人

nèi   rén

inside person

wife

(*Crouching Tiger*, 0:30:04)

(41) a. 这点<u>屁事</u>

   zhè diǎn <u>pì   shì</u>

   this little fart thing

   A mere trifle

   (*The Taking of Tiger Mountain*, 0:33:16)

   b. <u>屁事</u>…你把人打这样

   <u>*pì   shì*</u> *… nǐ   bǎ   rén   dǎ   zhè yang*

   fart thing you ACCUSATIVE people beat this way

   For a <u>trifle</u> you beat people up like that?

   (*The Taking of Tiger Mountain*, 0:33:18)

In example (38), 博古通今 *bó gǔ tōng jīn* refers to a person who knows a lot about both ancient and modern things, or a person of erudition. The subtitle of (38) represents the connotation of the ICR. As for the example (39), the

subtitle rephrases the negative sentence into an affirmative presumably to make the TT shorter. The subtitles of (38) and (39) clarify the meaning hidden behind the ST ICR, completely omitting the literal meaning.

The translation process in subtitling (40) and (41) is slightly different from that of (38) and (39) in the sense that both the first sematic layer and part of the second semantic layer are omitted in the TT subtitle. In (40), 内人 *nèi rén* literally means the person in the house, which is an humble way to talk about a person's wife, but in the subtitle not only the literal meaning but also the humbleness disappear. Similarly, in the examples (41a) and (41b), both the literal meaning and dirtiness disappear from the TT. Swearwords are very important ICRs because they are indispensable in the culture of a country, and the so-called swearwords are mostly related to sex or scatology such as 屁 *pì* 'fart' as in example (41). Chinese people like to use 屁 *pì* to modify 事 *shì* 'thing' to mean the thing one mentioned is as little as 屁 *pì*. 屁事 *pì shì* in example (41a) is paraphrased into 'a mere trifle' while in (41b) it is replaced by a superordinate term 'trifle'.

Generalization by paraphrase is used here because the source ICR contains too much information irrelevant to the story. It is a much more common strategy than specification which requires more subtitle space. This strategy prioritizes the informative function of the ICR, whose connotation cannot be transferred by composing literally translated parts.

Generalization by paraphrase can be further subcategorized into explanation as in (38) and rephrasal as in (39). Although I do not focus on this further categorization, it should be noted that compared with explanation of the ST ICR, rephrasing it puts more emphasis on conveying the meaning because

the TT is not only explained but also rephrased according to the context.

Rephrasing the ST ICR is different from situational substitution in the sense that the TT translated by rephrasing is semantically related to the ST ICR while the TT by situational substitution is not whatsoever. Unlike subtitling ECRs, generalization by a general term is not found in many cases of subtitling ICRs. Except for some instances of swearwords like (41b), it is usually applied to the Chinese kinship terms. For example,

(42) a.   大表姐

dà   biǎo   jiě

big   *biǎo*   sister

Cousin

(*I Am Not Madame Bovary,* 0:56:55)

b.   我姨家有个<u>表妹</u>嫁给了陈阿大他老婆的妹妹的婆家的一个<u>叔伯</u><u>侄子</u>

wǒ   yí   jiā   yǒu   gè   <u>biǎo   mèi</u>   jià gěi

I   aunt family have a   *biǎo* little sister married

Chén ā dà   tā   lǎo pó de   mèi mei d   pó jiā de

Chen A-da he wife's   little sister's husband family's

Yígè   shūbai   zhízi

one   uncle   cousin

I have <u>a girl cousin on my mother's side </u>who married Chen Ah-Da's wife's sister's <u>husband's cousin's son</u>.

(*I Am Not Madame Bovary,* 0:05:10)

Kinship terms are a very important category of Chinese ICRs that pose

170

great challenges for subtitlers. In Chinese culture, among the various titles of brothers, sisters and spouses of parents, males of the patrilineal line are more intimate, and was refined into 叔 *shū* 'father's younger brother' and 伯 *bai* 'father's elder brother'. The title of 表 *biǎo* is used for the relatives on mother's side and 堂 *táng* for the relatives on father sides, and they directly reveal intimacy difference. However, in modern English, the expressions for kinship are relatively simple. Kinship terms used in daily expressions such as "brother", "sister", "uncle", and "aunt" neither distinguish between elders and youngers, nor distinguish relatives of *biǎo* and *táng*. The brothers and sisters on whichever parental side are all called 'cousin', and the elders on each side are called 'uncle'. They would cause translation problems in (42).

On the language level, the ST ICR 大表姐 *dà biǎo jiě* in (42a) refers to the eldest female cousin on mother's side and older than the speaker, who might be called 'cousin', but this would also be true of 表妹 *biǎo mèi* 'female cousin on mother's side and younger than the speaker' in (42b), as well as 堂妹 *táng mèi* 'the younger sister on father's side' etc. *Cousin* is thus wider than 大表姐 *dà biǎo jiě*. The use of a general term here not only saves the space but also reduce TA's workload to interpret 表 *biǎo* which is inaccessible to the TA.

In (42b), on the other hand, the subtitler did not save the valuable space and verbosely added more information of "on my mother's side" and "husband's cousin" into the TT to explain meaning of the second semantic layer hidden in 表妹 *biǎo mèi* and 叔伯侄子 *shū bai zhí zi*. This is because the ST is humorous in that it explicitly describes the situation that the heroin wants to prove that the judge is her relative. The subtitler used the strategy of generalization by explanation to achieve the same humorous effect in the TT.

5.4.3.6 Substitution

This strategy involves replacing a ST ICR with a TC ICR (cultural substitution) or something completely different but fits the situation (situational substitution). In cultural substitution, the source ICR and target ICR share some meaning or features whereas in situational substitution, it is not always the case.

(43)   娘子

   niáng zǐ

   Honey

   (*Reign of Assassins*; 00:36:14)

(44)   你奶奶的

   nǐ   nǎi nǎi de

   your   grandmother's

   Damn you

   (*The Flying Swords of Dragon Gate*; 1:22:50)

(45)   巧言令色

   qiǎo yán   lìng   sè

   fine   words   fawning   look

   Smooth talk

   (*The Flying Swords of Dragon Gate*; 00:04:20)

(46)   我不是潘金莲

   wǒ bù shì pān jīn lián

   I   not   am   Pan Jin Lian

   I Am Not Madame Bovary

   (*I Am Not Madame Bovary,* 1:04:40)

The noun 娘子 *niáng zǐ* in (43) has changed its meaning with the times. In Ming Dynasty, the setting of the movie *Reign of Assassins*，娘子 *niáng zǐ* is used to call a young woman and is given a sweet taste when it comes out from a husband's mouth. The subtitle 'honey' is a perfect cultural substitution for the word.

Cultural substitution is a strategy of high frequency used in dealing with ICRs of swear word. In example (44)，你奶奶的 *nǐ nǎi nǎi de* 'your grandma's' is a typical Chinese swearword. Since its direct translation is not offensive to Western audience at all, cultural substitution is a felicitous way to deal with it.

The phrase 巧言令色 *qiǎo yán lìng sè* in (45), which means 'good language, beautiful face', implies that blandishments and smiles do not have much sincerity, and the subtitler substituted the source ICR by an English common phrase 'smooth talk' which means polite, pleasant, and persuasive but insincere words.

As to example (46), the ICR 潘金莲 *Pān Jīn Lián* is subtitled by an ICR *Madame Bovary,* another slut originated from the French novel *Madame Bovary: Mœurs de province* by Gustave Flaubert, to reinforce the TA's understanding of this character. In addition, this ICR is not only a verbal line from Li Xuelian's mouth but also from the film title. The substitution of an ICR in the name of the movie by a widely known TC ICR could attract the TA's interests to watch the film.

The cultural substitution is a domesticating strategy in that it completely omits a foreign element and substitutes it with an ICR the target audience is familiar with, and "leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him" (Schleiermacher, 1813/2004, p. 49). This strategy has a

great advantage of retaining the connotation of the source CR and displaying it in a very space-efficient and striking way.

When it comes to situational substitution, every sense of the ST ICR, including the connotations, is removed, and the source ICR is replaced by something appropriate to the situation. The following (47) is a typical example of this strategy. In this scene, a head of the Emperor's eunuchs that have gained power visits a shipyard to execute those who would try to report his wrongdoing to the Emperor. Before he is going to kill two officials to threaten the leader of the rebel, he says:

(47)　　把两个<u>无名小卒</u>弄来做你的<u>替死鬼</u>。

　　　　bǎ　　　　　*liǎng gè* <u>*wú míng　xiǎo zú*</u>　　*nòng lái　zuò*

　　　　ACCUSATIVE　two　　　unknown　little soldier　make　　take

　　　　nǐ de　　<u>*tì sǐ guǐ*</u>

　　　　your　　scapegoat

　　　　(Lit. You made two <u>unknown soldiers</u> take your <u>substitutes</u>.)

　　　　You <u>hid your plot</u> behind two <u>fifth-grade officials</u>!

　　　　(*The Flying Swords of Dragon Gate*; 0:04:16)

In the example above, two ICRs 无名小卒 *wú míng xiǎo zú* and 替死鬼 *tì sǐ guǐ* are replaced with 'fifth-grade officials' and 'hide your plot behind' respectively although the irony in ST is still perceptible. Apart from the strategy of Generalization by a paraphrase, situational substitution is a strategy used with high frequency in dealing with the ICRs of honorifics, including humble and respectful addresses. For example,

174

(48)   <u>令尊</u>现在应该是一百三十岁左右。

lìng   zūn   xiànzài   yīnggāi   shì

goodness   respectfulness   now   should   be

yībǎi sānshí   suì   zuǒyòu

130   years old   about

(Lit. Your venerable father now should be about 130 years old.)

He'd be 130 years old by now.

(*Personal Tailor,* 0:28:50)

(49)   <u>寡人</u>希望

guǎ   rén   xī wàng

morally inadequate   person   hope

I'd like to

(*Confucius*, 0:04:50)

令尊 *Lìng zū* is a respectful way to call the addressee's father. 令 *Lìng*, meaning goodness, is used before a noun, such as 尊 *zū* 'father', 堂 *tang* 'mother', 郎 *láng* 'young man',媛 *yuán* 'beauty' and so on, to show the respectfulness to addressee's parents, son, daughter, and other relatives. 令尊 *Lìng zū* in (48) is translated as a pronoun "he" according to the context and for the cohesion of the passage.

Similarly, 寡人 *guǎ rén* in example (49) is translated into 'I' by situational substitution. 寡人 *Guǎ rén* which literally means the morally inadequate person is a modest way of the ancient monarchs addressing themselves. Ancient China emphasized 'ruling the country with virtue', and the power of the monarch was granted by the 'Heaven', but the 'Heaven' will not give the world

to vicious people. Thus, the monarchs or the kings modestly called themselves 寡人 *guǎ rén*.

Situational substitution is a strategy that omits literal meaning and adds information because both denotation and connotation are replaced in TT.

5.4.3.7 Omission

With this strategy, the ST ICR is not reproduced in any way in the TT. It is the most target-oriented strategy in all the seven strategies, as nothing in the SC enters the TT in any form. For example,

(50)　　引狼入室再放虎归山。

　　　　<u>*yǐn láng rù shì*</u>　*zài fàng hǔ guī shān*

　　　　lead wolf enter house then release tiger return mountain

　　　　We can't send him back.

　　　　(*Seven Swords*; 00:13:09)

In the example above, the ICR 引狼入室 *yǐn láng rù shì* '(lit.) leading a wolf into the house' is completely omitted. The ICR omitted in subtitling should be peripheral enough in the TT.

5.5 Product and Process: Translation Attitude

The taxonomy in Table 2 is based on the translation product, from source-oriented to target-oriented. It may be a reasonable way to view the CR renderings if one is interested in the issues of domestication and foreignization.

However, it is also possible to view them from the perspective of the

translation process because there would exist some reasons for the subtitler'
choices of certain strategy. In other words, the strategy the subtitler used in
dealing with the CRs shows the subtitler's translation attitude to the ST. As
seen above, there are many strategies for rendering CRs into TT subtitles:
transliteration of ECRs and direct translation of ICRs show maximum fidelity
to the ST. Direct translation of ECRs, retention of ICRs, specification and
official equivalents tend to have high fidelity while generalization and
substitution low fidelity. Omission obviously never results in any renderings in
the TT, and thus shows the minimum fidelity. Viewing the translation process
by the fidelity degree of the translation product to the ST is useful for didactic
purposes and for discovering how subtitlers try to make audience access CRs.

It could be argued that there are three steps a subtitler will experience when
he or she deals with an ECR/ICR:

i.   to translate the localism as localism: through the strategies of relatively
       higher fidelity.
ii.   to explain or substitute the ST localism: through the strategies of lower
       fidelity.
iii.   to abandon the ST localism totally: through omission

Generally speaking, it could be said that there is a tug-of-war between (i)
and (ii). In other words, the subtitler is struggling between fidelity and audience
concerns. It would be unlikely for a subtitler to deprive the audience of their
chances of experiencing the foreign elements although it is not realistic to
convey all the elements in the ST. Thus, the subtitler tends to give their first
consideration to the source-oriented strategies.

177

In the process perspective, the first strategy the subtitler consider using for rendering CRs is transliteration of ECRs or direct translation of ICRs. This is because these two strategies are most faithful to the ST, and they require minimum effort although they may not always lead to maximum effect.

However, they can only be used in the cases that (1) the ST CR is familiar enough for potential TAs, so the renderings by transliteration or direct translation is transparent enough; (2) TA who meet it for the first time may well understand what this ECR refers to or guess what the connotative meaning of this ICR is; (3) if the CR is unfamiliar to TA, other filmic signs offer sufficient clues to the referent of the ECR or the connotation of the ICR; and (4) the loss caused by the unfamiliarity or the loss of connotation is not serious.

Direct translation of ECRs and retention of ICRs are chose as the second option because they are the strategies of high fidelity and low effort. When the subtitler finds the first and second choices are not satisfactory, they will try to guide the TT audience without saving their effort.

One way of offering guidance is specification if the time and space permit; another way is to use official equivalents if there exists another CR which is more familiar to the TA and refers to the same thing. The specification and official equivalents promote the TA's understanding without domesticating the ST CR. However, the two strategies do not always enable the TA to grasp associations and to interpret the implications in the films when the information provided by the two strategies is not enough to appreciate the connotation. Then, the subtitler would come to step (ii).

When the subtitler finds that even the specification or official equivalents appear to have little use for guidance to the TA, he or she will resort to the

target-oriented strategy. When the renderings explain what the CR is or when they have a familiar association for the TA, the TA would be given less chance of decoding process and deriving pleasure out of it. Making a TT more domesticated may happen when a CR is very important for the whole passage but too complicated to explain within the constraints of time and space. Thus, generalization and substitution would be carried out to aid the TA by moving the CR closer to TC.

Compared with generalization, cultural substitution may seem an attractive solution as the TA would experience the same task of working out connections between the CR and its real meaning as the SA, although it is difficult to find a substitutable CR with appropriate associations.

The step (iii), or omission of troublesome CRs, is the last strategy the subtitler would choose to deal with them.

The supposition about the steps a subtitler experiences in subtitling CRs would be legitimate, but it does not necessarily mean that the subtitlers themselves are consciously aware of at what steps they are in the process of their choice-making. In real-life subtitling, strategies are often combined, and the process may be internalized and subconscious.

5.6 Summary

Different taxonomies of translation strategies have been proposed in the history of Translation Studies. Every scholar has tried to suggest a suitable one for his/her research goals and analyses. This study adjusts earlier taxonomy by Pedersen (2011) to suit my own analysis and add more categories to make mine

more comprehensive.

Despite differences in the terminology, this study distinguishes the strategies according to their faithfulness to the ST, so that the trend in dealing with CRs can be deduced, and the results can be used for comparing different language pairs.

The strategies for translating ECRs found in my corpus are transliteration, direct translation, specification, official equivalents, generalization, substitution, and omission. As to the strategies for ICRs, they are direct translation, retention, specification, official equivalents, generalization, substitution and omission. Some strategies are source-oriented (i.e., transliteration, direct translation, specification, and official equivalents in ECRs; direct translation, retention, specification and official equivalents in ICRs), and others are target-oriented (generalization, substitution and omission). Among them, transliteration for ECRs and direct translation for ICRs are the strategies of maximum fidelity, and direct translation for ECRs, specification for ICRs and official equivalents and retention are strategies of high fidelity. Generalization and substitution are of low fidelity; the fidelity of omission is minimum.

Chapter 6   Data Analysis

6.1 Introduction

In the Chapters 4 and 5, we saw many issues regarding different definitions and strategies that have arisen in the translation/subtitling CRs and presented the definitions and taxonomies of translation strategies of ECRs and ICRs in the Chinese language movies in order to pave the way for analytical part which this chapter serves to cover. The model presented in Chapter 2 will be applied here to empirical data of the ECRs and the ICRs extracted from twenty-four Chinese language films according to their culture-specificity to the SC. To illustrate translation problems and help clarify how and to what degree the film genres affect the subtitling of CRs, it is worth repeating three research questions and hypotheses in the introduction which this chapter will examine.

Research Question 1

Are some film genres more local than others?

Hypothesis I

As proposed by Gottlieb (2009, p. 34), some film genres are much more local than others and may not lend themselves to translation. That is, how many words and utterances are used, or how much dialog is present, depends on the genre. For example, in war movies, the characters tend to act without speaking, whereas in epic films, politicians may talk much more. The number of total CRs and CRs/hour can demonstrate the different degrees of localism.

Research Question 2

If so, is this reflected in the distribution of translation strategies?

Hypothesis II

Given the fact that some genres are much more local than others and may not lend themselves to translation, the translatability of films with different genres may be reflected in the distribution of translation strategies. In other words, the films of certain genre may display the tendency to the frequency of certain translation strategy and to the faithfulness towards ST.

Research Question 3

Does this affect the subtitler's translation fidelity to ST? And why?

Hypothesis III

When subtitling ECRs or ICRs from the non-Anglophone films of a "weaker" culture, i.e., Chinese Culture, into US culture, the subtitlers will be confronted with a dilemma: they are in a tug-of-war between fidelity and audience concerns.

In the following sections, I will investigate the subtitling tendency towards the English subtitles of Chinese language films from six genres at the global level and to what extent the genre affects the subtitler's choice of translation strategies at the local level. I will also discuss the motivation that might have guided the translation solutions presented in the TT.

The first section will provide a quantitative and qualitative investigation of the localism and the rendering of ECRs in the Chinese language films, and will compare the findings with Gottlieb's (2009). The

comparison of fidelity share and index in different language pairs mainly from a quantitative perspective will show a big picture of subtitling tendency when translating from a 'weaker' culture to a 'dominant' culture. By comparing the fidelity share and index in six film genres, I will reveal how and why genres affect the subtitling tendency and attitude.

The next section will give an investigation into the localism and the rendering of ICRs in six film genres. By observing the congruence and discrepancy between the subtitling of ECRs and ICRs, I will discuss the findings from the perspective of Skopos theory.

The last section is a summary of the chapter.

6.2 ECRs

In this section, I present the quantitative and qualitative results of my analysis on the subtitling of ECRs in Chinese language films into English. The strategies are analyzed on the basis of the taxonomy of translation strategies discussed in Chapter 5. The results will be compared with the data of Gottlieb's (2009) who used Danish and English as the language pairs for investigation.

6.2.1 Localism (ECRs) and Genre

A preliminary observation of relationship of AVT and the film genre in chapter 4 shows that CRs play a substantial role in the texture and composition of dialogues in the films of different genres. Thus, the first

objective is to assess how important this role is and how CRs are distributed in the six genres.

The first macroscopic data in Table 4 illustrates the uneven distribution of the number of ECR occurrences. I compiled all the ECRs in the corpus, and compared the data with Gottlieb (2009), who extracted ECRs from five Danish and two US film by using the same method.

I measured degrees of localism by the total number of ECRs and ECRs per hour in each film genre (Table 4) to investigate the correlation between genres and fidelity and found that some movies contain more ECRs than others. The Epic films had 2052 ECRs and 244.3 ECRs/hour, which was the largest number found in the six genres I studied and displayed more than 8 times as many ECRs as the documentaries. In second place were the Wuxia movies, containing approximately half as many ECRs as the Epics. The comedy films were in the middle position. When the duration of the film is considered, the war movies were in the bottom position; the crime & gangster films and the documentaries were in the fourth and fifth positions, respectively.

Table 4 also shows that the ECRs among comedy, war and crime & gangster vary considerably. For example, in the Comedy films, the number of ECRs in the film *I Am Not Madame Bovary* is almost ten times more than that in the film *If You Are the One II*. Similarly, the ECRs in *Savage* is only a tenth of that in *Cold War II* in the Crime & Gangster.

Table 4. The Number of ECRs in the Films

Film Genre	Films	Number of ECRs	Total	ECRs/hour
Epics	*The Founding of a Republic*	632	2052	244.3
	The Founding of an Army	534		
	Confucius	454		
	Beginning of the Great Revival	432		
Wuxia	*House of Flying Daggers*	293	845	108.6
	Assassin	208		
	Reign of Assassins	185		
	Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon	153		
Comedy	*I Am Not Madame Bovary*	307	561	68.1
	Personal Tailor	143		
	Dying to Survive	77		
	If You Are the One II	34		
War	*The Taking of Tiger Mountain*	187	358	39.1
	Youth	94		
	The Flowers of War	47		
	Wolf Warrior II	30		
Crime & Gangster	*Cold War II*	223	346	49.0
	Infernal Affairs I	78		
	Black Coal, Thin Ice	27		
	Savage	18		
Documentary	*Masters in the Forbidden City*	84	252	46.0
	Born in China	76		
	Plastic China	46		
	Still Tomorrow	46		

The number of total ECRs and ECRs/hour illustrates different degrees of localism to some extent, but we had to calculate the localism density to obtain the exact localism score. As proposed by Gottlieb (2009, p. 34), some genres are much more local than others and may not lend themselves to translation. Although the 135-minute-long epic film *The Founding of a Republic* contains 632 ECRs, the war film *Youth* of the same runtime only has 94 ECRs. Notably, some genres are much more verbose than others. That is, the number of words and utterances, or how much dialog occurs, depends on the genre. For example, in war movies, the characters tend to act without speaking, whereas in epic films, politicians may talk much more. However, the calculation of the ECR/verbosity rate was beyond the scope of this study, and I will leave this question for future research.

6.2.2 ECRs Subtitling and Genre

6.2.2.1 Distribution of ECRs Translation Strategies and Genre

According to Figure 2, some strategies such as transliteration have an above-average frequency of usage, which means that they are generally more preferred by subtitlers. And it also appears that the high frequency of these strategies does seem to relate to the film genres. For example, epic movies have a higher percentage of transliteration while crime & gangster films have a higher percentage of generalization. However, to examine the relationship between film genres and translation strategies, we need to compare individual categories of strategies to see whether a certain genre tends to have a higher percentage of specific strategies. The trend is a general one

because there are some films that do not follow the trend. A complete record of the distribution of ECRs translation strategies is shown in Appendix A.
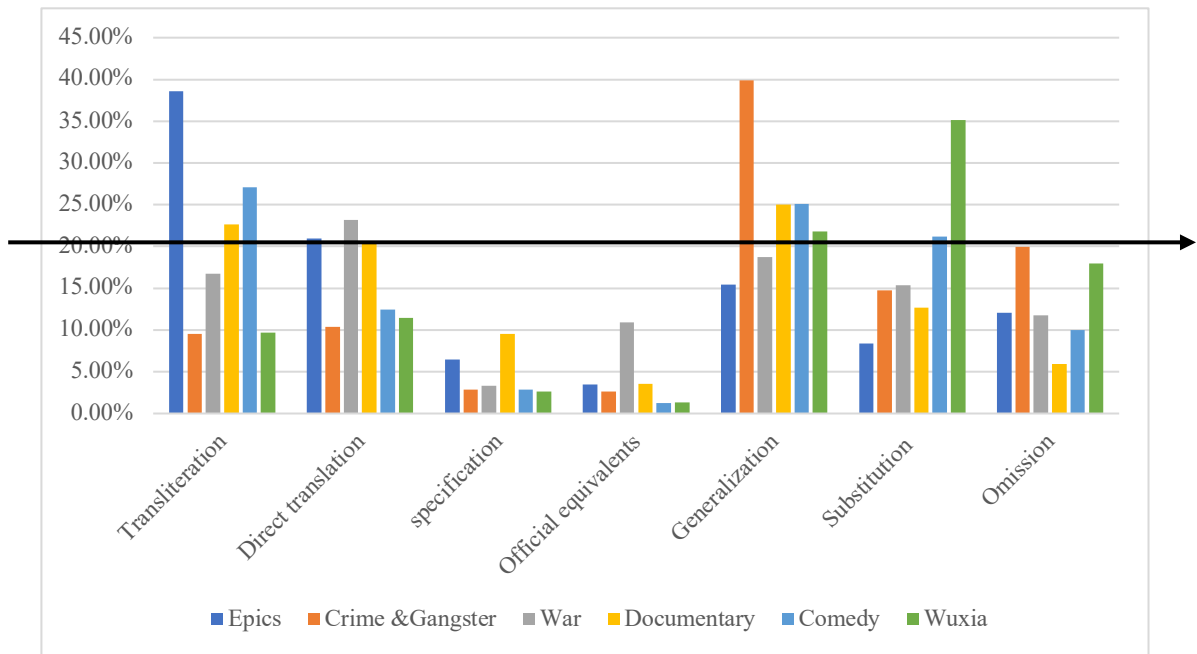
Figure 2. Distribution of ECRs Translation Strategies in Each Film Genre

Let us start with the observation of the trend with transliteration which has the frequency ranging between 47.06% and 0.00% (see Appendix A). In Table 5a, the frequency of transliteration is grouped into 5 ranges. Each film is filled into its corresponding range according to the frequency of transliteration used in that film and by the distribution of films of the same genre within the ranges.

Table 5a. Transliteration

Frequency of Transliteration	Film (Genre)
> 45%	*If You Are the One II* (Comedy) *Beginning of the Great Revival* (Epics)
40–45%	*The Flowers of War* (War) *Plastic China* (Documentary)
35–40%	*The Founding of an Army* (Epics) *Confucius* (Epics)
30–35%	*Youth* (War) *Dying to Survive* (Comedy) *The Founding of a Republic* (Epics) *Still Tomorrow* (Documentary)
25–30%	*Personal Tailor* (Comedy)
20–25%	*I Am Not Madame Bovary* (Comedy)
< 20%	*Savage* (Crime & gangster) *Infernal Affair* (Crime & gangster) *Black Coal, Thin Ice* (Crime & gangster) *Cold War II* (Crime & gangster) *The Taking of Tiger Mountain* (War) *Wolf Warrior* (War) *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Wuxia) *Reign of Assassins* (Wuxia) *House of Flying Daggers* (Wuxia) *Assassin* (Wuxia) *Masters in the Forbidden City* (Documentary) *Born in China* (Documentary)

In table 5a, Epic films on the list are distributed in the range from 30% to more than 45%, which means that this genre has a clear tendency towards using transliteration. Comedies also often rely on transliteration and are distributed evenly in the range from 20% to more than 45%, although it is not as obvious as that of epic movies. As for war and documentary films, no clear tendency towards this strategy can be seen ranging from less than 20% to 45%. Wuxia and crime & gangster films all show very low frequency (below 20%) of transliteration.

Let us next examine direct translation. With its frequency ranging between 1.76% and 33.16% (see Appendix A), it is almost impossible to find any film genre that is likely to use this strategy. Specification, a subcategory of direct translation, has very low frequency ranging from 0.00% to 20.24% (Appendix A). Official equivalent, the other subcategory, also ranges between 0.00% and 16.58%.

To sum, Transliteration is the most frequently used strategy in the source-oriented ones.

How about targeted-oriented strategies? I will start with generalization.

Table 5b does not indicate a clear tendency. Two of the crime & gangster films show a relatively high frequency of generalization, but the use of the strategy is relatively rare (less than 30%) in most of the movies. Epics show a clear tendency towards a low frequency of generalization because all the four movies appear in the range of less than 20%.

Table 5b. Generalization

Frequency of Generalization	Film (Genre)
> 45%	*Cold War II* (Crime & gangster)
40–45%	*Savage* (Crime & gangster)
35–40%	
30–35%	*Born in China* (Documentary) *I Am Not Madame Bovary* (Comedy)
25–30%	*Masters in the Forbidden City* (Documentary) *Black Coal, Thin Ice* (Crime & gangster)
20–25%	*Assassin* (Wuxia) *House of Flying Daggers* (Wuxia) *Reign of Assassins* (Wuxia) *Youth* (War) *If You Are the One II* (Comedy)
< 20%	*Still Tomorrow* (Documentary) *Plastic China* (Documentary) *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Wuxia) *Wolf Warrior* (War) *The Taking of Tiger Mountain* (War) *The Flowers of War* (War) *Personal Tailor* (Comedy) *Dying to Survive* (Comedy) *The Founding of a Republic* (Epics) *Confucius* (Epics) *Beginning of the Great Revival* (Epics) *The Founding of an Army* (Epics) *Infernal Affair* (Crime & gangster)

Let us move on to Substitution. In Table 5c, wuxia films are distributed in each range of frequency on the relatively higher side (from 25% to 45%). As for Crime & Gangster movies, two are in the range of 30–35%, but in the other two, the frequency of Substitution is only less than 25%. Thus, no clear tendency is found. All war films, except for *Warrior Wolf* (30-35%)*,* are in the range of less than 20%. Although *Plastic China* (documentary) and *I Am Not Madame Bovary* (comedy) appear in the range of 25–30%, all the other movies of the two genres are in the range of less than 20%. The epics are all in the range of less than 25%.

Lastly, no genre shows a tendency towards the frequency of omission with the range varying from 26.57% to 1.31%.

In summary, the frequency of strategies is related to film genres to some extent; some genres tend to have a high frequency of specific strategies. The frequency of transliteration has some relevance to the film genre which depends on the reality and tends to have a higher-than-average percentage of names of person, place, and institution etc. Thus, it is not surprising to get the result that epic films tend to use transliteration. Comedy movies also show a tendency toward transliteration although the trend is not so obvious. The reason for this high frequency is discussed in section 6.2.2.3. The frequency of substitution is more related to the genre of wuxia because this genre attracts the audience by the filmic scene and substitution would be an optimal choice for the subtitler to make the TA enjoy the work (see section 6.2.2.3). The frequency of generalization is less connected to the genre.

Table 5c. Substitution

Frequency of Substitution	Film (Genre)
> 45%	
40–45%	*Assassin* (Wuxia) *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Wuxia)
35–40%	
30–35%	*House of Flying Daggers* (Wuxia) *Wolf Warrior* (War) *Savage* (Crime & gangster) *Black Coal, Thin Ice* (Crime & gangster)
25–30%	*Plastic China* (Documentary) *Reign of Assassins* (Wuxia) *I Am Not Madame Bovary* (Comedy)
20–25%	*Infernal Affair* (Crime & gangster) *Confucius* (Epics)
< 20%	*Still Tomorrow* (Documentary) *Born in China* (Documentary) *Masters in the Forbidden City* (Documentary) *Youth* (War) *The Taking of Tiger Mountain* (War) *The Flowers of War* (War) *Cold War II* (Crime & gangster) *Beginning of the Great Revival* (Epics) *The Founding of an Army* (Epics) *The Founding of a Republic* (Epics) *Dying to Survive* (Comedy) *If You Are the One II* (Comedy) *Personal Tailor* (Comedy)

6.2.2.2 Fidelity Share and Genre

Table 6 presents my own data based on the direct comparison of ECRs in the ST, ECRs in the TT, and their corresponding translation strategies. Table 7 presents data from Gottlieb's (2009) investigation of subtitling of five Danish films into English.

Table 6 provides the numerical and relative distributions of seven strategies in every film genre and shows considerable variation in the translation strategies on a micro-level. Although the variation in the numbers of ECRs in the different films makes direct numerical comparison impossible, the total proportions for strategies used in translating the six movie genres indicate the general tendencies of Chinese-to-English subtitling. The percentage of source-oriented and target-oriented strategies also provides us with an approximate idea of the attitudes of translators toward the ST. If source-oriented strategies are used with higher frequency than the target-oriented strategies, the subtitling tendency is source-oriented and vice versa. The maximum variance calculated the ratio of the highest share to the lowest share of the same strategy in different film genres. This method gives us a direct score to demonstrate the gaps in usage for the same strategy across different genres. What patterns are discernable by comparing Tables 6 and 7?

With the average fidelity shares of approximately 46% in Chinese-English subtitling, it might be concluded that the direction of subtitles in English is rather target-oriented. This finding corresponds with Gottlieb's (2009). Regarding the Danish films, the average fidelity shares are 44%, and fidelity shares ranged from 25% to 64%. The *t-test* result (*p*=0.51)

demonstrates no significant difference in fidelity shares between Chinese and Danish films. One may argue that it proves Gottlieb's hypothesis that when the translation is 'upstream', that is, from a minor language/culture to major language/culture, the subtitle tends to be target-oriented.

Table 6, however, clearly displays a fact that the film genre affects the subtitling tendency as well. According to this table, the films of epics, documentary and war are source-oriented whereas the films of comedy, crime & gangster and wuxia are target-oriented. Crime & gangster and wuxia films especially have the fidelity share of 25.43% and 25.09% respectively.

Note also that the subtitling strategies applied in both Chinese and Danish films have a similar pattern (Figure 3). It follows that the genre of the movie plays an important role at least in an 'upstream' language pair.

Table 6. Distribution of ECRs Subtitling Strategies of Chinese Films

Genre	ECR Total	Source-Oriented Strategies				Target-Oriented Strategies		
		Transliteration	Direct translation	Specification	Official equivalents	Generalization	Substitution	Omission
A. S.*	4414	20.71%	16.52%	4.61%	3.85%	24.33%	17.92%	12.05%
M. V.**		3.97	2.23	3.66	8.71	2.58	4.19	3.36
Epics	2052	**791 (38.55%)**	430 (20.96%)	132 (6.43%)	72 (3.51%)	317 (15.45%)	172 (8.38%)	138 (6.73%)
		69.44%				30.56%		
Docu-mentary	252	**57 (22.62%)**	52 (20.63%)	24 (9.52%)	9 (3.57%)	**63 (25.00%)**	32 (12.70%)	15 (5.95%)
		56.35%				43.65%		
War	358	60 (16.76%)	83 (23.18%)	12 (3.35%)	39 (10.89%)	67 (18.72%)	55 (15.36%)	42 (11.73%)
		54.19%				45.81%		
Comedy	561	**152 (27.09%)**	70 (12.48%)	16 (2.85%)	7 (1.25%)	**141 (25.13%)**	119 (21.21%)	56 (9.98%)
		43.67%				56.33%		
Crime & Gangster	346	33 (9.54%)	36 (10.40%)	10 (2.89%)	9 (2.60%)	**138 (39.88%)**	51 (14.74%)	69 (19.94%)
		25.43%				74.57%		
Wuxia	854	82 (9.70%)	97 (11.48%)	22 (2.60%)	11 (1.30%)	**184 (21.78%)**	297 (35.15%)	152 (17.99%)
		25.09%				74.91%		
Average		45.69%				54.31%		

*A. S.: Average share, **M. V: Maximum variance

Table 7. Distribution of ECRs Subtitling Strategies of Danish Films (Gottlieb 2009)

English/original title	ECR Total	Maximum fidelity					Minimum fidelity
		Retention	literal translation	Specification*	Generalization	Substitution	Omission
A. S.	231	24%	20%	8%	23%	17%	8%
M. V.		16.0	2.0	>3.2	3.3	3.3	>2.8
Count to 100 *Tæl til 100*	25	**12 (48%)**	4 (16%)	2 (8%)	3 (12%)	4 (16%)	0 (0%)
		64%		36%			
Mifune *Mifunes sidste sang*	59	**19 (32%)**	14 (24%)	0 (0%)	11 (19%)	7 (12%)	8 (14%)
		56%		44%			
Inheritance *Arven*	22	**7 (32%)**	3 (14%)	1 (5%)	**7 (32%)**	2 (9%)	2 (9%)
		46%		54%			
Shake It All About *En kort en lang*	105	3 (3%)	29 (28%)	17 (16%)	15 (14%)	31 (30%)	10 (10%)
		31%		69%			
Open Hearts *Elsker dig for evigt*	20	1(5%)	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	**8 (40%)**	4 (20%)	1 (5%)
		25%		75%			
Average		44%		56%			

*Gottlieb's definition of specification is different from mine and can be included into generalization for the sake of comparison
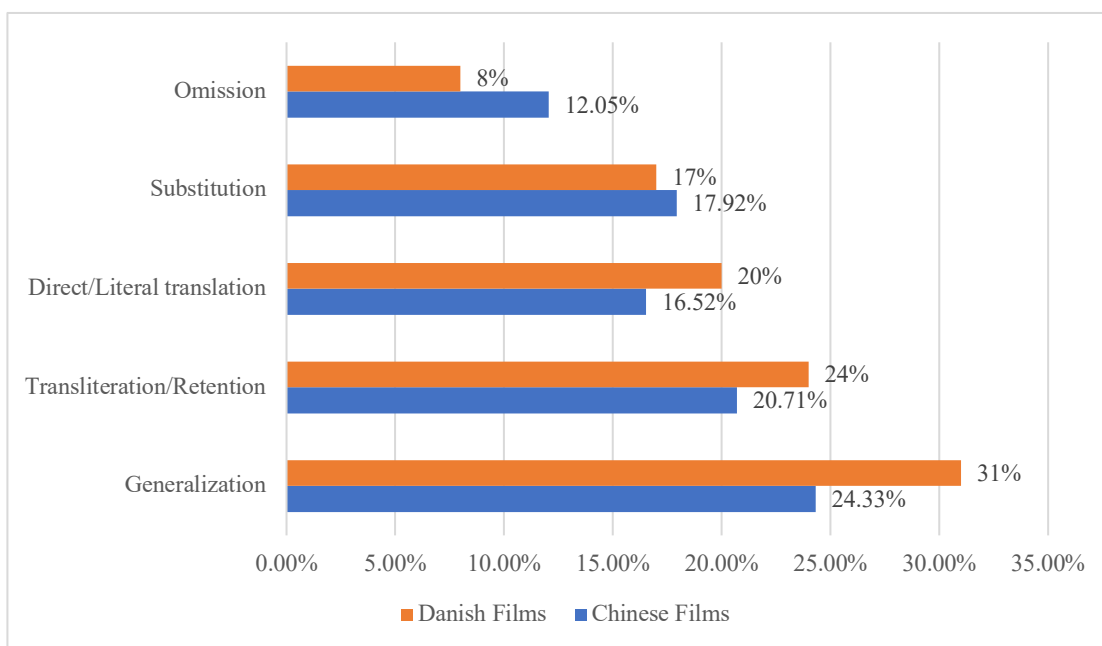
Figure 3. Average shares of translation strategies in Danish and Chinese films

As shown in Figure 3, the genre plays a part in choosing strategies.

First, with the average share of 24.33% and 20.71%, generalization and transliteration were the dominant strategies used in the 24 Chinese movies. This corresponds exactly with Gottlieb's findings (generalization: 31%; retention: 24%). Transliteration and generalization together accounted for a little less than 50% of all strategies, and especially in the Chinese epics and comedies, they respectively had a 54% and 52% share. Generalization was used with the greatest frequency in four genres, and transliteration in three genres, where each strategy was applied more than 20% (cells highlighted in Table 6). This was especially true in the epics and the documentaries. Generalization and transliteration were 39.88% and 38.55% respectively for these two genres. In Danish films too, retention was in first place in three of the five movies, and generalization ranked first in two films, where each

strategy was applied more than 30% (cells highlighted in Table 7) of the time.

Second, in the middle position for the average shares of translation strategies in subtitling of both Chinese and Danish films are direct translation (16.52%) and substitution (17.92%) in Chinese movies, and literal translation (20%) and substitution (17%) in Danish movies. However, as observed in the maximum variance in Table 6, the score of substitution is 4.19 (it is calculated by the ratio of the highest share to the lowest share of the same strategy in different film genres); thus, the possibility of ECRs being substituted in the wuxia films was much higher than in the epic film. The reason for this higher possibility of substitution will be discussed in the following 6.2.2.3. No other strategy (except official equivalent, which is explained in the next paragraph) demonstrated such a gap. As for Danish films, the strategy showing the largest gap was retention.

Third, official equivalent and specification were the least used strategies in the subtitles of the six Chinese film genres. For example, in the wuxia *The Assassin,* the comedy *Dying to Survive* and the crime & gangster *Savage*, no official equivalents were used (see Appendix A). As to specification, no ECRs in three crime & gangster films, *Infernal Affairs Black Coal, Thin Ice*, and *Savage* were translated by specification (see Appendix A). As mentioned in Section 4.3.2, Gottlieb's specification was different from mine, and an official equivalent was not in Gottlieb's taxonomy. Thus, we made no comparison.

Fourth, omission, the least faithful strategy in our taxonomy, was used with a high frequency in the wuxia and crime & gangster films, although it

was the least used strategy for subtitling in both Chinese and Danish movies.

Thus far, we have examined each subtitling strategy, and found that specification and official equivalent aside, we obtained the similar results as Gottlieb's, except only one fact that the substitution and direct/literal translation change their ranking places. When we grouped the subtitling strategies according to their degree of faithfulness to the original dialog, the rankings for average shares were the same in subtitling Chinese and Danish films (Figure 4).
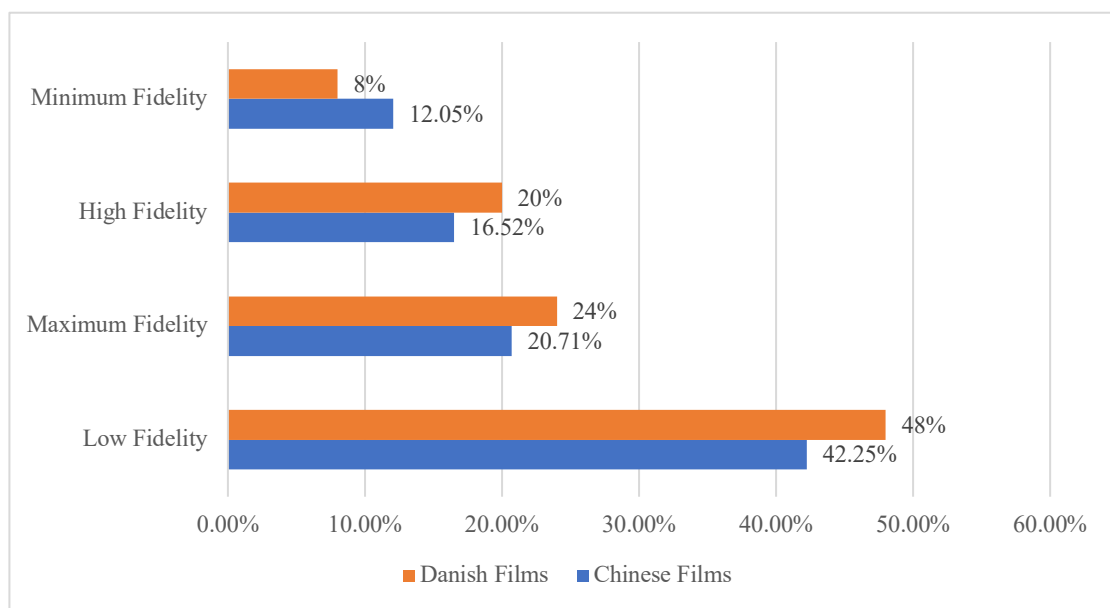

Figure 4. Average shares of fidelity degree in Chinese and Danish films

Compared with the distance between Danish and US cultures, that between Chinese and US cultures is wider. However, there is substantial similarity in the patterns of strategy distribution and subtitlers' translation tendencies in subtitling Chinese films and Danish films into English,

regardless of how far away the SC is from the TC. An explanation for this similarity is that when subtitling the given elements from the non-Anglophone films of a "weaker" language/culture into US language/culture, the subtitlers are confronted with a similar dilemma. Specifically, they are in a tug-of-war between fidelity and audience concerns. When the films rooted in Chinese culture or Danish culture enter the Hollywood-dominated film market, the subtitler attempts to maintain the exoticism of the film while catering to the needs of the TA. As pointed out by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993, p. 238), "[t]he analysis of specific examples showed a tendency, possibly norm-governed, to retain the local color of the film and to remain faithful to the source language when this did not cause problems of comprehension."

Thus, it seems fair to assume that the information provided from the non-Anglophone AVT Text to the Anglophone Text will affect the translation, because if the subtitler has this information in mind, their priority in the process of translation is more or less given to cater to the needs of the TA. This assumption is supported by the same target-oriented subtitling tendency and similar patterns of the rankings for average share of translation strategies in subtitling Chinese and Danish films.

In addition, besides language direction, the film genre is an important factor which affects the subtitling tendency. The film of some genres, like the epics, documentary and war films, more or less address issues closely related to the reality of SC, and when TA chooses a Chinese language film of these genres, their expectation would be the eagerness to know China, which leads to the subtitler's higher faithfulness to the SC. Especially, in the

documentary films investigated in this study, three of the four films are source-oriented and the remaining one with a fidelity share of 50% is swaying between the source-oriented and target-oriented (Table 8). Epics and war films are in the similar situation that the fidelity shares in three of four films reveal the source-oriented tendency.

However, some genres such as crime & gangster and wuxia attract the audience by bizarre plots and the intense firing, car chasing or fighting scenes, which would give the subtitler much more translation freedom. All the four films in these two genres are obviously target-oriented. As for comedy, humor is the most prominent character. Humor rooted in Chinese culture is hard to convey to the TA if the audience does not have the knowledge of that culture. However, when it comes to the data of the four films in this genre, it is surprising to find that two of the comedies are highly source-oriented while the other two are highly target-oriented. This is because the film *If You Are the One II* and *Dying to Survive* contain much less ECRs than the other two (see Table 4) and most of ECRs are geography or institution names which are often transliterated and directly translated (see Appendix A: transliteration + direct translation is respectively 55.88% and 54.55%). Thus, in these two movies source-oriented strategies are applied more than target-oriented ones.

Note that when subtitling humorous ECRs, the subtitler wants to convey the Chinese humor by retaining the ST ECR, but the source-oriented strategies cannot convey this kind of humor to the TA. We will discuss the issue in section 6.2.2.3.

Table 8. Fidelity share in each Chinese language film

Genre	Documentary	Epics	War
Share	57.15% (*Masters in the Forbidden City*)	73.74% (*The Founding of a Republic*)	53.19% (*The Flowers of War*)
	50.00% (*Born in China*)	46.48% (*Confucius*)	55.09% (*The Taking of Tiger Mountain*)
	60.86% (*Plastic China*)	73.38% (*Beginning of the Great Revival*)	39.99% (*Wolf Warrior II*)
	60.87% (*Still Tomorrow*	80.71% (*The Founding of an Army*)	57.45% (*Youth*)
Genre	Comedy	Crime & gangster	Wuxia
Share	64.70% (*If You Are the One II*)	38.46% (*Infernal Affair I*)	22.01% (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*)
	43.36% (*Personal Tailor*)	18.51% (*Black Coal, Thin Ice*)	29.18% (*Reign of Assassins*)
	36.48% (*I Am Not Madame Bovary*)	22.41% (*Cold War II*)	27.64% (*House of Flying Daggers*)
	63.64% (*Dying to Survive*)	16.67% (*Savage*)	20.19% (*Assassin*)

6.2.2.3 Fidelity Index and Genre

As aforementioned, without considering the running time of films, we cannot establish the exact degree of fidelity to calculate the fidelity index. Tables 9 and 10 provide the fidelity index of subtitling Chinese and Danish films.

Table 9. Fidelity in Subtitling ECRs of Chinese films

Genre	ECRs/hour (A)	Fidelity share (B)	Fidelity Index (A×B)
Epics	244.29	69.44%	169.63 (No.1)
Comedy	68.13	43.67%	29.75 (No.2)
Wuxia	108.57	25.09%	27.24 (No.3)
Documentary	45.96	56.35%	25.90 (No.4)
War	39.13	54.19%	21.20 (No.5)
Crime & Gangster	48.96	25.42%	12.45 (No.6)
Average figures	92.51	45.69%	42.27

Table 10. Fidelity in Subtitling ECRs of Danish Films (Gottlieb 2009)

Title	Genre	ECRs/hour (A)	Fidelity share (B)	Fidelity Index (A×B)
Mifune	Drama	36.16	55.93%	20.22 (No.1)
Shake It All About	Comedy-drama	64.29	30.48%	19.60 (No.2)
Count to 100	Love Story	18.29	64.00%	11.71 (No.3)
Inheritance	Tragedy	11.48	45.55%	5.23 (No.4)
Open Hearts	Melodrama	10.62	25.00%	2.66 (No.5)
Average figures		28.17	44.19%	12.45

Gottlieb's investigation of film genre patterns was preliminary, but his data provided a clue; for example, the fidelity index of the comedy *Shake It All About* is almost four times that of the tragedy film *Inheritance*. It suggests that the subtitler's translation attitude, that is, the degree of their faithfulness to the ST or fidelity index in this dissertation, varies with the movie genre, and that translators tend to act systematically.

From the data in Tables 9 and 10, it can be observed that the rankings for the fidelity index differ greatly from those of the fidelity share. The epics remain in first place, and the documentary and war, second and third in fidelity share, have the fidelity index of the fourth and fifth. The ranks for the wuxia which has the least fidelity share and comedy that has relatively lower fidelity share rise to third and second place, respectively. The rank of the crime & gangster decreases by one. Chinese films have average fidelity shares similar to Danish works, but they have higher average fidelity index scores. The *t-test* result (p=0.25) demonstrates no significant difference in the fidelity index between Chinese and Danish movies.

The data of the fidelity index scores for the Chinese movies, however, demonstrate that subtitlers' translation attitude varies by genre, and the reason for this variation is complicated.

i. Epics

The film *The Founding of a Republic* tells a series of stories from the end of the War of Resistance against Japanese aggression to the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949; the story of the

film *The Founding of an Army* begins with the historical event of the Nanchang uprising in 1927, known as the first major Kuomintang-Communist engagement, describing a picture of how Chinese people build an army to fight against the corruptive government; *Beginning of the Great Revival* is a series of major historical events in the ten years from the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution to the first National Congress of the Communist Party of China held in 1921; and the film *Confucius* starts with a lot of complex politics and war after Confucius was promoted from Mayor to Minster for Law in his home state of Lu, ending with Confucius being rejected and becoming a wandering scholar. The epics has the largest number of ECRs/hour and contains the most ECRs on general historical topics (i.e., place names, people, army names, historical events). As shown in Table 5a, all the epic films show a clear tendency towards to the frequency of transliteration. That is why the epic genre has not only the highest fidelity share but also the highest index in Table 9.

ii. Comedy

Humor is the prominent characteristic of comedy, and it is difficult for an audience who had no knowledge of Chinese language and culture to grasp the Chinese humor. For example, *Personal Tailor* is a typical Chinese comedy, full of gags called *bāofu* (包袱) or *gěng* (哏), styles of joke particular to Chinese culture. This work is packed with witty, bitter, and absurd words used to obtain an arrogant "big laugh" and entertain the audience. This type of humor cannot be conveyed by direct

translation or transliteration, and they cannot be compensated for by the plot and accompanying images. Rendering the ECRs in Chinese *bāofu* would be nearly impossible because some punchlines created by the association or linguistic nuance of an ECR are only identifiable by Chinese people. The omission strategy is much more used in this film up to 27.4%, compared with the other three comedy movies (3.26%, 5.88% and 7.79%, respectively). The strategy of generalization also often deprives ECRs of humor and it is reasonable to substitute an ST ECR by a TC ECR, for the sake of creating the effect in the audience as the ST did. However, the audience will question whether the film is a Chinese comedy or not, if a humorous ECR is culturally substituted by an TC ECR, and it is all the more questionable that the TC ECR will achieve the same humorous effect under the setting of Chinese cultural background. It is supported by the data shown in Table 5c that the comedy is not the genre that has a clear tendency to the frequency of substitution, but it obviously shows a higher frequency of transliteration. Thus, it is not surprising that the comedy has a target-oriented subtitling tendency although the score of fidelity index is just next to the epic film. A film without humorous language is far from comedy; thus, Chinese comedy movies are the least popular among Western audiences.

iii. Wuxia

This genre entered the western film market in their early days because of their martial arts and the hero's/heroine's spirits, which attract

Westerners. Wuxia culture is unique to the Chinese people. The earliest wuxia can be traced back to the Spring and Autumn Period (approximately 771 to 476 BC). The stories depict a social force between morality and law, and wuxia films reflect Chinese long history, culture, and spirit, which are deeply marked with national characteristics. Thus, the number of ECRs contained in this genre is second only to the epics and many ECRs are related to exotic factors, like *Jianghu*, *Xiayi* spirit (see Section 4.2.1), love and duty etc. These exotic factors may be barriers to the audience appreciating the whole story. However, Wuxia, contrary to epics, focuses more on telling the story than describing the history, and it matters little if the fidelity share is lowest of the six genres. The source-oriented strategies used in the movies are a little more than 25%. The substitution strategy accounts for 35.15% of the total strategies and makes the plot more accessible to the Western audience.

These data contrast with those of epics, which is mentioned in section 6.2.2.2 that the possibility of ECRs being substituted in the Wuxia films was 4 times higher than in the epics. It is also identified by the data shown in Table 5c that wuxia shows the highest frequency towards the substitution and epics the lowest. On the other hand, since all the Wuxia films have historical settings, the translator is expected to retain historical factors because the loss is detrimental to the TA experiencing the film in a subtle manner, leading to its moderate fidelity index. Notably, unlike the comedy whose fidelity index greatly

varies from film to film, the scores of the index in the four wuxia works slightly fluctuate around 0.5.

iv. Documentary

An important characteristic of documentaries is to record some reality, which encourages the subtitler's source-oriented subtitling tendency. However, the dialogue in the real world is not as formal as the dialogue written by a scenarist, except the narration in third person in *Born in China*. The oral language should be reworded to be a more coherent and cohesive speech, which lead to its moderate fidelity index. Furthermore, the small number of ECRs and short duration time in the documentary make the fidelity index less competitive.

v. The least number of ECRs per hour in the war film demonstrates that they do not play an important role as a whole. The war scenes of firing and bombing are attractive characteristics of these films. With their lowest number of ECRs per hour and moderate fidelity share, they still have relatively low fidelity index scores.

vi. The crime & gangster attracts people by complicated plots and intense chasing and fighting scenes. It also does not contain many ECRs per hour. Therefore, with the moderate number of ECRs per hour and lowest fidelity share, the fidelity index appears on the bottom of Table 9.

6.2.3 Fidelity and Skopos

What is the reason for the complicated results above? According to Skopos Theory, translation is the functional reproduction of ST, and "the top-ranking

rule for any translation is thus the 'Skopos rule', which says that a translational action is determined by its skopos" (Nord, 1997, p. 28). Vermeer (1989) explains the Skopos rule as follows:

> Each text is produced for a given purpose and should serve this purpose. The Skopos rule thus reads as follows: translate/interpret/ speak/write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function.
>
> (p. 20, Nord's translation)

This rule can explain why ECR subtitling tends to be target-oriented when ECRs are translated from Chinese or Danish into English. To attract as many American audiences as possible is the prime skopos of the TT of the subtitled Chinese/Danish language films in general.

This rule can also explain why a movie of one genre should be translated differently from the one of another. The skopos of the film determines the subtitle. In other words, a particular film genre requires a source-oriented or a target-oriented translation. For example, epic films are more history-telling than storytelling. The epic film *The Founding of a Republic* aims at informing the Westerners of the historical period of the founding of the CPC; *The Founding of an Army* describes how Chinese people build an Army to fight against the corruptive government; *Beginning of the Great Revival* tells the TA the important event in Chinese history that why and how the Communist Party of China was established; and in the film *Confucius* there

are a lot of complex politics and war. The informative function decides that both the translator and the audience expect the TT to be faithful to the ST and historical facts.

The skopos of the translation determines the form of the equivalence required for a faithful reproduction of general historical issues such as place names, people, army names, and historical events. This is the reason why the epic films have not only the highest fidelity share of 69.44% but also the highest fidelity index in table 9.

The "coherence rule" is the second important rule of skopos theory. It is also called "intratextual coherence" involving in "the producer's intention in two ways: the message should be coherent 'in itself' and 'sufficiently' coherent with the situation in which it is received" (Reiss & Vermeer 1984/2013, p. 98), which means that as to the TT, the receiver should be able to understand it and the TT "must 'make sense' within its communicative situation and culture" (Pöchhacker, 2017, p. 34). As for comedies, their main function is to amuse the audience, so that the main function of the TT is to let the audience experience humor who has no knowledge of Chinese language and culture.

At the same time, the translated ECRs should make sense in the film itself and in American culture. As seen in section 6.2.2.3, an ECR of humor often loses its humor by the strategy of generalization; if ST ECRs are substituted by ones in TC, it is questionable that a film full of America-style jokes is still a Chinese comedy that the TA wants to watch. It is also doubtful that the TC ECR will achieve the same humorous effect under the setting of

Chinese cultural background.

It is supported by the data shown in Table 5c that the comedy is not the genre that has a clear tendency to the frequency of substitution, but it obviously shows a higher frequency of transliteration. This is the reason why the fidelity index of the comedy film is just next to the epics film.

Wuxia films, contrary to the epics, focus more on telling the story than recording the history, which means that the main function of TT is to introduce the story containing exotic factors (*Jianghu*, *xiayi* spirit, love, duty) which would be barriers for the audience to appreciate the whole story. In addition, many wuxia movies are based on the Chinese traditional wuxia novels, such as *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon,* so that intertextual knowledge will play an important role when the audience appreciate the film. For example, *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* was originally a five-part novel series written by Wang Dulu starting in the late 1930s. The audiovisual work adapted and condensed the story of the fourth book in the series, and the intertextual knowledge will partially be responsible for the understanding of the movie.

The film *House of Flying Dagger* (2011) is a remake of *Dragon Gate Inn* (1966) and *New Dragon Gate Inn* (1992), but it is a sequel to the former two films and tells the story that took place three years after. Without knowing what happened three years before, some part of plots is hard to understand. Therefore, the ultimate goal of the strategies the subtitler used is to help audiences obtain adequate effects at minimal processing cost. As pointed out by Nord (1991), "[t]he (intended) scope or function of the target

text is the most important criterion for the translator's decisions" (p. 91). In order to help the audience understand and appreciate humor and exotic factors, translators should resort to dynamic or pragmatic equivalence, which, anyhow, cannot break away from the situational context. In other words, the TT should conform to the standard of "intertextual coherence" (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984/2013, p. 102). "Intertextual coherence" is also postulated as the third principle "fidelity rule". This fidelity should count for not only the translation skopos but also the translator's interpretation of the ST. The translation should be responsible for the original text, and it should be faithful to the content and the style of the original text to the greatest extent as well. The great number of proper nouns, intertextuality and many martial fighting scenes of the ST altogether contributes to the relatively medium position of the fidelity index of wuxia films.

The term 'documentary' in the documentary film refers to the aim of 'documenting' some reality, without evaluating such reality. The function of documentary may be considered informative, narrative, descriptive, persuasive, and expository. Thus, it is not surprising that source-oriented strategies are used much more than the target-oriented strategies because the subtitles should be as close to the reality as possible, which conforms to the first rule, Skopos rule. However, its faithfulness to the ST is not so high as expected. Its fidelity index is just in the middle place of table 6. Compared with the dialogue intentionally designed in a fictitious film, an interviewee's talk in a documentary film is full of features of spoken language such as incomplete constructions (*I did…*), repetitions (*she is she is*), and discourse

markers (*you know*) and has to be reworded to make it more coherent and cohesive because in this situation what matters is not the form but the content. Thus, the result of relatively moderate index of the documentary film follows from the coherence rule that emphasizes the readability of the translation; the TT should be coherent and understandable enough to make sense. When, however, the film is narrated in third person, as in *Born in China*, the dialogue does not normally pose big problems since it is usually a planned script, and the language register is formal. The important point here is that the 'fidelity' should exist between the ST and the TT, while the form it takes depends both on the translator's interpretation of the ST and on the translation Skopos.

The war films attract the audience by the war field bombing scenes and crime & gangster movies, by the complicated plot and intense chasing scenes. All these non-verbal audiovisual effects that the war and crime & gangster films are designed to achieve account for the function of TT. The translating of these genres should be guided by the skopos of bringing about the same reaction in audience, so it is not unexpected that the fidelity index of war and crime & gangster movies appears in the bottom of table 6.

6.2.4 Summary

Kovačič (1998) suggests that "the genre partly determined the linguistic register to be used, the audience a programme many be expected to attract and its background education, and consequently also the expected reading skills" (p. 127). That is to say, a good subtitler should have the awareness of

the diversity of genres and audiences. In fact, in this investigation, the results of ECR analysis in this investigation do support what Kovačič said, that is, the genre of a film and the anticipated target-audience group affects the choice of a general strategy for AVT, and the sub-strategies employed locally is varying from genre to genre but still consistent with the general strategy applied to the text as a whole.

The distinction of degree of localism within the six genres is prominent, as Table 4 shows, and some genres show higher percentages of certain strategies, as Figure 2 reveals. Furthermore, Gottlieb's (2009) hypothesis is further identified by the results that: Chinese and Danish films are both target-oriented and have a similar average fidelity share (45.69% and 44.19%) when they are subtitled into English; they also have similar patterns in the distribution of translation strategies. In addition, film genres play a part in the subtitling tendency; translators' attitude varies with the film genre and the function of the text and the translation skopos plays an important role in this variation.

6.3 ICRs

In this section, I will present the quantitative and qualitative results of my analysis on ICRs.

6.3.1 Localism (ICRs) and Genre

Snell-Hornby (1988) points out the translatability of a text depends on the

extent to which the text is "embedded in its own specific culture" (p. 44). If a film has more Cultural References (ECRs + ICRs), it means it has higher degree of localism, and it is more deeply embedded. Thus, apart from ECRs, if a movie contains more ICRs per hour than others, it is more difficult not only for the foreign audience to understand it but also for the subtitler to translate the film than others.

ICRs in this investigation are "stretches of preformed linguistic material (or frames) that have undergone lexical, grammatical, or situational modification" (Leppihalme, 1996, p. 199). It exploits the preformed phrase such as *Chéngyǔ* (成语), *Xiēhòuyǔ* (歇后语), *Yànyǔ* (谚语), *Guànyòngyǔ* (惯用语), Dialect, Swearwords, Chinese Honorifics and Kinship terms. All the tokens (not types) of ICRs involving these eight types are extracted from the transcripts and compiled into corpus with their corresponding subtitles.

I also measured degrees of localism by the total number of ICRs and ICRs per hour in each film genre (Table 11) to investigate the correlation between film genres' fidelity and found that some movies contain more ICRs than others: the epics had 366 ICRs and 45.92 ICRs/hour, which was the largest number found among the six genres and displayed nearly 7 times as many ICRs as the crime & gangster which is in the bottom position. These results mostly correspond to that of ECRs. Epic movies are highly ranked both in ECRs and ICRs; comedies are relatively high; wuxia and war are in the middle position; documentary and crime & gangster are in the bottom position.

Table 11. The Number of ICRs in the Films

Film Genre	Film	ICRs	Total	ICRs/hour
Epics	*Confucius*	156	366	45.92
	The Founding of a Republic	93		
	Beginning of the Great Revival	72		
	The Founding of an Army	65		
Comedy	*I Am Not Madame Bovary*	148	343	41.66
	Personal Tailor	91		
	If You Are the One II	64		
	Dying to Survive	40		
Wuxia	*House of Flying Daggers*	85	191	24.54
	Reign of Assassins	51		
	Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon	48		
	Assassin	7		
War	*The Taking of Tiger Mountain*	77	158	17.27
	Youth	38		
	The Flowers of War	27		
	Wolf Warrior II	16		
Documentary	*Born in China*	49	110	20.06
	Still Tomorrow	35		
	Plastic China	16		
	Masters in the Forbidden City	10		
Crime & Gangster	*Cold War II*	21	55	7.78
	Black Coal, Thin Ice	19		
	Infernal Affair I	8		
	Savage	7		

6.3.2 ICRs Subtitling and Genre

6.3.2.1 Distribution of ICRs Translation Strategies and Genre

As Figure 2 reveals, some strategies have an above-average frequency of usage in the subtitling of the ICRs. However, according to Figure 5, only generalization and substitution show the tendency of above-average frequency. The frequency of these strategies seems to be related to the film genre. For example, crime & gangster and war movies have a higher percentage of substitution.
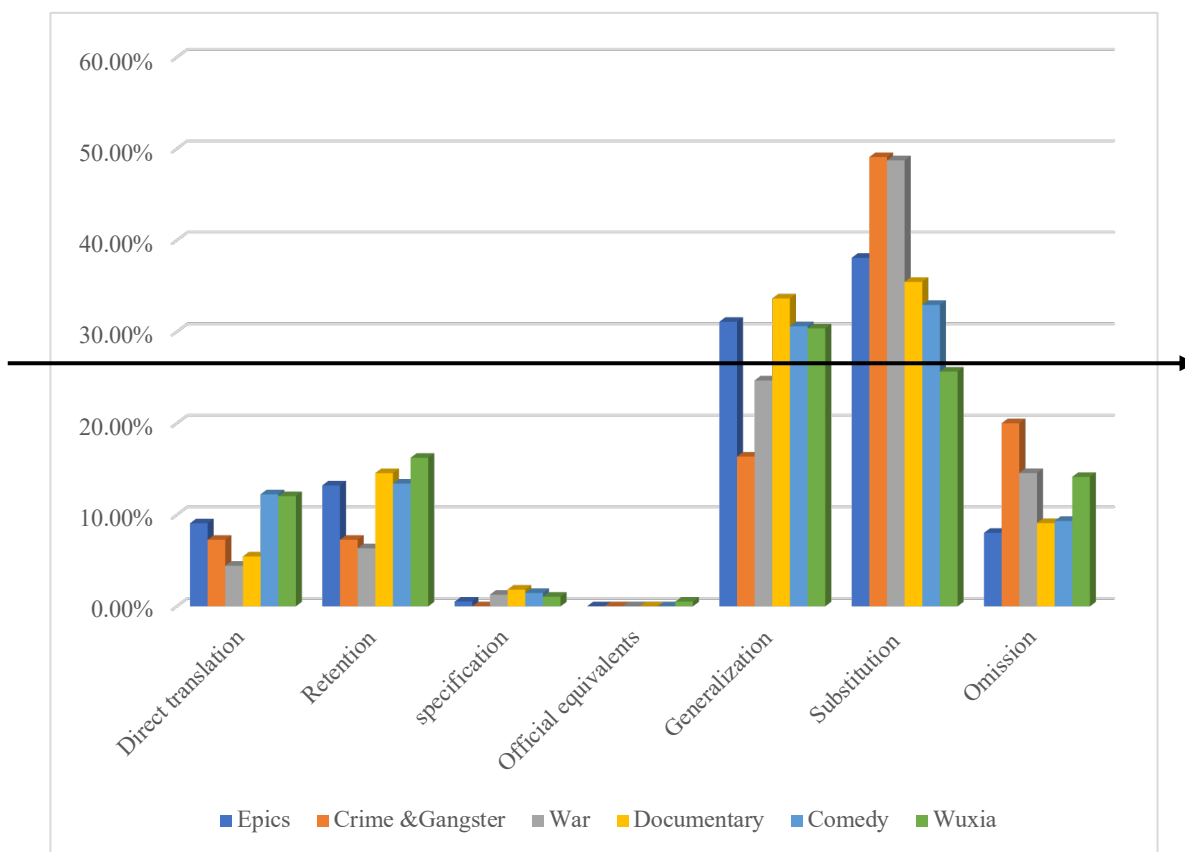

Figure 5. Distribution of ICRs Translation Strategies in Each Film Genre

The following is an analysis of the frequency of each strategy used by the subtitlers to translate the ICRs contained in each film. A complete record of the distribution of ICR translation strategies in the works is shown in Appendix B. All data are analyzed in strict reference to the special genre as different strategies have different meanings which would more or less depend on the genre into which the films fall.

The Tables 12a and 12b list the frequency of each strategy, grouped into 7 ranges. As in section 6.2.2.1, I fill each film into its corresponding range to examine the relationship between the genre and ICR translation strategies by observing whether a certain genre tends to have a higher frequency of some specific strategies.

Let us start with the strategy of substitution which has the highest frequency (Figure 5) ranging between 63.16% and 19.61% (see Appendix B).

According to Table 12a, the war and crime & gangster films show a clear tendency towards substitution. Three of the four films are distributed in each range of frequency on the higher side (from 45% to more than 50%) and the remaining one is on the medium side (from 30% to 35%). The trend observed in documentary and comedy is not as obvious as that in war and crime & gangster because only one of the four movies appears in the range of frequency on the higher side (in the range of >50% and 40–45% respectively) and the remaining three in each range on the medium side (from 25% to 35%). Wuxia and epics films are evenly distributed on the higher (> 50%), medium (30–35% and 25-30%) and lower side (< 25%); thus, these two genres have no tendency towards this strategy.

Table 12a. Substitution

Frequency of Substitution	Film (Genre)
>50%	*Plastic China* (Documentary) *Assassin* (Wuxia) *The Flowers of War* (War) *Savage* (Crime & gangster) *Black Coal, Thin Ice* (Crime & gangster) *The Taking of Tiger Mountain* (War) *Confucius* (Epics)
45–50%	*Infernal Affair* (Crime & gangster) *Wolf Warrior* (War)
40–45%	*Personal Tailor* (Comedy)
35–40%	
30–35%	*Still Tomorrow* (Documentary) *Born in China* (Documentary) *Youth* (War) *Black Coal, Thin Ice* (Crime & gangster) *Beginning of the Great Revival* (Epics) *The Founding of a Republic* (Epics) *Dying to Survive* (Comedy) *If You Are the One II* (Comedy)
25–30%	*Masters in the Forbidden City* (Documentary) *House of Flying Daggers* (Wuxia) *I Am Not Madame Bovary* (Comedy)
< 25%	*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Wuxia) *The Founding of an Army* (Epics) *Reign of Assassins* (Wuxia)

According to Table 12b, it's hard to see a trend in any film genre: among the four crime & gangster films, one is the range from 30% to 35% and the other three are all in the lowest level (< 25%); war and epic films are evenly distributed in the lower, medium and higher ranges; as for the genres of comedy, wuxia and documentary, they are all distributed in the ranges of the medium and lower level.

Tables of some strategies are not presented here. Specification, the strategy of the highest frequency, was applied in 24 films, and is and just 16 films (4.08%) (see Appendix B) do not use this strategy. Only one ICR in the corpus is translated by the strategy of official equivalents. The frequency of direct translation applied in each film ranges between 0.00% and 18.18% (see Appendix B), which means no subtitles show a tendency towards this strategy. As for retention and omission, they are used only in 3 out of 24 films (see Appendix B) with more than 25%.

By comparing the distribution of translation strategies of ECRs (Figure 1) with that of ICRs (Figure 4), we can see that transliteration and substitution are more related to genres in ECR translation whereas in ICRs only substitution has a close connection with the genres. In other words, the relation between the genre and the frequency of translation strategies of ECRs is closer than that of ICRs, which is supported by a further analysis based on the distribution of ECRs/ICRs translation strategies in each film.

Table 12b. Generalization

| Frequency of Generalization	Film (Genre)
>50%	*Youth* (War)
45–50%	
40–45%	*Born in China* (Documentary) *The Founding of an Army* (Epics)
35–40%	*Beginning of the Great Revival* (Epics) *The Founding of a Republic* (Epics) *I Am Not Madame Bovary* (Comedy)
30–35%	*House of Flying Daggers* (Wuxia) *Black Coal, Thin Ice* (Crime & gangster) *If You Are the One II* (Comedy)
25–30%	*Reign of Assassins* (Wuxia) *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Wuxia) *The Flowers of War* (War)
< 25%	*Still Tomorrow* (Documentary) *Plastic China* (Documentary) *Masters in the Forbidden City* (Documentary) *Assassin* (Wuxia) *Wolf Warrior* (War) *The Taking of Tiger Mountain* (War) *Savage* (Crime & gangster) *Black Coal, Thin Ice* (Crime & gangster) *Infernal Affair* (Crime & gangster) *Confuciu*s (Epics) *Dying to Survive* (Comedy) *Personal Tailor* (Comedy)

6.3.2.2 Fidelity Share and Genre

Table 14 presents the data based on the direct comparison of ICRs in the ST, their subtitles in the TT, and their corresponding translation strategies. It illustrates the numerical and relative distributions of seven strategies in every film genre and shows considerable variation in the translation strategies of ICRs on a micro-level. The total proportions for strategies used in translating the six genres indicate the general tendencies of Chinese-to-English subtitling; the maximum variance provided us with a direct score to demonstrate the gaps in usage for the same strategy across different genres.

With the average fidelity share of approximately 21.36% (Table 15) in Chinese-English ICRs subtitling, it can be concluded that the direction of Chinese subtitles of ICRs is generally target-oriented. However, scores of the ICR fidelity share, ranging from 12.03% to 29.84%, do not reveal great gaps among the six genres, which is opposite to the result found in ECRs. In addition, although both ECRs and ICRs have target-oriented subtitling tendency in general, their fidelity shares, with 21.53% and 45.69% respectively, are different, which means that the subtitling of ICRs are more targeted-oriented than that of ECRs.

Figure 6 gives a comparative overview of fidelity shares between ECRs and ICRs. It shows that unlike the result that the film genre affects the ECR subtitling tendency, the film genre does not play so important a part in the ICR subtitling tendency, since the score of the fidelity share of each film genre in ICRs is below 50%.

**Figure 6.** Fidelity share: comparative overview of ECRs and ICRs
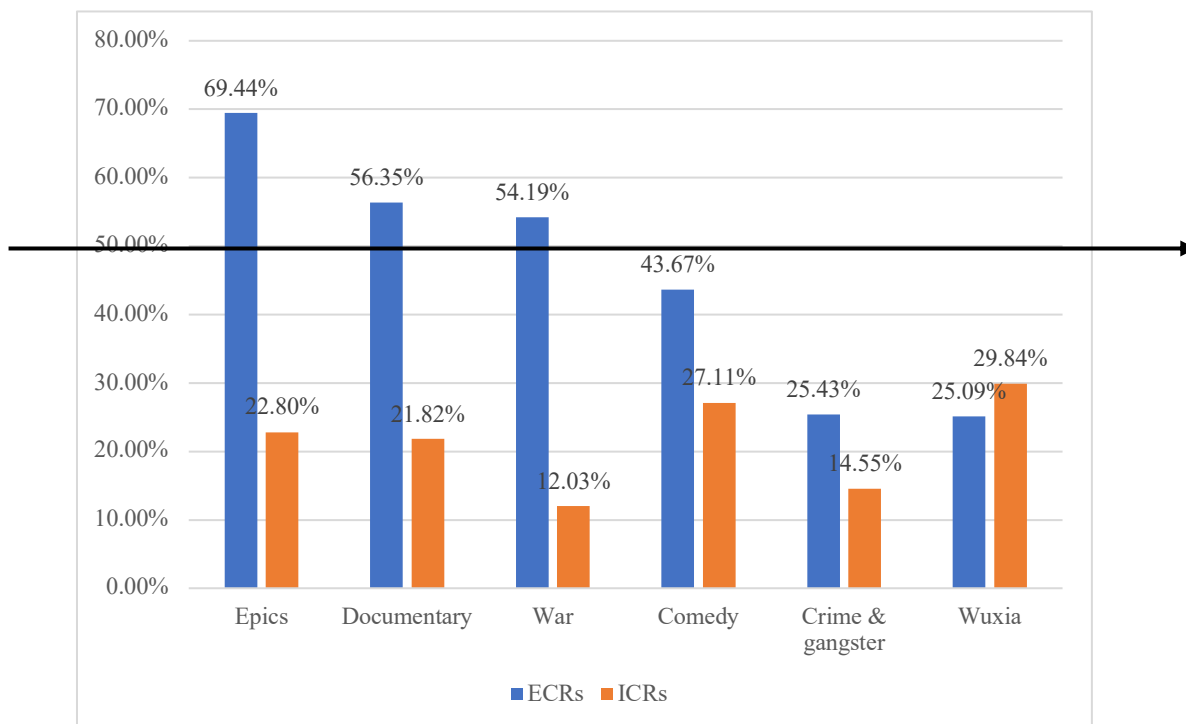
Further details on the distribution of the ICRs translation strategies and their comparison with ECRs will be discussed below.

Table 13. Distribution of ICRs Subtitling Strategies of Chinese Language Films

Genre	ICR Total	Direct translation	Retention	Specification	Official equivalents	Generalization	Substitution	Omission
A. S.*	1243	8.42%	11.83%	1.02%	0.09%	27.79%	38.33%	12.52%
M. V.**		2.76	2.56	>3.51	>0.00	2.06	1.91	2.49
Wuxia	191	23 (12.04%)	31 (16.23%)	2 (1.05%)	1 (0.52%)	58 (30.37%)	49 (25.65%)	27 (14.14%)
		29.84%				70.16%		
Comedy	343	42 (12.24%)	46 (13.41%)	5 (1.46%)	0 (0.00%)	105 (30.61%)	113 (32.94%)	32 (9.33%)
		27.11%				72.89%		
Epics	386	35 (9.07%)	51 (13.21%)	2 (0.52%)	0 (0.00%)	120 (31.09%)	147 (38.08%)	31 (8.03%)
		22.80%				77.20%		
Documentary	110	6 (5.45%)	16 (14.55%)	2 (1.82%)	0 (0.00%)	37 (33.64%)	39 (35.45%)	10 (9.09%)
		21.82%				78.18%		
Crime & Gangster	55	4 (7.27%)	4 (7.27%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	9 (16.36%)	27 (49.09%)	11 (20.00%)
		14.55%				85.45%		
War	158	7 (4.43%)	10 (6.33%)	2 (1.27%)	0 (0.00%)	39 (24.68%)	77 (48.73%)	23 (14.56%)
		12.03%				87.97%		
Average		21.36%				78.64%		

The following is the analysis of the strategies used to translate the ICRs contained in the corpus. Figure 7 shows an overall breakdown of the 1243 instances of ICRs in which different strategies were used in the subtitles.

Figure 7. Translation strategies in ICRs in general
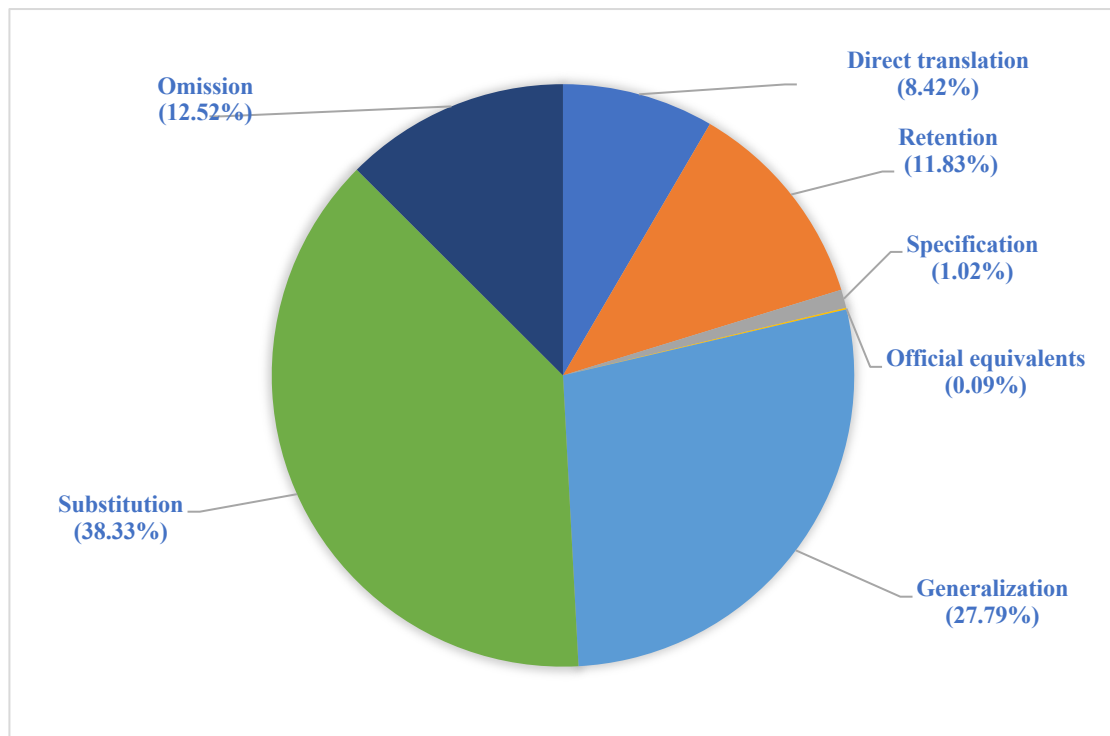
Considering the whole corpus of ICRs together, the outstanding feature is the overwhelming presence of target-oriented strategies, which account for 78.47% of the total strategies used. By generalization, substitution, and omission, subtitlers omitted or altered the ICR by replacing it with a more general one or a substitute cultural reference. The breakdown of strategies shows the preference for substitution (38.33%) followed by generalization (27.79%). The omission (12.52%) is also remarkable as this strategy generally leads to the greatest departure to the ST.

Substitution was used with the greatest frequency in five genres, where each strategy was applied more than 30% (cells highlighted in Table 13) and two of them are nearly 50%. As mentioned in section 5.4.3.6, substitution is the replacement of SC ICR by a TC ICR or something irrelevant to the SC ICR. It means that substitution, especially when the ICR used to replace the original one belongs to the TC, can be one of the most revealing translation strategies in the sense that it brings to light mores and habits of the TC, its degree of knowledge of a given ICR and its attitude towards foreign elements.

When observed across the genres, the ICRs in the war and crime & gangster are more substituted than that in the wuxia: in war films, there are many ICRs of swearwords which is more likely to be substituted by the swearwords in the TC; in the wuxia movies, more *Chengyu* (成语) ICRs appear in a historical environment, so that a ST ICR is hard to substitute with a TC ICR. ICRs in the comedy are even more fundamental than in other genres as the theme of this genre is mostly composed of humorous language. The ICRs of humor in the comedy broadly belong to two macro-categories which revolve around the concept of language-based and culture-based: (1) the ICRs are formed by intentional play with the words, and (2) elements in the ICRs are strictly and exclusively Chinese, which requires that the audience have the same encyclopedia knowledge with the SA. Thus, it is not a surprise that the strategy of substitution in the comedy is used less frequently (32.94%) because most of the ICRs in this genre are difficult to substitute with jokes in TC. Note no great difference between cultural and situational substitution except for war movies.

Table 14. Occurrences of Substitution

Film Genre	Number of occurrences (cultural/situational)	Percentage
Crime & gangster	27 (14/13)	49.09%
War	77 (53/24)	48.73%
Epics	147 (79/68)	38.08%
Documentary	39 (22/17)	35.45%
Comedy	113 (59/54)	32.94%
Wuxia	49 (17/32)	25.65%
Average		38.33%

Generalization, applied in four genres more than 30% (cells highlighted in Table 13), is slightly less used than substitution in subtitling ICRs, but the difference is not statistically significant. Substitution and generalization are always the preferred strategies (an exception is in Crime & gangster, where omission comes second) in general.

Source-oriented solutions (direct translation, retention, specification, official equivalents) only reach 21.43% of occurrences. Direct translation, which is regarded as the most effort-saving and non-creative strategy as it involves a literal or near-literal translation which has no actual cultural equivalent in the TC, accounts for a low percentage (8.42%) of the total. It is an exoticizing translation strategy, but the fact is that the implementation like the image, voice, movement or even the music etc. sensibly reduces the actual bearing of its supposed exoticism in the case of AVT. Indeed, in the

majority of occurrences it has been used to translate the language-based ICRs, that is, elements whose meaning is overt and can be literally inferred, as well as the ICRs derived from the TC or third culture and known to the TC viewers.

Retention (11.83%) was the strategy chosen mainly to translate the culture-based ICRs whose cultural images contained may trigger the same or overlapped associations in both the SA and TA. This strategy involves some effort of research on the part of the translators in the sense that they would have to make sure that the culture images in the ST ICR would have the same or similar association in both the TA and SA.

Specification was used only 13 times, amounting to a mere 1.02%. This strategy also involves more effort on the part of the translators because it calls for the introduction of information without substantial departure from the ST and the addition of quantitative features into the ST ICRs is limited by the media constraints.

Official equivalent was the strategy of the source-oriented strategies that accounts for the lowest percentage (0.09%) of the total as it involves a substitute which has cultural equivalent in the SC. It was used in only one instance in subtitling one of the wuxia films.

The strategies of specification and official equivalents was totally used with 1.11%. This extremely low percentage can be explained by the general trend of privileging strategies which do not involve considerable efforts of research and problem solving, such as direct translation and retention.

Figure 8 displays a comparative view of ECRs and ICRs translation strategies.
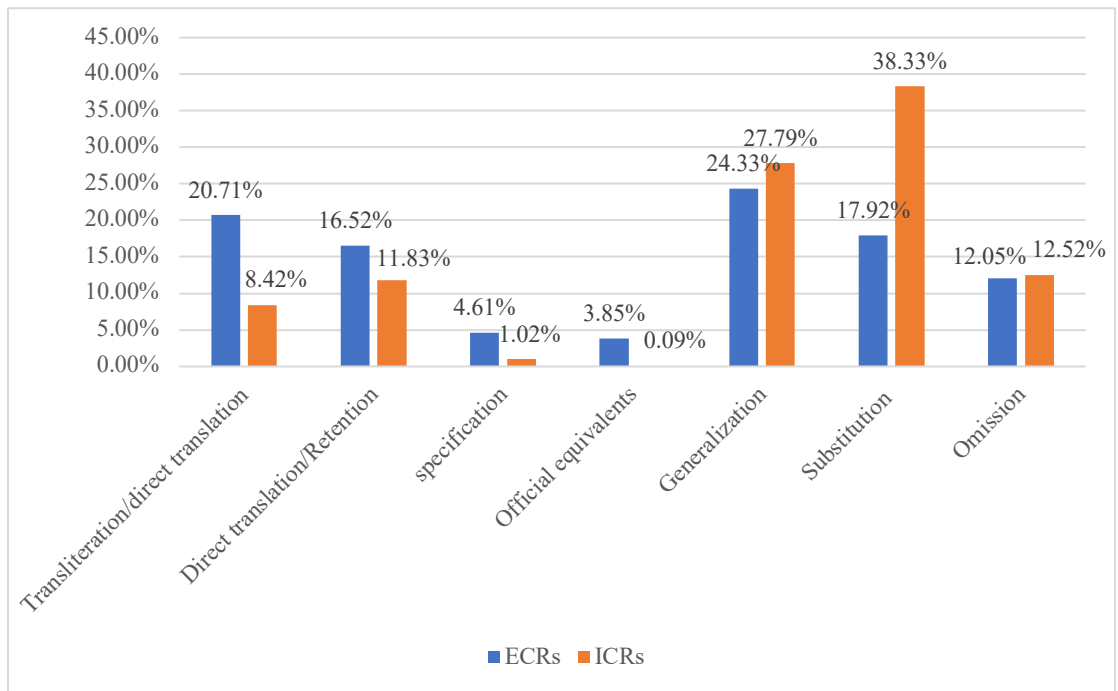
Figure 8. Distribution of Translation strategies: comparative overview of ECRs and ICRs

There is a great distance between the ratio of the ECRs translated with source-oriented strategies (fidelity share: 45.69%) and that of the ICRs (fidelity share: 21.53%), but the similarities of the distribution of strategies between the ECRs and ICRs are obvious. Whether in subtitling ECRs or ICRs, generalization and substitution are the strategies applied with the highest frequency because they save lines on the screen and are easy for the TT audience to understand although by these strategies, the foreignness of the ST CRs is completely lost. The strategies which do not involve considerable efforts of research and problem solving, that is, transliteration plus direct translation in the ECRs and direct translation plus retention in the ICRs, are in the second position of the application frequency as they are used to not

229

only exoticize the TT but also acknowledge the internationalization of foreign but firmly globalized referents.

Omission has almost the same frequency in the ECRs and the ICRs. Specification and official equivalents are the strategies used with the least percentage in both the ECRs and the ICRs because they are not only space- but also effort-wasting in the strategies of source-oriented.

The discrepancies between the distribution of ECR and ICR translation strategies are as follows: in the ECRs the percentage of transliteration is higher (20.71%) than direct translation (16.52%) whereas in the ICRs, direct translation is lower (8.42%) than retention (11.83%); the percentage of substitution and generalization is the same in both cases. In other words, in the source-oriented strategies and the target-oriented strategies of the ECRs, transliteration and generalization are respectively in the dominant position whereas in the ICRs, retention and substitution are prominent.

The reason for these discrepancies can be accounted for by different characteristics of ECRs and ICRs. ICRs are culture-specific linguistic expressions, or parings of form and culture. However, subtitles are forced to transmit semantic aspects, and ICRs are very often transferred at the expense of linguistic forms. Thus, retention is applied with more frequency than direct translation; substitution is used more frequently than generalization in subtitling ICRs since keeping the original linguistic form by direct translation is usually not the choice of priority for a culture- and language-specific ICR, and substituting an SC ICR by an TC ICR which has the similar connotation and saves the valuable screen space or by something irrelevant

but cohesive would be an ideal choice for the subtitling of the ICRs.

It is useful to take a look at the graph in Figure 9 which shows the distribution of translation strategies according to their degree of faithfulness to the ST as the patterns emerging in the ECRs and ICRs illustrate a much less discrepancy: if the omission which is the least faithful to the ST and, to some scholars, is not the strategy at all was excluded from the graph, the patterns of the ECRs and the ICRs are congruent.
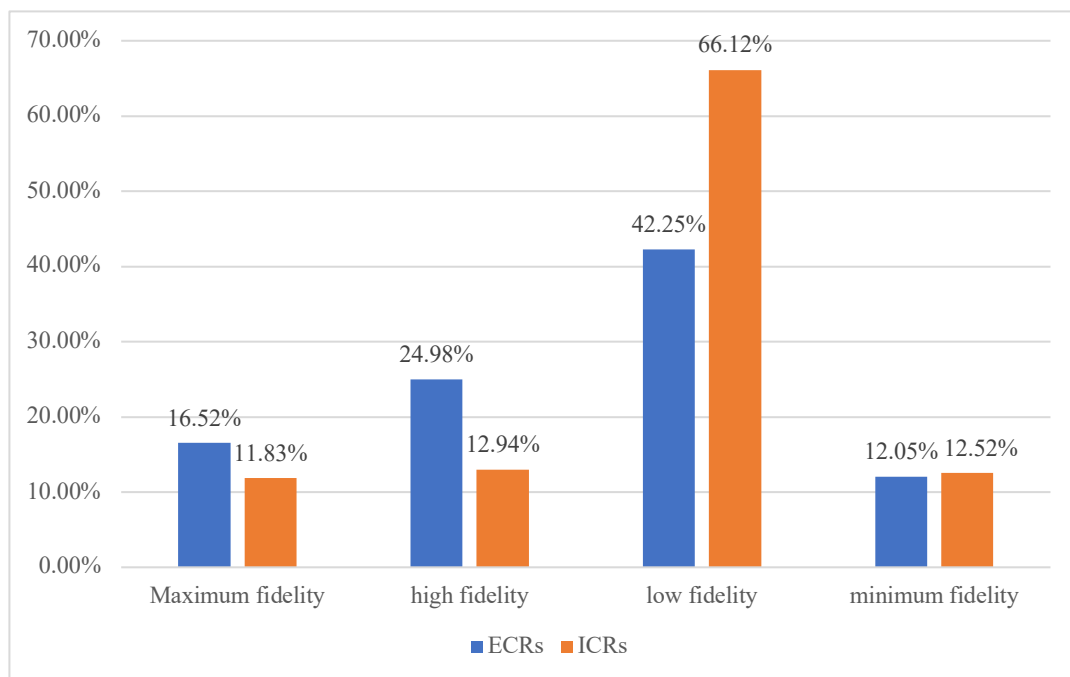

Figure 9. Distribution of Translation Strategies by the Fidelity Degree: comparative overview of ECRs and ICRs

6.3.2.3 Fidelity Index and Genre

We have discussed that the ECR subtitling tendency is generally targeted-

oriented but at the same time subtitlers show their obvious faithfulness to the ST when they deal with epics, documentary, and war movies (Table 10). It follows from this that the film genre plays an important role in subtitling tendency. However, in ICRs, the subtitling tendency is overall target-oriented, and no genre shows the source-oriented tendency. Furthermore, the fidelity shares are not very distant from each other (Figure 6).

However, when we turn to fidelity index, their scores show great distance. Table 15 below demonstrates the fidelity index of the six genres.

Table 15. Fidelity in Subtitling ICRs of Chinese films

Genre	ECRs/hour (A)	Fidelity share (B)	Fidelity Index (A×B)
Comedy	41.66	27.11%	11.29 (No.1)
Epics	45.92	22.80%	10.47 (No.2)
Wuxia	24.54	29.84%	7.32 (No.3)
Documentary	20.06	21.82%	4.38 (No.4)
War	17.27	12.03%	2.08 (No.5)
Crime & Gangster	7.78	14.55%	1.13 (No.6)
Average figures	26.21	21.36%	5.60

According to table 15, it is surprising to find that subtitlers still hold different degree of faithfulness towards the ST when they deal with the ICRs in the films of different genres although the subtitling tendency within the genres displays no great difference. For example, the fidelity index of

comedy and epics is almost 10 times as many as that of crime & gangster. The reasons why fidelity index varies with film genres are as follows.

Humorous language is the main characteristic of Chinese comedies. Script writers make every possible effort to achieve the comical effect by carefully organized language. Thus, besides epics, comedy is another genre that contains relatively more ICRs than other genres. At the same time, humorous ICRs in Chinese films are usually not only language-specific but also culture-specific, so that it is very difficult to retain the linguistic forms or images of the original ICRs in the TT while conveying the meaning or achieving the same humorous effect as the ST ICRs. Thus, subtitlers always struggle to convey humor or humorous ICRs which deeply embedded in Chinese culture within the time and space limits, and they always consider whether it is suitable for an American-style jokes to appear under the setting of Chinese cultural background.

Hence, it is not strange to find that substitution in the comedy is used not so often (35.45%) (Table 13), although it is the most used strategy of all the strategies. With much more ICRs/hour and fidelity share, the comedy has the highest fidelity index.

Dialogues appearing in epics are more formal than those in the films of other genres. For example, in *Beginning of the Great Revival*, *The Founding of an Army*, and *The Founding of a Republic*, the characters in these works are highly educated, so it is not surprising that there are a large number of *Chengyu* (成语) ICRs or humorous ICRs by wordplay in the dialogues to show their culture. Especially, Confucius, the main character in the film

Confucius, is a very famous Chinese philosopher and politician of the Spring and Autumn period. His background and the setting of this movie result in the largest number of ICRs in all the twenty-four films. The epics have a relatively high fidelity index, which is just next to the comedy. The crime & gangster films, on the other hand, attract the audience by the tense fighting scenes, which lead to its low number of ICRs.

Wuxia and documentary, by the fidelity index, are ranked in the middle position of Table 15 due to their moderate number of ICRs. The total number of ICRs/hour in the films of these two genres is half as many as that in epics and comedy movies. Wuxia has the settings of ancient China in which people likes to quote *Chengyu* (成语) in their conversation while the number of ICRs in documentary depends more on the topic the film focuses on.

Both the numbers of ICRs/hour and the percentages of fidelity share in the war and crime & gangster films are the lowest among the six genres which lead to their bottom-ranking in Table 15.

Notably, if we compare the ranking of fidelity index between ECRs and ICRs (Figure 10), it can be found that the ranking sequence of ICRs is amazingly similar to that of ECRs, except the reverse position of the epic and comedy and their faint distance. The reason for these discrepancies exists in the fact that the epic contains much more ECRs than the comedy; the numbers of ICRs in the epics and wuxia are close.
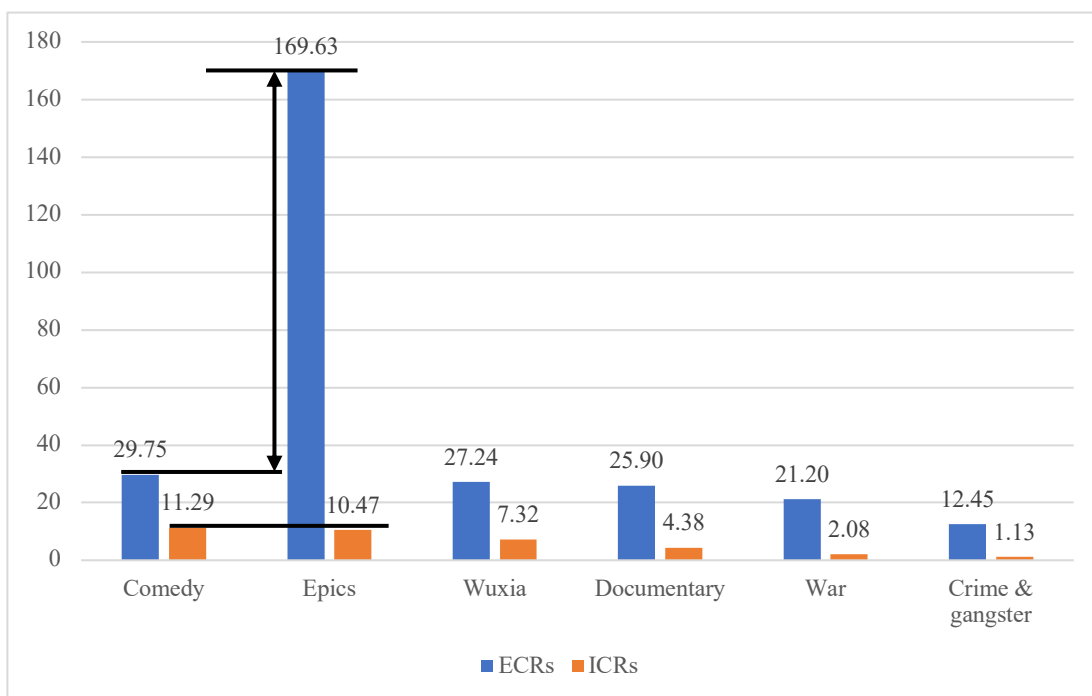
Figure 10. Fidelity Index: comparative overview of ECRs and ICRs

The same overall subtitling tendency of ECRs and ICRs, and the similarity in the patterns of the distribution of translation strategies and in the ranking of fidelity index of the six genres between ECRs and ICRs would not be a coincidence, which will be explained in the following section.

6.3.3 The Subtitling of CRs and Skopos

As I have mentioned in the above section, the same subtitling tendency of ECRs and ICRs would not be the coincidence. The premier Skopos of subtitling is to attract as many audiences as possible in the Hollywood-dominant film market. In other words, the main goal of the translated AVT text should be to meet the expectations of readers of that translation, which

would determine what a translation should be like. And that in turn affects the subtitler's decision-making in the process of subtitling the movies, which is reflected on the distribution patterns of translation strategies. That is why the ECRs and ICRs have similar patterns of distribution of translation strategies.

When it comes to variation of the translator's subtitling attitude to the film genres, ECRs and ICRs also displays surprisingly similar patterns. This is because the function of movies of a certain genre always plays a role in subtitling ECRs or ICRs. It decides to some extent the subtitler's faithfulness to the film genre.

Skopos theory accounts for the departure of TT from the ST by accepting that "a translation need not necessarily be retrospectively 'equivalent' to a source-text interpretation but should be prospectively 'adequate' to a target-text skopos" (Vermeer, 1996, p. 77). The aim of the subtitled versions is not only to reach as wide a foreign audience as possible, in order to attain the same box-office records that the film achieved in China, but also to have the new audiences cry, laugh or learn as much as the SA did. Vermeer thinks that the shape of the TT must be determined by the function that this text is meant to perform in the TT. The films of different genres have different functions, which accounts for the subtitler's translation attitude varying by genre. Furthermore, in the process of subtitling CRs, the subtitler always obeys the three very important rules in Skopos theory, that is, the Skopos rule, coherence rule and fidelity rule, which can also explain the different fidelity index among films of different genres.

6.4 Summary

ECRs and ICRs provide information about the characters and the background of the story, create ambience and add local flavors to the film, according to which the audiovisual products introduce the SC to TA. However, how to convey the sociocultural connotation of ECRs/ICRs to the TA who does not share the knowledge and experience as the that of SA is a great challenge for subtitlers. Especially when there is the limitation of medium constraints, the sociocultural knowledge of CRs is hardly summarized or explained by adding a few words of explanation. Thus, a certain degree of loss and a semantic departure from the ST in delivering the message are inevitable.

The subtitler can decide whether to follow the ST closely or to take a less literal approach. Besides the media constraints, there are other points to consider when the subtitler is choosing the optimal strategies for CRs. The film genre is one of the essential factors that come into play to produce an end product which is the result of prioritization and compromise. How and to what degree genres affect translator's decision-making are revealed by some tendencies and patterns observed in my data. Thus, the hypotheses proposed in chapter 1 are answered: some films of certain genre are more local than others; apart from the language direction, the genre plays an important role in subtitling tendency; and the subtitler's translation attitude is also related to the genre.

First, some genres tend to contain more ECRs: the epic has the largest number of ECRs of the six genres; the comedy and wuxia were in the middle

position; the documentary and crime & gangster were in the bottom position. These results exactly correspond to that of ICRs.

Secondly, in subtitling ECRs, the epics, documentary and war show a clear source-oriented tendency toward the ST whereas in subtitling ICRs no genre shows this kind of tendency.

Lastly, the subtitler's attitude, or the faithfulness to the ST, varies with the film genre, as is clear from the CR translation.

I also found that ICR subtitling is different from ECR subtitling, although they do share some features. There is a great distance between the ratio of the ECRs translated with source-oriented strategies (fidelity share: 45.69%) and that of the ICRs (fidelity share: 21.53%). In other words, domesticating strategies are noticeably more frequent in subtitling ICRs than in subtitling ECRs. The correlation between film genres and the treatment of ICRs is weaker than that of ECRs (Section 6.3.2.1). Subtitlers try to reproduce the effect regardless of genres, sometimes at the expense of the content of the ST. In addition, there is no clear tendency showing that a certain strategy, except substitution, is more popular for ICRs in subtitling any film genre while transliteration and substitution are often used for subtitling ECRs in epics and wuxia respectively.

Despite the difference, similarities and common patterns in the subtitling of ECRs and ICRs can be observed. They are similar to each other not only in the general subtitling tendency that they are both target-oriented, but also in the distribution of strategies: generalization and substitution are the strategies applied with the highest frequency; the strategies of

238

transliteration plus direct translation in the ECRs and direct translation plus retention in the ICR, which do not demand much effort of research and problem solving, are in the second position of the application frequency; omission almost has the same frequency in the ECRs and the ICRs; specification and official equivalents are used with the least percentage in both the ECRs and the ICRs. In addition, the rankings of the fidelity index of ECRs and ICRs are similar as well, although the exact scores are different.

Skopos theory holds that it is the purpose of translation or the TT that determines the choice of strategies. The general purpose is to succeed in satisfying the needs of the product-user in the market. Correspondingly, subtitling should be done by adopting a target-oriented approach. Thus, it is not surprising that subtitlers maintain the target-oriented tendency towards the subtitling of both ECRs and ICRs in general. This prime purpose would always guide the subtitler's choice of the strategies in the subtitling process, which is supported by the similar patterns of the distribution of ECR and ICR translation strategies (see Figures 8 and 9).

Furthermore, the genre of the film determines the skopos of the subtitle. The similar ranking of fidelity index of ECRs and ICRs means that subtitler's translation attitude varies with the film genre in the similar way in dealing with ECRs and ICRs because the function of the films of a certain genre always plays a role.

239

Chapter 7 Summary and Conclusion

The present investigation aimed to investigate how ECRs and ICRs in Chinese language films are subtitled into English in the film of different genres.

Being descriptive in nature, this study firstly defined ECRs and ICRs in Chinese language films, then explored the types of translation strategies employed by comparing the ST ECRs/ICRs with its corresponding English subtitles, and finally quantified the frequency of each strategy and calculated the fidelity share and index, by which certain patterns of subtitlers' decision-making are generalized.

For the systematic investigation, film genres are categorized into six types (epic, wuxia, crime & gangster, comedy, war, and documentary) and twenty-four Chinese language movies (four per genre) on DVD were selected as the resource of ECRs and ICRs. In order to observe the influence of the film genre on the subtitler's choice of translation strategies, a large corpus consisting of 5657 CRs (4414 ECRs + 1243 ICRs), their corresponding English subtitles and translation strategies were compiled for this study.

7.1 Summary of Findings

The most obvious result is that subtitles of Chinese language films in America are target-oriented in general. In other words, the majority of the ST is rendered by adopting a target-oriented approach; 54.31% of the ECRs

and 78.64% of the ICRs are distortedly transferred to the TT.

In addition, it seems to be a national norm that to produce much more user/audience-friendly subtitles would be a preferred choice of subtitlers when they translate films from the culture in a "weaker" position to a culture in a globally dominant position. This convention can be seen clearly by comparing Gottlieb's (2009) investigation with mine. The fidelity shares of Danish films and Chinese ones are respectively 44.19% and 45.70%, which means that Danish and Chinese share the target-oriented subtitling tendency although the TC (TL) is much closer to SC (SL) in the case of Danish films than in Chinese films. That is to say, the subtitled versions depart from the original in a similar way by creating something new to achieve an equivalent effect no matter how far away the SC is from the TC. An explanation for this similarity is related to the prime skopos of translation, that is, to enter US film market by attracting as many audiences to watch the film as possible.

If we look at subtitling in detail, the translation strategies used to render Chinese or Danish ECRs into English overlap to a high degree. Generalization (24.33%) and transliteration (20.71%) were the dominant strategies applied in Chinese movies, which correspond with Gottlieb's findings (generalization: 31%; retention: 24%). Direct translation (16.52%) and substitution (17.92%) in Chinese movies, as well as literal translation (20%) and substitution (17%) in Danish movies are in the middle position for the average shares of translation strategies. The strategy of omission was the least used strategy for subtitling in both Chinese and Danish movies.

Furthermore, when looking into each subtitling strategy, despite some

minor differences, the distribution of translation strategies is fairly similar. Especially when the translation strategies are lumped together according to the degree of their faithfulness to the ST, the distribution is exactly the same: strategies of low fidelity (generalization + substitution) is ranked first; strategies of the maximum fidelity (transliteration of ECRs and retention of ICRs) is in the second position; then come strategies of high fidelity (direct translation of ECRs and literal translation of ICRs); strategies of minimum fidelity (omission) is lowest.

Although Gottlieb's study investigates only a small amount of data, the similarities between my results and Gottlieb's confirm that the language direction—upstream or downstream in Gottlieb's term—plays an important role in the subtitling tendency and in the translator's decision-making in the process of subtitling.

In general, the current study took a step further to find that not only the subtitling tendency but also the patterns in the distribution of translation strategies are similar in subtitling Chinese and Danish movies because the original products should be sold 'up the river' and the subtitled versions are served for the same TA who is rarely exposed to and influenced by the SC.

The second result I found is that certain genres tend to contain more ECRs/ICRs than other genres: the epic was the genre where the largest number of ECRs/ICRs were found among the six genres; the comedy and wuxia were in second position; the documentary and crime & gangster were in the bottom position.

In addition, different genres have a certain kind of characteristics and

contain a larger number of certain ECRs/ICRs, which is often linked to the frequency of certain strategies. As for ECRs, a certain genre shows the tendency towards using specific strategies as follows: epics have a higher frequency of transliteration; comedies also often rely on transliteration, but this tendency is not as obvious as that of epics; wuxia films have a higher frequency of using substitution. As for ICRs, the genre of war and crime & gangster show a clear tendency towards using substitution; the trend observed in documentary and comedy is not as obvious as that in war and crime & gangster. Thus, according to the data in present research, it seems that strategies of ECR translation (transliteration and substitution) are more related to the genre whereas in ICR subtitling, only substitution has a close connection with the genre. In other words, the translation strategies of ECRs are more closely related to genre than that of ICRs.

The third result found in my investigation is the correlation between the film genre and subtitling tendency and attitude. In subtitling ECRs, the epics, documentary and war movies show a clear source-oriented tendency whereas in subtitling ICRs, no genre shows this kind of tendency. Here again, film genres influence ECR subtitling, but it plays no role in ICR subtitling.

All in all, the film genre affects the subtitling of ECRs and ICRs both at the global level and at the local level and it is also legitimate to investigate to what degree the subtitler's subtitling attitude vary to the film genre. According to the data in this research, the score of fidelity index in reference to the films of each genre directly shows the variance as follow:

(1) The epic is very much rooted in Chinese culture and geography, and is full of localisms (the overwhelming number of CRs). Although the epic is not ranked first in the ICR fidelity index, the faint distance (Figure 9) between the epic and the comedy, which is ranked first, can almost be ignored. Thus, the epic produces high index score in the subtitling of both ECRs and ICRs and it remains very Chinese in translation. Especially, its ECR fidelity index is almost 6 times of the comedy's. The subtitler holds a very high faithful attitude towards the ST.

(2) The comedy, especially the films selected in this research, is more dependent on the humorous language than other genres to attract the audience, but these humorous ECRs or ICRs are so much rooted in Chinese language and culture that they are difficult to be explained with several words, and to be substituted by ECRs/ICRs from other cultures. Thus, with high fidelity index, the subtitler shows a relatively high faithful attitude towards the ST.

(3) The wuxia has the setting of ancient China, which leads to having more localisms, but with the lowest number of ECRs and ICRs, it has the moderate index score.

(4) The documentary is more dependent on their local setting than the other genres. With moderate ECRs and higher fidelity share, it has moderate ECR fidelity index. As for ICRs, with moderate ICRs and a moderate fidelity share, the fidelity index is in medium position.

(5) The war movies attract audiences by battle scenes. They contain few ECRs and more than half of them are preserved in translation, which

244

means that the films of this genre obtain a low ECR index score. As for ICRs, they contain medium number of ICRs, and only about 12% of them are preserved, which also lead to its low ICR index score.

(6)　The crime & gangster attracts audience by its curious plot and tense scenes of firing and car chasing. It contains low localism (both in ECRs and ICRs) and less than a quarter of them are preserved in translation. Thus, it has the lowest ECR and ICR index score.

The subtitlers' attitude is similar when they deal with ECRs and ICRs, and the translation strategies of ECRs and those of ICRs also share patterns of distribution: generalization and substitution are the strategies applied with the highest frequency; the strategies of transliteration plus direct translation in the ECRs and direct translation plus retention in the ICR are in the second position; omission almost has the same frequency in the ECRs and ICRs; and specification and official equivalents are the strategies rarely used. The above-mentioned similarities in the subtitling of ECRs and ICRs should not be coincident. The prime skopo always plays an essential role in the process of subtitling, and so is the function of the film genre.

7.2 Conclusion

The initial assumption that triggered this research was Gottlieb's (2009) conclusion that when European films are subtitled 'upstream' (mostly into English), the fewer localisms tend to be preserved in translation. Does this

apply to Chinese movies subtitled in English too?

Regrettably, the study of the translation of Chinese language films is undeveloped in AVT research, and it is impossible to give a convincing answer without a descriptive analysis based on a large corpus containing more elements (ECRs and ICRs) from films of various genres.

My research not only justified Gottlieb's conclusion of the target-oriented tendency, but also detected some important regularities of translational behavior and the fundamental differences among the films in terms of genre through detailed investigation into CRs.

This study is the first but substantial step in a systematic investigation into the subtitling practice on Chinese language films. The richness of ECRs and ICRs gathered from many genres of Chinese language films and the research model applied in present study would certainly help study the role of ECRs and ICRs in various texts from different perspectives and open up new avenues of research to provide heuristic tool for other scholars' further investigation.

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Elsker dig for evigt / Open Hearts (2002) Dir. Susanne Bier. IMDb entry:

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Distribution of ECRs

Films	Source-Oriented Strategies				Target-Oriented Strategies		
	Trans-literation	Direct translation	Specification	Official equivalents	General-ization	Substitution	Omission
If You Are the One II	47.06%	8.82%	2.94%	5.88%	23.53%	5.88%	5.88%
Personal Tailor	28.67%	11.89%	1.40%	1.40%	17.48%	12.49%	26.57%
I Am Not Madame Bovary	22.48%	11.07%	1.95%	0.98%	31.60%	28.66%	3.26%
Dying to Survive	33.77%	20.78%	9.09%	0.00%	14.29%	14.29%	7.79%
The Founding of a Republic	34.18%	29.56%	5.54%	4.43%	14.39%	6.96%	4.91%
Confucius	37.89%	1.76%	5.29%	1.54%	19.38%	20.04%	15.10%
Beginning of the Great Revival	46.30%	18.75%	4.86%	3.47%	12.96%	5.32%	8.33%
The Founding of an Army	38.01%	28.84%	9.74%	4.12%	15.36%	2.62%	1.31%

Films	Source-Oriented Strategies				Target-Oriented Strategies		
	Trans-literation	Direct translation	Specification	Official equivalents	General-ization	Substitution	Omission
Infernal Affairs I	14.10%	19.23%	0.00%	5.13%	12.82%	23.08%	25.64%
Black Coal, Thin Ice	3.70%	11.11%	0.00%	3.70%	25.93%	33.34%	22.22%
Cold War II	8.52%	7.62%	4.48%	1.79%	50.67%	8.07%	18.83%
Savage	11.11%	5.56%	0.00%	0.00%	44.44%	33.33%	5.56%
The Flowers of War	42.55%	4.26%	4.26%	2.13%	19.15%	12.77%	14.89%
The Taking of Tiger Mountain	4.28%	33.16%	1.07%	16.58%	17.65%	13.90%	13.37%
Wolf Warrior II	0.00%	23.33%	13.33%	3.33%	13.33%	33.33%	13.33%
Youth	34.04%	12.77%	4.26%	6.38%	22.34%	13.83%	6.38%

Films	Source-Oriented Strategies				Target-Oriented Strategies		
	Trans-literation	Direct translation	Specification	Trans-literation	Direct translation	Substitution	Trans-literation
Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon	16.98%	1.89%	2.52%	0.63%	17.61%	41.51%	18.87%
Reign of Assassins	9.19%	11.89%	4.32%	3.78%	24.32%	27.57%	18.92%
House of Flying Daggers	6.14%	19.80%	0.68%	1.02%	21.84%	32.76%	17.75%
Assassin	9.62%	6.73%	3.85%	0.00%	22.60%	40.38%	16.83%
Masters in the Forbidden City	13.10%	20.24%	20.24%	3.57%	29.76%	10.71%	2.38%
Born in China	13.16%	31.58%	2.63%	2.63%	34.21%	7.89%	7.89%
Plastic China	43.48%	13.04%	2.17%	2.17%	8.69%	26.09%	4.35%
Still Tomorrow	34.78%	10.87%	8.70%	6.52%	17.39%	10.87%	10.87%

Appendix B: Distribution of ICRs

Films	Source-Oriented Strategies				Target-Oriented Strategies		
	Trans-literation	Direct translation	Specification	Official equivalents	General-ization	Substitution	Omission
If You Are the One II	17.19%	4.69%	1.56%	0.00%	31.25%	34.38%	10.94%
Personal Tailor	10.99%	4.40%	1.10%	0.00%	23.08%	43.96%	16.48%
I Am Not Madame Bovary	12.84%	17.57%	2.03%	0.00%	38.51%	25.68%	3.38%
Dying to Survive	5.00%	30.00%	0.00%	0.00%	20.00%	32.50%	12.50%
The Founding of a Republic	12.90%	12.91%	1.08%	0.00%	35.49%	31.18%	6.45%
Confucius	8.33%	10.90%	0.64%	0.00%	20.51%	51.92%	7.69%
Beginning of the Great Revival	2.78%	13.89%	0.00%	0.00%	36.11%	30.56%	16.67%
The Founding of an Army	12.31%	18.46%	0.00%	0.00%	44.62%	23.08%	1.54%

Films	Source-Oriented Strategies				Target-Oriented Strategies		
	Trans-literation	Direct translation	Specification	Official equivalents	General-ization	Substitution	Omission
Infernal Affairs I	12.50%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	12.50%	50.00%	25.00%
Black Coal, Thin Ice	5.26%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	5.26%	63.16%	26.32%
Cold War II	9.52%	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	33.34%	9.52%
Savage	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	57.14%	28.57%
The Flowers of War	3.70%	7.41%	0.00%	0.00%	25.93%	59.26%	3.70%
The Taking of Tiger Mountain	3.90%	6.49%	2.60%	0.00%	14.29%	51.94%	20.78%
Wolf Warrior II	12.50%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	12.50%	50.00%	25.00%
Youth	2.63%	7.89%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	34.21%	5.26%

Films	Source-Oriented Strategies				Target-Oriented Strategies		
	Trans-literation	Direct translation	Trans-literation	Direct translation	Trans-literation	Direct translation	Trans-literation
Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon	12.50%	18.75%	2.08%	0.00%	29.17%	20.83%	16.67%
Reign of Assassins	17.65%	23.53%	0.00%	1.96%	29.41%	19.61%	7.84%
House of Flying Daggers	9.41%	11.76%	1.18%	0.00%	32.94%	29.41%	15.29%
Assassin	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	14.29%	57.14%	28.57%
Masters in the Forbidden City	18.18%	36.36%	0.00%	0.00%	18.18%	27.20%	0.00%
Born in China	2.04%	8.16%	4.08%	0.00%	44.90%	32.65%	8.16%
Plastic China	0.00%	6.25%	0.00%	0.00%	18.75%	62.50%	12.50%
Still Tomorrow	8.57%	25.71%	0.00%	0.00%	22.86%	31.43%	11.43%