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Sign Languages, Translation, and Interpreting: Creative Practices in Audiovisual Content

Abstract

This article explores current creative practices involving the representation of sign languages, sign language interpreting, sign language translation (Napier and Leeson 2016; HBB4ALL 2017; CNLSE 2017; Tamayo 2022), and sign language live translation (Tamayo 2022) in audiovisual content. To that end, a review of the concept *creative sign language* and a review of previous publications on the matter will be provided. Subsequently, the implementation of creativity at different production stages, and the use of different resources when sign languages are present in audiovisual content, will be discussed by analyzing some selected innovative examples (mostly of practices in Spain). Finally, a taxonomy that takes into account not only *internal creativity* (that is inherent to sign languages), but also *collaborative* and *external creativity*. Conclusions will focus on how creative practices can expand our understanding of different art expressions, human communication, and inclusion, and can help establish new and meaningful connections among them.

AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION is the field within translation studies that deals with texts that convey information through two channels, namely, the acoustic and the visual (Chaume 2004). Audiovisual translation has been considered a true part of the translation studies discipline since the 1980s. Since then, research on different

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audiovisual translation modes (dubbing, subtitling, voice-over, subtitling for the deaf, audio description for the blind, etc.) has grown significantly. In recent decades, accessibility has gained importance within audiovisual translation, and research on accessible audiovisual translation modes, such as audio description for the blind or subtitling for the deaf, has developed rapidly.

Accessibility is a term currently experiencing a conceptual expansion (Anssari-Naim 2020) within translation studies and audiovisual translation. This conceptual expansion ranges from new theoretical approaches (see, for instance, Greco 2016a, 2018 and 2019; Neves 2022; Romero-Fresco 2018 and 2020) to new methods of implementing accessibility in the audiovisual industry (see, for instance, Dangerfield 2020; Romero-Fresco 2019 and 2022). New theoretical approaches question the academic home for audiovisual accessibility (traditionally framed within audiovisual translation, which is, in turn, traditionally placed within translation studies) in order to widen the notion of media accessibility. New methodological considerations for implementing accessibility explore creativity, collaboration, and engagement, and they point to the user-maker-expert gaps in academia and the audiovisual industry that place “makers, experts and users at opposite ends of a triangular spectrum of the design process” (Greco 2019, 19).

One of the new methodological considerations that has gained a foothold in both research and practice within translation studies, audiovisual translation, and media accessibility is the concept of *engagement-based media access*, as opposed to the traditional *comprehension-based media access* approach (Romero-Fresco 2020). The latter deals with research and practice focusing on the characteristics of different media accessibility modes that allow for better comprehension. It centers around the notion of “impairment,” takes the “able” as a reference, focuses on one sense, and echoes the medical model of disability, which “focuses on the person’s impairment [sic] (which is their defining feature) and on how an expert can fix it” (Wasserman et al. 2016, in Romero-Fresco 2020, 347). Regarding media accessibility for the deaf,¹ this model has analyzed concepts such as subtitle legibility, subtitling speed, accuracy on live subtitling, edited versus verbatim subtitles, positioning of the sign language interpreter or

translator, etc. Although there are some available media accessibility studies that focus on comprehension of sign language interpreting and translation (Kyle 2007; Steiner 1998; Stone 2009; Wehrmeyer 2015), both societal views and research on audiovisual translation are, generally, a few steps behind when it comes to sign language interpreting and translation, as compared to subtitling for the deaf. Sadly, there is still a need to devote further research and practice to the fact that sign language interpreting and translation in audiovisual content are not being provided efficiently or not being provided at all, at least in countries like Spain (CNLSE 2015 and 2017; Gil Sabroso and Utray 2016; Utray and Gil Sabroso 2014).

By contrast, the engagement-based media access approach deals with the full potential of different media accessibility modes to contribute to the sensory (visual, auditory, tactile) identities of a product in order to create a more engaged experience for as many users as possible. This approach centers on dis/abilities, takes the user as a reference, focuses on more than one sense, and echoes the social model of disability, which “acknowledges that there is an impairment [sic] but it stresses that it is society that disables the person” (Wasserman et al. 2016, in Romero-Fresco 2020, 348). Regarding media accessibility for the deaf, this approach has gone beyond the boundaries imposed or recommended by current standards and guidelines and has experimented with creativity both in the form of subtitles and sign language. Audiovisual translation standards and guidelines are recommendations posed by different institutions and organizations to guarantee a minimum of homogeneity and quality in different audiovisual translation mode practices (dubbing, subtitling, audio description, sign language interpreting and translation, among others).² These standards are usually national (although there are also international recommendations) and can, therefore, vary from one country to another. They usually prioritize comprehension over engagement and do not typically include creative approaches, such as the examples analyzed below in this paper.

Although much research has been carried out on the impact of other audiovisual translation and accessibility modes (mainly audio description for the blind and subtitling for the deaf), there is almost no literature on the impact of incorporating sign language, sign lan-

guage interpreting (SLI), sign language translation (SLT), and sign language live translation (SLLT)—“a prepared translation provided live in so-called semi-live events such as theatre, opera, concerts, etc.” (Tamayo 2022, 132)—in audiovisual products. There are a few reception studies focusing on eye-tracking (Bosch-Baliarda, Soler-Vilageliu, and Orero 2020; Wehrmeyer 2014) and opinion and perception (Kyle 2007; Stone 2009; Utray and Sabroso 2016), as well as a few comprehension-based studies (Steiner 1998, Wehrmeyer 2015), but nothing has been said about the impact, the engagement factor, or the creativity of incorporating sign language, SLI, SLT, and SLLT in audiovisual content. Nevertheless, research on sign language is not scarce (Ferreiro 2020). Scholarly interest in sign languages dates back to the Enlightenment (McBurmey 2012), and the first academic works on the study of sign languages can be dated back to the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century (Ferreiro 2020). However, modern linguistic research on sign language began later, with the scientific recognition of sign languages as natural languages in the work of Stokoe in 1960 (McBurney 2012; Woll 2013). Thus, sign language studies has been an ever-growing research field since the 1960s and 70s (Ferreiro 2020; Woll 2013), but its focus has been mainly on aspects such as linguistics and sociolinguistics, bilingualism and bimodality, language-learning, and the cultural dimensions of sign languages and their users.

Bearing all of the above in mind, this article aims to bring two flourishing fields of study—sign language studies, and audiovisual translation and media accessibility studies—closer together. More specifically, the goal of the present paper is, on the one hand, to analyze some of the current creative practices and representations of sign languages and SLI, SLT, and SLLT in audiovisual products (such as films, theater and music videos). On the other hand, this paper also aims to provide a sound taxonomy, based on literature review and current practices, to be used in the analysis of creative sign language in audiovisual media.

Some of the practices presented throughout this paper will allow for further reflection on communication through visual means beyond those standardized practices recommended by current audiovisual translation policies and guidelines. This work endeavors to

broaden the concepts of accessibility and audiovisual production and to highlight some issues present at different production stages that could lead to a more inclusive and creative notion of audiovisual communication and accessibility.

Creativity in Sign Language

“Creativity is the ability to produce work that is both novel (i.e., original, unexpected) and appropriate (i.e., useful, adaptive concerning task constraints)” (Sternberg and Lubart 1998, 3). Creativity has clearly been a neglected research topic in media accessibility, which has mostly focused, on the one hand, on measuring the quantity of accessible products and, on the other hand, on measuring the quality of accessibility, based solely on comprehension (as opposed to engagement) and taking existing standards and guidelines, which do not usually take creative practices into account, as the measuring tools. But new voices are now arising in *creative media access* (Romero-Fresco 2022) that are being manifested as “practices that do not adhere to standard guidelines and that, instead, aim at enhancing the users’ experience in a creative/imaginative way” (Romero-Fresco 2022, 304). This approach is gaining a foothold in different types of media accessibility forms, such as captioning (see, for instance, Fox 2016; McClarty 2012 and 2014) and audio description (see, for instance, López, Kearney, and Hofstädter 2020). This is mostly being done under the umbrella concept of *accessible filmmaking* (AFM) (Romero-Fresco 2019) as a “model that proposes the integration of translation [mainly of spoken languages] and accessibility into the filmmaking process through collaboration between filmmakers and translators, [which in turn,] is leading to increasingly creative examples of media accessibility” (Romero-Fresco, 2022, 304). AFM can be implemented at different stages in the production (development and pre-production, production, postproduction, and pre-distribution), but the earlier the stakeholders start thinking about accessibility, the more integrated translation and accessibility will be, and the easier it will be to integrate creative practices from different audiovisual translation modes (dubbing, subtitling, SLT, audio description, etc.) into other parts of the audiovisual production (the use of color, the costumes, the editing, the script, etc.). AFM steps include, for example, enabling the

people in charge of the translation and accessibility to get involved in the scriptwriting process, access pre-production material, meet with the director, confer with consultants with sensory disabilities, and allow amendments in the editing to improve accessibility.

But what about creativity in sign language and, more specifically, creativity in sign language within audiovisual production? All forms of communication and all natural languages (oral and signed) are subject to creativity; however, “while signed and spoken languages share many grammatical features, the visual-spatial modality [of sign languages] provides structural possibilities unavailable to spoken languages” (Woll 2019, 57). Therefore, although creativity is applicable to all forms of communication, it is bound to be perceived very differently in oral and sign languages. For Kaneko and Mesch (2013, 372) creative sign language is

the use of sign language for artistic purposes. It differs from everyday signing in that both the form and the content are foregrounded and therefore crucial to one’s understanding of the overall message. In other words, how one says something is as significant as what one says.

Research and practice in the performing arts and creative audiovisual productions (such as music videos, film, theater, or social media videos) have led me to distinguish between three types of creativity within sign languages in audiovisual media: *internal*, *collaborative*, and *external*.

Internal Creativity

The concept of internal creativity refers to the creative and artistic possibilities inherent to the communication mode of sign languages. These involve the manipulation of sublexical elements (i.e., hand configuration, location, palm orientation, movement, and nonmanual markers) as well as the manipulation of sign language structure and grammar, for example. Moreover, there are other specific features inherent to all sign languages that allow for internal creativity, mainly the visual iconicity of sign languages and the possibility of expression through instances of depiction as visual representation of semantic components (Dudis 2007).

In artistic performances, such as theater or dance, sign language often moves away from the formality users are accustomed to when

accessing news, debates, and conferences. This, along with the fact that artistic performances usually have more action than informative events, increases the important role of *depiction* (as defined in Dudis 2007 and 2011), which allows for more dynamism and easier visualization of the action. It is not the aim of this work to delve into the characteristics of sign language or to describe the structure of sign languages, as these issues have been thoroughly discussed in the fields of sign language linguistics and deaf studies. Nevertheless, a brief explanation about one of the most iconic aspects of sign languages may be appropriate here.

Signs are considered to be iconic when “aspects of its form are directly related to what is represented” (Bellugi and Klima 1976, 518), and classifiers are among the most iconic features of sign languages (Fischer and van der Hulst 2003). Classifiers are “classes of handshapes and their movements that describe the physical properties of objects—their location, size, shape, dimensions, scale and number—and also their movement—their speed, direction and attitude” (Bauman 2003, 38). In sign languages, classifiers are generally used to communicate the movement, location, or appearance of something or someone in a more visual way than by spelling it out sign by sign. This makes classifiers much more useful than regular signs for expressing actions or narratives. Once a concept (e.g., a car) is referred to by its sign (hands on steering wheel, in Spanish sign language, LSE) and its classifier (extended hand palm facing down, in LSE), the signer can move that hand to communicate how fast the car is going, if it stops suddenly, how it turns the curve, how it is parked, etc., without explicitly signing each concept (fast, stop, park, etc.), but just moving the hand accordingly and complementing it with nonmanual markers, such as body positioning and facial expressions. This is inherent to all sign languages and allows for a more dynamic narrative. One classifier can relate to different concepts—in the previous example, it designated a car; but in LSE, it could also be a book, a door, a bed, a foot, or a shark, depending on the context. This is a strategy more commonly used to express dynamic actions than static ideas, but classifiers can also communicate the shape, position, or size of objects or people. They are, therefore, used in all types of messages, regardless of their

communicative function or the amount of action. Regarding accessibility, it is worth mentioning that the possibility of using a highly figurative and iconic signing style allows for a communication strategy that could be, to some extent, understandable by both signers (from different countries) and nonsigners, as shown, for example, in research on musical visual vernacular (VVm) by Zaghetto (2012).

Of the three types of creativity discussed in this paper, internal creativity is the most researched type of creativity within sign languages. Research comes mainly from deaf studies. Creativity in the study of sign language has mainly focused on sign language poetry and storytelling (see, for instance, Kaneko and Sutton-Spence 2012; Sutton-Spence and Boyes Braem 2013; West and Sutton-Spence 2012), two of the primary artistic or literary manifestations of deaf culture (Bahan 2006). Therefore, internal creativity, or artistic sign language (Kaneko and Mesch 2013), is usually referred to as *signed narrative* or *storytelling*, or *signed poetry*, as these are thought to be the cornerstones of deaf culture artistic representation. What I call “internal creativity” has also been referred to as “art sign” (Bellugi and Klima 1976) or “Signart” (Pollit 2014). A few studies explore the links between internal creativity and signed songs or music (Maler 2013, Zaghetto 2012) and the links with other similar art expressions, such as pantomime (Sutton-Spence and Boyes Braem 2013) or VV (van Brandwijk 2018). Some of these studies will be discussed in the following paragraphs. However, no literature has been found researching the internal creativity of sign languages in filmmaking or audiovisual content.

Regarding deaf narrative and poetry, Kaneko and Sutton-Spence (2012) explore creativity by means of iconicity and metaphor in sign language poetry. West and Sutton-Spence (2012) examine the thoughts of four deaf poets in their creative sign language process. Sutton-Spence and Napoli (2012) analyze deaf jokes and sign language humor to ascertain phonological differences from standardized sign language. Sutton-Spence and Boyes Braem (2013) compare the creation of sign language poetry and pantomimic improvisations as two different forms of art expression stepping into the realm of visual and kinetic communication. Finally, Sutton-Spence and Kaneko (2016), in their book on folklore and creativity in sign language,

tackle key features involved in sign language creativity, such as the use of classifiers, iconicity, embodiment, manipulation of phonological parameters for creative purposes, cinematic techniques in sign language, neologisms, and the creative skills of signers. Regarding other forms of deaf art, Maler (2013) refers to “productive signs”, which are understood as neologisms or newly coined words for creative purposes. These can be produced in everyday signing but are especially important in signed poetry and music (Maler 2013) and, one could add, in any artistic performance.

At this point, a unique deaf art form needs to be discussed: Visual Vernacular. VV is an art form mostly performed by deaf artists. It combines many different elements of, among other things, mime, poetry, and cinematographic techniques, with strong movement, iconic signs, gestures, and facial expression. It is a most expressive storytelling style. It is used “to capture the world in all its visual complexity” (van Brandwijk 2018, 6). The actual origins of this art form are unknown; it is “an ancient style of storytelling that has been passed on from generation to generation” (van Brandwijk 2018, 6), but it was first researched, performed on stage, and named during the 1960s and 1970s by Bernard Bragg (van Brandwijk 2018). Some researchers even talk about musical visual vernacular (VVm) (Zaghetto 2012) as a form of transposition from sound vibration into a linguistic and visual domain understandable by both signers and nonsigners, deaf and hearing. Nonsigning and hearing people might need some instruction on certain signs to understand artistic sign language and VV, as pointed out by Kenny Lerner (in Spooner et al. 2018). With such instructions, nonsigners can not only appreciate the beauty of artistic sign language, but also, to some extent, understand it. Thus, VV has been incorporated by theater companies, such as Deafinitely,³ and other initiatives that combine this art form with oral and sign languages to offer more inclusive performances. This field and art expression requires further consideration from audiovisual translation and media accessibility studies, as it can be used to tackle the issue of accessibility from a nontraditional direction: making signed content accessible to nonsigners. Moreover, the inclusive potential of VV goes beyond bridging communication modes (oral and signed), as it could be used to eliminate language barriers between different

oral languages too, a hypothesis that would need to be considered in future research.

Collaborative Creativity

The term *collaborative creativity* refers to any type of artistic collaboration among signers and nonsigners or between the people in charge of the signing in a production and other staff (who may be signers or not). Research on this type of creativity is scarce. This concept can be inferred in literature referring to deaf translators and interpreters (such as Duncan 1997; Kyle 2007; de Meulder and Heyerick 2013; and Stone 2009; among others), since the use of deaf translators and interpreters to provide accessibility is, per se, a collaborative practice that goes against the mainstream (i.e., the use of hearing interpreters). Nevertheless, these works on deaf interpreters deal mostly with aspects of power relations and comprehension, and not with how collaboration can foster creativity within audiovisual content. There are two references (Schmitt 2017; Pfeiffer, Richardson, and Wurm 2020) that are specifically relevant to this paper, as they capture the essence of collaborative creativity, and will be discussed below. Nevertheless, the concept of collaborative creativity comes up in other works dealing with SLI and SLT. It is especially relevant, for example, in works by Richardson (2020 and previous work), who looks at theater or performance interpreting and suggests that the interpreter in a performance is a fully fledged member of a production team “involved in the collaborative creative process of creating a production within which sign language is used to interact with Deaf spectators” (Richardson 2020, 77).

Schmitt (2017) argues in favor of this type of creativity. He uses the term *prisoner of the bubble* to refer to the conventional representation of signers in audiovisual media relegated to a box or a corner of the screen or stage, a practice that has long been criticized by deaf people (Schmitt 2017, 138). As in the literature mentioned above, he also argues in favor of deaf interpreters and translators and highlights that the unwillingness by mainstream media to liberate the signer from this bubble does not diminish sign language creativity (i.e., internal creativity). He goes further on his reflection on collaboration and asks the question “Is it even possible to appreciate [. . .] signed

performance as a form of expression that is not subordinated to that of the hearing performer shown in the foreground?” (Schmitt 2017, 132). He goes further to explain that

One configuration that distinguishes itself markedly from the standard *mise en scène* is the integration of sign language and its users into the artistic ensemble. This sharing of the stage takes us beyond communication access. As an integral part of the creative vision, sign language is no longer relegated to the sidelines or to the background. [. . .] Sign language users are not only integral to a project from its inception but also members of the group, company, or ensemble and play a role in shaping the identity and direction of the group, at least during the lifespan of a given production. These productions showcase sign language as a language of artistic expression, not just a means of communication access, and as an art form that is accessible to all audiences—not just Deaf audiences. Sign language users are featured as artists on center stage, not merely as translators of the events on the stage (Schmitt 2017, 136).

Schmitt (2017) is also aware that such forms of collaborative creativity are not only a matter of aesthetics, but also a reflection of a society’s perceptions and values with respect to the deaf. Moreover, not granting access to creation “falls far short of the aspirations toward democracy and citizenship” (Schmitt 2017, 141), and true political and linguistic equity “will remain precarious [. . .] as long as sign languages remain relegated to the background or to the margins in the conception and production of any *mise en scène* in the media” (Schmitt 2017, 141).

Pfeiffer et al. (2020) explore collaborative creativity in two theatrical groups, one composed of German and Czech young people and one composed of British deaf and hearing people. Through observing the participants, with different bilingual and bimodal competences, they argue that *translanguaging* (understood as the act by which multilingual or multimodal individuals use their full language repertoire to achieve successful communication) is the practice that enables translaboration. For these authors, translanguaging “was developed to challenge traditional views of bilingual behavior,” and it “emphasises socio-cultural boundaries of named languages” (Pfeiffer et al. 2020, 363). Moreover, it “emphasises the dynamic fluidity of communicative practices employed by individuals in multilingual spaces.

Notions such as code-switching or code blending are regarded as too limiting to describe the creative flexibility noticeable in an individual's use of communication" (Pfeiffer et al. 2020, 363). It is through this translanguaging that the groups achieved *translaboration*, which "fosters the creation of something different, something new, something that would otherwise not be created. [. . .] The outcome achieved by the amalgamation of different actors' input is not just additive, but transformative" (Pfeiffer et al. 2020, 363). In line with the AFM approach (Romero-Fresco 2019), Pfeiffer et al. (2020, 375) point out that translation and co-creation become the shared responsibility of all. Moreover, they say:

Translaboration, for us, highlights the importance of integrating cross-lingual and cross-modal communication as the translation activity of choice, rather than imposing conventional translation as an afterthought and thus reinforcing division through uni-directional transfer. Moreover, it highlights collaboration as the underlying principle. (Pfeiffer et al. 2020, 375)

In the British theater group of deaf and hearing people, a sign language interpreter was present (who only intervened in the communication process if asked to do so by participants). When the interpreter intervened, "the responsibility for translation then fell entirely to the interpreter, translation sat outside of the creative process and the potential for truly collaborative working was compromised" (Pfeiffer et al. 2020, 368).

Like Schmitt (2017), Pfeiffer et al. (2020) also point to the problematic power imbalances observed in their studies and end up highlighting the links between collaboration and creative processes. In their words, "captured nicely by the term 'translaboration,' it becomes apparent that collaborative communication cannot be separated from collaborative creative processes in a devised bilingual rehearsal room" (Pfeiffer et al. 2020, 375).

External Creativity

The concept of external creativity refers to the creative implementation of resources external to the signing itself. These can be implemented after the SLT recording, for example, throughout the editing process (slowing down or speeding up the signing, using especial

effects such as blurriness or transparency, etc.), or they can be implemented during the signing process (with the use of different clothing and makeup, the use of different camera shots and angles, etc.). In other words, external creativity has to do with any element or resource that is not connected directly to sign language but which adds to the final visual representation of the signing. Although this type of creativity is not specifically linked to sign language (because it can be applied to other visual elements on screen), it interacts with the final representation of the signing and, thus, should be taken into account when designing the implementation of sign languages on screen.

To my knowledge, external creativity has not been systematically researched in the context of sign languages, although it has been referred to. This type of creativity has been called *instances of multimedia* (Cook 1998, in Maler 2013), and it comprised costumes and special effects. From my point of view, the term proposed by Cook falls short of describing the full range of external creativity that can be implemented nowadays in a performance that incorporates sign language. Despite being relatively under-researched, external creativity is often present in the creative audiovisual industry, as we will see later in this paper.

Examples of Creativity in the Implementation of Sign Languages in Audiovisual Content

The implementation of sign language, the AFM (Romero-Fresco 2019) approach, and the incorporation of sign language creativity in audiovisual content could be elaborated on beyond the examples discussed in this paper. Further and deeper analysis on creativity in the implementation of sign language would be more than welcome in our field. Moreover, the study and implementation of visual creativity in audiovisual content goes far beyond creativity within sign languages. The incorporation of other forms of visual information (such as subtitles, captions, or other forms of text on screen, for example) may interact with the sign language presentation or even shape the decision-making process when incorporating creative sign language into the content. Further reflections on this matter would also be useful in the field.

Sign Language as the Source Language in Audiovisual Products

The terms *L1*, *L2*, and *L3* have been used in previous literature on audiovisual translation (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2011). *L1* is understood here as the main language of an audiovisual product, *L2* as the target language (language of translation),⁴ and *L3* as the languages or language varieties with lesser presence in the product. The inclusion of *L3*s makes the audiovisual content multilingual (and/or multimodal).

Incorporating sign language as an *L1* is not a mainstream practice (see Tamayo 2022). The inclusion of a sign language as *L1* is usually carried out by deaf filmmakers or filmmakers belonging to the “third culture” (i.e., the culture formed by subcommunities of deaf and hearing people [Woll and Ladd 2003, 160]). For instance, Spain has an active short film community, producing films in LSE, with several annual sign language film festivals, such as the one in Almussafes (Valencia).⁵ Veru Rodríguez (a hearing person who grew up signing) might be the most well-known film producer using LSE as an *L1* in his filmmaking. He founded the production company IDendead and launched the first web series in LSE as an *L1* in Spain (*Mírame cuando te hablo* [Look at me when I talk to you] 2014–), for which he has received multiple awards. This web series meets some of the requirements of AFM (Romero-Fresco 2019), the most remarkable feature being that it enables access to creation (Dangerfield 2017), as 90% of the staff are deaf (Dragón Digital 2016).⁶ This access to creation, as well as the hiring of deaf actors, is one of the most important demands of deaf communities (Duncan 1997) when implementing sign languages in filmmaking, which is an industry dominated by hearing people (see video with deaf actor William Grint [Al-Kalamchi 2020]).⁷ Although some researchers suggest that most of the actors who portray deaf characters in films and on television are deaf (Schuchman 2004, 237), others claim that casting hearing people to portray deaf characters is still very common (Lerner and Sayers 2016), as in the case of the film *La Famílie Bélier* (Lartigau 2014), to give just one example. In *La Famílie Bélier*, sign language is an *L3* (i.e., a secondary source language), and hearing actors portray deaf characters. For other examples, see the

National Association of the Deaf's website, which provides a list of some hearing actors who have taken over deaf roles.⁸

All episodes of the Spanish television show *Mírame cuando te hablo* are available with revoicing for hearing viewers (one voice per character, with voice acting features).⁹ Additionally, subtitles are available through YouTube. The purpose of the production company IDendeaf is to contribute to deaf filmmaking and to raise awareness about the need for audiovisual products in sign language as an L1 and about deaf culture and its linguistic minority (Dragón Digital 2016). Even though these objectives are necessary, we need to keep in mind that *Mírame cuando te hablo* and similar productions are targeted specifically at the signing deaf and not at a broader audience. However, it is also true that the final product is accessible for nonsigning and hearing audiences, with revoicing that takes into account acting principles, sound effects, and music for hearing people or for deaf people with residual hearing.

An analogous example is the web series *Small World* (2014–), produced by Louis Neethling in the United Kingdom, in British Sign Language (BSL) for BSL Zone.¹⁰ *Small World*, like *Mírame cuando te hablo*, features a group of deaf signers sharing a flat. The sitcom was created by deaf actors and produced and directed by a deaf person. In *Small World*, accessibility for nonsigners is provided through captioning only. In a blog article, Kusters and Fenlon (2020) argue that this sitcom includes multilingualism within the signed mode, with different regional variants from Scotland and Leeds, different registers within BSL, and the use of signs from American Sign Language, Italian Sign Language, and International Sign Language. According to Kusters and Fenlon (2020), characterization naturally and spontaneously shaped the multilingualism in the series and the characters' signing style during the creative process. Furthermore, Kusters and Fenlon (2020) refer to the "collaborative creative process" of the dialogue, which was produced through improvisation by the actors. A BSL script was created only afterwards, without using written English in the process. They also argue that there is a "productive tension between producing 'natural' signing and the aim of creating comedy" (Kusters and Fenlon 2020), since part of the humor in the sitcom may be created through

a prefabricated script, similar to the way *prefabricated orality* (Chaume 2004) works in oral language productions. In this sense, there might be room for *prefabricated signing* (what Kusters and Fenlon refer to as “performed signing”) to be combined with natural, spontaneous, improvised signing in the process of creating an audiovisual product involving sign languages. In addition, the sitcom had a BSL consultant, Clark Denmark, who advised on the language used and tried to find a middle ground between “naturalness” and “understandability” for a BSL-using audience (Kusters and Fenlon 2020). This search for a middle solution can also be found in orally based productions that incorporate a minority spoken language (see, for instance, Tamayo and Manterola’s 2019 discussion of the 2017 Basque film *Handia* [created by Aitor Arregi and Jon Garaño]). These observations point to similar characteristics in the filmmaking creative process, regardless of the communication mode, that would benefit from deeper analysis. More specifically, more research is needed on the use of a possible prefabricated (or scripted, even if the script does not involve a written script) signing process within the overall production structure.

The public Spanish television channel La2 also offers sign language as an L1 in its weekly program *En lengua de signos*, produced by Lola Hernández (2008–), that primarily features news regarding the deaf signing community in Spain. In this particular case, sign language is implemented in pre-production, and LSE as L1 is translated into off-camera voice (revoicing) and subtitles (captioning). The final product addresses all audiences (signers and nonsigners, deaf and hearing), and an LSE signer covers half of the screen. In this case, it is difficult to identify if sign language plays the role of L2 or L1 (because the off-camera voice could be perceived as the original version or the translation), which can be an indicator that some AFM is being implemented, as translation and accessibility are not salient, but rather they are seamlessly integrated into the broadcast version. Moreover, this is the only program in Spanish television that features deaf presenters (Gil Sabroso and Utray 2016) and the only program featuring linguistic and cultural diversity associated with the Spanish deaf community (Utray and Gil Sabroso 2014). Once again, although this program is accessible to nonsigners, the deaf community is its target audience.

Here, a distinction between disability art and disability *in the arts* may be useful.¹¹ As Romero-Fresco (2018, 197–98) states:

disability art came to refer to art that takes on disability as its theme (i.e. exploring the conceptual ideas and physical realities of what is to be disabled) but that does not necessarily have to be made by people with disabilities. In contrast, disability in the arts refers to art that involves the active participation or representation of people with disabilities in the arts, whether or not the theme is disability.

From a deaf studies point of view, the concepts *disability art* and *disability in the arts* may be transferred to existing concepts within the deaf paradigm. Disability in the arts has been referred to as “Deaf in the arts” or “Deaf artists,” while disability art within the deaf paradigm is known as “Deaf View/Image Art” (and shortened as “De’VIA”), which

uses formal art elements with the intention of expressing innate cultural or physical Deaf experience. These experiences may include Deaf metaphors, Deaf perspective, and Deaf insight in relationship with the environment (both the natural world, and Deaf cultural environment), spiritual and everyday life. (Miller, Johnston, Sonnenstrahl, Baird, Wonder, Wilhite, Vasnick, Creighton, and Ho 1989)

Originally, De’VIA covered “the traditional fields of visual fine arts (painting, sculpture, drawing, photography, printmaking)” (Miller et al. 1989, para. 1), but it can also be applied to our case here. De’VIA has also been called “Deaf art,” which is seen as “an expression of Deaf culture [which] communicates not the sensory experience of silence, but rather the values of Deaf culture” (Shertz and Lane 1999, 20).

In this sense, *Mírame cuando te hablo* and *Small World* could be examples of Deaf in the arts (as the plot of the series is not deafness itself, but the everyday life of a group of friends who happen to be deaf), while *En lengua de signos* is a clear example of Deaf art, although, being a news program, it might not fit so well into the conventional concept of art. Nevertheless, the implications are the same, as deafness is the main theme of *En lengua de signos*. All three programs mentioned above raise awareness and should be regarded as a positive step forward in the current minoritized situation of sign languages. At the same time, they can be viewed, nonetheless, as projects that promote (or are a consequence of) the ghetto effect (Greco, 2016a, 2016b),

understood as a subtle form of discrimination produced when accessibility is perceived as a right or a service for specific groups only, thus betraying the universal trait of accessibility. *Mírame cuando te hablo* and the news broadcast in *En lengua de signos* have deafness at their core. In other words, it is deafness—and not art, entertainment, or information—that triggers their creation and production. It can be argued, therefore, that although deaf art and disability art are a step forward in raising awareness, there is a clear need for more deaf in the arts (CNLSE 2017, HBB4ALL 2017) and also for more disability in the arts (Romero-Fresco 2018). Deaf art and De’VIA are useful and necessary to raise awareness and as forms of protest (i.e., “resistance art” [Durr 2006]) and empowerment (i.e., “affirmation art” [Durr 2006]). Nevertheless, I see the presence of deaf artists and deaf in the arts as key to achieving a real and solid normalization of diversity, deafness, and sign languages in society.

Sign Language as the Target Language of Audiovisual Products

Regarding sign language as the language of translation and accessibility (i.e., sign language as an L2), the video-on-demand (VoD) platform Movistar in Spain has made the biggest attempt so far in its country (see Arias-Badia 2020) to offer audiovisual products with synchronized extradiegetic sign language translation (eSLT) (see Tamayo 2022), and it has accomplished this by incorporating some AFM steps. The service is called Movistar+ 5S, which, along with captioning and audio description, offers a wide catalog of products with eSLT, as compared to other VoD platforms in Spain. In order to be able to offer eSLT, a team of deaf and hearing people work together translating scripts. The translation is prepared beforehand, and a glossary is also prepared if necessary (N.B., according to Martínez Martínez and Lara Burgos [2015, 80], it is not uncommon to create nonexistent vocabulary in sign language). Here, the translator can sometimes contact the filmmakers, and the same signer appears in all episodes to maintain coherence (the same signs and signing style are used to identify characters, for example). Translation is signed scene by scene (rather than the whole production in one go) and prepared in advance, which can lead to improved quality (Tanja Jacobs, personal communication 2020). This is also a form of collaborative creativity.

Another illustrative way of including sign language as an L2 (also as synchronized eSLT), with an inclusive approach and collaborative creativity in mind, comes from the hearing Spanish filmmaker Miguel Ángel Font Bisier. Font Bisier is the director of the multisensory short film *XMILE* (2016), in which accessibility was developed and implemented in postproduction. In this film, the cinemagoers had the chance to enhance their audiovisual experience with the senses of taste, touch, and smell. This was achieved, for example, by offering the audience, before the screening, a shot of a beverage that would appear in the film, letting the audience touch the costumes, incorporating vibrating chairs in the movie theater, and spreading different essences at specific moments during the screening. More recently, he directed the inclusive short film *Tiempo de Blues* (2019), in which the different abilities and disabilities of the viewers were considered from the beginning. To include sign language as an L2 (as eSLT), in this second short film, a casting of deaf signers was carried out in order to match the appearance of the hearing actors and that of the deaf translators. By doing so, Font Bisier allowed collaboration between deaf signers and the creative team. In addition, this action led to better character identification and, therefore, to better audiovisual comprehension by deaf signing viewers. He also implemented internal and external creativity. Moreover, in the signed version of this short film, dialog was deleted from the audio track to raise awareness among hearing viewers (Font Bisier 2020, 46–47). Font Bisier has gone further in his search for collaborative creativity. He has learned LSE and, in his LSE storytelling project *La dama del cuadro* [*The lady on the painting*],¹² in addition to implementing external and internal creativity, he also fosters collaborative creativity in a similar way to Pfeiffer et al. (2020), by favoring a collaborative process of translanguaging and translaboration over the use of interpreting.

The examples mentioned above are not yet an extended practice in audiovisual production, where the vast majority of sign language is incorporated after postproduction in a standardized way and where sign language as a source language (L1 or L3), continues to be scarcely represented. While it is true that the incorporation of sign languages as source languages in audiovisual content is increasing every day, they are usually represented as an L3 and as minority languages (sometimes

portrayed by hearing actors). Only in a few cases are they represented as the main language (as in the web series produced by IDeaf, *Mírame cuando te hablo*, or programs from BSL Zone,¹³ in which substantial parts of the cast and crew are deaf). There is no doubt that this helps raise awareness about deafness and minoritized sign languages, as well as about deaf communities and cultures while promoting access to content and creation. All things considered, there is still a long way to go to achieve a truly inclusive approach in which sign language is taken into account during pre-production of audiovisual content, allowing artists to fully use the artistic and creative possibilities of this language mode. In the next section, I will review some examples of such creativity.

External, Collaborative, and Internal Creativity

Music and lyrics appear to be the artistic expressions that are currently being most commonly signed, as compared to other forms of audiovisual art expression. As Fulford and Ginsborg (2013, 62) point out:

Goldin-Meadow (1999) suggests that abstract ideas, including those concerning spatial location, and concepts that are as yet undeveloped, may be represented better using gestures than by attempts at verbalisation. Music provides good examples of such abstract ideas. (. . .) Empirical evidence also suggests that musical contexts may be favourable to the use of gesture and sign.

For this reason, and bearing in mind that there is a great variety of signed music that is now more readily available than other types of signed art, most of the examples examined here will be dealing with signed music and songs. Nevertheless, the creative options included in this section are applicable to other forms of audiovisual production, art expression, and performance, such as theater, dance, poetry, film, or social media videos, among others. Of course, not all creative options will be available for all art forms (external creativity dealing with digital effects will be more limited in live events, for example), but all can be considered to a certain extent if restrictions imposed by time, location, or available space, for instance, are taken into account.

In Spain, the singer and songwriter María Rozalén is known for taking a hearing LSE translator and interpreter, Beatriz Romero, to her concerts and for including her in most of her music videos.

Romero is always Rozalén's translator and interpreter, and one could say that Romero's signing is matched to Rozalén's singing. Rozalén includes Romero in most of her performances and alludes verbally to her presence on many occasions during her concerts. They sometimes wear matching outfits, and Romero is always at the center of the stage with Rozalén, making them equally important in the performance. Rozalén even signs along with Romero (Rozalén does not sign in LSE, but incorporates common signs such as SUN or TOMORROW when she sings), fashioning a sort of choreography with her. Romero also includes creativity in her signing, placing special emphasis on the rhythm of the songs. Moreover, she has access to the creative views of the singer, as, along with the accompanying musicians, she is considered part of the crew. Her use of the space, classifiers, and productive signs complements the aural information of the singer. This began as an initiative to bring Rozalén's music closer to deaf people, but it has become much more than that—it is now a central element of her concerts that are being enjoyed (and to some extent understood) by both signers and nonsigners, deaf and hearing. Romero is sometimes a central part of their music videos (as in the case of the song *80 veces*).¹⁴ In this example, singer and translator wear matching outfits and look aesthetically similar; they choreograph the SLT, and there is interaction (eye contact) between singer and translator. In other music videos, like *Girasoles*,¹⁵ Romero is also a performer (not just a translator), together with many other people. Moreover, SLT is not always provided for all the lyrics (which may be detrimental to understanding the lyrics but might favor engagement and understanding of other visual information on the screen). Moreover, the translator not only provides SLT, but also dances along, while Rozalén and other performers in the clip also produce some signs.

There is no doubt that the most widespread form of SLT in music is music videos. In some cases, the visual channel of the official music video of a song may solely portray the sign language translator. This is the case of the song *Negua joan da ta*, from the Basque music group Zea Mays.¹⁶ In this instance, the creative team also plays with the Basque attire (hair and looks) of the translator, which helps to visualize the culture of the oral language, Basque, and to raise awareness about another minoritized language and culture. Moreover, the video



IMAGE 1. Music video of the song *Flores y golpes*, composed by Catalina Jacob and sung by Trío Ladies. The music video is created and produced by Pupa Studio Creativo.

recording portrays the sign language translator at different shots and angles and makes signing not always perfectly visible and recognizable, which can be perceived as a form of creativity, although this might interfere with providing full access to lyrics for deaf signers.

Another example in which the SLT is the only visible element of a music video (apart from the subtitles) is *Flores y golpes*, sung by Trío Ladies and produced by Pupa Studio Creativo (see image 1). Pupa Studio Creativo is a Chilean audiovisual studio specializing in accessibility, with videos directed by Ximena Quiroz. Approximately half of the staff is deaf, and most communicate using Chilean Sign Language. In the *Flores y golpes* music video, the three singers also act as translators, each one signing her own lyrics. SLT is complemented with subtitles, audio description narrated by the music performers at the beginning and the end of the video, and clear vocalization (known as “mouthing”) during the chorus to facilitate lipreading.

Pupa Studio Creativo also makes use of external creativity. In some of their videos, they include visual effects, such as blurring or making the image of the translator transparent to indicate voices in the distance, backing vocals in songs, or incomprehensible utterances. Other creative options include duplicating the translator’s image, adding

elements or objects in the translator's box to match the theme of the music clip, changing outfits to match the music style or to indicate that there are no lyrics, appearance and outfits that match those of the music performer, and even a matching color frame for the box in which the SLT is shown. A mix of these examples can be seen in Image 2. These creative practices have been shown in different deaf schools in Chile and have had a very positive reception (Ximena Quiroz, personal communication 2021), but they should be tested in a larger reception study to analyze how deaf audiences perceive and understand these effects and to determine whether they enhance their overall experience. Although some of the features in some of these clips, like the translators' box blocking important visual information, lead us to think that some of these creative options have been implemented at later stages of the production or at the distribution stage, they give evidence of the implementation of external creativity, even when SLT is not a core element in the (pre)production stages.

Moreover, the signer in image 2 is a deaf translator, Ludo Ibarra, who (along with Alejandro Hidalgo Ramos, another deaf sign language consultant working in Pupa Studio Creativo), validates and

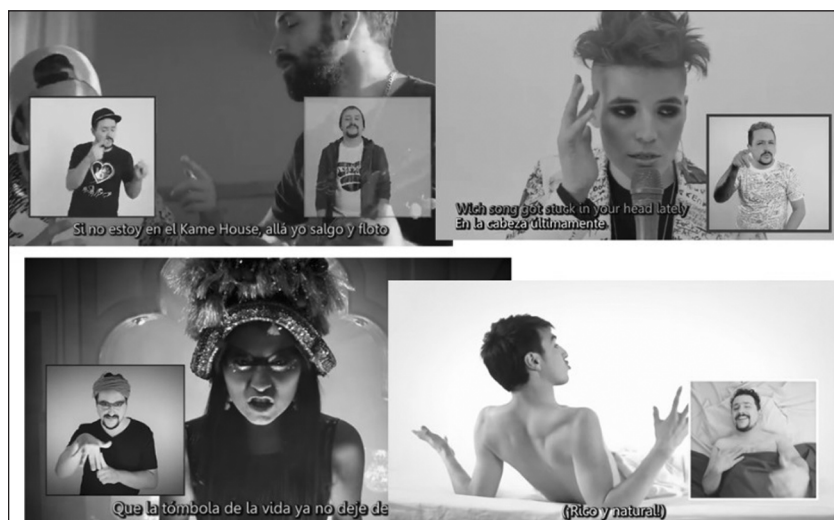


IMAGE 2. External creativity implemented in four music videos by Chilean bands Movimiento Original, Frank's White Canvas, Gepe, and Moral Distraída, made accessible through a project for accessible Chilean music, led by Todos Juntos Radio and Pupa Studio Creativo.

enhances Ximena Quiroz's creative audiovisual proposal, and translates the lyrics into Chilean Sign Language. Ibarra also translated the song *Flores y golpes*, shown in image 1, and taught it to the music performers of Trío Ladies before the recording. He was also present during the recording to support, revise, guide, and correct the music performers, if necessary (Ximena Quiroz, personal communication 2021).

A unique example of creativity with sign language can be seen in a music video for which the artistic team created a new signed audiovisual product (signed by a deaf celebrity, Nyle DiMarco) that replicates the artistic vision of the original product (a music video by Ariana Grande) without pretending to be a copy of it.¹⁷ In this signed version of "7 Rings," not everything is, or needs to be, signed (e.g., in minute 0:49, when the lyrics say "you like my hair," DiMarco runs his fingers through his hair without signing the lyrics). Moreover, signs are not always perfectly visible (as lyrics in music are not always perfectly audible or understandable), and SLT is complemented with subtitles. The sign language version preserves not only the aesthetics of the original product, but also the rhythm and the lyrics. In addition, the fact that the sign language version is performed by a deaf celebrity raises awareness.

Some of the creative approaches mentioned above can also be discovered in Spanish products for children or young viewers. These approaches include costume changes to match the characters (image 3)



IMAGE 3. Costume change to match characters in a program for kids.



IMAGE 4. Change of position in a program for kids.

and the use of the translator's alternative positions and movements (who, in the case of the storytelling "¡Me He Perdido!" happens to float in a cloud [image 4]). Another remarkable example is *Unser Sandmännchen*, a German program broadcast by Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg, which makes use of deaf translators to whom the audience can relate (in this case, because of their young age).

Regarding other art performances, the Spanish company Arymux combines different oral and sign languages with other forms of expression, such as pantomime theater, poetry, dance, and music, to create multimodal, multisemiotic, and multilingual accessible performances.¹⁸ In its performances, Arymux includes both deaf and hearing performers with differing levels of sign language dancing, singing, and acting expertise. Raket Rodríguez, founder of Arymux, coined the term *signdance* (*signodanza*, in Spanish) to refer to the unique art expression that combines dance and signing (Rodríguez Ruiz 2015). In some of their performances, Arymux also distributes balloons among its audience members so they can feel sound vibrations (a resource also reported by Ximena Quiroz from Pupa Studio Creativo, by Miguel Ángel Font Bisier, and mentioned in Zaghetto 2012). Font Bisier (2020, 32) implemented this resource in his multisensory short film *XMILE* (2016) after a recommendation from a deaf association

(FESORD CV), and he reports satisfactory experiences from deaf and deafblind people. Nevertheless, more systematic opinion surveys are needed to get to know deaf audiences' feelings about these kinds of resources, which might be regarded as hearing-centric approaches. For Arymux, sign language is not a postproduction element, but a central part of the performance, incorporated from the outset. The entire performance is thus developed taking sign language as the key artistic and communicative element. Using this approach, signers, translators, and interpreters are no longer external agents but part of the cast and crew. This approach can also be seen in theater companies such as Deafinitely, El Grito (which pioneered the use of LSE in the arts in the 1990s in Spain), and the performance *One Gesture* (a Polish show directed by Wojtek Ziemilski that combines the use of several sign languages with gesture and multilingual subtitles).^{19, 20} In addition, Deafinitely also offers training programs, consultancy services, and a good practice guide on BSL in the arts (see Jayda and Garfield 2020).

Toward a Taxonomy

The use of sign language as a source language in audiovisual products, or the use of SLI, SLT, or SLLT (both extradiegetic and diegetic), can be amazingly creative, very standardized/normative, or can fall somewhere along the continuum between these two poles. The ways in which creativity can be implemented in performances that incorporate sign languages should be considered independently in each case both by the artistic team and by the interpreters, translators, and signers involved.

As the examples above illustrate, creativity in an audiovisual product that involves sign language can be incorporated at a nonlinguistic level, both in postproduction and in earlier phases, but it can also be incorporated by the sign language itself, in the same way creativity can be an integral part of any oral language. In this sense, sign language can easily move away from a formal and standardized expression in favor of a communication style that is more in line with the artistic product that is being signed, translated, or interpreted. This can be implemented by taking full advantage of the use of space, body movement, facial expression, classifiers, rhythm, the use of nonstandardized

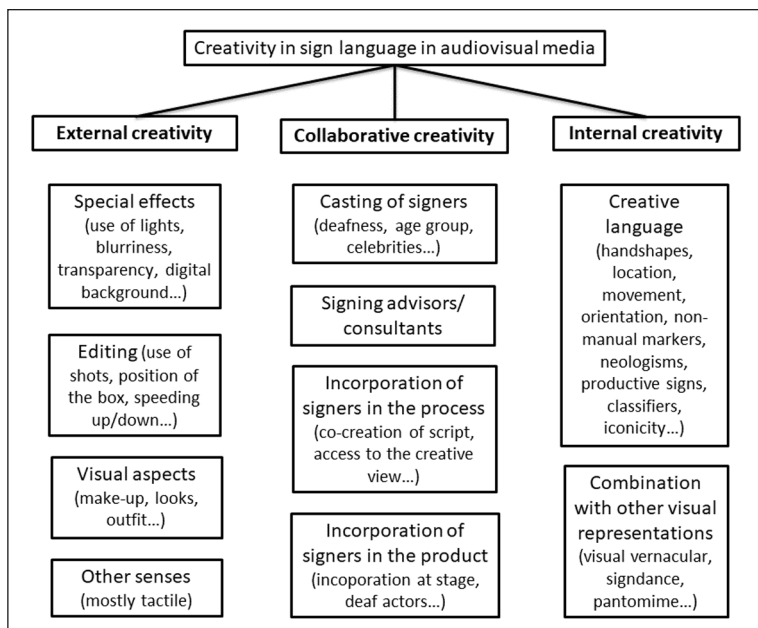


IMAGE 5. Examples of creativity in the use of sign language in audiovisual content.

signs, and the incorporation of different dialects and styles, among other features. Key to this are the communicative, creative, and artistic skills of the signers and the level of collaboration between the signers and the creative team.

Based on the examples of creative sign language use examined in this paper and on the creativity inherent to all languages, and to sign languages in particular, image 5 presents some options for incorporating creativity when sign language is used in audiovisual content. All these options follow AFM guidelines. Some of them should be implemented in early stages of the products (preproduction, production), and some of them can be implemented at the postproduction stage or before distribution. The signers' active participation in all aspects of the product is key to the implementation success. However, the options on the right (related to language) need much more participation from the signers, while decisions on the options on the left (dealing with multimedia and external creativity) could be taken

on by nonsigning members of the creative team. The options in the middle (which are collaborative) would need participation from those in charge of the signing of a product together with other members of the staff, who may be signers or not.

Conclusions

This article has reviewed the concept of creativity within sign languages and has analyzed some current creative approaches to the inclusion of sign language in different audiovisual products through the discussion of some innovative and inspiring examples. The theoretical review presented here, along with an analysis of the creative audiovisual industry, has led to a taxonomy. This article has presented a first approach to analyzing creative practices both when sign language acts as the source and as the target language in audiovisual communication. As with many first methodological approaches, this should not be taken as a final taxonomy, but as a work in progress. The approach proposed here may (and probably should) change in the future based on innovations related to technology, on new and inspiring approaches coming from different art disciplines, on deeper understanding of the creative processes and outcomes when sign languages are included in audiovisual content, on additional descriptive studies, and on further theoretical and methodological reflections on the matter.

It should be noted that the vast majority of sign language interpreters, translators, and decision-makers working with sign language in audiovisual products are still hearing people. Nevertheless, projects that include signing and nonsigning deaf people, such as deaf accessibility consultants, professional deaf interpreters and translators, or deaf people in the cast and/or crew and as part of the artistic or technical team, are gaining a foothold in the audiovisual production industry. The perspective on inclusion offered by filmmakers, producers, artists, and signers examined in this paper might become the norm in the future, but, at the moment, incorporating sign language, SLT, and SLI in audiovisual production is still marginal. Creative actions such as those considered in this article can improve access quality while also allowing significant progress in access to creation and to a more engaged experience for both signers and nonsigners.

Finally, it can be said that creativity in sign language, which is initially aimed at signing communities, can also add an artistic visual element for nonsigners, both hearing and deaf. Our perception of accessibility and deafness can be enriched through the implementation of some of the practices examined throughout this paper. Neves (2022, 444) words on disability and communication strategies can serve as inspiration for the inclusion of sign languages in audiovisual content:

This expanded understanding of disability as normality and a facet of human diversity will justify the proposal of multimodal multiformat communication strategies, as forms of mediation through translation, that do not target PwD [people with disabilities] directly, but that can be useful to them in the same way that they are useful to persons who do not necessarily have a disability.

The creative practices discussed in this paper offer an opportunity to expand our understanding of different art expressions, human communication, and inclusion and to establish new and meaningful connections among them. The reflections that might arise from this reading can also challenge a hegemonic representation of cultures, languages, and communication modalities, and may facilitate further analysis in accessibility studies.

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Notes

1. Following the “growing trend of lowercase ‘deaf’ being used to signify the fluidity of deaf cultural identities being placed at multiple places anywhere along the continuum between ‘deaf’ and ‘Deaf’” (Morgan and Kaneko 2019, 2), I will use the lowercase “deaf” to refer to any identity in that continuum.

2. A list of current standards, guidelines, and policies of different audiovisual translation modes is available at <https://www.esist.org/resources/avt-guidelines-and-policies/>

3. More information is available at <https://www.deafinitelytheatre.co.uk/>.

4. Note that the term *L2* is widely used to refer to second languages (nonnative languages) in the field of linguistics and in language acquisition research. In this sense, since much research on sign language has focused on its acquisition or on the acquisition of oral languages by deaf communities, references to *L2* within sign language studies are more likely to deal with language acquisition. Here, the use of *L2* is seen solely from a translational point of view, as the language of translation or target language, and thus it is not intended to refer to language acquisition.

5. Facebook page of the film festival (in Spanish): <https://www.facebook.com/Festival-cortometraje-Lengua-de-Signos-716059748598052/>.

6. Full interview is available (in Spanish) at <https://dragondigital.es/entrevistas/14693-2/>.

7. Available at <https://vimeo.com/420779199>.

8. Available at <https://www.nad.org/hearing-actors-who-have-stolen-deaf-roles/>.

9. All episodes available at https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCXhr_nTgZJSUh4K8E_zuDrQ.

10. Episodes are available at <https://www.bslzone.co.uk/watch/small-world-series-1>.

11. I, as a hearing person, do not see *disability* and *deafness* as mutually exclusive terms, I see both terms as intersectional realities of the heterogeneous deaf community. Nevertheless, I understand people from the deaf community might question their disability and might regard themselves solely as a linguistic minority. For the objectives of this paper, I refer to deaf signers as a linguistic minority, but I do make analogies with references that make use of the term *disability*, as they may serve to develop concepts that are relevant to this work.

12. Available at <https://www.micineinclusivo.com/blog/la-dama-del-cuadro-un-cuento-en-lengua-de-signos/>.

13. Webpage of BSL Zone: <https://www.bslzone.co.uk/>.

14. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iEsBFdQXx2A>.

15. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0228mfBzZEK>.

16. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7jrRM7y8yHA>.

17. Original video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QYh6mYIJG2Y>. Video with sign language available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GTKIsqdBCtk>.

18. An example can be seen at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SkgtFEPGCHU>.

19. More information at <https://www.teatroelgrito.com/>.
20. More information at <https://ziemilski.com/ONE-GESTURE>.

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