

Audience Design as Means of Quality Assessment in Subtitling

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Resumen

Para evaluar de manera coherente la calidad de la traducción, es necesario basarse en unos criterios teóricos concretos (Hönig 1998: 6). Puesto que hay muchos criterios teóricos aplicables, la calidad se puede evaluar de muchas maneras distintas, con implicaciones prácticas en la formación de los traductores. Esta ponencia se centra en la teoría del "diseño de la audiencia" (Audience Design). La noción de diseño de la audiencia (Bell 1984 y 2001) proviene de la Sociolingüística y, normalmente, se ha visto asociada con estudios de la comunicación oral. El principio fundamental en el que se basa esta teoría es que los comunicadores siempre seleccionan o diseñan lo que van a transmitir en función de su audiencia y que, por ello, este diseño es el principal determinante del estilo lingüístico manifestado en todos los niveles de la elección lingüística. Asimismo, Bell (1984: 160) sugiere que el estilo del texto de un orador se ve influido, de muy diferentes maneras y en diferentes medidas, por ciertos grupos de receptores que pueden formar parte de la audiencia. La teoría de la traducción, especialmente la que abarca el funcionalismo (por ejemplo, Nord 1997), la teoría del skopos (por ejemplo, Vermeer 1996), y el enfoque comunicativo adoptado en los estudios de Hatim y Mason (1997) y Gutt (1991/2000), ha allanado de muchas maneras el terreno para introducir el componente de la audiencia en el estudio de la calidad de la traducción (véanse, por ejemplo, las contribuciones hechas al volumen de 1998 de Schäffner acerca de la calidad). Sin embargo, hasta el momento se han llevado a cabo pocos estudios sobre el diseño de la audiencia, tal y como lo concebía Bell (1984 y 2001), dentro del campo de la traducción (véase, no obstante, Mason 2000). El número de estudios realizados en el campo de la traducción audiovisual es incluso menor.

1. Introduction

We start with a number of introductory remarks about quality assessment in translation and move to the issue of quality assessment in subtitling. We then lay down the main elements of a framework of quality assessment in subtitling, based on audience design.

1.1 Quality assessment in translation

"Translation quality assessment presupposes a theory of translation" (House 1998: 197). Indeed, evaluating the quality of something (whether it be translations or not) implies that we compare that entity with a golden standard, and that we have a set of criteria to guide our judgement. Having a standard and a set of criteria means that we have reached an agreement about the nature of the particular entity we are evaluating, and the main features it should display. In the case of translation, however, this could not be farther from the truth, and the history of translation proves it time and again. Take, for example, target-oriented views of translation compared to source-oriented views. An evaluator working within a target-oriented approach may rule that a source-oriented translation misses the point, whereas a source-oriented evaluator may feel that target-oriented translators take too many liberties with the text. Even within target-orientedness itself, there is a range of (admittedly, related) views, some of which emphasise 'function' while others focus on 'purpose'; the extent to which translator 'interference' in the text is seen as acceptable or desirable varies. Inevitably, different theories of translation lead to different views of translation quality, and to different ways of assessing quality. It is then more realistic to talk about ways of assessing quality in translation in the plural, rather than in the singular.

Broadly speaking, there are two categories of views on translation quality assessment:

- Intuitive views, frequently based on anecdotal example;
- Informed views. According to House (2001: 156) "[...] we know when a translation is good when we are able to make explicit the grounds for our judgement on the basis of a theoretically sound and argued set of procedures." Needless to say, this is what we strive for in this research.

To sum up, then, in order to do informed translation quality assessment we need a theory of translation, and a set of

procedures.

1.2 Quality assessment in subtitling

Subtitling is a specific form of translation. A subtitler is a translator, though it is not necessarily the case that a translator is also a subtitler. Besides translation skills proper, subtitlers and other audiovisual translators need to have an appreciation of the ways in which the various components of an audiovisual programme, such as language, sound, image, work together. Also, in view of the time and space constraints they work under, interlingual and monolingual subtitlers need to have text compression skills which will enable them to convey – frequently in significantly fewer words – the message of the original. Audiovisual programmes have their own pace and subtitles must appear and disappear in accordance with the rhythm of the programme; also, it is important for the subtitles not to take away all of the viewers attention, and prevent a holistic reception of the programme.

A number of conventions of good practice have evolved in response to these constraints (a good account of them can be found in Ivarsson and Carroll 1998 and in Díaz Cintas 2003). For example, it is considered good practice for subtitles to occupy no more than two lines per screen, to be displayed for a minimum of 1.5 seconds and a maximum of 6 or 7 seconds, to be separated by a number of frames which will help the viewer register that a new subtitle has appeared on screen, for subtitles not to overlap shot changes, and so on.

Two questions which are of interest to us here are:

- given the obvious constraints subtitlers work under, and the conventions they must abide by, what is the scope for choice in subtitling?
- are conventions of good practice proven (by thorough research) to work best in all circumstances, and for all categories of viewers, or should we actually develop sets of different conventions to suit different purposes?

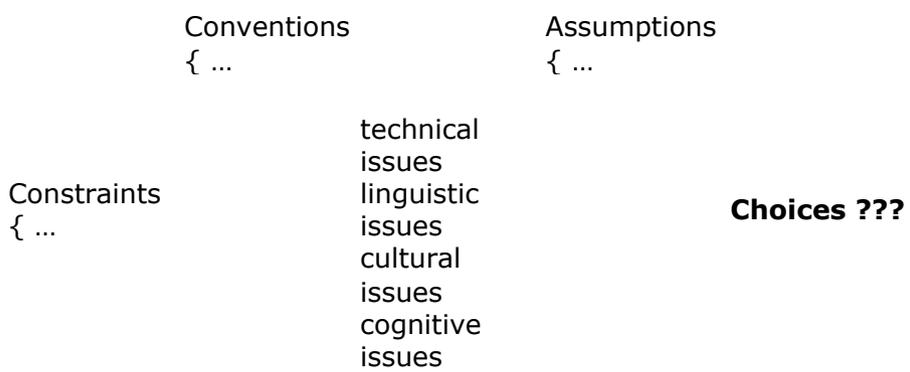


Table 1 below lists the various ways in which trainee subtitlers at the University of Leeds have compressed, in preparation for subtitling, a short text from the feature film *Dances with Wolves* (1990, directed by Kevin Costner). The data is from an experiment which involved 23 trainee subtitlers; a detailed presentation of the findings of this study will be presented in another publication. The original text for compression is:

I've arrived to find Fort Sedgewick deserted. Am now waiting for the garrison's return from headquarters. The fort is in exceedingly poor condition and I have decided to assign myself clean-up duty beginning tomorrow. Supplies are abundant and the country is everything I dreamed it would be. There can be no place like this on earth.

	Text after compression
Student 1	Fort Sedgewick is deserted. Am awaiting the garrison's return. The fort is in a terrible state. Tomorrow I'll begin cleaning it. Supplies are abundant. The country is all I hoped for. It is a place unique in the world.
Student 2	Fort Sedgewick is deserted and I'm awaiting the garrison's return. The fort is run-down so I'll start clean-up duty tomorrow. Supplies are abundant. The country is all I dreamed of.
Student 3	Fort Sedgewick is deserted. I await the garrison's return. The fort is in very poor condition. Clean-up duty begins tomorrow. Supplies are abundant. The land is all I hoped for. This place is special.

Student 4	Fort Sedgewick is deserted and I'm waiting for the garrison's return. I decided to start cleaning the fort as of tomorrow. Supplies are abundant and I like it here.
Student 5	Fort Sedgewick is deserted. I await the garrison's return. The fort is in very bad condition. I will start cleaning-up tomorrow. Supplies are abundant. This country is all I dreamed of. This place is paradise.
Student 6	I find that Fort Sedgewick is deserted. I await the garrison's return from H.Q. I have decided to assign myself clean up duty in this fort beginning tomorrow. Supplies are abundant and the country is as I dreamed it would be.
Student 7	I found Fort Sedgewick deserted. Now I'm waiting for the garrison's return. The fort is in very poor condition. I will start cleaning up tomorrow. Supplies are abundant and this country is how I pictured it. This is heaven.

Table 1 Data on text compression

As can be seen in the table above, no two trainee subtitlers compressed the text in quite the same way. Even though this data is from trainee rather than professional subtitler output, it is probably safe to claim that there is sufficient evidence here to the effect that, in spite of the constraints involved in subtitling, there is significant scope for choosing between viable alternatives. In a sense, it is even possible that creativity is enhanced by constraints, and that there is freedom in a tight brief!

What interests us in what follows is: what is it that can guide our choices? What is it that can bring together, in a coherent strategy, all the issues involved in subtitling (whether they be linguistic, cultural, or cognitive)? These questions can probably be answered in several different ways, depending on the theoretical framework which is adopted. The research project described in this paper is theoretically grounded in, and aims to improve on, the target-oriented model of Audience Design.

1.3 Subtitling for an audience

While target-orientedness in its entirety has in a sense prepared the ground for the introduction of the audience component to the study of translation (including audiovisual translation), of special importance to us are the target-oriented approaches of functionalism (e.g. Nord 1997) and *skopos* (Vermeer 1996). The functionalist approach to translation is so named on account of the fact that it considers the function of the target text, within the target culture and geared towards target addressees, to be the overriding factor in any act of translation (e.g. Vermeer 1996; Nord 1991a and b). It develops an 'action frame' (Vermeer 1996) within which translation is supposed to take place, and which includes the initial producer(s), the commissioner, translator, and recipient. To this, Vermeer (e.g. 1996) adds another component, which he calls *skopos*. Starting from the assumption that all human actions presuppose a point of departure and a purpose which gives the direction, *skopos* theory holds that translating is a purposeful activity, and that translation strategies are determined by the *skopos* (aim, purpose) to be reached.

Skopos theory holds that translators always have an idea (or, rather, an assumption) about their addressees even in cases where it would seem more probable that they can not, such as when literature is involved. Even if a translator is to address the world at large, this is still a kind of audience, although it may not help much in terms of what translational strategies to adopt; the difficulty, according to Vermeer (2000: 227) is "not that there is no set of addressees, but that it is an indeterminate, fuzzy set". He further argues that, in the absence of a specification with respect to who the audience is, the tendency of the translators is to orient (deliberately or not) towards a certain restricted group selected from all the potential groups, and to use their 'self-evaluated level' (or cognitive environment, to use Sperber and Wilson's 1986 term) as an implicit criterion (Vermeer 2000: 227). To put it in other words, it appears that translators operate on the basis of assumptions about their readership, which is exactly what audience design is about (see below).

The gist of audience design as developed in Bell (1984) and re-

worked in Bell (2001) is that communicators design their style primarily for and in response to their audience. In other words, style itself is what an individual communicator does with language in response to other people. Style is understood by Bell (1984: 161) to refer to all the levels of a communicator's linguistic choices, ranging from the choice of one language rather than another (in bilingual situations), the way in which words are pronounced, politeness strategies, and the very choice of one word rather than another which could have been selected instead. All of these choices have a bearing upon the identity which the communicator claims for herself or himself, and the way in which communicators position themselves towards their audience (e.g. converging or diverging, discussed later in this section).

In mass communication (and audiovisual translation is, almost always, mass communication) audience design is made more difficult by the difficulty of knowing who exactly your interlocutors are, accessing feedback from them, and adjusting one's communication in response to their reactions. This is why Bell (1984) makes the distinction between 'initiative audience design', in mass communication, and 'responsive design', in cases where the interlocutor is known. Bell (1984: 160) further suggests that a text producer's style is influenced in different ways and to varying degrees by a number of receiver groups which are potentially part of the audience.

Perhaps one of the best explanations of why audience design happens comes from accommodation theory. Giles *et al* (1991) argue that communicators adjust (i.e. accommodate) to their interlocutors, or, rather, to their own perception of or assumptions about the interlocutors, and that the leading motivation for this is the need for approval, identification or integration (cf. Giles *et al* 1991: 18; Bell 1991: 74). Accommodation mainly takes place by convergence to or divergence from the interlocutors in terms of values, expectations, linguistic features and style, or by maintenance of the communicator's own values and language style. It can be deliberate or non-deliberate and is frequently based on unwarranted stereotyping assumptions about other

participants, and about appropriate ways of reaching particular aims.

Broadcasters are very aware of the importance of achieving the right targeting of a desired audience. Commercial television, for example, survives on the basis of advertising fees, and in order for marketers to pay for advertisements to appear on a particular channel, at a particular time, they need to be sure that the right audience is watching. Television audiences are increasingly segmented; they can choose between a wide range of thematic channels such as sports, cartoons, history or travel, as well as local, national, or international channels. It is inevitable that developments in the world at large, and in the audiovisual industry, should impact the way in which we think of audiovisual translation. For instance, Gambier (2003) suggests that *broadcasting* is moving in the direction of *narrowcasting*, as we become increasingly aware of the fact that audiences are not homogeneous, that we have more precise targets (e.g. thematic channels), and viewers who expect to hear “a certain register and terminology, a certain style and rhetoric” (Gambier 2003:182).

2. The project

The present project is a multilingual, corpus-based, descriptive study of a range of audience-oriented choices made in audiovisual translation in general, and subtitling in particular. Drawing on a large amount of data, the project aims to investigate ways in which audiovisual translators adjust to their audience or, as the case may be, to their assumptions about their audience, and to improve on Bell’s (1984 and 2001) model of audience design, adjusting it to the special requirements of the area of audiovisual translation. The project is a response to House’s (1998) call for corpus-based studies of quality in translation: “Large corpora of translations from and into many different languages must be analysed in order to formulate hypotheses about why, how, and to what degree one translation is better than another” (House 1998: 200).

The project investigates dubbing and voice-over, as well as subtitling, but for the moment we focus on subtitling only. The languages involved at this stage of the project are: English, Romanian, French, Spanish, Hungarian, Italian and Portuguese. We hope to add others, in particular non Indo-European languages.

Seven feature films are under analysis at the moment; they have been selected on the basis of the fact that they have been successful in getting international recognition at film festivals, or that they have become popular with international audiences – both of these likely to have happened in translation. Other audiovisual genres will be added as the project moves to its next stages.

The priority given in the present study to the investigation of textual evidence (i.e. the subtitles) is based on a view of the text as “a document of decision, selection and combination” (Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 35), which then leads to the conclusion that “many occurrences are significant by virtue of other alternatives which could have occurred instead” (Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 35). A similar position is advocated by Brown and Yule (1983: 26). They suggest looking at a text as “the record of a dynamic process in which language was used as an instrument of communication”. Finally, according to Vermeer (1996: 102), “there is no random choice, although sometimes it may seem so to an observer and even to an actor”, a view also endorsed by Hatim and Mason (1990: 4) when they talk about ‘motivated choices’ (‘motivated’ here does not necessarily imply deliberateness but, rather, that there is a particular reason for everything that happens in a translation).

The view of discourse outlined above is, then, one of process rather than product; any text is the outcome of a complex interplay of factors and could look very different, had other factors been at work. The various operations a text (e.g. subtitles) goes through before it is completed leave their imprint on the text itself, and can take us back to the meanings and purposes of the

communication (Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 33). What this actually means is that the pathways of the translators' decision-making processes (deliberate or not) can be partly retraced by looking at the text as evidence of communicative interaction (Hatim and Mason 1990: 4).

If, as suggested in Bell (1984: 161), audience design informs "all levels of a speaker's linguistic choices", we are then faced with a multitude of types of text features which *could* be interpreted as evidence of audience design. Bell himself mentions a number of parameters, including a complete switch from one language to another in bilingual situations, speech acts, pronoun choice, and the use of honorifics (Bell 1984: 161). The list can, however, continue indefinitely, including features such as theme/rheme, various types of presupposition, cohesion, modality, transitivity, lexical choice, deixis, or politeness markers such as hedges. At this stage, it is difficult to say which of these features will prove to be most relevant for an audience-oriented study of audiovisual translations. After the pilot study stage has been completed, however, a selection will need to be made in view of limitations of time and resources.

Manual analysis of selected samples will be used for features which do not easily lend themselves to computerised analysis (e.g. face-threatening acts, some types of presuppositions), but software such as Monoconc or Paraconc will be used to count numbers of occurrences of features which are more easily countable (e.g. junctives, some deictics). Qualitative, pragmatics-oriented analyses will be used to explore features in their co-text. Also, it is particularly important to take into account the audio and the visual dimension of the programme, when investigating subtitling decisions. For example, something may be 'left out' from a subtitle because it is being shown on screen.

A number of difficulties associated with the project have already become apparent. One of them is the difficulty of handling large amounts of multilingual data.

No	Subtitles 1: English	Subtitles 2: French	Subtitles 3: Portuguese
1	"The dual substance of Christ- the yearning, so human,	"La double nature du Christ, l'aspiration, si humaine,	"A natureza dupla de Cristo-a ânsia tão humana,
2	so superhuman, of man to attain God...	si surhumaine, de l'homme à atteindre Dieu...	tão sobre-humana, do homem alcançar Deus...
3	has always been a deep inscrutable mystery to me.	a toujours été pour moi un mystère profond et insondable.	sempre foi um profundo mistério para mim.
4	My principle anguish and source of all my joys and sorrows	Le coeur de mon angoisse, source de toutes mes joies et peines	A principal angústia e fonte das minhas alegrias e tristezas
5	from my youth onward has been the incessant,	depuis mon jeune âge, a été la lutte incessante et sans merci	desde a juventude, tem sido a interminável,
6	merciless battle between the spirit and the flesh...	entre l'esprit et la chair...	e implacável batalha entre o espírito e a carne...
7	and my soul is the arena where these two armies	Mon âme est l'arène où ces deux armées	e a minha alma é a arena onde estes dois exércitos
8	have clashed and met."	se sont heurtées et combattues."	se encontram e combatem."

Table 2 Sample of multilingual subtitling data from *The Last Temptation of Christ*

Table 2 above presents a sample of multilingual data from the feature film *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988, directed by Martin Scorsese). The table only gives a short extract in three languages; the Hungarian subtitles and the French, Italian and Spanish dubbed versions, also under analysis, did not even fit onto this page.

Another difficulty comes from the complexity of audiovisual texts. It is not enough to create a multilingual corpus of subtitles, and then investigate it in isolation from extra-textual evidence such as gestures, facial expressions, tone of voice, or meaningful pauses. We need to devise a system of annotating relevant extra-textual information, and this includes information on who is actually speaking.

No.	Subtitles 1: English	Subtitles 2: Romanian	Subtitles 3: Hungarian
1	WUTHERING HEIGHTS	WUTHERING HEIGHTS	WUTHERING HEIGHTS
2	First I found the place.	Mai întâi am găsit locul.	Előbb a helyet találtam meg.

3	I wondered who had lived there, what their lives were like.	M-am întrebat cine a trăit acolo, cum au arătat viețile lor.	Azon gondolkodtam, kik élhettek ott, és milyen lehetett az életük.
4	Something whispered to my mind and I began to write.	Ceva a șoptit minții mele și am început să scriu.	Valami suttogott a lelkemnek, és írni kezdtem.
5	My pen creates stories of a word that might have been,	Condeiuul meu creează povești despre o lume ce ar fi putut fi,	A tollam egy olyan világról ír történeteket, amely lehetett volna,
6	a world of my imagining.	o lume a închipuirii mele.	és a képzeletemben létezik.
7	And here is one I'm going to tell.	Și iată una pe care am să v-o spun.	Egyet most elmesélek.
8	But take care not to smile at any part of it.	Dar aveți grijă să nu zâmbiți la nici una din părțile ei.	De vigyázat. Egyik részénél se nevéssenek.
9	It begins with a stranger.	Începe cu un străin.	Egy idegennel kezdődik.

Table 3 Sample of multilingual subtitling data from *Wuthering Heights*

In the sample above, from the film *Wuthering Heights* (1992, directed by Peter Kosminsky), the first line is actually the title, which in this case has been left in the English original. The following eight lines (or subtitle chunks) are 'spoken' by the narrator's voice, and is a monologue; this information may be important for analysis.

Another issue is that of aligning the data, though in the case of DVDs this is actually made easier by the fact that subtitles chunks in different languages are actually split in the same way (a practise not necessarily conducive to good quality).

Last but not least, there is the issue of obtaining copyright clearance to keep data on disk.

3. Analysis of examples

In this section we look at a number of examples from the corpus, in an attempt to explore some of the ways in which textual evidence *can* be interpreted in terms of the subtitlers' design for an audience^[1].

Our first example is from the Greek feature film *Λούφα και Παραλλαγή* (1984, directed by Nikos Perakis). The English title is *Loafing and Camouflage*. The film is a comedy about soldiers doing their military service in 1967/1968 in Greece, before and during the military dictatorship. *Λούφα και Παραλλαγή* is full of disrespectful mockery of the military regime and of amusing asides on army life. Based on satire and dialogue, the film has been one of the big commercial successes of modern Greek cinema. It is still occasionally broadcast in Greece, though it is watched in a different way than twenty years ago when it was first released. Young audiences now see it, in a sense, as a record of times past, while older generations who first saw the film when they themselves were young watch it with nostalgia, and also because some of the young actors in the film have in the meanwhile become stars of the Greek television.

Though the film is something the entire family can watch together, there seems to be agreement on the fact that *Λούφα και Παραλλαγή* is primarily a men's film, and that the humour in it can best be understood by someone who has actually been through military service. It is then possible to see that audiences are not homogeneous, and that, even though a variety of people may watch the film, some groups are targeted more than others (though targeting a male audience may not necessarily have been the intention of the director!).

In the example^[ii] reproduced below, soldier Papadopoulos, who has just managed to obtain his transfer to a unit in Athens, sees his baby daughters for the first time in two months. He exclaims:

Example 1

ST: Ρε τις πουτανίτσες πως μεγαλώσανε σε δυο μήνες!

Gloss and English translation: The little whores, how they grew up in two months!

In this case, the subtitler opts for a literal rendition of the Greek original, and the outcome is very unusual indeed, in the sense that very few English speaking fathers would express themselves this

way upon seeing their young children. The viewer might either conclude that Papadopoulos is a very bad father, and a vulgar person, or perhaps that there is something wrong with the subtitles – especially Papadopoulos' body language and the expression on his face actually indicate love for his children and joy at seeing them.

This way of expressing oneself seems to be acceptable, in Greece, in informal interactions between young people (though not when their parents might be around!), and no real offence is meant. In fact, politeness strategies in Greece differ from those used in, broadly speaking, English language cultures, and people may take offence at different things (see Hirschon 2001). The subtitler may not have realised this, and in this case the explanation for the odd-looking translation reproduced above could simply be that a mistake has been made. But it is tempting to continue our quest for an explanation, as other issues may also be involved.

On the one level the interaction in the film takes place between the characters on screen, on another level it is actually addressed to the audience watching the film. We have already pointed out that audiences are not homogeneous, but, rather, several audience groups can be watching at the same time, perhaps reacting in different ways to what they see. It is then possible to envisage a target audience group which will respond favourably to the subtitler's option for a literal, non-mediated translation; this could be because this group has some understanding of the source language and of Greek conventions of interpersonal interaction. Such a group could be, for example, the second generation of Greek immigrants to Britain or the United States. Indeed, there is some evidence (from internet searches) that this film, as well as other Greek films, are being screened as part of cultural events organised by Greeks living in America.

It is not possible, based on the analysis of one single example, to conclude that the English subtitles target this particular audience group. We need more evidence from the text, as well as contextual information (see discussion of this film in Gartzonika

and Serban, forthcoming), in order to state this with a certain degree of confidence. What the example does suggest, however, is that some subtitling decisions may work better for certain audiences or audience groups, and that something which may be shocking, or which may seem of poor quality to some viewers, may actually be acceptable to others.

Our next set of examples comes from the feature film *Dances with Wolves* (1990, directed by Kevin Costner). The film is about a white soldier who asks to be transferred to a post near the Western frontier, so that he can see it before it disappears for ever. When he arrives he finds the fort deserted and lives on his own until he makes contact with Sioux Indians. He becomes increasingly attracted to their way of life, and, for the very first time, feels that there is meaning in his life.

Subtitles are used in this film to render into English the Sioux spoken by the Indians, and the examples below reproduce some of these:

Example 2

Sioux warrior (returning from battle): The party that went against the Utes is coming back. There are many hearts on the ground.

Example 3

Kicking Bird, the wise man of the tribe, talks to Stands With A Fist, a white woman who has lived with the tribe for a very long time:

Kicking Bird: I cannot make the white man language. He cannot speak Sioux.

Stands With A Fist: It has been a long time since I made the talk.

Kicking Bird: I want you to try.

Stands With A Fist: I don't know how.

Kicking Bird: Yes, you do.

Stands With A Fist: I can't.

It is unusual, in English, to refer to human lives lost in battle as "hearts on the ground", and so are "I cannot make the white man

language" (instead of "I cannot speak the white man's language") and "I made the talk". Assuming that these are instances of literal rendition from Sioux into English, there is evidence here of foreignising translation, i.e. translation which endeavours to take readers (in this case, viewers of the film) to the original language and culture, rather than to take the original towards the receivers, making it familiar for them. It is also possible, though, that this dialogue was written originally in English, as part of the script, and then translated into an Indian language. In any case, such (genuine or staged) foreignisation is unusual in subtitling. But then, the viewers of *Dances with Wolves* are likely to be familiar with the Western genre, in which native Indians are usually represented as speaking broken English, or, if they speak an Indian language and this is subtitled, the subtitles will use broken English. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss issues of power associated with such representations; what interests us here is the fact that, even though unconventional in terms of subtitling practice, the subtitles in *Dances with Wolves* are instantly recognisable for people familiar with the genre. Therefore, even though in a sense they are foreignising, on another level they are deeply domesticating: they play on, and reinforce, the stereotypes a particular audience has about native American Indians.

4. Concluding remarks

Starting from the subtitle themselves, we can retrace some of the decision-making processes which went into producing them, and speculate about the types of audience the subtitler (and other persons involved in the production of subtitles, such as the editor), had in mind. Different audiences and audience groups may react in different ways to subtitling decisions, and judgements on quality need to take this into account. Analysing a large amount of multilingual data, and from different genres, will be very useful in pointing to ways in which textual evidence can be linked to audience-oriented decisions, and in increasing our awareness of strategies of targeting audiences. Last but not least, a corpus-based study will be instrumental in creating a model of

audience design which responds to the needs of audiovisual translation, and which can be used for training translators.

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[i] Editorial interference may also be involved in shaping the texts.

[ii] I would like to thank Olga Gartzonika (translator, Athens) for supplying this example. This and several other examples from the film *Loafing and Camouflage* are also discussed in a paper we are currently co-authoring; the title of this article is ‘Greek Soldiers on the Screen: Politeness and Fluency in Subtitling’.

