Article Title:

Film, Dialects and Subtitles: An Analytical Framework for the Study of Non-standard Varieties in Subtitling

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Abstract

In this article we will propose a framework of multimodal analysis for the study of the translation of linguistic varieties in subtitled[i] audiovisual products. Three dimensions are suggested – textual, diegetic and sociocultural. This will offer tools to identify: a) the linguistic varieties; b) how they were recreated in both the ST and the TT; c) the communicative function they fulfil and how they are multimodaly erected; d) the impact of specific translation strategies, and finally, e) the possible social mediating factors behind the translator's decisions.

We hope to highlight the need to go beyond the analysis of the spoken mode and to examine the impact of the subtitling strategies both in their multimodal and broader filmic and sociocultural contexts.

1. Introduction

The use of linguistic varieties in films and television series has progressively become an invaluable resource for a more accurate depiction of the interpersonal relations established between characters and the discursive situation (Lippi-Green 1997, Hodson 2014).

Numerous articles in audiovisual translation (AVT) have focused on this topic and it is possible to find a considerable body of work on the existing tension between oral and written discourse, the different communicative meanings[ii] (Hatim and Mason 1990) brought to the audiovisual product by the presence of different linguistic varieties, as well as the technical, textual and sociocultural contextual factors behind the strategies employed[iii]. More recently, some attention has also been paid to how those strategies are received and assessed by viewers (Chiaro 2007, 2008; Bucaria 2008; Caffrey 2008, 2009; Perego et al. 2010; Bairstow 2011; Kunzli and Ehrensberger-Dow 2011; Tuominen 2011). Despite their valuable contributions, these studies seem to share two striking features: on the one hand, the analysis tends to focus on the verbal mode; on the other hand, they do not account for different multimodal contexts within the same film or the different functions the linguistic varieties assume throughout the film.

Trailing the work of scholars such as Remael (2001), Taylor (2003, 2009) or Perego et al. (2010), this article will take one step forward in addressing the call made by these authors for a multimodal study of subtitling. Focusing on the issue of the translation of non-standard varieties in particular, this article intends to contribute to this literature by proposing a more robust framework to analyse non-standard discourse and its translation in subtitled audiovisual products. Built from a Translation Studies (TS) perspective it aims to uncover the

multimodal construction of the non-standard varieties' communicative meaning, the translation strategies used and their impact and motivating factors.

The proposal presented in this article has one main motivation. Given that the non-standard varieties' communicative meaning in the source text (ST, text here taken in broad terms) is constructed in/by intermodal relations established between visual and spoken elements, the analysis of the procedures and strategies[iv] employed in the TT will necessary be partial or inadequate if focused solely on the verbal mode. We would most probably not laugh when Forrest in *Forrest Gump* (1994) says "I gotta pee" if we did not know he was in the White House visiting the President of the USA. How could we truly assess the impact of the translation strategy and procedures without considering the fact that speech and image are expressing different, unexpected and somewhat contradictory meanings with the purpose of making us laugh?

To assume a multimodal perspective is to consider all the modes participating in the construction of meaning and accept that meaning, more than the sum of what is being expressed in individual modes, comes from the interaction established between them (Kress et al. 2001; Remael 2001; Taylor 2003, 2009; Perego et al. 2010; Bateman and Schmidt 2014; Wildfeuer 2014). In this sense, the subtitled audiovisual product is here considered in the context of the new intermodal relations established between the spoken mode, the mise-en-scene mode and the subtitles mode. The meanings expressed through subtitles are considered only to be truly fulfilled in interaction with the other two modes, leaving behind the notion of subtitles taken solely as the written counterpart of the spoken mode in a foreign language. This does not mean forgetting the relationship of equivalence subtitles maintain with the spoken mode and their condition of added mode to an already finished product. It means however, that the analysis of the strategies adopted, their impact and the mediating factors behind the translators' choices will not be limited to a binary relationship between the subtitles and the spoken modes. Such analysis would mean focusing solely on the subtitles' informational level, thus forgetting that: a) we translate meaning and not purely information; b) verbal information is not all that is expressed in the spoken mode; c) one mode is not directly substitutable for another mode (they have different traditions and materialities); d) the meaning expressed in one mode can be expressed in more than one mode in the TT; e) given the presence of multiple modes, each mode does not function separately from the others.

From this it follows that an adequate analytical framework needs to allow for the identification of the modes and elements at play, the relations established between them as well as how such relations participate in the construction of the non-standard variety's

communicative purpose. The TS perspective motivating this framework makes it also important to account for the impact of the introduction of subtitles in preserving, cancelling or modifying the intermodal relations established in the ST and, consequently, the diegetic functions they support, i.e. the function they assume in the fictional world of the film.

This article is organised in the following manner. Section 2 offers a brief discussion of the principles governing the presence of non-standard discourse in fictional contexts such as a film. Section 3 focuses on the textual, diegetic and sociocultural dimensions of the translation of non-standard varieties. This will allow us to a) identify the non-standard varieties being used; b) how they are recreated in both the source and TTs; c) the communicative functions they assume; d) the impact of specific translation strategies and how the communicative functions are preserved or modified in the TT; and finally, e) the sociocultural mediating elements informing the translator's choices and the presence and recreation of non-standard varieties in the TT.

2. Non-standard Varieties in Audiovisual Products

Following the tradition established in literary texts, the creative use of non-standard varieties in audiovisual products functions as a mimetic resource of which the author takes advantage for the indirect depiction of the characters, the interpersonal relations established between them and the discursive situations (Lipi-Green 1997, Hodson 2014).

With this in mind, Hatim and Mason (1990) suggest the existence of three dimensions of context: communicative, pragmatic and semiotic. As a communicative transaction, discourse reveals the correlation between formal features and extra-linguistic meanings supporting the identification and interpretation of users and situations. As a pragmatic act, discourse proves 'to do things' and has a function to fulfil. As a semiotic interaction, discourse shows to be placed in a given tradition and ideological context which mediate its interpretation. Going back to our previous example in *Forrest Gump* (1994), we notice that it does not take more than a few minutes to identify (based on the way he speaks) that Forrest comes from the South in the USA and has a low educational level. The extra-linguistic meanings associated to the variety being used immediately supports a specific interpretation of both the user and the situation. A few scenes later we find ourselves laughing (as in the scene in the White House) and notice that the same non-standard variety is used now to fulfil a different function, i.e. not just to characterise the character, but also to make us laugh. This is, however, only possible due to the use of features easy to recognise which are part of a tradition established by

previous texts and films regarding the recreation of sociolects in fictional contexts. We can thus assume that any given recreation of non-standard varieties in a fictional context is loaded with communicative and socio-semiotic meaning, i.e., it is organised in a specific manner to produce specific meanings and assist the viewer in positioning the character within the fictional sociocultural structure and the film within the cinematographic tradition.

Given the focus on the non-standard variety's communicative function, its recreation in a fictional audiovisual product has no intentions of accurately portraying the variety as spoken in real life contexts – it is, in fact, commonly built on stereotypical features (Kozloff 2000) part of a tradition established by previous films (and literary texts), which are easy to recognise and interpret by the viewer. It is a recreation mediated by the author's aesthetic, diegetic, stylist and functional objectives. To better express this situation, Ferguson has coined the term 'ficto-linguistics' to illustrate "the systems of language that appear in novels and both deviate from accepted or expected socio-linguistic patterns and indicate identifiable alternative patterns congruent to other aspects of the fictional world" (1998: 3).

Bearing this in mind, it is not difficult to accept that the translated text is also full of the translators' presence as he/she finds him/herself in the difficult position of recreating in the TT communicative meanings constructed in the ST that not only are socio-culturally determined, but also express an ideological structure, which will necessarily know a different outline in the target context. Therefore, the 'tension' brought about by the translation of non-standard varieties (Lane-Mercier 1997) lies not only in having to overcome linguistic problems, but mainly in the inherent pragmatic and semiotic difficulties resulting from the fact that it reflects the close relationship between the speaker, the medium and the context in which it is used and consequently evokes and explores extra-linguistic knowledge.
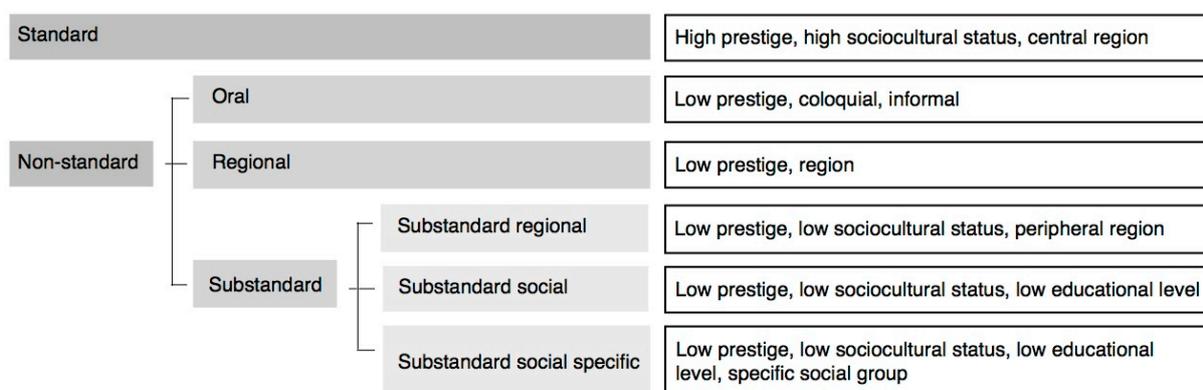
3. An Analytical Framework for the Study of Non-standard Varieties in Audiovisual Products

In order to account for all the layers of meaning mentioned above, the framework of analysis proposed in this article recognises three main dimensions: a textual dimension focused on identifying the non-standard variety in question and how it is recreated; a diegetic dimension concerned with the construction of the non-standard varieties' communicative meaning and diegetic function in a multimodal context, and, finally, a sociocultural dimension focused on the contextual factors mediating the recreation.
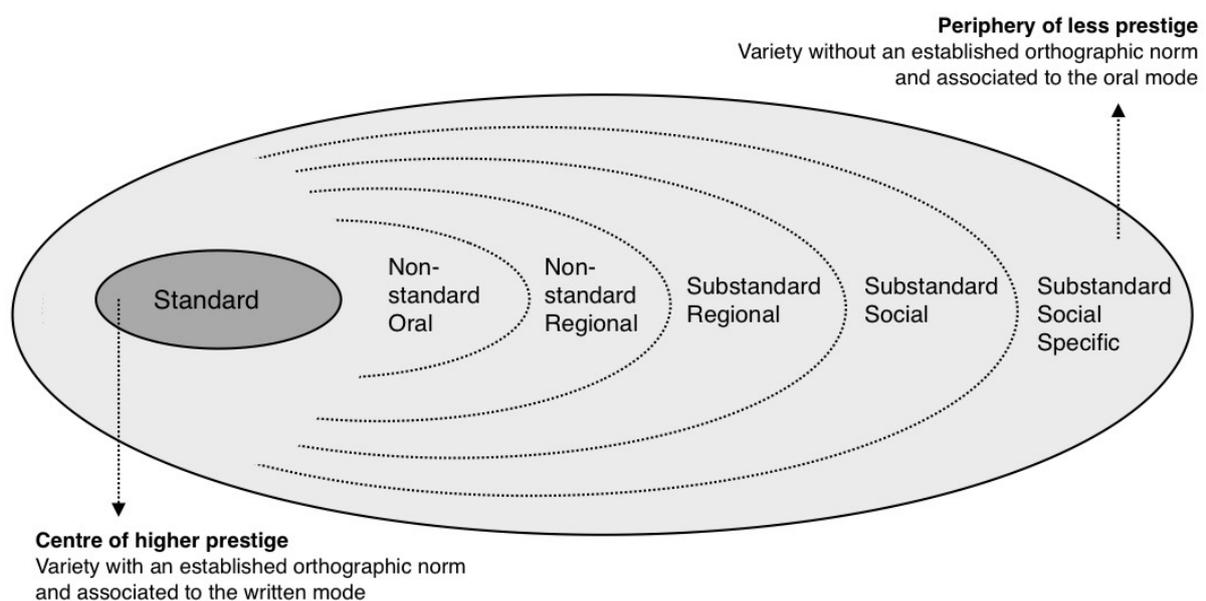
3.1. Textual Dimension

Following the discussion above, this framework will first consider the extra-linguistic meanings associated to certain varieties in order to define the categories and typology to be used when identifying/classifying the varieties. Going back to the concept of 'ficto-linguistics' (Ferguson, 1998:3) it is important to note that while we continue to be interested in the formal patterns of language variety we find in the film, the focus of the analysis is not on rating the varieties' real-world accuracy or consistency, but on identifying the extra-linguistic meanings to which they are associated in order to understand the meanings imported to the fictional world and function they fulfil in it.

Building on the work developed by Chapman (1994), Brodovich (1997), Dimitrova (1997, 2002), Rosa (1999, 2004) and Leppihalme (2000) and Hodson (2014), we argue for the relevance of identifying the different varieties to be found in the source and TTs and organise them in a scale/system of prestige according to the extra-linguistic meaning each one imports to the fictional world[v]. It will not be possible here to present a definite typology of varieties given that the type of varieties and communicative meaning they import will naturally differ depending on the language/cultural system under analysis. The prestige associated to the different varieties will naturally vary and it is no longer acceptable to immediately assume that the standard variety is the more prestigious one as that might not be true in specific systems or filmic contexts. A typology of this nature has been previously proposed (Ramos Pinto 2010) for the study of the Portuguese translations of Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* and Alan Jay Lerner's *My Fair Lady* which will briefly be presented here. This is being offered as an example of the type categories one might develop and how they can be organised. The terminology used has been defined according to the extra-linguistic meanings associated to the varieties in the Portuguese system; however, other terms might be more appropriate to illustrate the situation in other socio-cultural contexts.

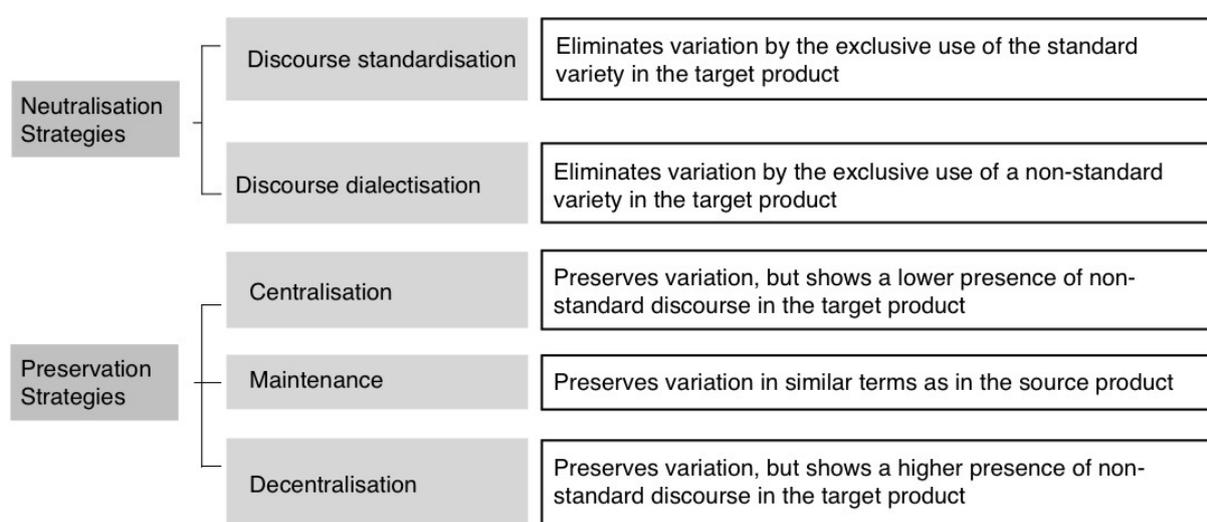|			
Standard			High prestige, high sociocultural status, central region
Non-standard	Oral		Low prestige, coloquial, informal
	Regional		Low prestige, region
	Substandard	Substandard regional	Low prestige, low sociocultural status, peripheral region
		Substandard social	Low prestige, low sociocultural status, low educational level
		Substandard social specific	Low prestige, low sociocultural status, low educational level, specific social group

Assuming the sentence[vi] as the basic unit of analysis, this typology contemplates the distinction between "standard sentence" (characterised by features interpreted as the accepted standard) and "non-standard sentence" (marked by the presence of features deviant from the standard). In order to account for the extra-linguistic meanings associated to different varieties, this typology also distinguishes between oral, regional and sub-standard varieties (which in turn can be regional, social and social specific). Because we are in the realm of "ficto-linguistics", the category 'oral' is here proposed as a non-standard variety in result of patterns identified by different studies which concluded that oral features are often used in fictional contexts to express non-standard and less prestigious discourse (Ben-Shahar 1994; Brodovich 1997; Dimitrova 2002; Ramos Pinto 2010; Rosa 2014 to name just a few).

The category "regional" reflects the identification of a given unit with a particular region. Less prestige is associated to this variety, but not as little as to the units identified as "sub-standard regional" which, in addition to the association with a particular region, also reflects low educational background and low social status. The last two categories – "sub-standard social" and "sub-standard social specific" – would include units denoting a low education level and low social status. The difference between the two comes from the fact that the "sub-standard social specific" would, in addition, reflect the association to a specific social group.

Following Dimitrova (1997), and Rosa (1999) this typology can be organised as a system with a centre of prestige (normally associated with the standard variety and its orthographic norm) and different levels in which different varieties can be organised according to the extra-linguistic meanings associated to them (and how close/distant they are from the periphery of low prestige).

Periphery of less prestige
Variety without an established orthographic norm and associated to the oral mode

Standard | Non-standard Oral | Non-standard Regional | Substandard Regional | Substandard Social | Substandard Social Specific

Centre of higher prestige
Variety with an established orthographic norm and associated to the written mode

The classification of all the units (ST and TT would be classified separately and independently at this stage) included in a given corpus according to this typology allows to collect frequency data which can be analysed quantitatively[vii], given that we will know how many units fall in each category and how that distribution changes between ST and TT. By comparing them, it will be possible to identify general strategies of recreation of the linguistic variation in the ST as well as different strategies of neutralisation or preservation in the TT. On the basis of the results put forward by previous studies (see discussion in Ramos Pinto 2009) diagram 3 organises the general strategies identified.

Neutralisation Strategies	Discourse standardisation	Eliminates variation by the exclusive use of the standard variety in the target product
	Discourse dialectisation	Eliminates variation by the exclusive use of a non-standard variety in the target product
Preservation Strategies	Centralisation	Preserves variation, but shows a lower presence of non-standard discourse in the target product
	Maintenance	Preserves variation in similar terms as in the source product
	Decentralisation	Preserves variation, but shows a higher presence of non-standard discourse in the target product

When focusing on the TT, it is possible to recognise two **neutralisation strategies**: *discourse standardisation* (exclusive use of the standard variety) and *discourse dialectisation* (exclusive use of a non-standard variety). The former seems to be motivated by the prestige recognised to the standard variety and correlations have been found with certain contextual factors such as a very conservative system not supportive of the use of other than the standard variety, especially if in writing. The cases of censorship or rigid language policy discussed by Toury (1995) are a case in point. Discourse dialectisation seems to be motivated by an attitude of subversion of the linguistic and cultural system as well as the power relations it supports. Correlations have been found with nationalist movements fighting for cultural and linguistic autonomy (Brissett 1996; Cronin 1996; Findlay 2000).

Different from the neutralisation strategies, we find the **preservation strategies** in which the linguistic variation is kept and non-standard varieties are recreated in the TT. In this context, we can distinguish between strategies of *centralisation*, *maintenance* and *decentralisation*.

The former, accounts for the cases in which the TT presents a lower frequency of non-standard features (or the choice for more prestigious features/variety in relation to the ST) and can thus be placed closer to the centre of prestige (Diagram 2). It is without a doubt the most frequently identified strategy – so much so that after being identified by Vanderauwera (1985), Leuven-Zwart (1989) and Baker (1992), it was presented by Toury as the "law of growing standardisation" (1995). The remaining strategies of maintenance and decentralisation aim to illustrate, respectively, the cases in which the TT presents a similar or higher frequency of non-standard features in relation to the ST. Theatre translations, for example, often show a clear preference for strategies of decentralisation (Ramos Pinto 2010). The organisation in a system allows us to start interpreting those tendencies and to identify movements of centralization or decentralization.

3.2. Diegetic Dimension

Assuming a multimodal approach, this section will focus on the diegetic dimension and offer the relevant categories for the analysis of how the non-standard varieties' communicative meanings and diegetic functions are constructed in a fictional audiovisual context. We propose to focus on three modes, here selected as the most directly participating in the construction of the non-standard varieties' communicative meaning: the *spoken mode*, the *mise-en-scene mode* and the *subtitles mode*. At this stage it is important to consider that if, on the one hand, the subtitle mode is to be placed (as any other mode) in the context of its own tradition and particular set of conventions and expectations, then, on the other hand, it enters the game of the intermodal relations in a different position from the other modes as it is introduced in an already finished product and is bound to the spoken mode through a relation of equivalence (independently of how dynamic that equivalent might be) with which it still shares the viewers' attention.

3.2.1. The Construction of Meaning in the ST

As part of the **spoken mode**, and building on what was discussed in section 3.1, it is important to consider how the non-standard variety is being recreated and distinguish between phonetic, lexical and morphosyntactic features. We thus propose the inclusion of two categories: *accent* and *vocabulary/morphosyntax*. As part of the **mise-en-scene mode** and following the seminal work by Bordwell and Thompson ([1979] 2008), we propose the consideration of three categories: *costume and makeup* (to account for the character's

appearance), *figure behaviour* (to account for the character's actions) and *setting* (to account for where the action is taking place).

To consider only part of the elements from such an organic product as a film is always problematic. In result, the analysis to be made on the basis of these elements should be seen as a first step which, after considering the elements more directly participating in the construction of the character's profile, should consider aspects such as background music and lighting participating in the construction of the overall scene.
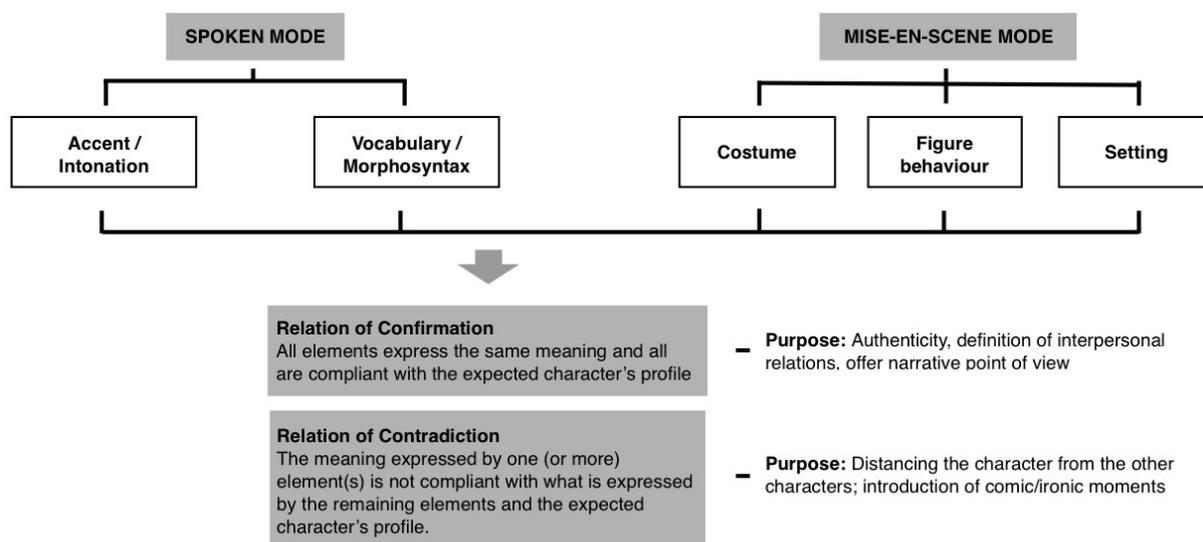
Different intermodal relations can be identified fulfilling different functions and this framework will distinguish between *relations of confirmation* and *relations of contradiction*.

In a **relation of confirmation** the meaning expressed by any one element is confirmed by what is expressed by the other elements and all are compliant with the expected character's profile. In this case, the presence of the non-standard variety leads to the identification of the characters as part of a regional/social group and/or a specific historical period. It serves the communicative purpose of introducing authenticity and it contributes to establishing interpersonal relationships of solidarity (with characters part of the same group) or power (with characters not part of the same group). As an example, let us consider characters such as Pip in BBC's latest adaptation of Dickens' *Great Expectations* (2011), we find all the levels of both the spoken and mise-en-scene modes (accent, vocabulary, costume and makeup, figure behaviour and setting) participating in the definition of Pip as a young orphan with a low educational level living in very poor conditions in early 19th Century England. That characterisation immediately places him in a relation of solidarity with characters such as the

blacksmith Joe part of the same social group and in a relationship of power with characters such as Miss Havisham who, despite her eccentric profile, clearly belongs to a different social group to which a higher prestige and social status are recognised.

In films in which the character also fulfils the role of narrator, the use of sociolectal features within a relation of confirmation can also serve the purpose of diegetic focus/point of view. In films such as *The Help* (2011), the sociolectal discourse employed by the character and narrator Aibileen Clark offers the viewers immediate clues that the story is going to be told from the perspective of a black maid with low education level and with a very low social status.

In a **relation of contradiction** the meaning expressed by one (or more than one) of the elements is not compliant with what is expressed by the remaining elements and the expected character's profile. In this case, the presence of the non-standard variety serves the purpose of distancing the character from the others around him/her. In some cases, such relationship of contradiction might in addition be a promoter of comedy, irony, critique, etc. As an example, let us consider a couple of scenes from the films *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* [Welcome to the sticks] (2008) and *My Fair Lady* (1964). When Philippe, the post office manager from the south of France, arrives at northern city of Bergues we find most elements (accent, vocabulary, costume/makeup and figure behaviour) participating in the characterisation of Philippe as a middle class man from the south of France except one, the setting. The non-compliance of this one mode immediately demarks the character as an outsider, as not belonging to the group compound by all the northern French people around him. In *My Fair Lady*, another type of relation of contradiction happens during Mrs Higgins tea gathering at the Ascot Racecourse. Eliza is passing as an educated upper class English lady and all the modes (including accent) are indicative of just that, with exception of one, the vocabulary she uses. The contradiction between expressions such as "done her in" and the idea of Eliza as a lady (promoted by the accent she uses, the clothes and makeup she wears, the way she behaves and the fact that the action takes place in the Ascot Racecourse) defines Eliza as an outsider not belonging to the same group as the other characters. That causes some confusion among the other guests and, consequently, leads to a unique moment of comedy.

As we hope it has become clear with these examples, the diegetic function of the non-standard varieties in an audiovisual product can only be understood in its entirety in the context of the intermodal relations established. In addition to the primary function of depicting the character, the use of non-standard varieties in a fictional product serves the diegetic functions of introducing realism, defining relations of power and solidarity, contributing to spatial

localization and diegetic focus/point of view or introducing comic moments. Such functions are naturally supported by how the recreation was accomplished and the extra-linguistic meanings brought with them into the fictional world; however, they are only achieved in the context of intermodal relations of confirmation or contradiction established with other modes in specific multimodal configurations of a given scene. This is why we can have a given character displaying the same non-standard discourse throughout a given film and yet assuming different functions in different scenes.

3.2.2. The Construction of Meaning in the TT

When examining the TT, our framework of analysis will have to account not only for the strategy and procedures adopted, but also for the new intermodal relations established in the TT and the impact of the strategy adopted in preserving, cancelling or modifying the intermodal relations (and the diegetic functions they support) established in the ST. The global analysis proposed in section 3.1 allows us to identify the procedures and strategies adopted in the TT. A more micro analysis of specific scenes in line with what was presented in the previous section 3.2.1 will allow us to consider the possible impact of the strategy and procedures adopted in preserving or altering the intermodal relations established and, consequently, the diegetic functions they support.
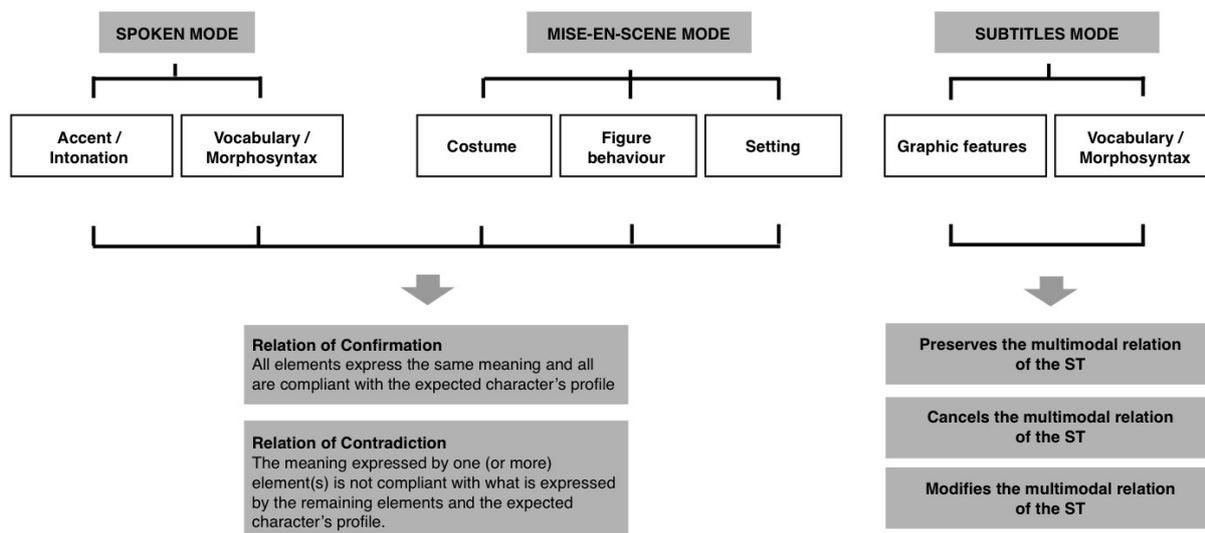
In addition to the modes and elements discussed for the analysis of the ST, the analysis of the subtitled target text (TT) needs to consider the subtitles mode and the following categories: *vocabulary/morphosyntax* and *graphic features*. Using the typology proposed in section 3.1, it will be relevant to first identify whether the translator followed a neutralisation strategy or a

preservation strategy and, if the latter, what type of features were used: lexical, morphosyntatic and/or graphic[viii]. Secondly, it will be important to consider the intermodal relations established between the three modes and the possible impact of the strategy adopted in preserving, cancelling or modifying the non-standard variety's diegetic functions.

It will not be possible in this article to go into a detailed analysis of all possible multimodal combinations and the impact of different translation strategies. We will hence focus on two scenes from the film *My Fair Lady* (1964) hoping that the discussion presented clarifies the type of analysis one can apply to any scene and the relevant aspects one needs to consider.

The **first scene** is the initial scene of the film taking place in Covent Garden (London). A group of people comes out of the theatre and some of them stay behind to shelter themselves from the heavy rain. A dialogue starts between them and a group of flower girls and workmen closing up their stands in the market area.

Focusing on Elisa, we find that the spoken mode – accent and vocabulary/morphosyntax – identifies Eliza as a speaker of a *substandard social* variety and consequently as a poor and low-educated flower girl with low social status. The mise-en-scene confirms this: the action takes place in Covent Garden where flower girls such as Eliza were commonly found and both Eliza's clothes and attitudes express a dire financial situation and low educational level. This relation of confirmation between both modes serves the diegetic purposes of introducing realism to the situation and characters and defining interpersonal relationships of power (between Eliza and the upper class characters) and solidarity (between Eliza and the flower girls and workmen).

In this context, if the subtitles follow a neutralization strategy of standardization (e.g. the Portuguese and Italian subtitles released in the DVD edition) we would find the use of standard lexical and morphosyntactic features and a complete elimination of the non-standard variety. This would, in turn, introduce a new intermodal relation of contradiction between the spoken mode/mise-en-scene modes and subtitles that now express opposite meanings. With this new intermodal relation, the use of non-standard discourse for higher realism is certainly nullified[ix] as well as its use for an indirect characterisation of the characters and interpersonal relations – the interpretation of the STs' diegetic functions relies now solely on the mise-en-scene mode.

One could thus assume that this strategy had eliminated from the TT the non-standard variety, its communicative meanings and diegetic functions in which it participated. Moreover, it would also seem plausible to see this as a potential moment of misinterpretation since the

viewer could identify the contradiction between the mise-en-scene and subtitles modes and isolate not-intended lines of meaning – the incongruity of having a poor non-educated flower girl speaking a standard variety could leave the viewer wondering, for example, if Eliza was a well educated individual who had fallen into a dire financial situation[x]. In this particular film, such possibility would certainly dissipate itself through the information given in the dialogue, but the initial profiling of this character could, nonetheless, be marked with doubt and, possibly, confusion.

Loss seems therefore to be the keyword; however, a more careful study of the modes and intermodal relations at play tells us a different story. Despite the lack of empirical evidence on how viewers would interpret this scene with standardised subtitles, our experience as viewers tells us that there is room for the intended interpretation of both the communicative meanings and associated diegetic functions to be accomplished. This is where the categories defined in the previous sections are particularly useful. To assume that the images mode is always enough to compensate for the strategy of neutralisation seems naive given the number of elements involved and the different intermodal configurations possible. However, to assume that such strategy leads automatically to a complete loss of meaning and diegetic functions would also be a simplistic view. If nothing else, it would mean forgetting that the subtitles mode is a mode with its own tradition and conventions – in a context where non-standard varieties are not accepted or common in written discourse, a strategy of neutralisation might be what is expected by the audience who will not interpret the intermodal relation as one of contradiction but just as "the way subtitles are". In this context, the relation of contradiction might not be interpreted as such and what is expressed in the mise-en-scene mode will probably be accepted at its full value, leading us to assume that both the communicative meanings and diegetic functions can still be interpreted by the viewer[xi]. In fact, the presentation of subtitles going against the viewers' expectations or the conventions of written discourse, might as well open new lines of interpretation which had not been intended.

This example shows us that a strategy of standardisation does not necessarily mean loss when certain conditions are met, the most important being the existence of an intermodal relation of confirmation between mise-en-scene and spoken mode. It also shows us that the impact of the strategy is highly dependent on two key aspects: first, the viewers' ability to identify and interpret the elements in the mise-en-scene mode; second, the subtitling convention and consequent viewer's expectations. Both confirm the need to go beyond the analysis of the written subtitles and consider them in a larger sociocultural context (more in section 3.3).

The **second scene** takes us again to the Ascot Racecourse where Eliza, after a few weeks of English lessons, is introduced to society as a friend of the Higgins family. All the elements confirm Eliza as an upper class educated English lady with the exception of the vocabulary she uses characterising her as an uneducated girl of low standard. The relation of contradiction between expressions such as "done her in" or "bloody likely" leaves the other characters mystified and leads to an already famous comic moment.

We have previously concluded that, in specific situations, it was possible for viewers to interpret the diegetic function based on information expressed visually. Given that this prerequisite cannot be met here, it seems plausible to conclude that it would be virtually impossible for the viewer to interpret the comic moment if a strategy of standardization were to be adopted. With no understanding of the spoken mode and with no support from the visual mode, the viewer would not have the necessary information to interpret the relation of contradiction between vocabulary and the remaining elements and would, certainly, not only miss the comic moment but also be left confused with the puzzling reaction of the other characters (and probably conclude that there was something missing in the translation).

Looking at both scenes, one cannot avoid thinking that a strategy of preservation and non-standardisation would guarantee the recreation of the non-standard variety and, with it, the transfer of the communicative and diegetic functions intended. Even in relation to the first scene analysed, it is difficult not to ponder on the fact that the presence of non-standard discourse in the subtitle would keep the intermodal relations between the three modes and preserve the functions of higher realism as well as characterisation of the characters and their interpersonal relations. However, this would not be true in all contexts and a more careful analysis is required. It is important to consider the varieties available in the target language and the extra-linguistic meaning associated them as well as the fact that subtitles are a mode in their our right with specific conventions and established tradition.

As previously discussed, the translation of the communicative meanings and functions proves challenging when there is not a variety with similar extra-linguistic meanings in the target culture (TC). In such cases, not only it is difficult to maintain similar intermodal relations in the TT, but new meanings could be imported into the TT with the non-standard variety used. The apparent immediate intermodal relation of confirmation established between the modes through the use of a non-standard variety could in fact become a relation of contradiction, given that what is expressed in the mise-en-scene and spoken modes would be at odds with the extra-linguistic meanings associated to this variety.

The second aspect to consider is the fact that subtitles are created and received in a specific context and answer to a specific tradition and set of conventions. If the subtitling convention is one of standardisation, viewers would probably react with surprise to something different leading translators to respond to their expectations.

3.3. Sociocultural Dimension

This last sociocultural dimension will allow us to contextualise the identified strategies within the broader cultural context. To avoid the trap of simplistic judgements of value regarding the quality and effectiveness of the strategies identified, we suggest complementing the descriptive analysis proposed earlier with the consideration of the possible mediating social factors behind the strategies identified. As briefly discussed before, the strategies used cannot be seen in isolation of the viewers' expectations (on the basis of which the translator makes decisions) naturally framed within the target context's tradition, conventions, status recognised to subtitling, general ideological context, etc. This will allow us to position the final product in a broader context and consider its role in confirming or challenging the established/dominant tradition regarding the recreation of linguistic varieties in film. A multitude of factors have been pointed out as mediating forces, but I would like to highlight the following as those which have been found to more directly mediate the translation of non-standard varieties:

Ideological context. The target ideological context can either be supportive of creative uses of discourse and favour strategies of recreation of non-standard discourse in writing or non-supportive and work as a conservative force favouring strategies of standardization (Brissett 1996).

Source-target cultures differences. A sharp difference between the source and target cultures in terms of social structures, seems to make more difficult the identification of equivalent varieties and extra-linguistic meanings (Hatim 1990 Ben-Shahar 1994; Leppihalme 2000)

Status recognised to subtitling and subtitlers. It seems reasonable to assume that in contexts where the translator is assumed to be a creative agent, s/he will feel more confortable to recreate non-standard discourse in the TT than in contexts where the translator fears that the deviation encountered in the TT will be interpreted as a bad translation and reflect badly on her/his image (Ramos Pinto 2010).

Target audience's profile. Given that the decision-making process is mediated by what the

translator perceives to be the audience's expectations, the viewer's needs, expectations and assessment as defined during the process of audience design play an important role in deciding between a standardization and preservation strategy. (Leppihalme 2000; Rosa, 2004);

Target-product's function. Translations developed with the explicit intention of renovating the cannon of target language fictional discourse have been identified as those with the highest presence of non-standard features (Ramos Pinto 2010).

Legibility and intelligibility challenges. Given the time and space limitations intrinsic to subtitling, one cannot avoid considering that the introduction of non-standard features might compromise the easy reading of the subtitles (Diaz Cintas and Remael 2007).

Working conditions. Insufficient time and low pay certainly impact on the quality and depth of research regarding the decision to recreate or not the non-standard variety and how to proceed with the recreation if a strategy of recreation is employed.

Conclusion

In this article we have proposed a framework of analysis for the study of the translation of linguistic varieties in subtitled audiovisual products. Three dimensions were suggested – textual, diegetic and sociocultural – offering the tools to identify the linguistic varieties; how they are recreated in both the ST and the TT; the communicative function they fulfil and how they are multimodaly erected; the impact of specific translation strategies; and finally, the possible social mediating factors behind the translator's decisions. We would highlight the guiding principles below, which we conclude to be at the core of any examination of the translation of linguistic varieties:

- The recreation of linguistic varieties in a fictional context is employed as a mimetic resource to fulfil specific diegetic functions (namely indirect depiction of characters, interpersonal relations and discourse situations). This is achieved through the extra-linguistic meaning associated to the linguistic varieties.

- The recreation has no intentions of accuracy and is built on stereotypical features previously established and easy to recognize and interpret by the viewer. Similarly, translators also take advantage of the tradition established in the target culture.

- The analysis should thus focus on the identification of extra-linguistic meanings and its translation and not on rating the varieties' real-world accuracy or consistency.

- To fully account for the shifts in translation and analyse a larger corpus, it is important to proceed with an initial quantitative analysis and classify each unit according to the variety as well as how non-prestigious/prestigious or central/peripheral the variety is in the system.
- It is essential to consider the recreation of linguistic varieties in its entire fictional context, taking into consideration the spoken, the mise-en-scene and the subtitles modes.
- It is essential to contextualise the translation strategies identified in a broader cultural context to avoid simplistic judgements of value regarding the quality and effectiveness of those same strategies.

Finally, we would highlight the fact that this framework is answering the pressing need for studies on subtitling to go beyond the analysis of the spoken mode and examine the impact of the subtitling strategies both in their multimodal and broader filmic and sociocultural contexts. Some of the guiding principles of this framework are thus relevant for the study of subtitling in general:

- Audiovisual products are multimodal products in which speech is only one among other modes contributing to the overall message of the film.
- Discourse features in audiovisual products need to be considered within its multimodal context in order for their communicative meaning and diegetic function to be fully understood.
- We translate meaning and, given that meaning in audiovisual products is multimodally created, subtitles are more than just the written counterpart of the spoken mode in a foreign language.
- The meaning expressed through subtitles is only truly fulfilled in interaction with both the spoken and mise-en-scene modes

We hope to have advanced our understanding of subtitling and linguistic varieties within the filmic multimodal context and social setting. The holistic perspective underlining this article should not come as a great surprise. After all, the same way we expect translators to be able to account for not only what the characters say, but how they it and in which context, it seems only fair that we examiner the translator's work not just in terms of the strategies used, but also how they are used in interaction with the other elements of the audiovisual product and the specific parameters of a given time and space.

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[i] In this article, the term subtitling will be used to refer to interlingual subtitling, given that the analytical framework was developed with interlingual subtitling in mind. Having said this, we consider that the framework will be equally useful for the analysis of intralingual subtitling even if never consistently applied in this context by its author.

[ii] Following a funcionalist approach to translation, as put forward by authors such as Hatim and Mason (1990) and Hatim (1990-91), communicative meaning refers to the relation established between the linguistic variety and its position in the scale of prestige previously established and shared by the viewers. As a result, the linguistic variety serves the purpose of characterising the characters and positioning them in the social hierarchy, i.e., the textual-linguistic elements, based on previous knowledge, are analysed as a code which, associated to a subcode of extratextual elements, reveals the function of characterisation of characters.

[iii] While it is impossible to mention all the publications on this topic, it is worth highlighting the three *inTRAlinea* special issues on "The Translation of Dialects on Multimedia" (2009, 2012, 2016), and the works by Antonini (2005, 2008), Bucaria and Chiaro (2007), Chiaro (2004), Ellender (2015), Fuentes Luque (2003), Kovacic (1995), Ramos Pinto (2010).

[iv] In this article, following Kwiecinski (2001) a distinction is made between macro-level strategies and micro-level procedures. Strategies are here defined as "[…] a textually manifest, norm governed, intersubjectively verifiable global choice of the degree in which to subscribe to source-culture or target-culture concepts norms and conventions" (Kwiecinski, 2001: 120). Procedure, on the other hand are here defined as "[…] a resultant, textually-manifest, norm-governed and intersubjectively verifiable translational action applied to individual linguistic manifestations at a specific linguistic or textual level, e. g. the lexical level, the syntactic level, or the level of the generic structure (format)" (Kwiecinski, 2001: 120).

[v] We consider the organization of the different varieties in a scale of prestige to be a very useful tools of accessing the extra-linguistic meaning associated to the varieties. This is, however, something rather difficult to achieve in system where the information on the perceived prestige of each variety is not readily available. In such cases, the researcher can a) proceed without organizing the varieties according to prestige; b) proceed based on his own experience as speaker; or c) organize a small-scale study which will allow him/her to claim inter-subjectivity and suggest a possible scale (e.g. Ramos Pinto 2010).

[vi] Sentence is here defined as "a sequence of words initiated by a word in capital letters and concluded with a punctuation mark" (*The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar*).
The definition of what constitutes a unit of analysis will naturally vary according to the object and objectives of the study.

[vii] These categories are exclusive and each unit should be classified only once. Sentences with features from two or more categories should be classified according the most prominent variety. This is based on the assumption that viewers will make their own classification based on the most prominent features.

[viii] Graphic features are here taken as changes in the orthography to express the non-standard phonetic form. An example is the use of apostrophes as in *goin'* instead of *going* or the change of vowels such as in *I can see me mum* instead of *I can see my mom*.

[ix] In this article, we work under the assumption that the target viewers are not able to identify or interpret any of the elements in the spoken mode.

[x] The incongruity of having a flower girl in Convent Garden speaking standard English was certainly considered problematic by the director who felt the need of having a main character with a strong cockney accent.

[xi] This, of course, assuming that the viewer is able to interpret the meaning expressed by the costume/makeup, figure behaviour and setting. It is difficult to assume *My Fair Lady* will pose serious problems to western viewers; however the same might not be true if we were considering an Asian audience or if we were analysing, for example, the translation of a Japanese film. These are, however, issues that will have to be discussed in another article.