Subtitling the films of Volker Schlöndorff in English

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Declaration of originality

‘I, Lindsay Ann Bywood, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.
Abstract

Volker Schlöndorff is one of Germany’s foremost directors, and a prominent member of the group who formed the New German Cinema in the 1960s, a movement which rejected the ‘old film-making’ in Germany and embraced a new way of working whose main thrust was artistic, rather than commercial. This thesis seeks to use the Descriptive Translation Studies framework to examine the English subtitles for two of Schlöndorff’s best known films: Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum [The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum], directed in 1975, and Die Blechtrommel [The Tin Drum], from 1979. Using the concept of translational norms as one of its main heuristic tools, this research examines an audiovisual corpus consisting of five different sets of DVD subtitles from the two films: three from Die Blechtrommel, dating from 1995, 2002 and 2010, and two from Katharina Blum, dated 2003 and 2009, thus spanning the era from the advent of digitisation and the beginning of DVD to the rise of TV and film streaming services. The data is analysed to investigate the translation strategies that have been activated by the subtitlers when encountering culture-specific references, and then to pinpoint any diachronic trends that come to the fore, with a view to testing the earliest concept of the retranslation hypothesis (Bensimon, 1990; Berman, 1990).
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The position of the native English-speaking researcher working in the field of audiovisual translation (AVT) is a peculiar one. Owing to the dominance of the American and UK film and television industries, both in terms of commercial reach and financial power, and the status of English as a global discourse language and lingua franca (Seidlhofer, 2015; Holmes and Derwin, 2016), most AVT that involves language transfer takes place from English into another language. Crystal (2008: 5) estimates that a third of the world’s population can be classified as speakers of English, yet many of these people will not use English as their mother tongue but will wish to have entertainment content that is originally created in English translated into their mother tongue for their enjoyment and educational needs. If we add to this the historical economic and cultural dominance of the English-speaking world, we have a situation where most subtitling, dubbing and voiceover commissions require translation from English into another language, and, as a consequence, the proportion of film and television material translated into English for commercial purposes is strikingly small. This situation is mirrored in the domain of literary translation also, although in recent years the volume of books translated into English seems to be on the rise (Cooke, 2016). That is not to say, however, that this professional sector is insignificant; however, it seems legitimate to argue that audiovisual artefacts that are translated into English tend to be more carefully chosen, as the commissioners of their translation need to be assured that there is definitely an audience for their products. This one-sided situation in translation is demonstrated also in the fact that many non-English films are translated into English in their home countries, with funding from the relevant government, precisely to enable them to be sold elsewhere, in a ‘push’ economy, while most English-language films enjoy a ‘pull’ economy with a more-
or-less guaranteed audience in their translated versions and the translation often taking place in the target territory, rather than the source territory as is the case for foreign content. In contrast to most other languages, translation into English is often done in non-English speaking countries. As a consequence of all the above, it seems that most cinema and television that is commercially translated for an English-speaking audience tends to be film and high-quality drama rather than documentary or reality TV. The reception of subtitled cinema and television in the UK in particular is discussed in more detail in section 2.5. Another subdomain where subtitling from a non-English source into English is frequent is that of the film festival, where most foreign films will be subtitled into the language of the country hosting the festival and into English for the linguistically heterogeneous audience to consume, i.e. English is here used again as a lingua franca or the common denominator. These films, however, are not subtitled into English specifically for sale on the English market, but to aid comprehension by an audience that may embody a significant variety of mother tongues and may not be familiar with the local language.

Subtitling is the dominant mode of AVT in the English-speaking world and, as discussed, the vast majority of audiovisual transfer practice, whose target language is English, takes place using this mode (Media Consulting Group, 2011). Figure 1 below shows the distribution of language transfer practices within Europe:
As a trained subtitler and German scholar, it is of personal interest to me to attempt to isolate the professional realities of subtitlers working from German into English by placing my focus on the actual practice of these specialists. Due to the factors outlined above, research in the field of subtitling into English has been limited so far, a situation that will be discussed further in section 2.6. Linked to this sparsity of published scholarship is the fact that the professional and commercial world does not devote much attention to subtitling in this direction since subtitling from a foreign language into English, and the market for such subtitling, forms a rather small proportion of the total amount of subtitling undertaken in the world. As a consequence, and very tellingly, guidelines and rules that are specific to this translation direction are scarce to the point of non-existent. An interesting and pioneering avenue for
research is, therefore, to investigate this particular professional activity and ascertain whether any translational norms can be discerned in the output of subtitlers working from German into English, as is the objective of this thesis. In particular, the work described in these pages seeks to explore the translation of cultural references by such subtitlers translating in this language direction.

The subtitling industry has undergone seismic changes during the time I have been active within it, some 18 years, in no small part thanks to the rapid introduction of multifarious technology such as digitisation, widespread connectivity, and powerful subtitling-specific software. These developments have had a pervasive and far-reaching impact on the workflows of subtitling companies. As an immediate consequence of digitisation, it is true to say that one of the most significant developments on this front was the introduction of the DVD, in around 1995. The advent of this new distribution format became a catalyst for enormous changes in the industry and in the practice of subtitling and it has therefore been considered of interest to build a corpus of subtitles for study that includes translations from various periods of the DVD era and that could yield meaningful results from a diachronic perspective. With this aim in mind, the decision was taken early on in the project to choose one or more films shot by the same German director, filmed in German, that were popular enough in the English-speaking world to have warranted the distribution and commercialisation of multiple versions on DVD and at various points in time.

In the words of Brockmann (2010: 1): “German cinema constitutes one of the world’s most important cinema traditions, featuring some of the greatest films ever made”. Indeed, the scholar goes on to state that this particular relevance of German cinema is, in part, due to the fact that the film history of a country will reflect the particular social and political twists and turns of that country over time, and the role that Germany has played in recent history is, without doubt, a pivotal one (ibid.: 2). However, whilst German cinema has produced a number of seminal films, such as *Metropolis* (Fritz Lang, 1927), *Das Boot* [The Boat]
(Wolfgang Petersen, 1981) and *Untergang* [Downfall] (Oliver Hirschbiegel, 2004), the film industry in Germany is, in the 21st Century, somewhat stagnant and those films that receive an audience outside Germany are rare. This thesis aims to go some way towards raising the visibility of the German cinema tradition within the translation studies community.

My choice of Volker Schlöndorff as the director for this study was motivated in part by his contribution to this particular significant historic cinema tradition, as one of the foremost exponents of New German Cinema, but also because of his position as the director of two seminal films dealing with crucial points in recent German and European history, namely *Die Blechtrommel* [The Tin Drum] and *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* [The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum]. The former was released in 1979 and tackles the threatening rise of Nazism and the explosion and immediate consequences of the Second World War as its subject matter, whereas the latter, co-directed by Schlöndorff’s then wife, Margarethe von Trotta, appeared a few years earlier, in 1975, and takes as its main topic institutional corruption in Germany, patriarchal institutions and the extent of press power and particularly its potential for bullying citizens. This ground-breaking film deals with events in Germany that were contemporary to the shooting of the film, namely the attacks against property and prominent Establishment figures perpetrated by the *Rote Armee Faktion* [Red Army Faction], a far-left terrorist group at the time. These attacks caused a conservative backlash politically and in the press and produced a climate of extreme fear and suspicion in Germany and wider Europe during this period.

My personal interest in these films was further advanced by having studied both the novels upon which they are based: *Die Blechtrommel* was written in 1959, by Günter Grass, and caused a stir by being directly critical of the part that ordinary Germans played in the war and the Nazi era. Grass was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1999 for the unflinching way in which his "*frolicsome black fables portray the forgotten face of history*" (Nobelpri...
Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum, authored by Heinrich Böll, holds a mirror up to society in a similar way, but in this case it is examining the very period in which it was written, namely 1974. This was a time when the Rote Armee Faktion were causing destruction and chaos throughout Germany, resulting in a heightened state of paranoia and a general swing to the right, politically and socially. The two novels were critically acclaimed and bestsellers at the time; they have now taken their place in Germany’s literary canon, in spite of both of them being overtly critical of German culture and behaviour.

In keeping with the stated general aim of analysing recurrent trends and patterns in the subtitles produced in English within the DVD era, it has been possible to obtain three sets of subtitles for Die Blechtrommel, dating from 1995, 2002, and 2010, and also two sets of subtitles for Katharina Blum, that were produced in 2003 and 2009. This historical span of some 15 years enables the researcher to examine subtitling behaviour from the early days of DVD as a commercial format for the distribution of audiovisual material, in 1995, through to 2010 when DVD was a mature entertainment vehicle and its popularity at its peak. This cycle is now complete, in 2016, as DVD and its successor, Blu-ray, have been almost totally superseded as ways of accessing film by streaming services and Over The Top (OTT) distribution.

The framework chosen for the analysis of the abovementioned corpus is Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), first proposed by Toury (1980, 1995, 2012) and subsequently expanded upon by other scholars such as Hermans (1985, 1999) and Chesterman (1997), and successfully applied to the field of audiovisual translation by academics like Díaz Cintas (1997, 2004a), Pedersen (2011), and Ranzato (2013). One of the main characteristics of this methodological approach is that it rejects the prescriptive attitude that was so common in earlier translation studies academics and suggests the at-the-time novel idea that in order to formulate theories about practice, researchers must first analyse translation as a product, as it is performed in actual real-world situations. Such an approach draws directly from the way
research is conducted in the sciences and by promoting the description of empirical data has as its ultimate objective to give an account of (translation) reality in a particular point in time. This allows the researcher to form and test hypotheses concerning actual practitioner behaviour, thereby producing research that can be of real relevance to practice in the subtitling industry.

1.1 Aims of the study

Since the body of work on commercially distributed interlingual subtitling into English is small, and the existence of specific guidelines for such work scarce, it is unsurprising that empirical data on subtitling patterns and regularities for the German-English language pair is difficult to find. Indeed, for the purposes of this research, several companies were approached and contacts activated to secure copies of professional guidelines used in the industry to inform subtitling into English from foreign languages. Although many companies have guidelines for English subtitling, most concern themselves only with rules for intralingual subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing or for producing English template files, and only two sets of guidelines have been found, produced by the BBC and by Channel 4 respectively containing specific rules applicable to subtitling from a foreign language into English (Appendices 3 and 4). The streaming service Netflix does publish extensive guidelines on the creation of subtitles on its website, however as most Netflix content to date is created in English, the guides for English concern only subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing and the creation of English templates. These are to be found in appendices 5 and 6. To point up the relative scarcity of such documents, the only other instructions or guidance for subtitling from a foreign language into English that could be located come in the form of a short manuscript and a magazine article offered by Minchinton in 1986 and 1987 on the subject of subtitling foreign films into English for the cinema (Minchinton, 1986, 1987).
This pioneering study aims to scrutinise the practice of subtitling from German into English, by using the Descriptive Translation Studies framework to interrogate systematically a corpus of five sets of English subtitles belonging to the two German films, namely *Die Blechtrommel* and *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*, published at various points in time between 1995 and 2010.

Within the DTS framework, the main translation challenge that has been chosen for detailed scrutiny is the rendering of culture-specific references (CSRs), described by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 200) as “items that are tied up with a country’s culture, history, or geography”. As discussed in this thesis, substantial scholarship has been carried out in the field of CSRs, both with the aim of determining a classification that is able to give account of the plural nature of CSRs and encompass the various types in existence, and in respect of the translation strategies that are used in their transfer from one language into another. Building on this prior academic work, the present study seeks first to identify the occurrences and nature of the various German CSRs contained in the films under scrutiny and then to analyse and map out the translation strategies that have been activated by the subtitlers in order to account for the transfer into English of such German instances. The ultimate aim of this investigation is to determine whether overall, and for each of the five subtitle sets, the translational strategies adopted are aligned more with the source culture, in this case the German culture, or the target culture, that of the English-speaking world. Having subjected the corpus to such individual scrutiny, the results are then further analysed to ascertain whether any diachronic variation throughout the corpus and various sets of subtitles can be identified. Such an approach is expected to yield interesting information about the professional evolution of the subtitling practice when working from German into English from the beginning of the DVD era, in 1995, to 2010, a period that can be considered the golden age of the DVD. At this time the medium had superseded the VHS, which was being phased out, the Blu-ray and streaming had not yet made its entrance in the industry and the
DVD was the favoured distribution format for audiovisual material across the home entertainment industry. The data obtained from this analysis is then also used to test the retranslation hypothesis advanced by authors like Bensimon (1990) and Berman (1990), which holds that whilst first translations are more likely to be closely aligned to the target or receiving culture, so as to encourage acceptance by said culture, subsequent translations, or retranslations, tend to show a closer (linguistic) relationship with the source culture.

The research questions addressed in the work that follows can be summarised as follows:

1. What culture-specific references are present in the corpus and how can these be categorised?

2. What translational norms or patterns can be discerned in this corpus of English subtitles belonging to German films, in particular:
   a. How are culture-specific references translated? What strategies are used?
   b. For each set of subtitles, are these strategies more oriented to the source culture or the target culture?
   c. Is there any variation over time in this orientation? If so, does the retranslation hypothesis apply in this corpus (Bensimon, 1990; Berman, 1990)?

In summary, the analysis will attempt to isolate translational patterns and potential norms operating in the corpus, more concretely with reference to the sphere of textual-linguistic norms (Toury, 1995), in particular the translation of culture-specific references (CSRs), with a view to testing the retranslation hypothesis put forward by Berman and Bensimon (1990).
1.2 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is made up of various chapters and is structured as explained in the following paragraphs.

After the introduction, Chapter two provides an overview of the technical norms and parameters that are specific to the practice of subtitling before moving on to consider the history of the subtitler’s role and the multiple fluctuations in the tasks expected of such professionals over the lifetime of the industry to date. The arrival of digital technology, the introduction of the DVD and its implications for the subtitling industry are examined in detail, including an exposition of the template method, which has had a great impact on the subtitlers’ role and the companies’ workflow and has become widespread and ubiquitous in the industry as a direct consequence of the advent of the DVD. This chapter also investigates the outlets for distribution as well as the reception of English-language subtitles in the UK and considers the professional context in which subtitling into English takes place.

Chapter three moves on to consider the personal and artistic background and oeuvre of the director of the films in the corpus, Volker Schlöndorff. His biography and place in the German film canon are analysed, and a comprehensive overview of his works provided, including an examination of the recurring themes found in his output. More detailed attention is then paid to the two films that make up the corpus under study, namely Die Blechtrommel and Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum in order to provide essential background for the subsequent research.

Chapter four sets out the methodology for the research, commencing with an exploration of the main premises that underpin the theoretical framework chosen for the analysis, namely the Descriptive Translation Studies framework. There is an attempt to link this paradigm with the various professional tasks performed by the subtitler and reconcile the theoretical
framework with the clearly prescriptive environment of the subtitling profession. After setting these foundations, the retranslation hypothesis is introduced and explored in detail with a view to its subsequent testing vis-à-vis the film corpus under scrutiny, and a comprehensive description of the methodological construct for the analysis offered, including the concept of norms and its heuristic value.

Chapter five has as its initial focus the exploration of the previous work carried out on the nature and classification of culture-specific references (CSRs) and offers a new taxonomy of such references for application to the present and also similar corpora. Next, the chapter centres on the discussion of a selection of the most influential taxonomies put forward by some academics for the classification of the various translation strategies that can be activated when rendering CSRs in another language. This is then followed by a detailed analysis of each of the CSR categories found in the two German films, elucidating in a more granular way the various translation strategies that can be used in the rendering of each specific CSR type in the corpus. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the nature and diegetic role of the non-verbal CSRs encountered in the two productions.

Chapter six considers the data in the corpus from a microscopic perspective, i.e. from the point of view of the individual sets of subtitles for each particular film version and, in particular, looks at the diachronic trends in the translation strategies adopted when dealing with the transfer of the identified CSRs. It then moves to a macroscopic dimension, whereby the specific strategies are grouped according to their source-culture orientations or target-culture orientation, with a view to ascertaining whether there has been any variation in this orientation over time. These results are then used to test the retranslation hypothesis advocated by Bensimon (1990) and Berman (1990).

The thesis is brought to a close by means of an overall conclusion, in chapter seven, summing up the main findings of the research and suggesting directions for future work in this field. The thesis also includes a bibliography, filmography, and various appendices on DVD
containing the subtitles from all five films, all the culture-specific references grouped by classification according to the taxonomy proposed in section 5.4, and guidelines for subtitling from the UK broadcasters the BBC and Channel 4, and the international streaming service provider Netflix.
Chapter 2

Research background

This chapter seeks to elucidate the research background of the present study and discusses subtitling as a specific form of translation, namely a translation practice which has as its source and target text an audiovisual product of some kind. The technical dimension of this activity is explained in detail in order to provide a solid foundation for the later discussion of subtitling norms, and the general history and development of subtitling as a translation process and profession is covered in order to contextualise the research. Since the corpus to be studied here comprises various German films subtitled in English, the particular case of subtitling into English is considered with a view to ascertaining whether there are prescribed norms in such practice which may be peculiar to the English language market and differ from the subtitling that takes place into other languages, most commonly from English.

2.1  Subtitling: a mode of audiovisual translation

This piece of research has its focus in the practice of subtitling, which is widely held to be one of the main modes of audiovisual translation (AVT) (Ivarsson, 1992; Díaz Cintas, 1999; Karamitroglou, 2000; Gambier, 2008). It would seem apposite, then, to commence this discussion of the research background by looking at the nature of AVT and adopting a working definition. The term ‘audiovisual translation’, with its abbreviation into ‘AVT’, first started to appear in a systematic manner in the literature in the mid to late 1990s. Previously there had been a variety of expressions used to describe the translation of what is now called audiovisual media (which includes, but is not limited to programmes distributed via cinema,
television, home video, DVD, Blu-ray and the internet). One of the first such terms – ‘constrained translation’ – was proposed by Titford (1982) and further discussed by Mayoral Asensio et al. (1988). However, this term, as used by the latter authors, includes other forms of source text (ST) which would not be viewed by some scholars as truly audiovisual, such as advertisements, and comics. Translation of a ST whose end purpose is to form part of an advertising hoarding, or to fit into a speech bubble in a comic or other visual image obviously requires the translator to equate the target text (TT) with the physical length of the ST, and could thus be considered a form of constrained translation. This task can be particularly problematic when the target language (TL) has, on average, longer lexical units than the source language (SL), such as translation from English into German, for example. However, in these pages, print advertisements and comics are not included in the hyponym ‘audiovisual’ as this term only refers to media using both visual and aural channels to transmit a message. Although for some authors like Sokoli (2000: 52) silent films do not carry speech since the “first films ever made were not audiovisual [as] the acoustic element was either non-existent or it was added during the screening of the film in the form of music”, the reality is that silent film translation is typically regarded as audiovisual translation (Van Wert, 1980; Cornu, 2014) and it can be argued that silent films do use the aural channel to transmit meaning despite this audio being nonverbal, in terms of live music to indicate suspense, or sadness, for example.

Other terms used in this context include ‘film translation’ (Delabastita, 1989; Fawcett, 2003), which, whilst appropriate for the earliest periods of such translation, proves too restrictive a denomination for a practice which increasingly encompasses the translation of a broad variety of audiovisual content that includes opera, animation, video games, documentaries, corporate videos and soap operas, amongst other genres. The same could be said of ‘screen translation’ (Zabalbeascao, 1997; Gambier, 2003; Gottlieb, 2005; O’Connell 2007), a phrase that encompasses most forms of AVT, but crucially does not allow for the inclusion of live
performances such as opera and theatre, and, because of the ubiquity of screens in our society, could also be applied to website localisation, the translation of software and other forms of translation of text on screen with no aural component.

Nevertheless, there seems now to be consensus amongst scholars working in this field that translation which has as its source some kind of audiovisual product can and should be termed ‘audiovisual translation’ (Díaz Cintas, 2009). One indicator that this term has prevailed can be seen in its use in standard reference works such as the Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies (Baker and Saldanha, 2011) and in established academic works such as Audiovisual Translation: Subtitling (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007) and Audiovisual Translation: Dubbing (Chaume, 2012).

One of the first authors to offer a typology of audiovisual texts is Zabalbeascoa (1997: 339), who states that:

Even if we restrict translation to a purely verbal operation, nonverbal factors and their potential relevance have to be taken into account as well. The difference between an audiovisual text such as a film and other types of texts such as telegrams or novels is the relative importance of the verbal and nonverbal signs, the relationship between the two types of signs.

Picking up from Zabalbeascoa’s premises, Sokoli (2000, 2005) has worked on a comprehensive definition of ‘audiovisual text’, which she presents in contradistinction with other text types. Based on the verbal and nonverbal codes as well as the acoustic and visual channels, she comes up with a diagram in which the codes are considered as a continuum rather than opposing concepts (from less to more verbal) and the channels can operate on their own or combined:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channels</th>
<th>Codes</th>
<th>Acoustic</th>
<th>Visual</th>
<th>Acoustic &amp; visual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- nonverbal</td>
<td>talk show on the radio</td>
<td>novel with no illustrations</td>
<td>lecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ nonverbal</td>
<td>radio play</td>
<td>comic book</td>
<td>hypertext with sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nonverbal</td>
<td>music without lyrics</td>
<td>comic strip without words</td>
<td>lecture with text projection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>silent film with intertitles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>film with subtitles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>silent films without intertitles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Text types according to channels and codes (Sokoli, 2000: 17)

More recently, the term ‘audiovisual translation’ has been described by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 12) as being used “to encapsulate different translation practices used in the audiovisual media – cinema, television, VHS – in which there is a transfer from a source to a target language and which involves some form of interaction with sound and image”. They go on to acknowledge that traditionally intralingual translation modes such as audio description (AD) and subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing (SDH) also form part of those practices which are generally considered to fall under the umbrella of AVT. These intralingual modes of translation are particularly prevalent in the UK, which is a pioneering country in the fields of accessibility to the media for those with sensory disabilities. It is this definition that is adopted by the current study which in the following section considers the concept of subtitling in more detail.
2.1.1 Subtitling – a definition

As the starting point for a comparison with other main translation practices, Gottlieb (2001: 15) offers the following semiotic definition of subtitling, in which its main characteristics are highlighted:

A. Prepared communication
B. using written language
C. acting as an additive
D. and synchronous semiotic channel,
E. and as part of a transient
F. and polysemiotic text.

As highlighted by Pedersen (2011: 9), it is worth noting here that the definition offered by Gottlieb does not mention translation across languages and hence is wide enough to encompass both interlingual as well as intralingual subtitling. The virtue of this definition is that it acts to frame subtitling within the semiotic landscape of translation and foregrounds the semiotic dimension of subtitling; however, it is proposed that a definition of a more descriptive and practical nature will be more useful in the present work and this is introduced below.

Pedersen (ibid: 8), speaks of subtitling as “a form of extra-diegetic translation (cf. e.g. Genette 1988 or Cronin 2010), which means that it is extraneous to the narrative, but essential for the reader/viewer to understand said narrative”. He does not intend this as a definition of subtitling, but more as a description of one of its core characteristics and a foundation on which to base further investigation. Pedersen (ibid: 13) discusses the “semiotic nature of the medium of subtitles” and, for the purposes of his book, refers to subtitling as the practice and process of producing subtitles, as well as to the product of this
process, i.e. the actual subtitles. A useful definition is supplied by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 8), who describe subtitling as:

a translation practice that consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, placards and the like) and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (songs, voices off).

This will be the definition adopted in this study, since it is both practical and comprehensive. Nonetheless, the pragmatic approach suggested by Pedersen is also seen as helpful and permeates the core narrative of this research.

Subtitling has historically been seen by some scholars as a small niche in the general arena of translation. In fact, in Holmes’s (1988) seminal article mapping out the world of translation studies, audiovisual translation is notably absent (Munday, 2012). In the commercial world, subtitling was initially carried out by specialist companies, but for the past ten years most, if not all, generalist translation companies have also started to offer subtitling and audiovisual translation services, even if such an offering means outsourcing this work to one of the aforementioned specialists. This economic and commercial development is catalysed by the fact that subtitling is a fast developing business practice and is increasingly being used as a medium of communication in a wide variety of audiovisual media and settings, namely at the cinema, at the theatre, in the museums, on television, DVD, Blu-ray, through streaming services such as Netflix, Amazon Prime or HBO Now (which offer exclusive productions), or through other internet platforms (e.g. YouTube, Vimeo, TED) in the form of user-generated content, instructional videos, marketing material and infotainment programmes.

Subtitling is not only an activity carried out for commercial gain: for some years now, the practices of crowdsourcing – the use of volunteer subtitlers to produce subtitles, for example for TED Talks (www.ted.com) – and fansubbing, described by Bold (2011: 6) as “[t]he
volunteer translation of audiovisual media by fans” and by Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez (2006: 51) as “subtitling ‘by fans for fans’” have been gaining ground (Pérez González, 2007; Díaz Cintas, 2010; Schules, 2012; Wilcock, 2013; Massidda, 2015).

As will be discussed in the following pages, the media in which a subtitled programme is broadcast might determine the subtitling norms and conventions implemented. This research focuses on subtitled films for DVD and, as will be examined in section 2.3.1, the differences in terms of norms and conventions in this media, if compared to television or cinema, are to be found more in the subtitling process than in the resulting product.

2.1.2 Translation factors specific to subtitling

Subtitling is considered a special type of translation for a myriad of reasons. The practice of interlingual subtitling takes the verbal elements of an audiovisual text – dialogue, both on-screen and off-screen, songs, narration and on-screen text – and renders them as written text usually on the bottom of the screen. With the exception of on-screen text and hard titles, this translation activity takes audio output in a SL and converts it into written text in a TL. Seen from this perspective, subtitling is somewhat unique in the sense that it transforms and moves from the spoken mode to the written mode, a journey which Gottlieb (1994: 101) calls “diagonal translation”. He comments that Catford (1965, in Gottlieb 1994) is of the opinion that this transfer between modes means that it is impossible to view subtitling as a form of translation, a view which has been widely disputed since by many scholars in the field (Delabastita, 1989; Gambier, 2003). Nonetheless, the fact of this intermodal transfer taking place has substantial implications for the subtitler’s work, which differ from those considerations that have been traditionally familiar to text translators. These will be discussed in what follows.
Spoken language and written language exhibit several significant differences (Halliday, 1989), which can be challenging for both the intralingual and the interlingual subtitler (Kane, 1990). Firstly, it is widely accepted that obscene or profane language rendered in the written form has more power to shock audiences than its spoken counterpart (Johnson, 1987; Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007). This presents the subtitler with a translation issue that needs to be addressed: whether to translate the obscenity directly and risk causing offence, or to opt for a (euphemistic) term that neutralises the swearing either partially or totally, or whether to bleep the original soundtrack and resort to the use of asterisks or some such typographical convention to indicate in the subtitle that it is a case of unacceptable language, in a similar fashion to what is sometimes seen in newspapers and comics.

Examples of this translational challenge can be found in one of the films analysed in this research. Example 1 below comes from a scene in *Die Blechtrommel*. Oskar’s mother has died, and a 16-year-old girl, Maria, has come to live with Oskar and his father, Alfred, to help with Oskar and work in the shop. The scene opens with Alfred and Maria having sex on the sofa. She encourages him to continue so she can reach orgasm but, just as he is about to withdraw for contraceptive purposes, Oskar (who, at this point is aged 15 but still looks and mostly acts like a three-year old) runs into the room and jumps on his father’s back, seemingly in protest at the sexual act he is witnessing. Alfred is thus unable to withdraw and ejaculates inside Maria. She is distraught at the idea of a pregnancy and the couple argue. He blames her for encouraging him to prolong the act for her pleasure and she accuses him of being selfish and careless and sends him away. The dialogue is as follows:

**Example 1: Die Blechtrommel 2002**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:43:50:11</td>
<td>01:43:53:00</td>
<td>2:14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Original text**

Geh doch zu deinen Zellen-Leitern, du Schlappschwanz!

**Back translation**

Go off to your (Nazi) cell leaders, you limp-dick!

**Subtitle**

Then go back to your comrades, you jerk.
The subtitler has chosen to use the substantive ‘jerk’ in a vocative position to translate the German noun *Schlappschwanz*, thus keeping the sexual overtones which are important given the circumstances of their argument. Of course, the decision not to neutralise the obscenity runs the risk that the written word ‘jerk’ might prove offensive to some sections of the audience, although it could be considered to be in frequent use in colloquial conversation in some English-speaking countries. Given the relatively mild nature of this insult, it could be claimed that it is indeed a safe translational choice. However, in the case of the British audience, the danger presented with this strategy arises because this particular substantive ‘jerk’ is mostly in use in US English and the appearance of this lexical choice in the subtitle risks breaking the viewer’s suspension of disbelief, what Pedersen (2008: 21) terms the “contract of illusion”, since the characters are arguing in wartime Poland, a fact that is constantly emphasised through the visual channel and the use of this specific obscenity could remind viewers of the USA. Arguably, a more neutral insult might have been a preferable choice on this occasion.

Often the decision of how best to deal with this type of socio-linguistic challenge is made by the commissioner of the subtitles by way of a style guide or similar document in which specific guidelines with respect to swearwords and slang are given. In the absence of such document, it is legitimate to assume that the decision rests with the subtitler, although without access to the individual concerned, it is difficult to definitively ascertain the motivation behind the translation decision.

Another challenge for the subtitler, as a result of the transfer from spoken to written language, is the fact that the former language rarely adheres systematically to standard grammar but instead contains elisions, non-standard grammar, dysfluencies, repetitive discourse markers and conversational fillers. Such language, which may appear fluent when heard, can be difficult to understand and disjointed when written down (Halliday, 1989: 31).
However, the contract of illusion implies that viewers are aware that what they are reading in the subtitles is a written representation of spoken language and some flexibility is possible in the representation of such a shift. Balancing all the elements and issues can be challenging, and, as Díaz Cintas and Remael state (2007: 63-64), “not all features of speech are lost, quite a few can be salvaged in writing, but rendering them all would lead to illegible and exceedingly long subtitles”.

Another related challenge lies in the difficulty of portraying the particularities of dialects or idiolects in subtitles (Federici, 2011; Ellender, 2015a; Kapsaskis and Artegiani, 2016). Filmmakers often use them as a means of conveying essential traits and features about a character, for example the Edinburgh dialect used by the characters in *Trainspotting* (Danny Boyle, 1996), which is an intrinsic part of their interactions and was carried over from the book *Trainspotting* (Irvine Welsh, 1993), upon which the film is based. As Díaz Cintas and Remael (ibid.: 191) assert, “Dialects and slang are characterized by non-standard grammar, specific lexical features, and a distinctive accent”. Although they are primarily rooted in geography, they also have societal and class-based features and the choice of dialect for a particular character or group of characters in an audiovisual text is rarely incidental. The issue facing subtitlers, and indeed all translators of dialect, is twofold: firstly the difficultly of conveying aural variations such as accent, intonation, and specific non-standard grammar and lexicon in the written code and secondly the impossibility of choosing a dialect in the target culture which would exactly match the collection of attributes of the source culture dialect the filmmaker has chosen. Díaz Cintas and Remael (ibid: 191) explain this challenge as follows: “The connotations of the different target culture dialects will never be the same as those of the source language dialects they replace”. Perteghella (2002: 45) takes a similar stance when discussing this issue in the context of theatre translation and states that translators “probably face one of the most difficult challenges of their profession,
transporting such strong cultural, historical, social, and local features of a given language across into another, alternative linguistic and cultural frame”.

Dialect seems to be more challenging to translate than idiolect. If a character’s idiolect is reflected in their lexical choices, there is perhaps some room for this feature to be transferred to the TT, however dialectal features are generally considered very difficult to portray in subtitles or other forms of translation, as they represent a collectivity that is more marked linguistically, although there are exceptions to this rule. Perteghella (2002) describes the translation of Cockney dialect in Shaw’s *Pygmalion* (1913) into Italian and South London vernacular in Bond’s *Saved* (1965) into German whilst Ellender (2015b) analyses the English subtitles of *Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis* [Welcome to the Sticks] (Dany Boon, 2008). The latter film contains large amounts of Ch’ti, a dialect spoken in the Northern French region of Nord-Pas-de-Calais which is rendered in the English subtitles using phonological alterations and replacing original ‘s’ sounds in French by English ‘sh’ sounds, in a similar way as speakers do in the French dialect itself. Example 2 shows this strategy. Philipe, the protagonist, has just arrived at his new job posting, in the region of Nord-Pas-de-Calais. He is greeted by a local man, who he has just run over in his car. The man is not angry, but instead says “Welcome Boss”, explaining that he knew his identity because he saw the car’s licence plate. In the example the Ch’ti habit of using ‘sh’ sounds is represented in the text:

*Example 2: Subtitle from Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis showing dialect translation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Je vous ai reconnu à votre plaque, qui esht 13. Ici sh’est 59</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parisian French</td>
<td>Je vous ai reconnue à votre plaque, qui est 13. Ici c’est 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>I recognised you because of your licence plate. It’s 13. Here it’s 59.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>I shaw your lishensh plate. From out of town.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When translating dialect, subtitlers will, however, need to consider the specific brief and client guidelines. It is worth noting that the BBC Subtitling Guidelines (see appendix 3), which are not specific about whether they are for SDH, for interlingual subtitling, or both, state: “Do not misspell words to indicate a character’s inarticulateness or illiteracy unless other characters refer to the specific misuse. The same applies to dropping final gs, or imposing Cockney accents on Berliners, or making country yokels adopt Somerset or Irish idioms”. In a detailed analysis of the Spanish translations of the Italian dialogue in the film *Il Postino* (Michael Radford, 1994), Romero (2010: 19) discovers a substantial reduction in the colloquial features of the main characters’ idiolect in both the Spanish dubbed and subtitled versions. She finds that the dubbed version manages to maintain 70% of the colloquial speech features of the original version whilst the three subtitled versions that she analyses only preserve between 37% and 50% of these dialogue characteristics. She concludes that this approach has the effect of “reducing the spontaneity of speech and diminishing [the protagonist’s] socio-cultural profile” (ibid.: 48).

This phenomenon is also to be seen in *Die Blechtrommel* where a highly significant strand of the plot derives from the collision of the German, Polish and Kashubian cultures in Danzig/Gdansk in the period between the two world wars and during World War II. As described by Moeller and Lellis (2002: 169) this ethnic tension is personified by the fact that the protagonist, Oskar, lives in the triangle formed by Agnes, his Kashubian mother, and her two lovers, either of which could be his father: her husband Alfred, who is German, and her cousin Jan, who is Polish. In the film, this distinction is clearly apparent through the characters’ accents when they speak German, which is almost throughout the film, but it is not portrayed in the subtitles in any shape or form. Nonetheless, due to the fact that, as described above, subtitles are an extra-diegetic form of translation added to the original programme (Pedersen, 2011), viewers are exposed to the source information that is conveyed through the audio and the visual channels that could perhaps aid them in
perceiving this paralinguistic information too. Also, it is possible that some English-speaking viewers may have sufficient knowledge of German to grasp this information directly from the original dialogue. Visual clues are also relevant and, for example, Alfred is seen in a Nazi uniform, although not until 22 minutes of the film have elapsed. In addition to this, the voiceover narration of the film by Oskar also makes specific the nationalities of the three protagonists, but not the nationalities of the other characters, who also belong to one of these three ethnic groups. However, due to the spatial and temporal constraints of subtitling discussed in section 2.2 below, as well as the written nature of the target text, the subtitler is often unable to be ‘truthful’ to such supporting contained in the original dialogue in the subtitles, which in their textuality rarely convey dialect or idiolect to the viewer.

Although there are various other translational issues that are specific to subtitling as a translation mode, a decision has been taken to focus on these two in particular, namely the translation of obscene language and dialect/idiolect, because of their prominent presence in the corpus under study. The following section discusses the technical constraints of subtitling and their various potential implications for message transfer.

2.2 Subtitling: technical issues

As previously mentioned, subtitling is subject to various spatial and temporal constraints which do not normally apply to other forms of translation (Gottlieb, 1992; de Linde, 1995). That is not to say that subtitling is the only form of translation which has to take into account technical constraints. Indeed, copywriting, software localisation, and the translation of comics, poetry and drama are all areas of translation which may be subject to their own specific technical rules and limitations. The relevant constraints for the subject under study here, however, arise from the fact that, by its very nature, the translated text has to be displayed on a designated area of a screen, usually at the bottom, and then for a limited
period of time only, and in synchrony with the dialogue that can be heard on the soundtrack. These technical constraints can be broken down into three specific areas: synchrony, space issues arising from the physical size of the screen where the text is to be displayed, and spatio-temporal constraints due to the speed at which viewers are assumed to be able to read the subtitles. What follows will discuss each of these aspects in more detail.

2.2.1 Synchrony

Temporal synchronization, or synchrony, is the “coincidence in point of time between the appearance and disappearance of a subtitle and the delivery of the dialogue exchanges” (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 253) and for the two scholars it “is arguably the main factor affecting the viewer’s appreciation of the quality of a translated programme’ (ibid.: 90). It is thus necessary for subtitles to be (roughly) synchronous with the programme dialogue in order not to create a dissonance between the information the viewer receives visually and acoustically and what they read on screen. If a character on screen is clearly crying and speaking, but the subtitles do not reveal the reason for the upset until the next scene, the viewer’s reception of the film’s message and consequently their experience will be compromised. Likewise, if there is laughter present in the soundtrack but the viewers do not read the subtitle with the joke until the laughter has ceased, this will undoubtedly impair their enjoyment and might break the contract of illusion as the viewer may start to doubt that the subtitles are a faithful rendering of the characters’ dialogue. Díaz Cintas and Remael (ibid: 90) argue that the precise timing of subtitles is essential as it “reinforces the internal cohesion of the translated programme” and go on to add that synchrony of subtitling is also important to allow the viewer to be sure who is responsible for each utterance in the case of dialogue exchanges.

Subtitles are accompanied by nonverbal information transmitted both by the visual channel, and the acoustic channel, such as clapping, laughing, crying, shouting, etc. which will be easily understood by the viewer. In some territories, such as The Netherlands and Scandinavia,
subtitles may be omitted on certain occasions, for instance in the case of short phrases such as ‘yes’, ‘no’, or ‘wow’, that are considered to be universally understood and are not translated at all, leaving the viewer to obtain the information directly from the soundtrack. Such an approach explains why the same film may contain a substantially larger number of subtitles in some languages than others (Georgakopoulou, 2003).

It is usually the job of the subtitler to determine the exact moment when the subtitles appear on screen (in-time) and when they in turn disappear (out-time). This is referred to variously as spotting, cueing, timing, and origination and is done by means of a timecode, which is already inserted in the video file or created by the subtitling software, and is expressed in the following format: hours:minutes:seconds:frames. Current subtitling software allows the subtitler to use various methods (key strokes, mouse clicks, a manual timer) to precisely locate the in-time and out-time, as shown in Figure 2:

![Figure 2: Example of a subtitle including in and out-time.](image)

This temporal information is then saved in a file with the text for the subtitle, as illustrated in Figure 3:

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1 See also the discussion on template files in 2.4.2.
A related technical constraint, and one about which there is more disagreement in the literature is that of timing the subtitles so that no one subtitle overlaps a shot change. This is common practice in many subtitling countries, and, as such, prescribed in style guides and codes of subtitling practice (Ivarsson and Carroll, 1998). The theory behind this practice is that the change of shot causes the viewer to return to the beginning of the subtitle and re-read it as if it were a new subtitle, diminishing the time available to process the non-subtitle information and potentially causing confusion in the viewer (Luyken et al. 1991: 44). In addition to these drawbacks, there may be a ‘flashing’ effect which may prove distracting to the viewer. Recent research using eye-tracking software (Krejtz et al., 2012) has cast doubt on this rule by showing that the eye does not return to the beginning of the subtitle after the shot change in any significant number of cases. Further research in this area would be beneficial, both to confirm the results of this latter study and also to investigate in more depth the implications of timing rules for the viewer’s reception of subtitles.

2.2.2 Legibility, readability and related spatial issues

Legibility, i.e. the ease with which a reader can recognize individual characters in a written text, or, more specifically for subtitling, the ease with which a viewer can read the text shown
on the screen, is another key factor that has an impact on the presentation of the subtitles on screen and their reception by the audience. Closely related to this concept is that of readability or the level of effort associated with reading and comprehending a written text, depending on the nature of its content, the complexity of the vocabulary being used and the syntactical constructions. When the mode of subtitling is considered, readability can be defined as the ease with which a viewer can comprehend what is being expressed in the subtitles, and depends, as for written text, on the content and vocabulary, but also the way in which the subtitles are syntactically and semantically segmented, both internally and from subtitle to subtitle. Perego (2008) reports a qualitative study of line segmentation and concludes that such segmentation affects readability, whilst conceding that eye-tracking and reception studies are necessary to confirm this somewhat subjective assertion.

To enhance these two parameters, the font used for the subtitles must be large enough for the viewer to read the text from a certain distance, all the text must be visible and the type of font must be easy to read. As the size of any given screen can vary from large IMAX cinemas to small mobile devices, broadcasters and DVD publishers designate what they call a ‘safe area’ or ‘safe text area’, within which it can be guaranteed that all text will be able to be read on the full range of the various screens that might be used for viewing audiovisual content with subtitles. This is a legacy from the early era of television sets which had curved corners resulting in an area where the text was not legible and also due to the fact that even before multi-screen use was customary, televisions came in different sizes, namely with an aspect ratio or screen size of 4:3 or 16:9. Figure 4 below illustrates the safe area, contain within the green line, in WinCAPS, one of the professional subtitling programmes available to subtitlers and produced by Screen Subtitling:
The standard, accepted number of characters per line which can be displayed on a screen in the safe area varies according to the channel being used to distribute the programme and oscillates between 36 and 42, with most broadcasters and DVD publishers requiring a limit of around 37-39 characters. For instance, Channel 4 (n.d.) in the UK prescribes a limit of 38 characters, using Gill Sans 28. However, new distribution channels like digital newspapers can utilise some 60 characters per line. For subtitling, the use of sans serif fonts is advisable, as these are thought to be easier to read (Karamitroglou, 1998) though there is a dearth of empirical research which could support this theory.

A crucial supplementary factor when considering the total number of characters to display on a line is the fact that letters on screen are not of equal width. In the early days of subtitling software, monospaced, or non-proportional fonts were used, with the result that all the
characters were of equal width. For example, in teletext, which was the earliest subtitling broadcast system to be used on terrestrial television in the UK, such monospaced fonts were used, and a rigid limit of 34 characters imposed (ITC, 1999). Technological advances have resulted in the use of proportional fonts, which mirror more closely the written characters, giving rise to letters of varying widths. For example, the letter ‘l’ will be appreciably narrower than the letter ‘w’ and so the use of such fonts allows for improved rationalisation of the available space on screen. Figure 5 below illustrates this phenomenon: both lines contain 42 characters, but the top line is significantly shorter than the bottom line as it makes use of a larger number of ‘thinner’ letters:

![Figure 5: Example of line lengths using proportional fonts](image)

2.2.3 Reading speed

Another factor which governs the maximum number of characters that subtitlers have at their disposal to display their translation is the viewer’s assumed reading speed and, related to this, the time that the original utterance lasts. Academics and practitioners alike maintain that spoken discourse can be understood and its meaning assimilated faster than written discourse (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007: 146). As a consequence, for the viewer to be able
to read and understand the subtitle, and also to view and absorb the visual content of the film, it is usually necessary for the subtitler to edit the spoken text to produce the written target text: this editing is usually termed ‘reduction’ (Kovačič, 1991; Georgakopoulou, 2003) or ‘condensation’ (Pedersen, 2011). Reduction of the spoken text in this way can take two forms: total reduction, which equates to deletion i.e. the omission of specific lexical units from the subtitle, and partial reduction, which is known as condensation (Gottlieb, 1992), and defined by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 146) as “a more concise rendering of the ST”. Reduction of this type is very common in subtitling and can be observed in many forms. Ivarsson and Carroll (1998: 64) state that the act of reading one text in one language whilst listening to another is shown to decrease comprehension and claim that there is thus a need for subtitles to be edited so that they can easily be processed. This editing is not only lexical but also semantic and syntactic; for example, semantic and syntactic units should be placed together, and syntactic constructions can be simplified (Perego, 2008). In addition to processing the subtitle information, the viewer requires time to appreciate the other elements that make up the audiovisual programme, such as the images on screen and any music or sound effects. The amount of time that the subtitles appear on screen is determined by the accepted reading speed, which is an average maximum speed at which an ideal viewer is supposed to be able to read subtitles, usually prescribed by an end client or subtitling company, but tending to be reasonably homogenous in any given territory. Reading speeds are measured in either words per minute (wpm) or characters per second (cps).

Accepted reading speeds vary depending on the genre of the content to be subtitled, the assumed reading skills of the potential audience, the territory in question, and the medium through which said content is presented. Traditionally, the average reading speed adhered to in cinemas and television hovered around 145 words per minute or 12 characters per second. Nowadays, however, it is common to find reading speeds of some 160 words per minute (around 15 cps) being applied for television subtitling and 180 words per minute.
(some 17 to 18 cps) for DVD, although there is a trend towards applying the faster speed for television content also. It is the convention that reading speeds for cinema subtitles can be slightly faster than those for television, as it is assumed that the audience is generally more literate than the diverse television-viewing audience and that the relative calm of the cinema environment, where the viewer’s sole purpose is to appreciate the film, is conducive to a higher level of concentration on the part of the audience (Díaz Cintas 2013: 276).

To take an example, the Channel 4 (n.d.) Subtitling Guidelines for foreign-language television programmes state that each full line of text should be allowed to remain on screen for roughly two seconds – which is a common rule –, resulting in a reading speed of around 180 words per minute. Ivarsson and Carroll (1998: 66) observe that the speed of subtitles in most countries at the time of writing was “faster than 30-40 years ago” and since subtitled programmes have become more widespread since digitalisation and the advent of DVD in the 1990s, some professionals now believe that this trend towards an increased ability to read text on screen is continuing.

Other related temporal constraints deal with the maximum and minimum amount of time that a subtitle can be displayed on screen. These rules have arisen from general usage and been perpetuated by subtitling guides and client procedural guidelines but, crucially, they remain mostly unsubstantiated by empirical research. It is generally accepted that a subtitle should be on screen for a minimum of one second; however, in practice this rule is often broken, resulting in subtitles of as little as 20 frames. This is common for one-word subtitles such as ‘yes’, ‘no’ or ‘hello’, particularly in those cases where the lexical item can be considered to be easily understood by the audience because it is universal and/or its semantic meaning is reinforced by information coming through the visual channel (e.g. someone waving in the case of ‘hello’).

Rather surprisingly, the Channel 4 Guidelines do not specify a minimum or maximum time on screen; however Ivarsson and Carroll (1998) and Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) state the
accepted minimum of one second, the latter authors allowing the possibility of shorter subtitles (as short as 21 frames) as described above. The convention for the maximum duration a subtitle should remain on screen is a more variable value, which depends on the assumed reading speed of an ideal viewer. Ivarsson and Carroll (1998: 64) state that a subtitle should not be on screen “for longer than six to seven seconds since viewers inevitably start to reread them and consciously register that they have received the information already”. The only exception to this rule are songs “since the rhythm of the music tends to dictate the pace of the subtitles” (ibid.). Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007), on the other hand, state that the maximum exposure time for a full two-line subtitle should be six seconds, and remind us that the ‘six-second rule’ is a commonly used formula in the profession; i.e. in most cases, a subtitle should not be on screen for longer than six seconds.

It is possible that the difference in these figures is due to the times when the guidelines were written. There is a nine-year difference between the above-mentioned publications, and during this time DVD usage became more widespread, text on screen became more a part of everyday life and entertainment, and it is generally held that people’s ability to read such text has increased. This has led to some subtitling companies revising the ‘six-second rule’ to a ‘five-second rule’ on the grounds that this improvement in the ability to read subtitles is continuing. Yet again, showing the fluidity that exists in the industry, newcomers like Netflix advocate a maximum duration of 7 seconds per subtitle event.

The reasoning behind these rules is that it is believed that viewers need a comfortable amount of time to read the subtitle and process its meaning, and also to turn their gaze to the other visual information and assimilate the messages and information contained there. If the subtitles stay on screen too long, after the reading and watching process is complete, it is assumed that the viewers return to read the subtitle again, considering it to be a new subtitle with fresh information. If, however, it is not a new subtitle but the existing one still on screen, this is believed to cause confusion and disrupt the rhythm of the flow of
information for the viewers as well as their reading pattern. These assumptions have not, however, been sufficiently tested through empirical research with an audience and a fruitful research direction would be to attempt to prove this hypothesis through the use of eye-tracking equipment, to ascertain whether the viewer’s gaze does indeed return to the subtitle in the absence of any new linguistic information. Other interesting directions for future study would be to test whether reading speeds for subtitles are significantly different when audiovisual media is consumed through different devices, such as TV sets, cinemas, PCs, mobile phones, or tablets, and to ascertain whether watching in a group, as television has been traditionally watched, or alone, as is customary when watching a programme on a smart phone or tablet has a noticeable impact on the viewer’s reading behaviour.

Most professional subtitling software incorporates functions that allow subtitlers to easily control and adjust reading speed, to deal with line lengths, and to activate certain parameters that will help them to control the minimum and maximum duration of any given subtitle. Figure 6 below is taken from WinCAPS, version 3.17.4, and shows the file properties window, where a wide range of parameters can be set, and the timing tab in particular. This tab shows reading speed in words per minute, minimum and maximum duration, and the frame gap that is normally set between subtitles. The latter is a short gap where the subtitle is not visible on screen, which aids readability, in the same way as the gap between words on the page facilitates comprehension. The size of this frame gap varies depending on the subtitling company and end client commissioning the work, and whilst two frames is seen as standard, some companies prescribe a gap of as much as six frames between subtitles.
Professional subtitling software usually includes timing-related information in the editing area, as illustrated in Figure 7, which shows a screenshot taken from the subtitle window of the same software. It shows the subtitles as displayed to the subtitler with number of subtitle (0015, highlighted in blue), in-time (00:01:23:24), duration of the subtitle in seconds and frames (04:02), out-time (00:01:28:01), reading speed in words per minute (144 wpm), and number of characters used in a particular line (in green, 38 in the top line, where the cursor is placed).
If these values exceed the parameters set by the subtitler, the numbers in the window change colour to alert the subtitler so that they can then amend the subtitle to address the issue. There is also a ‘checking’ function whereby the subtitler can perform a global quality control on the whole file to confirm that the maximum reading speed has been adhered to, that no subtitle overlaps have taken place, that the minimum gap between subtitles has been respected, that no text goes beyond the safe area, that the maximum number of rows (usually two) and characters per line have not been exceeded, and other technical issues. These checks are usually performed on a whole subtitle file and are sometimes known as ‘integrity checks’.

Despite some potential variation in these technical constraints, it can be safely assumed that the subtitlers working on the corpus under study in this PhD research were issued with guidelines concerning maximum reading speed, line length, and maximum and minimum duration of subtitle on screen and were expected to apply these guidelines consistently.
throughout the films they were working on. As such, these aspects will be taken into consideration when carrying out the analysis.

The following section charts the history of subtitling and the development of the subtitler’s role from the early days of subtitling for the cinema, to present-day subtitling workflows.

2.3 The history of subtitling and the evolution of the subtitler’s role

It has been argued by Ivarsson (2009: 3) that subtitling began with what were termed ‘intertitles’, defined as “texts, drawn or printed on paper, filmed and placed between sequences of the film”. The first silent film to feature such titles was Uncle Tom’s Cabin (Edwin S. Porter, 1903), in which the intertitles helped to explain the action rather than showing any dialogue. Intertitles were later used in other silent movies for dialogue (Georgakopoulou, 2003) in which case they were normally placed after the character had started speaking. They were also used to provide additional information, explanations and to draw attention to a particular point which was important for the plot (Cushman, 1940; Marie, 1977; Van Wert, 1980). When silent movies came to be shown in non-English-speaking countries (most of the early development of the film industry happened in the English-speaking world), these intertitles were translated following one of these two most common approaches: (1) the original intertitles were deleted and foreign-language texts were inserted instead or (2) the source texts were simultaneously interpreted in the cinema, that is, they were read viva voce in the target language by a professional known in some Spanish-speaking countries as the explicador (Díaz Cintas, 2001: 59) and in Japan as the benshi (Chaume, 2012: 11). According to Chaume (ibid.), “these translations went beyond the bounds of linguistic and cultural transfer into the realm of dramatic art, since what these

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2 This translation of written captions was actually performed by Volker Schlöndorff when a young man (section 3.1).
men actually did was to interpret the film, add new information, make use of stagey intonation and even pre-empt the plot”.

After the introduction of sound into mainstream movies in 1927 – the first movie to be shown with sound is thought to be The Jazz Singer (Alan Crosland, 1927) – there was a need for the translation of these utterances for audiences who were speakers of other languages. Various methods were tried, including multilingual versions (Phillips, 2008), which consisted in re-recording the films, either simultaneously or very shortly afterwards, using the same decors and sets but with different actors who were native speakers of French, Spanish or German, for example, as was the case with films such as The Big House (George Hill, 1930), shot in Spanish (El presidio), French (Révolte dans la prison) and German (Menschen hinter Gittern). Alternatively, the original actors would speak in French, Spanish and German phonetically, producing multiple iterations of the same film. Actors like Stanley Laurel and Oliver Hardy were used to this linguistic practice and would shoot the same film in English, French, Spanish and German. They starred in films like Blotto (James Parrot, 1930), which became Une nuit extravagante in French and La vida nocturna in Spanish and Brats (James Parrot, 1930), which was distributed in France under the title Les bons petits diables and in Germany as Glückliche Kindheit.

This method of re-shooting the same film in various languages proved to be too expensive and on occasions outweighed any profit made by the distribution and exhibition of such films. Gottlieb (2002) states that interlingual subtitles, as we now know them, were first seen in Europe in 1929 when the first talkie, The Jazz Singer (Alan Crosland, 1927), opened in Paris with French subtitles, followed by showings in Italy, with Italian subtitles, in the same year. By 1932, after the collapse of the multilingual versions method, subtitling, along with dubbing, had been established as one of the two main methods of film translation (Thompson and Bordwell, 2010). Since then, subtitling as a professional practice has experienced many changes and transformations.
2.3.1 The role of the subtitler

In the early days of subtitling for the cinema, the process of creating subtitles was entirely manual and performed by a team of people (Georgakopoulou and Bywood, 2014). Firstly, technicians were used to ‘spot’ the subtitles by writing the start (in time) and finish (out time) of each subtitle on the dialogue list, or script. This dialogue list contained the timecodes of the film and the technicians would mark their in-times and out-times according to the start and finish of an actor’s dialogue or a given take (Georgakopoulou, 2006). Subtitle translators, who could be the same people as the spotters/technicians but frequently were not, then wrote their translations, usually by hand, using a specific number of characters per line which was worked out according to how much time was available. These translations were then transcribed by a technician or stenographer and inserted into the film print in various ways.³

Ivarsson (2004) claims that the first film ever to be shown on television with subtitles was Der Student von Prag [The Student of Prague] (Arthur Robison, 1913)⁴ which was shown by the BBC in 1938 with the process of early television subtitling being very similar to the film subtitling operation described above.

In the 1980s, technological developments radically changed both the way that subtitles were created and the nature of the personnel involved in the subtitling process. The first of these developments was the character generator, which enabled the subtitles to appear in the picture itself, allowing the subtitler to see an actual representation of what the viewer would see on their screens. The second was the advent of desktop computers and specialist subtitling software. With this new technology, the subtitler could carry out the whole process on their own, including spotting, translation, and adaptation for subtitles, i.e. the process of text editing and restructuring necessary to produce acceptable subtitles. Through this process, the subtitler was able to generate a finished file with text and timecodes that could

³ For further information on this process, see www.transedit.se/history.htm
⁴ Available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=OuvIvwSi1gl
be used to either burn in the subtitles onto the video tape or broadcast them alongside the video from the television station’s playout centre (for a broader historical overview, see Ivarsson and Carroll 1998).

Although it was commonplace for one person to carry out the whole process, some subtitling companies chose to continue having separate people to perform the timing, the translation and sometimes the adaptation. However, increasingly, the distinction between translation and adaptation for subtitling disappeared, with a single person taking care of both processes in one, i.e. translating the original directly to fit within the technical limitations, and also taking control of the spotting. Specialist technology companies continued to develop the capabilities and functionality of subtitling software and to work on ways to support the subtitler, who was now responsible for the timing of the subtitles. Rather than focusing on facilitating the language transfer, the efforts of the developers were directed at partially automating the various other routines of the subtitling process. At the same time, the Windows-type interface was emerging, internal caption generators were starting to be used, and thus subtitling software entered a new era. From the early 2000s there was no longer a need for an external VHS player thanks to the digitisation of the image and the introduction of internal movie-player software, and software developers started to think of ever more useful ways to make the subtitler’s life easier. The subtitling equipment of the 1990s and 2000s introduced many revolutionary features, such as shot-change detectors and sound wave representation, among other tools, that enable easier, faster and more accurate timing (Georgakopoulou and Bywood, 2014).

In terms of the individual subtitler’s role, however, the most crucial of all these developments was digitisation, which removed the need for the subtitler to work on physical media such as
VHS tapes, as they could now receive digital media on CD/DVD or via a home broadband connection and file transfer protocol (ftp). This had, of course, an important consequence for the subtitler’s role: it became possible for professionals to work from anywhere in the world and subtitling companies and TV stations took this opportunity to decrease the number of their in-house subtitling staff and outsource their work to freelance subtitlers working from home. As a consequence of this, and influenced by commercial factors, such as the possibility of paying an outsourced resource less for concentrating on translating from templates without the need to intervene in the technological dimension (Nikolić, 2015), and the perceived desirability of having resources who are based in cheaper territories and therefore can be paid less for what they produce, many subtitling companies also took the step of de-coupling the timing element from the translation element once more. This in effect represented a return to the days of having one person deal with the technical dimension and create the timing for the subtitle file (also known as a template file or master subtitle list), either with the source language text or with no text, and a second person in charge of the linguistic dimension who would then translate the subtitles contained in this template. This in turn facilitated the rise of the template method, which will be discussed in more detail in section 2.4.2.

2.4 DVD subtitling

The Digital Versatile Disc (DVD) format was announced in 1995 (Taylor et al., 2006) and the first commercial DVDs and DVD players started to appear on the market in 1996. DVD was introduced as a new solution for storing and playing video content which provided more storage capacity, better picture and audio quality, and was more durable than a VHS tape. In addition to this, DVD provided interactivity, allowing users the option to view additional content such as a director’s commentary or interviews with the stars of the film, the possibility of moving instantaneously to particular points in the content thanks to chapter
points, and the opportunity for DVD publishers to offer ‘extras’ or ‘value-added material’ (VAM). These extras could consist of commentaries and interviews as detailed above but also cinema trailers and even small games. All these additions were previously impossible with VHS technology. Although this was probably a lesser consideration for content owners and producers in the early stages of the DVD revolution, this innovative technology allowed any film to carry up to 32 different subtitle streams and eight different dubbed tracks, something which later became extremely important to the commercial success of the format. As discussed by Kayahara (2003), this digital revolution also brought along new prospects for academics conducting research in the field of translation studies.

2.4.1 Challenges and opportunities

The advent of the DVD resulted in some challenges but also in some opportunities for the subtitling industry, the latter being mainly from a commercial perspective. Because of its ability to carry such a large amount of subtitle streams instead of just one, as was the case with VHS, DVD provided an unprecedented opportunity for the subtitling industry in terms of the volume of subtitles which were commissioned by distributors and DVD publishers. Content owners saw an opportunity to sell their programmes to a wide range of new markets and a larger audience than before, using the same product – i.e. the DVD with subtitles and dubbed versions – and economies of scale brought commercial advantages. The inclusion of VAM, as described above, resulted in more working opportunities, as this content was also sometimes subtitled. A further opportunity for the subtitling industry arose from the fact that subtitles were also carried on DVDs distributed in traditionally dubbing languages such as French, Italian, German and Spanish, the so-called FIGS, where previously no interlingual subtitles would have been created, or at least not in this new large scale. Classical films that had only been distributed in their dubbed versions in the various FIGS territories were recuperated for their digital distribution with subtitles too. All this meant that the subtitling industry grew at a rapid pace and, in addition to the commercial benefit, the fact that
subtitles were on many of the DVDs which were making their way into people’s living rooms led to a situation in which subtitles as a form of communication and a form of translation became more accepted by the viewing audience.

The challenges arose because of the permanence of the new format. That is, the workflow operated by subtitling companies, as described above, was mainly focused on producing subtitling for television and VHS. In this sense, television subtitles were seen as transient and ephemeral, and subtitled VHS tapes did not command huge sales and were therefore not seen as a priority for content owners. The subtitles on a DVD, on the other hand, were seen as permanent, and as such, DVD publishers placed more emphasis on the need for high linguistic quality and technical perfection in their subtitles than TV stations had before. This was evident in the fact that the number of quality control steps and personnel dedicated to subtitle checking on the client side was much higher in the DVD publishing sector than in the TV industry. Indeed, the financial implications of a mistake on a DVD (reprinting of DVDs, packaging, recall of products) are usually much greater than those occurring in the event of a mistake in TV subtitles. Moreover, the nature of the new format necessitated some radical changes to the subtitling process for the subtitling companies. Firstly, owing to the need for high linguistic and technical quality, several extra layers of quality control were required for those subtitling companies wishing to remain competitive in this new market. Secondly, the potential of DVD to carry up to 32 subtitle streams meant that a workflow which could accommodate this multiplicity of translation in an efficient and streamlined way was necessary; where previously, for the subtitling workflow, the translation process had been often only one-to-one, now the norm was for one-to-many translation, i.e. starting with one ST and producing many TTs, both subtitled but also dubbed (Pym, 2006: 750). The solution to this issue was the introduction of the template method (Georgakopoulou, 2006; Nikolić, 2015), which will be discussed in section 2.4.2.
As previously described, the subtitle workflow for DVD had to be adjusted to allow for a one-to-many translation model, that is, the source language (usually, but not always, English) had to be spotted and translated into many languages, in fact a maximum of 32. The subtitling companies needed to formulate a workflow which would accommodate this linguistic heterogeneity in an efficient way, but also allow for aspects such as chapter points to be applied across all the languages uniformly. It was also necessary to apply other global changes in all languages, such as the presentation of any italicised subtitles or the repositioning of any subtitles because of factors such as on-screen text; the image behind the subtitles being of importance to the plot; or the colour of the screen behind the subtitles impeding legibility at that point, such as an image of snow upon which white subtitles would be illegible. These blanket changes had to be applied in an efficient and reasonably infallible manner and as a response to these challenges, the template method was born.

2.4.2 The template method

Although this method was actually in use in the industry before the introduction of DVD, it was the rise of this medium which precipitated its popularity and ubiquity. Georgakopoulou (2003: 210) defines the ‘template’ as “a subtitle file consisting of the spotted subtitles done in the SL, usually English, with specific settings in terms of words per minute and numbers of characters in a row, which is then translated into as many languages as necessary”. The template file, also known as ‘spotting list’, ‘master file’ or ‘genesis file’, is generated as a proto-new source text to be translated by subtitle translators, who therefore do not need, necessarily, to be trained in any of the technical aspects of subtitle timing in order to do their job, or own any professional subtitling software, though they still need to know about line length, reading speed, and the semantic and syntactic considerations that have a bearing in subtitling. However, if they produce a translation that has the same or a similar number of characters as the source text, such rules and guidelines will be observed to a large extent (Nikolić, 2015). Put simply, a template is a timed subtitle file, usually in the source language,
which is produced and given to translators working into all the required languages of the DVD. Templates can be produced in subtitling file formats (such as .w32, .pac, .stl, or .x32), which means that the translation subtitlers working on the template will need to make use of subtitling software, or .rtf, .txt, or .doc file formats, so that any translation subtitler can work on the file without the need of subtitling equipment or any further format conversion. Examples of templates in .txt (Figure 12) and .rtf (Figure 13) formats are shown below:
This workflow offers a considerable number of advantages to the subtitling company: firstly, as explained above, it is now possible to employ translators who are not trained subtitlers; these translators do not need to observe the rules of subtitle timing (provided they maintain the same or similar line lengths as the original template), and, perhaps most importantly, do not need expensive subtitling software, such as WinCAPS (produced by Screen Systems, http://subtitling.com), Swift (produced by Grass Valley, www.grassvalley.com/products/maincat-captioning_and_subtitles) or FAB (produced by F.A. Bernhardt GmbH, www.fab-online.com/eng/subtitling).5

Freed from the requirement to control the timing of the subtitles, these translators can, in theory, translate faster and process more subtitles in a shorter timespan than subtitlers.
performing the entire task including timing. This allows for considerable commercial benefits for the subtitling company as they now only need one technician to produce the template that will be used in all the languages, they can justify lower remuneration for translators as their work focuses ‘merely’ on translation and not on the technical spotting of the dialogue, and they are able to benefit from the subtitling process being telescoped into a shorter timeframe, something which is necessary and desirable in an environment where a speedy and prompt reply to market needs and demands is of paramount importance. An added benefit is the widening and opening up of the market for many more people to work in subtitling, who do not need extensive technical knowledge of the equipment.

The template method also facilitates easier and more efficient project management of subtitle files. The subtitling project manager, a relatively recent job profile within the industry, first emerging some two decades ago, has to deal with a large volume of files in many different languages. They may be working on several DVD releases at once, each release containing up to 32 subtitle tracks and eight dubbed tracks, with perhaps five or six different pieces of content when VAM is taken into account. Using the template method supports the project management of this substantial amount of files thanks to the fact that more often than not, the timecodes in the template files are locked – that is, the subtitle translators are not able to change either the timings of the subtitles they are working with or the number of subtitles in the file. This is extremely valuable for a subtitling company working with a large number of files relating to the same video content because any changes to these files can be applied across all languages relatively easily, by someone with no knowledge of the target languages in question, for example a subtitle technician or a project manager.

This one-to-many template method, where all the resulting translations have the same timings and the same numbers of subtitles, allows for any global changes to be applied across all the files and target languages easily and quickly and with less room for error than if each individual translator was tasked with applying such changes. Such changes might be chapter
points, italics, raised subtitles (subtitles which need to be placed somewhere other than the bottom of the screen in order not to conflict with something visible in the picture), or forced subtitles.

There are, of course, disadvantages of locked timecodes, in that such a process forces the subtitling timing to be the same across all the languages covered, irrespective of the morphosyntactic nature of languages. Likewise, it does not allow the consideration of any territory-specific subtitling norms and rules; for example the convention in the Netherlands and some other territories that short utterances such as “yes” and “no” are not subtitled would be impossible to reconcile with conventions in those territories that demand the inclusion of such utterances if template files were used. Subtitles cannot be deleted from template files as this negates the project management benefits of having the exact equivalent number of subtitles and a one-to-one correspondence between the subtitles in each of the languages under consideration. Differences in morphosyntactic features between languages can cause issues in the translation of template files when, for example, translation is occurring between English, a language with relatively short lexical units, and a language such as Finnish or German, which has much longer lexical units. Since there is no flexibility in the timing of the subtitles, it could be difficult for the Finnish or German subtitler to translate in such a way that the Finnish or German reads fluently and naturally.

An additional factor here is that recently, in a bid to reduce costs still further, subtitling companies have been commissioning template files that are unedited, or verbatim, (Nikolić, 2015). In this way they can resort to automatic transcription systems or pay the producers of such template files a lower rate justified by the fact that these template subtitlers are only transcribing the original dialogue and not performing any linguistic reduction of the source language text. Instead, the (translation) subtitler is required to perform editing as well as translation, usually for the same remuneration. As Nikolić (ibid: 199) additionally describes, the use of verbatim templates with locked timecodes intensifies these issues of variation in
Different territories have varying subtitle norms (Georgakopoulou, 2003; Sokoli, 2009), that have arisen for historical reasons and tend to be linked, as mentioned previously, to the morphology of the respective languages and the viewing habits of the audience in question. The act of disallowing each translation subtitler to adapt the timings so they can better adhere to their own territorial norms has consequences such as the possible convergence of norms and trends across territorial boundaries and the homogenisation of subtitling conventions, and may possibly influence language development in territories with high levels of subtitling on their small and large screens (Gottlieb, 2009). This development is seen by many subtitling professionals and defenders of language purity as undesirable. In addition, research carried out by Artegiani and Kapsaskis (2013) shows that the use of an English template influences translational choices, causing subtitlers in their case study to, for example, omit offensive language and Italian sociolectal expressions where these were absent in the template. Many freelance subtitlers also see the use of templates as a challenge to their professional skills and as a strategy by the subtitling companies intended to lower their remuneration (Nikolić, 2015). However, in addition to being in common use for DVD workflows, templates are also widely utilised for subtitling that is distributed via the internet such as streaming services and other internet media, which probably indicates that, despite the disadvantages described, the template method is now embedded in the subtitling industry.

This section has described the template method and considered the advantages and disadvantages both from a subtitling company viewpoint and from the aspect of a freelance subtitler. The following section focuses on the relevance of the template method to the corpus central to this study.

2.4.3 The template method and the current corpus

As already discussed, templates for DVD are usually created in English, as the vast majority
of DVD content is translated from English into other languages. The SL of the DVDs in the
_corpus under scrutiny in these pages is, however, German. Templates are sometimes created
in languages other than English: if a film which is not in English is to be translated into several
further languages which do not include English, it is possible that the template will be created
in either the source language or one of the languages to be included on the final DVD and no
English file will be created (Nikolić, 2015). This is rare, however, and the choice of process
depends on the language combinations at play. The commercial environment of the
translation milieu is such that, as a consequence of the global dominance of the English
language, the tendency is for translators working from English into a specific language to be
more prevalent than between two non-English languages. As a consequence of this reality, a
common workflow adopted in the subtitling industry is to utilise an English translation as
what is termed a ‘pivot’ translation (Gottlieb, 1994: 217). In this case, a DVD in an original
language other than English will be subtitled (i.e. spotted and translated) into English, and
this version will be the one to be used as a template in the usual manner. This process proves
to be of optimum efficiency when there is an English version also commissioned for the DVD;
however, the disadvantage is that the subsequent subtitle translators working with the
English template may not have access to the original source text with the resulting danger of
perpetuating in their target language any mistranslations or errors committed in the English
pivot version (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 32). This practice is analogous to that of relay
interpreting (Mikkelson, 1999; Shlesinger, 2010), which is prevalent in EU institutions and
occurs if no interpreter is available for a particular language pair, say Hungarian into Spanish.
In this case, an interpreter would be used from Hungarian into another language, frequently
English, and a second professional engaged to interpret from English into Spanish. Another
arena in which this pivot language practice is commonplace is the film festival, where non-
English films are usually translated into English first and then into further languages. The
same risks as outlined above necessarily apply in these other domains.
In the corpus under study, the following subtitle tracks are available on the DVD. Information on the DVD publishers is to be found in section 3.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film</th>
<th>English Title</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
<th>Languages on DVD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Die Blechtrommel</td>
<td>The Tin Drum</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Blechtrommel</td>
<td>The Tin Drum</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Korean, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Blechtrommel</td>
<td>The Tin Drum</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum</td>
<td>The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum</td>
<td>The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: The corpus

For the film Katharina Blum, the two DVDs in the corpus only contain English subtitles. From this evidence alone, it might seem legitimate to conclude that the template method was not used in these cases. However, the OpenSubtitles repository (www.opensubtitles.org), which is an online subtitle database containing both fansubs and subtitles illegally ripped from DVDs, does include a German subtitle file for this film created for the Deaf and the hard-of-hearing (SDH) audience. A close comparison between this SDH file and the subtitles released in 2009 suggests that one of these two files (the German SDH or the 2009 English subtitle files) was used as a source text, or at least reference material, for the translation of the other, for the following reasons:

1. When the subtitles which refer to on-screen text are removed from the English file, and the subtitles which have SDH markers (such as speaker identification, indication of music and elucidation of sound effects) and those which refer to songs are removed from the German SDH file, the remaining number of subtitles in the two files only differs by 17 subtitles: the German file contains 893 subtitles (978 in total), whereas the English file makes use of 910 subtitles (927 in total). Closer inspection shows that there are only a small number of occasions where the segmentation of
individual subtitles differs from one file to the other, i.e. subtitles have been split or merged: a total of 42 occasions on the whole, which represents a meagre 2% of instances.

2. Individual comparison of the two files shows that most of the subtitles (including the merged and split ones) are direct translations of one another, containing the same semantic information and lexical elements, especially in cases where significant reduction strategies have been implemented and subtitles do not follow the original dialogue closely.

3. The timecodes for the subtitles which have not been split or merged are generally identical or different by only 1 frame, a deviation that could be explained by the DVD authoring process or the subtitle extraction process.

It is not a simple matter to try to ascertain whether the German SDH was used as a template for the English subtitles or the timecodes from the English subtitles were used for the German SDH. The only information which might indicate the direction of translation is that the publishers of the DVD containing the 2009 English subtitles, StudioCanal, also published a DVD of the same film containing German SDH subtitles in 2008, the year preceding the release of the English version. However, it cannot be proven that the German SDH subtitles retrieved from OpenSubs are the same as on this particular DVD. If this is the case, and this is extremely hard to prove, then it is likely that the German subtitles were used as a template for the English ones, but that the subtitler was given the freedom to split and merge subtitles as required.

The 2003 English version of Katharina Blum has 1034 subtitles, and a comparison of the first 100 suggests that this translation into English was not carried out using the German SDH subtitles as a template: the information carried in the first 100 subtitles in German is contained in 111 subtitles in the English file, and the semantic content of the subtitles is not
congruent. An additional factor is that the timing of the subtitles in both files is significantly different.

When we consider the case of Die Blechtrommel, it is extremely unlikely that a template was used in the 1995 version, as templates were not widely in use for DVD releases at this time. For this film, also, German SDH subtitles can be found in the OpenSubtitles repository and these could have been used as a template for the subsequent English versions of 2002 and 2010. The German SDH file contains 1036 subtitles in total, which are reduced to 929 subtitles once the SDH elements (speaker identification and songs) are removed. The use of such a template in the 1995 version, with 692 subtitles, can be ruled out.

The 2002 version contains 935 subtitles, which is an extremely similar number to the 929 subtitles of the German SDH version when cleaned of SDH elements, however, when investigating and comparing both files for similarities of timing and semantic alignment, it is apparent that the German file was not used as a template for the English file as the segmentation of information in the English file diverges substantially from that of the German file from the very beginning. For example, the information in subtitles 1-5 in the German file is carried in subtitles 1-7 in the English file. The 2010 version, at 972 subtitles, again contains a similar number of subtitles to the German SDH file, but it is unlikely that the latter was used as a template file for the same reasons as the 2002 version. The subtitles in the English file are differently segmented, both semantically and lexically, from those in the German file. When performing the same comparison as above, the results show that the information in subtitles 1-5 in the German file is contained in subtitles 2-8 in the English file (subtitle 1 corresponds to on-screen text). Table 3 below offers a summary of the volume of subtitles encountered in each of the DVDs:

Table 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DVD Version</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>972</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 3: Number of subtitles per film and year**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film</th>
<th>English Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of English subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Die Blechtrommel</td>
<td>The Tin Drum</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Blechtrommel</td>
<td>The Tin Drum</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Blechtrommel</td>
<td>The Tin Drum</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum</td>
<td>The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum</td>
<td>The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 2002 version of *Die Blechtrommel* is the only DVD in the corpus to contain more than one language version: this DVD carries both English and Korean subtitles. It is possible that the English subtitles in this case were used as a pivot file for the Korean, although the opposite workflow direction, i.e. the Korean subtitles were used as a source text for the English, is also possible. Further investigation would be necessary to attempt to ascertain this and such research is outside of the scope of the current work.

This section has investigated the likelihood of the subtitles in the corpus being produced from a pre-defined template, concluding that, with the exception of the *Katharina Blum* subtitles from 2009, it is highly doubtful that these English subtitles were created using the German SDH as a template. It is likely that the 2009 English subtitles for *Katharina Blum* were created from the German SDH subtitles produced for the same film, pointing to a hypothetical lesser degree of freedom on the part of the subtitler. The following section considers the general landscape of English subtitle reception in the UK.

### 2.5 The reception of English-language subtitles in the UK

This section seeks to investigate the viewer environment in the UK for foreign-language films with English subtitles in order to contextualise the corpus within the general viewing practices for such films. In this respect, the UK has traditionally preferred subtitling as its
main mode of translation of foreign-language films and television content (Media Consulting
Group, 2007). However, voiceover and dubbing are also used for the translation of certain
types of audiovisual material. The former is often used for documentary narration, and also
for interviews, especially in a news context, whilst dubbing is resorted to for the transfer of
animation, as most animation is aimed at children and their literacy is deemed not proficient
enough to be able to read subtitles that are transient on screen. Historical research into the
reception and viewer figures for subtitled films in the UK is sparse to non-existent.
Anecdotally, it seems that the general film-watching public in the UK has traditionally been
suspicious or hostile towards subtitles, despite the fact that subtitling is the main mode of
AVT used in the UK. This may indicate that the UK viewing audience is actually resistant to
content which is not made in English originally. As a related aside, an experiment was
performed by Channel 4 in the UK in 1987 (Mera, 1999), whereby the French-language series
Châteauvallon (Planchon, Fonlladosa & Friedman, 1985) was broadcast twice weekly, once
with subtitles and once dubbed. This was an attempt by Channel 4 to question the
dominance of subtitles as AVT. Results reported a significant preference amongst the viewing
audience for the dubbed version, despite subtitles being (and continuing to be) the most
common form of AVT in the UK. No generalisations can be drawn from this small experiment,
however, and these findings certainly did not change the practices of the broadcasters,
despite this being the stated intention.

Munro (2006: 20) has conducted detailed research on the notion of the culture of
appreciation surrounding the exhibition and reception of foreign-language films in the UK,
paying special attention to the “programming and education activities of exhibitors in
Scotland who receive European funding and who are attempting to widen access to their
 cinemas”. In her study, she unravels possible links between certain cinemas’ attitudes to
exhibiting European films and the policies of the European Commission with regard to
audiovisual material and language. From the perspective of this study, and in an attempt to
obtain a more complete picture of the situation, it might be helpful, in this respect, to look at some box office figures for foreign-language films in the UK.

Table 4, taken from the BFI’s Statistical Yearbooks 2002 – 2014, shows the total box office admissions for each year, the number of foreign-language films released as a percentage of the total films released, and the number of foreign-language films not including Hindi source language that are released as a percentage of the total number of films that are distributed in the country. The reason for presenting the data in this way is that it is a reasonable assumption that the majority of the Hindi films were made with Hindi audio for the Hindi-speaking population resident in the UK, not for the English-speaking population, and therefore do not normally have subtitles in English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of box office admissions (millions)</th>
<th>Percentage of non-English source language films released (including Hindi)</th>
<th>Percentage of non-English source language films released (not including Hindi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>175.9</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>167.3</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>171.3</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>164.7</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>156.6</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>162.4</td>
<td>33.1%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>164.2</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>173.5</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>169.2</td>
<td>35.9%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>171.6</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>172.5</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Foreign-language films as a percentage of total films released in the UK

The following figure presents the information in the table above in a graphical format:

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6 The information can be consulted at www.bfi.org.uk/education-research/film-industry-statistics-research/statistical-yearbook.

7 From this year the films are classified as ‘South Asian sub-continent’ and are not specifically Hindi. Nonetheless, the same reasoning applies.
From these figures it can be seen that the percentage of non-English SL films released in the UK has remained fairly constant since 2002 at between 30% and 38% of the total, with the exception of 2005 where foreign-language films made up an impressive 43.5% of all releases. When, for the reasons described above, Hindi/South Asian productions are excluded, the results show that between 18% and 26% of the total UK films are of non-English SL, with the exception, again, of 2005 (29.4%).

The next table presents the number of box office admissions alongside the percentage of the gross box office revenue for non-English source language films as well as the percentage of gross box office revenue for non-English SL films excluding Hindi films. This demonstrates the low box office value of non-English SL films seen in the context of the total cinema revenue which in turn is an indication of the limited popularity of such films.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of box office admissions (millions)</th>
<th>Percentage of gross box office for non-English source language films (including Hindi)</th>
<th>Percentage of gross box office for non-English source language films (not including Hindi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>175.9</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>167.3</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>171.3</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>164.7</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>156.6</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>162.4</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>164.2</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>173.5&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>169.2</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>171.6</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>172.5</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Foreign-language film revenue as a percentage of total box office revenue in the UK

The following figure presents the information in the table above in a graphical format:

![Box office percentages graph](image)

**Figure 11: Box office revenue of films released annually in the UK**

The figure below illustrates the trend year on year of box office revenue of non-English SL films (excluding Hindi/South Asian) as a percentage of total box office revenue:

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<sup>8</sup> From this year the films are classified as ‘South Asian sub-continent’ so are not specifically Hindi however the same reasoning applies.
Figure 12: Annual representation of the box office takings of non-English SL films

Despite the relatively high proportion of films released that have a language other than English as their source, i.e. around a third every year, as illustrated in Figure 14 above, the box office percentages, are only around 2% to 3.5% for all films and 1% to 2% when we exclude Hindi/South Asian films. Exceptions to this trend are the low figure in 2011 (0.9%) and the marginally higher figure in 2004 (3.6%), which is likely to be as a result of the inclusion in this category of the US film *The Passion of the Christ* (Mel Gibson, 2004) filmed in Aramaic, Hebrew and Latin with English subtitles, which grossed £11 million at the box office and became the 16th most popular film in the UK that year.

It can therefore be concluded from this data that generally only a small percentage of the UK cinema-going population watches films with subtitles, and whilst this data is for cinema and not DVD, it seems reasonable to conclude that only a small proportion of the general public in the UK watches subtitled content in their homes on DVD or on the television, despite the amount of media attention given recently to Scandinavian subtitled series such as *The Killing* (Søren Sveistrup, 2007) and *Borgen* (Adam Price, 2010). To acquire meaningful data on the number of people watching subtitled DVDs is extremely difficult as there is no easy way of ascertaining whether a particular DVD is watched with subtitles and/or which subtitles are
selected from the wide range often available. It is, of course, problematic to collect data about whether DVDs are watched at all and by how many people, although with the rise of streaming services such as Netflix and Amazon Prime the collection of such data for viewers of on-demand content should become easier and will certainly prove fruitful for future research in this area.

Although only a small number of viewers choose to watch subtitled film at the cinema, it may be interesting in future research to investigate whether this viewing of subtitled film holds cultural prestige for those who do seek out such films. As Munro (2006: 20) argues, “[i]n Britain subtitles continue to be identified as a put-off for those who claim to prefer watching mainstream films whereas ‘art house’ enthusiasts can be heard remarking on the pleasure of contemplating different cultures and hearing different languages on film”, going on to query “Why should some audiences feel that subtitles are a kind of quality marker whereas others believe subtitles demarcate a films as unpleasurable?”

Although it is impossible to obtain empirical data concerning the consumption of subtitled films on DVD in the home, it is, of course, possible to collect viewer data for television audiences, and it seems that subtitled content has become more popular in the UK since the first showing of the Danish TV series Forbrydelsen (The Killing, Søren Sveistrup) in the UK in 2011. Table 6 below shows some of the most recent non-English SL shows broadcast with English subtitles on terrestrial television in the UK with their respective audience figures, where these were available.9

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9 BARB were asked to provide the missing data but were unable to do so.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Channel/Broadcaster</th>
<th>Source language</th>
<th>Year of first broadcast in the UK</th>
<th>Highest UK audience figures (BARB)</th>
<th>Audience share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Châteauvallon</td>
<td>Channel 4</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engrenages (Spiral)</td>
<td>BBC4</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forbrydelsen (The Killing)</td>
<td>BBC4</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1.2 million</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanzo Criminale – La serie (Romanzo Criminale)</td>
<td>Sky</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broen (The Bridge)</td>
<td>BBC4</td>
<td>Swedish/Danish</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>1.6 million</td>
<td>3.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borgen</td>
<td>BBC4</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>1.1 million</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braquo</td>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gran Hotel (Grand Hotel)</td>
<td>Sky</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il commissario Montalbano (Inspector Montalbano)</td>
<td>BBC4</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Revenants (The Returned)</td>
<td>Ch4</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>1.9 million</td>
<td>4.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il commissario De Luca (Inspector de Luca)</td>
<td>BBC4</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mammon</td>
<td>More4</td>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arvingerne (The Legacy)</td>
<td>Sky</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: A selection of foreign-language programmes shown in the UK with their viewing figures where available.

It can be seen from these figures that whilst subtitled television appears to attract more of a share of the viewing audience than subtitled films shown at the cinema, this is not a significant increase. Indeed, the audience share for these foreign-language programmes is never higher than 5% and, as such, it can be concluded that the viewing of subtitled content in the UK is primarily a niche pastime. If we compare, for example, The Killing (Søren Sveistrup, 2007), broadcast at 22.00 and gaining 2.6% audience share with a similar UK-produced crime series, Broadchurch (Chris Chibnall, 2013) which was shown at 21.00 and gained 25.2% audience share it is apparent that the viewing audience for subtitled content

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10 BARB (2015) estimates the total UK TV viewing audience at 45.5 million.

11 Selected episodes were shown on BBC4 in 2008, 2010, and 2011. Then, in 2012, the whole series was shown again.
remains remarkably small. Nevertheless, the trend seems to be an upwards one, and certainly if one is to judge from the amount of media coverage given to subtitled programmes shown in the UK,12 there is a noticeable growth in the interest in such subtitled entertainment. One possible reason for this state of affairs could be the increase in ethnic diversity among the population living in the UK: the census of 2011 reveals “rising numbers of people identifying with minority ethnic groups in 2011” (ONS, 2012: 5). Residents and citizens of the UK whose families come from outside the UK might feel more drawn to entertainment which is not offered in a linguistically homogenous way, and, having grown used to subtitled television in their home countries, might be more open to consuming such content. Certainly commissioners seem to believe that there is a market for subtitled television in the UK, with BBC4 continuing to show subtitled content in the Saturday prime time slot and Channel 4 broadcasting its first subtitled series in 20 years with the French TV series Les Revenants (The Returned, Fabrice Gobert, 2012) in 2013.

Despite this upwards trend, however, the fact that in the UK only 2% of the cinema-going public watches films with subtitles and only 5% of the total TV audience watches subtitled television drama would indicate that in contrast to many other territories, for example Scandinavia or The Netherlands (Gottlieb, 1994: 102), subtitles, and non-English audiovisual content in general are not consumed by many people as part of their day-to-day lives. This assertion is supported by the statistic that the average viewing audience for a foreign-language film on UK television is around 80,000 (Jones, 2014).

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2.6 Subtitling in English

The above discussion substantiates the assertion that foreign-language content subtitled in English forms only a small part of the spectrum of audiovisual content generally watched in the UK, at least through traditional, non-internet channels. Pedersen (2011: 4) concurs with this assumption, when he states that:

The U.K., for instance, is normally labelled a subtitling country (cf. e.g. Media Consulting Group 2007: 68), and in a sense, this is correct, as the very rare foreign-language products broadcast in Britain tend to be subtitled. However, to group the U.K. in the same category as countries like Norway, Greece and the Netherlands does not help the norm analyst at all, as in the latter countries, most of what is aired is subtitled, whereas foreign-language programming is a very rare bird indeed in Britain. This means that the norm patterns for the U.K. and non-Anglophone countries are bound to be very different.

This latter comment underlines the need for the work presented here and indeed for more scholarship in this area. As touched upon above, it appears that the decision to watch subtitled content in the UK may be influenced by the perceived cultural and intellectual advantage that this brings, and it would be worthwhile to investigate this further by attempting to ascertain whether there is a link between membership of a particular social demographic and such entertainment choices. There is also a need for more studies such as this one which examine possible trends in a corpus of material subtitled from German into English. Comparative studies focused on the similarities and/or discrepancies of English subtitling norms with other countries and languages would also be welcome, as would be research on the use of different variants of English for distribution on a global scale.

Norms are obviously strongly influenced by any prescription in translation, as will be discussed further. As a consequence of the technical limitations discussed in previous sections, and also of the process whereby DVD subtitles are commissioned, there is a certain amount of prescription in subtitling. This is discussed further in section 4.3, however what is crucial when discussing the investigation of normative behaviour in subtitling into English, is to be aware that most commissioners of subtitles (DVD publishers, broadcasters, cinema
distributors, subtitling companies) tend to have their own style guides or guidelines covering not only such basic aspects as line length, reading speed and punctuation, but also the treatment of songs, as well as the translation of potentially offensive language and on-screen text, and sometimes other technical and linguistic aspects. These are distinct from territory-specific guidelines and norms, although they may overlap.

While style guides are issued by some UK broadcasters for subtitles from foreign languages into English, for example Channel 4 (see Appendix 4), it is pertinent to consider whether specific guidelines are likely to be issued to English-language subtitlers working from a non-English language source for DVD. Ordinarily, for single-language, one-to-one translation such as might happen for a TV station, territory-specific guidelines would be followed, which would be issued either by a client or a subtitling company, or be so established as to be common knowledge (e.g. in the Netherlands). However, as observed by Pedersen (2011: 4) and confirmed by the figures listed above concerning cinema and TV consumption of subtitles in the UK, the amount of non-English content subtitled in English is very small, so it may be the case that end clients and subtitling companies feel there is little need for such specific guidelines for English language subtitling. Indeed the guidelines issued by Channel 4, which are specifically for the subtitling of non English-language source content into English, only concern themselves with the technical aspect of subtitling and offer no guidelines for any translational choices. The same can be observed in the guidelines provided by Netflix (see Appendix 6).

Separate guidelines are usually used for templates produced in English (Georgakopoulou, 2003; Netflix, Appendix 7), and for subtitles produced from these English templates, the latter often containing some territory-specific prescription, such as the use of single dialogue dashes in the Netherlands when two speakers are in the same subtitle (Georgakopoulou, 2006). It is rare to find guidelines for templates produced in languages other than English and, in fact, such templates would usually follow guidelines for the source language territory
because they would be intended for use in that territory. This is in contrast with English templates, where guidelines are necessary since these templates are usually not for publishing on the DVD but are working documents being used to facilitate the translation into other languages. Such template guidelines usually take into account factors that arise because the template is to be translated into a language that is likely to be longer than English, addressing such aspects as simplifying syntactic structures, and prescribing an awareness of which references might not be obvious to an international audience (Georgakopoulou, 2003). The instruction to simplify syntactic structures, however, does apply to all subtitling and not only template files: syntactic structures should be simplified to facilitate comprehension of the subtitles and allow interpretation of the rest of the information transmitted visually and acoustically (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 34).

For the current study, various (DVD) subtitling companies were asked about the existence of style guides for subtitling from a foreign language into English and, where answers were received, it was confirmed that no such guidelines exist. Instead, general rules for the production of templates were followed, which again, mainly prescribe rules which pertain to the technical aspect of subtitling and do not concern themselves with linguistic decisions, except where such decisions need to take into account the further translation of the template, something which may not be a consideration for a single-language translation into English. Likewise no territory-specific rules are specified in the production of English templates, as these are often not destined to be published on the DVD.

It is worth pointing out here that DVDs in English do sometimes contain what is known as the plain English stream, which is English subtitles produced for hearing viewers, in a similar way as translation subtitles are produced in English. These plain English subtitles usually follow the same rules as are used for the production of English templates (Georgakopoulou, 2015, personal communication). It is therefore difficult to conclude if any guidelines were issued to the subtitlers working on the files in the corpus, and if so, what kind. If we conclude
that the 2009 *Katharina Blum* subtitles were translated from the German SDH file, it is likely that this file was not originally created as a template, but simply provided to the English subtitler for use where the timings were helpful. Given the assumption that the other subtitles in the corpus were translated directly from the German audio and script, it is possible that subtitlers were working from guidelines issued for the subtitling of English templates, which concern mainly technical factors, or from no guidelines at all. This information is relevant for the discussion of the translational strategies used in the linguistic transfer of cultural references in section 6.3, as the use of a template may have influenced the strategy chosen by the translator.

This chapter has elucidated the background and relevant foundations for the current research, as far as subtitling is concerned, investigating the technical issues which shape the subtitler’s work and how normative behaviour in such aspects might be formed, whether through company-specific instructions and/or territorial conventions. The specific case of subtitling into English has been considered through examining the reception environment for such translation in the UK, with a view to the subsequent analysis of the corpus at hand.
This chapter seeks to provide relevant background concerning the German director Volker Schlöndorff and the films that will be analysed as part of this research corpus with the aim of examining the principal themes that run throughout his work and the potential issues these themes may present for subtitlers working on the translation of his films into English.

3.1 Biography

Volker Schlöndorff was born in Wiesbaden, Germany, in March 1939, shortly before the start of World War II. He was interested in films from an early age (Schlöndorff, 2011) and, despite his father’s wish for him to become a diplomat, sought out any opportunity to learn the filmmaker’s craft. His mother died in 1944, the victim of an accident in the home and in 1955 he went to France to study, initially at a boys’ boarding school in Brittany, then subsequently at the prestigious Lycée Henri IV in Paris. From there he went on to read political science and economics at the Sorbonne, all the while making the most of the flourishing film culture in Paris, visiting the Cinémathèque française, a renowned film archive in Paris, every day and also working there as a film interpreter, translating into French and speaking aloud the German subtitles on silent films (Crowdus and Porton, 2001). At the Cinémathèque française he met several directors from the French Nouvelle Vague [New Wave], figures who were to prove crucial to his subsequent development as a filmmaker, including Alain Renais, Jean-Pierre Melville, and Louis Malle, with whom he was to work closely in the years that followed.

The French New Wave is a term used to describe films by a group of French filmmakers working in the 1950s and 1960s who moved away from the classic literary adaptations then
usual in French cinema and made films about more modern social issues, using new and radical techniques (Wiegand, 2007). For Neupert (2007: 3), “The [French] New Wave was first and foremost a cultural phenomenon, resulting from economic, political, aesthetic and social trends that developed in the 1950s”. In many ways the French New Wave was a direct precursor to the Neuer Deutscher Film [New German Cinema] movement that started in the early 1960s, of which Volker Schlöndorff was an integral part and which is examined in more detail in section 3.2. Moeller and Lellis (2008:11) are of the same opinion, when they state that “one might easily describe the New German Cinema as an offshoot of the French New Wave”.

In 1960, Schlöndorff was offered a place to study film at the Institut des Hautes Études Cinématographique (IDHEC) in Paris, but declined it, commenting: “I was offered a quicker way into film” (Schlöndorff, 2011: 91, my translation). He was referring to his first job in film, in 1960, as assistant director to Louis Malle on the film Zazie dans le métro [Zazie in the Metro], an adaptation of the novel by the same name by Raymond Queneau. Schlöndorff was able to secure this job on the recommendation of his friend, Roger Nimier, a French novelist who worked with Malle on his 1958 film Ascenseur pour l’échafaud [Elevator to the Gallows] and by proving to Malle and his team that he was dedicated and serious about film. He went on to work as assistant director on more films by French New Wave directors, in particular Melville and Renais, whilst at the same time shooting his first film in 1960, entitled Wen kümmert’s? [Who cares?], a short film that addresses the situation of a group of Algerian deserters from the French army living in Frankfurt. The film takes place during the contemporaneous Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962), and the choice of this subject matter for his first film, namely the experiences of vulnerable people struggling with their own political ideologies which differ from those of the prevailing milieu, is a clear precursor for the thematic preoccupations of many of his subsequent films. Indeed, state oppression, moral dilemma and political engagement were set to become some of the most recurrent
topics in his oeuvre. The film was banned in West Germany because it showed France, a European ally, in an unfavourable light.

After relocating back to Germany in 1964, he directed his first feature-length film, Der Junge Törless [Young Törless], in 1966, and from then, directed a further eight films (see list in section 3.3) until he finally achieved his first box office success with Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum [The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum], co-directed with his first wife, Margarethe von Trotta, in 1975. Relating the story of a young woman who inadvertently becomes associated with a man who is considered a danger to the Establishment, the film again deals with themes of oppression, but also societal paranoia, press freedom and press conduct, and the place of women in society. Schlöndorff first worked with von Trotta on the film Baal (1969) and the couple were married in 1971. They worked together on many films, including Der plötzliche Reichtum der armen Leute von Kombach [The Sudden Wealth of the Poor People of Kombach] (1970), Strohfeuer [A Free Woman] (1972) and Der Fangschuss [Coup de Grâce] (1976), with von Trotta taking on various roles, including that of actor, co-director, co-writer and assistant director. The couple were to divorce in 1991 with Schlöndorff remarrying a film editor, Angelika Gruber, in 1992 and becoming a father to a daughter, Elena, in the same year.

In 1979 Schlöndorff released his most successful film to date, and that for which he is arguably best known, Die Blechtrommel [The Tin Drum]. Following its critical and commercial success - it shared the Palme d’Or at Cannes Film Festival with the film Apocalypse Now by Francis Ford Coppola (1979) - he took the opportunity to move to the USA, where he intended to spend some time, perhaps the remainder of his career, making films in English (Schlöndorff, 2011: 343). As it turned out, the first films of this period of his life were not commercially successful, though they were critically acclaimed. Some examples are Swann in Love (1983) and Death of a Salesman (1985), the latter based on the seminal play by Arthur Miller (1949) and starring Dustin Hoffman and John Malkovich.
Although he had never intended to return to Germany to live, the events of 1989 and the fall of the Berlin Wall, coupled with his personal circumstances, led to a change of heart for Schlöndorff and he finally moved back to Germany in 1991. Upon his return, he then became involved in an ambitious project to save and renovate the old Babelsberg Studios, located in Potsdam-Babelsberg, just outside Berlin. The oldest large-scale film studios in the world, producing films since 1912, they were the previous home of UFA (formerly Universum Film AG, today UFA GmbH), and had produced acclaimed German cinema classics such as *Metropolis* (Fritz Lang, 1927) and *Der blaue Engel* (von Sternberg, 1930). This studio in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) was threatened with closure after the collapse of the Communist regime. As one of the holdings of the now-bankrupt state, the studio was owned by the Treuhandanstalt, the body responsible for the privatisation of the state assets of East Germany, who wished to wind up this large and expensive asset. However, the campaign to save this site, which had been so crucial for film history, proved successful (Bock and Bergfelder, 2009: 566), and Babelsberg continues to be the oldest large-scale film studio in the world. Volker Schlöndorff was its artistic director from 1992-1997 (ibid: 566) and is still involved in the project as the chairman of the board of trustees.

Volker Schlöndorff lives in Berlin and continues to produce successful and challenging films, most recently *Diplomatie* [*Diplomacy*] (2014), a film set in Paris in 1944. As the allies advance to take the city from the occupying Nazi forces, Hitler gives the order that Paris should be destroyed. The film is the story of the psychological battle between the Wehrmacht commander of Paris, General Dietrich von Choltitz, who is tasked with carrying out the destruction order, and Swedish Consul General Raoul Nordling, who is trying to save the city from being reduced to rubble.

This section has provided some historical and biographical background to the director to inform the discussion of his film-making as well as his main social and artistic preoccupations. The next section discusses his work in the cinematic context.
3.2 Volker Schlöndorff in a historical context – New German Cinema

In the 1950s and early 1960s, German film had reached a point of stagnation owing to the flooding of the market with US imports designed to ‘re-educate’ the Germans in what were seen as desirable Western ideals, such as democracy and freedom of speech. The USA also kept the German film industry deliberately small and under-funded so as to protect the market for their own imports (Elsaesser, 1989). As a consequence of this, the autochthonous films that were made at this time were low budget and unambitious, and tended to have as their themes unchallenging, local subjects in order to remain as commercially successful as possible. Films tended to present rural German life, or were escapist romances and comedies set in attractive German locations. These films were known as Heimatfilme [Homeland film], and a typical example of such a film is Grün ist die Heide [The Heath is Green], directed by Hans Deppe in 1951 and made at the Berolina Studios in Berlin, where many of these films were produced in the 1950s. Recent history was conspicuously absent from the screens and virtually no attempt was made by the national film industry to address the dramatic events of the previous decades in Germany (Knight, 2004). An added consequence of this artistic situation was that German films were of no interest to international audiences, were not exported, and therefore were not hugely financially successful. Under these circumstances, the German film industry started to decline and, as described by Knight (ibid: 4), West German cinema was “economically vulnerable and artistically impoverished”.

It was in the context of this bleak environment that the New German Cinema movement had its genesis. It is credited to have started in 1962 when a group of West German filmmakers, writers and artists, including Edgar Reitz and Alexander Kluge, came together at the Oberhausen Film Festival, leading to the composition and signature of what came to be known as the Oberhausen Manifesto (Knight, 2004). In an attempt to “create a new type of
film which would revive the dying German cinema” (ibid: 5), the declaration’s stated intentions were to rise from the ashes of the stagnation of the German film industry and to make films which were artistic, innovative, and not constrained by the “influence of commercial partners” (Oberhausen Manifesto, 1962: online, my translation).\textsuperscript{13} There was also a sense in which these filmmakers wished to distance themselves from the older filmmakers who they viewed as being irretrievably linked with Nazism (Brockmann, 2010). Although Volker Schlöndorff was not a signatory to the Oberhausen Manifesto, he is universally held to be one of the most prominent filmmakers of the New German Cinema, and, as highlighted by Elsaesser (1989: 303): “Without Fassbinder, [...] Schlöndorff or Kluge there would have been no New German Cinema”.

The significance of the New German Cinema movement lies in the fact that this diverse group of film professionals was prepared to make films whose focus was the pursuit of artistic and creative excellence rather than commercial success, who were not afraid to reject traditional genre conventions in search of new expressive modes and were prepared to tackle difficult themes such as recent German history and National Socialism, feminism, press freedom and political repression. These creatives, who included cineastes of the stature of Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Werner Herzog, and Wim Wenders amongst others, prioritised creative considerations above the industry imperative to be profitable, and thereby gained artistic credibility at the same time as revitalising the German film industry in the eyes of the rest of the world.

The New German Cinema period is widely held to have ended along with the events that took place in Germany at the end of the 1980s. Hake (1990: 268) speaks of the “demise” of the New German Cinema in the 1980s and indeed most scholars agree that the New German Cinema...
Cinema movement can be seen to have ended with the fall of the wall in 1989 and German reunification in 1990 (Davidson, 1999; Brockmann, 2010).

Having briefly sketched the historiography of the New German Cinema movement, the subsequent section examines the arc of Volker Schlöndorff’s creative work in more detail.

### 3.3 The films of Volker Schlöndorff

During his substantial career, spanning over 50 years, Volker Schlöndorff has made over 30 films for both cinema and television, at the time of writing. In common with many of the other German cineastes, his films do not shy away from addressing difficult subjects, and many of them deal directly with particularly German issues such as the events surrounding the World War II, as will be examined in 3.4. In order to facilitate their analysis, Moeller and Lellis (2002: 8) divide Schlöndorff’s creative output into five distinct periods “considering them also in relation to the rest of the New German Cinema and the historical and social contexts that produced them”.

To allow for a better overview of Schlöndorff’s portfolio, Table 7 below offers a detailed list of his works, according to the five different periods. Dates are taken from www.volkerschloendorff.com:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Title in German</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title in English</th>
<th>Languages spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The early Schöndorff</td>
<td>Wen kümmert’s</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Who cares?</td>
<td>German spoken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Der junge Törless</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Young Törless</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mord und Totschlag</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Degree of Murder</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Der Paukenspieler</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>The Tympanist</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michael Kohlhaas – Der Rebell</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Michael Kohlhaas – The Rebel</td>
<td>English, German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brechtian and post-feminist Schöndorff</td>
<td>Baal</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Baal</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Der plötzliche Reichtum der armen Leute von Kombach</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>The Sudden Wealth of the Poor People of Kombach</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Moral der Ruth Halbass</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Morals of Ruth Halbass</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strohfeuer</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>A Free Woman</td>
<td>German</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Georginas Gründe</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Georgina’s Reasons</td>
<td>German</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Übernachtung in Tirol</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>A Night in Tirol</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Der Fangschuss</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Coup de Grâce</td>
<td>German, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nur zum Spaß, nur zum Spiel</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Portrait of Valeska Gert</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deutschland im Herbst</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Germany in Autumn</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The international Schöndorff</td>
<td>Die Blechtrommel</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>The Tin Drum</td>
<td>German, Italian, Hebrew, Polish, Russian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Der Kandidat</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>The Candidate</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Fälschung</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Circle of Deceit</td>
<td>German, French, Arabic, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Krieg und Frieden</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>War and Peace</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eine Liebe von Swann</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Swann in Love</td>
<td>French, English, German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The American Schöndorff</td>
<td>Tod eines Handlungreisenden</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Death of a Salesman</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ein Aufstand alter Männer</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>A Gathering of Old Men</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Geschichte der Dienerin</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>The Handmaid’s Tale</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The post-wall Schöndorff</td>
<td>Homo Faber</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Voyager</td>
<td>German, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Billy, how did you do it?</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Billy, How Did You Do It?</td>
<td>English, German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Der Unhold</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>The Ogre</td>
<td>English, German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Palmetto – Dumme sterben nicht aus</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Palmetto</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Stille nach dem Schuss</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>The Legend of Rita</td>
<td>German, French, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ten Minutes Older: The Cello</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Ten Minutes Older: The Cello</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Der neunte Tag</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>The Ninth Day</td>
<td>German, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strajk – Die Heldin von Danzig</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Strike</td>
<td>English, Polish, German</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The periods are discussed in brief in what follows.

### 3.3.1 The early Schlöndorff

This period includes the films *Der junge Törless* [Young Törless], shot in 1965, *Mord und Totschlag* [A Degree of Murder], from 1966, and *Michael Kohlhaas – Der Rebell* [Michael Kohlhaas – The Rebel] directed in 1969. *Der junge Törless*, Schlöndorff’s first feature-length film, is an adaptation of a novel by Robert Musil entitled *Die Verwirrungen des Zöglings Törleß* [The Confusions of Young Törless] and originally written in 1906. Set in a bleak and brutal Austrian military academy, this acclaimed debut addresses issues of bullying, oppression, brutality, discrimination and the bystander effect or apathy, themes which reoccur throughout Schlöndorff’s oeuvre (Moeller and Lellis, 2008) and are discussed in more detail in section 3.4. The film seeks to portray the feelings and experiences of the protagonist, Thomas Törless, as two fellow pupils systematically bully and torture a Jewish fellow pupil. Törless is a passive bystander in these events and the director challenges the viewer’s moral stance since the protagonist suffers no real consequences from collusion in the bullying. Although the novel upon which the film is based dates from the first decade of the 20th century, the director’s intentions are evident as he seeks to establish a strong parallel with German society during the turbulent years before and during World War II, inviting direct comparison of the protagonist bystander and the ordinary German citizen. The film won many awards, including the International Federation of Film Critics Prize at Cannes and is widely viewed as one of the first key films in the New German Cinema movement.
The main character in *Mord und Totschlag* (1966) is a young woman, Marie, played by Anita Pallenberg, who accidentally kills her ex-lover during an argument. Shot in English, the film relates the story of her subsequent attempts to dispose of the body. It has gained a degree of international reputation owing to the fact that the soundtrack to the film was composed by Brian Jones, of *The Rolling Stones*. Moeller and Lellis (2002: 42) describe the heroine as “both guilty and innocent”, as her murder is unintentional and out of character; this combination of seemingly incompatible characteristics is something that she has in common with the heroines of *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* and *Der Fangschuß*.

*Michael Kohlhaas – Der Rebell* (1969) is adapted from an 1820 novella by Heinrich von Kleist, which itself is loosely based on a true story from the 16th century. Michael Kohlhaas is an honest and upstanding horse trader, who eventually becomes the leader of a rebel terrorist band after a succession of tragic events, which in turn arise as a result of his unfair treatment at the hands of a local nobleman, Junker Wenzel von Tronka. Given the timing of the film, and the fight of the central figure against injustice, the director clearly wished to draw parallels with the protests of the era concerning the Vietnam War. The European prints of the film feature, as a backdrop to the credits, newsreel footage of student demonstrations around the world, forming a clear link between actual events and the action portrayed (Moeller and Lellis, 2002: 49). The film, a co-production with other European countries, was also shot in English with an international cast including actors from Denmark, Germany, and the former Czechoslovakia. It is during this early film-making that Schlöndorff starts to address many of the issues with which the films in the corpus are concerned, namely good people who are driven to commit negative actions, Nazism, German guilt about the country’s actions during World War II, societal paranoia and the bystander effect or apathy. It was naturally during this period that the director first became recognised as a key player in the New German Cinema, with *Der junge Törless* garnering much critical acclaim.
3.3.2 Brechtian and post-feminist Schlöndorff

During this time, 1970-78, Schlöndorff moved into directing low-budget films in conjunction with financing from West German state television, films which experiment with innovative techniques as the director became more interested in Brechtian dramatic theories (Moeller and Lellis, 2002). This period was also marked by his close collaboration with Margarethe von Trotta, his first wife, and, in addition, by a growing preoccupation with feminist issues. These issues surfaced in what has come to be one of his most acclaimed films not only of this period but also of his whole career, Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum, produced in 1975 and based on the eponymous novel by Heinrich Böll (1974). This is perhaps the film in which his feminist ideals are most apparent. When discussing this work, the film scholars Moeller and Lellis (2002: 133) foreground that “one striking aspect of Katharina Blum is the way in which the filmmakers identify the movie’s terrorizers as masculine and its terrorized as feminine” and go on to add that they “emphasize Katharina’s vulnerability from being a woman in love”. The film is discussed in greater detail in section 3.5.2. Other notable films made during this time also include Baal, shot in 1969 and based on the 1918 Brecht play of the same name, and Der Fangschuß [Coup de Grâce], that reached the screens in 1976.

The film Baal (1969) was made only for television, and relates the story of the eponymous Baal, a dissolute poet, chronicling his sexual conquests and shocking adventures until his untimely death. The character of Baal would, in other circumstances, be a negative figure, but in both the play and the film he assumes mythical dimensions, termed “a kind of hedonist demi-god” by Moeller and Lellis (2002: 78) because, despite his unpleasant and sociopathic behaviour, he is still very much the hero (or anti-hero) of the piece. Here we see a common manipulation performed by Schlöndorff, which consists in having his audience sympathise to a large extent with characters who perform unacceptable actions and thereby causing them, i.e. the audience, to examine their own motivations. The film was made on an extremely low budget, with a cast of unknowns, although the actor playing Baal, Reiner Werner Fassbinder,
was to achieve international renown in subsequent years as one of the most famous German directors of all time.

*Der Fangschuß* (1976), like most of Schlöndorff’s work, is an adaptation of a literary work, this time a 1939 novel by Marguerite Yourcenar (entitled *Coup de Grâce*). The film has a strong female heroine, Sophie, in common with *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* and *Mord und Totschlag*. The story takes place in the Baltic republics during the 1920s, when the region was in a state of civil war and Sophie is played by Schlöndorff’s then wife, Margarethe von Trotta. The action centres on Sophie’s ancestral home, the castle Kratovice, in Latvia. Sophie’s brother, Konrad, returns home from fighting as a Prussian officer, bringing with him his childhood friend Erich, with whom Sophie falls in love. However her political sympathies lie with the Bolsheviks, and when Erich does not return her feelings and instead reveals that he is bisexual and in love with Konrad, Sophie joins the local communist camp. The camp is conquered by the Prussian forces and Sophie requests that Erich execute her himself. He does this and calmly goes on to have his photo taken with his unit, displaying no emotion, opening the door to a shocking end to the film. It is interesting to note that the novel is told from Erich’s viewpoint, whilst the film places Sophie firmly in the centre of the narrative, reflecting perhaps Schlöndorff’s wish to emphasise her as a strong and uncompromising heroine who is ultimately overcome by masculine forces (through being executed by Erich). This change of prism also allows the director to present war from a feminine point of view (Moeller and Lellis, 2002: 145), which was a novelty at the time.

3.3.3 The international Schlöndorff

This subsequent period of Schlöndorff’s filmmaking starts with the release of *Die Blechtrommel* in 1979 and is characterised by a movement into European co-productions and the use of international casts (Moeller and Lellis, 2002: 9). *Die Blechtrommel*, acclaimed by many as his best film, shared the Palme D’Or at Cannes in 1979 with *Apocalypse Now* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1979) and later won the Oscar for Best Foreign Film in 1980. This
international success led to wider recognition for Schlöndorff and, combined with the broader nature of his productions, signaled a slight shift away from what might be termed German issues, such as Nazism and collective shame, towards film-making for a wider audience (ibid: 9). Other films which are considered to be significant from this period include *Die Fälschung* [*Circle of Deceit*] (1981) a war drama with Hanna Schygulla and Bruno Ganz as the leading actors and *Swann in Love* (1984), a film adaptation of part of Proust’s epic heptalogy *À la recherche du temps perdu* [*Remembrance of Things Past*], written in 1913.

*Die Fälschung* (1981) is, once again, a film adaptation of a work of literary fiction, this time the 1979 novel by German novelist and poet Nicholas Born. The narrative takes place in Beirut, during the Lebanese civil war that lasted from 1975 until 1990, and was filmed in situ in Lebanon under what has been described by Maslin (1982: online) as “remarkable conditions: with its crew confined to ‘safe’ portions of Beirut while the fighting went on elsewhere, but with ubiquitous evidence of real warfare everywhere”. The central character is a war reporter, Georg Laschen, who is drawn to conflict because his personal life is in chaos, with his marriage disintegrating. He is driven by the need to observe and not participate, although he starts to find this ever more difficult as he becomes intimately aware of the complexities and subtleties of the war he seeks to report. He starts an affair with Ariane, a German woman who works at the German Embassy but her main driving force is to adopt a child, and once this has taken place, she becomes cool and distant towards Georg and finally takes another lover. During a shelling of the town, Georg is crammed with many other civilians into a shelter when a Muslim man falls upon him. His immediate reaction is to take out his knife and stab the man, although it is unclear whether this is deliberate or even whether the man is alive at the time. According to Moeller and Lellis (2002: 202), Georg at last feels real guilt rather than passive bystander guilt. He then returns to his life in Germany, although with many questions unanswered, such as what will happen to his marriage and how will his career progress.
“Swann in Love” was filmed in 1984 in French, English and German and shot in France, with dubbing being the director’s choice of audiovisual translation for the relevant scenes. It stars Jeremy Irons and Alain Delon and was nominated for two BAFTA film awards in 1985. The plot is taken from the first part of Proust’s multi-volume novel *À la recherche du temps perdu* and concerns Charles Swann (played by Irons), a member of the upper middle class in France, who sacrifices his social standing for the love of Odette de Crécy, a courtesan. He is subsequently ostracised by his friends, with only one, the homosexual Charlus (Alain Delon) remaining supportive. The film was not well received by the critics, who felt it an uninspiring adaptation of such a seminal work of literature (Moeller and Lellis, 2002: 206).

This period of the director’s oeuvre is held to end in 1985 with the director’s move to the USA.

### 3.3.4 The American Schlöndorff

Schlöndorff moved to the USA in 1985 and began making films there, starting with *Death of a Salesman* (1985). The film was financed by CBS who had paid for the television rights; the author of the original play, Arthur Miller, and the main star, Dustin Hoffman, owned the remaining rights and were persuaded to hold a screening to determine the possible success of the film if released at the cinema. Hoffman’s friend and mentor, Warren Beatty, advised him that, although the film would make a profit at the cinema box office, compared with his other recent films, for example *Tootsie* (Sydney Pollack, 1982), it would be seen as a failure for him as a box office star. Schlöndorff (2011: 339) describes these events as the “kiss of death” for his ambitions to release the film on the big screen in the USA and the film would only make it to the small screen. The film did garner significant success when shown on television, and in addition to winning three Emmys it was also nominated for seven more. The film tells the story of Willy Loman, and his family, in particular his two sons Biff and Happy. Willy is the ‘salesman’ of the title, and the film addresses themes such as characters...
trapped in frustrating and unfulfilling jobs, dysfunctional relationships, poor communication leading to tragedy and the illusion of the American Dream.

As a result of the film’s failure to gain a cinema release, the subsequent years saw Schlöndorff directing further films for television including *A Gathering of Old Men* (1987), a film adaptation of a novel written by Ernest J. Gaines in 1983 and based in the deep south of the USA. This work tackles issues of racism and collective responsibility through the story of a black man who shoots a white farmer in self-defence. The ‘gathering’ of the title then takes place when a group of black men come together, each with a shotgun and an empty shell, with the result that the guilty man cannot be identified. Although superficially this film seems to be very concerned with American themes, these preoccupations with race, rebellion and group responsibility are universal and can just as easily be applied to the German context. The end of this period is punctuated by Schlöndorff’s first feature-length science fiction film, *The Handmaid’s Tale*, from 1989. Once again based on a novel, this time by Canadian author Margaret Atwood (1986), the film is set in a future dystopia where “a brutal patriarchal regime deprives women of power and subjectivity” (Cooper, 2004: 49), recreating a climate of fear and oppression that draws obvious parallels with Germany in the 1930s and 1940s (Moeller and Lellis, 2002: 248) and with the themes already examined in *Katharina Blum*. The film starred Robert Duvall, and Natasha Richardson as Kate, the handmaid of the title, with celebrated playwright Harold Pinter providing the screenplay. Set in the fictitious future town of Gilead, where pollution has led to the infertility of 99% of the population, the handmaids act as concubines to the rich and powerful men who control society, lying between their wives’ legs as they are penetrated with a view to producing children for the family. Kate is the handmaid to the Commander and, when she fails to get pregnant, the Commander’s wife shares her fears that he may also be sterile and suggests she have sex with their driver, to secretly produce a child which she can then give to the couple. She becomes pregnant in this way, but is rescued by resistance fighters posing as
secret police and flees the family. The film ends with her future uncertain as she is no longer a handmaid but living by herself and pregnant whilst the father of her child is still in the service of the Commander. Alongside the threatening climate, both the novel and the film deal with feminist concerns, in particular reproductive rights issues. Moeller and Lellis (2002: 247) comment “The Handmaid’s Tale represents a return to the Schlöndorff of the 1970s with its focus on a woman’s right to personal and sexual fulfillment”.

3.3.5 The post-wall Schlöndorff

Moeller and Lellis (2002) mark the beginning of this, the latest period of Volker Schlöndorff’s film-making according to their classification, with the making of Voyager in 1991. This film is more European in nature, being an adaptation of a Max Frisch novel (Homo Faber, 1957), and Schlöndorff himself describes it as a “strictly European production” (Van Gelder, 1990: online). Despite the fact that it was shot mainly in English with an American star (Sam Shephard), the film was a European co-production between France, Germany, Greece and the UK, in which German is also spoken and subtitled in the English version. According to Moeller and Lellis (ibid.: 266) “there is no question of the European nature of the film’s cultural sources.” The film’s protagonist, Walter Faber, is a man who considers himself a rational scientist, always in control. The narrative begins with his involvement in a plane crash which seriously destabilises this world view. As a direct result of this accident, he decides to travel by ship rather than plane to a meeting in Paris, and on board he meets and falls in love with a woman, Sabeth, and chooses to accompany her on a road trip to Athens, where she will join her mother, Hanna. The latter turns out to be his ex-lover and just after Walter has worked out that Sabeth is, in fact, his daughter, she dies in an accident for which he feels responsible and he must confess his incest to her mother. The film lacks many of the over-arching themes common to Schlöndorff’s work, and it has been suggested that it is a more personal film, mirroring his divorce and subsequent remarriage, which was happening around this time.
As previously mentioned, the beginning of this timespan can also be viewed as marking the end of the New German Cinema movement. During this period, which continues to the present-day, Schlöndorff finally moved back to Germany and settled in the new capital, Berlin. After a rather long period of relative inactivity, during which he produced only one work – a documentary consisting of interviews with the director Billy Wilder – in 1996 he directed the film *The Ogre*, which is seen by some critics as the natural sequel to *Die Blechtrommel* (Crowdus and Porton, 2001). The novel *Die Blechtrommel* does not conclude where the film finishes, but continues to follow the character of Oskar for a further ten years until he reaches the age of 30; in fact, the novel is narrated by the 30 year-old Oskar whereas in the film the narrator is an Oskar of indeterminate age. Günter Grass, the book’s author, wished Schlöndorff to make a film of the rest of his novel, however financial as well as practical considerations, such as the physical maturity of the actor playing Oskar, David Bennent, made this impossible (Zander, 2007). *The Ogre* is again based on a novel, on this occasion a French novel by Michel Tournier entitled *Le Roi des Aulnes*, written in 1970, first translated into English as *The Erlking* and later retitled *The Ogre* in its English translation of 1972. The audiovisual work stars John Malkovich in the central role of Abel Tiffauges, a child-like figure on the outer edges of society who loves children and wishes only to protect them, perhaps as a result of his brutal childhood in a boarding school. He is falsely accused of raping a schoolgirl with whom he has become friendly but is allowed to join the French army (it is 1939) rather than go to prison. Abel is captured by the Germans and is sent to labour in a prison camp, eventually becoming one of Goering’s servants and working in his hunting lodge. When Goering is forced, by the events of the war, to leave the lodge, Abel is transferred as a member of staff to an elite residential school whose purpose is to train young boys to be the leaders of the German army. He becomes the main recruiter, using his ability to gain the trust of children to bring them to this macabre school, without realising that he is bringing them into certain danger, acting in this sense like the ogre of the title. Thematic preoccupations of innocence and guilt, along with the actions of individuals during the time
of the Third Reich are again placed centrally in the film and Moeller and Lellis (2002: 289) suggest that Schlöndorff is making the point that German guilt should extend beyond those who were murdered in the holocaust to encompass shame at the young German lives that were also lost fighting the war.

The Ogre, in which the protagonist is a child in a man’s body, forms a reverse symmetry with Oskar, who is, by the end of the film, a man in a child’s body (Moeller and Lellis, 2002: 289), and indeed the later film shares many themes with Die Blechtrommel, most strikingly its engagement with Nazism and German guilt.

Having offered an overview of the director’s filmography and having also provided the background to the various periods of film-making in the career of Volker Schlöndorff, the following section seeks to examine some of the most recurrent issues and topics of concern for the director.

3.4 Themes and issues in the films

One of the most significant aspects of the filmmaking of Volker Schlöndorff is that the majority of his films are adaptations of existing books or other works of fiction (e.g. his most recent film from 2014, Diplomatie, is based on a play by Cyril Gély by the same name and written in 2011), and he often chooses his sources because of the themes addressed therein. As far as the corpus for this research is concerned, Die Blechtrommel is based on the eponymous novel by Günter Grass (1959) and Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum is adapted from the novel by the same name written by Heinrich Böll in 1974. As Schlöndorff himself (in Crowdus and Porton, 2001: 22) affirms: “What I’m looking for in a novel is not the style, but the writer’s ethics or attitudes to life. I try to determine why you turn the page, where is the energy, what do I want to know more?”. As a consequence, his filmography, in terms of genre and style, could be viewed as somewhat eclectic, which, as foregrounded by
Moeller and Lellis (2008: 14), has given the director an opportunity to experiment “with a variety of genres, styles, literary collaborations, adaptation projects, production situations, and degrees of political commitment”. Despite this apparent heterogeneity there are, nevertheless, many common themes which the director seeks to examine and investigate through his filmmaking as evidenced by his choice of literary works to adapt. As Moeller and Lellis (ibid.: 8) also underline, “there is in Schlöndorff’s work an auteurlike consistency of theme and style regardless of the specific movie’s source”.

One of the defining features of New German Cinema was the stated intention by the directors involved in the movement to address the horrors of Nazism and to reject the sanitisation which was felt to have been prevalent in German film-making since the end of the war. It is clear that Schlöndorff shared this ambition, as evidenced by his first film Der junge Törless (1965) which, as discussed earlier, has as its principal theme the bullying of a young Jewish boy in a brutal school environment and the feelings and accommodation of these events by the protagonist, who looks on without intervening. This painful and sometimes controversial subject has been addressed in many of the subsequent films in the director’s oeuvre, including Der neunte Tag [The Ninth Day], shot in 2004. The film is based on true events detailed in the diaries of a priest, Father Jean Bernard, who was incarcerated in Dachau concentration camp, the first of the Nazi concentration camps opened in Germany, intended to hold political prisoners, during World War II (Bernard, 2004).

This period in history is, of course, most notably addressed in his extolled film Die Blechtrommel (see section 3.5.1), which tells the story of the city of Gdansk, then Danzig, from the turn of the 19th century until the end of World War II through the eyes and the narration of the main character, Oskar, who is born with an almost adult ability to see and understand the world, and decides, aged three, to stop growing and remain in the body of a child. Thus he, and the viewers, see the rise and fall of Nazism through the eyes of this child with adult sensitivities. When referring to the main protagonist of the film, Moeller and Lellis
(2009: 171) call him “a multivalenced metaphor” as his childlike physiology can be seen to represent any combination of a protest against his environment and, by extension, fascism; a part of Nazi Germany (Hitler was known as ‘the drummer’); and a product of strained Polish-German relations. Hughes (1981: 2) claims that Oskar “represented the destructive infantilism of the Nazis”.

The film seeks to uncover and locate the roots of the rise of fascism and finds them in the small neighbourhood shopkeepers and local communities. Schlöndorff himself (in Hughes, 1981: 3) reminisces about his own war experience with these words:

I also remember, at around eight or ten, a kind of mass guilt tendency – we were all accusing our fathers and asking them how the Hitler thing could have happened, what they were doing during the war, etc. And of course none of them admitted any responsibility. It was always someone else who had been the evil one.

This affirmation highlights and emphasises the director’s fascination with those individuals who stand back and allow other people to commit evil without interfering. This theme of fascism and the bystander or apathy effect is also addressed, either directly or obliquely, in many of Schlöndorff’s other films throughout his professional career, including Der Fangschuß [Coup de Grâce] (1976) and The Ogre (1996).

A related, reiterative theme in Schlöndorff’s oeuvre is that of good people being driven to undertake negative actions owing to the situations in which they find themselves. A central example of this preoccupation is found in the film Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum, where the eponymous protagonist finds herself the victim of a press smear campaign, police intimidation and public shame because of a one-night liaison with a man, Ludwig Götthen, who is viewed as extremely dangerous by the police and the Establishment. Katharina is vilified by the newspapers, her family is hounded, her mother dies as a result of press intimidation, and her moral and social reputation is called into question by both the police
and the press. At the end of the film, despite having shown no previous violent tendencies, she shoots dead the reporter who has been the main thrust of the smear campaign, shortly after viewers discover that Ludwig is not, as was described by the police and press, a dangerous terrorist, hell-bent on destabilising society, but is, in fact, merely a deserter from military service and a petty thief. This act of aggression on the part of Katharina confounds the expectations of the audience whose natural allegiance is with the wronged and oppressed protagonist, and they find themselves thus in the awkward moral position of sympathising with someone who has committed murder. In a comment on this preoccupation, when speaking about Die Blechtrommel, Schlöndorff (in Hughes, 1981: 5) acknowledges that his main objective was “to show the monstrous things hiding inside ‘normal’ ones”. Later on, quoted in Crowdus and Porton (2001: 21), he adds that: “If nice people only did good things and mean people only did evil things, the world would be easier to understand, but often it’s the other way around”. A central theme that underscores his philosophical way of understanding cinema and the world, this topic also surfaces in other films, notably Michael Kohlhaas (1969), Voyager (1991) and The Legends of Rita (2000).

Schlöndorff has also tackled terrorism and the German press hysteria around this subject, which was particularly apparent in the 1970s when the German state and press were very much preoccupied with the actions of the Rote Armee Faktion, [Red Army Faction], or RAF, a group of far-left militants who committed terrorist acts against various targets from 1970 to 1998, mostly with the intention of causing disruption to capitalist structures and institutions. One of their main targets was the right-wing press, notably the Axel Springer Verlag, a major publishing house responsible for the most popular tabloid in Germany, the Bild-Zeitung. Although 34 people lost their lives as a result of their activities, most of their attacks were on buildings and institutions. Again, as already mentioned, this is a theme centrally present in Katharina Blum, where it is the belief of the police, press and the Establishment that Katharina’s lover is a dangerous anti-Establishment terrorist. Although it
is subsequently revealed that this is not the case, this misconception is nevertheless used as a justification for the way Katharina is treated. In terms of thematic focus, this again forms a bridge with the topic of good people being in a position where they feel the need to perform destructive and negative actions. *Katharina Blum*, whilst not directly referring to the real-life RAF terrorist activities in Germany in the 1970s, is an obvious mirroring of this period of German history and the link is made explicit in both the book and the film with the pseudo-disclaimer at the end which refers to a link between events depicted in the book/film and the actions of the *BILD-Zeitung* (see section 3.5.2).

As signposted in section 3.3, Schlöndorff also concentrates some of his cinematic attention on strong women and issues closely related to feminism and the female in society. The protagonist in *Katharina Blum* is an obvious example of this – the viewers feel sympathy for her position but also respect for her dignity in the face of unacceptable treatment by a battery of negative male figures. Her position as a single woman in a society which has double standards with respect to acceptable behaviour makes her vulnerable to accusations of moral impropriety, which men in a similar position would not face. Schlöndorff’s main objective is to emphasise the contrast between Katharina’s position and that of the powerful men around her and, in this way, highlight the contradictions in society at that time and its patriarchal nature. Moeller and Lellis (2009: 134) discuss how this social environment is metaphorically depicted in the film in the following terms: “Schlöndorff and Trotta underline sexual politics through a network of militaristic, phallocentric images as well as through a special psychological pattern of aggression and blame”. *Der Fangschuß* (1976) is another of Schlöndorff’s films in which he address patriarchy and feminism from diverse angles. In this production, the protagonist, Sophie, is a woman driven to extreme behaviour. Gradually throughout the film, she acts ever more recklessly with her personal safety and eventually is executed by the man she loves because of her political sympathies and her inability to be recognised as an equal by the men around her, primarily her brother and the object of her
affections, Erich. The subjugation of women comes to the fore in *The Handmaid's Tale* (1989), which tells the story of a dystopian future where some women are enslaved and forced to bear children for the rich and privileged, whereas *Strike* (2005) focuses on political and social engagement by depicting the true story of one of the heroines of the Solidarity movement in Poland in the 1980s.

In such a wide-ranging body of work as that of Volker Schlöndorff, with a prolific career of over 30 films, it is apparent that many thematic preoccupations will become evident; however, those discussed above form the main strands of his film-making and an important background for the study undertaken in these pages. The subjects most evident in Schlöndorff’s films include Nazism and the German response to it, terrorism and concomitant press hysteria, feminism, and the phenomenon of good people being forced into situations where they are compelled to carry out negative actions. The next section will look at the particular choice of films for this study in greater depth.

### 3.5 Defining the corpus

Volker Schlöndorff has directed monolingual films in German and English and has also made multilingual films in which various languages are spoken, particularly in the case of European co-productions (see Table 7, section 3.3). Since the principal aim of this research is to investigate the activation of potential regular trends in the subtitling of German films in English, it has been necessary to choose, for the corpus to be studied, films whose dialogue is wholly or at least mostly in German. For this reason it is advantageous to select films which were made before Schlöndorff left to live in the USA in 1985 as these films were shot, for the most part, in German. As the study is a descriptive one and there was an interest from the beginning in focusing on the diachronic variation in subtitling norms throughout the corpus, it was important that the films that formed the corpus were available in at least two different subtitled versions that had been published at different points in time. An additional
consideration was the physical availability of the films on DVD or Blu-ray, as some of the director’s works are no longer available, were never published on DVD or Blu-ray (e.g. Wen kümmerts? and Michael Kohlhaas – Der Rebell), or would prove difficult to source through mainstream channels such as DVD retailers with an online presence.

For this reason, his two best-known and most successful films have been chosen, namely Die Blechtrommel and Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum. Given that both films are set outside of the UK - Die Blechtrommel mostly in Danzig and Katharina Blum in Cologne - it was likely that they would be rich in culture-specific references, whose translation forms the basis of a large part of the research carried out in these pages.

The following DVD versions, listed in Table 8, contain English subtitles that have been used for the analysis carried out in chapters five, six and seven:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film</th>
<th>Year of publication</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Die Blechtrommel</strong> [The Tin Drum]</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Argos Films</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Kino on Video (with Korean subtitles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Nouveaux Pictures (identical subtitles to 1995 version)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Solopan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Arrow Academy (identical subtitles to 2010 version)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum</strong> [The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum]</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Criterion Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>StudioCanal Collection (Blu-Ray)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 8: Films in the corpus*

When considering the variety of English used in the subtitles for the various versions in the corpus, the 1995, 2009 and 2010 sets are written in UK English, whilst the 2002 and 2003 sets are rendered in US English with the variations in spelling and lexicon that this implies. The 2011 set of subtitles are identical to these carried on the 2010 DVD and are therefore discounted for the purposes of further analysis. This information has been considered when analysing the translational decisions present in the treatment of CSRs in the corpus.
As can be seen in Table 8 above, the 2002 subtitle set for *Die Blechtrommel* is the only set in the corpus whose first translational language is not English as this DVD was expressly produced for the Korean market and carries subtitles in both Korean and English. The DVD packaging is bilingual Korean/English with Korean appearing prominently as the first language:

![Figure 13: Die Blechtrommel 2002](image)

The English subtitles carried on this DVD, observed from an orthotypographical viewpoint, are rather unusual, in that they are all presented in yellow, and in italics, where ordinarily subtitles would be presented in white, and the use of italics would be restricted to specific purposes, such as the presentation of off-screen audio, as examined in section 7.2.8. The Korean subtitles on the same DVD are presented in a pale blue font. A possible explanation for these chromatic and typographical decisions is that the English subtitles were produced in a territory, possibly Korea, where standard conventions for English subtitling were not known. Indeed, the English subtitles in this set are also remarkable for exhibiting many spelling mistakes, although these do not influence the choice of translational strategy with
3.5.1 Die Blechtrommel

Based on the controversial and seminal 1959 novel by Günter Grass, *Die Blechtrommel* (1979) tells the story of Oskar, the narrator of the film, and his family in Gdansk, from the turn of the 19th century, through the events of the 1920s and 1930s and until the end of the World War II in 1945. The film concludes its narrative at the end of the war, whilst the eponymous novel follows Oskar for a further decade. The book is long and complex in its narrative structure, and, although there was a willingness on the part of both Grass and Schlöndorff to film the later part of the book, this did not prove possible, as explained in section 3.3.5.

The film starts with the image of a Kashubian peasant-woman, Anna Bronski, tending a fire in a potato field. She is disturbed by a man obviously running away from something. He utters the single word ‘bitte’ [please] and she hides him under her four skirts. Oskar, narrating the scene, reveals to the viewer that Joseph is a Polish nationalist arsonist, running away from the police, and whilst under her skirts he impregnates Anna, the resulting child being Oskar’s mother, Agnes. The pursuing police arrive, are baffled by Joseph’s disappearance and wander off in search of him. The action then moves quickly through the intervening years until towards the end of World War I where Agnes, now grown up, is pictured embracing her cousin Jan, and also meeting a German soldier, Alfred Matzerath, in her job at the military hospital. Agnes marries Alfred, but continues having an affair with Jan. The entire film is narrated by the child, Oskar, who is aware of the weaknesses and foibles of adults from before his birth and narrates in the voice of a child with the viewpoint of an adult. At his third birthday party, where the viewer, along with Oskar, sees the clear evidence of his mother’s affair, he decides to stop growing and remain physically an infant forever. He manufactures a fall down the cellar steps to give the adults a plausible explanation for this cessation of growth. Thus the narrator of the book, and the film, is an ageless individual in a child’s body.
In the novel, the reader is given the information right at the start of the narrative (in the first line) that Oskar is the inmate of a psychiatric institution (Grass, 1997: 9). Oskar starts his story with: Zugegeben, ich bin Insasse einer Heil- und Pflegeanstalt [Granted: I’m an inmate of a mental institution; (Mitchell, 2010)] and therefore the reader knows that he is an unreliable narrator. In the film, the viewer does not have this information and is consequently left to deduce this from the discrepancies between what Oskar says in voice-over and what is actually depicted on the screen.

This third birthday celebration is also the occasion when Oskar is given his tin drum, a fetish instrument that he carries with him at all times and whose drumming forms an almost constant background to the events of the film both acoustically and when it is used as a plot device, such as when Oskar goes to school and refuses to stop drumming, leading to his expulsion on his first day. He is considered unteachable and unable to learn, but this is untrue and he becomes an auto-didact. Oskar’s other defining feature is his ability to break glass with his scream, which he employs to dramatic effect throughout the film, most notably breaking a huge quantity of the windows in the city in protest at his mother’s infidelity.

Agnes becomes pregnant by Jan Bronski, and starts to eat large quantities of fish, which makes her ill and she subsequently dies, although the exact cause of death is unclear in the film. Oskar drags Jan Bronski to the Polish Post Office, where the latter works, to get his tin drum mended, and Jan is then unable to escape the unfolding events as the Post Office is put under siege by the advancing German forces. Jan is captured and executed after this siege, a real-life event and one of the first violent incidents in what was to become World War II. The progress of the war is then charted in the film through the discussions of the characters and their actions. For instance, there is a discussion at a party about the fighting in Moscow where the banality of the conversation - the guests are asked which part of the goose they would like whilst discussing casualties in Russia - underlines the very fact that the fighting has become an everyday and commonplace topic for these characters.
After Agnes’s death, Alfred, Oskar’s father, takes on a girl, Maria, to help him in the shop he runs, and Oskar sleeps with her one night when Alfred is out at a Party rally. She is also having sex with Alfred and when she has a child, although it is widely held that Alfred is the father, Oskar believes himself responsible for the conception. After the birth of this putative son, named Kurt, Oskar joins a troop of little people who are travelling through France entertaining German officers as part of the war effort. When his lover, Roswitha, who is also part of the troop, is killed by the advancing American forces, he returns to Danzig on Kurt’s third birthday and presents him with a tin drum, which Kurt regards with disdain. The Russians are advancing on Danzig, and Alfred is destroying all the vestiges of his Nazi Party membership. When they storm the house, Oskar passes him his Nazi Party badge, which he swallows in an attempt to hide it. The pin on the badge is open, and Alfred starts to convulse as it ruptures his windpipe. The Russians mistake these antics for aggression and shoot him dead. Oskar thus believes himself responsible for the deaths of both his fathers and his mother, as he believes that Agnes’s unwillingness to keep her child conceived with Jan is as a result of her despair at managing Oskar. At Alfred’s funeral, Oskar symbolically throws his drum onto the coffin as it is lowered into the earth and decides to grow again, then is hit on the head by a stone thrown by Kurt and falls into the grave. As he comes round, he does indeed start to grow again. The film ends with Maria, Oskar, and Kurt fleeing Danzig on a cattle truck, whilst Grandma Bronski is left behind.

*Die Blechtrommel* is both the detailed story of the rise of Nazism in Danzig and the events of World War II as well as the examination of the clash between three cultures living in Danzig at the time: the Poles, the Germans and the Kashubians (Moeller and Lellis: 2002: 169). The Free City of Danzig was created as part of the Treaty of Versailles after World War I and its population consisted mainly of ethnic Germans. The city was under the control of the League of Nations and was designated as a Free City to give the Poles access to the Baltic through a sizeable sea port. The Germans are personified by Alfred Matzerath although many of the
supporting characters are also German, such as Musiker Meyn, the trumpeter, who is a committed Nazi seen roughly ejecting the Jewish toymaker from Agnes’s funeral. The film charts the rise of the German majority and the oppression of the Poles and then the subsequent collapse of the dominant Germans culminating with their retreat en masse in cattle trucks. The Poles, who include Jan Bronski and his colleagues, are a significant, vocal and proud minority who resist the rise of Nazism and are routed and executed during the events following the siege at the Polish Post Office. The Kashubians are described by Moeller and Lellis (2002: 165) as “[a]n older, smaller, mostly rural and somewhat oppressed Wendish-Slavic population” and are considered to be indigenous to the area. They are represented in the film by Oskar’s grandmother, Anna Bronski, and also Maria, who comes to help in the family shop from the countryside. They are, in the main, left behind with the Poles when the Germans leave the city at the end of the film, and the last scene is of a Kashubian peasant-woman in the fields, an exact replica of the opening scene, signifying that for the Kashubians, everything has come back to where it was almost 50 years earlier, with Anna Bronski saying “That’s how it is with the Kashubians, Oskar. [...] You can’t move the Kashubians anywhere, they have to stay here and offer their heads up, so the others can hit them, because people like us are not properly Polish and not really German enough” (Schlöndorff and Grass, 1979: 174, my translation).

3.5.2 Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum

Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum (1975), based on the eponymous novel by Heinrich Böll (1974), was directed by Schlöndorff with his first wife, Margarethe von Trotta, and relates the story of a young woman, Katharina, who, during carnival time in Cologne meets a young man, Ludwig Götten, at a party hosted by her aunt. Uncharacteristically for her, she invites him back to her flat where they spend the night together. When she wakes up in the morning, he is gone without having said goodbye. Soon after, the police arrive in the flat looking for him as he is a wanted man, accused of terrorism, robbery, desertion from his
military service and other crimes against the state. The remainder of the film describes her treatment at the hands of what might be termed ‘the powers that be’: the press, who vilify her as a terrorist, a whore, and a thief, and otherwise defame her character; and the police, who interrogate her in a similar fashion and who are shown to be in league with the press and the legal system. Highlighting a sharp disparity between genders, all of these oppressors are represented by male figures, in fact the film is populated almost entirely by men, with the exception of Katharina, her aunt, and a friend at the start of the film. This gender disparity is emphasised by the film-makers during an argument between the police interrogator, Beizmenne, and Katharina. Describing the events of the previous night, Beizmenne uses the word *Zudringlichkeiten* [pushiness] to euphemistically describe the sexual intercourse between Katharina and Ludwig, the same word that Katharina has used in the context of unwanted sexual attention from clients of her employer. Katharina protests, and insists on the word *Zärtlichkeit* [tenderness] being inserted in her statement, to describe what happened between her and Ludwig, despite Beizmenne’s assertions that they basically mean the same thing. This lexical disagreement points up the overall tone of the film, that of aggressive men and victimised women.

The action takes place during Carnival time in Cologne, where people dress up and drink and throw parties for several days, and this revelry contrasts with the austerity of Katharina’s interrogation in the police station, which forms most of the content of the film. Up until this point, Katharina has led a simple and private life, working as a housekeeper for a married couple who are both lawyers, and doing some hospitality work in the evenings to make some extra money. She allocates part of her earnings to maintain her father’s grave, to support her mother, and sends some to her brother who is in prison for a petty crime. She is divorced from her husband, who, it is suggested, has treated her badly. The police and the press investigate every aspect of her life, and if they cannot uncover reasons to defame her character, they fabricate them, for example the newspapers quoting her mother as saying
that Katharina never visits her. One of the most shocking scenes of the film occurs when Werner Tötges, the head journalist, manages to get to Katharina’s mother’s bedside, despite her being extremely sick and not allowed to receive visitors. He bombards her with questions which she does not or cannot reply to and he then prints her answers, which he has devised himself. It is implied in the film that this harassment is ultimately the cause of her death.

Katharina is supported by her employers, the Blornas, who believe in her good character. It is revealed that she has, until recently, entertained visits from a ‘gentleman friend’, a friend of theirs. This fact is also used by the press and police to smear her character and imply that she sells sex. The lover is revealed as Alois Sträubleder, a local businessman and politician, and client of the Blornas. It is implied that the relationship was somewhat one-sided and is now over; Sträubleder is shown as an unsympathetic figure, promising to support Katharina only to gain the return of a key to his country house, which he had given her previously. The viewer realises at this point of the film that this summer house belonging to Sträubleder is where Ludwig is hiding and by the end of the film he is found and it is uncovered that his misdemeanours amount only to desertion from military service and petty theft. Katharina, her moral and ethical reputation destroyed, a victim of hate mail and abusive phone calls, with her mother dead as a consequence of press hounding, arranges to meet the principal reporter responsible for the press smear campaign, Werner Tötges. She is advised against this action by Dr Blorna, but proclaims she wishes to see what such a man looks like. They meet in her apartment, where she has received more hate mail. He asserts that she should be grateful for the media exposure he has given her and offers to maximise her public career and money-making potential with interviews and other articles. Realising her negative reaction to this proposal, he protests that she should not hold him responsible for her harsh treatment at the hands of the press, and blames the editorial staff of the newspaper. He claims to “respect” her, suggesting they have sex “so they can get to know each other better” (Schlöndorff and von Trotta 1975: 144, my translation), upon which she takes out a pistol
and shoots him dead. The epilogue of the film presents his funeral, where the owner of the newspaper which employed Tötges, Die Zeitung [The Newspaper], gives a eulogy denouncing his murder as a blow to press freedom and democracy, when in fact it was the desperate act of a victim of extreme press and police harassment. He calls upon the mourners to stop this dangerous movement from spreading and attacking wider society, thereby providing a justification for the behaviour of his newspaper and others.

The film is a direct indictment of unethical press behaviour in Germany in the 1970s, a criticism that can be easily extrapolated to other countries and other historical periods. The film and novel both allude to the behaviour of journalists and editorial staff on the BILD-Zeitung, the most famous and successful of the German tabloid newspapers, and both the book and the 2003 film version contain the following disclaimer shown below in Figure 18, making a direct link that could be taken as an accusation:

![Image of the disclaimer](image.png)

Figure 14: The disclaimer at the end of Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum 2003 version

In the book, this information is printed at the beginning, in the manner of a standard disclaimer before the novel actually begins, although it clearly forms part of the novel and can be assumed to have been written by Heinrich Böll, the book’s author and not inserted by the publisher. In the 2003 film, on the other hand, the disclaimer contains the exact same
wording as in the book but appears as on-screen text which comes on word by word at the end of the film, over a shot of the funeral wreaths. The five English subtitles that translate the text are presented one by one in the space available under the text, synchronised with the German text (see Table 9). The German text clearly underpins the link between the actions of the fictional newspaper in the film, Die Zeitung, and the actual German tabloid, BILD-Zeitung. A screen grab of the full German text can be seen in Figure 19 below, followed by the English subtitles used in the 2003 version. It is worth drawing attention to the last subtitle, which is barely legible, as it is displayed over the white German text. As this text remains on-screen for some time after the out time of the subtitle, it would have been preferable for this subtitle to be displayed against a black box to aid legibility.

![Subtitle example](image.png)

*Figure 15: Disclaimer at the end of Katharina Blum 2003*
In the 2009 film, however, this disclaimer is worded differently, and the subtitles reflect this, as can be seen in Figure 20 and Figure 21:

The overt reference to the BILD-Zeitung has been totally removed, and the force of the disclaimer altered to encompass ‘certain journalistic practices’ rather than targeting one specific newspaper and making explicit the link between the fictional newspaper Die Zeitung and the real German newspaper, BILD-Zeitung, as was presumably the intention of Schlöndorff and Böll. The justification for this may be found in the fact that the publisher of

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14 The 2003 DVD of Katharina Blum is in NTSC format, which means that it runs at 30 frames per second and it was commercialised for distribution in zone 1 (North America).
this particular Blu-Ray disc, StudioCanal, are a wholly-owned subsidiary of the media giant Vivendi (Studiocanal.de, 2016). It is likely that the reason for this neutralisation of the force of the original disclaimer written by Heinrich Böll was a desire on the part of the publishers not to antagonise the owners of the BILD-Zeitung, the German media company Springer-Verlag. It is likely that this direct comparison, and to a certain extent accusation, drawn by the film was felt to be legally and commercially problematic for the publishers of the Blu-Ray. This demonstrates the power that this veiled accusation, made by Böll and retained by Schlöndorff, has even today. The English subtitles for this version reflect the German text, and are written all in capitals, as can be seen in Figure 21 and Table 10 below:

![Figure 17: Disclaimer at the end of Katharina Blum 2009](image)

"Personen und Handlungen sind frei erfunden. Ähnlichkeiten mit gewissen journalistischen Praktiken sind nicht bewusst, jedoch zufällig, stattdessen unvermeidlich."

"CHARACTERS AND EVENTS ARE FICTIONAL. SIMILARITIES WITH CERTAIN JOURNALISTIC PRACTICES ARE NOT INTENTIONAL, BUT UNAVOIDABLE."
Table 10: The 2009 English subtitles from the disclaimer at the end of Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum.

The subtitles here are more legible, as they are not presented over the white German text, but the German text itself suffers from being against the background of the white funeral wreaths and is not particularly easy to read.

This chapter has discussed some of the main topics and formal characteristics of the films that supported their selection as part of the corpus to be analysed. The various decisions that have led to the choice of the body of subtitles to be studied have been also elucidated.
Chapter 4

Methodology

In this chapter I shall set out the methodology used in the study and the theoretical background supporting it. This research aims to conduct a descriptive analysis of the English subtitles from two German films by the director Volker Schlöndorff, namely *Die Blechtrommel* [The Tin Drum] and *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* [The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum].

4.1 Introduction

A total of five sets of English subtitles for the two films have been retrieved, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Film</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>English Title</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum</em> co-directed with Margarethe von Trotta</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td><em>The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum</em></td>
<td>2003, 2009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 11: Subtitles used in the analysis*

This chapter begins with an overview of the Descriptive Translation Studies framework within which the research takes place, then goes on to review the primary literature dealing with norms in translation, including descriptions of the main taxonomies. The issue of prescription in subtitling is then discussed, followed by an exposition of the task of the subtitler in conveying illocutionary meaning to the target audience. The concept of retranslation is examined, and the chapter concludes with an overview of the methodology used in studying the corpus.
4.2 Theoretical framework: Descriptive Translation Studies

The theoretical framework for this research is that of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) as advanced by Toury (1980, 1995, 2012) and developed by other academics such as Hermans (1985, 1999) and Chesterman (1997). Many scholars have written useful overviews of this work (Munday, 2012) and others, such as Díaz Cintas (2004a) and Pedersen (2011), have gone a step further and applied DTS to the field of audiovisual translation and, more specifically, to subtitling. This framework is seen as relevant for the current study as the aim in this research is to observe the outcome of subtitling practice as it has been carried out, from the early days of DVD through to a time when the DVD was an established entertainment content medium.

The DTS framework is usually seen as standing in opposition to the more prescriptive approaches that were popular previous to these works (Munday, 2012), which tended to focus on concepts such as equivalence (Nida, 1964; Rabadán, 1991), and take a dogmatic view of what a ‘good’ translation should be. Descriptive Translation Studies, as the name suggests, contends that in order to anchor translation studies as a solid, empirical discipline, it is important to study practice as performed by translators in real, professional contexts, rather than attempt to prescribe what such practice should be. This methodology echoes the long-standing methodology used in the scientific disciplines, i.e. study what is happening in the real world, form a hypothesis, then test it. For research to be meaningful it is crucial that translation scholars are closely involved with translation practice and seek to describe and analyse real world strategies and solutions rather than prescribing ideal or hypothetical states that cannot then be proven empirically.

The aim of Toury’s (1980, 1995) seminal work is to establish a methodological instrument for such description and analysis, and thereby to ground the study of translation as a rigorous, academic, empirical discipline. He argues that all translation activity is ultimately governed
by a set of norms and suggests a taxonomy of such norms that could be used as a means of
categorising translation choices, in an attempt to bridge the gap between translation theory
and practice. An essential part of this methodology is the mapping of the target text (TT)
onto the source text (ST) to compare the two texts, using what he calls “a series of ad-hoc
coupled pairs” (Toury, 1995:37). For this process he assumes equivalence between the two
texts, instead of prescribing it, and isolates segments of the ST and TT which can be said to
correspond (ibid.: 77) as a heuristic method of postulating the norms at work for the
translators. This strategy for analysis could be viewed as somewhat circular, since
equivalence is taken as a given, prior to the scholarly examination of translations. Munday
(2012: 178) terms Toury’s mapping of source text onto target text “ad-hoc” and “not fully
objective or replicable”. For subtitling, it could be argued that as subtitles are, to a greater
or lesser extent, synchronous with the audio which forms the source text, this assumption of
equivalence is justified. However, the individual components of subtitles can be contained in
subtitles that occur before or after the corresponding source text utterance, for example in
languages, like German, where the verb is often the final element in a sentence that might
run over two or more subtitles. In addition to this, subtitling, by necessity, involves reduction
through editing and condensation (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 3) which results in some
items in the source text remaining untranslated. The circularity of the Tourian framework
does cast some doubt on its validity, however the task of conducting analysis on existing
translations, something that is necessary if Translation Studies is to advance as a discipline
based on empirical study, requires such a heuristic framework for investigation. Despite its
flaws, it can be usefully applied to a corpus such as that studied here.

4.2.1 Toury’s taxonomy of norms

Toury (ibid.: 55) defines norms as follows: “the translation of general values or ideas shared
by a community – as to what is right or wrong, adequate or inadequate – into performance
instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations”. It is interesting, as an
aside, to look a little more closely at the language he uses in this definition, in particular the
use of the words 'translation' and 'adequate' in their more general senses, which seems an
odd choice for him to make. The verb 'to translate' is defined as “to move from one person,
place, or condition to another” (Oxford English Dictionary, 1986: meaning 3) and this is how
Toury uses it in this definition. Yet in the discipline of translation studies, it would be more
usual to find the word used in its more narrow, but arguably more common, sense of
“express the sense of [...] in or into another language” (ibid.: meaning 1), and, in fact, Toury
uses the word in this latter sense in the majority of the rest of his text. Focusing now on the
lexical term 'adequate' in this definition, it is used in the sense of fitting, or being sufficient,
or “proportionate (to the requirements)” (ibid.), the sense in which it is used in general
discourse, and as an antonym to 'inadequate'. This is in contrast to the particular use of the
term in Toury's taxonomy of norms explained in the next section, where it is used in
opposition to the term 'acceptable', where the latter indicates acceptability in the target
culture.

Toury's (1995: 56) taxonomy of norms consists of ‘initial norms’, ‘preliminary norms’, and
‘operational norms’ as in Table 12 and discussed in detail below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial norms</th>
<th>Preliminary norms</th>
<th>Operational norms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whether the translator’s choices are source-oriented or target-oriented.</td>
<td>Which texts are chosen for translation.</td>
<td>Actual translation decisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Matricial norms: decisions about where the text is placed. Textual-linguistic norms: lexical and stylistic decisions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Initial norms

For Toury (ibid: 56), the decisions taken by translators are informed by a conscious or unconscious wish to align themselves with either the norms of the source language and culture, or those governing the target language and culture, and produce either an ‘adequate’ translation, which conforms to the norms of the former or an ‘acceptable’ translation, which tends more to the latter. He stresses that the definitions of the concepts of adequate and acceptable are not absolute, but should be seen as opposite ends of a continuum, and that such decisions can be taken at any level within a translation, from a whole text to a single word. This term pair is Toury’s particular slant on the age-old ‘free translation’ vs. ‘literal translation’ debate where ‘literal translation’ is SL oriented, in the sense that it is a word-for-word or semantic unit for semantic unit transfer and is likely to produce a translation that reads awkwardly in the TL (‘adequate’ in Toury’s schema). ‘Free translation’ is TL oriented in the sense that a certain amount of meaning loss or change is allowed as long as the translation reads well and is fluent in the TL, which is known as ‘acceptable’ for Toury.

Preliminary norms

Toury’s (ibid.: 58) preliminary norms concern translation decisions taken at an extra-textual level, in particular the decision of which texts to translate and therefore make available to a TL audience: what Toury terms “translation policy”. The other group of decisions covered by these norms addresses what Toury (ibid.) calls “directness of translation” which refers to whether a translation has been performed directly from the SL into the TL or via an intermediate or pivot language.
Operational norms

As the name suggests, these norms are more focused on the actual decisions taken by the translator in a more practical sense, and are divided into “matricial norms” and “textual-linguistic norms” (Toury, 1995: 58). “Matricial norms” (ibid.), for their part, describe the structure of the TT, in terms of choices made by the translator about what segments are placed where, and what is omitted, if anything. As will be discussed, this is a most important aspect in the field of subtitling, where omission is dictated by the spatial and temporal constraints of the medium. “Textual-linguistic norms” concern lexical and stylistic decisions made by the translator and are the class of norms which are arguably closest to the earlier theories advanced by scholars such as Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995), Catford (1965) and Newmark (1988).

Toury’s model is seen by most scholars as a seminal work and one of the touchstones of the descriptive approach. Since it was first advanced in 1980 it has been revised and elaborated upon by both the author himself, in 1995 and 2012, and many other academics. It has not been without criticism, however, with scholars such as Hermans (1999) pointing out that the terms ‘adequate’ and ‘acceptable’ are somewhat problematic, because of their focus on the target text and the target-text culture and also their terminological opacity, owing to their widespread use in other contexts, even by Toury himself, as discussed earlier. An additional issue with Toury’s norm framework is potential confusion between the terms ‘preliminary’ and ‘initial’. For him, the initial norm is activated first, followed by the preliminary norm. This would seem to be difficult for two reasons: the terms ‘initial’ and ‘preliminary’ do not give us any clues about which should be chronically prioritised, and, in the normal run of things, the ‘preliminary’ norm, i.e. the decision about which texts to translate, would occur before the ‘initial’ norm, the orientation of that translation. Other academics such as Schäffner (1997), for example, point to the issues involved in determining norms from textual features
and the associated problems of understanding the precise relationships between translators and translational norms.

The following sections consider some of the most relevant refinements to the framework, in an attempt to seek a norm classification that can be applied to the current scholarship.

4.2.2 Chesterman’s norms

Chesterman (1997: 64) further refines Toury's norms by approaching them from “a different angle” and seeking to make them more relevant to professional practice. The result of this is his own set of norms which correspond loosely to Toury's initial and operational norms (Munday, 2012: 181). These are Chesterman’s proposed norms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product or expectancy norms</th>
<th>Professional or process norms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The expectations of the end users of the translation.</td>
<td>Norms governing the actual process of translation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Chesterman’s norms

Product or expectancy norms

These norms pertain to the expectations of the end users of the translation. Factors which can influence expectancy norms include the usual attitude to translated texts in the TL culture in general and, more specifically, in the domain of the text studied, expectations concerning non-translated texts of the same kind in the TL, and any other ideological and economic considerations that have a bearing on the final translation. Chesterman (1997: 65) points out that these norms allow for an evaluation of a translation by the end user, who will have a specific expectation of what the translated text should be like. In addition, they may
be “validated by a norm-authority of some kind” (ibid.: 66), for example teachers of translation will assess what they consider to be acceptable translations within a specific domain and pass on these judgements to their students, many of whom will go on to become professional translators, thereby perpetuating the normative behaviour.

Professional norms

Chesterman (ibid.: 67) also calls these “process norms” and suggests that they are subordinate to the expectancy norms as “they are themselves determined by the expectancy norms: any process norm is determined by the nature of the end-product which it is designed to lead to”. His somewhat circular argument here is that the expectation of an audience (whether reader, teacher, reviewer or someone else, such as viewers in the case of subtitling) will always inform the behaviour of the sub-set of translators who are deemed “competent” in the overall pool of translators. These professional norms are therefore observations about what is considered appropriate professional behaviour. Historically there has been a feeling that academics have not given sufficient weight to professional issues and this is part of Chesterman’s motivation in suggesting these norm categories, which are enshrined in practical, hands-on translation. The professional norms are divided into three sub-sections that he sees as covering all the significant areas of interest in the translation industry: the accountability norm, the communication norm, and the relation norm.

- Accountability norm

This describes the duty of the translator both to the commissioner of the translation and to the end user (Chesterman, 1997: 68), and is linked to some extent to the concept of ‘loyalty’ discussed by Nord (1991). It is also employed to describe translators’ accountability to themselves and their profession, which includes abiding by all relevant ethical and
professional standards. It may be interesting in future work to examine these issues in particular from the point of view of the subtitling industry, where team work is of the essence and the chain of agents leading from commissioner to end user is often extremely long. A possible direction for further research might examine the role of the various stakeholders and gauge the effect that this distance between commissioner, subtitler and end user has on the power and influence of this norm.

b. Communication norm

The translator's aim is usually to facilitate maximum communication between the parties involved in the translation process. It is of note that even translations which would ordinarily be considered 'bad' in terms of grammar and style can still conform to this norm if the message is clear. An example of this would be a written sign placed on a piece of open land and reading 'Park not here', which is not correct or elegant English, but the meaning of which is clear and communicates well.

c. Relation norm

This norm deals with the linguistic relation that is established between the ST and the TT. For Chesterman (ibid.), this associative link is a matter for the translator to judge, taking into account text-type, end user, the nature of the original message and the wishes and indications of the commissioner of the translation. A TT which is a gloss translation of an email for information only will have a different relation with the respective ST than a translation for dubbing produced for theatrical release, for example. A criticism that can, perhaps, be levelled at all of Chesterman’s professional norm categories is that whilst they are conceptually easy to grasp, empirical measurement or isolation of such individual norms would prove problematic.
4.2.3 Norms applied to AVT

Both Toury and Chesterman discuss norms in the context of literary translation, although Toury (1995: 57) is fully aware of other translational domains and states that translation of all kinds is “a norm-governed type of behaviour”. The flurry of interest in the field of Audiovisual Translation in recent years has inspired some authors such as Díaz Cintas (1997, 2004a), Karamitroglou (2000), Sokoli (2009), and Pedersen (2011) among others to extrapolate the concept of norms to the field of subtitling. Díaz Cintas (2004a: 22) states: “the truth is that DTS refers almost exclusively to the literary world” but goes on to describe how he considers the concepts espoused by the DTS theorists, including norms, to be “operative and functional as heuristic tools in researching AVT”. His view is that norms provide the researcher with a powerful and useful method of conducting meaningful research in the AVT domain, precisely because, as mentioned earlier, the study of norms operating in a particular corpus seeks to describe the translation as product, and yield meaningful conclusions, rather than prescribe some kind of translational equivalence as in earlier approaches. The use of the term ‘method’ to describe this approach may perhaps be misguided as the concept of norms does not prescribe a specific methodology for research. Rather, the framework of Descriptive Translation Studies allows the researcher to put aside debates on equivalence and what a translation should be in order to be accepted in the target culture, in favour of a more empirical approach, i.e. turning the focus onto what has been carried out by translators in practice at a given point in time and assessing what knowledge this can yield for the research and practitioner community. For the scholar, this type of approach is particularly fruitful in the case of a new area of study, as AVT was in the early 2000s.

Pedersen (2011) takes this idea a step further and sets out to produce a fully-fledged taxonomy which is specifically applicable to this translational domain, distinguishing
between technical norms, orientation norms and guidance norms, as can be seen in table below. The following section discusses these in more detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technical norms</th>
<th>Orientation norms</th>
<th>Guidance norms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading speed.</td>
<td>Whether the translation is source-oriented or target-oriented.</td>
<td>How much help is given by the subtitler to the audience to enable understanding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle density.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condensation rate.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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*Table 14: Pedersen’s norms*

**Technical norms**

These norms cover some of the main technical constraints which are particular to subtitling, such as appropriate reading speed, maximum number of characters per line, maximum number of lines, subtitle density and condensation rate.

As discussed in section 2.2.3, reading speed is a measurement that specifies the amount of text that can be comfortably read in the given time for which the subtitles are on screen, expressed in either characters per second (cps) or words per minute (wpm). By convention, this speed varies depending on whether the audiovisual programme is to be shown in the cinema, on TV, or is a home entertainment product of some kind (DVD, Blu-ray, internet streaming, etc.). This speed also depends on the likely audience, so adults are judged to read faster than children, and the nature of the programme, for example a documentary with voice-over is likely to have a slower reading speed than a fast-paced drama. Reading speed is the notional speed at which the ‘average’ viewer could read the subtitles and this measurement informs then the duration on screen of each subtitle. It is always worked out

15 Despite their importance in the professional practice, these two concepts of characters per second and words per minute are surprisingly unclear as different subtitling software programs calculate them differently, with the end result being that the very same subtitle can have a higher or lower figure depending on the equipment used (González-Iglesias González, 2012).
as an average value. The reading speed of each individual subtitle can vary dramatically according to the delivery of the original dialogue but it should not be above the value prescribed for the medium in question.

As regards subtitle density, different audiences have varying expectations of how many subtitles they will see in a given time. This measurement often varies depending on geographical territory and is usually defined by local subtitling history and tradition, in common with the other technical norms (Georgakopoulou, 2003). Subtitle density is most often defined as number of subtitles divided by total run time of the video content and expressed in subtitles per minute. The number of subtitles per minute will, of course, depend on the verbosity of the original material, so the value of comparing this measurement for different films must be questioned, however it is of interest in a corpus such as the one under study, where the subtitle density can be compared across different versions of the same film.

In a previous work by Lomheim (1999), after remarking that reduction is a typical characteristic of subtitling and discussing the difficulty of quantifying such a strategy, the author resorts to the quantitative approach of counting words in an attempt to measure degrees of reduction, and its opposite, expansion. Likewise, Georgakopoulou (2003) also makes use of this parameter to analyse the degree of reduction that occurs in the same film for different languages and countries. Reasons for the variation of this figure could be the degree of condensation, or the number of one-line subtitles as opposed to two-line subtitles, but also aspects such as the decision (not) to translate songs, text on screen, or short utterances.

Condensation rate indicates the amount of editing performed to get from the oral ST to the written TT and, according to Pedersen (2011: 130) is usually expressed as the percentage of reduction in words. Again, this tends to vary depending on the nature of the audiovisual programme and territorial tradition. Accessing this data for a particular film requires either an accurate as-recorded transcript of all the dialogue without any of the stage directions or
other verbal material usually contained in a script or dialogue list in a form that facilitates performing an automatic word count, or a laborious manual word count of a hard copy or pdf script of the film. For this reason, condensation rate for a particular film is not often calculated and will not be examined in the present study. This norm is therefore not straightforward to isolate and does not feature often in research of this kind.

Orientation norms

This is Pedersen’s version of Toury’s initial norm, and thus is concerned with whether the TT is SL oriented or TL oriented. As Pedersen (2011: 192) explains, in the case of subtitling, because the original product is polysemiotic in nature, the target programme can never be entirely oriented to the target culture owing to the omnipresence of the images and audio from the ST and therefore the source language culture. An additional consideration is that film directors often portray cultures that are not their own, so it could be the case that the film portrays a third culture that is neither the source language nor the target language culture, or that the film seeks to portray the target language culture despite the language of the dialogue belonging to a different culture. Examples of this latter approach would be The Mask of Zorro (Martin Campbell, 1998), a film in which all the characters speak only English despite being Mexicans and the plot being set in a Mexican environment or Carla’s Song (Ken Loach, 1996), set mostly in Nicaragua but where the characters speak English for the most part. The central relationship of the film is between a Glaswegian man (played by Robert Carlyle) and a Nicaraguan woman (played by Oyanka Cabezas) and their communication takes place almost entirely in English. For a Spanish version of such a film, analysis of translational decisions from an orientation point of view would be complex.

However, from a linguistic perspective it is nevertheless often fruitful to analyse the subtitlers’ translation solutions in order to gauge whether these are more oriented towards
the source or target culture. The films in the corpus under study are both set in Germany and German is spoken mainly throughout, with some Polish and Kashubian being present in *Die Blechtrommel*.

**Guidance norms**

These norms describe the extent to which the subtitler helps and enables the end user to access the connotative and denotative information contained in the original dialogue and the illocutionary message of the film, using what Pedersen (2011: 101) calls “interventional strategies”. These strategies, which come from Pedersen’s taxonomy of strategies for translating cultural references (see section 5.2), include specification, generalisation, and substitution. These are all translation strategies that provide the target audience with more information about items or elements that are mentioned or represented in the ST, with the result that the new viewers are better able to decode its full meaning. According to Pedersen (ibid.), these guidance norms are closely related to Chesterman's (1997) communication norm, in the sense that by ‘guiding’ the TL audience towards the full meaning of the ST, the subtitler is facilitating communication between the two parties. However, as he confirms, this norm is also his “version of Toury’s ‘initial norm’” (ibid: 192) in that it analyses whether the translation is oriented towards the source culture or the target culture. Of course, once the subtitler decides to ‘guide’ the viewer to appreciate a particular meaning, implicit or explicit, in the original dialogue exchanges the door is then open to potential cases of (ideological) manipulation of the original text.

This taxonomy is not without issues, in that the boundaries between Pedersen’s ‘orientation norms’ and ‘guidance norms’ seem unclear. Both can be viewed as a version of Toury’s initial norm in that they describe the orientation of the TT to either the source culture or target culture and the distinction between the two norms proves difficult to pinpoint. Nonetheless,
the current work takes the concept of orientation norms, as described by Pedersen, and
interrogates the corpus under study as to the relative orientation of the translation solutions
chosen for the rending of culture-specific references.

The preceding section has sought to describe some of the ways in which scholars have
attempted to categorise the norms that can be determined in the base of empirical data, by
analysing real translations and then attempting to describe what is behind these translation
decisions, by looking at actual practice rather than trying to impose rules about what an
'ideal' translation should look like. However there is, by definition, a certain amount of
prescription intrinsic in the subtitler's practice, due to the constraints inherent in the
audiovisual medium and to the technical considerations which are unavoidable in such work.
The next section will examine the reasons that justify to some extent this prescriptive
approach as any description of subtitling practice must take into account that the subtitlers
in question were likely to have been operating within some kind of prescriptive framework
for at least some of their decision-making.

4.3 Prescription in subtitling

The primary purpose of interlingual subtitles is to allow the TL viewer meaningful access to
a film originally shot in a foreign language. It is therefore of paramount importance that the
subtitles are created in such a way as to facilitate both legibility and readability for the
average viewer. Legibility refers to the actual physical presentation on the screen of the
subtitles (i.e. font, size, colour, etc.), and readability is determined by the choice of lexis and
syntax, the time the subtitles are available on the screen, and the way they are segmented
in terms of syntactic and semantic units (see section 2.2.2). Subtitles need to be written so
that they do not exceed the permitted number of characters per line which will allow the
text to be shown on screen at a legible size for the viewer (see section 2.2.2). Space and time
constraints will also have a bearing on the amount of text on the screen that can be read by
the audience in the time available according to a given, average reading speed. Without rules governing such factors as line length and reading speed, it would be impossible, or very difficult, for the end user of the subtitles to consume them in a meaningful way. Arguably, such rigorous spatio-temporal constraints do not usually apply to the translation of written, static texts, although there are, of course, some exceptions, such as space-constrained advertising copy or the translation of comics.

Additionally, as pointed out by Díaz Cintas (2004: 29) and Pedersen (2011:122), the subtitling workflow usually includes the use of some documents which would suggest that a certain amount of prescription is inevitable for a subtitler at work. These documents include guidelines and style guides, issued either by end clients (TV stations, production companies, DVD publishers, internet streaming providers) or subtitling companies to their subtitlers to prescribe rules which concern both the content and the form of the subtitles. Examples include rules concerning when to subtitle songs, how to deal with names and other proper nouns, and how to lay out dialogue subtitles, for instance. Streaming providers like Netflix offer them in various languages on their own website\(^\text{16}\). Other documents which could also be viewed as prescriptive are codes of good subtitling, such as the one put forward by Ivarsson and Carroll (1998: 157) and also available on the website by the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (ESIST\(^\text{17}\)), or the *Criteria for Quality Subtitling*, published on the web by the international association AudioVisual Translators Europe \(^\text{18}(AVTE)\), which recommend certain rules over others for subtitlers to follow. These guides postulated by associations and academics tend to be principally concerned with the generalities of subtitling practice, such as the relation between the specific elements of the source and target text, and are more general and less granular in their scope than the

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aforementioned client-issued style guides and guidelines. An important fact to note in the context of this study, which is looking in part at technical norms, including reading speed, is that, as mentioned, these norms are often prescribed either by the end client or by the subtitling company.

This prescriptive attitude is also apparent in most of the theory and scholarly research that has been carried out on subtitling so far, as foregrounded by Munday (2012: 273), who claims that: “prescriptivism is far from uncommon in the writing on audiovisual translation”. Pedersen (2011: 122) does make the point, however, that such guidelines “often express accepted production norms” and so can be seen as fitting into the DTS framework. For example, there are industry-standard conventions regarding reading speeds which vary according to the medium used to distribute the audiovisual content and the country where the programme is distributed. These would fall into the category of ‘accepted production norms’.

It is important to be aware that most of these guidelines and rules do not usually concern themselves with the specific lexical and grammatical choices made by the subtitler, but instead focus on technical parameters and general questions of content such as how to treat abusive language. Additionally, it should not be forgotten that prescriptive guidelines and codes are precisely that, prescriptive, and may not tally with what can be observed in actual practice. Although subtitlers may have been issued with a set of rules for each commission, it is possible that some of these rules have been flaunted and may not have been followed to the letter. Equally, these guidelines and codes are not homogeneous, and will vary from client to client and company to company, and with the specific subtitling territory. It is in the actual translation decisions and solutions encountered in the translated programme that recurrent patterns may be seen that can lead to the discovery of a set of norms acting at a particular moment in time. Nonetheless, it is important not to forget that such choices are
also constrained by the technical limitations referred to above, a fact which will be taken into
due consideration when discussing the examples from the present corpus.

4.4 The subtitlers’ tasks

A useful starting point when considering the process and end result of subtitling is to focus
on the subtitlers’ aim when crafting their subtitles. From a commercial and 'real-world' point
of view, they intend and wish to finish and deliver their assignment on time and to a certain
standard of quality. This corresponds to Chesterman's (1997: 68) 'accountability norm',
which describes the translator's ethical duty to the commissioner of the translation, to the
target audience, and also to their profession. However, the other purpose of their work, and
certainly the main one if seen from the point of view of the commissioner of the work or the
filmmaker, is to enable the target language audience to understand a film which is made in
a language which they do not command. This is described by Chesterman's (ibid.: 69)
communication norm but is also part of the accountability norm, as it forms part of the
translator's duty towards the end-user. The objective of the translation, in this case the
subtitles, is to render the source language message in the target language in such a way that
the TL viewer can have as similar an experience as possible as the SL viewer.

It is almost impossible to gain information from DVD publishers concerning the identity of
individual subtitlers, in the absence of any credits, and attempts to elicit these details proved
fruitless. However, it is important to bear in mind that it is possible that individual subtitlers
may have chosen to contravene any norms operating at the time they were working,
although the professional experience of the researcher would support the conclusion that
the subtitles in the corpus are representative of norms operating in interlingual translation
subtitling at the time periods in question.
Due to the nature of films as semiotic, multi-modal artefacts, the experience of the viewer is not only influenced by the linguistic make-up of the message but also by the semiotic environment of which the message is part. In order to fully appreciate the intricacies of this complex network of meaning production, and to look at the role of the subtitler within this framework, the semiotic codes of film-making will briefly be discussed before moving on to the factors that can influence the subtitlers’ success in transferring the original message.

As Delabastita (1989: 196) states, “[i]t is a well-known fact that film establishes a multi-channel and multi-code type of communication”, which is another way of describing the fact that films are multi-modal texts using both the visual and the acoustic channels to convey information.19 From a sign system point of view, films are polysemiotic, and use a variety of different codes to transmit their meaning. The two main categories of signs used in films, which are of primary interest to the translation researcher, are verbal signs and nonverbal signs. However, Delabastita (ibid.) argues that it is fallacious to assume a neat binary mapping between these signs and the two channels carrying the information, i.e. visual and acoustic. Films often use the visual channel for the transmission of verbal signs such as letters, road signs, banners, time and date information, which are termed 'on-screen text' in the subtitling workflow. Another example of the use of the visual channel for the transmission of verbal signs can be seen in the case of multilingual films which have subtitles as an integral part of their SL sign system, such as Inglourious Basterds (Quentin Tarantino, 2009), Slumdog Millionaire (Danny Boyle and Loveleen Tandan, 2008), and Four Weddings and a Funeral (Mike Newell, 1994). In recent years, a substantial body of research has been carried out in this domain, including works by Díaz Cintas (2011, 2016), Corrius Gimbert and Zabalbeascoa (2013), Cabrera (2013), and Higes Andino (2014). In these films, one or more of the characters speak a language other than the primary language of the film, and are

19 Other immersive experiences have been tested utilising other senses, for example making audiences feel and smell movies, though with rather limited success (Epstein, 2016).
usually, though not always, subtitled to enable the SL audience to access the foreign dialogue. This change of language in the ST presents a challenge to the subtitler, who has to decide how and indeed whether to indicate to the TL audience that the spoken language of the film has changed. In those cases in which the foreign language used in the original film coincides with the target language the difficulty is compounded, as in the subtitling into Spanish of the film *Vicky, Cristina, Barcelona* (Woody Allen, 2008), where some of the characters speak Spanish in the original production.

The acoustic channel, on the other hand, is also used for the transmission of various nonverbal signs, such as instrumental music and sound effects. On this basis Delabastita (ibid.: 199) proposes a taxonomy of four categories of sign as follows:

1. 'Visual presentation – verbal signs’, e.g. letters, time and date information, road signs (on-screen text).

2. 'Visual presentation – nonverbal signs’, e.g. all the other visual information given in the film such as gestures, clothing, scenery, etc.

3. 'Acoustic presentation – verbal signs’, e.g. dialogue and monologue, songs with a diegetic purpose.

4. 'Acoustic presentation – nonverbal signs’, e.g. music, sound effects.

It could be argued that, whilst all these sign categories are important, and indeed “for the translator, knowledge of all the signifying codes present in the audiovisual texts is extremely relevant” (Chaume, 2004: 22), the subtitler working in the real world usually has limited time and resources, and is likely to therefore prioritise some sign categories over others when carrying out the subtitling. When making translational decisions, a possible order of importance for the subtitler is as follows:
1. Acoustic presentation – verbal signs. The obvious initial focus of the subtitler is on the words which are spoken in the film. This category also covers song lyrics, which are less likely to be translated than dialogue, the latter being almost always translated (see section 7.3.2 for a further discussion of the subtitling of songs).

2. Visual presentation – verbal signs. The next sign system which commands the subtitler's attention is the remaining verbal signs, in the form of on-screen text. The choice of treatment for these lexical items is often prescribed in the client-imposed style guides. Some on-screen text could be crucial to the plot, for example, a letter containing important information, however some might be background information and not primary to understanding the message, such as a street or shop sign.

3. Visual presentation – nonverbal signs. These elements, which are essential in the case of audio description for the blind and the partially sighted, could be seen as irrelevant for the subtitler. I contend, however, that these nonverbal signs also convey meaning which can be crucial for the viewer, for example a character might wear a uniform, or make a gesture which is familiar to the SL audience but would be difficult to access for the TL audience. More discussion on this point follows in section 5.5.

4. Acoustic presentation – nonverbal signs. These are generally only relevant for the subtitler who is working for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing, which is not the focus of the current thesis. Nonetheless, as in the previous category, there may be information carried in the sounds that is culturally encoded and therefore inaccessible to the TL viewer. Examples of such information might be the tune of a national anthem or a folk song that is well-known in the source culture but not likely to be recognised outside of that culture.
This schema may be seen as too simplistic, which is a criticism levelled by Zabalbeascoa (2008: 29). Instead, he suggests a mapping for audiovisual (AV) texts where each text would be placed at a point along a plane of two intersecting clines, as illustrated in Figure 22 below:

![Diagram](image)

*Figure 18: Zabalbeascoa’s representation of the double axis of the AV text*

The horizontal cline represents the relative importance of the acoustic and visual elements in conveying the film’s meaning, with one extreme representing films where visual effects are of paramount importance, and the other extreme films where acoustic elements are crucial. On the vertical axis, the top locates films where verbal communication is the principal channel for constructing meaning, whereas the lower extreme of the axis is the locus for films which place most importance on the non-verbal dimension. In the middle of the plane (marker X in Figure 22) is where the “prototypical instances of the AV text” (ibid.) are located, i.e. films or AV texts for which all the elements are equally important and in balance. At marker Y (+ verbal/+ audio) can be found those films where the verbal/acoustic elements are
the most crucial in transmitting meaning, and Zabalbeascoa (ibid: 30) gives the example of a
TV programme that was originally made for radio broadcast and where the pictures are
mostly incidental. An extreme example would be the film *Blue* (Derek Jarman, 1993), where
the screen remains blue throughout the film whilst a soundtrack of voices, music and sound
effects can be heard. Marker Z (+ non-verbal/+ video) represents AV texts where the image
and the non-verbal signs are paramount, such as the case of silent films.

Focusing now on the two films in the present corpus, shot by the German director Volker
Schlöndorff, it seems legitimate to state that when Schlöndorff made these films, every
aspect of the production was carefully chosen and orchestrated to convey his message using
the various channels discussed above. The choice of actors, the lighting, the cinematography,
the editing, the music, etc., all come together to complement the dialogue and acting and to
form one interconnected sign system (Chaume, 2004: 17). Of course, many of these elements
are still available to the English-speaking audience and do not need any cultural
interpretation as they are, in a sense, universal, such as some of the instrumental music and
the lighting. But there are also many other components of the film, like the dialogue and any
on-screen text, that require mediation if they are to be successfully decoded by the English
viewer.

For the purposes of this research, it is assumed that the English-speaking audience cannot
understand German or any of the other source languages used in the corpus (see Table 7 in
section 3.3). Hence, although the subtitlers should be aware of the entire semiotic system of
the film, their primary function is to transfer the filmmaker’s message as conveyed through
dialogue and on-screen text, together with any connotative meaning, whilst adhering to the
 technological constraints imposed by the audiovisual medium. Indeed, when working within
the traditional subtitling framework, subtitlers are usually only able to influence the end
user’s experience of the dialogue and any on-screen text. Consequently, this will be the main
focus of the current analysis, although meaning transmitted using the other sign categories will also be considered when discussing the most symptomatic and illustrative examples.

It is certainly true that without the subtitler’s contribution, any viewer with little or no knowledge of the source language is sure to have an inferior experience of the film. Likewise, subtitles which depart excessively from the semantic message conveyed by the on-screen dialogue might be artistically and theoretically interesting, but would most certainly not be commercially acceptable. As Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 222) states: “[a]s a translator or subtitler […] you will obviously have to decide whether you want to be loyal to the author’s exact words, or his intention”. It is my contention that the subtitler, in order to successfully bring the SL film to the target audience, has the ethical responsibility to fully understand the denotative, connotative and illocutionary dimensions, i.e. the meaning as well as the intention. In this respect, Pedersen (2008: 107) concludes that the subtitler’s duty is to be “faithful to the original message”, which might well entail a different translation choice than the most obvious one. Put in another way by Whitman (2001: 147) “[t]ranslation means being aware of the intent of the original as well as the target audience’s common pool of allusions”, a statement that is discussed further in the subsequent paragraphs.

It is important to define what subtitlers are trying to achieve on a macro level in order to understand their choices at the micro level. Drawing on Searle et al.’s (1992: 140) concept of ‘illocutionary effect’, described as a “matter of understanding the utterance”, Pedersen (2008: 111) states that: “[t]he task of the subtitles is then to make sure that the TL audience gets as much of the illocutionary effect as the original audience, as far as this is possible”. He argues that the original sender’s primary illocutionary point, what he calls the “ultimate purpose of the utterance”, should be given priority in the subtitles (ibid.: 110). This meaning may be different from the actual meaning of the words spoken by the character. He illustrates this point with an example from the sitcom *Friends* (Gary Halvorson, 2003) in
which one of the characters, Joey, makes a remark which is intended to show him to be somewhat stupid:

Phoebe: They should be a family. They should get married and have more children.

Joey: Yes, and they should name one of their kids Joey. I may not have kids; someone's gotta carry on the family name.

In many cultures, including in the United States, it is usual for children to take the family name or surname of their father, thus ensuring that this name survives into the next generation. This results in the concept of 'carrying on the family name'. Joey's family name is not Joey, but Tribbiani, and in addition, it is not possible for someone else to carry on your family name. Joey has understood that if he does not have kids he will not carry on the family name, but has not understood that 'Joey' is not his family name and that it is not possible for another couple to perpetuate this family name.

Clearly Joey has misunderstood the concept; the main reason for this exchange being to make a joke at the character's expense and show him to be a fool. The original sender, in this case the scriptwriter, intends to indicate to the audience that Joey does not understand this common cultural concept and to encourage them to laugh at him. This intention is further signalled by the accompanying laughter on the laugh track. From this functional perspective, the character's actual words are secondary as far as the subtitles are concerned. In fact, in a culture where the concept of 'carrying on the family name' does not exist or is radically different, the line could be seen as untranslatable. However, this would not be a problem, as what is important for the translation is not that the line is accurately translated, but that the joke, which Pedersen (ibid.: 110) calls the “skopos of the utterance”, comes across to the target audience and makes them laugh. They must be able to see that Joey, by this remark, is indicating a level of stupidity. An added factor to be borne in mind is the semiotic nature
of the medium. The TL viewer, like the SL viewer, can hear the laughter after the joke, so needs to be receiving a joke through the subtitles in order not to be puzzled and to have a similar experience to the TL viewer (Díaz Cintas 2007: 216). It would be disconcerting and would also break the viewer’s suspension of disbelief, what Pedersen terms the “contract of illusion” (ibid.: 21), if there were no joke at this point. The subtitler’s job, therefore, is to show the viewers that Joey is an idiot, and make them laugh, and therefore to produce the same or similar illocutionary effect in the TL audience as achieved in the SL audience.

Isolating the primary illocutionary point can pose a challenge for the subtitler, especially when faced with specific translation problems, such as CSRs. Chapter five discusses the nature of CSRs and describes some scholars’ attempts to classify specific translation solutions.

As my study is partly centred on the changes observed in subtitling behaviour diachronically, it is appropriate to examine the corpus in detail to ascertain the similarities and differences between the various sets of subtitles for each film. In each case, the later versions, i.e. those from 2002 and 2010 in the case of Die Blechtrommel and 2009 in the case of Katharina Blum can be considered retranslations of the earlier sets (1995 Blechtrommel, 2003 Katharina Blum) and can therefore be analysed against the backdrop of what is known in the field as the retranslation hypothesis (Bensimon, 1990; Berman, 1990). The following section considers this hypothesis and its application to the current corpus.

4.5 Retranslation

‘Retranslation’ is defined by Koskinen and Paloposki (2010: 294) as “a second or later translation of a single source text into the same target language”. Despite the apparent simplicity of this definition, it soon becomes apparent that setting a hard boundary around those translations defined as retranslations is a rather difficult task. This is due to a variety
of factors, most notably the instability of source texts, whose interpretation can and does change over time (this is arguably more of an issue when the source text is audiovisual, as new versions of the same film are often released, such as Director’s Cuts that incorporate new scenes and material). Other issues which complicate this categorisation include the fact that translations in the same language are sometimes intended for a different audience, which casts doubt on the nature of the transfer as a proper retranslation, leading to a possible classification as an adaptation.

Koskinen and Paloposki (ibid: 295) state that retranslations are useful tools for the study of “changing translation norms and strategies” and although they are referring to literary translation, this is equally true of AVT and of the subtitles in the present corpus.

The ‘retranslation hypothesis’, according to Koskinen and Paloposki (2004: 27), is a theory concerning multiple translations of the same source text which is formed of positions taken by Bensimon (1990) and Berman (1990) in two separate works in a special issue of Palimpseste (1990) dealing with retranslation. Bensimon (1990: ix) posits that first translations tend to be closer to the target culture than subsequent translations, as it is the intention of the translator to have the ST accepted into the target culture and therefore an ‘acceptable’ translation, in Toury’s terminology, tends to be produced. Retranslations, then, do not need to be accepted into the target culture, as the translated text has already performed this function. The translator is hence free to shift away from the target culture, back towards the source text and render its original exoticism (Bensimon, 1990: iv). Berman (1990: 1), on the other hand, considers retranslation as an opportunity to produce an improved translation, and, for him, retranslation is an “espace d’accomplissement” [space where one can achieve]. His position is that with the passing of time, the first translations become old or age (“elles ‘vieillissent’”) and there is a need for a retranslation, which will be an improvement. These two complementary theories form the retranslation hypothesis, which, as Koskinen and Paloposki (2004: 27) point out has been concretised by Gambier
It can be argued that a first translation always tends to be more assimilating. Retranslation, in this case, would be a return to the source text.

Most work on retranslation has focused on literary or drama translations, with studies like those conducted by Siponkoski (2009) and Hanna (2007), both on Shakespeare, Du-Nour (1995) on the retranslation of children’s books, and O’Driscoll (2011) on Jules Verne in English. Little or no work has been carried out in the field of AVT, although retranslation is relatively common in this field, as Zanotti (2015) has evidenced in the case of dubbing. Such retranslation can take one of two forms, either the commissioning of new subtitles (or new dubbed dialogue exchanges) for the same film, or the creation of both dubbed and subtitled versions for one AV source text. The reasons for this first phenomenon are multifarious and include the difficulty of sourcing previous subtitle translations due to the fact that they are lost or the subtitle files have been corrupted, the problem of securing the rights for previous translations, the relatively low cost of producing new subtitle translations from scratch, and, perhaps the most influential of all, the fact that a new set of subtitles can be seen as a selling point for a film. The latter scenario usually occurs in the context of DVD, where a dubbed version for a country that traditionally favours this method of audiovisual translation is complemented by the release of a subtitled version. Reasons for this include, again, the perceived added incentive to buy a ‘new’ copy of the film represented by the subtitles along with the relatively low price of creating another set of subtitles when a template has already been made (see section 2.4.2). Another possible motivating factor for supplying a dubbed

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20 Most of the papers at the 2013 and 2015 Conferences on Retranslation held at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul concerned literary translation.
and subtitled version in the same language is that some viewers, even in traditional dubbing
countries, prefer to watch subtitles so they can hear the dialogue delivered as the director
originally intended or because they understand the source language to a certain extent and
use the subtitles to improve their command of the foreign language being heard in the
soundtrack. Both of these examples of retranslation in AVT can be seen as analogous to
Venuti’s (2004: 29) idea of retranslation as “creation of value” as he states that “[t]he
retranslator’s intention is to select and interpret the foreign text according to a different set
of values so as to bring about a new and different reception for that text in the translating
culture”. Although he is talking about text translations here, his assertions could apply
equally to the translation of audiovisual texts, since he claims that “an ideology of
commercialism” (ibid.) influences which texts are chosen for retranslation and the method
to be adopted for their translation. It could be argued that this multiplicity of possible
reasons for the production of a retranslation in AVT may mitigate against the retranslation
hypothesis being applicable in this domain. In addition, the retranslation hypothesis does
not and arguably cannot take into account either the timescale of the respective
retranslation, i.e. whether a dubbed and subtitled version are commissioned synchronously
or not, or the motivation behind the retranslation. This casts doubt on the applicability of
the hypothesis as these variables are undoubtedly significant yet could be hard to ascertain.

In the context of this theoretical framework, it is of interest to examine the subtitles in the
corpus, which have been produced at different points in time, in order to compare the
similarities and discrepancies between the various sets of subtitles and to test whether the
retranslation hypothesis applies here also. By examining the translation of CSRs from the
standpoint of Pedersen’s (2011) orientation norm, some relevant conclusions can be drawn
in terms of a comparison between the translational solutions chosen in the early DVD era
and those strategies adopted later in that period when films subtitled into English were
somewhat more common and DVD subtitling as a process more commercially established.

The reasons for the choice of CSRs as a data sample are examined in section 5.2.

The next section describes in more detail the methodology used to observe the norms and patterns at work in the relevant subtitles.

4.6 Methodological approach

The wider pool of films from which this corpus emanates is the work of Volker Schlöndorff before he left Germany for the USA in 1980 and began to make films predominantly in English. One of the reasons for choosing from this group of films from his early cinematic career is the fact that most of these films have German as their primary source language and, consequently, need to be subtitled for their distribution in the English-speaking market. The two films in the corpus were chosen, in particular, because they were subtitled, each more than once, in the years from 1995 to 2010, with 1995 marking the beginning of the DVD industry worldwide, and therefore the beginning of DVD subtitling. No further translations of these films have taken place since 2010.

Pedersen (2011: 124) states that norms can only be accessed through the analysis of a large number of texts, however Díaz Cintas (2004: 27) argues that an attempt to formulate norms from a too large a corpus is not only demanding in terms of time and researcher effort, but could cause the researchers to be unable to see the wood for the trees as any patterns would, of necessity, be extremely general in order to be applicable to the entirety of the collection of subtitles. To counteract this potential downside, he suggests the use of a corpus which is 'homogeneous and manageable'. In this sense, the present corpus of two feature-length films and five sets of subtitles is homogeneous in that it is comprised of two films by the same director subtitled in English, and manageable in that the number of subtitles, i.e. 4,574

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is sufficient to allow for meaningful results, which can be obtained in a reasonable time frame.

Following Pedersen (2011), this study will examine the subtitles as they have been produced in order to generate meaningful insights into translation trends and patterns in the subtitling of the films of Volker Schlöndorff into English. This research focuses on orientation norms (Pedersen, ibid: 192) with a view to detecting both recurrent patterns and changes due to diachronic variation: these norms will be isolated with a view to testing whether the retranslation hypothesis, as discussed in section 4.5, can be said to apply to the subtitles in this particular corpus. The subset of translation strategies adopted by the subtitlers when faced with CSRs will be examined, as is explained in more detail in what follows.

The next section offers a comprehensive description of the methodologies used to analyse the corpus.

4.6.1 Orientation norms

It is impossible and not particularly useful to embark on the analysis of each and every translation choice and strategy adopted in all the subtitle sets. In order to test the retranslation hypothesis and reach meaningful conclusions, it is necessary to focus on a particular set of translation solutions within the corpus.

Pedersen (2011: 42) considers that where there are particular ‘translation problems’ which cause translators or subtitlers to pause and think more deeply about their choice of words, this can yield fruitful information about the cognitive efforts of the translation process. This assertion is also made by Kovačič (1997), at least in the case of experienced subtitlers. Her empirical research shows that “the subtitling routines become so internalised and automated that conscious manipulation of material only takes place in cases of difficulty” (ibid.: 233).
Pedersen (2011: 42) also states that in addition to focusing on translation problems that promise to be fertile ground to ascertain the strategies employed by subtitlers, which may in return lead to the establishment of general norms, these translation problems are also worthy objects of study in their own right, although he does not indicate why this may be the case. As translation problems occur in places where there is tension and asymmetry between the SL and the TL, for example where the SL word does not have a direct one-to-one relationship with a word in the TL, it would be interesting in the wider context to study and analyse these instances to see to what extent they yield information about the relationship between different languages from a morphological and/or syntactical point of view. For the purposes of this study these translation problems will be used as a testing ground in an attempt to ascertain the occurrence of recurrent patterns and consistencies of approach in the translated subtitles, and subsequently to assess where these strategies can be placed on the adequate to acceptable continuum with a view to also testing the retranslation hypothesis for this corpus.

The particular translation problem which is being looked at by this study is that of culture-specific references (CSRs). This category has been chosen as both films in the corpus are a rich source of CSRs, which results in a large amount of data to be analysed. In particular, the study is concerned with the portrayal of German culture for an English-speaking audience and the choices made by the subtitlers working through the period spanned by the DVDs in question, i.e. 1995 to 2010. As an initial step, the two films were analysed and all instances of CSRs isolated and listed.

Special interest is placed on whether the respective subtitlers, by their choice of translational strategies, choose to bring the audience closer to the German culture, or, on the other hand, domesticate the text in a Venutian sense (Venuti, 2008) and bring the text closer to the English-speaking audience. All examples of CSRs contained in the ST have been identified (see Appendix Two) and contrasted with the TT. This methodology is influenced by Toury's
According to (1995: 37) notion of ‘coupled pairs’ (see section 4.2), since a subtitle, it usually corresponds to a precise utterance or utterances in the source text, can readily be viewed as a ‘coupled pair’ with its relevant ST utterance. The target text has also been examined to detect whether there are any CSRs that have been added by the subtitler where there is no CSR in the ST, as can be the case when the subtitler has employed the strategy of compensation. This phenomenon was not found in the corpus. The translations (i.e. TT) of all incidences of CSRs have been then analysed to determine whether there are overall, recurrent trends in the translation strategies used by the subtitlers when dealing with CSRs, which would then indicate generalities or norms. These strategies are evaluated for each set of subtitles (five sets in total) and then examined for the whole corpus, to see to what extent any patterns ascertained are stable over time or indeed vary as time progresses. As the first set of subtitles are from the very beginning of the DVD era, 1995, this analysis can shed some light on whether the advent of this new technology, bringing with it the workflows discussed in 2.4.1, has had a significant influence on subtitlers working in this language combination. By the same token, the fact that the corpus contains subtitles spanning a 15-year period, from 1995-2010, and by 2010 the DVD was well-established as an audiovisual medium, creates the conditions for the evaluation of any diachronic variation that will shed light on the evolution of the subtitling practice during this time span.

As already mentioned, this analysis is also used to test the validity of the retranslation hypothesis (see section 4.5) in the case of subtitling, a topic barely discussed so far in academic circles. If this hypothesis is confirmed in the current corpus, then the strategies chosen to translate CSRs will be found to be more source-oriented as the analysis moves towards the newest subtitles in the corpus. If no variation is found, or the strategies become more target-oriented over time, then the retranslation hypothesis will not be proven. In addition to this examination, any observed tendencies in the use of certain strategies chosen by subtitlers to translate CSRs are also considered under Pedersen’s (2011) guidance norms.
To sum up, the main aims of this current research are as follows:

1. To examine how Volker Schlöndorff has been subtitled into English, with a particular focus on the various strategies used to translate culture-specific references (see Chapter 5).

2. To isolate any potential trends which are apparent from the translation solutions adopted by the subtitlers.

3. To use this data to test the retranslation hypothesis (Bensimon, 1990; Berman, 1990) with the various sets of subtitles extracted from the two films under scrutiny. This will be achieved by determining the prevalent norms at different moments in time and by gauging whether solutions are oriented more to the source culture or to the target culture, depending on the year of the translation.

The study is firmly rooted within the Descriptive Translation Studies framework and, in order to make it as systematic as possible, the very same factors have been considered across the corpus, so that any generalisations can be meaningful and easily comparable. It is also expected that some of the findings could also be extrapolated to other language combinations, particularly when subtitling into English.
Chapter 5

Culture-specific references (CSRs)

This section looks into the nature and definition of culture-specific references, and provides a detailed overview of some of the main taxonomies proposed by scholars for the classification of the CSRs themselves. This chapter also investigates a number of classifications put forward by some scholars of the various strategies that can be activated when translating CSRs across languages and cultures.

5.1 Defining CSRs

A CSR can be defined as a word, phrase, visual or acoustic element that refers to something in the world, the connotative meaning of which cannot be fully understood without specific encyclopaedic knowledge. As the definition suggests, these references can be communicated either visually, through an object, movement, text on screen; or acoustically, through the spoken word, music or noise. In terms of form, they can be words, groups of words such as idioms or set phrases, pictures, gestures, tangible items, songs, instrumental music, noises, clothes, and could be embodied in many other forms. These references are seen by translation scholars as somehow intrinsically linked to a (source) culture, hence ‘culture-specific’. This ‘world’ which contains the references could be the real world, or a specific fictional world to which the SL audience is assumed to have access. This fictional world could be created ad hoc in the actual ST, or alternatively be a world created in some other fictional work which can reasonably be assumed to be part of the source culture and known to the SL audience. Examples of these latter types for the UK English-speaking audience would be the world of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* or the world of *Star Wars*. The necessary specific encyclopaedic knowledge required to fully appreciate some of the CSRs embedded in these
films would not ordinarily be easily available to someone who has only linguistic and lexical expertise in the language, be it as their foreign language (English speakers) or arguably even as their mother tongue (German audience).

The first issue to disentangle before embarking on the actual empirical analysis is one of terminology, since translation scholars have been unable to agree on a single common term for these culture-specific elements. Terms which have been widely used include ‘culture-specific items’ (Franco Aixelà, 1996), ‘allusions’ (Leppihalme, 2001), ‘realia’ (Markstein, 2005; Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007), ‘culture-specific references’ (Ramière, 2006; Ranzato, 2013) and others. Pedersen (2011: 43) opts for the expression ‘extralinguistic cultural references’ (ECRs) and defines such an instance as a reference:

that is attempted by means of any cultural linguistic expression, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process. The referent of the said expression may prototypically be assumed to be identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopaedic knowledge of this audience.

This definition is somewhat problematic in that the author specifically limits his frame of reference to ‘extralinguistic’ items, when the actual use of language itself (e.g. choice of form of address, use of the formal/informal ‘you’, slang, idioms and sayings to name but a few) can also be culture-specific. Although he acknowledges that: “Some references are judged to be clearly intralinguistic, because of their functions within the language system. Examples of these are formal honorifics” (ibid.: 49), he explicitly excludes such uses from his classification of ECRs. However, it can be argued, for example, that the unwritten rules about when to use an informal Du [you] or a formal Sie [you] in German are also culture-specific and, from this perspective, the choice of pronoun or form of address can be classed as a CSR.

As there is no equivalent grammatical distinction in English, the transposition of ‘you’ into German or Du/Sie into English causes a problem for the translator who has to look for other
ways of signalling what might be a significant relationship in the context of the audiovisual product. An illustration of this occurs in *Katarina Blum*, in a scene in which Katarina is having a flashback to the time when she first meets Ludwig, with whom she will subsequently spend the night. He uses the informal *Du* to address her and asks her name. She uses *Du* back, gives him her first name, and says:

*Example 3. Katarina Blum 2003*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:45:11:22</td>
<td>00:45:13:29</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text: *Ich habe schon lange nicht mehr zu einem Mann Du gesagt.*

Back translation: *It’s been a long time since I called a man ‘Du’.*

Subtitle: *I haven’t called a man by his first name in ages.*

The use of the informal personal pronoun in German is much more culturally loaded than the English translation would suggest, especially in the time when the film is set, 1975, and taking into account that this is a first meeting between a man and a woman. The use of the informal form of address so early in the dialogue exchange signals an intimacy between the two characters which is not conveyed to such an extent in the translation. From a cultural perspective, German-speaking people who have known each other for decades may still use formal pronouns with one another, whereas it would be unlikely for two English-speaking people who have known each other for decades to address one another as ‘Mr’ or ‘Mrs’.

Another example of such intralinguistic cultural references are songs, which are usually inextricably rooted in the source culture, even if they have been translated at some juncture. This is of particular importance when songs have a diegetic value and are pertinent to the plot of a film, as is the case in *Die Blechtrommel* where, for example, the song *Kann denn Liebe Sünde sein?* [Could Love then Be a Sin?], co-written by Bruno Balz and Lothar Brühne in
1938, is repeated twice, during scenes where sex has taken place between the characters or sexual tension is present. This inclusion of the song by the director at these particular junctures in the film acts as a leitmotiv and a signal to the audience that directs their focus to the sexual tension. The lyrics and subtitles from the 1995 version of Die Blechtrommel are as follows:

Example 4. Die Blechtrommel 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kann die Liebe Sünde sein?</th>
<th>Can love be a sin?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Darf es niemand wissen, wenn man sich küsst,</td>
<td>Nobody must know when we kiss,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wenn man einmal alles vergisst,</td>
<td>when we forget everything...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vor Glück?</td>
<td>...for happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kann das wirklich Sünde sein,</td>
<td>Must it really be sin...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wenn man immerzu an einen nur denkt,</td>
<td>...when you think of just one thing,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wenn man einmal alles ihm schenkt,</td>
<td>when you give him everything...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vor Glück?</td>
<td>...for happiness?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niemals werde ich bereuen, was ich tat,</td>
<td>I shall never regret what I did,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>und was aus Liebe geschah,</td>
<td>and what happened for love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>das müsst ihr mir schon verzeihen,</td>
<td>You must forgive me,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dazu ist sie ja da!</td>
<td>that’s what love is for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liebe kann nicht Sünde sein,</td>
<td>Can love be a sin?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auch wenn sie es wär’ dann wär’s mir egal -</td>
<td>Even if it were, it’s all the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lieber will ich sündigen mal,</td>
<td>to me. I’d rather sin...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>als ohne Liebe sein!</td>
<td>...than be without love</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The song occurs twice in the film. The first time, it is sung and hummed by the sixteen year-old Maria, as she scrubs the stairs and the director shows us Oskar’s viewpoint as he admires her legs and buttocks. The two characters then have a conversation about the fact that they are the same age, although physically they are very different, Oskar still being in the body of a three year-old. The implication that Oskar desires her sexually is very clearly conveyed, but

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21 The song was originally written for the 1938 film Der Blaufuchs [The Blue Fox] by Viktor Tourjansky and is sung by Zarah Leander.
she does not consider this a possibility because of his infant appearance. The second time, the song is heard on the radio just after Alfred, Oskar’s father, has unwillingly impregnated Maria, when Oskar jumps on his back during the final throes of intercourse. The song plays whilst Maria is trying to rid herself (in vain, as it turns out) of his semen – an obvious metaphorical juxtaposition of the lyrics Kann die Liebe Sünde sein? [Can love be a sin?] with the unwanted pregnancy that ensues.

Arguably, this direction of focus is not available to the TL audience if the lyrics in German are left untranslated (see section 5.4.7 for a further discussion of the treatment of songs in the corpus). Similarly, related intralinguistic cultural references encompass nursery rhymes, sayings, idioms, and could also be said to include slang, which is not only very narrowly culture-specific but also commonly time-bound.

A third form of such intralinguistic cultural reference can be found in instances of specific idiolect or the use of slang. When an author or a film director expressly choses to have a character speak a certain slang word, it can provide many insights about said character, including their age, social class, income, and indeed attitude to the situation in which they find themselves. Such connotations should be preserved in the translation, if at all possible, and this effort to preserve such meaning, which may not even be accessible to the subtitler, mirrors similar challenges when translating other CSRs and as such justifies the inclusion of slang in the current domain classification.

This piece of research seeks to include in its analysis such intralinguistic cultural references and for this reason chooses to adopt the working term ‘culture-specific references’, which covers a wider spectrum than the term extra-linguistic cultural references (ECRs), suggested by Pedersen (2011).

Despite the limitations of the frame of reference for what he terms ECRs, the above definition is nevertheless useful in isolating what is meant by these culture-specific
references. To illustrate his definition, Pedersen (ibid.: 51) gives the example of the English word 'governess'. Purely linguistic knowledge of English would give the reader the information that the person referred to by this substantive is female (the ending 'ess') and she is in the role of governing someone or something. However, Pedersen argues that this type of linguistic knowledge is too limited and does not guarantee successful communication, and he maintains that cultural knowledge of English society is also necessary to fully understand that this term refers to a teacher living in someone's home whilst educating their children, even though lexical knowledge may provide part of this information. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (1996) defines 'governess' as “female teacher, usually of children in a private household”, thus giving the non-native English speaker the pure definition of the word. However, as discussed, only cultural or encyclopaedic knowledge would allow full access to the wider historical and social class information conveyed by this substantive, which is that governesses were common amongst wealthy British and American families in the decades before the First World War. Similarly, a bilingual dictionary may allow a reader access to the meaning of the phrase ‘the poet Pam Ayres’ as the dictionary would contain a definition of the definite article 'the' and the common noun 'poet' and someone with grammatical knowledge of English would know that two words written with capitals after a noun are likely to signify a proper name. However said reader would also require deep cultural knowledge to understand that if a character declared themselves to be a fan of 'the poet Pam Ayres' it would mark them out as someone who did not have a particularly high level of literary education or appreciation, unless they were being ironic, of course.

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22 Pam Ayres is an English poet who produces comic verse designed to appeal to lowbrow and mainstream audiences.
5.2 Taxonomies of translation strategies for CSRs

CSRs present a challenge for translators because they effectively carry more semantic and cultural load than the simple referent of the word or words. As Ramière (2006: 152) states “translators obviously do not translate individual words deprived of context, but whole texts which are culturally embedded and based on a community of references predictably shared by most members of the source culture”. As discussed in the example above, the denotative meaning of 'governess' is a woman who teaches children in their own home; however the full connotation of the word is much richer than this prima facie interpretation. Indeed, if a character in a film engages a governess, the English-speaking audience would immediately make assumptions about their class and income level, as described above, as well as about the period in which the action is set. Since some CSRs refer to something outside of language, which is often particular to or unique in the SL culture, it is highly possible that an equivalent word or phrase or indeed concept does not exist in the TL, thus posing a problem for the translator who is faced with task of transferring the CSR to a new audience.

In AVT, as discussed by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 214) amongst others, there is an added factor that needs to be taken into account by the subtitler, namely the co-presence of the original image and the rest of the nonverbal signs. This array of semiotic layers could help the TL audience to access the message directly from the original version, but it could also raise obstacles and hinder communication, as the TL audience will have certain expectations with respect to understanding the reference. An example of a situation where the visual can be said to support the subtitler’s task can be found in Die Blechtrommel, in the scene where Alfred is leaving his house to attend the Nazi rally. He has left food prepared for lunch on the stove and is giving instructions to his wife before departing:

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The audience can see the actual food in the pot, and it is not difficult to deduce that it is some sort of stew-like dish, although the substantive Eintopf is a hypernym for any savoury food that can be made in one pot and has no direct equivalent in English. This lack of linguistic equivalence is not a problem for the subtitler because of the information offered through the visual channel, namely that the food is savoury and hot and is cooked in one pot. Also, the precise nature of the food is not significant to the plot at that time.

On the other hand, an example of a case where the nonverbal signs could be a hindrance to the subtitler can be seen in the example from Friends discussed in section 4.4, where the TL audience will hear laughter and expect to read a joke in the subtitles.

Many scholars such as Hermans (1988), Hervey and Higgins (1992), and Leppihalme (1994), among others, have suggested various taxonomies of strategies that can be activated when translating cultural references. Other scholars, including Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), Karamitroglou (1998), Pedersen (2005, 2007, 2011), Diaz Cintas and Remael (2007), and Gottlieb (2009b) have been more specific and put forward classifications for dealing with the translation of CSRs in the specific field of subtitling. What follows will examine the taxonomies detailed by the latter scholars with a view to sieving and isolating the most appropriate strategies that can then be successfully applied to the corpus under study.
Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 219) first reviews a selection of taxonomies of strategies for translating cultural references proposed by other scholars, and then goes on to analyse four French films which have been subtitled into Danish, adopting an approach that is both descriptive and prescriptive. She extracts various cultural references from her corpus and describes the strategies used, commenting on their efficacy, in her opinion. She then suggests alternative translations, classifying them according to her own taxonomy, which is made up of the following eight categories primarily based on Vinay and Darbelnet’s (1958/1995) taxonomy:

1. identity
2. imitation
3. direct translation
4. explicitation
5. paraphrase
6. situational adaptation
7. cultural adaptation
8. omission.

Identity occurs when the CSR is transferred into the target language intact, with no additions, subtractions, or actual translation. Nedergaard-Larsen’s example is the retention of the French word *arrondissement* [administrative area in Paris] in the Danish subtitles. The CSR in the TT, in a sense, is ‘identical’ to the CSR in the ST though admittedly some of the socio-political nuances embedded in the French term may be alien to the Danish audience. Subtitlers use the strategy of imitation when they render the original term in the target language using what could be termed a calque, that is, a word-for-word translation of a term
or expression in the SL that may not sound totally natural in the TL. An example would be the translation of the German *Vaterland* as ‘fatherland’, when the more natural expression in English would be ‘motherland’ to refer to one’s own country. The term calque is, in fact, the term used in the original classification proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995).

Direct translation occurs when an exact equivalent of the CSR already exists in the TL. In this respect, Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:219) gives the example of *lycée* in French being translated as *Gymnasium* in German (both words translated as ‘grammar school’ in English), although it can be argued that due to the variations in school systems between the different countries, this is a weak example as a *lycée* is not really the direct equivalent of a *Gymnasium*.

If a subtitler adds information which is not present in the ST, in order to facilitate the SL viewers’ understanding of the dialogue exchange, explicitation is the strategy which has been chosen. An example here would be the addition of ‘the German chancellor, Angela Merkel’ where the original German source text merely referred to ‘Angela Merkel’. A similar strategy that communicates meaning is paraphrase, and the difference between these two is not made clear by the author. Her example for paraphrase is the following:

| Example 6. Example given by Nedergaard-Larsen for paraphrase |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| French dialogue | On n’est pas à l’oral de l’ENA. | It’s not the oral exam for the École nationale d’administration. |
| Danish subtitle  | Vi er ikke till examen i statskundskab | This is not an oral exam in political science |

Similarly, situational adaptation and cultural adaptation are two terms very close in meaning, and refer to the substitution of the original CSR by a counterpart judged to be equivalent in the target culture. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 219) arrives at this term by considering these strategies to be “[a]daptation[s] to the TL-culture”. Table 12 below shows the examples that she provides to illustrate these two strategies:
The distinction between these two strategies is not clearly defined by Nedergaard-Larsen and the reason for distinguishing between 'situational' and 'cultural' adaptation seems to be rather opaque. There seems no advantage to this discrete subdivision and a category simply termed 'adaptation' would arguably serve the analysis of these strategies equally well.

The final category discussed by the author is omission, which takes place when the subtitler decides to omit the original CSR from the subtitles altogether.

In comparison to previous and later scholars, Karamitroglou (1998) is more economical in his approach and unashamedly prescriptive in his classification, listing the following four categories:

(1) Cultural transfer: consists in substituting an original term with a similar cultural item from the target culture, for example transferring the term 'Bar Mitzvah' with the more transparent 'Confirmation'.

(2) Transposition: means transferring the cultural reference across into the target language as it is. The author is not clear in his explanation of whether this implies leaving the reference in the SL as it is or rather translating it into the target language to form a calque.
Transposition with explanation: consists in adding extra information to enable the TL audience to better understand the reference, such as translating 'John Major' as 'the former British Prime Minister, John Major'.

Omission: is simply the deletion of the original reference all together from the subtitle.

Though operational for the study conducted by Karamitroglou (ibid.), this classification presents some weaknesses, in that the transposition category is not clear, and, as Pedersen (2011: 73) comments, the taxonomy does not contain enough categories to be a fruitful heuristic tool in other descriptive studies such as the present one.

Gottlieb (1994, 1997, 2009) has written an extensive body of work on translating cultural references, and during this scholarship has refined his taxonomy from an initial 15 strategies back in 1994 to a mere six in later years (2009: 32). He arrives at this latter classification by reflecting on his early approaches and considering the work carried out by other scholars before him, and concludes that the set of six categories is optimum and can be productively applied to his case study of five Danish films subtitled in English and two English films subtitled in Danish. The six categories are:

(1) retention,

(2) literal translation,

(3) specification,

(4) generalisation,

(5) substitution

(6) omission.
The retention category corresponds to both Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993) ‘identity’ category and Pedersen’s (2011) ‘retention’ category (see below). Literal translation is not explained by Gottlieb, so we must assume that he means an approach similar to calque and/or borrowing/loan. The boundary between these terms can be somewhat fuzzy, and may change over time. A calque is generally understood as a direct translation that sounds somehow jarring or odd in the target language, for example the use of the word ‘earworm’ to translate the German *Ohrwurm*, meaning a tune that stays in one’s head and cannot be got rid of. Over time, though, what started as a calque in the TL may well become established usage, and will therefore no longer sound odd or foreign to a TL speaker, such as has happened with the example of ‘fatherland’ mentioned above. A borrowing or loan occurs when a term in the SL is used, unchanged, in the TL, such as the word ‘croissant’ or when the word is merely changed graphically, such as the word *teksi* in Bahasa Malay, meaning ‘taxi’.

Although Gottlieb (2009b) is not clear about the exact definition of his category of ‘literal translation’, his comparison with Nedegaard-Larsen (1993: 31) would suggest that he intends this category to also include instances where the CSR also exists in the target culture, in which case it could be considered an established borrowing or loan, such as in the case of Hallowe’en.

Specification is Gottlieb’s attempt to classify the examples where the subtitler has added extra information to aid comprehension for the TL viewer, such as translating ‘Margaret Thatcher’ as ‘the former British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher’. Conversely, generalisation occurs when, being unable to render the culture-specific information, the subtitler decides to translate the reference in a more general manner, which fully coincides with Pedersen’s (2011) category of ‘generalisation’. An example within this category would be translating the German *Lebkuchen* [A German cake made with ginger, traditionally eaten at Christmas] with the hypernym ‘cake’. The strategy of substitution is not explained, but it
seems reasonable to assume that the scholar intends it to mean the use of a CSR which is known in the target culture and judged to be similar enough to the CSR in the source culture to have the same function in the context. Omission, or the deletion of the CSR in the TT, is a category that seems to be agreed upon by all the taxonomies considered in these pages (see Table 13).

Another important classification of strategies used to translate CSRs in the field of subtitling is proposed by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 202), originally based on previous work by Díaz Cintas (2003) and Santamaria Guinot (2001). They offer the following categories:

(1) Loan

(2) Calque or literal translation

(3) Explicitation

(4) Substitution

(5) Transposition

(6) Lexical recreation

(7) Compensation

(8) Omission

(9) Addition.

For Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 202), the strategy of loan occurs when the SL word is retained in the translation, which corresponds to Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993) identity category and is what Gottlieb (2009) and Pedersen (2011) term retention. Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 202) state that this term describes cases where both languages use the same
word, often from “the same foreign-language source”, giving the example of the French noun cognac. This definition would benefit from further elucidation as it is unclear whether this “foreign-language source” is the source culture or whether the word in question hails from a third culture distinct from source and target culture. A further area of equivocality can be found if we consider that there is a difference between a word that is ‘borrowed’ by the target culture for the first time in the translation in question and one that was borrowed at some point in the past and is now in habitual use amongst speakers, such as cognac.

Calque or literal translation is fairly self-explanatory, and equates to Nedergaard-Larsen’s (1993) term ‘imitation’. The strategy of explicitation in this taxonomy includes both cases where the subtitler uses a more general lexical item, or hypernym, and where the subtitler uses a more specific word, or hyponym, thus encompassing both the categories of ‘specification’ and ‘generalisation’ proposed by Gottlieb. These strategies are considered worthy of separate categories by Gottlieb and also Pedersen and it can certainly be argued that when generalisation is used, there is a risk of a loss of information (e.g. the use of the word ‘bird’ to translate ‘peregrine’), which seems to justify the division of these two translational behaviours. Substitution as understood by Díaz Cintas and Remael is where a similar cultural reference is used, not because the CSR is not known in the TL, but because of spatio-temporal constraints. On the other hand, the strategy of transposition occurs when the subtitler replaces the CSR with one from the target culture judged to have similar connotations, as we assume for Gottlieb’s category of substitution.

A new category not considered by any of the previous taxonomies is that of ‘lexical recreation’, which takes place when a neologism is created in the TL, possibly as a result of a neologism in the ST. This strategy is not found in the current corpus. The final two categories in the classification, i.e. compensation and omission, are familiar from text translation taxonomies. When compensating, the subtitler attempts to make up for the loss in the translation of some semantic load contained in the original, by adding some information.
somewhere else in the TT. This strategy is not often used in subtitling owing to time and space constraints, and also because there needs to be a certain amount of synchrony between the visual and oral channels (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 206). The category of omission remains the same across all taxonomies.

The final category is that of addition, which Díaz Cintas and Remael describe as a form of explicitation, when extra information is added to the translation to enable the TL viewer to better understand the reference. The difference between this category and that of explicitation is that in the addition category, more text is added to the subtitle, whilst for explicitation, the amount of text remains the same. As this taxonomy is designed for application to subtitling, it would seem apposite to assume that the category of addition does not occur often in any given analysis of a subtitle corpus due to the necessity of concision to comply with spatial and temporal constraints.

The taxonomy considered to be most suitable for the analysis of the present corpus is that proposed by Pedersen (2011), which is based both on his earlier work (2005, 2007) and the taxonomies devised by the various authors discussed above, amongst others. His set of strategies has been chosen because it is specifically designed for subtitles, and was originally formulated in order to conduct a descriptive analysis of a corpus of subtitled films. Whilst it is not without its minor flaws, which will be discussed later in this section, it is perhaps the best heuristic tool to date for the analysis of subtitling behaviour when dealing with the transfer of CSRs, with a view to discerning patterns and regularities. He proposes seven baseline categories as follows:

1. Retention
2. Specification
3. Direct translation
4. Generalisation
Retention

When resorting to this strategy, the subtitler retains the SL reference in the TL subtitle in the original language. Sometimes it is stylistically marked in some way, for example using italics or inverted commas to call attention to its foreign nature.

In Example 7, from the film Goodbye Lenin! (Wolfgang Becker, 2003) the CSR is subtitled by retention but it is not marked by the use of any particular typographical strategies in the TT.

In this part of the film, the protagonist, Alex, is trying to conceal the fact that the Berlin Wall has fallen and the GDR is no more from his seriously ill mother, who was in a coma during the events which led to the demise of the communist regime and the reunification of Germany. Spreewaldgurken are speciality pickled cucumbers from the Spreewald region of Germany which were popular in the German Democratic Republic (GDR – known as East Germany) before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. They were not available in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG – known as West Germany). As the pickles are no longer available, his mother's request for them causes him a difficult problem. The part of the phrase that can be translated, namely Gurken (cucumber, gherkin), has been rendered as 'pickles'. This is an example of what Pedersen calls “TL-adjusted retention” in the sense that the word Gurken has been translated into English to make it easier for the SL audience to understand the referent. The translation 'pickles' has been used to indicate that the food is pickled, which
would not be clear if the CSR was translated as 'Spreewald cucumbers', though the option of 'Spreewald gherkins' would have also served the same purpose.

Example 7: Goodbye Lenin!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Ich habe so eine Heißhunger auf Spreewaldgurken.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>I've got such a craving for Spreewaldgurken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>I'm dying for Spreewald pickles.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Specification

When applying this strategy, the subtitler tends to add extra information that is not explicitly present in the ST, in an attempt to explain the implied meaning of the CSR to the TL audience who may not understand it or be able to access its full meaning. This option, which generally implies lexical quantitative expansion of the TT, is often not available to subtitlers due to time and space constraints. Having said that, specification does not always require extra space and can also take place by means of the use of a hyponym, for example where the target culture lacks the hypernym used in the source text, or when the subtitler can add useful information by the use of a hyponym.

Example 8, from Goodbye Lenin! (Wolfgang Becker, 2003), occurs when Alex's mother is telling him that she heard all the stories he told her when she was in hospital after a nervous breakdown and seemingly unresponsive. In this example, the subtitler has made the judgement that the TL audience will not know who Sigmund Jähn is and has added the explanation 'the cosmonaut' to aid comprehension.
Example 8: Goodbye Lenin!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Du hast von der Schule erzählt und von Sigmund Jähn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>You told me about school and about Sigmund Jähn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>You told me about school, and about the cosmonaut, Sigmund Jähn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Direct translation

This translation strategy involves using a calque, i.e. the ST is rendered exactly into the TT with no morphological or semantic alteration, which can result in unnatural-sounding language. In Example 9, from Der Fangschuß (Volker Schlöndorff, 1976), the action takes place during the Russian Civil War. There is a public information announcement offering a reward for information leading to the capture of rebel forces. The subtitler has chosen to translate the term Rubel Ostgeld directly into English: ‘Eastern rubles’. This solution produces a rather confusing English term, as the word 'Eastern' would generally connote the Middle East for English speakers whilst the roubles referred to were actually being used in the Baltic States, that is the western part of the area which would have been using roubles at the time the film is set.

Example 9: Der Fangschuß

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>...hundert Rubel Ostgeld ausgezahlt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>...be paid 100 Rouble East money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>amounting to 100 Eastern rubles.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Generalisation

This strategy describes the translation of the CSR using a more general term or hypernym, as in the following instance from Goodbye Lenin:

Example 10: Goodbye Lenin!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Hat Ihr Mann mit Ihnen über eine Republikflucht gesprochen?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>Did your husband talk to you about a possible Republikflucht?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>Did your husband discuss fleeing the country?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this example, the term Republikflucht (flight or escape from the republic) is specific to the GDR and means the illegal escape from East Germany across the border with the intention of going to live in a non-Communist country. The translator has chosen to generalise the term in the TL as there is no direct translation in English.

Substitution

When this strategy is activated, the source language CSR is substituted by another CSR in the TL which the subtitler considers conveys the same connotative meaning as the original. Example 11, from Goodbye Lenin, shows an occurrence of substitution and additionally an example of direct translation.

Example 11: Goodbye Lenin!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Rainer, Klassenfeind und Grilletten-Chef.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>Rainer, enemy of the state and burger boss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>Rainer, “class enemy” and greasy-spoon manager.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is part of the voice-over, narrated by the protagonist, Alex, describing the changes that have happened to his family after the end of communism. His sister has started a relationship with someone, Rainer, who has come to the East from West Germany and is working in the American Restaurant Burger King, new to East Germany.

In this subtitle the word Grilletten-Chef is the CSR that has been translated using the strategy of substitution. Grilletta (plural Grilletten) are a particular type of East German burgers; the citizens of East Germany were not allowed to use the word 'hamburger' as it was considered American and therefore symbolic of the capitalist West. The word Grilletten-Chef is a pejorative way of referring to the manager of a fast-food outlet. We know from the context that Rainer is the manager, and the image on the screen at that point shows him supervising staff at the takeaway window of Burger King. The subtitler has chosen to translate this using another CSR from the source culture which would be accessible to speakers of British English, the 'greasy spoon', meaning a small café serving mainly breakfast and fried food.

This example also contains an example of direct translation, in that Klassenfeind is rendered as 'class enemy' which is a calque resulting in a rather awkward expression in English. The translation 'enemy of the state' is more appropriate here as Klassenfeind was used in East Germany to refer to capitalists and people or groups who opposed the communist GDR government.

Omission

In those cases where the subtitler chooses not to render the CSR in any way at all in the TL, Pedersen (ibid.: 76), like many other scholars, refers to 'omission'.

In Example 12, again from Goodbye Lenin!, the name of the organisation where the protagonist works has been omitted since there is no easily available equivalent or translation in English and the precise nature of his job is not a significant diegetic detail.
**Example 12: Goodbye Lenin!**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Ich hatte arbeitsfrei bei der PGH Fernsehreparatur &quot;Adolf Hennecke&quot;...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>I had the day off from the Adolf Hennecke TV repair co-operative...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>I had the day off from my job at a TV repair firm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Official Equivalent**

This strategy is often used for government bodies, names of institutions, and other official organisations which may already have an official translation for their name or other terminology. It can also be used for brand names.

In this example, from *Goodbye Lenin!*, the word *Zentralkomitee* is rendered as 'Central Committee', which is the generally accepted translation for this term when used in a political context and certainly when used to refer to the Communist Party.

**Example 13: Goodbye Lenin!**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Gestatten Sie mir, dem Zentralkomitee der kommunistischen Partei...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>Allow me, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party... (sentence continues)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>...the Central Committee of the Communist Party...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This category does not exist specifically in any of the other taxonomies proposed by the scholars discussed in this section. Pedersen (2011: 76) claims that the official equivalent might result from an administrative decision but could also arise from common usage, which it seems could cause some overlap with his own ‘retention’ and the ‘direct translation’ categories. Pedersen (2011: 99) himself accedes that “Official Equivalents can be based on just about any translation strategy”. In the example of *Zentralkomitee der kommunistischen Partei* above, a justifiable classification of this strategy could be either official equivalent or
direct translation. To analyse another example, if the word ‘Washington’ is left as it is in the
target language subtitle, it could signify a retention, but also an official equivalent. Likewise,
the word ‘Easter’ is likely to be translated into German as ‘Ostern’, given that the two
cultures share this religious festival, so the translation theorist may justifiably consider this
a direct translation but also an official equivalent. The category of official equivalent appears
therefore to be a secondary classification, a type of overarching category that could be seen
as unhelpful for this variety of study. This forms the basis for the decision to remove this
category from the current analysis.

This taxonomy of six strategies – (1) retention, (2) specification, (3) direct translation, (4)
generalisation, (5) substitution, and (6) omission – has been chosen as the basis of the
classification used to analyse the current corpus because each of these categories is clear,
and as discrete as possible, although there are obviously some instances where the subtitler
can be said to have combined two strategies, as discussed by Pedersen (2011: 72). As the
taxonomy is specific to subtitling, and takes into consideration the flaws of the preceding
work as discussed, it is judged to be the most appropriate methodological tool for the aims
and objectives of this study. However, this taxonomy, when used as a research tool does
have some limitations, not least the fact that some translation strategies could possibly be
ordered into more than one category, as discussed in section 5.4.2.

As elucidated in part above, the scholars that have worked on the classification of strategies
for the translation of CSRs have set forth individual taxonomies, each with slightly differing
division of the translation decisions in question. It is helpful, therefore, at this point, to
attempt to compare the taxonomies discussed, in a representation of the various categories
and their respective overlaps. The information is contained in Table 13 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Having examined some of the most significant taxonomies for the strategies employed in the translation of culture-specific references, the following sections go on to discuss the classification of the CSRs themselves, and examine in a more granular way the strategies that have been actually used to translate them into English in the current corpus of German films.

5.3 CSR translation strategies and the initial norm

In the classification chosen for this study, some of the six translation strategies will take the TL audience into the world of the source culture, whilst some others will have the opposite effect, causing the receiver of the translation to move away from the source culture to the target one. This spatial view of translation originates in Schleiermacher’s (1813/2012: 49) seminal lecture series and subsequent essay where he establishes his famous dichotomy: “Either the translator leaves the writer in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him, or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him”. This notion of transport away from or towards the source text has been

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Transposition&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Retention</th>
<th>Loan</th>
<th>Retention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imitation</td>
<td>Transposition&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Literal translation</td>
<td>Calque or literal translation</td>
<td>Direct translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>Cultural Transfer</td>
<td>Transposition</td>
<td>Substitution/ Official equivalent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explication</td>
<td>Transposition with explanation</td>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>Explicitation</td>
<td>Addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase</td>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situational adaptation</td>
<td>Cultural Transfer</td>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>Substitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural adaptation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>Lexical recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Compensation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Official equivalent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Comparison of taxonomies for the translation of CSR

---

<sup>23</sup> If we assume that transposition does not involve translation
<sup>24</sup> If we assume that transposition does involve translation
discussed by Venuti (2008) in the context of what he calls the translator’s ‘invisibility’, arguably one of the core texts of Translation Studies. He introduces the frequently-used terms of “foreignization” and “domestication” (2008: 24) where the latter is the prevalent practice in translations into English, according to the scholar. That is, prevalence is given to a translated text that hides the translation process and reads as if it were originally written in the target language. The former approach, conversely, pertains to a translation practice that moves the reader closer to the values of the source culture and language, by retaining the flavour of the ‘other’ and avoiding the practice of neutralising in the target text any elements that are clearly embedded in the source culture.

Deciding on whether to produce a translation that leans to the source or the target culture forms part of the initial norm as described by Toury (see section 4.2.1). In this respect, the scholar terms translation decisions which align more with the norms of the source culture as ‘adequate’ while those which conform more to the norms prevalent in the target culture are known as ‘acceptable’. Though fruitful to some extent, this study will eschew the use of these dichotomies but will instead follow Pedersen (2011) by describing the translational decisions as ‘source oriented’ or ‘target oriented’, as these terms are both clear and also devoid of any possible value judgement. Indeed, Pedersen (ibid.: 71) prefers the use of these terms because they are more ‘neutral’.

In this theoretical cline that goes from source to target oriented, the scholar groups his taxonomy as follows (ibid: 75):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source oriented</th>
<th>Target oriented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>Generalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>Substitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>Omission</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Pedersen's strategies grouped according to their orientation
Pedersen (ibid.: 76) consciously leaves official equivalent out of this classification, arguing that this is “not so much a strategy, as an equivalent with a special status”. He also maintains that these distinctions are not clear-cut and acknowledges that direct translation and generalisation are “only vaguely” (ibid.: 76) source oriented and target oriented respectively and that omission is arguably neither. Nonetheless it can be argued that omission is actually target oriented because it does not introduce any elements of the source culture into the target culture and therefore does not move the TL audience towards the SL culture in any way and, for this reason, this research classifies omission as target oriented. As Pedersen (ibid.: 71) points out, these translation strategies are generally seen to be on an axis from the most source-oriented to the most target-oriented, as visually represented in Figure 23 below:

![Figure 19: Orientation of translation strategies](image)

The detailed analysis of the strategies activated in the translations of culture specific references in the corpus will show the proportion of CSRs that have been rendered using each of the strategies in the proposed taxonomy, and will therefore give an insight into the trends and regularities found in the corpus with respect to these specific translation decisions. Embracing Toury’s (1995: 37) idea of comparing the various translation decisions for “coupled pairs”, it should be apparent whether each set of subtitles is more source oriented or more target oriented. This may, amongst other things, cast some light on the initial norms at play for the subtitlers working on these films at these specific times because
the analysis of these data will show whether the translation decisions reached have a tendency to be more source-oriented or more target-oriented for each of the five sets of subtitles.

This section has examined a vast selection of taxonomies proposed by scholars for the investigation of the translation strategies used by professionals when faced with the transfer of CSRs and it has also expounded in detail the taxonomy that has been isolated for the purposes of this study. The following section discusses the nature of these culture-specific references in a more granular way in order to draw up a taxonomy that can be used for grouping these elements in a systematic and cohesive manner.

5.4 Taxonomies of culture-specific references

Many translation scholars have offered more or less exhaustive taxonomies of the lexical elements that can be considered CSRs (Nida, 1945; Vlachov and Florin, 1969; Newmark, 1988; Rantanen, 1990). However, only a few classifications have been put forward specifically for use in the analysis of subtitles. Admittedly, it is difficult to formulate an exhaustive, systematic classification for CSRs, as many categories overlap, and scholars often disagree about what constitutes a CSR in the first place. However, as Pedersen (2011: 59-60) maintains, such lists of domains can also be useful for the analysis of subtitling behaviour when faced with CSRs and he, for instance, offers the following 12 categories:

1. Weights and measures
2. Proper names: subdivided into
   a. Personal names
   b. Geographical names
In contrast, Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 211) proposes a much reduced taxonomy with only these four broad categories: (1) geography, (2) history, (3) society and (4) culture, whilst Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 200) compile a more detailed classification under the three main headings of geographical, ethnographic, and socio-political references, as follows:

(1) Geographical references

- Objects from physical geography, e.g. savannah, meadow
- Geographical objects, e.g. downs
- Endemic animal and plant species, e.g. zebra
(2) Ethnographic references

- Objects from daily life, e.g. tapas
- References to work, e.g. farmer
- References to art and culture, e.g. *Romeo and Juliet*
- References to descent, e.g. Cockney
- Measures, e.g. ounce

(3) Socio-political references

- References to administrative or territorial units, e.g. county
- References to institutions or functions, e.g. Reichstag
- References to socio-political life, e.g. Ku Klux Klan
- References to military institutions and objects, e.g. Smith & Wesson

This extensive classification does appear to go a long way towards being exhaustive, though some categories seem unduly broad, for example, ‘objects from daily life’ which would include, for instance, all food references, an extensive category in the current corpus under analysis. The division between ‘objects from physical geography’ and ‘geographical objects’ is also somewhat unclear.

It is, of course, evident that all culture-specific references can be fictional or real, i.e. found in the world. In the current corpus, for instance, there are numerous examples of fictional place references, such as the following from the very beginning of *Die Blechtrommel*, where the policemen are searching for the fugitive Joseph Koljaiczek, who is, in fact, hiding under the skirts of the person they are talking to. Resigned because they cannot find him, they
conclude with the following expression, which refers to a fictional location, named so as to suggest a place which could be located in the north-west of Poland, where the action takes place:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:03:34:04</td>
<td>00:03:35:20</td>
<td>1:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original text</td>
<td>...muß er nach Bissau sain.(^{25})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>He must be gone to Bissau.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>He must have gone towards Bissau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also many real places referred to in the same film, such as Danzig (now Gdansk), Chicago, Kiev, and Paris as the action is concerned with actual events in that region from the turn of the 20\(^{th}\) century to the end of the Second World War.

By the same token, references can be imbued with a diachronic perspective and invoke events from the past, as in the case of references to historical periods such as the Reich, meaning the German Third Reich, that is the period of German history that spanned from 1933 until 1945. They can be rooted in the present time, termed synchronic, such as most of the modern-day place names that appear in the corpus (e.g. Berlin and Moscow). Finally, they can be situated in the future, references which, by definition, would be fictional, as in science fiction.

The current study seeks to describe subtitling behaviour as observed in a given audiovisual corpus, and it is with this in mind that the following classification into 15 categories and subcategories, is proposed and discussed. The taxonomy takes Pedersen’s (2011: 59) list as its

\(^{25}\) This is a representation of the regional dialect they are speaking.
starting point, but is expanded to include intralinguistic references also, which are marked in yellow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Sub-category</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allusion</td>
<td>Intertextual</td>
<td>“Jesus wept”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>The Treaty of Versailles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>The Hail Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Real</td>
<td>Bonn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fictional</td>
<td>Bissau, Christminster, Macondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Real</td>
<td>Adolf Hitler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fictional</td>
<td>Father Christmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>Uniforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Games</td>
<td>Bridge, Skat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Festivals</td>
<td>Diwali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rituals etc.</td>
<td>First-footing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms of address</td>
<td></td>
<td>Job titles, such as Reverend and Chief Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical terms</td>
<td></td>
<td>Meadow, cairn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs</td>
<td>Text-internal</td>
<td>Composed especially for the film The Internationale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Text-external</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptions of people</td>
<td>Heritage</td>
<td>Frenchman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political affiliations, either actual or terms of abuse</td>
<td>Nazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>The British Army</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chorley cakes, Cheddar cheese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books/newspapers</td>
<td>The Times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Units of measurement</td>
<td>Money</td>
<td>Roubles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weights and measures</td>
<td>Bushel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayings and slang</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Happy the corpse the rain rains on”, meaning that if it rains on the day of a funeral, the dead person is considered to have been a good person “Ligger” meaning a person who tries to get things for free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal terms</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arraignment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brands</td>
<td></td>
<td>Porsche</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Taxonomy of CSRs

What follows in the next pages is a discussion of each of the categories listed above, illustrated with examples extracted from the corpus, and a brief evaluation of the strategies used in these examples. Some of the categories exhibit only a small number of instances of the CSR in question, so in these cases it is difficult to come to any precise conclusions from
this microscopic analysis. However, when viewed in total from a macroscopic perspective, the findings are more illustrative. This latter perspective is discussed further in chapter 6.

In some of the tables used in the coming sub-sections, data from Die Blechtrommel is indicated with blue highlighting, whilst data from Katharina Blum is marked in yellow. Appendix two contains all of the CSRs isolated from the corpus, collected by category. Further analysis of the frequency of the individual types of CSRs in each film can be found in section 6.2 for Katharina Blum and section 6.1 for Die Blechtrommel.

5.4.1 Allusion

Ranzato (2014) postulates that the term ‘allusion’ has been considered by some scholars, such as Leppihalme (1997) and Gambier (2001), to be synonymous with culture-specific references (regardless of the terminology used for the latter) but herself states that the term is “preferred, in the studies on this subject, when it is referred to more complex intertextual elements and concepts” (ibid.: 82). It is because of this narrow focus when using the term that her approach is adopted here. She, in common with earlier scholars (Cuddon, 1999; Irwin, 2002; Ruokonen, 2010), confines the use of the term to references to other works of culture, for example plays and books, and allows for both covert and overt allusions in her study. In dialogue, characters that appear in books, plays, films, and the like, sometimes use a type of shorthand to refer to something outside of the text - to make an allusion - which the audience may or may not grasp. In an earlier work, Ranzato (2013: 86) affirms that these sorts of allusions “create a special relationship between audiences and texts” because the audience, having spotted the reference, feels not only privileged, but as if they are somehow part of the text’s creation. This is particularly the case where the director has chosen an allusion that is likely to be accessible to only part of the audience, such as a reference to an obscure Shakespeare sonnet, for example, that is only likely to be familiar to those who have studied Shakespeare at a level beyond school or are regular theatre-goers.
An example of intertextual allusion is the scene, from *Die Blechtrommel* (1995), where Oskar is describing his birth. This passage is a direct allusion to a section in Goethe’s autobiography, published in 1811, and entitled *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit* [Truth and Poetry: From my own life], in which Goethe describes his own birth in almost exactly the same manner, thereby suggesting that the very planets looked down favourably on his arrival in the world (Arnds, 2004: 139). By establishing this parallel with Goethe’s work, Oskar means to imply that his own birth was similarly blessed. This CSR is translated using direct translation in the 1995 subtitles and the use of such a strategy means, arguably, that the TL viewer, if familiar with Goethe’s work in translation, should be able to access the allusion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:10:00:18</td>
<td>00:10:03:13</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original text</td>
<td>Die Sonne stand im Zeichen der Jungfrau.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>The Sun stood in the sign of Virgo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>The Sun was in the sign of Virgo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Admittedly, this is an allusion that might only be accessible to a small subset of the original German-speaking audience, namely those who recognised the echo of the Goethe work. The strategy of direct translation is therefore a justifiable one, as an English-speaking reader familiar with Goethe’s *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, either in the original German or in translation, would also be able to access this reference. The fact that this particular reference is available only to a small section of the English-speaking audience is a mirror of the situation for the German-speaking audience. It is difficult to contemplate the use of any other translation strategy to process this reference, as the deployment of some alternative solution would likely deny the target audience access to this allusion.
The present study moves to argue that such allusions are not confined to intertextual references to other works of culture but that the category can be widened to include historical and religious allusions. A historical allusion would be an indirect reference to a past event which is iconic in the source culture, or at least an event that would be known to a proportion of the source culture viewers. An example of such a reference in the corpus comes in *Die Blechtrommel* in the Nazi rally that takes place in Danzig and has already been discussed in section 5.2, where Gauleiter Wilhelm Löbsack is addressing the Nazi supporters on the Maiwiese (May Meadow). In his speech, he is talking about the situation of the Germans in Danzig and East Prussia, separated from the rest of their country, as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, ratified in 1919. This agreement, signed at the end of the First World War, ceded some of the land that the Germans considered their territory to the country of Poland, including a corridor from the Baltic Sea which allowed Poland access to this waterway for shipping and commerce. The following subtitle comes directly before the one already discussed in Example 9.

*Example 16. Die Blechtrommel 2010*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:50:18:13</td>
<td>00:50:21:16</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original text</td>
<td>seitdem uns ein Schmähliches Diktat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>Since us a shameful decree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>ever since the shameful Versailles Diktat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>Specification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This allusion has been translated using the strategy of specification: the source text does not mention the treaty specifically, but talks only of a “shameful decree”, a reference that the people listening in the crowd would be expected to understand, and, by extension, the source language viewer also, given the context in which the speech is delivered. The subtitler
has chosen to add information to the subtitle in a clear attempt to aid the comprehension for the target language viewer, who, it could be assumed, might not be as familiar with this period of history as a German viewer. When considering this example, it is also of note to examine this choice through a diachronic lens. The film was made in 1979, a mere 34 years following the end of the Second World War, and within living memory of the Treaty of Versailles. The subtitles discussed above date from 2010, some 31 years after the official release of the film, and 65 years from the end of the war, when, it could be argued that the target audience, already more distant from German history than the original SL audience, were and are still less likely to understand the allusion without the supporting information added by the subtitler.

In a similar way, the taxonomy proposes a subcategory of religious allusions, for references to sacred hymns and songs, aspects of religious observance (such as Catholics crossing themselves – see section 5.5 for a discussion of non-verbal CSRs), prayers and other facets of the practice of organised religion. An example of such an allusion occurs at the beginning of Die Blechtrommel, where Oskar is talking about his family and heritage. He describes his mother’s conception and birth, her love for her cousin Jan Bronski, and how she meets her future husband, Alfred Mazerath. Oskar then says “und in diese Dreieinigkeit haben sie mich, Oskar, in die Welt gesetzt” [and in this trinity, they brought me, Oskar, into the world], which is a clear reference to the Christian trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and indicates, perhaps, the high esteem in which Oskar views himself. The subtitler has decided to translate this reference using a direct translation:
The strategies that have been used to translate the various allusions encountered in the corpus can be classified as in table 12:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allusion</th>
<th>1995 DB</th>
<th>2002 DB</th>
<th>2003 KB</th>
<th>2009 KB</th>
<th>2010 DB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Strategies used for the translation of allusions in the corpus

For both films, the most common strategy used to translate allusions is direct translation, with generalisation, omission, retention, specification, and substitution also in use. In the case of Katharina Blum the two allusions encountered have been translated using direct translation. From a diachronic perspective, and leaving aside the examples of allusion found in Katharina Blum, as they have been transferred in an homogenous manner, Figure 24 shows the variation in the strategies adopted to translate this cultural reference across the years in the corpus of subtitles from Die Blechtrommel:
This diagram shows that the use of direct translation, omission, retention and generalisation have declined across the corpus, whilst substitution and specification have increased, demonstrating a clear tendency towards more source-oriented strategies over time. Diachronic variation in the use of strategies activated to translate CSRs in the corpus is discussed more extensively in section 6.4.

A noteworthy example of the translation of allusion is evident later in *Die Blechtrommel*, where an actual speech by Adolf Hitler is broadcast from the radio. During this speech, made in the Reichstag on 1st September 1939, and broadcast live on German radio, Hitler announced the annexation of Poland, the action that is widely regarded to have detonated the start of the Second World War. It is to be expected that educated Germans would understand this allusion to such a significant historical event. Crucially, and rather surprisingly, the speech is not subtitled in the 1995 version, so is an example of the use of the strategy of omission, but it is subsequently subtitled in the 2002 and the 2010 versions,
both times using the strategy of direct translation. The following example (18) has been extracted from the 2002 version:

**Example 18. Die Blechtrommel 2002**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:45:36:18</td>
<td>00:45:41:01</td>
<td>4.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Back translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Danzig war und ist eine deutsche Stadt...</td>
<td>Danzig was and is a German city.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtitle</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Danzig has always been German!</td>
<td>Direct translation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subtitle is made up of 30 characters, including the exclamation mark, and enjoys a duration of 4 seconds and 8 frames. This yields a reading speed of 8.3 characters per second or 69 words per minute, a strikingly low reading speed compared with the averages of 160wpm for television and 180wpm for DVD, suggested by scholars like Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 98). Hitler’s speech delivery style was considered bombastic and rousing, and was characterised by very long pauses, something that perhaps the subtitler has sought to reflect in the rather slow timing of the subtitle.

This example raises an interesting point central to the discussion of the translation of CSRs, namely the fact that it seems reasonable to assume that an educated German would both recognise the distinctive voice of Hitler and perhaps be familiar with this iconic speech, although those in the former category might outnumber those in the latter. Moving onto the target audience, however, it is still quite likely that an educated English speaker would recognise Hitler by his voice but is highly unlikely that they would know immediately from which speech this excerpt has been taken. In choosing to ignore the CSR in the translation, the 1995 subtitler is, perhaps, denying the viewer the opportunity to recognise the particular speech, and certainly denying them the chance to research it, if they speak no German. In
resorting to the use of direct translation, the subtitlers from 2002 and 2010 are increasing
the likelihood that English-speaking viewers might recognise the speech and allowing them
to take the English translation and research its provenance if they so wish. However, it could
be argued that in order to achieve the same effect for the target language viewer as for the
source language viewer, some indication of the speaker and the speech might be necessary.
In contrast to what is common in the case of intralingual subtitles, the practice of speaker
identification is not used in interlingual subtitles and any attempt to indicate explicitly the
identity of the speaker would be a significant diversion from commercial subtitling norms in
this context. In addition to this, the subtitler is aided in this matter a few moments later,
when Agnes complains to Alfred that everyone apart from them can hear Hitler, as they have
no radio. The target audience therefore receives the signal that the speech was delivered by
Hitler, but no clues are provided as to the fact of the particular occasion of the speech and
they therefore lack the opportunity to situate this political occurrence at that specific point
in history.

5.4.2 Places
This category is fairly self-explanatory and refers to the names of geographical places of
habitation, both in the real world and also in any kind of fictional universe. Fictional
references can also be sub-divided into text-internal fictional references, as in the example
above (Example 14) concerning Bissau, and fictional places from outside the actual textual
narrative, as in the references to Atlantis, or Paradise. Table 17 shows the strategies
observed in the corpus for occurrences dealing with the subtitling of place CSRs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The reason for the differing totals - Blechtrommel 2002 has two fewer occurrences of places than the other two versions - is that the audio for this particular version of the film has been differently edited from the remaining examples and contains four fewer CSRs: it is lacking two instances of places, one of forms of address, and one of people. It is possible that these omissions were made because the target audience for this DVD imprint was primarily the Korean market, so for some reason these audio sections were deleted, although there is no unifying factor for the four CSRs other than that they all take place within voice-over sections of the film.

The place references in Katharina Blum, viewed in a more granular fashion, encompass five fictional places and eight real places; of the five fictional instances, three are cafés with specific names, and two are locations in Germany that sound plausible but do not exist. An analysis of the real places referred to in Katharina Blum reveals that three of them are references to cities in Germany, one to a city located in the USA, one a city in Austria and the remaining two are countries, namely the Soviet Union, which has since disappeared, and Germany.

By contrast, in Die Blechtrommel, only four of a total of 29 place CSRs are fictional, specifically two cities and two references to fictional locations in Danzig. In all, twenty-five real places are to be found in the film, broken down into 15 cities, eight countries, and two specific places or areas.

As could be expected, the two strategies most commonly used for the translation of places are that of retention and direct translation. In this category, the boundary between these two strategies can be somewhat unclear, as a direct translation of a place name is quite likely

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specification</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Strategies used for the translation of places in the corpus
to be the same as the place name in the SL, unless there is an official translation, as in Example 19 below where *Moskau* becomes ‘Moscow’ in English. In the analysis, the strategy of direct translation has been attributed to these cases where a minor lexical or syntactic adjustment has been made in order to anglicise the place name, and where an official equivalent was used. Those cases in which the name of the location has been left unchanged have been considered as falling into the category of retention, as shown in Example 20.

This first example takes place at the party that has been organised to celebrate the baptism of Kurt, Oskar’s younger brother (or possibly son, as he himself believes). The party-goers are discussing the progress of the war, and Scheffler, the baker and a pillar of the local community, gives his opinion:

*Example 19. Die Blechtrommel 1995*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:50:10:22</td>
<td>01:50:16:14</td>
<td>5.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Original text**

Moskau muß dem Erdboden gleichgemacht werden, damit wir diese Menschen nicht auch alle noch ernähren müssen im Winter, das weiß der Führer.

**Back translation**

Moscow must be razed to the ground, so that we don’t have to feed all these people through the winter, the Führer knows that.

**Subtitle**

The Führer knows Moscow must be razed, so we needn’t feed them in winter

**Strategy**

Direct translation

The next example is taken from the speech given by *Gauschulungsleiter* Löbsack to the people of Danzig, attended by Alfred and also observed by Oskar. This section is taken from the start of the oration, where he addresses people from the whole of Poland, starting *Liebe Volksgenossen und Volksgenossinen, aus Danzig und Langfuhr...* [Dear comrades from Danzig and Langfuhr...].

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It is interesting to note, in the context of the technical norms discussed in section 4.2.3, that this subtitle remains on screen for a very long period, almost eight seconds, thereby flouting the ‘six-second rule’ which states that a subtitle should not be on screen for longer than this amount of time as otherwise viewers tend to re-read the information (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 96). The fact that the speaker is delivering a piece of oratory, with long gaps between his utterances for effect, is probably the reason behind this spotting decision. The way in which the dialogue is delivered is synchronous with the subtitles, and as such, they do not appear unusual. The issues, however, remain as the content of the subtitle is very short, it consists of only 32 characters. An alternative cueing could have been the presentation of each of the places in different, shorter subtitles.

Another example of a fictional place CSR can be seen in Katharina Blum. Alois Sträublede is a character described in the film as Katharina’s Herrenbesuch [gentleman caller], though it is implied that the relationship is somewhat one-sided with Katharina a less than enthusiastic participant. Towards the end of the film, he is talking to her employers, Herr and Frau Blorna, about her arrest and the subsequent publicity storm, and also, about the whereabouts of her lover, Götten, who is a fugitive. Sträublede, who is married and a leading figure in society, is actually concerned about the possibility of his name being linked with the scandal, and, in particular, the whereabouts of the key to his country house, which he has given to Katharina. Example 21 below contains part of his dialogue exchange:
Example 21: Katharina Blum 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:23:28:00</td>
<td>01:23:33:06</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text: ...den Schlüssel unsers Landhaus in Kohlforstenheim direkt aufgedrängt.

Back translation: pressed on [her] the key to our country house in Kohlforstenheim.

Subtitle: take the key to our place in the country.

Strategy: Generalisation

The location of Kohlforstenheim is a fictional place, clearly invented to represent a country idyll where such a successful society figure might retire at weekends. The subtitler in this case has chosen to use the strategy of generalisation, rendering Landhaus in Kohlforstenheim [country house in Kohlforstenheim] as ‘place in the country’, although it could also be argued that this is an example of the strategy of omission as ‘place in the country’ could be understood as a translation for the whole phrase Landhaus in Kohlforstenheim.

When examined more closely, it can be seen that the fictional place names (numbering four in Die Blechtrommel and five in Katharina Blum) demonstrate the most variation in translation strategy over time. Of these particular CSRs, the majority exhibited a change in strategy diachronically (five from nine, or 56%). The treatment of the real place names showed less variation, with only two from 33 (6%) real places yielding any change in translation strategy through the corpus.

5.4.3 People

CSRs in this category comprise references to the names of real people, living or dead, such as Oliver Welke, a German TV host well-known within Germany but little-known internationally, or Angela Merkel, a contemporary German known universally. The category also includes fictional characters, which can belong to the source culture, such as Derrick, a TV detective in the series of the same name, or can be part of a more international heritage, such as Father Christmas, or the Tooth Fairy. In all the subtitle files in the corpus, the strategy
most often used to translate references to people is that of retention. This finding is rather unsurprising, since any references to people that are known universally, or even just within the two cultures (German-speaking and English-speaking), are likely to have been retained. Examples of the use of the strategy of retention from the corpus are the retention of both the surname of the classical music composer ‘Beethoven’ and the word Führer, widely used to refer to Adolf Hitler in Die Blechtrommel. Other strategies used are direct translation, omission, and substitution. The finer details of the strategies used are to be found in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People</th>
<th>1995 DB</th>
<th>2002 DB</th>
<th>2003 KB</th>
<th>2009 KB</th>
<th>2010 DB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 21. Strategies used for the translation of people in the corpus*

Of the ten references to people in Die Blechtrommel, eight of them are to real people, and two to fictional individuals. When performing the same exercise on the Katharina Blum subtitles, it can be seen that all four of the people referred to in the film are actually real people.

An interesting example of the use of the strategy of substitution to translate a reference to a specific person can be found in the Die Blechtrommel 2002 subtitles. The action takes place during the night of 9-10 November, 1938, known as Kristallnacht, or Night of Broken Glass, when a pogrom was carried out against Jewish people, ghettos and businesses throughout the whole country. Oskar delivers the voice-over narration as follows:
Example 22. Die Blechtrommel 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:25:23:29</td>
<td>01:25:26:17</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text: [Es war einmal ein leichtgläubiges Volk,] das glaubte an den Weihnachtsmann.

Back translation: [Once upon a time there was a gullible people,] that believed in Father Christmas.

Subtitle: who believed in Santa Claus.

Strategy: Substitution

Although the figure of Santa Claus could be said to be a direct translation of the substantive Weihnachtsmann, a more obviously direct translation would be ‘Father Christmas’. Santa Claus is a corruption of the name Saint Nicholas, who is a different mythological individual, though closely related, especially in English-speaking countries. The figure of Saint Nicholas is said to be a figure based mainly upon Saint Nicholas of Myra (Sereno, 1951), a 4th century Christian bishop in what was then Asia Minor and is now Turkey. Many countries, including Germany, celebrate his saint’s day on 6th December, when children are given small gifts, and the period of advent officially commences. This is a separate and distinct festival from Christmas, where presents are brought by Father Christmas on 25th December or sometimes another traditional figure on a different date, such as the Three Wise Men in Spain on the 6th of January. In the 1995 subtitles, der Weihnachtsmann was translated as ‘Father Christmas’, using the strategy of direct translation, however in 2002 and 2010, the respective subtitlers rendered the name as ‘Santa Claus’, which, it could be argued, is an illustration of substitution. This might indicate a US English bias, as the term ‘Santa Claus’ is more prevalent in usage in that territory, and, as discussed in section 3.5, the 2002 Blechtrommel subtitles are written in US English.
An example of the activation of omission to translate a name can be seen in Example 23 from the *Die Blechtrommel* 2010 subtitles, where the words are shouted by a newspaper seller, anxious to sell his papers:

**Example 23. Die Blechtrommel 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:20:56:10</td>
<td>01:20:58:24</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Back translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polish provocation! The Führer has run out of patience. Danzig Vorposten, Danzig Vorposten.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtitle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German Danzig Sentinel!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subtitler has chosen to omit the entire headline, and to subtitle only the name of the newspaper, with additional information that the paper is in German, thereby omitting the CSR *Führer*. Although the subtitle remains on screen for only 2.14, there is time for this additional information to be added. According to Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007: 98), a subtitle lasting 2:14, at a standard reading speed of 160 words per minute, would allow some 41 characters. The current subtitle only has 23 characters, therefore part of the information that has been deleted could be added. In addition, it can be argued that the information does advance the action of the film, as it indicates to the viewer that Hitler is poised to launch an imminent attack on Poland and situates the scene very precisely in time. The subtitle in situ can be seen in Figure 25 with the newspaper seller visible on the left of the screen, in the blue circle, and Oskar in front of him inside the orange circle. The translation of newspaper names is discussed further in section 5.4.11:
5.4.4 Customs

This category encompasses a broad range of CSRs, such as clothes, games, festivals, and rituals, amongst others. In the current corpus the two most prominent categories are those of games and clothes. The latter includes, but is not limited to, uniforms, whilst in the case of the former, a number of references can be found, both overt and covert, to the complex German card game *Skat*, which is well-known in the German source culture and practically unknown in the English-speaking target culture, except perhaps amongst people who have extensive knowledge of the German-speaking world. Strategies used within the corpus for the translation of customs are direct translation, generalisation, specification, and substitution. In *Die Blechtrommel*, direct translation is the most frequent strategy implemented, however in *Katharina Blum*, generalisation is favoured. The total numbers are fairly small, making it inadvisable to draw firm conclusions. Table 19 below shows the distribution of the various strategies:
Table 22: Strategies used for the translation of customs in the corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Customs</th>
<th>1995 DB</th>
<th>2002 DB</th>
<th>2003 KB</th>
<th>2009 KB</th>
<th>2010 DB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The predominance of the use of direct translation and generalisation is perhaps an indication of the types of CSR found in the corpus, as they are mostly CSRs that are specific to the German culture with no equivalent in English. The CSRs in *Die Blechtrommel* classified as customs are three references to *Skat* and one reference to an item of clothing. The action in *Katharina Blum* takes place at Carnival time in Germany, and the CSRS in this film are two references to practices specific to the German carnival time, and one reference to a generic German custom, which was translated using specification, as shown in Example 26.

The one reference to an item of culture-specific clothing comes in *Die Blechtrommel*, when Alfred is getting ready to go to the Nazi rally. He’s complaining about his uniform, specifically his *Wickelgamaschen* [gaiters or puttees that are made of strips of cloth, wound around the calf, see Figure 26], saying that they are slipping down, and he needs boots. Maria protests, as she thinks that boots cost too much:

**Example 24. Die Blechtrommel 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:48:22:00</td>
<td>00:48:24:04</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text: Diese verfluchten Wickelgamaschen verrutschen immer.

Back translation: These damn wound puttees keep slipping down.

Subtitle: These damn leggings keep falling down!

Strategy: Substitution
There is no concise, accurate translation in English for *Wickelgamaschen* which would be suitable for the spatio-temporal constraints governing subtitling – this subtitle lasts only 2.04 seconds – and the subtitler in the 2010 subtitles has chosen to substitute the German term with ‘leggings’. Leggings, seen in the military sense, are similar to puttees, i.e. garments that are worn from the knee to the ankle to protect the lower leg, but are not wound in the way that characterises *Wickelgamaschen*. This choice of translation solution yields a possible misunderstanding in the TL viewer, in that in the 21st century, leggings more commonly refer to full-length trousers, worn for sport or leisure. The puttees are quite clearly visible (Figure 26), so it could be the case that the subtitler took the view that the supporting information accessed through the visual channel would be sufficient to avoid any loss of meaning:

![Figure 22: Die Blechtrommel - Wickelgamaschen](image)

An example of direct translation can be observed when dealing with one of the *Skat* references in *Die Blechtrommel*. This scene takes place when the Polish Post Office is under siege from the advancing Nazi army. Jan Bronski, Oskar, and Kobyella, the man who repairs Oskar’s drums, are hiding in the cellar. Kobyella is badly injured and Jan and Oskar are trying to keep him awake by playing *Skat*. Jan is also going slowly insane and losing touch with reality during this process. As Kobyella slowly slips into unconsciousness, Jan gets more and
more agitated, eventually accusing him of being a *Spielverderber* [spoilsport] and uttering the outburst presented in Example 25:

**Example 25. Die Blechtrommel 1995**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:28:00:03</td>
<td>01:28:05:01</td>
<td>4.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text: *ich hab' einen Grand Hand,*

Back translation: *I have a Grand Hand*

Subtitle: *I have a grand hand*

Strategy: Direct translation

In German, a *Grand Hand* is a winning combination of cards in the card game of *Skat*, a reference which, arguably, would be inaccessible to English speakers with no knowledge of this German card game. The choice of the strategy of direct translation for this transfer, then, does not succeed in transferring the meaning of the source text in a way that can be clearly and generally understood by the target language viewers. Arguably, and given the fact that the text is on screen for 4.23 seconds, and the current subtitle only has 19 characters, the subtitler could have opted for a solution that was more target oriented and incorporated additional information to aid the target language viewers.

When examining CSRs that are classified as customs, we find an interesting example in *Katharina Blum*, of note because it offers an instance of a radical change in connotative meaning arising from the use of the strategy of specification. It comes from the end of the film, when Katharina’s friends are drinking in a bar in the morning and discussing the stories about her that have appeared in the press. They call her up to tell her they are reading about her and invite her to join them in *Frühschoppen* [early bottle], a German custom whereby people meet to drink beer in the late morning, usually on Sundays. The use of the expression “beer for breakfast” in the translation leads to a difference in semantic emphasis in the English text from that in the German. In the original, the activity is sociable and not in any
way connotated with the misuse of alcohol, whereas the idea of having beer for breakfast might be seen as questionable behaviour in the English-speaking world:

Example 26. Katharina Blum 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:35:28:27</td>
<td>01:35:30:22</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text

Wir machen gerade Frühschoppen.

Back translation

We’re doing Frühschoppen.

Subtitle

Let’s have a beer for breakfast

Strategy

Specification

5.4.5 Forms of address

This category includes job titles and formal methods of address, such as ‘Father’ for a Catholic priest. Also included in this subset is the specific choice that can be made in some languages, including German, to use either a formal or an informal second person pronoun, whether in singular (in German, ‘du’) or in plural (‘Sie’). This choice is not available to the speaker of English, who can only utilise ‘you’, although there are other ways of indicating formality in English, such as the use of ‘Mr’ or ‘Mrs’ preceding a family name or the explicit uttering of the forename to indicate a greater degree of closeness between the speakers. Such a choice of formal or informal pronoun for a German speaker can indicate a wide range of aspects of the interpersonal interaction that is taking place, such as the similarity or difference in age of the two speakers, the relative social status of the two speakers within the context, and the length of time that they have known each other. The decision on whether to use the informal ‘du’ or the formal ‘Sie’ can be an extremely crucial one for the future development of any interpersonal interaction, however it would be false to assume that every such choice is an example of a CSR, since once the social hierarchies are established, pronoun usage usually remains stable until one or other party seeks to alter the status quo by suggesting a
change. In the current research, this choice has been classified as a CSR when the use of one pronoun over the other is specifically referred to in the dialogue. An example of this occurs in *Katharina Blum*, when Katharina first meets Ludwig at the party. The dialogue is as follows:

**Example 27. Katharina Blum**

| Ludwig: | Du heißt Katharina?  
|         | [Your name is Katharina?] |
| Katharina: | Ja, und du?  
|           | [Yes, and yours?] |
| Ludwig: | Ludwig  
|         | [Ludwig] |

The conversation then continues:

**Example 28: Katharina Blum 2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:45:11:22</td>
<td>00:45:13:29</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Original text | Ich habe schon lange nicht mehr zu einem Mann du gesagt.  
| Back translation | It’s been a long time since I said ‘du’ to a man. |
| Subtitle | I haven’t called a man by his first name in ages. |

| Strategy | Specification |

At the time the film is set, in 1975, it would have been unusual for two people, especially of opposite genders meeting for the first time, to use each other’s first names and the informal pronoun ‘du’ with one another. This exchange is used diegetically by Volker Schlöndorff to indicate the immediate closeness between Katharina and Ludwig, but also, most importantly, to provide an explanation for the assumption made by the police that they were not meeting for the first time at the party. The translation strategy used in Example 29 is that of specification as there is no equivalent to ‘du’ that has the same connotation in English.

A similar exchange in which the value of this grammatical construction is brought to the fore can be found in *Die Blechtrommel*. On this particular occasion, the dialogue also takes place...
at a party; Albrecht Greff, the local greengrocer, is talking to Gretchen Scheffler, the wife of Alexander Scheffler, the baker. At the same time, the latter is talking to Greff’s wife, Lina. All four of them can hear each other and the men are asking each other’s wives if they can use the informal, familiar form of address. In the 1995 subtitles, the decision has been to omit the first reference as shown below in Example 29:

**Example 29. Die Blechtrommel 1995**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:13:54:16</td>
<td>00:13:56:12</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Original text**

[Greff to Frau Scheffler] Darf ich "du" sagen, Gretchen?
[Scheffler to Frau Greff] Dann sag ich Lina.

**Back translation**

[Greff] May I say “du” to you, Gretchen?
[Scheffler] Then I shall say Lina.

**Subtitle**

Then I’ll call you Lina

**Strategy**

Omission

This translation solution may then lead to a disconnection in the diegesis for the English-language viewer, as the second utterance is in direct response to the first, and the first is inaccessible for the audience that does not understand German, as it has not been translated. However, the familiarity of the participants in the discourse with one another is clear, as the viewer can see that they are physically close and note the convivial atmosphere of the party. Of course, here we must also take into account that the time available for the subtitle is rather short, only one second and 21 frames, which may have motivated the subtitler’s decision to omit the reference. Incidentally, the first utterance is also deleted in the other two sets of subtitles in the corpus, and, in the 2002 subtitles, the entire exchange has been left unsubtitled.

Other strategies used to translate instances of forms of address in the corpus include direct translation, generalisation, substitution, retention, and specification. Of these, substitution
is the most common strategy used in *Katharina Blum*, whereas it has not been used at all in the subtitling of *Die Blechtrommel*. It should be noted here that there are 16 examples of forms of address in *Katharina Blum*, in contrast with only seven in *Die Blechtrommel*. A detailed breakdown can be found in Table 20:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms of address</th>
<th>1995 DB</th>
<th>2002 DB</th>
<th>2003 KB</th>
<th>2009 KB</th>
<th>2010 DB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 23: Strategies used for the translation of forms of address in the corpus*

An example of the use of substitution to render this particular type of CSR occurs in *Katharina Blum*: when she is arrested, there is a large police operation, her apartment block is searched, and there is significant public and press attention. As she is led out of the building by police to be taken for questioning, watched by her neighbours and many journalists, the police are giving the following instructions to the amassed crowds over a loudhailer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:17:55:04</td>
<td>00:17:58:14</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Original text**

> Verdächtige Beobachtungen teilen Sie bitte dem Einsatzleiter mit.

**Back translation**

> Please report suspicious observations to the officer-in-charge.

**Subtitle**

> Please report anything suspicious to the commissioner.

**Strategy**

> Substitution

---

26 The 2002 version of *Die Blechtrommel* has been edited, (see section 5.4.2), hence the discrepancy in numbers.
The term *Einsatzleiter* [officer-in-charge] has been rendered using ‘commissioner’, a term meaning someone who has been granted the authority to carry out a task, or often a senior police officer. Later in the film, it is revealed that Beizmenne, the police officer in charge of the investigation, has been given the title *Kommissar* [commissioner] but at this point the viewers are not aware of this fact. It is not clear why the subtitler has opted for this substitution as the subtitle lasts for 3.10 seconds and, with 53 characters, it can easily accommodate more information. In fact, the solution ‘officer-in-charge’ is merely five characters longer than ‘commissioner’ – 17 characters as opposed to 12 – and could have been deployed in the subtitle without the contravention of any technical norms. However, as the subtitler would have been in possession of the information that Beizmenne’s job title is ‘commissioner’, this choice may be the result of a wish to maintain lexical and diegetic cohesion. Without access to the individual subtitlers, it is indeed difficult to ascertain the motivation at work in such cases.

### 5.4.6 Geographical terms

This category encompasses those terms that describe elements of geography that are particular to a specific culture, either because of the natural formation of the land, or the farming or livestock practice of the inhabitants. Other terms that may be included in this category are instances where a particular language describes a geographical feature using a hyponym, for example the German word *Alm* [pasture in the Alps], where the target culture only has a hypernym, in this case, ‘pasture’, in which the location is not specified. In the corpus under analysis, no geographical terms have been found in *Katharina Blum*, whilst only three occurred in *Die Blechtrommel*. Of these, two have been translated using generalisation and one has been dealt with using direct translation, as shown in the table below:
Geographical terms | 1995 DB | 2002 DB | 2010 DB
---|---|---|---
Direct translation | 1 | 1 | 1
Generalisation | 2 | 2 | 2
Total | 3 | 3 | 3

Table 24: Strategies used for the translation of geographical terms in *Die Blechtrommel*

An instance of generalisation is shown in Example 31, taken from the very beginning of the film, where Oskar narrates the events of his mother’s conception, describing his grandmother sitting in a *Kartoffelacker* [potato field]. The word *Acker* in German denotes a field where crops are grown, whereas the word ‘field’ in English is a more general term for a boundaried area of grassland:

*Example 31. Die Blechtrommel 1995*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:01:43:11</td>
<td>00:01:47:21</td>
<td>4:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original text</td>
<td>[saß] in ihren vier Röcken am Rande eines Kartoffelackers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>[sat] in her four skirts at the edge of a potato field.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>...sat in her four skirts on the edge of a potato field</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, of the three geographical terms found in *Die Blechtrommel*, two of them are translated in the same way throughout the corpus, and one only has a slight variation, as can be observed in table below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Back translation</th>
<th>Subtitle translation</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kartoffelacker</td>
<td>potato field</td>
<td>potato vegetable field</td>
<td>Generalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freie Staat</td>
<td>Free State/Free City</td>
<td>Free City (1995)</td>
<td>Direct translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aktienteich</td>
<td>a type of pond</td>
<td>pond</td>
<td>Generalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>designed for animals to drink from</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 25: Translations of geographical terms in Die Blechtrommel*

### 5.4.7 Songs

It could be argued that songs are a particular case within the taxonomy of CSRs, as their treatment is usually beyond the scope or sphere of influence of the translator and tends to be determined by either client or company-specific guidelines. The translation of songs is an area that has been often neglected by academics, though some important work has been carried out under the auspices of the Translating Music project (Desblache et al., 2013). Most frequently, scholars have examined opera, as one musical form that has historically been frequently subject to translation (Apter, 1985, 1989; Desblache, 2004, 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Snell-Hornby, 2007; Burton, 2008) but nowadays there is a growing body of academic work on enhancing accessibility to music for audiences with sensory disabilities (Orero and Matamala, 2007; Neves, 2010; Weaver, 2010; Oncins, 2013).

One particular issue that has traditionally hampered the subtitling of songs is that song lyrics are sometimes not included in the dialogue lists that accompany the distribution of some audiovisual programmes (Díaz Cintas, 2001c) or the working templates that are sent to the subtitler, and therefore the subtitler may not subtitle them. Often the instruction from the client is not to subtitle songs, due to concerns about copyright, or to the fact that to subtitle song lyrics into another language whilst retaining rhyme and scansion is a significant challenge, and clients may have concerns about the resulting quality or cost. However these facts should not preclude their inclusion in a taxonomy of culture-specific references, as they
are undoubtedly often rooted in a particular culture, be that the source culture or a different culture or, indeed, part of the fictional world created for the film and their translation (or non-translation) can have a significant effect on the experience of the film for the TL viewer. The film *Katharina Blum* does not contain any songs, but *Die Blechtrommel*, by contrast, contains seven songs or references to songs, which have been translated using the following strategies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Songs</th>
<th>1995 DB</th>
<th>2002 DB</th>
<th>2010 DB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 26: Strategies used for the translation of songs in Die Blechtrommel*

Here the diachronic variation in the use of strategies to deal with the translation of songs is rather striking, as all the songs in the 1995 version have been translated using direct translation, as illustrated in Example 32, whilst this strategy is completely absent from the translational decisions made by the subtitler in the 2002 version and has only been used once in 2010. This is displayed graphically in Figure 27 below, where it can be clearly seen that in parallel to the decrease in the use of direct translation, there is a concomitant increase in the use of generalisation and omission, perhaps as a result of the issues affecting song translation in film discussed at the beginning of this section. Whilst the strategy of direct translation has been used for all the songs in 1995, the strategy of omission is the most prevalent in the 2002 version, and generalisation and omission have been used on the same number of occasions in 2010.
In the example below where generalisation has been activated, Maria asks Oskar what song he would like her to sing, and he requests a traditional German hymn entitled, *Maria, dich lieben ist allzeit mein Sinn* [Maria, to love you is always my purpose]. As this hymn does not exist in English, the subtitler has chosen instead to use inverted commas to indicate a fictional hymn name, and to translate the title with a general statement of devotion to the Virgin Mary that sounds as if it could be a hymn:

*Example 32. Die Blechtrommel 2010*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:33:58:14</td>
<td>01:34:00:22</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Original text               | Maria dich lieben ist allzeit mein Sinn.         |
| Back translation            | Maria, to love you is always my purpose.         |
| Subtitle                    | “Mary, My Adoration.”                             |
| Strategy                    | Generalisation                                   |

Again, we see that condensation of the German text has taken place unnecessarily in the English translation – 21 characters – as the subtitle duration of 2:08 allows ample time for a
longer translation that could semantically adhere more closely to the original and could afford up to 37 characters if a standard reading speed of 160 wpm is assumed (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 98).

An example of the omission of a song can be found near to the beginning of the film, at the party to celebrate Oskar’s third birthday. His mother, Agnes, and her lover, Jan Bronski, are singing together at the piano. Whilst they sing, Bronski puts his hand inside Agnes’s blouse in an overtly sexual gesture, and she looks lovingly up at him. All of this is observed by Oskar. The song they perform is a love song, from Der Zigeunerbaron [The Gypsy Baron] (Johann Strauss II, 1885), which diegetically draws attention to their adulterous affair as it talks about the marriage of two characters and their love for one another as Agnes and Bronski caress. Despite its added value to the understanding of the plot, the song remains unsubtitlehd in both the 2002 and the 2010 subtitles:

Example 33. Die Blechtrommel 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Wer uns getraut? Ei sprich: SagDu’s! Der Dompfaff, der hat uns getraut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>Who married us? Tell me: You say it! The Bullfinch, he married us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>Omission</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.8 Descriptions of people

This category encompasses terms that are used to refer to a specific individual by some characteristic such as their national or local heritage (e.g. the Finn, the Parisians), their political affiliations (e.g. the Red, the Marxist), or perhaps their religion (e.g. Jew, Christians). These descriptive characterisations can on occasions be offensive in their nature, (e.g. Nigger, Yid, Paki), which in turn can cause particular problems for the subtitler because of their very aggressive nature or because they simply do not exist in the target language.
Additionally, a term with these pejorative semantic characteristics could have been acceptable at the time the film was made but not acceptable at the time the film is being subtitled (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 196), or the connotations of a particular term may have changed over time from neutral to negative or vice versa.

In the activation of this category, there is a clear bias towards the use of the strategy of direct translation throughout the whole corpus, as can be seen in Table 24 below, although generalisation, omission, retention, specification, and substitution are also used to a lesser extent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descriptions of people</th>
<th>1995 DB</th>
<th>2002 DB</th>
<th>2003 KB</th>
<th>2009 KB</th>
<th>2010 DB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12(^{27})</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 27: Strategies used for the translation of descriptions of people in the corpus*

Example 34, from *Katharina Blum*, illustrates the way direct translation has been activated. In this scene, the journalist Tötges is talking to the detective in charge of the case, Beizmenne, about Katharina’s employer, Frau Blorna, and he makes use of the adjective ‘red’ with a double meaning – the colour of her hair and a political persuasion – a duality that has been preserved in the English translation by means of direct translation:

\[^{27}\text{As already mentioned, the 2002 version of } \text{Die Blechtrommel has been edited (see section 5.4.2) and hence the discrepancy in numbers.}\]
5.4.9 Institutions

The group of items that can be collected under the umbrella concept of ‘institutions’ is large and varied, ranging from military and legal institutions to children’s groups and educational establishments to name but a few. Examples under this category include the House of Lords, the Bundeswehr [German Armed Forces], the Boys’ Brigade, the French Sorbonne or the Spanish ONCE (Organización Nacional de Ciegos Españoles) [National Organization of Spanish Blind]. Some of these cultural references may pose a particular challenge to the subtitler since it is rare that such an institution exists in exactly the same form in the target culture, with the same connotations as the source culture institution. As an illustration of this, many democracies have an upper house which is similar to the House of Lords in the UK, and these political entities will have a name in the local language which could perhaps be considered as a possible translation for ‘House of Lords’, for example Senado [Senate] in Spain or Sénat [Senate] in Spain. However, it can be argued that none of them share the connotations of unelected wealth and privilege associated with the House of Lords in the UK and so Spanish and French have also coined an official translation for the UK House of Lords: Cámara de los Lores in Spanish, and Chambre des Lords in French. The category of institutions is another group where the strategies used for their subtitling in English differ across the two films in the corpus. Indeed, in Die Blechtrommel, direct translation has been systematically favoured
across all three versions, whereas in *Katharina Blum*, substitution has been the preferred method of translation. Other strategies chosen include generalisation, omission and retention, though in smaller numbers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>1995 DB</th>
<th>2002 DB</th>
<th>2003 KB</th>
<th>2009 KB</th>
<th>2010 DB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 28: Strategies used for the translation of institutions in the corpus*

The following is an example of substitution taken from *Katharina Blum* (2003 subtitles), in which the dialogue exchange occurs when two of the police officers are talking about the case, and one questions a decision made by Beizmenne, the detective in charge of the case. The other police officer reacts defensively, saying that all of Beizmenne’s decisions have been approved by the *Krisenstab* in Bonn. The *Krisenstab* was the government crisis unit or crisis team, set up to deal with the wave of left-wing terrorist incidents taking place in Germany at that time, around 1975. The exchange goes as follows:

*Example 35. Katharina Blum 2003*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:28:43:16</td>
<td>00:28:47:27</td>
<td>4.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text: und von Krisenstab gebilligt.
Back translation: and approved by the crisis unit.
Subtitle: have been approved by Internal Security in Bonn.

Strategy: Substitution
The subtitler has chosen to substitute this German CSR with the English term ‘Internal Security’, which generally means a government agency set up to monitor and ensure the security of a nation and oversee and bring together the actions of a number of agencies, including border control, the police, the military and the legal system. This choice of lexical item is an example of the subtitler substituting one form of official department in the target culture for a different official department in the source culture.

Example 36 demonstrates the use of retention in the corpus. This scene takes place towards the end of the film. Göttten has been arrested, and Katharina’s employers and supporters, Herr and Frau Blorna, her Aunt Else, Else’s partner Konrad and Katharina are all drinking wine at the Blorna’s residence and discussing the events of the past few days. Herr Blorna is talking about Ludwig’s crimes, which apparently amount only to desertion from military service and petty theft, despite the media and police hysteria surrounding the case. He says:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:32:08:13</td>
<td>01:32:11:11</td>
<td>3.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text: Das Einzige, was feststeht, ist, das er aus der Bundeswehr desertiert ist.

Back translation: The only thing that is certain, is that he’s a deserter from the Bundeswehr.

Subtitle: All we know is he’s a deserter from the Bundeswehr.

Strategy: Retention

The subtitler has chosen, in this case, to retain the German word Bundeswehr, thereby assuming that the term for the German military would be understood by an English-language viewer.
5.4.10 Food

Cultural references associated with food are particularly rich and complex, as food can vary even across regional boundaries within a country and can therefore be also obscure to natives of the same nation. Examples of this category from the UK include Lardy Cake, a kind of fatty fruit bread found only in certain counties of the South of England, and Grasmere Gingerbread, a type of ginger biscuit produced in the village of Grasmere in the Lake District that bears only scant resemblance to gingerbread as generally recognised in the UK. This is to say nothing of the issues facing the translator when encountering specific recipes or foodstuffs that are rooted in a particular culture and have no appropriate alternative in the target culture.

Cultural references in this category also extend to ways of cooking and the association of certain foodstuffs with rituals and religious festivals, such as the eating of spinach in Germany on Grün Donnerstag [Maundy Thursday], the day before Good Friday, or soupe à l’oignon [onion soup] in France to celebrate the last day of the year. These culinary traditions have no equivalent in the English-speaking world and therefore would pose a problem to the subtitler if only referred to without much explicitation in the original. This topic has gained academic recognition is recent years and some of the scholars that have turned their attention to the translation of food references include Chiaro (2008), who focuses on the culinary sphere and the role played by translation in the acceptance into British culture of cuisine from elsewhere in Europe, specifically Italy, before going on to discuss the localisation of two mainstream UK cookery programmes for the Italian market; Rox Barasoain (2009), who examines the translation into English of food references in the films of Pedro Almadóvar, concluding that a variety of strategies are used by subtitlers, although mostly the translation strategies are target-oriented, a finding that is not reflected in the current corpus, where the orientation is almost equally balanced; and González-Vera (2015), whose article deals with the translation into Spanish of food references in six animated films and finds,
conversely, a slight tendency towards source-culture orientation. This apparent difference could be explained by the fact that in each case, the culture that is favoured, albeit only slightly, is the English-speaking one, a theory that is further developed in section 6.5.2.

There are no references to specific food in *Katharina Blum* and only generic mentions of meals or food in general can be found in the film, posing no special challenge to the translator. This lack of specific food references may be due to the fact that most of the action takes place in the police station. One such generic instance takes place when Katharina is first interrogated in the police station. The police officers try to persuade her to eat from a trolley that has just arrived, and when she declines, Beizmenne, who has been interrogating her, offers to share his food with her, telling her *der Appetit kommt beim Essen* [your appetite will come when you start to eat]. She demurs, and asks to wait outside. He tells her that her option is to be locked up; she chooses this option, to his obvious disgust.

In *Die Blechtrommel*, however, a significant proportion of the action takes place at family gatherings, baptisms and funerals, which in turn yield a rich array of cultural references in the food category. These are mainly translated using direct translation, as can be seen in Table 26 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food</th>
<th>1995 DB</th>
<th>2002 DB</th>
<th>2010 DB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 29: Strategies used for the translation of food in Die Blechtrommel*

These results are also interesting as there is no diachronic variation in the strategies used across the three sets of subtitles for the film.
An example of the use of direct translation for food references occurs when Oskar’s mother Agnes is gorging on fish, which makes her ill, because she is pregnant by her lover. Agnes’s mother, Anna, is summoned to come and talk to Agnes with a view to stopping her from this obsessive eating. The dialogue below takes place between Alfred Mazerath, Agnes’s husband, and Anna, his mother-in-law, as he describes what has been happening:

Example 37. *Die Blechtrommel* 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:09:26:14</td>
<td>01:09:28:19</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Original text**
Jetzt Matjes, massenhaft.

**Back translation**
Now it’s pickled herrings, tonnes of them.

**Subtitle**
Now it’s pickled herring.

**Strategy**
Direct translation

As observed, the word *Matjes* has been directly translated as ‘pickled herring’ and the English text has yet again been unnecessarily reduced as the adverb *massenhaft* could have been easily included in a subtitle that lasts for 2:05 seconds and could hypothetically allow a maximum of 38 characters if a standard reading speed of 160 wpm is considered (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 98).

An occurrence of a food reference rendered using a different strategy, generalisation in this case, can be found in Example 38. In this scene, Jan Bronski is in the house of Agnes and Alfred around lunch time and Alfred, the chef, offers him lunch in the following terms:

Example 38. *Die Blechtrommel* 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:20:53:15</td>
<td>00:20:56:20</td>
<td>3.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Original text**
Du bleibst doch?
Es gibt Pfifferlinge.

**Back translation**
Are you not staying? We’ve got chanterelles.

**Subtitle**
Not staying? We’ve got mushrooms

**Strategy**
Generalisation
The subtitler has chosen to use the strategy of generalisation, adopting the hypernym ‘mushrooms’ instead of the direct translation ‘chanterelles’. The latter substantive is merely three characters longer than the word chosen, so it is unlikely that the reason for this translational choice was the amount of time available. Indeed, the subtitle remains on screen for 3 minutes and 5 frames, which allows for more text to be added to the translation. One possible reason for the use of generalisation is that the term ‘chanterelles’ are fairly uncommon in the English-speaking world, and more often eaten in Poland and Germany, so perhaps the reference was felt to be too obscure, or too exotic, for the English-language audience.

5.4.11 Books and newspapers

Most cultures have both their popular books and their canonical literature and these domestic productions often have connotations that are unavailable to those with little or no knowledge of the source culture. An example of this would be the German children’s book *Der Struwwelpeter* (Hoffmann, 1845) which is a collection of moralistic stories about children who misbehave or disobey their parents and then suffer horrific consequences. Characters from the book, such as *Hans Guck-in-die-Luft* [Hans Head-in-the-Air] are often used in German conversation as shorthand for people who display certain behaviour, in this case, walking along and not paying attention. Similarly, newspapers, especially national newspapers, invariably demonstrate a particular bias, usually political, that is transparent to those people who live in a particular country, but difficult to ascertain to anyone without the requisite cultural experience. In the UK, for example, it is well-known amongst most of the resident population that *The Guardian* is a broadsheet newspaper with left-leaning sympathies whilst *The Telegraph* aligns itself more with the right-wing political factions.
In *Die Blechtrommel*, Oskar’s German father, Alfred, tells his Polish Uncle, Jan, that he should read the *Danziger Vorposten*, when he turns up at the apartment with a different newspaper. The *Danziger Vorposten* was the official newspaper of the National Socialists from 1933, and it is a reasonable assumption that a part of the German-speaking audience will know this. On this particular occasion, the political affiliation of the paper is made clear by the dialogue of the film, however the strategies used for the translation of this newspaper name remain worthy of scrutiny. The *Danziger Vorposten* is referred to twice, once in the exchange described above and later in the film, when a newspaper seller in the street is shouting the headlines and the name of the newspaper in order to generate sales (see Example 23 and Figure 25). In the first occurrence, all three subtitlers have chosen to use substitution to translate the name of the newspaper, as in Example 39 below, from the 1995 subtitles. The newspaper referred to here, *Danzig News*, does not exist in the real world, and so the association with the National Socialists is partly lost:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:48:46:22</td>
<td>00:48:49:01</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text: Du sollst den Danziger Vorposten lesen.
Back translation: You should read the *Danziger Vorposten*.
Subtitle: Read Danzig News
Strategy: Substitution

The fictional newspaper referred to in both the 2002 subtitles and the 2010 subtitlers is the *Danzig Sentinel*, leading to the same outcome as in the previous case. The second time the *Danzig Vorposten* is mentioned in the film, substitution is also used in the 1995 subtitles (Example 23) and the 2010 set, and the same translation solutions are activated as in the first occurrence. Conversely, the dialogue and name of the newspaper are unsubtitled in the 2002 version.
Other translation strategies used to subtitle the names of books and newspapers in the corpus are direct translation and omission, as can be seen in Table 27. Nonetheless, as this is a rather small category of CSRs in the corpus, with only three discrete instances, it does not allow for the extraction of firm conclusions. A discussion of the single newspaper reference in Katharina Blum can be found in section 3.5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30: Strategies used for the translation of books and newspapers in the corpus

5.4.12 Units of measurement

Although some measurement systems are widely used throughout the world, e.g. the metric system, others are highly culture-specific, such as currency, especially historical currency, and certain national, local or regional terms for measuring distances or quantities, such as feet, peck, ounce, and furlong from the English language. The strategies used in this corpus to translate units of measurement are direct translation, generalisation, and retention. There is one instance of mistranslation in the 1995 subtitles for Die Blechtrommel, and a detailed discussion of this error can be found in section 6.3.1. The table below shows the treatment of units of measurement in this corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31: Strategies used for the translation of units of measurement in the corpus
All of the measurement references encountered in *Katharina Blum* have been translated using direct translation, as in Example 40 below. Here, Detective Beizmenne is interrogating Katharina about her income and specifically about how she can afford, on her salary, to possess such a valuable ring, which, in fact, was a present from a gentleman friend. The old currency substantive *Mark* has been translated as ‘mark’ in the English text, with only the change of initial letter from upper case (‘M’) to lower case (‘m’) to adhere to the grammar rules of the English language:

---

**Example 40. Katharina Blum 2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:40:32:28</td>
<td>00:40:35:25</td>
<td>2.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Back translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dieser Ring ist acht bis zehntausend Mark wert.</td>
<td>This ring is worth eight to ten thousand marks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Subtitle        | |
|-----------------| This ring is worth eight to ten thousand marks. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Direct translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

---

5.4.13 Sayings and slang

Pedersen (2010: 44) explicitly disregards sayings and slang from his taxonomy of culture-specific references as he deals purely with ‘extra-linguistic’ cultural references, thereby excluding any references that come from the language itself. In contrast, this present study includes sayings and slang in its classification since, from a pragmatic point of view, these lexical utterances are, by their very nature, inextricably linked to their culture of origin, and therefore present similar challenges to the translator as the other items in the proposed taxonomy. Examples of such sayings might include English expressions such as ‘he’s not as green as he’s cabbage-looking’, to refer to someone who is not as innocent or stupid as it may have appeared or, from the current corpus, German expressions like *olle Kamellen* [old caramels] meaning ‘old news’ or ‘leave the past in the past’. As an extension of this
viewpoint, the current study also choses to include slang as an example of a culture-specific reference, by means of a similar rationale.

In the present corpus, the dominant strategy for translating sayings and slang is substitution, whilst other strategies observed are direct translation, generalisation, omission, retention, and specification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sayings and slang</th>
<th>1995 DB</th>
<th>2002 DB</th>
<th>2003 KB</th>
<th>2009 KB</th>
<th>2010 DB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32: Strategies used for the translation of sayings and slang in the corpus

It is unsurprising that the strategy of direct translation does not feature often in the choices made by subtitlers faced with this type of CSR, as the direct translation of a culture-specific saying or slang term is likely to result in an awkward translation that would not sound natural in the target text. A typical example can be found in *Die Blechtrommel*, in the scene when Oskar attends a circus performance and one of the people of short stature runs around the ring with a cloth over his head shouting *Ich habe eine Krankheit* [I have a disease]. He then uncovers his head to reveal a toy bird perched on the top and shouting *Ich habe einen Vogel*.

In the 1995 subtitles, the expression is translated using the strategy of direct translation as shown below:
In German, the phrase *einen Vogel haben* [to have a bird] is slang for someone who is crazy or demonstrating erratic or illogical behaviour. Taking advantage of the semiotic nature of film, the source text makes a visual joke intrinsically linked to the literal meaning of what the actor is screaming – i.e. he has a bird on his head – whilst emphasising the connotative meaning by having him shout in a farcical way that he is ill. The subtitler has opted for the use of direct translation in this instance, thereby failing to transfer the joke. In the 2002 subtitles, this whole line of dialogue has surprisingly been omitted, leaving only the original German and the visual joke for the target language audience to make any sense. In the 2010 subtitles, however, the subtitler has taken a different approach and chosen instead to opt for the strategy of substitution, as shown in Example 42:

---

**Example 41. Die Blechtrommel 1995**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:41:29:19</td>
<td>00:41:31:13</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Ich habe einen Vogel!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>I’m crazy!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>I’ve got a bird!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>Direct translation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Example 42. Die Blechtrommel 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:41:47:06</td>
<td>00:41:50:09</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Ich habe einen Vogel!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>I’m crazy!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>I’ve gone bird-brained!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>Substitution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By choosing an English expression that retains the word ‘bird’, the subtitler has succeeded in linguistically conveying the idea of the man being crazy, whilst at the same time preserving the visual reference to the bird on his head.

An addition factor to note is that this subtitle has a duration of 3 seconds and 3 frames, whilst the 1995 subtitle for the same dialogue only stays on screen for 1 second and 19 frames, just over half the time. The two subtitles are of similar length, at 16 characters and 23 characters respectively and there is no obviously technical reason for this discrepancy.

A further example of the use of substitution to translate a saying can be observed at the beginning of Die Blechtrommel. Anna Bronski is sitting in the potato field, and the police come and ask her if she has seen Joseph, who is hiding under her skirts. She retorts by saying the following (Example 43, from the 2010 subtitles):

Example 43. Die Blechtrommel 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:03:26:14</td>
<td>00:03:30:04</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text: So aín hab' ich jeseh'n, is jerannt wie Deikert komm raus.

Back translation: I saw someone like that, he was running like the Devil coming out.

Subtitle: I saw him.
Running like a bat out of hell.

Strategy: Substitution

In this particular instance, the subtitler has chosen to replace the German/Kashubian saying wie Deikert komm raus with the English saying ‘like a bat out of hell’, thereby retaining the reference to the devil/hell and also conveying the intended meaning of the original expression, i.e. that he was moving very fast.

5.4.14 Legal terms
There is universal acknowledgement that a country’s legal system is particular to that country (Cane et al., 2008; Alcaraz and Hughes, 2014), leading to the logical conclusion that legal terms only rarely enjoy a one-to-one correspondence across languages. Terms such as ‘solicitor’, ‘magistrate’, ‘privilege’ and ‘Crown Court’ are examples from the British legal system that do not have direct equivalents in some other languages and therefore have the potential to cause the subtitler some cognitive effort to reach a suitable translation solution.

There is only one legal CSR in the corpus, in the film *Katharina Blum*; it has been systematically translated in both sets of subtitles using the strategy of substitution. Katharina’s employer and champion, Dr Blorna, who is a lawyer, is speaking to Hach, the public prosecutor, whom he (correctly) suspects as passing information to the press. His threat to the prosecutor is as follows (translation from 2003 subtitles):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:19:36:11</td>
<td>01:19:40:27</td>
<td>4.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Original text**
Ich werde eine Dienstaufsichtsbeschwerde einreichen. Ich will wissen ob ihr mit der ZEITUNG zusammenarbeitet.

**Back translation**
I’ll raise a disciplinary complaint against you. I want to see if you’re collaborating with The Paper.

**Subtitle**
I’ll file an inquest to see if you collaborate with The Paper.

**Strategy**
Substitution

The English term ‘inquest’ has been used to translate the German *Dienstaufsichtsbeschwerde*, a term that refers to raising a complaint against a person in public office. The term ‘inquest’, however, has different connotations and refers rather to a legal process conducted when a death has occurred in suspicious or unexplained circumstances. This choice of translation by the subtitler, then, could lead to comprehension
issues for the target audience, who would be likely to understand the usual English-speaking meaning for the term.

5.4.15 Brands

Many brand names are country-specific and even those that are international may lose or change their connotations as they travel across borders. An international brand may be considered somewhat downmarket in its territory of origin, only to be seen as a luxury brand in a different territory where perhaps the economic conditions are not the same, or the marketing campaign has been significantly different. Academics who have examined the translation of brand names include Chan Bik (2007) who examines the translation of such items from Chinese to English and English to Chinese, focusing on whether phonetic or semantic translation was used, something that is not an issue in the present corpus, although it would be interesting to explore whether a source/target-oriented dichotomy could be mapped onto this scholar’s classification system; Wang (2012) who focuses only on translation into Chinese, and conducts a similar investigation; and Adab and Valdés (2004) who edited a special issue of *The Translator* devoted to the issues surrounding the translation of advertising material which emphasizes the cultural specificity of brand names and the issues arising from this as part of this translational domain.

Once again, it is the translator’s task to decide what aspect of the choice of brand by the film director is most important and try to retain that aspect in their choice of translation (see section 4.4). An added complication in the realm of audiovisual translation is that a challenge of this nature is rendered still harder if the brand name in question can be seen on the screen. Many public broadcasters (e.g. the BBC in the UK) do not allow the representation of any brand names on the screen or the reference to any such names in programme dialogue. This may create an obstacle in the case where a programme or film has been bought from a commercial broadcaster by the public broadcaster and prominent brand names require neutralisation. Another related issue is that of product placement, whereby a company may
have paid the programme-maker to refer to a particular product, either through the visual channel or the audio channel, or both (Gupta and Lord, 1998). It is unlikely that the payment would cover product placement in other territories, however if the brand is translated using the strategy of substitution, this may then raise the profile of a competing brand and present the danger that the source culture brand could have grounds for legal action.

There are no brand names mentioned or seen on screen in Die Blechtrommel, perhaps because the action takes place in the first half of the 20th century, when brands were not as ubiquitous as they then became. There are, however, two occasions where this subcategory of CSR occurs in Katharina Blum. The choice of strategies is the same across both versions of the film: one brand is retained by means of retention, and the other one is translated using the strategy of specification. The retention example takes place when Beizmenne, the detective in charge of the case, is trying to get Katharina to admit that she took public transport to the party because she knew Ludwig would be there and wanted to go home with him in his Porsche. Beizmenne is thus trying to prove that the couple knew one another before the party, whilst also insinuating that Katharina is motivated by money. As Porsche is an international car brand that is well-known in the English-speaking world, the subtitler has opted for its retention in the translation:

*Example 45. Katharina Blum 2003*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:22:25:22</td>
<td>00:22:28:18</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Back translation</th>
<th>Subtitle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...weil Sie wußten, daß sie Göttten treffen werden, um mit ihm Porsche zu fahren.</td>
<td>...because you knew that you were going to meet Göttten, so you could ride in his Porsche.</td>
<td>You wanted to leave with Goetten in his Porsche!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The other occasion on which a brand name is mentioned also takes place when Beizmenne is talking to Katharina in the interrogation. This time he is trying to imply that she is hiding something because her outgoings do not seem to match her income, and he declares the following:

Example 46. Katharina Blum 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in</th>
<th>Time out</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:07:40:29</td>
<td>01:07:46:27</td>
<td>5.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original text: Ihr alten VW haben Sie [...] vor sechs Jahren bei einem Kilometerstand von 56.000 übernommen.

Back translation: You bought your old VW [...] six years ago when it had 56,000km on the clock.

Subtitle: You own a Volkswagen, which you bought secondhand,

Strategy: Specification

This example is interesting, in the sense that the subtitler has chosen to write out in full the German abbreviation VW as ‘Volkswagen’, although it would be a reasonable assumption that the target audience would also understand the abbreviation since Volkswagen cars are available worldwide. The consequence of this specification is that much of the other information given in the dialogue (the mileage, when the car was bought) remains then untranslated as there is a lack of space.

5.5 Non-verbal CSRs

Most scholars, either explicitly or implicitly, tend to limit their analysis of CSRs to the verbal manifestation of such elements (Newmark, 1988; Ivir, 2003). Of course, nonverbal elements are not of consequence in the area of text translation which is where much research in the field has taken place. However, considering that film is a multisemiotic product, and that the subtitler should be attempting to facilitate the transfer of the filmmaker’s not only...
elocutionary but also illocutionary message, it could be interesting for any study of subtitling
behaviour to also consider how the visual channel has been taken into consideration when
opting for certain translation strategies over others. In this respect, Chiaro (2009: 156) states
that CSRs “can be either exclusively or predominantly visual […], exclusively verbal, or else
both visual and verbal in nature”. An example of a nonverbal CSR from the corpus under
analysis is the fact that the men chasing Joseph Koljaiczek in the first scene of *Die
Blechtrummel* are wearing the uniforms of the *Feldgendarmerie* [military police], a reference
that would be accessible to most of the SL audience but which could arguably be harder to
access for a TL audience not familiar enough with the German culture. As with the reference
discussed above in Example 18, of Hitler’s voice emerging from the radio, in the same way
as it would be challenging for a subtitle to indicate this aural reference, the available
strategies for a subtitler faced with a visual reference seem to be rather limited. One
possibility would be to try and include it in the subtitle, if the visual CSR occurred at the same
time as the dialogue, although this would require there to be enough time available for the
subtitle to be able to convey this extra information. In the example mentioned above, there
is no dialogue when the military police come running up to Anna, so a subtitle appearing
there would not conform to the norms of commercial interlingual subtitling, namely that
subtitles appear synchronous with audio (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 9), or with text on
screen, and therefore such an explanation would be most unusual and would cause a jarring
effect for a viewer.

Professional interlingual subtitling does not currently offer a consensual, viable way to
translate such visual references. Intralingual subtitling, as discussed in section 5.4.1 , does
require speaker labels, thus providing an opportunity for the identification of speakers
known to the source culture audience but not to the target culture audience. By a similar
method, audio description for blind and partially-sighted people (AD) also offers a possibility
for such references to be translated, and communicated to the target culture, as discussed
by Szarkowska and Jankowska (2015: 243) for the cases of geographical and ethnographic references.

Other visual CSRs in *Die Blechtrommel* include the *Zuckertute* [sugar bag] carried by Oskar and the other children when they are about to leave for their first day of school. This is shown in Figure 28 below:

![Figure 24: Die Blechtrommel](image)

In this German custom, still practised today, a child is given a large, triangular cone filled with a variety of sweets on their first day of school. In the film, this would be a signal to a viewer familiar with this custom that the children were about to go to school on their first day. Such a semantic clue is not available to a viewer unfamiliar with the custom and no extra information is provided linguistically in the film for the viewer to gain access to this diegetic point.

Also, there are various instances in the action where one of the actors makes the sign of the cross, a gesture sometimes used by Catholics to ward off evil or protect themselves. The significance of this gesture could, of course, be assumed to be clear to the vast majority of
the English-speaking audience, however if translation were to occur for an audience in a culture more removed from the English-speaking world, such as perhaps the Chinese culture, this reference might be harder to decode.

Die Blechtrommel also yields other non-verbal CSRs that are not visual, but aural, for example in the scene immediately preceding the one described above, Meyn, who lives in the same apartment block as Oskar’s family, is playing the trumpet through his window. He plays The Internationale, an anthem that is associated with left-wing political groups. This is to be contrasted with his trumpet playing later on, at Agnes’s funeral, where he also plays a military piece but is then subsequently told by Herbert to Geh zu deine SA [...] Nazischwein! [Go to your SA [...] Nazi pig!], thereby indicating to the viewer that his current political views align with the National Socialists. The use of the music acts symbolically as a metaphor for this character’s shift from the left to the right of the political spectrum in a reflection of a similar shift in the politics of his environment at this time.

5.6 Summary

This chapter has sought to formulate a taxonomy for the classification of culture-specific references, building on a foundation of existing works written by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) and Pedersen (2011), among others. The resulting taxonomy, to be found in section 5.4, proposes a classification into 15 categories for the purposes of heuristic analysis. The corpus under study was then interrogated using these groupings and the translational approaches used in each individual division isolated and described. A summary of the data compiled is presented as Figure 29, collected by CSR and film. The right-hand columns indicate the most popular strategies by film, where there is a clear result.

Chapter five continues the analysis of the CSRs in the corpus, investigating the nature of the CSRs to be found in each individual work, and moving on to examine the orientation of the
translational strategies used, whether to the source culture or the target culture, with the aim of testing the retranslation hypothesis, as introduced in section 4.5.
## Table: Most Frequent Translational Strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Allusion</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Direct translation</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Retention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Retention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<td>Forms of address</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Direct translation</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>N/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical terms</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Generalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Inconclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptions of people</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Direct translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Direct translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Substitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Direct translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books/newspapers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Direct Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Substitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Inconclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayings and slang</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Substitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal term</td>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brands</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 25: A summary of the translational strategies used in the corpus
Chapter 6

The translation of CSRs by version

This chapter will investigate the nature and variety of CSRs found in the corpus under study, focusing on each of the two individual films, before going on to examine the strategies used for their translation in each of the five versions and attempting to isolate the regularities operating in a more granular fashion. To a certain extent, this section therefore examines the same data as chapter 4, but viewed through the lens of each of the individual films, to extract meaningful conclusions from this standpoint.

In total, 195 CSRs have been isolated in the corpus, more specifically 65 from Katharina Blum and 130 from Die Blechtrommel. This represents a CSR density of 0.62 CSRs per minute in Katharina Blum and 0.98 CSRs per minute in Die Blechtrommel. For the purposes of these calculations the 2002 version of Die Blechtrommel has been disregarded because the audio of this particular version has been edited, with four of the CSRs being deleted, so the total number of CSRs in this version of the film is lower, at 126. In addition, counter-intuitively, this version has a longer running time by more than eight minutes than the other two versions: a duration of 2.21.09 as opposed to 2.12.19 for the 1995 version and 2.12.36 for the 2010 version. Statistics for the 2002 film are examined separately below. It is not surprising that Die Blechtrommel proves to be significantly richer in CSRs, as much of the action in Katharina Blum takes place within the confines of the police station and focuses on the events leading up to her arrest. The action unfolds over only a few days in 1975, whilst the plot of Die Blechtrommel is very much influenced by the events and geography of the time in which it is set, namely from 1899 to 1945 in Danzig, now Gdansk. Figure 30 shows the relative distributions of CSRs in the two films.

230
For the sake of this research, where a CSR has been repeated within the same film, the repetition has not been included in the final total unless the specific CSR was translated in a different way when it re-occurred. In terms of the type of CSRs found in the corpus, the breakdown can be seen in Table 30 and, in a more visual manner, in Figure 31 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of CSR</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allusion</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms of address</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical term</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptions of people</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books/newspapers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayings and slang</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal term</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brands</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 33: Totals of CSRs in the whole corpus
Figure 27: Percentages of CSRs in the corpus

It can clearly be seen from these totals that the most common form of CSR across the whole corpus is that of places with 42 instances (22%), followed by sayings and slang with 24 occurrences (12%) and forms of address with 23 instances (12%). The distribution of CSRs within each of the two films, however, shows some marked differences, as will be examined in the sections to follow.
6.1 CSRs in Die Blechtrommel

Turning to *Die Blechtrommel*, and considering the 1995 version and 2010 version, but leaving aside the edited 2002 version to be discussed subsequently, the CSR distribution is somewhat different, as can be observed in the tables and figures below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of CSR (DB)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allusion</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms of address</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical terms</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songs</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptions of people</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books/newspapers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayings and slang</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal term</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brands</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 34: CSRs in Die Blechtrommel*

These can be represented as follows:
From these charts it can be seen that the category of places has the highest number of CSRs in this film, by a significant margin, namely 29 instances from 130, representing 22% of the total number of CSRs in the corpus. This is comparable with the high incidence of the places category in *Katharina Blum*, where 13 from 65 items refer to locations, which is equivalent
to 20% of the total. The next three categories with high frequency in *Die Blechtrommel* are sayings and slang, with 18 occasions (14%), food with 15 (12%), and allusions with 14 (11%). The relatively high number of instances of food CSRs can be contrasted with the absence of food CSRs in *Katharina Blum*.

Looking then briefly at the 2002 subtitles for *Die Blechtrommel*, which have been edited and only contain 126 CSRs, the analysis changes slightly. The film, is longer, at a running time of 2:21:09 compared with 2:12:19 for the 1995 version and 2:12:36 for the 2010 version, and the CSR density is 0.89 CSRs per minute, compared with 0.98 CSRs per minute for the other two versions. The four CSRs that have been edited out are two instances of places, one form of address, and one description of people. These amendments do not change the distributions significantly, with the occurrences of places dropping one percentage point to 21% with songs increasing by the same margin, as can be seen in the figure below:
A graphical comparison of the relative percentage distribution of CSRs in the 1995/2010 versions of *Die Blechtrommel* with those in *Katharina Blum* can be found in the figure below. It can be seen from this chart that the distribution across the two films varies considerably, as befits films with such divergent settings (Danzig in the first half of the 20th century, and
Cologne in 1975). It is worth noting, however, that places represent a significant percentage of the CSRs for both films, but other than that no real patterns can be observed.

![Percentage distribution of CSRs](image)

*Figure 30: Percentage distribution of CSRs across both films in the corpus (disregarding 2002 subtitles).*

### 6.2 CSRs in Katharina Blum

Considering *Katharina Blum,* Table 32 and Figure 35 show the relative distribution of CSRs in the film, both as a table and figuratively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of CSR (KB)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allusion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms of address</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical term</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 35: CSRs in Katharina Blum

This can be represented as follows:

Figure 31: CSRs in Katharina Blum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Songs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptions of people</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books/newspapers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayings and slang</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal term</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brands</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This data shows that the most common type of CSR found in this film is forms of address, with 16 instances (25%), followed by places, with 13 (20%), and institutions with 11 (17%). There are no examples of songs, geographical terms, or food references. The lack of food references can be explained by the fact that there is very little food consumption seen or referred to in the film. Food can only be seen on screen twice, as discussed in section 5.4.10. The relatively high incidence of places as a category, despite the restricted location of the action in the film as discussed above, can be attributed to the police investigation referring to a wide range of places during the interrogation.

6.3 CSRs in the corpus: translation strategies

Having ascertained the nature and variety of the CSRs in each of the two films, the strategies used to translate these CSRs will now be examined for each individual film. As a reminder, the taxonomy used to classify the strategies has been amended from that proposed by Pedersen (2010: 74) and discussed in detail in section 5.2. These are the six strategies considered, from more source text oriented to more target text oriented:

1. Retention
2. Specification
3. Direct translation
4. Generalisation
5. Substitution
6. Omission

During the empirical analysis of the films, each German CSR was isolated and the strategy used by the subtitler to translate the CSR into English ascertained and catalogued, thus resulting in a detailed account of the various translational strategies used by the subtitlers.
6.3.1 Translation strategies used for the subtitling of CSRs in *Die Blechtrommel*

The various strategies used to translate the 130 CSRs found in *Die Blechtrommel* have been classified according to the above taxonomy and the results are shown in the table and figure below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>56 (43%)</td>
<td>43 (34%)</td>
<td>44 (34%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>9 (7%)</td>
<td>11 (9%)</td>
<td>14 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>15 (12%)</td>
<td>17 (13%)</td>
<td>12 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>28 (22%)</td>
<td>23 (18%)</td>
<td>24 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>6 (5%)</td>
<td>8 (6%)</td>
<td>9 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>15 (12%)</td>
<td>24 (19%)</td>
<td>27 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>129 (100%)</td>
<td>126 (100%)</td>
<td>130 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 36: Strategies employed in the translation of CSRs in Die Blechtrommel*[^28]

[^28]: Incidentally, in the 1995 version of *Die Blechtrommel*, one of the German CSRs has been mistranslated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Und was in Glas, Alfred. Trinken wir auf die Rentenmark. Und auf deine Drei-Pfennig-Semmel!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>And something in your glass, Alfred. Let’s drink to the Rentenmark. And to your three pfennig milk rolls!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle</td>
<td>And something in your glass! Let's drink to pensions and your cheap rolls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word *Rentenmark*, which refers to the currency introduced in Germany in 1922 in an (ultimately successful) attempt to stabilise the hyperinflation of the Weimar Republic, has been mistranslated as ‘pensions’. The misinterpretation ultimately has a negative impact on the translation as the meaning does not make much sense. This has undoubtedly come about because the word ‘pension’ in English
In the investigation that follows, owing to the numbers in each category, statistical analysis has not been carried out.

![Translation strategies for CSRs - Die Blechtrommel](image)

**Figure 32: Strategies employed in the translation of CSRs in Die Blechtrommel**

Diachronic variation

Looking at these findings in more detail, we observe that in comparison with the results for *Katharina Blum* there are some more discernible diachronic trends. Moving from 1995 to 2010, it is apparent that the instances of direct translation display a downwards trend through the corpus, from 56 (43%) instances in 1995 to only 44 (34%) in 2010; an evolution that is mirrored by an upwards trend in the use of the substitution strategy, from 15 translates as *die Rente* in German. With this in mind, the total number of CSRs in the 1995 version of *Die Blechtrommel* has had to be adjusted to 129.
instances (12%) in 1995 to 27 (21%) in 2010. Viewed pictorially, these trends are shown in Figure 37:

![Graph showing instances of direct translation and substitution in Die Blechtrommel](image)

*Figure 33: Instances of direct translation and substitution in Die Blechtrommel*

However, despite the decrease in instances of the direct translation strategy, it still remains the most common strategy chosen throughout this subsection of the corpus in 2010. Other, less dramatic trends can be observed in the number of occurrences of generalisation and specification, which both display a slight diachronic increase, and retention, the instance of which can be seen to decrease overall as time progresses (with a slight increase of one from 2002 to 2010). These are illustrated in the figure below:
As for the last strategy in the taxonomy, omission, an overall downward trend can be observed, as illustrated below:

Figure 34: Instances of generalisation, retention and specification in Die Blechtrommel.

Figure 35: Instances of omission in the Die Blechtrommel
In an attempt to view trends in the whole corpus over time, the number of occurrences in which each strategy has been used as a percentage of the total number of CSRs in the film has been calculated and the results are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DB 1995</th>
<th>DB 2002</th>
<th>KB 2003</th>
<th>KB 2009</th>
<th>KB 2010</th>
<th>DB 2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>43.41%</td>
<td>33.08%</td>
<td>21.54%</td>
<td>23.08%</td>
<td>33.85%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>6.98%</td>
<td>8.46%</td>
<td>10.77%</td>
<td>10.77%</td>
<td>10.77%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>11.63%</td>
<td>13.08%</td>
<td>7.69%</td>
<td>9.23%</td>
<td>9.23%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>21.71%</td>
<td>17.69%</td>
<td>18.46%</td>
<td>18.46%</td>
<td>18.46%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>4.65%</td>
<td>6.15%</td>
<td>10.77%</td>
<td>10.77%</td>
<td>6.92%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>11.63%</td>
<td>18.46%</td>
<td>30.77%</td>
<td>27.69%</td>
<td>20.77%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 37: Strategies for the translation of CSRs as a percentage of total CSRs.

Figure 36: Strategies for the translation of CSRs as a percentage of total CSRs: bar chart.

It can be seen from these charts that it is only in the case of generalisation and retention where a discernible and uniform trend can be observed, and although retention is not quite uniform, it does display a trend nevertheless. In the case of generalisation, the tendency to
use this strategy has increased by 55% (as a percentage of the usage in 1995) over time throughout the corpus, whereas in the case of retention, overall the deployment of this form of translation behaviour has decreased by 14%.

6.3.2 Translation strategies used for the subtitling of CSRs in Katharina Blum

The strategies used to translate CSRs in Katharina Blum can be broken down into a detailed classification as shown in the tables and figures to follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retention</td>
<td>12 (18%)</td>
<td>12 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specification</td>
<td>7 (11%)</td>
<td>7 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct translation</td>
<td>14 (22%)</td>
<td>15 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalisation</td>
<td>7 (11%)</td>
<td>7 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substitution</td>
<td>20 (31%)</td>
<td>18 (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>5 (8%)</td>
<td>6 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>65 (100%)</td>
<td>65 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 38: Strategies employed in the translation of CSRs in Katharina Blum

![Figure 37: Strategies employed in the translation of CSRs in Katharina Blum](image)
It can be seen very clearly from the data above that the most common strategy employed in this film has been substitution, in both versions of the film, with 20 occurrences in the 2003 version (31%) and 18 in the 2009 version (28%).

This was followed by direct translation, 14 (22%) and 15 (23%) instances respectively, and retention (12 in both, 18%). The least-used strategy was omission, with only 5 (8%) and 6 (9%) instances respectively. The next subsection explains the significance of these figures from a qualitative point of view.

**Diachronic variation**

It is also apparent from the data above that there is very little diachronic variation across the two sets of subtitles when it comes to the activation of translation strategies to give account of CSRs. The categories of generalisation, retention, and specification have been used the same number of times in both sets of subtitles. Of these, the category of generalisation shows the same lexical solutions in five of the six cases between the two films. In the case where variation appears, the change is only slight, as can be seen in Example 48. Tötges, the journalist, is ‘quoting’ Katharina’s ex-husband in an article published in *Die Zeitung*, in which Katharina’s ex-husband is discussing their separation:

**Example 47. Katharina Blum**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original text</th>
<th>Jetzt weiß ich endlich, warum sie mir tritschen gegangen ist.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back translation</td>
<td>Now I know, finally, why she fled from me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle (2003)</td>
<td>I know at last why she ran out on me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle (2009)</td>
<td>‘I know at last why she ran off on me.’ 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>Generalisation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 This inverted comma is used in the subtitles to indicate that the words are being quoted by someone else.
In the 12 cases of CSRs that have been translated using retention, the lexical item chosen by
the subtitler has, by definition, remained the same over both sets of subtitles in the corpus.
However, when examining in more detail the seven translational choices classified as
specification, we find only syntactic and grammatical variations, with lexical choices
remaining exactly the same. An example of such a variation can be seen in Example 49 below.
Here, Weninger, the journalist in Innsbruck, approaches the Blornas on their skiing holiday
with news of Katharina’s arrest. He addresses Dr Blorna in the following terms:

\[\textbf{Example 48. Katharina Blum}\]

| Original text | Sagen Sie, sind Sie nicht Dr. Blorna?  
Ja. |
|---------------|------------------------------------------|
| Back translation | I say, aren’t you Dr Blorna?  
Yes. |
| Subtitle (2003) | - Aren’t you Blorna, the attorney?  
- Yes. |
| Subtitle (2009) | Aren’t you the attorney Blorna?  
- Yes. |
| Strategy | Specification |

In keeping with the observation that there is only a slight diachronic variation between the
two versions of \textit{Katharina Blum}, the decrease in the number of substitutions by two, from
20 to 18 cases, is balanced by the increase by one instance in the use of the strategies direct
translation and omission respectively. This lack of variation in the nature of the strategies
employed over time is to be explained by the fact that the subtitles are extremely similar,
and it is indeed possible that the 2003 subtitles were used as a starting point for the 2009
subtitles.
6.4 Implications of these findings

As discussed in section 5.3, the strategies chosen by the subtitler when translating can either be source-oriented or target-oriented, that is, each translational decision can either move the viewer closer to the source culture or towards the target culture.

With this in mind, an analysis has been first conducted to ascertain whether, for each film, the translational decisions take the viewer towards or away from the source culture. Secondly, the data has been duly examined to check whether there is any diachronic variation in such tendency.

As a reminder, Figure 42 illustrates the list of translation strategies that can be used for the subtitling of CSRs, placed on a cline to show their respective orientation:

![Figure 42: Strategies for translation of CSRs from source oriented to target oriented](image)

In order to examine the tendencies found within the individual films, the strategies of retention, specification and direct translation were considered to be source oriented, whilst the strategies of generalisation, substitution, and omission were classified as target oriented.
oriented, following the premises put forward by Pedersen (2011: 75). The total number of instances of the first three source-oriented strategies was calculated as a percentage of the total number of CSRs found in the films, in order to produce the percentage of CSRs translated using source-oriented strategies for each film. This was then repeated for generalisation, substitution and omission to produce the number and percentage of German CSRs translated using target-oriented strategies. The results of this analysis are shown in what follows.

6.4.1 Orientation of strategies in Die Blechtrommel

More significant heterogeneity can be observed when looking at the results from Die Blechtrommel. There are three sets of subtitles for this film in the corpus, exhibiting significant linguistic and lexical variation. These three subtitle files represent a diachronic span of 15 years, from 1995 to 2010, as opposed to an interval of only six years in the case of Katharina Blum. Also, the 1995 version can be seen as a very early example of a subtitled DVD as the medium had only just been launched and one would imagine that the industry was somewhat in flux. It is therefore unsurprising that this subset of the corpus should yield more striking dissimilitude in the respective orientation of the translational strategies.

The following figures show the relative percentage of translational strategies used for each of the three sets of subtitles for Die Blechtrommel:
Figure 39: Strategies used in the translation of CSRs in Die Blechtrommel 1995

Figure 40: Strategies used in the translation of CSRs in Die Blechtrommel 2002
Figure 41, Figure 44 and Figure 45 above show the percentages of each strategy activated in a particular version of the film. In this section, the focus is to ascertain the overall orientation of the various translational choices as a whole and confirm whether they lean towards the source culture or towards the target culture. With that in mind, Table 36 shows the percentage of strategies by orientation for the three sets, presented individually:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source-oriented</td>
<td>69.77%</td>
<td>58.73%</td>
<td>59.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target-oriented</td>
<td>30.23%</td>
<td>41.27%</td>
<td>40.77%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 39: CSR translation strategies by orientation – Die Blechtrommel

A detailed analysis of these results leads to the observation that in 1995, there was a striking tendency to give prevalence to source-oriented strategies when translating CSRs, with more than 2/3 of the choices belonging to this category, as illustrated in Figure 46:
This can be compared, using a similar representation, with the translation strategies used by the subtitler in 2002. Although the overall approach still gives priority to source-oriented strategies, the graph clearly shows a marked decrease in the implementation of source-oriented strategies (from 70% to 59%) and an increase in the activation of target-oriented strategies (from 30% to 41%):
A few years later, in 2010, the proportions remain exactly the same as in 2002, as can be seen in Figure 48 below:

![Translation strategies by orientation - Die Blechtrommel 2010](image)

*Figure 44: Translation strategies by orientation – Die Blechtrommel 2010*

Figure 49 below shows graphically this move towards a more target-culture oriented translation over time:

![Diachronic variation DB](image)

*Figure 45: The trend in CSR strategies in Die Blechtrommel*
From a diachronic perspective, it is clear from this analysis that, for *Die Blechtrommel*, the apparent trend is that of bringing the translation closer to the target culture as time goes on, with the two later sets of subtitles displaying a much lower percentage, a difference of over 10% of the total, of source-culture oriented strategies. Nonetheless, such strategies remain more commonly adopted overall with 59% as opposed to 41% of target-culture oriented strategies.

A concrete example of this evolution can be seen in the subtitle below, when *Gauschulungsleiter* Löbsack is addressing the Nazi rally, whose audience includes Alfred and Oskar.

*Example 49: Die Blechtrommel*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German text</th>
<th>Back translation</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Löbsack: hat man uns die Polen ins Hafengebiet, auf die Westerplatte gesetzt.</td>
<td>Löbsack: they put the Poles on us, into the Harbour Area, into the Westerplatte.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Like lice, they put Poles around the harbour and in Westerplatte</td>
<td>Retention (TC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>it means that our waterfront...</td>
<td>Omission (SC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>It means that our waterfront</td>
<td>Omission (SC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the 1995 subtitles, the place name *Westerplatte* has been retained, whereas in the later subtitles, the subtitler has chosen to omit the name, which refers to a real part of Gdansk.

This change in strategy represents a move from the more source-culture oriented approach for this particular CSR to a translational decision that results in a more target-culture oriented translation in the later subtitles. The omission of the CSR is not material to the plot and has the effect of neutralising the dialogue, making it more accessible to the TL audience.
6.4.2 Orientation of strategies in Katharina Blum

In *Katharina Blum*, as discussed in section 6.3.2, there is very little variation between the strategies used to translate CSRs in the 2003 subtitles and those used in the 2009 subtitles, as can be seen in Figure 50 and Figure 51 below. The only change in the respective proportions of strategies used is a 2% increase in the use of direct translation in the more recent subtitles, coupled with a 1% increase in the use of omission, both of which are balanced out by a 3% decrease in the use of substitution. Figure 41 in section 6.3.2 above offers a pictorial representation of these diachronic variations in the use of the various strategies.

---

**Figure 46: Strategies used in the translation of CSRs in Katharina Blum 2003**

![Strategies used in *Katharina Blum* 2003](image)

*Figure 46: Strategies used in the translation of CSRs in Katharina Blum 2003*
Table 37 shows the percentage of the translation strategies by orientation for both sets of subtitles, shown figuratively in Figure 52:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source oriented</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>50.77%</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>52.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target oriented</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>49.23%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>47.69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 40: CSR translation strategies by orientation – Katharina Blum
These results show that the orientation of the translation strategies used is almost equally split between those that are source-culture oriented and those that are target-culture oriented.

As discussed, there is only a slight variation between the two sets of subtitles for *Katharina Blum*, so it is to be expected that very little diachronic movement is observed between the orientation of the two sets of subtitles, as can be seen below. There is a slight increase of 1% in the orientation towards the source culture, however this is as a result of a change in only four translational choices and therefore cannot be viewed as significantly relevant or indicative, and may, in fact, be a result merely of the individual subtitler’s choices and preferences.

![Figure 49: Diachronic variation in orientation of translation strategies in Katharina Blum](image)

These results show a very even split between target and source culture orientation for both sets of subtitles. It is clear here that there is almost no variation to be observed from a diachronic perspective, a result that is unsurprising given the lexical and technical similarities of the two sets of subtitles.
6.5 Testing the retranslation hypothesis (Bensimon, 1990; Berman, 1990)

As discussed in section 4.5, the data obtained by the analysis of the subtitles in the corpus is to be used to test the retranslation hypothesis (Bensimon, 1990; Berman, 1990), which states that first translations are likely to be closer to the target culture than any subsequent retranslations so as to enable the acceptance of the text in said culture. This hypothesis posits that retranslations tend to move away from the target culture and get closer to the source culture because by the time the second attempt takes place the text has already been accepted in the target culture and, as such, the translator can afford to take more risks with the original text. The decision to test this particular version of the retranslation hypothesis was motivated by the view, advanced by Paloposki and Koskinen (2004: 258) that this particular proposition would benefit from empirical study. In particular, this hypothesis has not yet been rigorously tested in the domain of audiovisual translation, specifically subtitling, although Zanotti (2015) does address this hypothesis in the domain of dubbing, as discussed further in section 6.5.2. Pym (2015: 4) considers translation through the prism of risk management and defines what he terms ‘credibility risk’, i.e. the risk to which many translators are exposed that the reader may decide not to ‘trust’ them any longer. For the scholar, this ‘trust’ takes the form of a belief on the part of the receiver that there has been a transformation from one language to another; that there is an original author, and that the length of the translation corresponds to the length of the source text. If such trust is lost, then the translator’s credibility is destroyed and the ‘translation relationship’, as it were, is broken. Leaving aside the fact that the third condition for the maintenance of trust (i.e. length of target text corresponds to length of source text) does not and cannot apply to subtitles, this concept of ‘credibility risk’ is relevant to the consideration of the retranslation hypothesis. Applying Pym’s concept of risk here, the agent of the first translation perhaps feels that they are at risk of losing credibility if their translation is too close to the source culture, therefore perhaps too ‘exotic’ or ‘foreign’ or difficult to access. This mirrors the idea...
that a translator should be ‘invisible’, challenged by Venuti (2008), and that the target text should read as if originally created in the target culture (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958/1995; Newmark, 1988; House, 1997). In fact, as argued by Bensimon (1990), the (first) translator tends to assume that the receiver does not wish to be reminded that the translation originated in an alien culture. Once this initial translation has been accepted, a subsequent translator (retranslator) feels that they have more freedom to take the text further away from the target culture, ‘expose’ the fact that the text is a translation, and can put more strain on the ‘translation relationship’ by taking more risks in terms of their own credibility. These risks can be taken because of the acceptance and good credentials in the target culture of the initial translation.

Considering the data in this corpus, as concluded above, there is no significant variation through the time period in the nature of the strategies used in the Katharina Blum subtitles examined here; there is, however, a clear trend in the orientation of the translational choices apparent in the three sets of subtitles for Die Blechtrommel. The choices of the subtitler, as we move through time from oldest to newest translations, show a clear tendency to give priority to more target-culture oriented solutions.

6.5.1 The retranslation hypothesis: specific CSR categories

The main CSR categories to be affected by this trend to activate more target-culture oriented solutions over time are people and songs. The subsets of customs and forms of address show the same tendency but to a lesser extent. Figure 54 and Figure 55 show the trend in orientation in the CSR categories for people and songs respectively.
The trend in the case of the CSR song category is striking, with all the songs in 1995 being translated using source-oriented strategies, whilst the exact opposite approach was given priority in the 2002 version where target-oriented choices were made for all the songs. The translation of songs is generally complex as it is subject to other external factors, and their treatment is discussed further in sections 5.4.7 and 7.3.2.
Revisiting Figure 38 and Figure 39, it can be seen that from a diachronic perspective, the incidence of direct translation and retention decreases as we move towards the present, whilst that of substitution and generalisation increases, leading to the conclusion that for this particular corpus the retranslation hypothesis does not apply. In fact, the results show that its opposite is true, namely that the translation of CSRs tend to be more target-culture oriented as retranslations are performed. For these particular German films translated into English, the subtitles have become more ‘domestic’ in a Venutian sense over time (Venuti, 2008). The older subtitles are likely to appear more ‘alien’ or ‘foreign’ to the receiver of the subtitles, whilst the more recent versions bring the source culture elements closer to the target culture, through the use of the translation strategies of generalisation, substitution and omission.

6.5.2 Possible reasons

As discussed in section 4.5, most research into retranslation has been done in the sphere of literary translations, (Du-Nour, 1995; O’Driscoll, 2011) or theatre translation (Aaltonen, 2003). Close to no work has been carried out in the field of audiovisual translation (Zaro Vera and Ruiz Noguera, 2007), particularly in subtitling, despite the fact that multiple versions of subtitles are extremely common, as highlighted by Koskinen and Paloposkis (2010). Retranslation of dubbed works is less common, due to the fact that dubbing is significantly more expensive than subtitling, and also more technically demanding and time-intensive. Redubbing does not usually take place unless the first dub has been extensively manipulated or censored, or new scenes have been discovered or added, perhaps in the case of a ‘Director’s Cut’. Although rare, such redubbing practices are on the increase, according to Zanotti (2015: 110) and they are sometimes the result of a requirement to update the dubbing to be compatible with current technology (ibid: 112). It is often the case, however, that a retranslation of a dubbed film takes place in the form of subtitles on a DVD, as the practise of subtitling English language films in ‘dubbing’ languages for this medium is now
widespread, perhaps due to the relatively low financial implications of adding another subtitle language to a DVD (thanks to the template method, discussed in section 2.4.2) and the perceived added value to the purchaser of a further language in the subtitles. Concerning the redubbing of films, Zanotti (2015: 121) finds that redubbing does, in fact, conform to the retranslation hypothesis in the sense that the more recent versions, the redubs, are closer to the source culture, thereby reflecting prevailing norms in Italian dubbing culture. Additionally, she concludes that the retranslation hypothesis, as advanced by Berman (1990), is insufficient when applied in the field of AVT (ibid.: 136). In her opinion, this is due to the relative complexity of retranslation in this particular industry, which can encompass reworkings of existing texts, translations for different modes as described above (dubbing, subtitling, etc.), as well as ‘pure’ retranslation in the sense of an entirely new dubbed or subtitled version of a previously translated work.

In the corpus under study, and as already mentioned, it can be seen that the subtitles for Die Blechtrommel demonstrate a move towards the target culture in their use of certain translational strategies when viewed over time, thereby contradicting the retranslation hypothesis. In the case of Katharina Blum, little variation can be observed over time between the two sets of subtitles, from 2003 and 2009, and what variation there is (only 1%), moves in the direction of the source culture, in line with the retranslation hypothesis, though the percentage is too low to be meaningful. Indeed, these subtitles exhibit very little linguistic variation, and the 2009 subtitles are likely to have been a reworking of the 2003 subtitles, although proving this empirically would be difficult without recourse to the subtitlers in question.

The primary conclusion from the analysis of the corpus is, then, that the retranslation hypothesis clearly does not apply to the collection of subtitles from Die Blechtrommel. The reasons can be multifarious. Perhaps it is the case that this particular theory does not apply
in the subtitling domain. In any case, further work is certainly advisable to test the results of
the current study and see whether they can be observed in other corpora.

Another putative explanation for this result can perhaps be found when considering the
language pair and direction currently under study. Although most (commercial) audiovisual
translation in countries in the (Western) world is carried out from English into other
languages, the current corpus is formed of subtitles translated in the other direction, i.e.
from German into English. In his seminal article, Gottlieb (2009b: 22) refers metaphorically
to ‘subtitling upstream’, which is a considerably more arduous task than ‘subtitling
downstream’, to refer to the marginal situation that takes place when subtitling is performed
into English rather than from English. He seeks to determine whether the subtitler translating
into English is more likely to use Venutian domesticating strategies than a counterpart
working from English, by means of analysing the translations of CSRs in five Danish films
translated into English and comparing these strategies with two English films translated in
the other direction. Although his findings are mixed and do not allow for a clear-cut
conclusion, overall there is a tendency for the subtitles from English to display more source-
oriented solutions (foreignising) whilst those from Danish to English show more target-
oriented solutions (domesticating). In other words, English and English-speaking culture
dominates in what is sometimes known as the ‘hegemony of English’ (Macedo et al., 2016);
a cultural landscape in which the voice of the foreign, that is the non-English, is minimised or
hidden and the subtitling tends towards the domesticating (Venuti, 2008).

Having stated that the subtitling of films from foreign languages into English is less common
it is important to note that the standard practice when subtitling non-English DVDs into a
variety of languages is to translate into English first, and then use English as a ‘pivot’ language
(see section 2.4.3), i.e. the source for the subsequent translations (Georgakopoulou, 2003;
Nikolić, 2015). The reasons for this procedure are commercial: the pool of subtitlers from
English into other languages is usually bigger than the pool of subtitlers working between
two non-English languages and so translations can be more easily and cheaply resourced, in
a market characterised by its many pressures. Another reason for this practice is the fact that
most international subtitling companies dealing with DVD subtitling are either based in
English-speaking countries or use English as their operational language, which in turn means
that the use of an English subtitle file as a working template allows the project manager to
exercise control over the whole process. It is therefore the case that although visible
subtitling into English represents only a fraction of the total subtitling commissioned and
performed, in practical terms, a great deal more subtitling into English is performed as part
of the operational process, though it may never be consumed by any target viewer.

Another possible reason for the diachronic trend to use translational solutions that lean
towards the target culture can be found in a closer examination of the dates of the subtitles
of *Die Blechtrommel*. The first set dates from 1995, when movie and home
entertainment distributors had just started distributing their products on DVD format,
replacing the previous VHS tape as the primary consumer digital video distribution
format. The DVD of the film thus could have been expected to have a fairly limited
commercial distribution, mainly confined to those aficionados of German films who owned
DVD players, which were significantly costly at the time. Under these circumstances, it could
be argued that the subtitler in the earlier case felt more able to be ‘foreign’ with the subtitles,
since they were targeted to a very exclusive audience, whilst the subtitlers working more
recently, and whose work will be expected to be seen by more viewers from a wider socio-
cultural background, felt compelled to guide their viewers and aid them more in the
comprehension of the exotic elements contained in the film. It is, of course, true that
multiple factors are often in play here and it is rather impossible to know the exact motives
which may have influenced a subtitler’s choices unless, of course, interviews are conducted
with the appropriate stakeholders, a proposition that is difficult in practice as the names of
the subtitlers are not mentioned in any of the DVDs analysed and they are very rarely made public through other channels.

Whilst we might assume that subtitles created for a wider audience would be more conservative in their nature so they can reach and be accepted by such a broader public, Díaz Cintas (2001b) finds the converse when comparing the translation of sexually connotated terms into English in *La flor de mi secreto* [*The Flower of My Secret*] (Pedro Almodóvar, 1995) in two versions, one for television and one for home video. His conclusion for this one film is that the translations of specific sexual references and terms in the home video version are more ‘sanitised’ than those used in the television version, although the latter is assumed to reach a wider audience (Díaz Cintas, 2001b: 64). It is not the case, however, that ‘more conservative’ necessarily equals ‘more domesticated’, especially in the sense of the translation of cultural elements as examined here. Díaz Cintas gives an example during this discussion (ibid: 59) of the Spanish verb *follar* [to fuck] being translated into English as ‘to screw’, a solution that can be regarded as more conservative than if the subtitler had used the word ‘fuck’, yet would be classified as direct translation, a source-oriented strategy.

An additional factor that may be material is the relative scarcity of trained subtitlers that could work from German into English in 1995 as compared with the situation in 2010. Thanks to the proliferation of undergraduate as well as postgraduate AVT courses around the world, there is now a large contingent of subtitlers working from German into English, whereas in 1995 those practitioners working in this language combination would have been fairly rare and may have had very little academic training. Perhaps the modern subtitler feels empowered to make use of their creativity and produce subtitles that are closer to Anglophone culture whilst the subtitler of 1995 felt less free and was more inclined to preserve the ‘foreign’ in their rendering.

This section has examined in great detail the nature of the German CSRs isolated from the corpus as well as the translation strategies that have been activated to render these
elements in English. The specific strategies used have been further analysed with the aim of ascertaining their orientation, which can be towards the source text or the target text. It has been concluded that the translation strategies used to deal with the CSRs contained in *Die Blechtrommel* show a tendency to move closer to the target culture over time. This finding is in direct opposition to the retranslation hypothesis, discussed in sections 4.5 and 6.5, that states that later translations demonstrate a propensity to be more source culture-oriented than first translations.
Chapter 7

Conclusions and further research

This final section offers an overview of the conclusions drawn from the analysis carried out on this corpus of German films subtitled into English, and pulls together the findings in an attempt to answer the research questions. Firstly, the work on the translation of CSRs will be considered, followed by a section focusing on the retranslation hypothesis in this context. To conclude, a number of suggestions for the further development of this scholarship will be offered.

This research has been conducted on a corpus of five sets of English subtitles from two German films shot by the director, Volker Schlöndorff, namely *Die Blechtrommel* [The Tin Drum] (1979) and *Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum* [The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum] (1975), this latter film being co-directed with Margarethe von Trotta. The Descriptive Translation Studies framework (Toury, 1980, 1995, 2012), with its emphasis on viewing translation in practice rather than taking a prescriptive stance has been used as the background against which to examine the particular issues of the translation of CSRs, and a modified version of the taxonomy of strategies used in the subtitling of culture-specific references offered by Pedersen (2011) has been adopted for the detailed analysis. This latter taxonomy has been applied, despite some shortcomings as discussed, since it has been specifically formulated for use when classifying subtitles and provides a useful heuristic tool for their analysis. This methodological framework has not been without its difficulties, however. The DTS approach has proved useful as the underpinning principle behind the work, that is, to study translational choices as they have been made and eschew prescription,
however the norm categories suggested by Toury and subsequent scholars are difficult to apply methodically to a corpus of this nature. The category of ‘orientation norms’ espoused by Pedersen (2011) has been utilised, despite the problems of demarcation as discussed in section 4.2.3. Another issue is the fact that the classification of strategies by Pedersen into source-oriented (retention, specification and direct translation) and target-oriented (generalisation, substitution, omission) is somewhat simplistic and does not reflect the spectrum of possible translation choices available in actual practice. It could be argued, for instance, that specification is, in fact, target-oriented, as the subtitler is adding more information to aid the viewer and give them a discourse that they would more readily understand and recognise. Additionally, the ordering of translation solutions into these discrete categories is not always possible in a neat and ordered way, and some decisions have had to be taken that might be considered somewhat arbitrary.

The subtitles in the corpus were taken from DVD versions of the films and span the period from 1995, when this medium was in its infancy, until 2010, when DVD was ubiquitous and highly popular. As such, the data from the investigation has also been scrutinised in an attempt to uncover any diachronic patterns, both in the translation strategies adopted for the translation of CSRs, and also to test the retranslation hypothesis, expounded by Bensimon (1990) and Berman (1990). The answers to the research questions yielded by the data analysis performed in this research will be considered in the following sections.

7.1 Research question one:

Culture-specific references and a taxonomy for their categorisation.

In total, 195 CSRs of a variegated nature have been isolated in the corpus. It has been found that *Die Blechtrommel* is richer in CSRs than *Katharina Blum*, with the former displaying a CSR density of 0.98 CSRs per minute as opposed to a figure of 0.62 for the latter. This
discrepancy is explained by the fact that *Katharina Blum* is set mostly within the confines of a police station in Cologne, Germany, and the majority of the action takes place over a period of only four days, whilst events in *Die Blechtrommel* span a period of 46 years from 1899 to 1945 and encompass many different settings within what is now Poland. Adopting the taxonomy for CSR classification offered in section 5.4, it has been shown in section 6 that the most common forms of CSRs in this set of data are those referring to places, followed by sayings and slang and forms of address. These latter two categories fall into the classification of intralingual CSRs, as defined in section 5.1, thus supporting the decision to include such CSRs in the current research. On viewing the data by film, however, it can be ascertained that whilst *Die Blechtrommel* does indeed display more occurrences of the CSR places, *Katharina Blum* has more forms of address CSR than any other type. A taxonomy for the classification of CSRs has been proposed and used in the analysis of this corpus. It has been based on the taxonomy offered by Pedersen (2011), expanded to include intralingual CSRs. This instrument proved useful in the analysis and categorisation of the CSRs in the corpus, but suffered from the inevitable constraints of any such classification system, for example the difficulty of isolating some of the references into one category and the challenge of deciding which references were truly specific to the source culture only.

### 7.2 Research question two: Translational norms or patterns in the corpus.

The primary aim of the research contained in this work is to subject a corpus of English subtitles for German films to detailed scrutiny, in an attempt to address the questions below.

#### 7.2.1 Strategies in use in the corpus for the translation of culture-specific references.

One of the aims of the research performed here was to analyse the strategies that have been used to translate these linguistic items in detail, with a view to attempting to identify any
diachronic trends within the corpus or within the individual films, in particular because of
the period spanned by the corpus. An adapted version of the taxonomy of translation
strategies for CSRs proposed by Pedersen (2011) has been used to analyse the English
subtitles in the corpus, consisting of the following categories: (1) retention, (2) specification,
(3) direct translation, (4) generalisation, (5) substitution, and (6) omission.

The strategy that has been shown as the most frequently activated for translating CSRs in
the whole corpus is that of direct translation, however when the films were viewed
individually, the findings differed, namely the subtitlers of *Die Blechtrommel* favoured direct
translation in all versions, whilst the same analysis for *Katharina Blum* yielded the
information that substitution was the most favoured translation strategy for CSRs for this
film, regardless of the particular set of subtitles being analysed.

### 7.2.2 Orientation of strategies identified in the corpus by subtitle set.

When viewing the translation strategies employed in *Die Blechtrommel*, it is clear that, as
shown in section 6.4.1, the majority of strategies used for the translation of CSRs in every set
of subtitles for this particular film showed a significant trend towards the source-orientated,
with almost 70% of strategies showing this alignment in 1995 and just under 60% in 2002
and 2010. For Katharina Blum, the figures analysis showed a different outcome, namely that
for both sets of subtitles, the strategies were almost equally aligned with the source or target
culture, with the 2009 subtitles showing only a very slight bias towards the source culture
(52% as opposed to 48% of subtitles were source-oriented, see section 6.4.2).

### 7.2.3 Diachronic variation in orientation.

When examining the corpus as a whole, clear diachronic patterns in the use of translational
strategies can be seen in the decrease in the instances of retention as a strategy - from
21.71% of all CSRs in 1995 to 18.46% in 2003, with 2002 being even lower, at 17.69% - and
the upwards movement in the use of generalisation - from 6.98% of all CSRs in 1995 to
10.77% from 2002 onwards - as can be seen in Table 34 and Figure 40. The other strategies do not display any obvious patterns. These findings would indicate an increase in target-oriented strategies and a decrease in source-oriented strategies over the time spanned by the corpus.

As explained in section 6.4.2, the two versions of *Katharina Blum* are lexically very similar, therefore it is unsurprising that no significant diachronic variation can be ascertained when investigating the strategies used to translate CSRs for this individual film. In *Die Blechtrommel*, however, the conclusion is that there is a diachronic trend, namely that instances of direct translation and retention decrease over the time span from 1995 to 2010 and instances of substitution and generalisation increase. These tendencies are shown pictorially in Figure 37 and Figure 38. When viewing this data from the point of view of the orientation of the translation strategies and through the lens of Toury’s (1995/2012) initial norm (see section 4.2.1), it can be seen that the source-oriented strategies of direct translation and retention decrease through the life of the corpus, whilst those strategies that increase, namely substitution and generalisation, are classified as target-oriented. Although it is the case that in the most recent version the percentage of source-oriented strategies is still higher than that of target-oriented strategies at 59.23% to 40.77%, it is clear that the later translations of 2002 and 2010 show a clear pattern of being increasingly target-oriented in terms of the translation strategies activated in the rendering of the German CSRs in the English subtitles.

If the individual categories of CSRs are then considered, the two categories that show the clearest and most striking variation in choices of textual-linguistic strategy are people and songs, with both of these mirroring the general findings of a shift closer to the target culture. Songs in particular show a dramatic change in their specific treatment, with all of the songs in the 1995 version being rendered using direct translation whilst in 2002 and 2010 the
dominant approaches were omission and generalisation, again a move from the more source-oriented strategies to more target-oriented strategies.

7.2.4 The validity of the retranslation hypothesis in this corpus.

As discussed in sections 4.5 and 6.5, the retranslation hypothesis, formed from theories advanced by Bensimon (1990) and Berman (1990), states that first translations are more likely to be target-oriented, whilst subsequent retranslations then show a tendency to be more source-oriented. The findings of the research in these pages directly contradicts this hypothesis, since the strategies used to translate CSRs show a definite trend, both in the corpus as a whole, and in the subtitles for *Die Blechtrommel* in particular, to move towards choices that are more oriented towards the target culture as time goes on. The subtitles for *Katharina Blum* show little variation over time and therefore do not add any significant findings to this part of the analysis. Therefore, it can be concluded that in the case of *Die Blechtrommel*, the retranslation hypothesis has been disproved.

One possible explanation for this finding can be found in the translational direction being analysed in the research described in these pages, namely German into English. Owing to the status of English within the entertainment industry, but also commercially and politically in the wider world, it can be postulated that the reason for the trend towards an increasingly domesticated approach in the more recent subtitles is precisely because of this dominance of the English language as the medium of global discourse and a lingua franca and the disproportionate influence of the culture of English-speaking countries, in particular the UK and the USA. Arguably, this cultural and linguistic hegemony leads to a situation where the subtitlers feel that the foreign in the non-English films must be neutralised in order for such films to gain acceptance in an English-speaking world that tends to be rather closed to foreign languages, even if they have been translated previously. Another possible factor of influence may be that commercial English subtitles are often aimed at a large number of countries where English is spoken, but the same cultural references are not shared, for example the
USA, the UK, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and some specific countries in the Caribbean. In light of this, the subtitlers may opt for more general or neutral solutions that can be accessed by viewers in a wide range of countries.

The presence of diachronic variation as detected in the subtitles for *Die Blechtrommel* indicates strongly that the subtitling profession is a dynamic and fluid domain that continues to exhibit technical and cultural changes. These shifts in practice may also be a result of the expansion of the subtitling industry as described in section 2.4.1; these commercial developments have brought with them concomitant changes in employment conditions in the industry and the educational profiles of the professionals working therein.

### 7.3 Suggestions for further research

The scope of this study has been limited by the time available, and the avenues of investigation embarked upon can surely be enlarged and deepened. An obvious next step for this work would be to increase the size of the corpus by adding more films by the same director and perform the same analysis with respect to the translation of culture-specific references. Of some significant interest would be further tests of the validity or otherwise of the retranslation hypothesis in this specific case and indeed other German films with English subtitles by different directors could be analysed to see whether the findings are replicated when examining such films. This research could also be broadened to encompass other language pairs. Another possible direction would be to investigate whether the genre of a film has any bearing on the orientation of the translation solutions used when subtitling CSRs, as opposed to other genres like documentaries or animation for instance.

It might also be possible to draw meaningful conclusions with a corpus of German films directed by directors who were members of the New German Cinema movement or perhaps a collection of films that all deal with the Second World War as their subject matter to
ascertain any potential regularities in the way in which they have been subtitled. Another interesting avenue for analysis in the domain of Second World War films is the particular language used in dialogue about the conditions of war, in films shot originally in English and in German, which may be rendered in a particular way in English, the language of the victors, which may differ from its expression in German. Fruitful investigation can be carried out in the two language combinations, i.e. from German into English but also from English into German, and if a large corpus is envisaged, then corpus analysis tools would be useful in such research.

Cognitive approaches, reception analysis and audience response to subtitling are other aspects worth considering for further research in our field. In this sense, it would be interesting, for instance, to explore the effect of particular translational strategies from a reception point of view, perhaps with a battery of experiments designed to compare levels of meaning transfer when viewers are exposed to different approaches to the translation of culture-specific references. Eye trackers as well as other visual, auditory and tactile stimulation packages for biometric research have the potential to provide useful information in the study of multi-sensorial responses to semiotically complex audiovisual programmes.


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Filmography

Apocalypse Now (Francis Ford Coppola, 1997)
Ascenseur pour l'échafaud [Elevator to the Gallows] (Louise Malle, 1958)
Blotto (James Parrot, 1930)
Blue (Derek Jarman, 1993)
Borgen (Adam Price, 2010)
Brats (James Parrot, 1930)
Broadchurch (Chris Chibnall, 2013)
Carla's Song (Ken Loach, 1996)
Châteauvallon (Planchon, Fonlladosa & Friedman, 1985)
Das Boot [The Boat] (Wolfgang Petersen, 1981)
Der blaue Engel [The Blue Angel] (von Sternberg, 1930)
Der Student von Prag [The Student of Prague] (Arthur Robison, 1913)
Four Weddings and a Funeral (Mike Newell, 1994)
Friends (Gary Halvorson, 2003)
Goodbye Lenin! (Wolfgang Becker, 2003)
Grün ist die Heide [The Heath is Green] (Hans Deppe, 1951)
Inglourious Basterds (Quentin Tarantino, 2009)
Metropolis (Fritz Lang, 1927)
Slumdog Millionaire (Danny Boyle and Loveleen Tandan, 2008)
The Big House (George Hill, 1930)
The Jazz Singer (Alan Crosland, 1927)
The Killing (Søren Sveistrup, 2007)
The Mask of Zorro (Martin Campbell, 1998)
The Passion of the Christ (Mel Gibson, 2004)
The Returned (Fabrice Gobert, 2012)
Tootsie (Sydney Pollack, 1982)
Toy Story 3 (Lee Unkrich, 2010)
Trainspotting (Danny Boyle, 1996),
Uncle Tom's Cabin (Edwin S. Porter, 1903)
Untergang [Downfall] (Oliver Hirschbiegel, 2004)
Vicky, Cristina, Barcelona (Woody Allen, 2008)
Zazie dans le métro [Zazie in the Metro] (Louis Malle, 1960)

Volker Schlöndorff filmography

Diplomatie [Diplomacy] (2014)
Das Meer am Morgen [Calm at Sea] (2012)
Ulzhan - Das vergessene Licht [Ulzhan] (2007)
Ten Minutes Older: The Cello (2001)
Der Unhold [The Ogre] (1996)
Billy, how did you do it? (1992)
Homo Faber [Voyager] (1991)
Tod eines Handlungreisenden [Death of a Salesman] (1985)
Krieg und Frieden [War and Peace] (1982)
Die Fälschung [Circle of Deceit] (1981)
Der Kandidat [The Candidate] (1980)
Die Blechtrommel [The Tin Drum] (1979)
Deutschland im Herbst [Germany in Autumn] (1978)
Nur zum Spaß, nur zum Spiel [Portrait of Valeska Gert] (1977)
Der Fangschuss [Coup de Grâce] (1976)
Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum [The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum] (1975)
Strohfeuer [A Free Woman] (1972)
Der plötzliche Reichtum der armen Leute von Kombach
[The Sudden Wealth of the Poor People of Kombach] (1970)
Baal (1969)
Der Paukenspieler [The Tympanist] (1967)
Mord und Totschlag [Degree of Murder] (1966)
Der junge Törless [Young Törless] (1965)
Wen kümmert’s [Who cares?] (1960)