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Sommaire – Contents

Liste de relecteurs – List of reviewers

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Reconstruire la britannitude : la traduction des clichés dans *Expo 58* (Jonathan Coe)

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Rebuilding Britishness: Translating clichés from *Expo 58* (Jonathan Coe) into French – *Abstract*

Expo 58 is a novel located in Brussels in 1958, at the heart of the World's Fair. The protagonists include a pair of foolish British secret agents who speak mostly in clichés. Each and every line they utter reflects grotesque prejudices, via clichés used to assert the British supremacy; Coe exploits this rhetorical device for comic purposes but also as a way to render the uneasiness his country was facing in the middle of the Cold War. The aim of this article is to study how such a culturally loaded speech has been translated into the French edition of the book, knowing that clichés are typical of a very national spirit. Linguistically speaking, their form is also a challenge to the translator, as they are often built on fixed patterns and dead metaphors which usually do not have an exact equivalent in another language. Our case study draws on translation studies, reception theories and pragmatics to see if systematic choices can be observed throughout the novel, on a corpus of clichés compared with their translation by J. Kamoun, and to understand the strategies used in conveying similar effects onto the French readers.

Keywords

Britishness, cliché, metaphor, translation, French, Jonathan Coe (1961-)

1. Introduction

Dans le roman *Expo 58*, dont l'intrigue gravite autour de l'Exposition Universelle de 1958 à Bruxelles, Jonathan Coe met en scène un duo d'agents secrets burlesques dont les dialogues regorgent de clichés. Wayne et Radford évoquent pour un lecteur français les Dupont et Dupond de la série des *Tintin* (Hergé). Chacune de leurs interventions dévoile un chauvinisme outrancier et des préjugés grotesques, à l'aide de clichés et locutions figées dont la visée première est l'affirmation d'un conformisme britannique somme toute assez totalitaire.

L'accumulation de clichés signe la subversion par Coe du principe de *mimesis* dialogale et participe de l'effet parodique à l'œuvre dans le roman : l'emploi de ces expressions éculées joue sur l'effet de répétition et de fausse banalité et il est essentiel à la dimension comique et à la dramaturgie de l'ouvrage, car il sert la caractérisation des personnages. Il rappelle aussi que « les langues ne sont pas d'abord des moyens de communication, mais d'abord des moyens et des manières de vivre » (Meschonnic, 2007, p. 181).

Le cliché fait l'objet de définitions assez floues, dans les champs linguistique, stylistique et lexicographique : il est majoritairement construit sur des métaphores usées et lexicalisées, et son figement dans la langue d'origine complique sa traduction. Composé le plus souvent de lexèmes indissociables[1], il implique un transfert dans une autre langue qui ne peut que rarement se faire terme à terme. Par ailleurs, les clichés résultent d'habitus langagiers propres à une communauté linguistique et culturelle. Aussi le traducteur français se trouve-t-il ici devant un double enjeu : tout d'abord, parvenir à une équivalence d'effet, en maintenant la figure de style typique de la caractérisation des personnages — Suhamy considère ainsi que « le cliché est au style ce que l'idée reçue est à la pensée » et impute cet état de fait à « une affinité profonde entre le conformisme de la pensée et celui du style » (1994, p. 40). L'autre enjeu rencontré est la préservation de l'environnement culturel d'origine, capital du fait de la situation d'énonciation, pour reconstruire la britannitude initiale : « Nombre de ces formes sont d'essence métaphorique [...] et puisent dans un fonds commun de références et de pratiques culturelles – dictons, proverbes, adages – qui constituent un substrat d'axiomes collectif » (Sergeant, 2011, p. 51). Le traducteur doit donc, en une démarche paradoxale, combiner dissimilitude et assimilation[2].

On propose, à partir d'une sélection de répliques issue des dialogues d'*Expo 58*, d'étudier comment leur traitement dans la traduction française de Josée Kamoun (2014, Gallimard) s'inscrit dans ces multiples contraintes. Nous présentons tout d'abord le roman, avant de nous attacher à la définition du cliché, puis procédons à une étude de cas sur quelques exemples saillants, inscrits dans des champs lexicaux fortement marqués culturellement, tels que géographie ou alimentation, par exemple. Nous faisons l'hypothèse que cette charge culturelle entraîne un risque d'entropie quant à ces collocations lors de leur transfert en langue étrangère et cherchons à comprendre, à travers le traitement de ces idiosyncrasies dans l'édition française, si et comment s'exprime cette « tendance déformante » (Berman,

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[1] Mitterand souligne deux qualités distinctes de ce type de locutions : leur « intégrité grammatico-sémantique [qui] ne peut être désintégrée sans que chacun des composants perde sa valeur figurée » et « la fréquence remarquable de leur emploi pour désigner un concept unique » (1976, p. 61).

[2] « L'assimilation consiste précisément à *rendre* semblable – à *assimiler* - donc à rendre sémantiquement proches, les termes que l'énonciation métaphorique met ensemble » (Ricœur, 1982, en ligne, emphase de l'auteur).

1999, p. 65). Notre approche traductologique s'appuie sur les outils de la lexicologie, la stylistique comparée et la pragmatique.

2. *Expo 58* : Grande-Bretagne *versus* le monde

En 1958, Thomas Foley, fonctionnaire du Ministère de l'Information, est sélectionné pour superviser le Pavillon britannique à l'Exposition Universelle de Bruxelles et la gestion du pub *Britannia*, qui doit incarner, comme son nom l'indique, la quintessence de la britannitude. En pleine guerre froide (« *The Fair is a hotbed of paranioa and deceit* », révèle la 4ème de couverture de l'édition anglaise utilisée ici), l'Exposition voit se croiser des personnages archétypiques (espion/nes, experts scientifiques, agents secrets gouvernementaux) pour une parodie de roman d'espionnage. Deux agents britanniques improbables retiennent l'attention, présentés ainsi par le critique littéraire du *Guardian* : « We get a Thomson and Thompson-like pair of bumbling secret policemen who come on for a comic turn every time the merrily implausible espionage plot takes a new twist, their daffy music-hall patter just about drowning out the creaks » (Lasdun, 2013).

Le héros central, Thomas Foley, les considère lui-même avec circonspection :

> It's hard to take it all that seriously. I mean, you've met Mr Radford and Mr Wayne, haven't you?'
>
> 'Yes.'
>
> 'Well, didn't they strike you as somewhat comical? With their trench coats and their trilby hats. Like something out of a cheap novel. The way they talk...'
>
> 'How do they talk?'
>
> 'Well, for instance, whenever they've finished saying their piece and putting me in my place, do you know what they always say? "This conversation never took place." I didn't think anybody really used that phrase. Smacks a little of... too much theatricality, don't you think?' (p. 158)

Coe attire donc volontairement l'attention du lecteur sur le verbiage de ces anti-héros, un idiolecte érigé en véritable système discursif bien au-delà de ce simple exemple. Il assume par ce méta-discours une position auctoriale explicite, qui invalide la théorie de la *mimesis* dialogale souvent sous-jacente à l'usage du discours direct. Le premier effet de l'emploi du cliché concerne en effet la caractérisation indirecte des personnages :

> **Habitual** or **repetitious actions** highlight the constant and static sides of characters, often the circular routine of the protagonist. [...] Both **speech content and form** display character traits [...], speech characterizes both **self and others**, i.e. others as seen by the speaker (Verley, 1998, p. 126, emphase de l'auteur).

Le rôle du dialogue dans la construction du personnage de fiction est également souligné par la théoricienne Rimmon-Kenan :

> The form or style of speech is a common means of characterization [...]. Style may be indicative of origin, dwelling place, social class, or profession [...]. In addition to the social aspect of the character revealed by his style, individual characteristics can also be suggested by it (2002, p. 64).

Dans le cas qui nous intéresse, l'auteur confirme la valeur sociétale d'un idiolecte parodique qui vise à ridiculiser ses personnages comme ses compatriotes :

> L'euphémisme et la litote sont bien sûr une composante importante – ainsi parfois qu'une tendance à l'ironie [...]. Mais généralement, il s'agit plutôt de minimiser ce qu'on veut dire, de chuchoter au lieu de hurler. Au cœur de l'humour anglais, il y a également une part de modestie et d'autodérision qui nous distingue [...] parce que nous ne craignons pas de nous ridiculiser ! L'autodérision suppose d'avoir confiance en soi. Et la Grande-Bretagne est une nation très sûre d'elle-même ! (Armanet & Anquetil, 2014, p. 94)

Cette autodérision s'affirme dans le roman par le biais de clichés, figure phraséologique que nous définissons ci-dessous.

3. Le cliché, figure de style

Le cliché est une « idée ou expression trop souvent utilisée, [une] banalité, [un] lieu commun », écrit Dupriez (1984, p. 117), qui rappelle que certains auteurs distinguent cliché, au sens strict (banalité de l'expression), et lieu commun (banalité de l'idée), synonyme de poncif. Pour lui, le cliché sollicite une richesse inhérente au lecteur « constituée de ce qu'il partage avec les autres membres, contemporains ou disparus, de sa culture » (p. 57). L'auteur fait donc appel à son destinataire, en s'appuyant sur un contexte commun, supposé partagé, entre ces deux instances du contrat de lecture. Le cliché a en outre une fonction narratologique interne lorsqu'il intervient dans la phraséologie d'un personnage, circonscrivant « son contexte culturel et ses limites sur le plan intellectuel » (p. 62). Le procédé permet ainsi d'impliquer doublement le récepteur du roman, puisqu'il enclenche aussi un processus d'identification du lecteur aux protagonistes de la fiction.

Les termes de « partage » et « contexte » sont primordiaux dans ce panorama. D'autres auteurs, telle Amossy, vont d'ailleurs dans le même sens, avec des vocables synonymes : « l'emploi d'un effet stylistique tombé dans le domaine commun ne permet pas seulement de partager une langue : il permet de se reconnaître et de communier dans un style » (2001, p. 14). Cette fonction sociale dépasse donc le simple verbiage :

> Le cliché ne renvoie pas seulement aux évidences partagées qui le constituent, mais aussi à des stéréotypes, des représentations collectives figées qui dépassent les limites d'une expression verbale et sont reconstruites par le lecteur à partir d'un ensemble de marques qu'il rapporte à un modèle préexistant. Quelquefois, un cliché de par lui-même renvoie à un stéréotype (Amossy, 2001, pp. 20-21).

La notion de communauté (« lieu commun », « domaine commun », « communion ») est donc récurrente dans la définition du cliché, et les lexèmes « lieu » et « domaine » ont des connotations géographiques qui marquent le lien entre langue et culture. Les clichés employés par Wayne et Radford sont autant d'éléments d'identification forts, que le traducteur devra transférer en langue d'arrivée, mais qui risquent de poser problème, la communauté d'expérience du lecteur initial n'étant que partiellement partagée avec le lecteur étranger sur nombre de marqueurs linguistiques et culturels.

Par définition, il n'y a en effet que peu de correspondances exactes entre les langues, anglais et français dans le cas présent, sur cette figure de style. Selon Dubois, « il reste dans la langue toute une gamme de complexes spontanés consistant à unir plusieurs constituants de façon rituelle » (1973, p. v). Cette spontanéité et ces rites langagiers sont, par essence, un enjeu traductif de taille. La revue de traductologie *Palimpsestes* (Bensimon, 2001) a ainsi consacré un numéro entier à cette problématique, qui traverse toutes les époques et tous les genres textuels.

Le cliché porterait donc à son apogée la réduction du travail de synthèse sous-jacent à la production et la réception des métaphores analysé par Ricœur :

> C'est par un travail de *synthèse*, et non de simple association mécanique, que l'imagination productrice produit du sens. C'est précisément ce travail de synthèse, générateur d'un sens complet, qui peut être porté au langage sous forme prédicative, sans que l'expression linguistique de la synthèse soit exigible pour que la synthèse soit opérante (1982, en ligne, emphase de l'auteur).

Le concept de synthèse est également prégnant dans la terminologie de Saad Ali, qui comprend même les expressions figées comme des « unités polylexicales » (2016, p. 103), et chez Tournier, qui les catégorise dans les « lexies complexes » (2004, p. 15). En cas de traduction, la synthèse doit donc pouvoir opérer à nouveau en langue cible.

L'enjeu est capital pour rendre ici l'intrigue compréhensible au lecteur francophone tout en reconstruisant la britannitude essentielle à la caractérisation des personnages et à la progression dramaturgique car, comme le rappelle Meschonnic, « l'identité n'advient que par l'altérité » (2007, p. 177). Cette fonction est clairement affichée par Coe, puisqu'il reprend certains clichés de ses dialogues dans des titres même de chapitres.

4. Clichés à plus d'un titre

Pour poser le décor, la figure intervient en effet fort tôt ; le titre du chapitre 2 en donne un bon exemple, avec en traduction un calque, sinon lexical, du moins de structure :

What's gone is gone

Le passé, c'est le passé

Mais cette correspondance sème à sème est plutôt rare. Le second exemple, au chapitre 4, implique ainsi une métaphore, avec une analogie liée à la construction, perdue en traduction française, qui reste toutefois assez proche de l'original :

Trying to ***build up a picture***

Histoire de **se faire une idée**

Pourquoi les clichés, typiques d'une langue-culture, ont-ils si souvent partie liée avec les métaphores ? La métaphore est construite sur un partage de sèmes entre un élément saillant, le phore et un élément sous-jacent, le thème. Et pour que le phore soit parlant pour un ensemble de locuteurs d'une même langue, il faut qu'il réfère à des éléments directement compréhensibles de leur encyclopédie, personnelle mais aussi collective : « La métaphore est structurante de l'appréhension, de la vision et de la description du monde par l'homme » (Antoine, 2014, p. 160).

Les deux titres suivants impliquent une construction métaphorique plus ardue à rendre pour le traducteur, car elle relève du registre argotique et implique un décodage intralinguistique avant de pouvoir la transposer en français ; le figement de l'expression ne permet pas de reconstituer le sens du cliché à partir de celui du seul phore sur lequel se base l'analogie implicite, car les clichés sont souvent fondés sur des métaphores figées, voire mortes, telles que définies par Grellet : « a metaphor which, through repeated use, has lost its metaphorical significance and therefore its originality and strength » (1996, p. 177), que Rafroidi qualifie de « cas extrême de la lexicalisation de la métaphore » (1978, p. 160). Cette notion est cependant remise en cause, par Bercker par exemple, qui conteste la définition de la « construction figée comme simple résultat de l'usure diachronique de la construction figurée de départ », arguant qu'elle est « pleinement représentative du discours et donc du côté "vivant" du langage » (1992, p. 119, guillemets de l'auteur). La diachronie nous éclaire sur le sens du troisième exemple, titre du chapitre 5 :

Rum sort of cove

Un drôle de paroissien

« Rum » est défini par Skeat comme synonyme de « strange, queer » (2007, p. 430) avec une étymologie hindi ; sa valeur métaphorique serait soit une allusion au rhum, la confusion du personnage ainsi désigné étant due à l'ivresse, soit une déformation de « rom, gypsy » d'où sa connotation négative d'étrangeté (Hitchings, 2009, p. 332). Le *Harrap's* éclaire le sémantisme de « cove » : « type, individu » (1980, p. C:102). La locution est donc bien documentée par les lexicographes ; dans le roman, ce titre reprend un qualificatif pour Mr Rossiter, le tenancier du pub, dans la bouche de Thomas. La métaphore est très souvent impliquée dans le cliché langagier, et l'on voit le glissement métaphorique qui intervient dans ces titres : *rum*, qui proviendrait de l'hindi, évoque le passé impérial du Royaume-Uni, mais aussi le métier de distributeur d'alcool de Rossiter, connotations perdues en langue d'arrivée. La traduction française est, comme l'original, un cliché argotique pour qualifier un individu louche, apparu au XVIe siècle selon le *Robert*, signalé comme populaire par Littré, donc d'un niveau de langue similaire, mais le phore et la connotation exotique ont disparu. En effet, la paroisse renvoie à une organisation de l'Église diocésaine catholique, loin donc de l'anglicanisme majoritaire en Grande-Bretagne, et l'ethnocentrisme prévaut ici pour le lecteur français.

Le quatrième titre du même type intervient au chapitre 15, et préfigure une réplique de Wayne.

A ***nice old pickle***

Dans la **panade**

Outre son sens commun de condiment, « pickle » est synonyme de « predicament, sorry plight » (Partridge, 2000, p. 877). Cette métaphore est installée de longue date dans la langue anglaise, puisqu'elle apparaît déjà chez Shakespeare (*The Tempest*, V 1). Bembridge explicite ainsi la locution « I'm in a nice pickle : Je suis dans de beaux draps » (1977, p. 428), tout comme le *Harrap's* qui y ajoute « dans le pétrin, dans les choux » (1980, p. P:38).

Face à « pickle » et ses connotations culinaires typiquement britanniques, la traduction préserve le champ sémantique, mais renvoie à une tradition bien française : la soupe de pain épaisse, « vieux terme populaire, un peu périmé » selon Le Breton (1987, p. 484), synonyme, dès 1878, par métonymie, de pauvreté et d'ennuis sérieux ; elle est donc peu cohérente géographiquement parlant. La traductrice a privilégié le niveau de langue, en sacrifiant le contexte culturel. L'exotisme insulaire marqué par la locution originelle disparaît. Pourtant l'un des enjeux de l'usage métaphorique implique que « le passage d'un sens à l'autre a lieu par une opération personnelle fondée sur une impression ou une interprétation et celle-ci demande à être trouvée sinon revécue par le lecteur » (Dupriez, 1984, p. 28). Cette visée d'identification par le biais du discours de la fiction est capitale : pour l'exprimer autrement, « tous les systèmes symboliques ont une portée dénotative dans la mesure où ils 'font', 'défont' et 'refont' la réalité » (Ricœur, 1982, en ligne, guillemets de l'auteur).

À travers ces titres de chapitres, fondés sur des citations issues des dialogues, le lecteur est mis en condition par Coe, qui applique un principe de composition littéraire connu : « titles and subtitles [are] the most obvious way of signalling the presence of a cliché, forcing the reader to weigh its function in the text » (Milne, 2001, p. 132). Cette mise en avant extrait ainsi les clichés métaphoriques du texte où ils surviennent ensuite ; cette forme brève que représente l'intitulation renforce leur portée, rappelant l'une des caractéristiques de la métaphore soulignée par Rafroidi, qui la qualifie de « comparaison abrégée, ou elliptique, condensée » (1978, p. 177). En d'autres mots :

> [Elle] apparaît bien comme un procédé économique autant dans son résultat, qui est condensation, que dans son mécanisme, [...] forme de condensation là aussi, puisqu'il a pour effet de concentrer, de condenser toute la réalité d'un objet dans un trait (Antoine, 2014, p. 172).

Mais la condensation sémantique n'empêche pas que le cliché puisse porter sur un segment plus long qu'un simple groupe nominal, bien au contraire, aboutissant à ce que Dupriez dénomme « clichés étendus » (1984, p. 119), selon un processus que Ricœur considère d'ailleurs comme au fondement de la métaphore, basé sur l'interaction : « le porteur de l'opération métaphorique n'est plus le mot, pris isolément, mais la *phrase* considérée comme un tout » (1982, en ligne, emphase de l'auteur). C'est en effet ce qui se produit dans le texte des divers chapitres, au fil du roman.

5. Le cliché, marqueur d'expérience

Les clichés que nous avons sélectionnés sont, sauf indication contraire, ceux que Coe place dans la bouche de Wayne et Radford, couple indissociable qui intervient d'ailleurs toujours dans cet ordre dans les dialogues, selon un rituel bien établi. Le contexte d'apparition de ces formules est ainsi tout à fait cohérent avec la caractéristique d'oralité de ces dictons.

5.1. Géographie

La première catégorie de clichés pose peu de problèmes de traduction, car les images convoquées, liées notamment à l'eau et la terre, sont semblables de part et d'autre de la Manche :

> *'Well,* ***it's all water under the bridge now****, anyway,' said Mr Wayne. 'The fair's almost over.'* (p. 238)
>
> - Ah, **l'eau a coulé sous les ponts depuis**, de toute façon, reprit Wayne. L'Exposition touche à sa fin. (p. 296)

L'analogie entre le temps qui passe et l'eau qui coule est similaire dans les deux langues. La fonction phatique du cliché est évidente : elle relève de « ce qu'on se dit quand on parle pour parler, pour se parler, et même en apparence pour ne rien se dire, rien se dire qu'on ne sait déjà, mais pour le contact » (Meschonnic, 2007, p. 17), que l'anglais désigne en général sous le terme de « small talk ». Coe, par l'intermédiaire de Wayne, borne ainsi l'intrigue du roman, en explicitant la formulation métaphorique par une seconde phrase qui lui permet de passer du général au particulier. La visée phatique est similaire pour ce second exemple :

> *'We're living in modern times. Science is achieving miraculous things.'*
>
> *'But don't forget – science is* ***a two-way street****.'*

*'**A double-edged sword**.'* (p. 39)

- Nous vivons une époque moderne. La science est en train de faire des miracles.

- Mais n'oublions pas que la science n'est pas **une voie à sens unique**.

- C'est **une épée à double tranchant**. (p. 59)

La redondance dans l'échange entre Wayne et Radford résulte elle-même d'une autre figure de style : « exergasia is the name given to a succession of metaphors progressing climactically. The tenor remains the same, but there are several vehicles » (Grellet, 1996, p. 178). Ici, les images véhiculées ne sont pas ancrées dans une réalité sociologique ou géographique particulière, mais font appel à un imaginaire partagé du progrès scientifique et se retrouvent quasi littéralement dans d'identiques clichés français, avec quelques adaptations : modulation par contraire négativé dans le premier, ajout d'un verbe dans le second. La traduction assure l'équivalence de cet effet du cliché signalé par Amossy, en tant que « figure de style usée qui produit l'effet de banalité propre aux expressions toutes faites » (2001, p. 9) ; elle signale les limites intellectuelles des personnages en maintenant également l'effet cumulatif originel. En effet, Wayne et Radford parviennent ainsi à dire simultanément une chose et son contraire. Le troisième exemple diffère quelque peu :

Mr Radford shook his head.

*'**Shaky ground**...'*

*'**Thin ice**...'* (p. 240)

Radford secoua la tête.

- **On avance en terrain miné**, là.

- La couche de glace est mince. (p. 298)

Ici le thème de l'instabilité et du risque est décliné grâce à l'analogie avec un sol mouvant, assez proche dans les deux langues ; l'adaptation de « shaky » en « miné », qui passe par métonymie du résultat à la cause, donne un résultat idiomatique en français, mais sans la brièveté des quatre syllabes anglaises. Quant à l'autre segment, « thin ice », traduit littéralement, il demande un étoffement peu naturel en LA, où l'équivalent « marcher sur des œufs » serait plus logique ; le contexte (un wagon-restaurant) ne justifie pas le maintien de cette métaphore, qui n'est pas non plus spécifiquement liée à une réalité britannique. Mais ce quasi littéralisme, qui court tout au long du roman comme le montre la pagination des références, pourrait somme toute relever d'une cohérence, d'une position traductive assumée, un « regard vers la langue de départ, [...] un regard vers la forme » (Meschonnic, 2007, p. 77). C'est pourquoi il est nécessaire de poursuivre l'analyse sur d'autres exemples.

5.2. Bestiaire

Toutes les langues offrent des clichés impliquant des isotopies qui relèvent du domaine animalier ; on en retrouve donc un certain nombre dans *Expo 58*, comme dans cet échange entre Thomas et Emily :

'One shouldn't make premature judgements, I suppose...'

*'Indeed not, but doesn't this kind of thing **get your goat**? It certainly does mine.'* (p. 162

- N'ayons pas de préjugé.

- Certes non, mais ce genre d'attitude, ça ne vous **porte pas sur les nerfs** ? À moi, si.
(p. 206)

Pour la locution « to get one's goat », Partridge offre le synonyme « to annoy » (2000, p. 479) et le *Harrap's* propose les équivalents : « mettre en boule, taper sur les nerfs, sortir par les narines » (1980, p. G:24). Elle est censée provenir du milieu hippique, dont on connait la popularité au Royaume-Uni : des chèvres étaient parquées à proximité des chevaux nerveux pour les calmer avant les courses. Pour favoriser un concurrent, on se saisissait des chèvres des autres équidés, qui renouaient alors avec leur tempérament agité. L'étymologie en est peu sûre et bien des anglophones natifs ne savent pas ce que vient faire cette chèvre dans l'histoire. Selon Dupriez,

> le cliché est une image si employée qu'elle évoque immédiatement son signifié, si usitée que le *phore* a perdu son pouvoir originel de signifiance : il n'évoque plus que le thème, immédiatement ; la présence de la figuration n'est plus perceptible (Dupriez, 1984, p. 243).

Il est d'autant plus difficile de maintenir cette analogie en français ; c'est dès lors le thème qui est traduit, par le biais d'une explicitation. D'autres locutions animalières sont traduites par des clichés du même champ sémantique, mais nécessitent une adaptation :

*'That Mr Gardner's **a bit of a card**, isn't he?'*

*'Likes **to put the cat among the pigeons**.'*

'Dependable chap, though.'

*'Absolutely. **Salt of the earth**.'* (p. 34)

Ici le phore qui porte le sème du danger est le chat et celui qui figure les victimes potentielles les pigeons, sèmes transposés par glissement métaphorique dans un cliché français du même champ animalier exprimant également une situation à risque. Cependant, « card: a character, an odd fellow » (Partridge, 2000, p. 182), cliché apparu chez Dickens en 1836, est explicité en français :

- Quel **phénomène**, hein, ce Mr Gardner ?

- Le **loup dans la bergerie**.

- Un type sérieux, n'empêche.

- Absolument, **très authentique**. (p. 54)

Même traitement pour l'analogie biblique basée sur l'icône du sel. Elle marque *de facto* une relation différente à la religion, particularité qui rappelle que « les valeurs culturelles rattachées au cliché sont souvent implicites. Elles constituent un soubassement doxique, l'ensemble des croyances, des idées reçues qui semblent aller de soi et s'investissent dans les expressions toutes faites de la langue » (Amossy, 2001, p. 20).

En traduction, le cliché est tout bonnement explicité, démétaphorisé, ce qui prive le lecteur de la figure de style rituelle des personnages, dont il nous semble que les capacités de réception ont été sous-estimées : si l'on en croit Ricœur, « l'énoncé métaphorique [établit] une nouvelle pertinence acceptée par l'auditeur ou le lecteur » (1982, en ligne), et l'acceptabilité de la métaphore biblique est peu sujette à caution, car un dictionnaire de locutions tel que celui de Dubois en propose la traduction littérale « le sel de la terre » (1973, p. 326) quand il s'agit de souligner la valeur d'un individu. En outre, l'hypotexte religieux, l'Évangile de Mathieu (5.13 : « *Ye are the salt of the earth; but if salt has lost its taste, how shall its saltness be restored?* ») est cité en référence en français par les lexicographes, Littré tout comme le *Robert*, à l'entrée « sel » ; la charge culturelle serait-elle trop forte pour une civilisation laïque ? Dubois propose aussi une autre option, l'équivalent non métaphorique « bon comme le pain », allusion sans doute trop marquée au pain français pour être retenue.

Selon Amossy, par son niveau de langue, le cliché contribue à construire l'*ethos*[3] du locuteur et l'image des allocutaires (2001, p. 16). Cet appel implicite au sous-texte religieux en est une illustration patente.

5.3. Aux armes

Les clichés suivants convoquent des métaphores guerrières ou relatives au danger.

> *'Bit of **a loose cannon**, old Wilkins...'*
>
> '*Bit of **a lone wolf**...*' (p. 248)
>
> - Il a un côté **électron libre**, ce Wilkins...
>
> - C'est le genre **loup solitaire**... (p. 308)

Thorne définit « a loose cannon » (2007, p. 277) comme un allié dangereux car incontrôlable, tel un canon sorti de ses attaches divaguant sur le pont d'un bateau au rythme du roulis. La ponctuation marque en outre de forts sous-entendus dans cet échange, par le biais de points de suspension. La version française efface tout d'abord la répétition de l'attaque de phrase « bit of », écho dont la brièveté est pourtant source de comique, et propose un glissement métaphorique pour le premier syntagme. La métaphore militaire initiale est remplacée par un item relevant des sciences physiques. Néanmoins, dans la seconde réplique, l'animal demeure avec un calque qui reflète le parallélisme du cliché dans les deux cultures.

Les glissements métaphoriques surviennent aussi dans l'échange qui suit :

> *'Now look, there's no need to panic...*
>
> *'No need to **get in a flap about this**...*' (p. 247)
>
> - Allons, allons, pas de panique.
>
> - Aucune raison de **vous mettre sens dessus dessous.** (p. 307)

« Flap », dont l'étymologie renvoie au bruit des battements d'ailes d'oiseaux, fait aussi référence à un raid aérien ; le terme est usité en ce sens dès 1915 par le *Royal Flying Corps* (devenu *Royal Air Force* en 1918), selon Partridge (2000, p. 401), et il souligne, au cœur de la Guerre Froide, la proximité historique de la diégèse avec la Seconde Guerre Mondiale ; son sens dérivé, métonymique, est synonyme de confusion, panique, anxiété, excitation et se retrouve dans l'expression « to get in a flap » (Ayto, 2001, p. 266), traduisible par « se mettre dans tous ses états ». La traduction française efface la répétition de la structure nominale « no need to », source de comique occultée comme dans l'exemple précédent, et supprime aussi la métaphore initiale en la transposant en une analogie physique.

D'autres clichés, enfin, conjuguent le champ sémantique militaire et celui des sports et loisirs, autre spécificité nationale :

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[3] *Ethos* comme image de soi construite dans le discours.

> *'You, me and Mr Radford – we're **all on the same side**.'*
>
> *'**Batting for the same team**.'* (p. 39)
>
> – Vous, moi et Mr Radford, nous **sommes dans le même camp**.
>
> – Nous **jouons dans la même équipe**. (p. 59)

La métaphore liée au cricket, portée par le verbe « to bat », est traduite par un hyperonyme, « jouer », qui ne rend ni la couleur locale liée à ce sport si britannique ni une connotation fort peu avouable : « to bat for the other team » est signalé par le *Harrap's Slang* comme formulation argotique pour désigner l'appartenance à la communauté homosexuelle (2003, p. 8). Or, dans cette même scène, Wayne et Radford viennent de sonder Fowley sur ses préférences sexuelles (voir le dernier exemple traité dans cet article).

Le cricket reste décidément une énigme pour les continentaux, et cette réplique est emblématique de « l'immédiateté de l'expérience du monde, sur laquelle se fonde la métaphore, quel qu'en soit le domaine » (Antoine, 2014, p. 162). En conséquence, il n'est pas surprenant que des clichés encore plus nombreux ressortissent du champ de la cuisine et la gastronomie.

5.4. À table

Parmi l'abondante série d'occurrences issues du monde culinaire, l'exemple suivant est somme toute plutôt générique :

> *'Everything comes at a price these days, as you know.'*
>
> *'**No such thing as a free lunch**, as they say.'* (p. 247)
>
> – Tout a un prix de nos jours, vous savez.
>
> – **On n'a rien pour rien**. (p. 306)

Le « free lunch » est ouvertement revendiqué comme cliché par l'adjonction du syntagme verbal « as they say ». Le dicton est explicité en traduction par un proverbe français qui n'a rien de métaphorique, comme pourrait l'être « personne ne rase gratis ». La proposition « as they say » est d'ailleurs effacée en français, mais la figure de style du cliché est maintenue, confirmant sa valeur de caractérisation dans le discours des détectives :

> Les origines typographiques du terme *cliché* nous éclairent peut-être : la reproductibilité à l'identique, *mécanique*, d'une image grâce à une matrice. Le cliché serait le *prêt-à-porter* de la pensée ordinaire qui nous permettrait de ne pas penser par nous-mêmes : de la confection intellectuelle en grande série, dans laquelle on se glisse (Desmond, 2001, p. 56, emphase de l'auteur).

Hitchings signale de même la connotation d'un certain vide intellectuel dans le cliché de par son étymologie : « An expression repeated too often bears the shallow mechanical imprint of the printing plate: you can hear in the word the wet click of a machine and then a metallic emptiness » (2009, p. 263). Cette définition rappelle celle de Bergson pour le comique, « *du mécanique plaqué sur du vivant* » (2002, p. 29, emphase de l'auteur), et il n'est en conséquence pas étonnant que le cliché soit fréquemment utilisé par les auteurs de fiction à des fins comiques.

Cette paresse intellectuelle conduit à une forte pragmatisation du terme de comparaison implicite dans les métaphores, qui explique le recours à des éléments de la vie courante :

> La métaphorisation est la capacité connective et métalinguistique qui dit la nature figurale du penser lui-même. La métaphore est la trace linguistique de la continuité entre le sens concret et le penser imaginatif-abstrait : les concepts abstraits et les concepts concrets procèdent du même « *sens* des choses » (Caputo, 2013, p. 348, emphase de l'auteur).

On a vu ce phénomène avec le lexique des sports, mais c'est aussi le cas dans le champ culinaire, marqueur issu du quotidien à forte charge culturelle, très exploité dans l'ouvrage, comme lorsque Wayne explique comment une capsule de cyanure a été servie à un espion rival soviétique :

> 'She slipped it into his champagne glass.'
>
> *'**Piece of cake**, when you think about it.'* (p. 244)
>
> - Elle l'a glissée dans sa coupe de champagne.
>
> - **Délicate attention**, quand on y réfléchit. (p. 303)

Thorne glose « piece of cake » par « easily achieved » et donne même la variante « piece of pudding » (2007, p. 79), tandis que Bembridge en propose la traduction « simple comme bonjour » (1977, p. 80) et le *Harrap's Slang* « un jeu d'enfant » (2003, p. 90). Le français dispose de la métaphore « c'est du gâteau », qui pouvait convenir (et permettait de conserver le champ lexical alimentaire introduit par la coupe de champagne) ; cet équivalent est d'ailleurs proposé par le dictionnaire de locutions de Dubois (1973, p. 157), mais ici, c'est un commentaire non métaphorique et porteur d'un sens différent, ironique, qui survient dans l'édition française.

D'autres clichés sont basés sur des isotopies alimentaires encore plus fortement ancrées dans le contexte culturel du texte d'origine. Ce champ sémantique, comme celui des sports et loisirs, est régulièrement cité parmi les lexèmes et énoncés si spécifiques à une culture qu'ils deviennent problématiques en traduction : selon les typologies, on a affaire aux *realia*, terme forgé en 1969 par les traducteurs bulgares Vlahov et Florin et repris par Fernàndez Guerra (2012), culturèmes dans la typologie de Ballard (2003, p. 149) ou *culture-specific references* (*CSR*), selon Katan (2004, p. 147).

Le roman offre une pléiade d'exemples de ces items, Coe jouant sur le dépaysement culinaire des Britanniques en Belgique et dans les pavillons des nations étrangères. Les clichés relevant de ce champ n'ont donc rien d'anodin (d'autant que l'intrigue elle-même voit son dénouement lié à un banal paquet de chips). En voici donc un second, tiré de la même scène que le précédent.

> *'Simple,' said Mr Radford, spreading his hands.*
>
> *'**Easy as pie**,' said Mr Wayne, shrugging his shoulders*. (p. 246)
>
> - Simple, dit Radford, mains écartées.
>
> **- Simple comme bonjour**, conclut Wayne dans un haussement d'épaules. (p. 305)

Recensé par le *Harrap's* (1980, p. P:39), le cliché, proche du « piece of cake » vu précédemment puisque synonyme d'une tâche facile, permet de filer la métaphore, mais est à nouveau explicité. Le phore de la « pie », tourte salée ou sucrée emblématique de la cuisine britannique, est écarté au profit d'une salutation française, suppléant la gastronomie, pour privilégier le thème, supprimant la redondance d'images pâtissières.

Le plus surprenant exemple tiré du champ alimentaire demeure pourtant ce dernier extrait, où Wayne et Radford, obsédés par la « normalité » attendue du représentant britannique à l'Exposition, taraudent Fowley sur sa vie maritale, cherchant à découvrir chez lui d'éventuels penchants homosexuels :

> *'The pleasures of married life.'*
>
> *'That's if you like married life, of course.'*
>
> *'Some men don't. I mean, they marry, but* ***it's not*** *really* ***their cup of tea****.'* (p. 38)

Le *Harrap's* donne les variantes suivantes de cette construction par litote : « that's another cup of tea : ça, c'est autre chose, une autre affaire, une autre paire de manches » et « that might not be everyone's cup of tea : ce n'est pas au goût de tout le monde » ; il propose notamment deux traductions pour « that's not my cup of tea » : « je ne mange pas de ce pain-là, c'est pas mes oignons » (1980, p. C:117). Le traducteur a donc à sa disposition de nombreuses constructions métaphoriques porteuses de sèmes similaires dans le champ alimentaire même. Mais, surtout, un calque serait tout à fait recevable, car la métaphore de la « tasse de thé » est largement passée dans l'usage en langue française (Desalmand & Stalloni, 2014, p. 246). Le plus simple, pour respecter à la fois le contexte culturel et le thème de cette analogie, serait donc de la traduire littéralement en gardant le même phore. Voici cependant la solution retenue dans l'édition française :

> - Des plaisirs de la vie conjugale.
>
> - Encore faut-il les apprécier, bien sûr.
>
> - Parce qu'il y a des hommes, vous savez... ils se marient, mais enfin, **leurs préférences sont tout autres**. (p. 58)

Il ne s'agit pourtant pas d'un savoir monoculturel inaccessible au lecteur cible, mais d'une image emblématique du Royaume-Uni comprise largement par-delà les frontières, qui n'appelle pas cette explicitation non métaphorique. Cette option occulte, une fois encore, la qualité synthétique du cliché originel.

6. Conclusion

Le cliché rend compte de l'état d'une culture, à une époque donnée, mais aussi tout au long de son histoire. « À l'usage, les métaphores perdent leur pouvoir, évoquant de plus en plus immédiatement leur thème, jusqu'à perdre leur sens propre et devenir des clichés » (Dupriez, 1984, p. 287). Fortement ancré dans ce contexte coercitif, il est un outil de caractérisation sous la plume de l'écrivain, particulièrement dans cet ouvrage où allusion et sous-entendu contribuent à brouiller l'entendement du héros central, mais aussi du lecteur. Car « le dicton, le proverbe et toutes les formes d'expression stéréotypées ou rituelles sont des programmes de perception » (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 100).

Coe joue sur la portée connotative et métaphorique de ces expressions en situation de discours. Cette tendance s'illustre dans ses répliques ouvertement humoristiques, mais elle concerne l'ensemble de ses dialogues : les actants, au sens où l'entend Propp (1970, pp. 29-35), se transforment souvent en pantins. L'Exposition Universelle est le lieu de la confrontation des nations, de l'affichage de façade et des rencontres à haut risque. La communication peut y être entendue et comprise à plusieurs niveaux et le lecteur doit déjà se faire interprète des phores sur lesquels sont basées les analogies implicites. Le cliché est donc une figure à la fois parodique et rassurante pour Wayne et Radford, qui les conforte dans leurs certitudes nationalistes grâce à la familiarité de ces dictons et figures à la fois linguistiques et culturels, face à un environnement étrange pour eux puisqu'étranger, et donc déstabilisant par nature.

> Engendré par un mimétisme langagier inconscient et passager, le cliché est une suite de mots figés dans leur association par l'usage du moment, qui intervient sous forme d'automatismes. [...] La référence culturelle devient alors indice de connivence, mais simultanément marqueur de ségrégation (Sergeant, 2011, p. 50-51).

L'intrigue du livre repose justement sur ce ressort dramatique, la confrontation des insulaires aux continentaux, à un moment-clé de leur histoire. Coe le souligne lui-même : « L'Anglais à l'étranger est une figure comique récurrente de la littérature britannique. J'ai donc sauté sur l'occasion » (Armanet & Anquetil, 2014, p. 92).

Le cliché porteur de toutes ces contradictions est d'autant plus délicat à traiter en traduction qu'il implique un double transfert : le premier, « l'*épiphora* de la métaphore, autrement dit le *transfert* lui-même, n'est rien d'autre que ce déplacement, ce changement dans la distance logique, du lointain au proche » (Ricœur, 1982, en ligne, emphase de l'auteur) ; le second, en direction du lecteur de la version traduite, est le déplacement du proche britannique, redevenu lointain et marqué comme tel pour le lecteur francophone, vers une formulation en langue française qui repose sur une tension : rendre à la fois cette distance culturelle, d'autant plus importante que l'intrigue se déroule cinquante-cinq ans plus tôt, et une proximité sémantique qui en permette la compréhension, car on a vu leur fonction à la fois phatique et dramatique dans la diégèse.

Parmi la typologie des procédés de traduction les plus courants pour le cliché, calque, glissement métaphorique ou démétaphorisation par traduction du thème, les deuxième et troisième options sont les plus fréquentes ici ; cette stratégie conduit à un phénomène d'entropie sur la dimension de britannitude, pourtant construite sur une accumulation parodique dont cet article ne présente d'ailleurs que quelques extraits, et à une perte de la fulgurance de ces expressions condensées. La variété même des choix de traduction met à mal les systématismes discursifs dont nous avons souligné l'importance. En effet, « relevant d'une pratique rhétorique de la mimésis, les sociolectes traduits peuvent assumer un rôle fondamental dans le maintien/réfutation/subversion d'images pragmatico-idéologiques que possède le lecteur tant de sa propre culture que de celle du texte de départ » (Lane-Mercier, 1995, p. 90).

Le cliché résiste souvent à la traduction car son figement fait que le traducteur a généralement peu de latitude pour son traitement. On voit d'ailleurs que, même si les ouvrages d'argot permettent d'expliquer leur étymologie, nombre des locutions étudiées ici figurent dans les dictionnaires généralistes, signe de leur inscription stabilisée dans la langue courante. Certains exemples exposés dans cet article laissent pourtant entrevoir des possibilités de variantes pour conforter la veine burlesque de l'original. L'objectif du traducteur tel que le résumait Hoepffner, « que le lecteur de la traduction ne soit pas privé du plaisir qu'a ressenti le lecteur d'outre-langue » (2010, p. 152), n'est que partiellement atteint du fait d'une tendance définie par Berman : « Même si le sens est identique, remplacer un idiotisme par son équivalent est un ethnocentrisme. [...] Jouer de l'équivalence est attenter à la parlance de l'œuvre. Les équivalents d'une locution ou d'un proverbe ne les *remplacent* pas » (1999, p. 65, emphase de l'auteur). L'ethnocentrisme, tourné vers la langue-culture d'arrivée, est contradictoire avec la force du trait satirique de Coe, qui vise ouvertement à ridiculiser les travers chauvins de ses pittoresques protagonistes par le biais de la rhétorique qu'il leur assigne.

La parlance de l'œuvre, en particulier celle de Wayne et Radford, et donc leur caractérisation, ont subi quelques dommages, là où il y avait sans doute « à inventer dans la langue d'arrivée des équivalences de discours : prosodie pour prosodie, métaphore pour métaphore, calembour pour calembour, rythme pour rythme » (Meschonnic, 2007, pp. 58-59) ; face à cet enjeu de taille, la visée communicative donne quasi systématiquement la priorité à la préservation de l'intrigue : la traduction reste par essence affaire de compromis, elle est, comme le rappelle Berman « fondamentalement *iconoclaste* » (1999, p. 67, emphase de l'auteur). Les clichés liés à l'Expo de 1958, d'où qu'ils viennent, ont toutefois de beaux jours devant eux, puisque le prospectus touristique diffusé de nos jours par l'Atomium bruxellois, monument icônique[4] de l'Exposition, n'hésite pas à cumuler ces tournures métaphoriques : « We, Belgian people, have the head in the clouds, but we also make our dreams come true. » Avoir la tête dans les nuages n'empêche pas de réaliser ses rêves : des clichés universaux, comme l'Exposition elle-même...

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[4] Voici la réaction de Fowley à sa vue : « *In some complex, shrouded way, this monument represented everything that the Fair itself–and the next six months of his life–stood for: progress, history, modernity* [...]. » (p. 68)

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Synonymy in the domain of migration: Sign of changing mentalities?[1]

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to investigate the phenomenon of synonymy in the domain of migration terminology for the language pair English-Greek. Whereas traditional theory of terminology focuses on normalization and thus discourages the existence of synonymous terms, more recent studies using a socio-terminological perspective have demonstrated the presence and even the importance, at cognitive level, of different denominations for the same concept. This paper tries to explore another perspective of synonymy: by analyzing, both manually and automatically, a corpus of texts related to migration we examine the social and translational factors behind the proliferation of some synonyms and question whether their existence could be related with a change in mentalities to such a sensitive issue as migration.

Keywords

Migration terminology, synonymy, IATE project, corpus analysis, terminology management

[1] A prior version of this article has been presented at the NATO Conference on Terminology Management, in Brussels (19-20 November 2015).

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1. Introduction: Research motivation

Migration has always been closely intertwined with humanity. Migration flows change in relation to economic, social or political factors; in this context Greece, which, at the beginning of the 20th century, experienced outward migration from its borders now faces the reverse flow. According to data from FRONTEX,[2] Greece is the major gateway for migrants and asylum seekers entering Europe from Asia and Africa.

As is usually the case, new realities give birth to new terms or collocations in language and we are currently experiencing a proliferation of new terms describing the domain of migration and its different aspects. For instance, in English, relatively new terms such as 'hot spot', 'brain drain' and 'asylum shopping' are coined, the Greek equivalent of which is not always standardized.

During the academic year 2013-14, I undertook a project with my Master's students in translation at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, in cooperation with the TermCoord Unit of the European Parliament. The aim of the project was to feed the IATE database with new entries for the language pair English-Greek from the domain of migration.[3] At the end of the project, together with a small group of Master's and PhD students, we started working on a new project on corpora building. The idea was to build different sub-corpora and study the terminology of migration in each sub-field. During this stage, different synonymy phenomena were observed in the Greek language. The main motivation for this paper is to explore this preliminary observation.

In the following sections I will attempt to investigate the phenomenon of synonymy in the domain of migration, as observed in the English-Greek language pair. To do so, I will start with a general overview of the concept of synonymy as defined from different theoretical angles, then study the texts of our corpus and their special characteristics. Furthermore, specific examples from the corpus will be presented and the relation between synonymous terms will be investigated. Finally, a discussion of the findings will follow. My approach is descriptive and focuses on both textual and terminological aspects.

2. Synonymy in terminology

In general linguistics there is no such phenomenon as absolute synonymy in language (Palmer, 1976, p. 60; Charalambakis, 1992, p. 42). General linguistics understand absolute synonyms to be lexical items that can be used interchangeably in all linguistic environments, without any functional or stylistic difference. Following structuralism, traditional theory of terminology shares the view that terms should be used unambiguously in specialized communication and argues that each scientific term should be clearly defined and represent one concept (Kuryško, 1993; Wüster, 1979)[4]. This prescriptive and normative perspective leads to the so called "univocity principle"[5].

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[2] Data available on the webpage of the International Organization of Migration (IOM): http://greece.iom.int/el/node/30 (last accessed 5/1/17).

[3] For a detailed presentation of our IATE project, cf. Loupaki E. & Maslias R. (2017).

[4] For a comprehensive presentation of the connections between Saussurian structuralism and traditional terminology, see Rita Temmerman (1997).

[5] For an interesting study about the influence of this concept to specialized dictionaries, cf. Kerremans (2010).

In the last twenty years, socio-cognitive, descriptive, and corpus-based approaches to terminology have challenged the univocity principle. According to Teresa Cabré, in her classic book *Terminology. Theory, Methods and Applications*, "… in reality there are alternative designations for a single concept and the designation of two different concepts can coincide even within the special field" (1998, p. 109). Moreover, she distinguishes four main categories of synonyms in terminology: (a) absolute equivalents, where terminological units belong in the same historical language and the same formal register, (b) semantic equivalent units, where one form is derived from the other (for example initialisms or abbreviations), (c) synonyms of different registers, where we find, for instance, the scientific and popular name of the same concept and finally (d) variants of the same term, where differences in spelling are observed. A more recent categorization of synonymy from Fernandez-Silva, Freixa and Cabré (2008) distinguishes five types of synonymy: (a) term and artificial form, (b) term and acronym, (c) spelling change, (d) reduction and (e) lexical change. Furthermore, descriptive approaches to terminology share the view that terms are subject to denominative variation, i.e., variation affecting the form of the term, also known as terminological variation (Fernandez-Silva & Kerremans, 2011, p. 319).

The reasons behind this variation are numerous and can be related to the communication setting, the level of specification, the author's stylistic choices, or even social factors. For instance, Cabré has developed the principle of polyhedral or multifaceted perspective of the concept. Following this principle, any concept can be perceived through different angles and thus it can originate different denominations in the same language community (Cabré 2003; Freixa, Fernandez-Silva & Cabré, 2008). Furthermore, Freixa noted that "denominative variation occurs more often in less specialized texts" (2002, as referred in Kerremans 2010, p. 8). One question reasonably arises here: how many denominations can we have for the same concept and still insure an efficient communication?

According to some scholars the proliferation of synonyms can sometimes be problematic. In their case study about synonymy in Italian, in the special domain of digital terrestrial television, Bertaccini, Massari and Castagnoli make a distinction between "physiological" and "pathological" synonymy (2010, p. 16). Borrowed from medical jargon, these adjectives describe synonymy that may be functionally motivated in contrast to synonymy that causes confusion.[6] Moreover, for some others, synonymy could reflect the lack of harmonization and standardization or the absence of a linguistic policy and it is typical for domains which are subject to profound changes (Mayer, 2002, p. 118, as referred in Bertaccini *et al.*, 2010, p. 14).

This final observation is very relevant for our corpus, which – as will be explained in the following section – deals with a dynamic, sensitive and continually changing issue.

3. The language of migration: Main characteristics and corpus building

As a social phenomenon migration is multidimensional: it covers legal issues, sanitary questions, and human rights of migrants; it also involves work conditions, family relations and issues of abuse, property, or punishment. This multidimensionality is also reflected in the texts

[6] An illustration of "physiological synonymy" is for the authors the case of "set-top-box". Twelve different terms or variants were registered for this concept in their Italian corpus. However, they consider that this proliferation of terms is justified, as different terms are used in different language contexts, from different user groups. On the other hand, "pathological synonymy" is originated by the coexistence of English loan terms along with Italian terms describing the same concept. According to Bertaccini et al., this coexistence is arbitrary and yet not functional.

connected to migration. These cover a wide variety of genres and are issued from different institutions, such as the UNHCR, the European Parliament or national authorities; NGOs such as the Médecins sans Frontières or Amnesty International, as well as from academic scholars. As suggested by Riggs, Mälkiä and Budin in their article entitled "Descriptive Terminology in the Social Sciences" (1997, pp. 184-196), "The first step in a descriptive terminology project involves identification of a subject field and representative documentation of its literature". In this sense we tried to make an inventory of all text~~s~~ types related to migration (see Table 1).

no	**Genre**	**Text Type**	**Number of Texts Used**
1	Legal texts (legally binding or non-binding)	EU documents (directives, resolutions, regulations, rulings of the Court of Justice of the European Union, conventions) Greek documents (Official Government Gazette)	84
2	Administrative texts	Public services reports, police instructions, frontier authorities documents, health services guides	25
3	Academic texts	Academic papers on the subject matter of migration, seen from different scientific angles	19
4	General public texts	NGOs information leaflets, NGOs reports, glossaries, press articles, university course descriptions, blogs	28

Table 1. Typology of texts

Texts are grouped in four distinct categories, in relation to their communicative settings (mainly sender, receiver and target). The three first categories are characterized by a higher degree of specialisation, while the fourth category contains texts addressed to the general public of a less specialised nature.

It is clear that the language of migration is not an independent and well defined specialised type of discourse. It could be argued that it forms part of legal/ administrative language, as a high number of texts are legal texts; it could also be asserted that it forms part of the language of the social sciences, as numerous academic papers using sociology, psychology or political sciences as theoretical background are found in our sample; finally, NGOs reports mixing specialised language and general language or press articles are also an important part of this discourse. In all cases, terminology in the domain of migration does exist and is strongly influenced by the multiplicity of media involved in its production.

In order to obtain a balanced corpus in the domain of migration, we attempted to include the majority of text types mentioned above. According to McEnery, Xiao and Tono in their reference book *Corpus-Based Language Studies*, "…classifying and characterizing text categories is highly relevant to any attempt to achieve corpus balance" (2006, p. 16). However, as we were working for the IATE term database, EU texts were given priority[7]. Our corpus

[7] This priority is reflected in the number of EU documents (see Table 1).

includes both texts originally written in Greek and EU documents, mainly translated from English. Although according to the EU principle of language equality all language versions are considered original, the fact that a large amount of texts are translations may have implications in terminology with special reference to synonymy.

As we pointed out in the previous section, there are different approaches to synonymy, most of which focus on the relation of synonymous terms with the concept or the kind of equivalence. In this paper, we intend to focus on a different aspect of synonymy, i.e., its production setting. It should be stressed that as our corpus contains a big amount of translated texts, we intend to examine the relation between the translation setting and the choice of a term. Furthermore, to shed light on the synonymous terms found in the corpus, we shall examine the factors influencing the appearance of synonymy. Some relevant questions are as follows:

1. Is one synonym preferred over another in different linguistic environments?
2. Does one synonym have different connotations than others?
3. Is there a change in terms preferred in relation to the date of the document?

All these findings are expected to provide an answer to the question formulated in the title of this paper: Is synonymy a sign of changing mentalities? If, as Discourse Analysis has already demonstrated, language reflects the way we perceive the world and even sometimes determines it (cf. for instance Fairclough, 1989; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Van Dijk, 1993) maybe it is worth studying whether differences in naming things could suggest a change in mentalities. The change in mentalities is here understood as a more tolerant, more solidary, more informed approach to social issues, such as migration.

4. Data analysis

The data in this study has, in the first place, been analysed manually; then the results were cross-checked by automatic processing using AntConc.[8] In particular, two sub-corpora were used: the one contains Greek texts from NGOs, blogs and the press and includes 69.445 words and the second sub-corpus contains legal documents, both binding and non-binding, and includes 396.667 words.[9] Based on the analysis of our corpus, 169 terms in the domain of migration were extracted for the language pair English-Greek.[10] Out of 169 English terms we found 58 synonyms in the Greek language for 25 concepts. Synonymy was identified after a comparative study of the definition in both English and Greek for each term extracted. The starting point was the English term, as the majority of concepts are introduced into the Greek reality via English. It is worth mentioning that for some concepts, synonyms may exceed the number of seven, as is the case for the concept “acculturation”.

[8] AntConc is a freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis. For more information see www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/ (last accessed 13/01/17).

[9] I would like to thank all my students for their hard work and enthusiasm. Special thanks go to N. Troupkos and D. Petsa who helped me with the corpus building.

[10] All terminology records created for the IATE project are available on the site of TermCoord, at the following address: termcoord.eu/universities/universities-projects/, (last accessed 13/01/17).

English term	Greek synonyms	Back translation[11]
acculturation	πολιτιστική επαγωγή [politistikí epaγojí]	cultural induction
Definition: the processes of change in artifacts, customs, and beliefs that result from the contact of two or more cultures	πολιτιστική διείσδυση [politistikí δiízδisi]	cultural penetration
	πολιτιστική αφομοίωση [politistikí afomíosi]	cultural assimilation
	επιπολιτισμός [epipolitizmós]	acculturation
	εκπολιτισμός [ekpolitizmós]	enculturation
	πολιτιστική ενσωμάτωση [politistikí ensomátosi]	cultural integration
	πολιτιστική προσαρμογή [politistikí prosarmojí]	cultural adaptation
	πολιτιστικός εγκλιματισμός [politistikós eŋglimatizmós]	cultural acclimatization

Table 2. Example 1a

During our analysis we tried to track the origin of the term or at least find some references about its source. For this purpose, we searched both in our corpora and in the IATE term database to find the particular text from which the term was extracted.[12] The examination of these synonyms revealed different parameters influencing synonymy. These are as follows:

The first parameter determining synonymy is the author; as texts are issued from different organizations/ institutions, differences in naming the same concept are observed. For instance, for the term "acculturation" previously mentioned four of the Greek synonyms come from different institutions.

[11] According to Larose (1989, p. 83), back translation was initially used during the Latin era, in order to judge the precision and correctness of a translation in relation to its source text. To this end, back translation is a word-for-word rendering and does not produce a fluidly readable text. Back translation is here used in order to demonstrate the differences between synonym terms.

[12] One of the basic requirements for an IATE project is that terms should not be already incorporated in the IATE for the same domain. At the time we worked on this project all terms that we have chosen were not available, however today some terms are already incorporated in the IATE.

English term	Greek synonyms	Author
acculturation	πολιτιστική επαγωγή [politistikí epaγojí]	UNESCO
	πολιτιστική διείσδυση [politistikí δiízδisi]	UNESCO
	πολιτιστική αφομοίωση [politistikí afomíosi]	Eurovoc
	επιπολιτισμός [epipolitizmós]	Master's Thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
	πολιτιστική ενσωμάτωση [politistikí ensomátosi]	ELIAMEP[13]

Table 3. Example 1b

Other examples where different authors propose different terms are as follows:

English term	Greek synonyms	Back translation	Author
well-founded fear of persecution Definition: a threat to life or freedom on account of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group is always persecution	βάσιμος φόβος δίωξης [vásimos fóvos δíoksis]	founded fear of persecution	FRA[14]
	βάσιμος και δικαιολογημένος φόβος δίωξης [vásimos ké δikeolojiménos fóvos δíoksis]	founded and justified fear of persecution	UNHCR

Table 4. Example 2

[13] Greek Institute for European and Foreign Policy (non-profit organisation).

[14] European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.

English term	Greek synonyms	Back translation	Source
Enculturation Definition: the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values that enable them to become functioning members of their societies	πολιτισμοποίηση [politismopíisi]	enculturation	University of Patras
	πολιτισμική μεταβίβαση [politismikí metavívasi]	cultural transmission	Democritus University of Thrace

Table 5. Example 3

English term	Greek synonyms	Back translation	Source
cultural mediator Definition: a professional representative with the task of facilitating communication and understanding, both on linguistic and cultural level, between service seekers of ethnic minorities and functionaries in agencies or public service offices, self presenting in an equidistant and neutral way between the interested parts.	διαπολιτισμικός διαμεσολαβητής [δiapolitizmikós δiamesolavitís]	intercultural mediator	Technological Educational Institute of Epirus
	πολιτισμικός διαμεσολαβητής [politizmikós δiamesolavitís]	Cultural mediator	Heinrich Boell Foundation

Table 6. Example 4

In academic contexts, difference in terminology used – as in examples 3 and 4 – can sometimes be intentional, indicating theoretical shifts between different scholars, between different "schools". Our findings confirm the principle of polyhedral perspective of the concept, introduced by Cabré (2003).

Another parameter influencing synonymy is the date of publication. For example, for the term "domestic violence" we can find four different terms in the Greek language, two of which date from 1998, one from 2006 and one from 2011. It is worth mentioning that both terms used in 1998 are periphrastically expressed and are no longer in use. This phenomenon is also related to the so-called life-cycle of terms, where the retrieval of a term from a term bank is the last stage. It is also worth mentioning that a quite new term found in texts recently published is "βία μεταξύ ερωτικών συντρόφων" [violence between sexual partners] which is a term used in the science of psychology and has also an abbreviation. This term was not found in our corpora as texts were selected during 2013-2014.

English term	Greek synonyms	Back translation	Syntactical structure	Date
domestic violence/ intimate partner violence	συντροφική βία [sindrofikí vía]	intimate violence	Adj. + noun	2011
Definition: [the] behaviour by an intimate partner or ex-partner that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm, including physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse and controlling behaviours	ενδοοικογενειακή βία [endoikojeniakí vía]	intra-familial violence	Adj. + noun	2006
	βία μέσα στο σπίτι [vía mésa sto spíti]	violence inside the house	Noun+adv. +prep./article+ noun	1998
	βία μέσα στην οικογένεια [vía mésa stin ikojénia]	violence inside the family	Noun+adv. +prep./article+ noun	1998

Table 7. Example 5

The time of publication can also be influential even for texts issued from the same organization, as demonstrated in the following example:

English term	Greek synonyms	Back translation	Institution	Date
voluntary return	εκούσιος επαναπατρισμός [ekúsios epanapatrizmós]	voluntary repatriation	European Parliament	2001

Definition: Act of a non-national (whether lawful or unlawful) returning to his or her country of origin or to a third country following his own request, or within the time-limit set for that purpose by the return decision.	εκούσια επιστροφή [ekúsia epistrofí]	voluntary return	European Parliament	2007
	οικειοθελής επιστροφή [ikioθelís epistrofí]	unforced return	European Parliament	2008
	εθελούσια επιστροφή [eθelúsia epistrofí]	willing return	European Parliament	2015

Table 8. Example 6

Another parameter affecting synonymy appears to be the sensitivity of the political issues discussed. A typical example of this category is “irregular migrant”/ “irregular migration”:

English term	Greek synonyms	Back translation
irregular migrant	παράτυπος μετανάστης [parátipos metanástis]	irregular migrant
Definition: person who, owing to unauthorised entry, breach of a condition of entry or the expiry of his or her visa, lacks legal status in a transit or host country	παράνομος μετανάστης [paránomos metanástis]	illegal migrant
	παράνομος μετανάστης χωρίς έγγραφα [paránomos metanástis xorís éŋyrafa]	Illegal migrant without papers
	μετανάστης χωρίς νομιμοποιητικά έγγραφα [metanástis xorís nomimopíitika éŋyrafa]	migrant without legitimating documents
	μετανάστης χωρίς έγγραφα [metanástis xorís éŋyrafa]	migrant without documents
	άτακτος μετανάστης [átaktos metanástis]	unruly migrant

Table 9. Example 7

The terms “irregular migration” and “irregular migrant” have gradually replaced the terms “illegal migration” and “illegal migrant” in the English-speaking legal order. The new terms are considered to be more politically correct, although, as pointed out by IOM, “there is no clear and universally accepted definition of irregular migration".[15] In the Greek-speaking legal order the terms "irregular migration"/ "irregular migrant" have different renderings. For example, in the *European Pact on Immigration and Asylum* issued in 2008, the English term "irregular migration" is translated "παράνομη μετανάστευση", which is normally the equivalent of "illegal migration". Furthermore, our research in the sub-corpora has demonstrated that until 2015 the term "παράνομος μετανάστης" was mainly used in both original texts produced by the Greek government (i.e., police authorities, ministries, etc.) and in translated EU documents either referring to "illegal migrant" or to "irregular migrant". One hit of the term was equally found in a document of the United Nations Regional Information Center for Western Europe (UNric). Over the last years, a discussion has been open concerning the terminology used for this concept; some alternatives proposed are "παράτυπος μετανάστης" [irregular migrant], "μετανάστης χωρίς νομιμοποιητικά έγγραφα" [migrant without legitimating documents], "μετανάστης χωρίς έγγραφα" [migrants without documents – which is apparently coined from the French term "sans papiers"] "άτακτος μετανάστης" [unruly migrant].[16] In our sub-corpora we only found hits for "παράνομος" (69 hits) "παράνομος χωρίς έγγραφα" (1 hit) and "παράτυπος" (8 hits). All hits of "παράτυπος" registered in our sub-corpora come from one document issued in 2013 by *Human Rights Watch*; at that period the use of the term "παράτυπος" was strongly supported by NGOs and left-wing ideological circles. Further research in the data base of legal EU documents, Eur-lex[17], in more recent documents have demonstrated that starting from 2015 the term "παράτυπος" is more systematically used in EU legal documents too. The main problem arises with the terms "παράνομος" [illegal] and "άτακτος" [unruly] that both have negative connotations in Greek. In particular, "παράνομος" means illegal, whereas "άτακτος" is a lexical unit generally used either for small children or for rebellious troops.

5. Discussion

As demonstrated by data analysis, there are three main factors generating synonymy that can operate separately or in combination:

1. The author
2. The date of publication
3. The sensitivity of the issue

The multiplicity of authors naturally constitutes a major reason for synonymy. As is usually the case, different authors may have different perspectives on the same issue, especially in academic contexts. Even when authors are EU institutions, differences in naming the same term do occur. It is worth making a special reference to the use of translated texts as documentation. For instance, as pointed out by Kirsten Malmkjaer (1998), the main problem with using parallel texts in corpus analysis is that the target text "represents one individual's introspection". Moreover, the identity of these individuals may be totally different; from in-house translators with years of experience and access to all tools available to sub-contracting

[15] Key Migration Terms, International Organization for Migration, www.iom.int/key-migration-terms [last accessed 17/01/17].

[16] All synonyms here presented were discussed in a terminology network initiated by the European Commission and each solution has been documented by reference either to legal documents or to high quality press.

[17] https://eur-lex.europa.eu/homepage.html.

free-lancers with no academic qualifications. This argument is reinforced by the COTSOES handbook (2003, p. 44), where it is stressed that translations can be trustworthy only when they have been completed under favorable conditions. Such conditions involve time restrictions, understanding the purpose of the translation, the quality of the original, etc. Finally, in relation to the multiplicity of authors in the EU, it should also be kept in mind that before IATE, i.e., before 2004, every EU institution had its own term database and coordination between different terminologies was rare.

Another phenomenon related to synonymy observed here is the lack of standardization, especially in the social sciences. This is a reality already demonstrated by Riggs, Mälkiä and Budin (1997) and it could be associated with the fact that most of the work in terminology management concerns more technical fields. The lack of investment in social sciences along with the absence of linguistic policy are some of the reasons behind it.

Furthermore, the factors of time and sensitivity of the issue are very indicative in relation to synonymy here examined. When a new term/ new reality emerges in the Greek environment its first renderings may be unfortunate. There are different examples of terms that were translated in a way that didn't guarantee their incorporation into the target language. Gradually, as the Greek community gets more familiar with the concept, better renderings are proposed by experts, translators or terminologists. In this way, both time and sensitivity are important factors.

Finally, to answer our initial question: "Is synonymy a sign of changing mentalities?" In fact, our findings suggest that some synonyms reflect a change in mentalities. For instance, the process of standardization for the term "domestic violence" or the multiplicity of synonyms for the concept of "irregular migrant" may also be explained by the growing attention paid to these delicate issues. More evidence is needed in order to confirm such an argument, however for the time being we can assert that terminology management in the domain of migration would be of great help to both migrants and Greek citizens.

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Science popularization in English and translated Dutch patient information leaflets: specialized versus lay terminology and explicitation

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Abstract

Information in patient information leaflets (PILs) must be comprehensible for lay readers. For that purpose popularization strategies can be applied. These include explicitation of scientific terms as well as replacing scientific terms with lay terms. Increased comprehension may entail increased patient compliance, as a result of decreased uncertainty. We analyzed scientific versus lay medical terminology and other explicitation strategies as a measure for uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 2001) in a corpus of 12 English PILs and their Dutch translations. Although Dutch-speaking societies have a higher uncertainty avoidance index than English-speaking societies such as the UK, the Dutch PILs contain a similar number of instances of explicitation as the English PILs. But, uncertainty avoidance is reflected in an overall higher amount of lay terminology in the Dutch PILs, notably in section 4 (*Possible side effects*). From this it appears that terminology in the Dutch PILs of our corpus is oriented more towards a lay audience than that in the English PILs. However, the apparent higher scientific orientation of the English PILs may be related partially to the Latin-based origin of medical scientific terminology and the higher Latin-based character of general English terminology compared to Dutch, rather than a higher scientific orientation in the English PILs as such.

Keywords

Explicitation, lay terminology, specialized terminology, medical terminology, health information

1. Introduction

A patient information leaflet (PIL), sometimes also referred to as package leaflet (PL), is the "written information included in a medicine package" (Jensen & Zethsen, 2012, p. 31) and informs patients on how to use medicines safely. Accessible and easy-to-read PILs are a prerequisite in order to ensure safe and appropriate use of medicines (Piorno, 2012; Van Dijk *et al.*, 2014). The information in PILs can only be communicated effectively if the patient notices, reads, understands, believes and remembers this information (Van Dijk *et al.*, 2014, p. 14). Despite numerous efforts to improve PIL content, PILs are perceived as difficult and hard to read (Raynor, 2007; Pander Maat & Lentz, 2010; Van Dijk *et al.*, 2014; Nisbeth Brøgger, 2017). With regard to difficulty, the target group should be taken into account. In this respect, the PIL can be described as a patient-friendly version of the so-called Summary of Product Characteristics (SmPC) (Pines, 2015; Wermuth, 2016; Wermuth & Verplaetse, forthcoming). The SmPC is written by and for experts and therefore contains a very specific and technical language (Delaere *et al.*, 2009).

Drawing up patient-friendly PILs requires a shift from the specialist information in the SmPC to information for consumers (lay readers) in the PIL (Askehave & Zethsen, 2000, p. 65). Providing comprehensible PIL information for lay people is not an easy task, as the information to be transferred is often very complex and knowledge levels between experts and lay people generally do not match (Jensen, 2013), particularly with regard to terminology. In order to convey specialized medical information to a lay target group so-called popularization[1] strategies can be used. These popularization strategies often involve explicitation, which is used as means for explaining scientific (medical) terms/lay terms.

In this study the amount of scientific (medical) terminology, lay terminology and explicitation in a corpus of English PILs and their corresponding Dutch translations is assessed. As every PIL contains various sections, the number of instances of scientific/lay terminology and explicitation and also their lay-friendliness most likely differs per section. By considering the PIL sections separately, it can be established whether there are any differences in the most frequently used popularization strategies per section, e.g. more lay terminology for side effects as it is important to ensure that patients fully understand these in order to judge their severity.

The degree of explicitation also relates to the concept of uncertainty avoidance (Verplaetse & Wermuth, 2014; Gotti, 2015). It is expected that the higher the uncertainty avoidance, the higher the degree of explicitation (Gotti, 2015, p. 11). As Hofstede (2001) and Hofstede *et al.* (2010) found that the United Kingdom has a lower level of uncertainty avoidance than Dutch-speaking societies (Belgium and the Netherlands), it is assessed whether this expectation can be confirmed by means of the corpus of English and Dutch PILs for this study.

With regard to the specific terminology used in PILs Askehave & Zethsen (2011) found that in English-speaking countries the Latin names of, for instance, body parts or illnesses have often

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[1] The term 'popularization' is used in this article to refer to strategies and processes by means of which specialized and/or scientific terms are adapted to make them better comprehensible for lay target groups. Some authors refer to these processes and strategies with the term 'determinologisation'. This is notably the case in the context of medical information for lay target groups in which our study is also situated (cf. Jimenez-Crespo, 2017, pp. 4, 5, 6, 10, 18), who also refers to Montalt and Shuttleworth (2012, p. 16) in this respect. Cf. also Andrés (2013). However, we will not make use of this term in the current article in view of the reference of this term, in a more strictly terminological sense, to processes which take place when a term "transcends the boundaries of expert language and starts to be used by the general public" referred to as 'de-terminologization' by Meyer and Mackintosh (2000, p. 111).

been introduced into common language without there being an Anglo-Saxon alternative. Thus, in English these terms are considered lay terminology despite their Latin origins, and in some cases indirect Greek origins (cf. section 2 below on Greek Latinized terms), but in other languages Latin-based terminology might be incomprehensible or very formal and should therefore be replaced by lay terminology (Zethsen, 2004; Askehave & Zethsen, 2011; Jensen & Zethsen, 2012; Jiménez-Crespo, 2017). For this reason also, we expect a decreased level of Latin-based terminology in the translated Dutch PILs compared to the English source texts.

2. PIL terminology and popularization strategies

Edung (2013) describes a term or a terminological unit as "a particular specialized concept within the given subject field" (p. 36), which is in line with earlier definitions referring to terms as words or expressions designating concepts specific to particular subject fields or domains (Dubuc, 1997; Wright, 1997). The number of terms used in a text is related to the technicality of that text: the more technical a text, the higher the number of terms used (Wermuth, 2016) and vice versa. The concept of a term can be extended by also taking phraseology (expressions) into account (Cabré Castellví, 2003, p. 168), as phraseological units consist of terms or terminological units and of other words co-occurring with this term or terminological unit (Edung, 2013, p. 36), e.g. *bowel movements, breakup of red blood cells, ...*

Initially Greek was the language of medical terminology. Greek terms were subsequently introduced into Latin during the Roman period, and Latin terms were added to medical terminology. Latin became the medical lingua franca in the Renaissance, containing hybrid Greek and Latin terms. Since the 20th century national European languages, such as French and English gained importance as medical languages in the Western world, and since the 1950s English has effectively become the medical *lingua franca* (Wermuth & Verplaetse, forthcoming)[2]. When translating Latin-based expert terminology from English, this may pose significant problems to the lay reader in another (non-Romance) language, which did not undergo a similar Romance language influx as English did in the twelfth century. In order to overcome this type of problems and to decrease the technicality of a text, popularization strategies can be used in the interlingual translation process. By means of these strategies specialized (scientific) terminology can be converted into lay terminology: they entail “shifts which replace technical (in this case medical) terms with non-technical terms” (or lay terms) (Hill-Madsen, 2017, p. 92). Medical terminology, in particular scientific, technical terms, are often copied from the Summary of Product Characteristics (Delaere *et al*., 2009). As PILs are meant to be read and understood by people from different backgrounds, and not only by medical staff, scientific terms will often require explicitation in order to be understood. Because scientific expert terminology is one of the main causes of the lack of comprehension when people read a PIL (Delaere *et al.*, 2009) popularization strategies can be very useful.

In contrast to scientific terms lay terms are terms which people with different backgrounds should be able to understand and act upon (Askehave & Zethsen, 2011, p. 14).

Popularization strategies may operate on the level of the term, by replacing scientific terms with lay terms. In addition, explicitation may be used as a popularization strategy. Explicitation can be described as extra lexical items in the target text in comparison with the source text, which have an explanatory function (Hill-Madsen, 2017, p. 98). Lexical items are determiners of comprehensibility (Garner, Ning & Francis, 2012, p. 298), which implies that these items

[2] For a more detailed account of the history of medical terminology see Wermuth & Verplaetse (forthcoming).

play an important role in the reader's correct understanding of a text. In translation, "a translator applying explicitation makes elements which were implicit in the ST [source text] explicit in the TT [target text], for instance by explaining something more thoroughly" (Jensen, 2009, pp. 34-35). This can be achieved by using explanatory phrases or by spelling out implicatures, marking the difference between lay terminology and explicitation, as explicitation is generally considered to be more extensive than the use of proper lay terminology.

Explicitation can follow two patterns: (i) term + explicitation, e.g. *orthostatic hypotension (a drop in blood pressure*) or (ii) explicitation + term, e.g. *blood clots in the veins of your leg (deep vein thrombosis)* (Wermuth, 2016). Explicitation may "contain prepositions, conjunctions or relative pronouns and verbal constructions and may even constitute entire sentences" (Wermuth & Verplaetse, forthcoming).

Table 1 shows the different popularization strategies.

Popularization strategy		Explanation
a)	scientific term + lay term	
b)	lay term + scientific term	
c)	scientific term only	no lay term or explicitation added
d)	lay term only	no scientific term or explicitation added
e)	scientific term + explicitation	
f)	lay term + explicitation	

Table 1. Popularization strategies in PILs (Verplaetse & Wermuth, 2013; Wermuth & Verplaetse, forthcoming)

Instances of explicitation were only included in combination with lay or scientific terminology. The classification 'scientific term only' is, of course, not a popularization strategy, but is was included in Table 1 for the sake of completeness.

3. Lay-friendly PILs

PILs require clear and understandable language so that patients can easily grasp the information it contains. For PILs issued in the European Union, this requirement is stipulated in directive 2004/27/EC, amending directive 2001/83/EC, stating the following with regard to PILs or 'package leaflets': "the package leaflet must be written and designed to be clear and understandable, enabling the users to act appropriately, when necessary with the help of health professionals" (Directive 2004/27/EC, 2004, Article 63(2), p. 49).

In other words, PILs must be *lay-friendly* (Jensen & Zethsen, 2012; Jensen, 2013). The concept of *lay-friendliness* refers to the understandability of texts for lay people: people who are unfamiliar with, in this case, specialized medical terms.

Throughout the years several initiatives have been taken to enhance the lay-friendliness of PILs, among which are user testing, the Readability Guideline and PIL templates in the European Union. In addition, there are also local initiatives, such as the *lijst met patiëntvriendelijke termen voor bijsluiters* (list with patient-friendly terms for patient information leaflets) issued by the Dutch *College ter Beoordeling van Geneesmiddelen (CBG)* (Medicines Evaluation Board) (MEB).

3.1 User testing

The European Union (EU) implemented user testing (consultations with target patient groups) in 2005 in accordance with article 59(3) from directive 2004/27/EC, viz. "the package leaflet shall reflect the results of consultations with target patient groups to ensure that it is legible, clear and easy to use" (p. 49).

3.2 Readability Guideline

The Readability Guideline was first issued by the European Union in 1998 and last revised in January 2009. The main aim is "to provide guidance on how to ensure that the information on the labelling and package leaflet is accessible to and can be understood by those who receive it, so that they can use their medicine safely and appropriately" (European Commission, Enterprise and Industry Directorate-General, 2009, p. 6).

3.3 PIL templates

Along with the introduction of the Readability Guideline, PIL templates were issued in all EU languages on the European Medicines Agency (EMA) website. These templates include the information which must be included on the labelling and package leaflet, as well as format, lay-out (cf. headings) and specific formulations, of medicines in accordance with Directive 2001/83/EC, e.g. identification of the medicine, conditions of use, circumstances in which the medicine should not be used, ... The use of the templates ensures that information appears as intended by the Directive and that it will be consistent across different medicines and Member States (European Commission, Enterprise and Industry Directorate-General, 2009, p. 11). The PIL templates contain six different default sections (www.ema.europa.eu/ema/index.jsp?curl=pages/regulation/document_listing/document_listing_000134.jsp):

1. What is your medicine and what is it used for
2. What you need to know before you take or use your medicine
3. How to take or use your medicine
4. Possible side effects
5. How to store your medicine
6. Contents of the pack and other information

3.4 Patient-friendly translations list

In the Netherlands the Dutch medicine regulation body, the *College ter Beoordeling van Geneesmiddelen (CBG)* (Medicines Evaluation Board) (MEB) took an initiative related to PIL terminology specifically, as it drew up a list of acceptable patient-friendly translations of scientific (medical) terms often used in PILs, the *lijst met patiëntvriendelijke termen voor bijsluiters* (list with patient-friendly terms for patient information leaflets).

The list is available in Dutch only on the CBG-MEB website (https://english.cbg-meb.nl/) and was last updated in 2015 (www.cbg-meb.nl/documenten/richtlijnen/2017/01/01/lijst-met-patientvriendelijke-termen). The list is meant as a guideline for PIL writers, rather than binding in nature. The writer can adapt the formulations offered at will.

4. Explicitation and uncertainty avoidance

Explicitation expresses uncertainty avoidance (Verplaetse & Wermuth, 2014). Hofstede (2001) defines uncertainty avoidance as follows: "the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations" (2001, p. 161). This is reflected in the Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI). The UAI per country was calculated by questioning employees of the corporation International Business Machines (IBM). It was based on their mean scores for job stress, rule orientation (to what extent the respondent agrees with the statement that "company rules should not be broken") and the percentage score of employees who intend to pursue a long-term career with the company (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010, p. 191). The UAI ranges from around 0, describing weak uncertainty avoidance, to around 100 for the strongest uncertainty avoidance, with a few exceptions as some countries with uncertainty avoidance indices of more than 100 were still added later (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010, p. 195).

The Dutch-speaking part of Belgium has a score of 97 on the UAI index. The French-speaking part has a similar score, viz. 93 (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010, p. 192).[3] These are two of the highest scores among the 76 countries in which Hofstede *et al.* (2010) measured the UAI index, with 112 as the highest score in the UAI for Greece.

In the Netherlands, avoiding uncertainty is also preferred, with a mid-range uncertainty avoidance score of over 50, viz. 53 (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010, p. 193). The Netherlands has a much lower uncertainty avoidance index than Belgium. This means that Belgium can be characterized as much more uncertainty-avoiding than the Netherlands. With a score of 35 on uncertainty avoidance the United Kingdom is a low uncertainty avoiding country (Hofstede *et al.*, 2010, p. 194). When comparing the uncertainty avoidance indices of Belgium and the Netherlands (Dutch-speaking societies) to the UK it can be concluded that the need to avoid uncertainty is higher in both Belgium and the Netherlands. This led to the hypothesis of a higher level of explicitation in Dutch PILs than in the original English PILs. Still, national differences must be taken into account, even within the English and Dutch language groups here, especially with a considerable deviation in UAI scores between the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (97) and the Netherlands (53). Furthermore, it cannot be firmly established whether the PIL translations are produced by Netherlandic Dutch (cf. UAI score 53) or Belgian Dutch (cf. UAI score 97) translators, as all the pharmaceutical companies mentioned in the PILs have subsidiaries in both Belgium and the Netherlands, apart from the PILs for Xagrid (subsidiary in Belgium only) and Trisenox (subsidiary in the Netherlands only).

5. Research questions

The research questions of this study can be summarized as follows:

1) Can differences in the English and the Dutch PIL sections be detected regarding lay terminology, scientific terminology and explicitation to ensure lay-friendliness?
2) Do more Latin-based terms which are common language lay terms occur in the English PILs than in the Dutch PILs?
3) Is there more explicitation in Dutch patient information leaflets as Belgium and the Netherlands have a higher Uncertainty Avoidance Index than the United Kingdom?

[3] Currently no data are available for the German-speaking part of Belgium.

6. Methodology

6.1 Corpus compilation

We compiled a parallel corpus of randomly chosen PILs: it consists of English source texts and their corresponding Dutch translations. The corpus contains 24 PILs in total (12 English source texts and 12 Dutch translations). The PILs all originate from the EMA website. They contain information about medicines for cancer treatment (Caelyx, Temodal, Thalidomide Celgene, Trisenox, Velcade), diseases which might develop into cancer (viz. essential thrombocythaemia) (Xagrid), and infections (Victrelis, Rebetol, Prezista, Noxafil, Ecalta, Cancidas). [4]

All PILs on the EMA website are granted market authorization through the so-called centralised procedure in order to be marketed in the EU (www.ema.europa.eu/ema/index.jsp?curl=pages/about_us/general/general_content_000109.jsp). As the English PIL is the first to be submitted in the marketing authorization process, the English PIL is always the first one to be produced (Jensen & Zethsen, 2012, p. 31). This implies that the PILs in the study were all originally written in English, and the Dutch PILs are translations.

6.2 Classification criteria

The terms and instances of explicitation included for this study meet the criteria set forth in the following sections.

6.2.1 Scientific terms

PILs are mostly intended for non-expert readers, as they are a patient-friendly rendering of the SmPC, which contains a more technical and specialized vocabulary. Therefore, scientific terms in PILs will often require explicitation to be understood. For example, *antiarrhythmics (drugs used to correct irregular heartbeats)*.

A resource to determine whether Dutch terms are to be considered scientific terms or not is the list with acceptable patient-friendly translations of Dutch scientific (medical) terms often used in patient information leaflets, the *lijst met patiëntvriendelijke termen voor bijsluiters* (list with patient-friendly terms for patient information leaflets) issued by the Dutch *College ter Beoordeling van Geneesmiddelen (CBG)* (Medicines Evaluation Board) (MEB).

Some scientific English terms can be described using synonyms that are easier to understand for lay people (lay terms). For example, *blood clot* as a lay term synonym for *embolism*, so that *embolism* is classified as a scientific term.

A number of corpus PILs contains the section "information intended for medical or healthcare professionals only" *(informatie alleen bestemd voor beroepsbeoefenaren in de gezondheidszorg)* (cf. section 6.3). As this information is not meant for people without a medical background, it will mostly contain scientific terminology.

To native Dutch speakers, Latin-based terms will often be regarded as scientific terms. If such a term is directly translated into Dutch from English, this might result in difficulties in understanding the text, as the register level increases (cf. Jiménez-Crespo, 2017, p. 5). Therefore, Latin-based terms should be replaced by lay terminology as they might be

[4] The PILs were produced by a wide range of pharmaceutical companies, viz. *MSD* (5 PILs), *Janssen-Cilag* (3 PILs), *Pfizer* (1), *Teva Pharma* (1 PIL), *Celgene Europe* (1 PIL) and *Shire* (1 PIL).

incomprehensible and very formal (Askehave & Zethsen, 2011, p. 16), which contrasts with native English speakers' register perception, for whom Latin-based terms are sometimes considered lay terms. This is the case when in English only a Latin-based term is available. For example, *constipation*. This is a Latin-based term for which the English language has no real equivalent, so native English speakers consider *constipation* a lay term. However, the Dutch word *constipatie* is regarded as a (Latin-based) scientific term, as a Dutch lay term is also available, viz. *verstopping*. The combination of the Latin-based Dutch term *constipatie* followed by its non-Latin based lay term *verstopping* demonstrates how popularization strategies can lower the register and can be used to adapt textual genres to a lay readership (cf. Jiménez-Crespo, 2017, p. 18).

The classification criteria of the current study for scientific terminology can be summarized as follows:

- Latin-based terms in English and in Dutch function as scientific terminology if a non-Latin based (Germanic) lay term equivalent is available;

- non-Latin-based terms in English and in Dutch for which no lay term equivalent is available;

- scientific entries in the *lijst met patiëntvriendelijke termen voor bijsluiters* (list with patient-friendly terms for patient information leaflets), issued by the Dutch *College ter Beoordeling van Geneesmiddelen (CBG)* (Medicines Evaluation Board) (MEB).

6.2.2 Lay terms

Terms which people with different backgrounds should be able to understand and act upon are considered lay terms (Askehave & Zethsen, 2011, p. 14). The PIL should be understandable for lay people who are unfamiliar with specialised scientific (medical) terms. Dahm (2012) also states that "[…] even native speakers might have various degrees of word knowledge or 'understanding' for different words, and understanding should therefore generally be seen as fluctuating rather than fixed" (p. 87): what is considered a lay term for some people might be considered a scientific term by others. Moreover, a lay term must not always be accompanied by a scientific term. According to the 2015 guidelines from the *College ter Beoordeling van Geneesmiddelen (CBG)* (Medicines Evaluation Board) (MEB), PIL writers can add a scientific (medical) term as they see fit. For example, *hives* (lay term). If the writer deems it necessary, the PIL writer can add *urticaria* (scientific term) to this term between brackets, but this is no obligation.

The classification criteria for lay terminology for the purposes of our study can be summarized as follows:

- English and Dutch non-Latin based terms for which a scientific (Latin-based) equivalent exists, e.g. *platelets* (scientific equivalent: *thrombocytes*), *shingles* (scientific equivalent: *herpes zoster*), *dikke darm* (scientific Dutch equivalent: *colon*), *blauwe plekken* (scientific Dutch equivalent: *hematomen*) (haematoma).

- English Latin-based terms for which no other (lay) equivalent is available, e.g. *constipation*, *retina*.

6.2.3 Explicitation

The aim of explicitation is to explain the scientific terms and even in some cases lay terms, by clarifying them or adding (more) explicit information. English or Dutch phrases containing prepositions, conjunctions or relative pronouns are not considered terms, but explicitation. Scientific or lay terms requiring extra information in order to be understood are classified as popularization strategies *scientific term + explicitation*, *explicitation + scientific term*, *lay term + explicitation or explicitation + lay term.*

The 2015 guidelines of the *College ter Beoordeling van Geneesmiddelen (CBG)* (Medicines Evaluation Board) (MEB) state that the popularization order *lay term + scientific term* (between brackets) is recommended in case the use of scientific (medical) terms is useful or necessary. The popularization strategy with the order *scientific term + lay term* is recommended by the *CBG* only if a sentence becomes difficult to read when the order *lay term + scientific term* is applied. This may be due to the length of the explicitation or in case the context requires the use of scientific (medical) terms.

The British Medicines and Healthcare Products Regulatory Agency (MHRA), together with the Working Group on Patient Information, developed a glossary for lay readers for reasons of consistency and the production of clear and understandable leaflets. This list is found in a report of the Committee on Safety of Medicines Working Group on Patient Information entitled “Always read the leaflet: Getting the best information with every medicine” (2005). The terms provided in this report were also used as a point of reference for explicitation in this study, together with an updated version of the list (“Glossary of medical terms in lay language”) (http://besttext.pl/upload/htmle/file/Glossary_of_Medical_Terms_pil_spc.pdf).

A general rule of thumb applied in the corpus to distinguish an English/Dutch lay term from English/Dutch explicitation is that explicitation mostly consists of at least three words, often also including words belonging to different word classes. For instance, *blood clots in the arteries leading to your lungs* or (Dutch) *ernstige allergische reactie die kan beginnen als uitslag op één plek, maar zich uitbreidt met aanzienlijk huidverlies over het hele lichaam* (*serious allergic reaction that may begin as a rash in one area but spreads with extensive loss of skin over the whole body*). However, for reasons of uniformity, the corpus uses the classification *lay term + explicitation* in the case of a (one-word) lay term and a (one-word) synonym of that lay term used together. In other words, when two lay terms with the same meaning are used together the classification will be *lay term + explicitation*. An example in Dutch is *verhoging (koorts)* ([*temperature*] *increase (fever)*). Explicitation in English or Dutch may also consist of an entire sentence or a sentence part, often functioning as a description of the lay/scientific term it refers to, for instance *constipation (difficulty passing stools)*. *Constipation* is classified as an English (Latin-based) lay term, as in English no other (scientific) term is available. *Difficulty passing stools* is the description of what constipation is and is therefore classified as explicitation.

The classification criteria for explicitation can be summarized as follows:

- explicitation may “contain prepositions, conjunctions or relative pronouns and verbal constructions and may even constitute entire sentences” (Wermuth & Verplaetse, forthcoming).

These criteria apply in the following contexts:

- Dutch scientific Latin-based terms which require extra information to be understood;

- English or Dutch scientific terms which have no lay term equivalent and therefore require extra information to be understood (popularization strategy *scientific term + explicitation* or *explicitation + scientific term*;

- English or Dutch lay terms requiring extra information (popularization strategy *lay term + explicitation* or *explicitation + lay term*).

6.3 Corpus content

In the English PILs 39,245 words were analyzed (sections 1-6 of the PIL and the subsequent section 'information intended for medical or healthcare professionals only'[5] in the PILs containing this section). The Dutch PILs contained 41,010 words. The entire corpus consisted of 80,255 words.

For each instance of scientific terminology, lay terminology and explicitation in the corpus, the following information was provided:

- the name of the medicine of the PIL;

- the section (1-6) in which the instance of lay/scientific terminology and/or explicitation occurred; terms occurring in the section with information intended for medical or healthcare professionals only were indicated with an asterisk in the corpus;

- the popularization strategy of each instance in the English PIL;

- the popularization strategy of each instance in the Dutch translated PIL.

Latin-based terms or terms containing a Latin-based element are abbreviated as *LB* in Table 2.

Table 2 shows a sample of the corpus.

Medicine name + section	Kind of medicine	English	Dutch	Classification	
				English	Dutch
Caelyx (1)	antitumour	multiple myeloma, a cancer of the blood	multipel myeloom, een vorm van bloedkanker	scientific term + explicitation	scientific term + explicitation
Caelyx (4)	antitumour	seizures (convulsions)	stuiptrekkingen (convulsies)	Lay term + scientific term (LB)	Lay term + scientific term (LB)
Caelyx (4)	antitumour	anaemia (reduction in red blood cells)	anemie (vermindering van rode bloedcellen)	scientific term (LB) + explicitation	scientific term (LB) + explicitation

Table 2. Corpus sample

6.4 Quantitative data assessment

The corpus data were assessed quantitatively. First all instances of lay terminology, scientific terminology and explicitation were classified according to the popularization strategies in Table 1 (*scientific term + lay term*, *lay term + scientific term*, *scientific term only*, *lay term only*, *scientific term + explicitation*, *lay term + explicitation*).

[5] This was a very limited section with only 14 terms in total being included in the analysis.

A few additional categories could be added to the popularization strategies in Table 1 based on the relevant corpus content found. These additional categories were *explicitation only* and *explicitation + lay term*. An example of *explicitation only* is the Dutch phrase *onderdrukking van het afweersysteem* (*suppression of the immune system*) as a translation for the English scientific term *immunosuppression*.

In the Dutch corpus PILs also one instance of *lay term + scientific term + explicitation* occurred, viz. *bloedarmoede (anemie) (als u te weinig gezonde rode bloedcellen heeft, die de zuurstof in uw lichaam vervoeren)* as a translation of the English *anaemia (when you lack enough healthy red blood cells, which transport oxygen around your body)*.

The different classifications in the corpus were counted. The numbers retrieved were used to make comparisons between the English and the Dutch PILs in order to answer the following questions:

- whether there are any differences in the amount of scientific/lay terminology and explicitation between the PIL sections in the English and the Dutch PILs;

- whether it holds true that in the English PILs of the corpus there are more Latin-based terms which function as lay terminology than in the Dutch PILs;

- whether the Dutch PILs contain more explicitation than the English PILs (cf. higher uncertainty avoidance in Dutch-speaking societies [Belgium and the Netherlands] than English-speaking societies [United Kingdom]).

7. Results

7.1 General

In the 24 corpus PILs (12 English PILs and their 12 Dutch translations) 369 instances of scientific terminology, lay terminology and/or explicitation were found over the six different sections of all the PILs in the corpus.

Table 3 provides an overview of the different classifications in the English and the Dutch PILs.

Classification	Number of occurrences	
	English PILs	Dutch PILs
scientific term only	141	93
lay term only	42	62
explicitation only	3	14
scientific term + lay term	8	13
lay term + scientific term	16	36
scientific term + explicitation	68	56
explicitation + scientific term	64	59
lay term + explicitation	15	25
explicitation + lay term	12	10
lay term + scientific term + explicitation	0	1
Total	369	369

Table 3. Lay/scientific terminology and explicitation in the corpus PILs

Most instances of scientific terminology, lay terminology and explicitation (206) were found in PIL section 4 (*Possible side effects/Mogelijke bijwerkingen*).

7.2 Popularization strategies in the English versus the Dutch PIL sections

Table 4 provides an overview of the popularization strategies containing scientific terminology, lay terminology and explicitation in the English and Dutch PILs of the corpus respectively.

	English PILs	Dutch PILs
scientific terminology	297	258
lay terminology	93	147
explicitation	162	165

Table 4. Distribution of scientific terminology, lay terminology and explicitation in the corpus PILs

We found that the number of popularization strategies containing scientific terminology was higher in the English PILs than in the Dutch PILs. The popularization strategies in the Dutch PILs clearly contain much more lay terminology, but no real difference could be established with regard to explicitation.

Table 5 provides a more detailed overview of the most frequent popularization strategies per PIL section with regard to scientific terminology.

PIL section	Most frequent popularization strategy containing scientific terminology	
	English PILs	Dutch PILs
1	scientific term only (15)	scientific term only (14)
2	scientific term only (51)	scientific term only (39)
3	scientific term only (4) explicitation + scientific term (4)	explicitation + scientific term (4)
4	scientific term only (55)	lay term only (51)
5	scientific term only (3)	scientific term only (3)
6	scientific term only (13)	scientific term only (15)

Table 5. Most frequent scientifically oriented popularization strategies per PIL section

When assessing the differences in the relative proportions of lay terminology, scientific terminology and explicitation in the English and the Dutch PIL sections (cf. research question 1), we see that for both the English and the Dutch PILs *scientific term* is the most frequent strategy in nearly all PIL sections. The only sections in which this is not the case, are PIL sections 3 and 4 in the Dutch PILs: looking specifically at scientific and lay terminology in section 4 scientific terminology is the most frequent category in the English PILs with 55 instances, whereas lay terminology is the most frequent category in the Dutch PILs with 51 instances.

In section 3 *scientific term only* and *explicitation + scientific term* both occur 4 times (the maximum number) in the English PILs. In the Dutch PILs, the most frequent strategy in PIL section 3 is *explicitation + scientific term.* However, it must be noted that in this PIL section overall only 16 classifications were found.

If we look at lay terminology in particular, the following popularization strategies listed in Table 6 can be distinguished per PIL section.

PIL section	Most frequent popularization strategy containing lay terminology	
	English PILs	Dutch PILs
1	lay term only (2) explicitation + lay term (2) lay term + explicitation (2)	lay term + scientific term (2) explicitation + lay term (2) lay term + explicitation (2)
2	lay term only (7)	lay term only (9)
3	lay term only (3)	lay term only (2) lay term + explicitation (2)
4	lay term only (28)	lay term only (51)
5	-	-
6	lay term only (2)	-

Table 6. Most frequent lay terminology oriented popularization strategies per PIL section

In almost all PIL sections, *lay term only* is the most frequent popularization strategy with regard to lay terminology.

When comparing the English and the Dutch PILs no major differences can be detected between the most frequently used strategies.

With regard to popularization strategies containing explicitation the strategy *explicitation + scientific term* is used most frequently in all PIL sections, with the only exception being section 2 (*What you need to know before you take or use your medicine/Wanneer mag u dit middel niet gebruiken of innemen of wanneer moet u er extra voorzichtig mee zijn*), where *scientific term + explicitation* occurs more often than *explicitation + scientific term*, both in the English (23 versus 11 times) and in the Dutch PILs (18 versus 15 times) (cf. Table 7).

PIL section	Most frequent popularization strategy containing explicitation	
	English PILs	Dutch PILs
1	explicitation + scientific term (4)	explicitation + scientific term (4)
2	scientific term + explicitation (23)	scientific term + explicitation (18)
3	explicitation + scientific term (4)	explicitation + scientific term (4)
4	explicitation + scientific term (44)	explicitation + scientific term (35)
5	explicitation + scientific term (1)	explicitation + scientific term (1)
6	-	-

Table 7. Most frequent explicitation oriented popularization strategies per PIL section

In terms of most frequent popularization strategies per PIL section, no major differences could be detected looking at the English and the Dutch PILs separately (cf. research question 1).

However, when comparing the English and the Dutch PILs a clear difference can be noted in PIL section 4, where the popularization strategy *scientific term only* occurs most frequently in the English PILs, as opposed to *lay terminology only* in the Dutch PILs.

7.3 Use of Latin-based terminology in English vs Dutch PILs

In the English PILS 297 terms (lay or scientific terms) are Latin-based or contain a Latin-based element, e.g. *cornea* (Latin-based lay term), and *orally* (Latin-based scientific term) versus *by mouth* (explicitation for lay readers). 1 example of Latin-based lay explicitation can be found, e.g. *tiredness* (*fatigue*). In the English PILs 42 instances of Latin-based elements are classified as lay terminology on the basis of the criterion that these are Latin-based terms for which no other (lay) equivalent is available. Examples of such Latin-based lay terms are *sinuses* and *antifungals*.
In the Dutch PILs 214 terms (lay or scientific terms) are Latin-based or contain a Latin-based element. One instance of explicitation, viz. *infectie met hepatitis C* (*infection with hepatitis C*), also contains Latin-based elements, more specifically *infection* and *hepatitis*.
In the Dutch PILs only 2 Latin-based elements classify as lay terminology as opposed to 42 in the English PILs (cf. supra), viz. *indigestie* (*indigestion*) as a lay term for *dyspepsie* (*dyspepsia)* and *eczema*. All other corpus examples of lay/scientific terminology and explicitation do not contain any Latin-based elements. These results confirm the second research question that the English PILs of the corpus contain more Latin-based terms which are considered lay terminology (42) than the Dutch PILs (2). In English often no equivalent for Latin-based terms is available; these terms then function as lay terminology.

7.4 Explicitation and uncertainty avoidance

Our third research question relates to explicitation and uncertainty avoidance and is formulated as follows in section 5: is there more explicitation in Dutch patient information leaflets as Belgium and the Netherlands have a higher Uncertainty Avoidance Index than the United Kingdom?

In order to answer this research question we first looked at the classifications containing *explicitation* in the PIL, viz. *explicitation only*, *explicitation + scientific term*, *scientific term + explicitation*, *lay term + explicitation*, *explicitation + lay term* and *lay term + scientific term + explicitation*. We found 162 instances containing explicitation in the English PILs, as opposed to 165 in the Dutch PILs. This means that the relative proportions of explicitation in the English PILs and their Dutch translations are very similar. Therefore, the research question cannot be confirmed for the overall language groups containing different nationalities.

But as indicated in section 4 national differences within the English and Dutch language groups might account for the similar levels of uncertainty avoidance we found for the English PILs issued by the EMA and their Dutch translations. A considerable deviation in UAI scores pertains between the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (97) and the Netherlands (53) on the one hand. The UAI score for the UK (35) is considerably lower than the UAI for the Netherlands (53). The Dutch language translators' origin (the Netherlands or Belgium) cannot be traced. But in a scenario of UK-English source text (cf. UAI 35) and Netherlandic Dutch target text, the UAI scores for the corresponding countries are less dissimilar (35 for the UK and 53 for the Netherlands) than in a comparison with the Belgian Dutch UAI (97).The smaller difference between these UAI scores for the UK and for the Netherlands reflects the number of instances of explicitation in the English source text PILs (162) and the Dutch language target text PILs of the corpus (165) somewhat more closely, so that the research question might partially be confirmed on the presumption that Netherlandic Dutch translators translated the original English PILs issued by the EMA.

8. Discussion of the results

The comprehensibility of PILs may be hampered by various factors, e.g. the use of (Latin-based) scientific medical terminology, as the PILs are based on the SmPC (van Vaerenbergh *et al.*, 2010; Pines, 2015; Wermuth, 2016; Wermuth & Verplaetse, forthcoming). The higher degree of receptivity to Latin-based terminology of languages with a (partial) Latin/Romance influx such as English compared to languages such as Dutch (cf. Zethsen, 2004; p. 132) is confirmed in our study, as the English PILs contain more Latin-based (lay) elements.

The nearly equal degree of explicitness of original English PILs and their Dutch translations shown in this study may, apart from the (Dutch/Flemish) origin of the translator (cf. section 7.4), also relate to specific translation procedures, viz. the EMA prefers translations which are close to the original (Askehave & Zethsen, 2002, p. 27). In other words, the translations must be oriented towards the English source text, which is the authorized version in the EU procedure (Nisbeth Brøgger, 2017, pp. 403-404). Therefore, the explicitation already present in the original English PILs may simply have been transferred to the Dutch translations.

The origin of the PIL writers, who are often medical experts such as pharmacists instead of linguists (Askehave & Zethsen, 2000; Askehave & Zethsen, 2002; Zethsen, 2004), may also play a role in the use of Latin-based terminology. If medical experts carry out the translation of the PIL, they use more Latin-based terms than translators do. More often than translators medical experts also just transfer Latin-based terms and lay terms/explicitation without making any changes (Jensen & Zethsen, 2012, p. 43). If such a direct transfer of Latin-based terms takes place and an explicitation or lay term is provided, in some cases the Latin-based nature may become subordinate, e.g. *seizures (convulsions*) and the Dutch translation *stuiptrekkingen (convulsies).* In this way, the Latin-based term will still be understandable for the lay reader because of the popularization strategy provided, even for the Dutch PIL-reader, for whom Latin-based *convulsies* is not immediately comprehensible from general language use, contrary to the English use of *convulsions.*

9. Conclusions

Even though translators have various popularization strategies at their disposal in a specialized genre such as a PIL, we found considerable uniformity in the popularization strategies used within the different PIL sections, but a clear difference between languages (in this case English versus Dutch) when the possible side effects of the medicine are explained in the PIL (PIL section 4). Whereas the (original) English PILs appear more scientifically-oriented, the Dutch (translated) PILs are directed more towards a lay readership.

The English target group is much more familiar with Latin-based terms in PILs as these terms have found their way into general language use. This may partially explain the apparent higher scientific orientation in the English PILs compared to the Dutch PILs. In contrast, for Dutch lay PIL readers Latin-based terminology is more often part of the scientific vocabulary spectrum. Therefore, these readers require additional lay terminology or explicitation in order to understand the Latin-based PIL information provided, which contributes to an increase in uncertainty avoidance.

With regard to explicitation as an expression of uncertainty avoidance, the results of the corpus analysis show no clear difference between the degree of explicitation in the English PILs and their Dutch translations, even though English-speaking societies in general are less uncertainty-avoiding than Dutch-speaking societies according to Hofstede (2001) and Hofstede *et al.* (2010). But national differences within the English and Dutch language groups considered by Hofstede respectively show a more nuanced distribution of uncertainty avoidance in the language communities related to the PILs analyzed for the current study. This is reflected in the number of explicitations in the English and Dutch PILs of our corpus to some extent. However, with regard to terminology Dutch PILs are oriented more towards a lay target group, with overall a greater proportion of lay terminology in comparison to their English source texts. This indirectly implies a higher degree of uncertainty avoidance from a terminological point of view. We may conclude then that a higher degree of uncertainty avoidance in the Dutch PILs of the corpus is expressed by means of lay terminology rather than by means of explicitations.

10. Limitations and further research

The classification criteria in this contribution were specifically designed for this study. The use of other criteria might yield different results.

For this article the researcher analysed the use of lay terminology, scientific terminology and explicitation in original English PILs and their Dutch translations. The classifications found were analysed separately and then compared against each other over the different PIL sections. A mutual comparison of differences in the classifications per term (English versus Dutch) will be the object of further research.

This article only focusses on basic quantitative analysis. In an extended analysis phase statistical techniques such as the chi-square test of independence and the t-test comparing two proportions could be applied.

In this study only a parallel corpus was examined. In the future, comparable research could be carried out using PILs which are originally written in different languages, for instance, English versus Dutch, provided that the original language of these PILs can be firmly established.

Both the English language and the Dutch language contain national dialects (e.g. British versus American English or Belgian Dutch versus Netherlandic Dutch). In some cases, this may cause difficulties in determining the origin of the PILs. Further research could be conducted to specify these national dialects in order to compare national dialects in terms of scientific terminology, lay terminology and explicitation. Similarly, the comparison of PILs in other source and target languages can be conducted to examine whether there are any salient differences.

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El uso de extranjerismos en audiodescripción. La opinión de los usuarios

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The use of foreign words in audio description. The users' opinions – *Abstract*

The audio description script provides information about characters, places and actions that appear in a film, in order to allow blind or visually impaired audiences to construct a concrete idea of what is happening on the screen. Therefore, the words chosen to describe what is being shown condition the image that the receptors will create in their minds. However, what happens when the audio describer uses foreign words to describe distanced realities which are unfamiliar to the target audience and culture? The aim of this study is to gather the receptor's opinions about the use of foreign words in audio description scripts. Firstly, we will stress the importance of reception studies in ongoing research. Then, after reviewing the need for precision in audio description, we will set out the stages and the methodology of this study, which is twofold: the first part derives from a descriptive analysis of foreign words in audio description, and the second part presents the users' opinions. In general, the use of foreign words is preferred when the audience is familiar with the reality to which it refers; on the contrary, explicitation is needed to describe rare cultural elements.

Keywords

Audio description, accessibility, audiovisual translation, reception studies, loan words

1. Introducción

La audiodescripción (AD) es una modalidad de traducción audiovisual que suscita cada vez más interés investigador. Entendida como un servicio de apoyo a la comunicación (AENOR, 2005, p. 4), proporciona información sobre espacios, tiempo, personajes, acciones etc. que permiten a una audiencia ciega o con baja visión ver y disfrutar de la obra audiovisual de la forma más parecida a cómo lo hacen los espectadores normovidentes. El qué y, especialmente, el cómo audiodescribir son cuestiones que todavía suscitan no pocos debates.

Aunque al principio, la investigación sobre AD se centraba en el estudio de normas sobre AD tanto en Europa (Orero, 2005; Greening y Rolph, 2007; Bourne, 2007; y los estudios comparativos de Vercauteren, 2007, y Rai, Greening y Petré, 2010, entre otros) como en Estados Unidos (Snyder, 2008, 2010), adentrándose posteriormente en estudios de corte descriptivista (ver Sanz-Moreno, 2017a), lo cierto es que en los últimos años se tiende cada vez más a poner el foco de atención en los receptores: numerosos estudios de recepción persiguen determinar la comprensión, el disfrute, en definitiva, el grado de inmersión de las audiencias ciegas o con baja visión que son las destinatarias de las AD. Así por ejemplo, Cabeza-Cáceres (2013) estudia el efecto de la velocidad, la entonación y la explicitación en la recepción de la AD y Ramos (2013) se centra en el impacto emocional de esta. De igual modo, los estudios sobre AD alternativas, no convencionales, que infringen voluntaria y conscientemente las normas que rigen la AD, están alcanzando conclusiones que obligan, a nuestro juicio, a abordar la AD desde una perspectiva distinta. Así, los estudios de Fryer y Freeman (2012, 2013) evalúan el nivel de aceptación por parte de los receptores de la presencia de lenguaje cinematográfico en los guiones de AD (GAD), a pesar de las recomendaciones en contra de las normas (concretamente, las británicas *ITC Guidance on Standards for Audio Description*, 2000). Romero Fresco y Fryer (2013) optan por la creación de audiointroducciones en películas audiodescritas. Las autoras Walczak y Fryer (2017) evalúan el uso de un lenguaje más directo y crudo en las AD. También han sido objeto de estudio la introducción de AD no convencionales y subjetivas en las que la presencia del audiodescriptor es más evidente, como aquellas que encontramos en los trabajos de Udo y Fels (2009a, 2009b) y Udo, Acevedo y Fels (2010). Todos estos trabajos apuntan a la necesidad de profundizar en los estudios de recepción en espectadores ciegos o con baja visión y señalan la posibilidad de que se reconsideren las normas sobre AD atendiendo a los resultados obtenidos. Parece que la investigación en el ámbito de la AD está llamada a explorar nuevos estilos de AD que se adecuen mejor a las expectativas y preferencias de los usuarios.

En este trabajo, partimos de un estudio descriptivo sobre referentes culturales (Sanz-Moreno, 2017b) para diseñar un estudio de recepción con el fin de determinar las preferencias de una audiencia ciega sobre el uso de extranjerismos en el GAD. Para ello, y después de abordar las ventajas e inconvenientes de emplear extranjerismos en las AD, presentaremos las características del estudio de recepción realizado en espectadores ciegos o con baja visión. Por último, analizaremos los resultados obtenidos cuyas conclusiones son aplicables a la AD que actualmente se realiza en España.

2. Audiodescripción: objetividad y precisión

Las normas sobre AD preconizan la objetividad como regla general a la hora de abordar la elaboración de un GAD. Esta regla puede resumirse en el acrónimo utilizado por el descriptor americano Joel Snyder WYSIWYS "What You See Is What You Say" (2008, p. 195): el descriptor debe describir lo que aparece en pantalla, sin añadir o suprimir información ni distorsionar lo que se desprende de la imagen. No es intención de este trabajo debatir sobre la necesidad de neutralidad en la AD, algo en lo que se han adentrado otros autores (Arma, 2011; Limbach, 2012; Ramos, 2013). Nos interesa, sin embargo, determinar qué debemos entender por el uso de un "vocabulario adecuado" y "terminología específica apropiada" que preconiza la norma española sobre AD (AENOR, 2005, p. 7-8), sin transmitir ninguna subjetividad. La precisión es uno de los requisitos que debe reunir una AD. Al respecto, se recomienda que "Para la redacción de guiones audiodescriptivos en castellano, deben seguirse las normas gramaticales establecidas por la Real Academia Española de la Lengua" (p. 8). Tal y como establece la Real Academia de la Lengua Española, los extranjerismos no son rechazables *per se*, ya que constituyen aportaciones léxicas procedentes de otras lenguas, pero cuya incorporación al español debe realizarse siempre que responda a nuevas necesidades expresivas.

El *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española de la Lengua* define extranjerismo como "préstamo, especialmente el no adaptado"[1], mientras que el préstamo es un "elemento, generalmente léxico, que una lengua toma de otra"[2]. El recurso al extranjerismo parece inevitable cuando nos enfrentamos a nuevas necesidades expresivas referidas a realidades que no existen en la lengua y ni la cultura metas. Es, por tanto, necesario recurrir a una palabra extranjera para describirla. La Real Academia distingue dos grandes grupos de extranjerismos:

> 1) Los extranjerismos superfluos o innecesarios: para los que existen equivalentes españoles con plena vitalidad, es decir, existe en nuestra lengua un término que se adecua a esa realidad (*abstract* por resumen, *back-up* por copia de seguridad).
>
> 2) Los extranjerismos necesarios o muy extendidos, para los que no existen, o no es fácil encontrar, términos españoles equivalentes, o cuyo empleo está arraigado o muy extendido. En este caso, encontramos dos variantes, relativas a la adaptación de la grafía y la pronunciación (como *quiche* o *chucrut*).

Sin embargo, no se aborda el empleo de extranjerismos que no son de uso muy extendido, ya que hacen referencia a elementos muy específicos de una cultura determinada (por ejemplo, determinados tipos de alimentos, indumentaria, medios de transporte, costumbres, etc.) y para los que no disponemos de equivalente en nuestra lengua. En este caso, sería conveniente plantear una cuestión: si se trata de una realidad que no existe en la cultura de recepción, y se emplea un término que tampoco forma parte de la lengua de recepción, ¿cómo es posible que un espectador que no dispone de la imagen para poder hacerse un constructo mental más completo pueda entender de qué se está hablando? Y en cualquier caso, ¿cómo podría paliarse esta posible incomprensión? La primera parte de este estudio confirma que los extranjerismos se usan, *de facto*, en los GAD; la segunda parte pretende averiguar las preferencias de los receptores ciegos o con baja visión respecto a su uso, como veremos a continuación.

3. Técnicas de traducción en AD

Son numerosos los autores que han demostrado que las técnicas de traducción, entendidas como "un procedimiento verbal concreto, visible en el resultado de la traducción, para conseguir equivalencias traductoras" (Hurtado Albir, 2001, pp. 257-258) son aplicables al análisis de las AD. Estos instrumentos de análisis "para la descripción y comparación de traducciones" (pp. 257-258), ya se aplicaron en el trabajo de Matamala y Rami (2009). Las autoras demostraron, entre otras cuestiones, que las técnicas de traducción definidas por

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[1] Ver: http://dle.rae.es/?id=HOauPO6.

[2] Ver: http://dle.rae.es/?id=U73g6MY.

Molina y Hurtado (2002) para la traducción interlingüística son aplicables a la AD. Más recientemente Maszerowska y Mangiron (2014) realizan una interesante propuesta para la AD de referentes culturales en *Inglourious Basterds* de Tarantino (2009), aplicando las estrategias descritas por Pedersen para subtitulación (2009, 2011), lo mismo que Szarkowska y Jankowska (2015) en un estudio de recepción llevado a cabo en Polonia en el que abordan, entre otros, la AD de referentes culturales.

Basándonos en Szarkowska y Jankowska (2015, pp. 248-258) y Pedersen (2009, 2010), las técnicas de traducción que se aplican para la AD en las que se emplean extranjerismos o préstamos son la *particularización* y la *explicitación*. Por el contrario, la *generalización* y la *descripción* se emplean precisamente para evitar el uso de una palabra extranjera. A continuación, presentamos una breve definición de cada una de estas técnicas:

- *Particularización*: consiste en emplear la palabra más concreta posible para describir un elemento cultural icónico. Es la técnica extranjerizante por excelencia, ya que permite dotar al GAD de mayor exotismo y que determinados elementos propios de la cultura origen que impera en el filme queden plasmados en el GAD. En este caso, el descriptor debe confiar en el contexto fílmico que se le ofrece, en el bagaje cultural del receptor y en el grado de conocimiento del referente para que la audiencia logre entenderlo. Si entendemos la fidelidad en un sentido estricto, sería la técnica más adecuada porque da cuenta con precisión de lo que aparece en pantalla. Ahora bien, puede plantear un problema de comprensión en el receptor, como veremos en el apartado 4.2.2. Un ejemplo sería "En un salón las geishas sirven té y *sake*".
- *Explicitación*: consiste en una ampliación de la información contenida en el sema visual. En realidad, se trata de una combinación de técnicas, puesto que se conserva el término más preciso (un préstamo o extranjerismo) y se añade una breve explicación de lo que se trata, por lo que contribuye a una mejor comprensión. Por ejemplo, "*tuc-tucs*, los taxis típicos de la India".
- *Descripción*: consiste en la descripción objetiva del elemento cultural, sin eliminar o añadir ninguna connotación subjetiva. En general, el descriptor se centra en esos casos en los materiales, los colores, las formas, la utilidad del elemento cultural, con el fin de facilitar el constructo mental que debe hacerse la audiencia ciega. Por ejemplo, "kimono estampado blanco y negro" para referirse a unos *yukatas*.
- *Generalización*: consiste en emplear una palabra más general para referirse a un elemento cultural. Por ejemplo "alimentos" para referirse a la comida típica india (*chapatis*, encurtidos etc.).

4. Metodología

4.1 Estudio descriptivo

La primera parte de este trabajo consiste en un estudio descriptivo de los GAD en español de dos películas comercializadas en España. Nuestro objetivo es determinar la presencia de palabras que no pertenecen a las lenguas (ni a la culturas) origen en los GAD analizados. En los apartados siguientes, explicaremos las fases del estudio descriptivo así como la caracterización de la muestra de películas analizadas.

4.1.1 Fases del estudio

El primer paso para abordar este estudio consistió en elegir las películas que conformaban nuestra muestra y cuya caracterización se incluye en el apartado siguiente. Una vez visionadas las películas con AD en español, procedimos a la ardua tarea de transcribir el GAD y detectar los extranjerismos o préstamos empleados por los distintos descriptores. Una vez comprobada su presencia, elaboramos un listado con los extranjerismos empleados y las imágenes que describían, e identificamos las técnicas de traducción que se habían utilizado para audiodescribir dichos elementos. Finalmente, analizamos las técnicas empleadas por los distintos descriptores.

4.1.2 Muestra

Actualmente, el número de películas audiodescritas y comercializadas en nuestro país ha aumentado notablemente en los últimos años. Sin embargo, nuestra intención era comprobar el uso de extranjerismos por lo que necesitábamos películas que presentaran realidades alejadas de nuestra cultura. Consideramos pues que las películas que conformaran nuestro corpus debían presentar el elemento de *extrañamiento* del que habla Sanderson (2011), es decir, una distancia geográfica y cultural que caracterizara la trama y que presentara particularidades en la AD de los elementos culturales. Era previsible que en este tipo de filmes que presentan una realidad exótica y distante de la cultura meta existieran aportaciones léxicas procedentes de otras lenguas. Escogimos cuatro películas[3], pero finalmente nos decantamos por dos filmes, cuya trama se ubica en entornos exóticos y alejados de ambas culturas meta, y que presentan una gran riqueza de referentes culturales: *Memorias de una geisha* (Rob Marshall, 2005) y S*lumdog millionaire* (Boyle, 2008).

4.2 Estudio de recepción

4.2.1 Fases

Basándonos en el estudio descriptivo anterior, elegimos una serie de referentes que se habían descrito mediante un extranjerismo en la AD española. Para poder evaluar la preferencia del receptor invidente español, necesitábamos ofrecerle una alternativa para que pudiera comparar, por lo que en este caso optamos por utilizar las AD que se habían comercializado en Reino Unido, y las tradujimos al español. De esta forma, el participante podía exponerse a dos AD distintas de un mismo referente, una de las cuales siempre contenía un extranjerismo. Las AD se locutaron, se grabaron y se incluyeron en la banda sonora original del filme.

Con el fin de determinar las preferencias de los participantes, expusimos a los usuarios a 8 clips de vídeo con 2 versiones de AD que contenían extranjerismos y cuya duración media de cada uno no excedía el minuto y medio. Su orden fue aleatorio, siempre exponiéndose por pares (dos AD para un mismo referente cultural). Éramos conscientes del cansancio que podía producir la duración del experimento, sobre todo atendiendo a la edad de los participantes. No obstante, en el estudio piloto que se realizó con carácter previo, no mostraron fatiga o desconcentración a lo largo del mismo. Sin embargo, y para evitar ese posible cansancio, introdujimos una pausa de 15 minutos a mitad del experimento.

[3] Los dos filmes *Juno* (Reitman, 2007) y *Pequeña Miss Sunshine* (2006) también fueron analizadas pero no presentaban extranjerismos en sus GAD, probablemente debido a la cercanía de los referentes que aparecen en ellos.

Con carácter previo al test, la investigadora recolectaba datos sociodemográficos de los participantes, que se exponen en el apartado 4.2.2. Posteriormente, se les exponía a los clips de vídeo por pares. Al finalizar cada par de vídeos, los participantes elegían el que más les gustaba e indicaban, si lo consideraban oportuno, las razones. La investigadora grabó todas estas interacciones y las transcribió posteriormente. En la Tabla 1 se incluyen las fases del estudio de recepción.

Fases del estudio de recepción	1.	Traducción de las AD inglesas al español
	2.	Locución y grabación de las AD
	3.	Inclusión de la pista de AD en los clips
	4.	Elaboración de encuestas
	5.	Selección de participantes
	6.	Estudio piloto
	7.	Realización del estudio: ▪ Variables de control (encuesta) ▪ Visionado de los clips con AD ▪ Cumplimentación de respuestas por cada clip ▪ Opiniones de los usuarios
	8.	Recopilación y análisis de datos

Tabla 1. Fases del estudio de recepción

4.2.2 Caracterización de los participantes

Conseguir una muestra significativa de participantes voluntarios con ceguera o baja visión que quiera colaborar de forma desinteresada en un estudio como el que presentamos es difícil, tal y como han señalado otros investigadores (Ramos, 2013; Cabeza-Cáceres, 2013; Fresno, 2014). Para la selección de los participantes en este experimento, contactamos con la Delegación Territorial de la Comunidad Valenciana de la ONCE (Organización Nacional de Ciegos de España) y con la Asociación Retina Comunidad Valenciana. Ambas nos cedieron sus instalaciones para llevar a cabo el estudio y lo difundieron entre sus afiliados, lo que nos permitió reunir a 35 sujetos voluntarios. Los participantes no recibieron remuneración alguna por su colaboración.

4.2.2.1 Sexo, edad y nivel de formación

Entre los participantes en el estudio, el 51,4% eran mujeres, mientras que el 48,6% eran hombres. En cuanto a su distribución por edad, destacamos que el grupo más numeroso fue el de 46 a 65 años, representando un poco más de la mitad de la muestra (51,4%), mientras que el siguiente en cantidad numérica ha sido el de 65 en adelante, con una representatividad del 31,4%. El menos representado ha sido el grupo de entre 26 y 45 años, con solo un 2,9%, mientras que el resto, un 14,3%, lo compone el grupo más joven de la muestra, cuya edad oscila entre los 18 y los 25 años.

Por otra parte, en cuanto al nivel de estudios, los datos demuestran que estamos ante una muestra diversificada, ya que encontramos representación de todos los niveles de formación. El sector más representado es el de estudios secundarios con un 37,1%, seguido de los estudios universitarios (grado o licenciatura) con un 25,7%. Por otra parte, el menos representado es el de estudios de máster o superior, con tan solo un 2,9% de los encuestados, mientras que el 22,9% tienen estudios primarios. Por último, destacamos que el 11,4% de los encuestados ha realizado ciclos formativos y que no había ningún representante de la franja “sin estudios”. No obstante, ninguno de los que se encontraban en edad de trabajar lo hacían ya que disponían de una incapacidad laboral (excepto los estudiantes que participaron en el experimento).

Por último, todos los encuestados tenían nacionalidad española, algo que era fundamental dado el marcado carácter cultural del estudio. Además, solo 6 de los participantes tenían conocimientos de inglés, aunque manifestaron que no tenían un buen nivel de esta lengua.

4.2.2.2 Tipos de ceguera o baja visión

La mayoría de los encuestados, concretamente un 82,9%, padecía una ceguera sobrevenida, mientras que solo un 17,1% indicó que la pérdida de visión era congénita, es decir, que habían nacido ciegos. La mayoría de los componentes de nuestra muestra han visto en el pasado, en algunas ocasiones, hasta una edad muy avanzada, por lo que para ellos es más fácil hacerse un constructo mental de lo que aparece en pantalla. Trece de los participantes perdieron la visión entre los 30 y los 50 años, mientras que 5 lo hicieron de pequeños, entre el nacimiento (P4 quedó ciega en la incubadora cuando nació) hasta los 12 años (P27 y P19 fueron diagnosticados con glaucoma a una edad muy temprana).

Entre las causas más frecuentes de pérdida de visión, destacamos la retinosis pigmentaria (un 34,3%) seguida de otras enfermedades (31,4%), como accidentes cerebrovasculares, accidentes de tráfico, síndrome de Usher, miopía maligna o diabetes. El glaucoma también es una causa frecuente de pérdida de visión entre los componentes de nuestra muestra, con un 20% de casos, mientras que el 14,3% tiene Degeneración Macular Asociada a la Edad. Como vemos, la mayoría de enfermedades causantes de pérdida de visión o ceguera están representadas en nuestra muestra, que presenta una gran heterogeneidad respecto a las causas de pérdida de visión, algo que se da entre los receptores comunes de AD.

Por último, en cuanto al grado de pérdida de visión, el 91,4% de los encuestados manifiesta que es una pérdida grave, y el 5,7% padece una pérdida de visión moderada. Solo un sujeto manifiesta que su pérdida es leve.

Respecto a las ayudas que habitualmente utilizan los usuarios en su vida diaria, 30 de los 35 participantes utilizaban bastón, debido a la gravedad de la ceguera que padecían. También una gran mayoría utilizaba el lector de pantalla JAWS, *software* gratuito para aquellos usuarios afiliados a la Organización Nacional de Ciegos de España (ONCE) desde septiembre de 2016. Por otra parte, 28 de los 35 participantes disponían de un *iPhone*, que lleva incorporado de serie el *Voice Over*, una herramienta de gran utilidad para las personas con algún tipo de discapacidad visual.

4.2.2.3 Hábitos de ocio

En cuanto al número de películas que los participantes ven al mes, la gran mayoría (un 65,7%) ven pocas o ninguna, es decir de 0 a 5 películas al mes. El 11,4% manifiesta que ve más de 20 al mes, mientras que el resto oscila entre de 5 a 10 (11,4%), el 8,6% ve de 15 a 20 y solo el 2,9% ve de 10 a 15 películas. En general, los participantes no mostraron un gran interés por las películas en cualquier formato (televisión, cine, ordenador...); no así por la lectura, ya que 21 de los 35 participantes manifestaron que eran grandes aficionados a la lectura y consumían asiduamente audiolibros. La razón que se aducía respecto a esta preferencia es que “en una película hay demasiado ruido, pasan muchas cosas; es difícil concentrarse” (P23); o que “hay muchos más libros con sistema AUDESC que películas. Películas, hay pocas, y nuevas menos. Pero audiolibros hay más y son más accesibles” (P31).

Respecto a la preferencia en cuanto al formato, se distinguen dos de entre las propuestas (Figura 1). La televisión es la preferida por un 74,3% de los participantes, mientras que el 28,6% también manifiesta una predilección por el cine en pantalla grande. Otros manifiestan que ven películas en la *Tablet* o en el ordenador a través de internet. Normalmente, la razón de esta preferencia se explica por la comodidad, ya que muchos de los entrevistados no suelen salir mucho de casa, y "menos para ir al cine" (P11). Otro de los participantes argumentaba: "Además, yo veo la televisión con toda mi familia todos los días, y si hay una película, pues la vemos todos juntos" (P13).

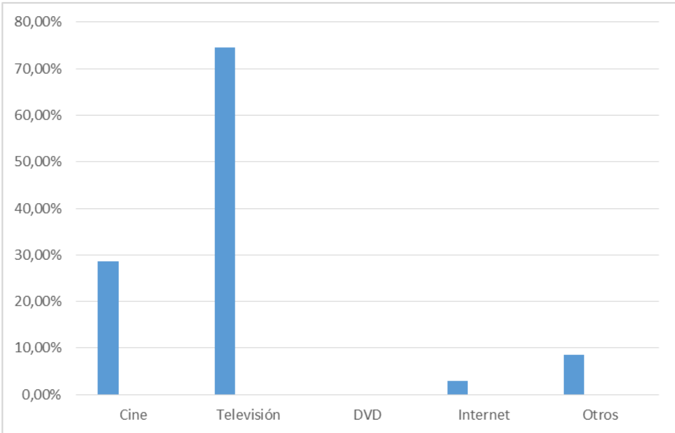

Figura 1. Preferencias en cuanto al formato

También nos interesaba saber el conocimiento o grado de familiarización de los participantes con la AD. Como era de esperar, el 88,6% de los encuestados la conocían y la habían utilizado en alguna ocasión. Veinticinco de los 35 encuestados sabían que la ONCE tenía una videoteca de películas audiodescritas a disposición de los afiliados de la organización, pero desconocían la existencia de otros operadores que actualmente también ofrecen AD en películas, en DVD o Blu-Ray, por ejemplo.

A pesar de este resultado, el 74,3% de los participantes nunca utilizan AD cuando van al cine, frente a tan solo el 5,7% que la utilizan siempre. Cerca del 20% restante la utiliza a veces o casi nunca. Las razones por las que no utilizan la AD en el cine suelen ser que en general desconocen qué películas se ofrecen con AD por falta de publicidad o que la oferta es muy limitada: "No sabemos cuándo hay películas con AD en el cine" (P24); "Se publicitan poco, no te enteras"; (P26) "Hay pocas salas en Valencia y son pocas las películas que se ofrecen con AD" (P5). Siete de los 35 participantes manifiestan que no la necesitan, y 9 del total que no acuden con frecuencia al cine. También argumentan que prefieren ir con alguien conocido al cine y "que me vaya diciendo si me pierdo. Pero es que la AD se me hace muy pesada porque dicen muchas cosas que a mí no me importan nada" (P6). De forma general, los participantes mostraron mayor interés por películas extranjeras en detrimento de las españolas, y se observó una clara preferencia por parte de los participantes más jóvenes del consumo de series de televisión a través de internet.

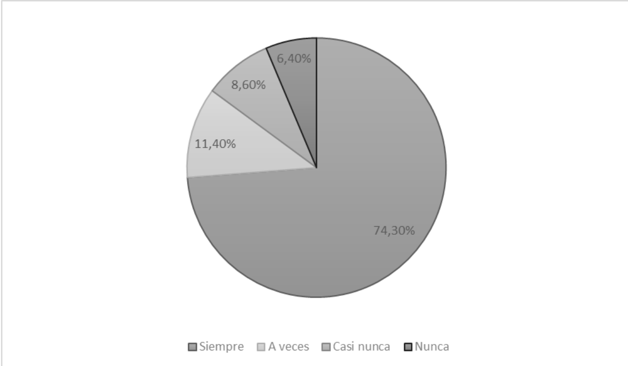

Figura 2. Frecuencia de uso de AD en el cine

En cuanto a la televisión, el 88,6% de los participantes no utiliza nunca AD cuando la ve televisión, mientras que el 11,4% la utiliza a veces (Figura 3).

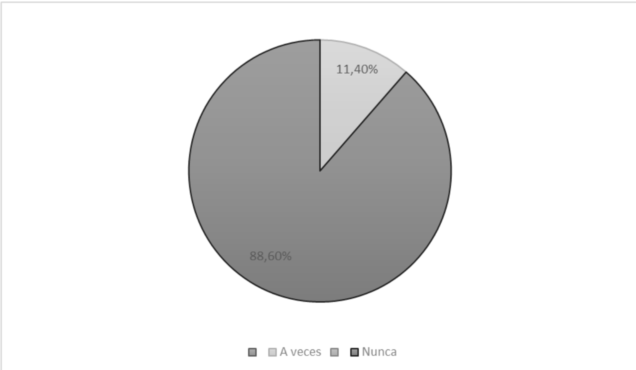

Figura 3. Frecuencia de uso de AD en televisión o DVD

Las razones por las que no se utiliza AD en televisión son principalmente el desconocimiento de la configuración del televisor para poder escuchar AD o desconocimiento de los programas que cuentan con AD. Al ser, en su mayoría, personas mayores que no están familiarizadas con las nuevas tecnologías o que disponen de televisores más antiguos, la gran mayoría no sabe cómo acceder a la AD en televisión (algo también observado en el informe de CESyA de 2015). Tampoco saben cómo acceder a un listado (el teletexto, por ejemplo) o a la información sobre la accesibilidad de un programa. "A veces, mi marido o mi hijo me dicen: 'Mira, este programa tiene AD', porque ellos ven el icono que aparece en una esquina de la pantalla. ¡Pero yo no lo veo! ¿Cómo pretenden que lo veamos si somos ciegos? Nos lo tendrían que decir cada vez, y si hay pausas o lo que sea, repetirlo. Porque si no, no nos enteramos" (P21).

También se argumenta que cuando se ve la televisión en familia, a los demás componentes que son normovidentes les suele molestar la AD, por lo que las personas con deficiencias visuales optan por prescindir de ella y preguntar a los familiares si se pierden en la trama. Algunos sujetos más jóvenes manifiestan que se descargan material de internet que no está audiodescrito pero que se han acostumbrado a series o películas sin AD "y me apaño bastante bien. Y si no, pregunto" (P1).

4.2.3 Instrumento de recolección de datos

4.2.3.1 El cuestionario

Como hemos indicado en el apartado 4.2.1., con carácter previo al visionado, se realizaron una serie de preguntas generales a los participantes con el fin de caracterizar la muestra. En este caso, se asignó un cuestionario en papel[4] a cada uno de los sujetos, que constaba de dos partes: la primera consistía en preguntas sobre su edad, sexo, nivel de formación, grado de ceguera, preferencias de consumo de productos audiovisuales. La segunda parte, consistía en una tabla en la que se incluían las preferencias de los participantes respecto a los clips de vídeo a los que se les exponía: podían optar entre el primero, el segundo o ninguno de los dos. Optamos por preguntas cerradas dicotómicas, que presentan mayores ventajas a la hora de codificarlas y analizarlas.[5]

Sin embargo, el estudio piloto que se realizó con carácter previo con cinco participantes reveló que necesitaban, en la mayoría de los casos, explicar sus decisiones; es decir, una vez visionados ambos clips de vídeo, no se contentaban con elegir el primero o el segundo, sino que expresaban sus opiniones y justificaban sus preferencias, lo cual nos hizo considerar el cuestionario solo como una base y dejar que los usuarios se expresaran como en una entrevista abierta. Además, el hecho de que los tests no se realizaran de forma individual sino en grupos (en este caso, de 4 participantes) enriqueció la discusión y favoreció la obtención de distintas opiniones sobre un mismo referente.

4.2.3.2. La entrevista

La entrevista consiste en una reunión para intercambiar información entre una persona (el entrevistador) y los entrevistados (Hernández *et al.*, 2006, p. 597). En este caso, optamos por entrevistas abiertas, que permitían a los entrevistados expresarse con toda libertad, aunque partíamos de unas preguntas concretas y previamente determinadas por el clip que acaban de visionar. El punto de partida siempre era el mismo: "¿Cuál de las dos versiones ha preferido?" Y después se dejaba a los participantes justificar su respuesta. Tampoco se obligaba a ello, pero la mayoría sentía la necesidad de explicarse o dar su opinión concreta sobre lo que acababan de ver. Así, Creswell (2005) indica que en los estudios cualitativos, las entrevistas deben ser abiertas, sin categorías prestablecidas para permitir que los participantes expresen sus experiencias de la mejor manera y sin ser influidos por la perspectiva del investigador o de otros estudios. De hecho, hasta el final del experimento, no se informaba a los participantes que habían visionado dos versiones comercializadas de AD, y que una de ellas provenía de Reino Unido. Cierto es que una de las mayores desventajas de la entrevista abierta es la obtención de información "permeada" por los puntos de vista del participante, pero eso es precisamente lo que perseguíamos. Además, es necesario señalar que, a pesar de que las entrevistas se hicieron en grupos pequeños, los participantes no se "contaminaron" con las respuestas sino que, al contrario, cada uno discutía y defendía su punto de vista, por lo que los tests con varios participantes fueron muy enriquecedores.

[4] Marina Ramos (2013) indica la inoperatividad de cuestionarios en braille en este tipo de estudios. La investigadora optó por tomar notas en cuestionarios en papel con el fin de transcribir todos los datos con posterioridad al estudio.

[5] Entre estas ventajas, destacamos que son más fáciles de codificar y presentar para su análisis posterior, así como que requieren menos esfuerzo por parte de los participantes en el experimento, puesto que se limitan a seleccionar la alternativa que mejor se ajusta a su respuesta (Hernández *et al.*, 2006, p. 315). Además, se reduce la ambigüedad de las respuestas y se favorece las comparaciones entre las mismas (Vinuesa, 2005). Sin embargo, no es infrecuente que las categorías ofrecidas a los participantes no se ajusten exactamente a su respuesta, algo que observamos en este estudio, donde los participantes quisieron desarrollar y justificar sus opciones preferidas, algo que enriqueció sobremanera los resultados.

5. Resultados

5.1 Presencia de extranjerismos en AD: particularización vs. descripción

En los GAD analizados, hemos localizado 25 extranjerismos y préstamos[6]. Los más abundantes los encontramos en la AD de indumentaria y prendas de vestir (8), seguidos de los lugares (5) y la comida (5). El resto se utilizan de forma más puntual y esporádica, y en general pertenecen al ámbito del ocio (deportes, instrumentos musicales etc.) o de las profesiones.

Los extranjerismos que se han utilizado en los GAD definen elementos ajenos a las respectivas culturas meta. Es, por tanto, lógico, que encontremos estas palabras para describir indumentaria japonesa o india, edificios, comidas o bebidas característicos de las culturas representadas en la pantalla. De hecho, no se han detectado extranjerismos innecesarios o superfluos, ya que en todos los casos no existe equivalente lingüístico ni cultural en español. Sí encontramos, sin embargo, extranjerismos necesarios cuyo empleo está muy arraigado en la cultura meta. Así, *geisha, kimono, bonsái, críquet*, *polo, té* o *sake* son términos que provienen del japonés, del chino o del inglés pero que tienen un uso muy extendido en español (de hecho, algunos han adaptado su grafía como *kimono*, que también puede escribirse “quimono”). Todos estos términos se encuentran recogidos en el *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española de la Lengua*. De los 25 términos, 8 son préstamos, mientras que 17 son extranjerismos crudos, es decir, no han adaptado su ortografía al español. Estos últimos no se encuentran en nuestros diccionarios porque se trata de palabras extranjeras en sentido estricto que no forman parte aún de nuestro acervo cultural. Se refieren a realidades de culturas ajenas a la cultura española, pero su uso parece necesario para describir estas realidades.

La técnica preferida por los descriptores en estos dos filmes ha sido la particularización, empleando extranjerismos. Se ha utilizado también la descripción, la generalización y la explicitación, aunque en menor medida, como se recoge en la Figura 4.

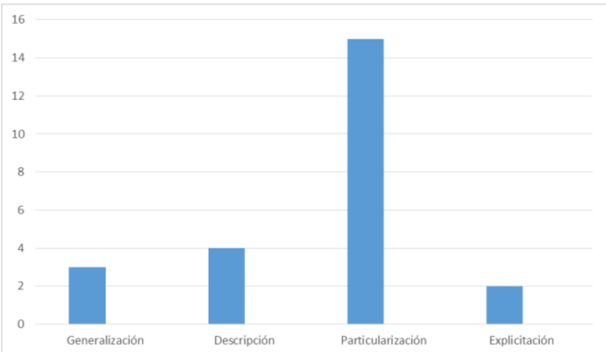

Figura 4. Técnicas de traducción empleadas en AD

Si bien el empleo de extranjerismos a través de la particularización puede contribuir a dotar al GAD de mayor colorido local, a acercar al espectador meta a la cultura que se refleja en el filme, y sobre todo, a cumplir con la recomendación de precisión en las AD que determinan las normas, es probable que esa concreción en la descripción no vaya necesariamente acompañada de una correcta comprensión. Además, estimamos, es necesario considerar también no solo el contexto en el que se emplea la técnica (es posible que de la información

[6] Muchos de estos extranjerismos se han utilizado en más de una ocasión a lo largo de los GAD, pero a efectos de este trabajo, solo hemos contabilizado la primera vez que se detectaron en los mismos.

sonora que se ofrece en el filme en ese momento sea fácilmente deducible para el espectador invidente de qué referente se trata) sino también el grado de familiaridad que tenga el espectador con ese referente en concreto. En principio, los préstamos adaptados reflejan un uso más común de ese término por parte de las audiencias, que ya están familiarizadas con esos elementos y que, incluso, han podido pasar a formar parte de nuestra cultura. Podemos aventurar, pues, que las audiencias meta española e inglesa saben lo que es un *kimono* o un *bonsái*, qué es jugar al críquet o el aspecto de un luchador de *sumo*. No estamos tan seguros de que el receptor conozca cómo es un *yukata* o qué nos podemos encontrar cuando paseamos por un *hanamachi*. Es probable que el receptor pueda necesitar más ayuda a la hora de comprender el referente cultural en concreto, ya que puede no disponer de otros medios para poder realizar un correcto constructo mental de lo que se le está describiendo. Esto es lo que nos hizo plantearnos el estudio de recepción que presentamos a continuación, que perseguía comprobar si esa precisión se adecua a las expectativas y necesidades de los espectadores ciegos o con deficiencias visuales.

5.2 Preferencias de los espectadores ciegos o con baja visión españoles

5.2.1 Consideración de los extranjerismos por parte de los participantes

Para no alargar demasiado el estudio, y teniendo en cuenta que se enmarca dentro de un estudio más amplio sobre referentes culturales (Sanz-Moreno, 2017a), expusimos a los receptores a 8 clips de vídeo con AD que contenían extranjerismos. A continuación, una vez visionadas las dos versiones de la AD, los participantes elegían la versión de AD que preferían.

En general, los usuarios prefirieron las AD más detalladas y en las que se usaban los extranjerismos (normalmente, la versión española), aunque manifestaron una clara preferencia por la explicitación frente a la particularización. Esto puede explicarse por la forma en la que tradicionalmente se viene haciendo AD en España, en la que la precisión es una norma que se aplica sistemáticamente. Dada la media de edad de la muestra, estos receptores estaban acostumbrados a una AD muy detallada, de conformidad con la norma UNE AENOR, 2005. Se observó que los participantes más jóvenes no manifestaron las mismas preferencias, y se decantaron en su mayoría por el uso preferente de la particularización o, en todo caso de la descripción; técnicas que, como hemos visto, están más presentes en la AD inglesa. Los más jóvenes apreciaban el uso de extranjerismos, aunque demandaban más explicaciones, ya que no conseguían imaginarse la comida o la prenda de vestir de la que se trataba sin más información. Es también destacable que, mientras que los participantes de más edad apreciaban los detalles en las descripciones de la vestimenta o de los espacios, los más jóvenes preferían obtener información sobre las acciones que desarrollaban los personajes, y no disfrutaban tanto de las descripciones más “estéticas”.

En cuanto a la AD de la indumentaria, en todos los casos los receptores sabían que se trataba de una prenda de vestir. Así, por ejemplo, en *Slumdog millionaire* (Boyle, 2008), la AD indica que el Dios Rama “está vestido con un *dhoti*”; los receptores dedujeron que era “algo que llevaba puesto”, aunque solo dos de los 35 participantes dedujeron que se trataba de una especie de calzón. No obstante, mientras que los más jóvenes declararon que no le otorgaban mucha importancia a la indumentaria de los personajes, y menos si no era un personaje principal (como era el caso), otros participantes (mayores) sí incidieron en la importancia que tenía para ellos la descripción del entorno, la ropa, el maquillaje, etc., porque permitía imaginarse mejor lo que aparecía en pantalla y meterse más de lleno en la película. Algunas opiniones al respecto fueron las siguientes:

P1 "El *dhoti* no sabemos lo que es. Si no nos dicen nada más, me quedo igual. Además, lo que lleva puesto no tiene importancia para mí."

P25 "A mí me gusta que me describan la ropa, cómo van vestidas, los colores, si van a la moda... todo eso aporta mucho a la película. Pero cuando les pregunto a mis hijos qué lleva tal o cual personaje, me miran raro. Ellos no le dan importancia a eso, pero yo sí. Me gusta. Pero en este caso, me dicen *dhoti* y no tengo ni idea de lo que es."

P31 "Cuando usan palabras extranjeras, está bien, porque te sirve para meterte en otra cultura, en espacios lejanos... diferentes. Pero claro, me gusta más cuando la emplean y te dicen lo que es. Aquí tenían que haber dicho "un *dhoti* que es un calzón indio". Claro, también depende del espacio, pero si no tienes hueco, no me lo digas, porque si no, no se te va a entender...y puede producir confusión más que otra cosa."

En este sentido, muchos participantes se inclinaron por la AD en la que se explicita el extranjerismo, como por ejemplo en el caso del *mudrá*: "la [mano] izquierda la mantiene levantada haciendo el *mudrá*, un gesto hindú de protección". En este caso, la explicitación es una técnica que combina la presencia de un extranjerismo, lo que acerca el GAD a la cultura origen, y además añade una explicación de lo que se trata, favoreciendo la comprensión de una cultura ajena a este elemento.

R2 "Cuando explica lo que es el *mudrà*, eso sí que está muy bien, porque te dice lo que es y lo explica. Entonces lo entiendes mucho mejor y te puedes hacer una idea más completa y precisa de lo que es. Y además, sabes el significado. Es perfecto."

En general, el empleo de préstamos para audiodescribir la indumentaria no ha sido bien recibido, con una única excepción. Todos los sujetos han manifestado que conocían lo que era un *kimono*, aunque la mayoría lo relacionaban con ropajes de seda con estampados florales[7]. De nuevo, gracias al contexto que ofrecía la propia banda sonora del filme, los participantes han podido deducir que *obi, tabi* y *geta* son prendas de vestir. Pero no han sido capaces de determinar exactamente su significado. En estos casos puntuales, los sujetos prefirieron la AD inglesa (traducida al español), en la que se ofrecía una sustitución cultural y una generalización para estos elementos (*tabi* corresponde a "a pair of slippers" y *obi* "a sash"); en sentido contrario, la descriptora española opta por una descripción en el caso de los *geta* que describe como "unas sandalias con alta plataforma trapezoidal".

P4 "Si empleas palabras que no entiendo, no voy a poder hacerme una idea de lo que es. O me lo explicas o me buscas algo equivalente que yo pueda entender. Prefiero que me digas unos calcetines blancos o un fajín, porque eso me lo puedo imaginar. Pero un *obi*, ni idea. Me quedo igual. No lo he oído en mi vida."

P24 "Parece que necesitamos un vocabulario antes de empezar a ver la película. La verdad es que no se entiende, aunque puedes deducir que todo son prendas de vestir, claro, pero no me puedo imaginar lo que son."

Otros participantes, sin embargo, manifestaron un gran interés por la precisión en las AD, un gusto por el detalle y por las AD que contribuyeran a incluir elementos de otras culturas en los GAD, ya que los enriquecían y "te hacen meterte mucho más en la atmósfera de la película" (P2).

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[7] En realidad, un kimono es una "túnica de origen japonés, de mangas anchas y largas, abierta por delante y que se ciñe, cruzándola, mediante cinturón (DRAE).

> P15 "Cuanto más precisa sea [la AD], mejor. Aquí puede deducirse bien del contexto porque la señora dice 'Estos para dentro y estos para fuera', o sea, deduces que es calzado. Y el *obi*, pues también, algo que se pone, una prenda de vestir."

> P23 "Pues aunque no sepa lo que es un *obi* o unos *tabi*, me gusta que me lo digan. Parece que me meto más en la película, es como un toque más exótico. No puedo dudar que estoy en Japón o, a lo sumo, en Oriente. Si me dices que lleva una bata o un fajín, podría estar en cualquier parte."

> P32 "Puede sonar raro, pero me ha gustado más en conjunto. Me ha sonado más acorde con el entorno de la película. De todas formas, yo hubiera combinado como en lo de antes: decir la palabra rara y luego una explicación. Pero es que aquí no le da tiempo. De todas formas, igual a lo largo de toda la película vuelven a decir estas prendas y puedes entenderlas mejor."

En cuanto a los lugares, la AD inglesa emplea *hanamachi* y *kaburenjo* junto a dos explicitaciones: "the *hanamachi*, the *geisha* district" y "the *kaburenjo* theatre and school". Solo en el caso de la *okiya*, el descriptor no ha empleado la explicitación y esto, seguramente, porque los diálogos retoman este término en varias ocasiones, por lo que es fácilmente deducible gracias al contexto que se trata de la casa donde viven las geishas y sus aprendices.

> P4 "Me he hecho una mejor idea con la segunda [la AD española]. Es más fluida, no satura tanto. Además, el nombre de la escuela me da igual, no me interesa."

En cuanto a la comida, los sujetos han preferido la AD inglesa "a ceremonial rice cake" para describir el *ekubo*. Este referente aparece varias veces en el cuadro de diálogos de la película, pero no se explica en ningún momento qué es, aunque sí su significado[8]. Lo mismo ocurre con los *chapatis* indios, aunque en este caso es el descriptor español el que opta por la generalización "alimentos" frente a la particularización inglesa. Esto puede explicarse por el significado que la comida tiene en cada una de las escenas. En *Slumdog millionaire*, una familia come *chapatis*, un tipo de pan plano indio. Describirlo así contribuye, de nuevo, a extranjerizar el GAD. Sin embargo, en el caso del *ekubo*, este tiene un significado especial para la trama. Pero la imagen no ofrece una idea clara de lo que se trata.

> P2 "Si no me dices lo que es, no sé de qué se trata. Necesito que lo expliquen."

> P23 "Ahí es que no tengo ni idea de lo que es. Por eso me gusta más la segunda [la inglesa]."

Los participantes inciden en este caso en el significado: algunos intuían, de nuevo, que quería decir algo, pero no lo sabían.

> P5 "Además de decirnos lo que es, nos tendrían que explicar para qué sirve. O sea, cuál es la finalidad de que le dé el 'cubo' al hombre. Porque si no, aunque sepamos que es un pastelito, no sabemos por qué se lo da."

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[8] Ekubo es un pastelillo de arroz. En la película se hace referencia a este elemento, pero no se explica qué es, aunque sí su simbolismo. El libro, sin embargo, contiene una explicación más extensa: "Cuando una aprendiza de geisha está disponible para su mizuage, regala cajas de ekubo a los hombres que ha frecuentado. La mayoría se los da por lo menos a una docena de hombres o, tal vez, más" (*Memorias de una geisha*, Arthur Golden, 1997, p. 196).

P24 "Es como si aquí te dan una rosa roja en San Valentín, o unos mazapanes el 9 de octubre[9]. Vale, es mazapán, pero tiene un significado. Hay que explicarlo, porque solo para comer no es."

6. Conclusiones

A lo largo de este estudio hemos comprobado que la presencia de extranjerismos en los GAD, aunque no pueda considerarse llamativa desde un punto de vista cuantitativo, sí estimamos que tiene una gran importancia para los receptores. El uso de palabras provenientes de otras lenguas es inevitable cuando las realidades a las que se refieren no existen en las culturas de recepción. Además, contribuyen a extranjerizar el GAD y a dotarlo del exotismo que se refleja en la pantalla a través de las imágenes. Los extranjerismos necesarios han sido bien aceptados por los participantes, que no han manifestado incomodidad o incomprensión al respecto. No obstante, parece que los receptores no aprecian el uso de extranjerismos crudos, si estos no van acompañados de una breve explicación (siempre que haya hueco de silencio suficiente). También indican que el estilo y el género de la película pueden condicionar igualmente el uso de esos términos. Entendemos que en filmes ubicados en entornos culturales distintos y alejados de la cultura de recepción, la AD debería intentar reflejar el estilo de la película en el GAD y contribuir a trasladar a los espectadores a esos entornos. Los extranjerismos pueden ser una excelente ayuda para dotar de exotismo al GAD. Sin embargo, si estos son totalmente ajenos a la cultura de recepción, es probable que se obtenga un resultado contrario.

Parece que la técnica que acerca más la cultura origen a la audiencia meta, por una parte, y la comprensión, por otra, es la explicitación. Sin embargo, es evidente que el audiodescriptor debe considerar los espacios de silencio que le ofrece la película, y la información contextual que esta ofrece, por lo que no siempre podrá elegirse esta opción. Estimamos, en cualquier caso, que un estudio ampliando el corpus que aquí presentamos sería necesario para corroborar o, en su caso, cuestionar algunas de las conclusiones que se exponen aquí. Somos conscientes de que el presente estudio recoge las opiniones de una muestra pequeña de receptores, pero la recepción de las AD que se ofrecen actualmente en España debería, a nuestro juicio, constituir una base sólida sobre la que asentar AD alternativas que mejor se adecuen a las expectativas de los usuarios.

Destacamos, por último, que en ciertas ocasiones, los usuarios manifestaron que les gustaba un poco de ambas AD, es decir, que lo ideal hubiera sido para ellos una combinación entre las dos diferentes versiones que se ofrecían. Aunque esta opción escapaba a la investigación que estábamos llevando a cabo por cuestiones de tiempo y de espacio, consideramos que plantear una AD alternativa también podría haber sido una opción interesante de investigación, que no descartamos retomar en posteriores estudios.

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[9] El 9 de octubre en Valencia se celebra la *mocaorà*, el día de los enamorados, en el que el hombre regala a su enamorada unos mazapanes en forma de frutas envueltos en un pañuelo.

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Surmounting censorship in subtitles in the context of Turkey

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Abstract

Audiovisual translation (AVT) has increased rapidly in Turkey in the last two decades, due to the increasing demand for foreign productions. Both professional and amateur audiovisual translators are involved in the production of Turkish subtitles. The censorship policies in the country affect AV translation both as a process and a product. This study aims at outlining the general profile of AV translators, with a focus on fansubbers, and their views on censorship. Data were collected through an electronic survey completed by 107 translators, and correspondence through e-mail and telephone interviews with professional translators. The results suggest a high degree of censorship in Turkey for AV materials; translators for TV channels must abide by rules set forth by government institutions or employers. Subtitles by fansubbers available at online portals are closer to the original text, although with minor modifications due to personal preferences.

Keywords

Audiovisual translation, censorship, fansubbing, non-professional translation, translation studies

1. Introduction

Television broadcasting in Turkey started in 1968, about two decades after Europe. After two decades of a single TV channel, numbers increased, and currently, there are more than 100 with a wide variety and a high volume of foreign productions. Statistics show more foreign productions in movie theaters in Turkey than national ones, and until three years ago, Turkish public generally showed more interest in foreign productions. (See Table 1)[1]. Even in the single-channel period, there was widespread interest in foreign movies or series, most significant ones being Westerns and series such as Dallas (1978), Escrava Isaura (1976), The Fugitive (1963).

Turkey has been highly successful in dubbing foreign audiovisual products, which rendered subtitling a generally unnecessary practice. The first dubbing attempts for a foreign movie were in 1932 with the opening of a dubbing studio in Istanbul. The famous movie, Laurel and Hardy, was dubbed in 1944, and the first dubbing for a TV serial was accomplished in 1972. The exact date of the first subtitled production in Turkey is not clear, but likely to have been in the late 80s. In 1977, the Directorate General of Cinema (under the Ministry of Culture) was founded, and one of its duties was subtitling Turkish movies for festivals abroad. The single TV channel period ended in 1986, and the first private TV channel – Magic Box Star 1 – was fully operational in 1989, and as little as two years later would give live broadcast of the First Gulf War with simultaneous interpreting, a new experience for Turkish audiences. In the following decade, more private TV channels were launched, delivering more imported content and consequently, creating a need for subtitling.

In the last two decades, the abundance of foreign movies and TV shows and their availability due to the internet technologies seems to have greatly increased the demand for subtitling, involving both professional and non-professional translators in the audiovisual media sector. Fansubbing[2] emerged as a new practice, enabled by the advance of digital technologies. As Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva (2012, p. 155) put it, "[t]he advent of the convergence era and the widespread availability of digital media technologies have provided fan communities with the tools for the appropriation and manipulation (through subtitling) of their chosen films as well as with avenues for the global circulation of their 'fansubbed' versions.". This alternative group of audiovisual translators has been able to increase their influence through online forums and portals. As Luis Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva (2012, p. 336) emphasize, most of these fans have no formal translation or subtitling training, but they have "the tools for the appropriation and manipulation of their chosen films". A particularly important tool is web-sites on which the latest shows are broadcast. Other tools include free subtitling software and online dictionaries and language resources. The power of subtitling is also observed in the social and political sphere, where translators with limited professional experience were able to have an impact on political and social movements (Baker, 2016). In the case of audiovisual translation, Web 2.0 significantly increased the number of fansubbers, and the prevalence of fansubbing in the online community was facilitated by the relative ease of downloading or accessing the latest shows or movies on line, due to Turkey's lack of strict

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1 www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=192 (in Turkish and English).

2 In the current study, the term "fansubbing" is used to cover both volunteer and amateur subtitling. It is clear that some professional AV translators choose to translate subtitles of their favorite shows on a voluntary basis for various reasons and therefore they can be called both as fansubbers and professional AV translators. In the current study, the term "fansubber" does not always exclude professional AV translators.

legal sanctions. Today, there are hundreds of fansubbers working day and night to produce timely subtitles for a growing number of foreign AV materials, and a brief glance at forum sites and news articles about fansubbers reveals that the public seem to have a positive regard for this community. Orrego-Carmona (2016, p. 177) similarly found that "[a]lthough there is variation in the non-professional subtitling spectrum, from a reception perspective, it is possible to say that there are non-professional translations that are as good as their professional counterparts". There also seems to exist a discreet competition among fansubbers to create the first translation of popular shows, sometimes almost coinciding with the first broadcast. They also tend to take user reviews seriously and try to increase their popularity and ratings.

		Number of pictures shown			Attendances (Number of tickets sold)		
Year	Number of Movie theaters	Total	National production	Foreign production	Total	National production	Foreign production
2001	580	25.608	5.042	20.566	16.905.737	3.289.438	13.616.299
2006	1045	25.297	6.829	18.468	23.512.599	10.838.617	12.673.982
2011	1917	37.892	13.027	24.865	37.439.786	17.954.808	19.484.978
2012	1998	37.546	12.072	25.474	39.002.190	18.235.611	20.766.579
2013	2102	40.406	15.545	24.861	45.077.509	24.963.870	20.113.639
2014	2170	41.517	16.999	24.518	55.378.716	30.994.840	24.383.876
2015	2356	49.151	21.494	27.657	57.148.011	31.661.600	25.486.411
2016	2483	53.443	22.642	30.801	55.260.600	28.834.409	26.426.191

Table 1. Statistics about movies in Turkey

Another reason for the emergence of fansubbing is the extent of manipulative interventions in AVT. This issue was investigated by Díaz Cintas and other scholars in a special issue of the academic journal *Meta* in 2012. Four years later, another special issue on "Ideological Manipulation in Audiovisual Translation" was published in Italy by the journal *Altremodernità*, presenting various cases from different parts of the world. Subtitles, as a different mode of transfer of the source message to the target language, are usually prone to interventions for various reasons, either by the AV translators themselves, or due to demands of the commissioning institution.

The relatively limited accessibility to the original products in the past made it almost impossible to detect the degree of censorship, both visually and aurally. Today, alternative ways of reaching information worldwide allow foreign language speakers to identify the extent of such intervention in the original texts. Manipulations or censorship in translation of audiovisual materials are usually considered as hindering access to the original content, but these are not always seen as a negative intervention. For example, Elgebaly (2012, p. 437) focused on the "positive sense of rewriting/manipulation in Arabic-English subtitling", arguing that this helped meet "the needs of Iqraa's (TV channel) target audience for intelligible subtitles that are instrumental to conveying Islamic knowledge". Al-Adwan (2015) presented an extended model of euphemization as a strategic output of politeness. He considered euphemization as a successful method for establishing and promoting a smoother and friction-free form of interaction in the Arabic subtitles of Friends. This approach is in line with Merkle's (2010) note that "the reception of rewritten children's literature – often positively connoted through the choice of the noun "adaptation" – and of sanitised subtitled movies for the general public (GP) is generally positive". In another study, where a comparative approach was taken to censorship in two different TV shows, – with a focus on the differences between dubbed and fansubbed versions, Beseghi (2016, p. 229) found that "fansubs certainly represent a more faithful, uncensored version that reveals an attempt to give more importance to the original text rather than to the target audience's sensitivity." In another study investigating the Italian context, Casarini (2014, p. 6) highlights the role of fansubs:

> [in] changing the way subtitles are perceived in Italy: the previous conception of either a fancy trinket for the linguistic elite or a clinical aid reserved for hearing-impaired people is now giving way to the idea of an effective tool to reach a deeper cultural understanding and to minimize the hiatus between the original US airing and the local circulation of audiovisual products.

Investigating the manipulations in AVT is particularly important because, as Díaz Cintas (2012) points out, AV media and its translation "can contribute greatly to perpetuating certain racial stereotypes, framing ethnic and gender prejudices". Since multiple parties are involved in the shaping of the final product in AVT, the reasons of manipulation deserve special attention:

> […] power struggles for dominance and ultimate authorship are all the more evident in a field as complex as AVT, where a myriad of professionals – translators, technicians, dialogue writers, dubbing actors and directors – and interested parties – directors, producers, exhibitors, marketing departments, age rating boards – are always involved in the shaping of the final product. (Díaz Cintas 2012, p. 283)

Díaz Cintas (2012, p. 283) also invokes the construct of patronage as defined by Lefevere (1985, pp. 227-228) "as the group of "powers (persons, institutions) which help or hinder the writing, reading and rewriting of literature [and that] can be exerted by persons […], groups of persons […], a social class, a royal court, publishers […] and, last but not least, the media," and argues that "patronage helps to consolidate the study of extra linguistic factors connected to the socio-economic and ideological forces that permeate all social interactions, including AVT."

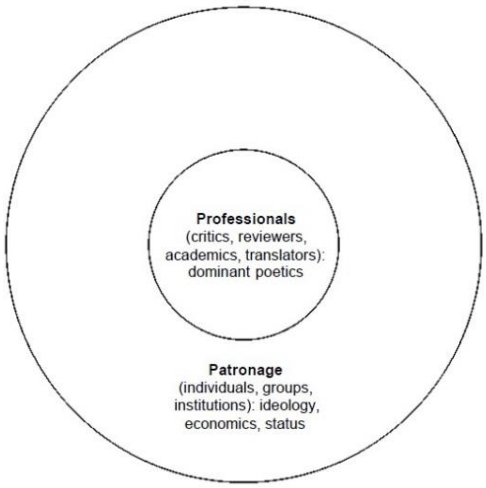


Figure 1. Patronage and literature (Lefevere 1992, as cited in Munday 2012, p. 194)

The definition of ideology by Lefevere (1998, p. 48) is “the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time and through which readers and translators approach texts” and as posited again by Lefevere (1992, p. 16), “translation is governed above all by patronage, which consists of ideological, economic and status components” (Fawcett & Munday, 2009, p. 137). In the case of AVT in Turkey, we can say that patronage is the main driving force in many contexts. Therefore, patronage, and its relationship to the widespread practice of fansubbing, needs further examination.

The many advantages of the practice of fansubbing include greater and more immediate availability of programs. Other advantages are discussed by Dwyer and Uricaru (2009, p. 50) in the context of Romania, who argue that “[u]nrestrained by commercial structures, this type of translation is able to be experimental, nonconformist, messy, and in-depth—not subject, that is, to many of the constraints that professional subtitlers recognize as an integral part of their craft”. Fansubbers have the option of presenting their notes as a separate text file along with the translation in order to surmount “untranslatability”, since “[c]haracter names, honorifics, slang, and culturally obscure terms are often left untranslated.” (Nornes 2007, p. 182, cited in Dwyer & Uricaru 2009, p. 50).

Fansubbing inevitably brings forth the issue of quality. The relative lack of any form of control or control regarding purely technical aspects rather than content, could lead to lower quality. The limited knowledge of the source language by fansubbers may also reduce quality (Bogucki, 2009). Time pressure is also a factor; fansubbers with “a frenetic desire to release their fansubs as fast as possible” get “engaged in a sort of ‘to the last breath’ competition” which may result in “mistranslations characterised by major grammatical, lexical, and morphological errors” (Massidda 2015, p. 41). In the long term, lack of consistency of target language equivalents introduced by fansubbers for foreign terms may engender confusion. Doubts about fansubbing also seems to stem from the vagueness surrounding issues of copyright and piracy. Most viewers and fansubbers access the original materials through the Internet, usually illegally.

Today, in Turkey, most people tend to watch TV shows online at their convenience, either from TV recordings or original content, with or without fansubs. The viewers can even add their preferred subtitles by downloading them from fan sites or portals. Before the proliferation of subtitled media, Turkish people were not aware of the full extent of the interventions in the original texts, since they were only exposed to the audio input. Now, Turkish viewers, with some proficiency in the original language of the content in question, can notice such interventions by comparing audio input with subtitle translation. However, the real impetus for the interventions is not clear: are these the translator’s choices or are they imposed decisions?

2. Censorship and manipulation in Turkey

Censorship and manipulation has always been a topic of debate in Turkey, both in printed and digital media, and recently on the Internet. RTÜK (Radio and Television Supreme Council) has been the main focus of debates on censorship since its foundation in 1994, and with apparently growing influence. RTSC is a state agency for monitoring, regulating, and sanctioning radio and television broadcasts, and is composed of nine members elected by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Under the Law No. 6112 on the Establishment of Radio and Television Enterprises and Their Media Services, RTSC may impose the following penalties on TV or radio channels: (a) suspension of broadcasting, (b) fines, and (c) discontinuation of broadcasting. TV channels must follow RTSC’s many rules to avoid penalties.

In a Master's thesis analyzing the function of RTSC as a regulating council from its foundation to the year 2002, Yıldız concludes that "a high council consisting of 9 members has been transformed into an authority that determines and defines how a country of 60 million people should perceive morals, rectitude, and family discipline, and we should state that this presents a dangerous and unhealthy situation." (2003, p. 123). The phone line "Alo RTÜK 178", established for citizen's broadcasting complaints, is likely to increase the pressure on radio and TV channels, since complaints are likely to be based on an individual's personal, ideological, religious preferences, or value judgments. There is requirement for a parental guide information at the beginning of each show, which is strictly adhered to by all TV channels; however, unfortunately, many do not regard this requirement alone as a sufficient basis for a decision on whether or not to watch or allow children to watch a program. This attitude paves the way for a potential wholesale "sterilization" of radio and TV programs, as they are effectively prohibited from including any digressive and non-mainstream elements.

Audiovisual translation would not go unaffected by the censorship policies. One of the earliest investigations on censorship in AVT in Turkey was conducted by Gürses (2008), in which the stifling influence of RTSC is emphasized:

> Excluding the festivals, there are some rules to be observed or that we are asked to observe for the translations of shows and movies to be broadcast on television. This censorship issuing from the sensitive and imperative understanding of the RTSC (Radio and Television Supreme Council) means an intervention in both the work of the director as well as the work of the translator. The censorship/prohibition imposed by the rule-makers who act under the influence of moralism, and the auto-censorship of the managers who are becoming more ardent supporters of the rule-makers' cause, is contaminating this work, which is sacrificed for a virus called "public morality".
>
> (Ali Ünal – movie translator. From an interview conducted by Sabri Gürses in 2008)

The issue of censorship was also highlighted in an interview published by a senior student at Sakarya University (Kocabay *et al.*, 2015). In the interviews with professional AV translators, we see that profit-oriented broadcasting policy was cited as one of the major reasons for censorship in AVT. Similar views are seen in remarks from the interviews with professional translators:

- Heavy censorship is practiced in TV channels due to RTSC regulations
- AV translators are forced to practice auto-censorship, and to find creative solutions to circumvent censorship
- Censorship works only for those who do not understand the source language
- Profit-oriented broadcasting policy is prevalent – popular TV shows are broadcast at peak viewing times, and thus subject to intensive censorship
- Minimal or no censorship is observed at movie festivals
- The festival-goers are free to choose the movies according to taste

The remarks summarized above are clearly reflected in the literature on censorship in translation. For example, Merkle (2010) states that "the broader the intended audience is, the more rigorous the censorship." Most national channels purchase TV shows based on their popularity, aiming to obtain the maximum profit through advertisements. Therefore, to maximize the audience, they are forced to resort to censorship. Beseghi (2016, p. 216) also tackles the issue of censorship, in the context of Italy, focusing on two TV shows, arguing that "the commissioners seem to be those who have the power to decide what can be said in Italian and what should be left out". However, a different view is expressed by Massida (2015, p. 6), who argues that "in the worst-case scenario it [the practice of censorship] may derive from a process of self-censorship on the part of the translators, who lack adequate knowledge of the foreign sub-culture and sub-language, which results in instances of under translation of which they are unaware". Yet, these kinds of omissions can hardly be considered a factor in censorship, since they are not based on conscious decisions. Taking a critical perspective on censorship in Brazil, Alfaro de Carvalho (2012, p. 475) finds TV channels' attempts to "protect their viewers from offensive language […] patronising" because it ignores the many tools that can help with filtering the undesired content, such as parental control, disclaimers, and on-demand options. Alfaro de Carvalho (2012, p. 475) concludes that "it is difficult to understand why all viewers should submit to translations that sometimes are far more conservative than necessary, even considering the need for clarity and conciseness and the fact that the translation must work nationwide and must remain valid for a number of years.". Chinese fansubbing was explored by Wang and Zhang (2017, p. 304) as a "gamified" version of subtitling, which circumvents censorship in audiovisual contents. The authors highlight the potential subjectivity of the state institution's guidelines, highlighting the lack of "precise descriptive guidelines on how notions such as social morality and traditional culture are to be understood". They emphasize the subjectivity involved in deciding "what kind of content may compromise such values". Wang and Zhang (2017, p. 313) also note the possible negative impacts of gamification in fansubbing "such as the imperialistic expansion of Anglophone hegemony into China." In a different context, self-censorship was explored by Sanz-Moreno (2017), who found that, in Spain, 50% of the sexual references are omitted in audio descriptions for the blind or visually impaired. In a recent study conducted in approximately the same time period as the current study, Erguvan (2016, p. 164) focused on subtitles produced by fans for open-access and subtitles used in TV broadcasting and found that "fan-produced subtitles differ from those created by professional subtitlers" in that they "are inclined to deploy more source-oriented translation strategies" whereas "professional subtitlers are obliged to pursue the norms imposed by the industry."

In the case of Turkey, the view stated by Merkle (2010) seems to apply; the shows broadcast on TV channels are usually subject to rigorous censorship, both in visual and linguistic aspects. The current study will focus on the latter aspect, and aim at further analyzing the issue of censorship and manipulation in AVT in Turkey, from the viewpoint of fansubbers and professional AV translators. The study seeks to explore the overall profile of fansubbers, addressing the following questions:

1. What are the main reasons of censorship in audiovisual translation in Turkey?
2. What are AV translators' - whether professional translators or fansubbers – views of and reactions to censorship in Turkey?

3. Methodology

Addressing the research questions required communication with both professional AV translators and fansubbers, which entailed conducting an initial comprehensive documentary research of forums and portals, social media, and web sites.

3.1 Participants

The target audience for the survey was reached through examining major subtitling forums and portals on the Internet, and through personal connections, social media (Twitter and Facebook), websites of film festivals, and snowballing techniques. Some fansubbers were contacted via social media based on the contact information provided in their signatures or notes, which in Turkey are commonly placed at the beginning or at the end of their subtitle translations. There were a total of 107 respondents – including both professional and non-professional AV translators – in the study.

3.2 Instruments

The main instruments were an electronic survey to all AV translators (both professional and non-professional), and e-mail correspondence and telephone interviews with professional AV translators. The electronic survey was administered through Google Forms, and it contained Likert-scale, multiple-choice, and open-ended questions on the following topics:

- Demographic information
- Overall experience in translation and AVT
- Motivations for fansubbing
- Translation choices
- Reasons behind translation choices
- Views on censorship and fansubbing

85% of the participants provided their contact information, strongly indicating an interest in the results of the current study. Five professional translators were additionally contacted via telephone and e-mail to shed further light on the themes included in the survey. The data were collected in the first quarter of 2016.

4. Results and Discussion

The first objective of the study was to discover the overall profile of AV translators. Some had multiple roles, i.e. as a professional translator who were also involved in fansubbing activities – and 61 out of 107 respondents, described themselves as “fansubbers”. The number of AV translators employed by private institutions was quite limited (n=10) (See Table 2).

Working as	Number of participants
Volunteer subtitler	61
Staff member at a translation company	7
Translator at own’s company	2
Translator working for a private institution	10
Freelance translator	62

Table 2. AV translators’ status and workplaces in Turkey

Most AV translators were university students or graduates (See Chart 1). About two thirds (68%) had no training in translation, and about two thirds were male. Almost half considered themselves competent in translation strategies, and 21%, very competent. Of participants who chose to reveal their age (n=106), the average was 26, and 70 participants were between 18 and 27. The participants translated mainly for sources open to public and internet portals (n=57). The number of participants translating for TV channels, and private individuals/institutions was 26 and 27 respectively. Only 8 had worked for film festivals as AV translators. All participants except for one worked in English language, and several participants also had a second or third language, such as German, Spanish, Japanese (each n=5), Russian, French (each n=3), Korean (n=2), Chinese, Portuguese, Italian, and Old English (each n=1). Most participants were actively working on AVT, although at least half were employed outside the translation sector. The main motivations of the participants for translating AV products are presented in Chart 2, which shows that only about one third of participants, mostly professional and freelance translators - translate for financial reasons. The primary motivations are personal interest, improvement of translation skills, and service to public. The participants mainly translated TV shows (n=95) and movies (n=77), although some worked on documentaries (n=33) and anime (n=16). About one third of the participants (n=33) reported having less than one year of AVT experience, whereas about one in four (n=26) had more than 5 years.

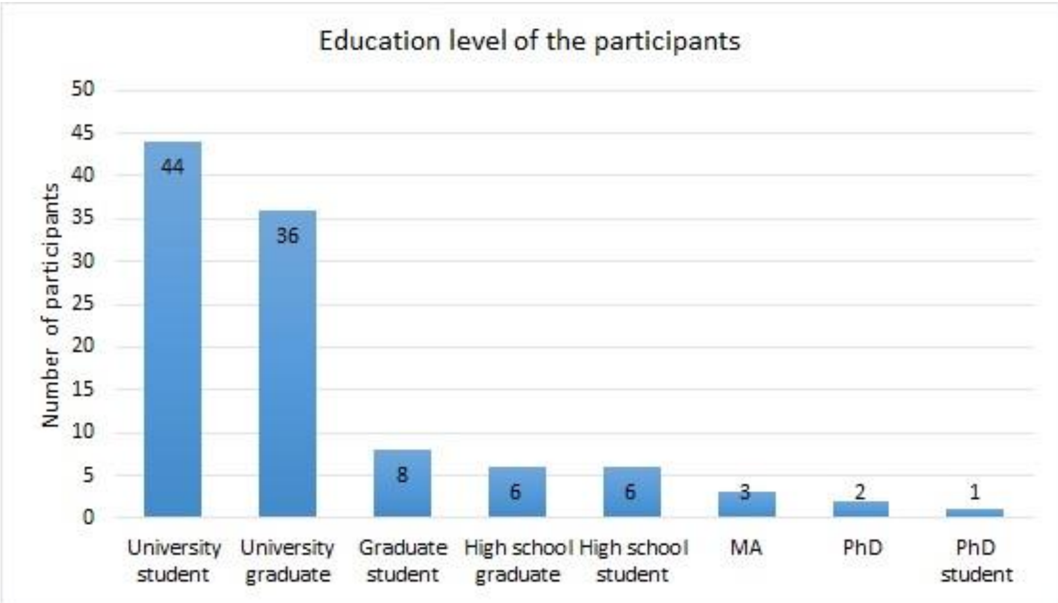


Chart 1. Education level of the participants

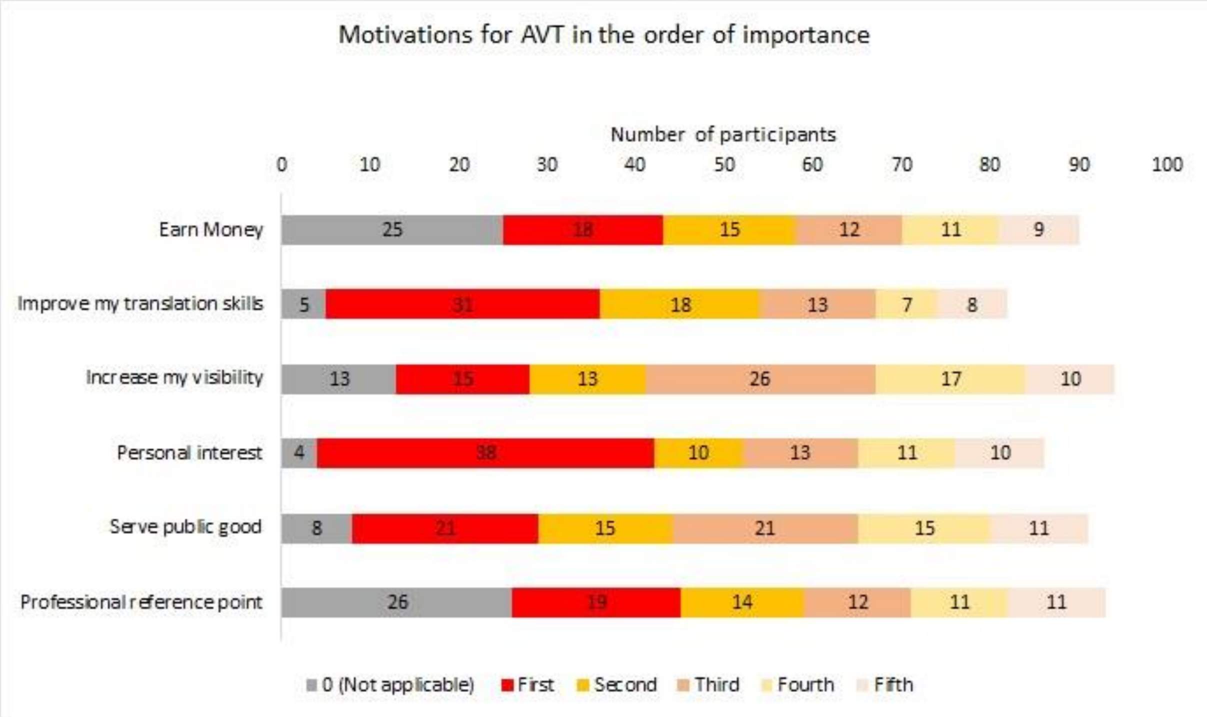


Chart 2. Motivations for AVT in the order of importance

The first research question of the current study aimed at finding the main reasons of censorship in audiovisual translation in Turkey. The participants answered the question about the reasons for recourse to self-censorship. There is a clear distinction between independent fansubbers, and translators who work for an institution. The respondents who identified themselves as freelance or professional translators, or who mainly work for TV companies, indicated that they practice censorship due to legal reasons or employer's instructions. A total of 67 participants stated that they did not censor their translations and 42 described themselves as fansubbers. Those who applied censorship were mainly motivated by extrinsic factors: employer's instructions, possible legal consequences or society's value judgments. Only 17 practiced censorship solely due to personal preferences, with half of these reporting a limited extent. 70 out of 107 participants stated that their translation was checked by an individual or institution after submission. The answers to this question suggest that festival organizers do not generally require translations to be checked by more experienced translators. This naturally leads to less censorship in this context. In contrast, translations requested by a television channel or an intermediary company are generally checked and making the required modifications is a condition of continued employment. Some translators therefore feel obliged to make amendments against their will. Audiovisual translators, whose main clients are Internet portals, are usually subjected to superficial control involving proofreading or quality checks, rather than full censorship. In the former, the control is more technical and focused on form, whereas in the latter the content is in question. However, it is reported that if AV translators do not follow the rules and regulations of a particular portal, they are likely to be prohibited from uploading any further subtitles to that portal.

Chart 3 shows motivations for censorship by AV translators. More than half of the participants reported no self-censorship since they mainly translate for internet portals. In contrast, some felt obliged to change their translations to a moderate (n=12) or a very great extent (n=17) due to employer's instructions, and to a moderate (n=12) or a very great extent (n=6) for legal reasons. Value judgments of the society and personal preferences also play a role in censorship. Overall, laws and RTSC penalties are binding, but there are no restrictions for Internet portals. One of the fansubbers stated:

> I try to reflect the ST as it is, even if it insults our country and ancestors, because if I change it, people would react by saying "Are you ashamed of your nation? Is that why you soften (the words) when you translate the insults against us?"

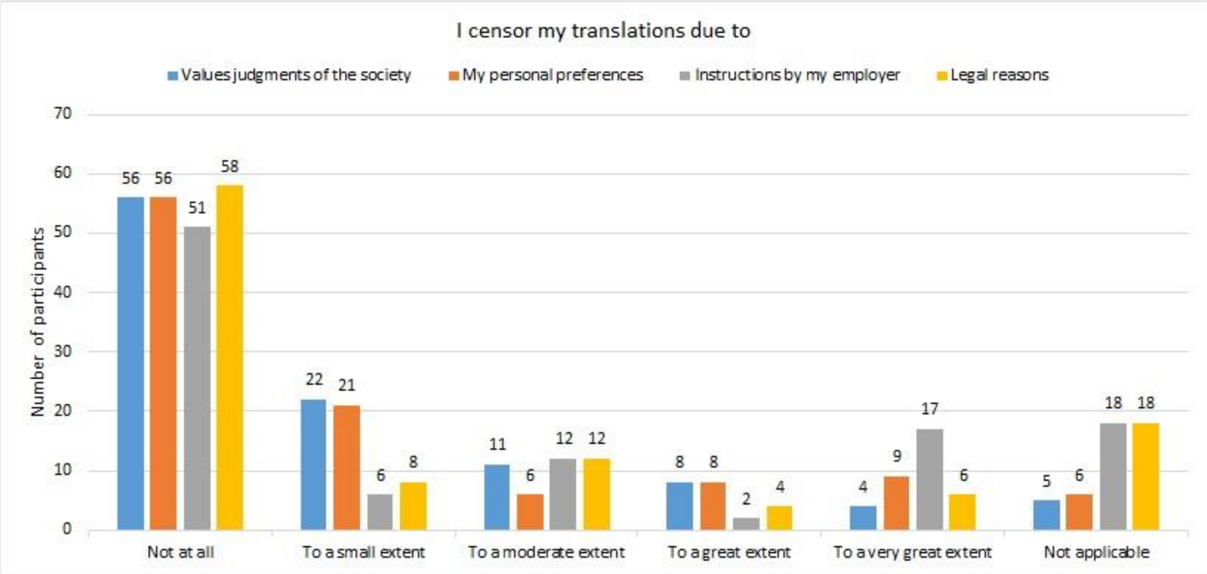


Chart 3. Motivations for censorship

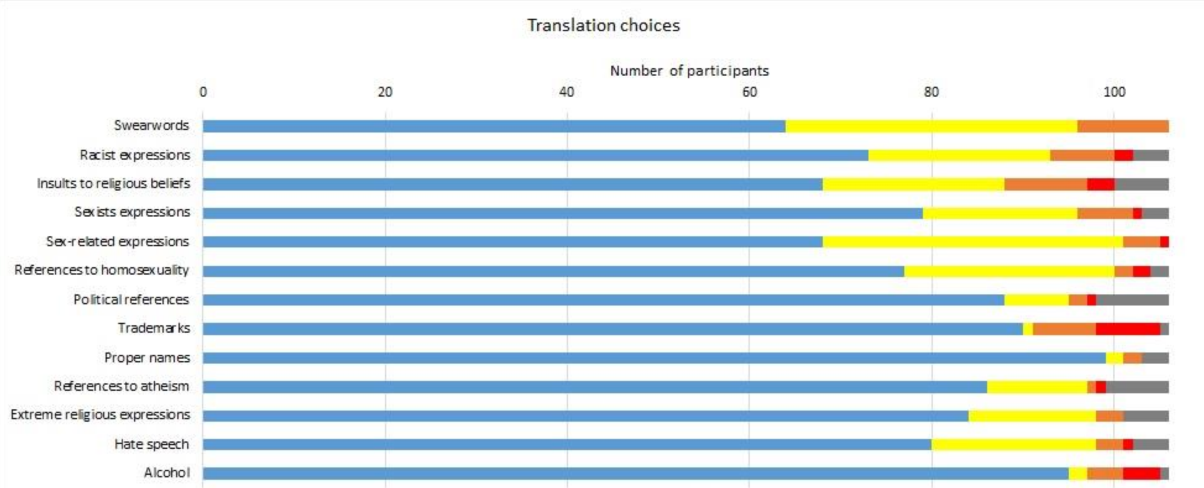
Most AV translators (52 out of 79) stated that they received instructions from their employer as to sensitive issues to consider while translating. Based on comments by AV translators, the control mechanism seems to vary according to context, as follows:

- TV channels
  - heed viewers' comments and complaints
  - request changes if inappropriate elements are found
  - expect translators to agree to change their word choices in order to guarantee continued employment
- International companies
  - hire experienced translators to check/approve translators' work
  - buy copyrights of the subtitles
  - retain the right to modify subtitles, for reasons of preference rather than censorship required by an external agent
- Internet portals
  - *Subtitle Control Groups* run quality check (technical features, spell-check, etc.) and rate the subtitles without imposing censorship

A comment by one of the professional translators is as follows:

> About 15 years ago, there was no request from TV channels to make changes in subtitles. For the last decade or so, they have been giving instructions. If you do not abide by their instructions, you are considered an 'incompetent' translator and assigned no further work. If you work for TV channels, you do not get to decide which program to translate, it is assigned to you.

The second research question aimed to investigate professional AV translators' and fansubbers' views of, and reaction to, censorship. Translation choices by AV translators vis-à-vis a range of specific expressions are likely to reflect their attitude toward censorship. As can be seen in Chart 4, most participants report translating expressions without any intervention, even for those likely to create controversy. Yet, as shown by yellow and orange bars in the chart, there is a considerable number of AV translators who, either through personal choice or through perceived pressure, substitute euphemisms or completely change text in the following cases: swearing, racist expressions, insults to religious beliefs, sexist expressions, sex-related expressions, references to homosexuality, hate speech, extreme religious expressions, references to atheism, or political references. In their comments, AV translators working for TV companies stated that their employers impose censorship, and therefore sometimes choose to soften or change the explicit content with auto-censorship, when they know this is required. Failure to auto-censor is also likely to create an impression that the translator is ignorant of, or unwilling to abide by, the client company's regulations. Moreover, TV channels sometimes make further changes to already auto-censored subtitles by the translator. One participant complained that while there was no reaction to racist, political or gender-biased discourses, there was over-reaction to swearwords.



	Alcohol	Hate speech	Extreme religious expressions	References to atheism	Proper names	Trademarks	Political references	References to homosexuality	Sex-related expressions	Sexists expressions	Insults to religious beliefs	Racist expressions	Swearwords
No change	95	80	84	86	99	90	88	77	68	79	68	73	64
Euphemism	2	18	14	11	2	1	7	23	33	17	20	20	32
Change	4	3	3	1	2	7	2	2	4	6	9	7	10
Omit	4	1	0	1	0	7	1	2	1	1	3	2	0
NA	1	4	5	7	3	1	8	2	0	3	6	4	0

No change Euphemism Change Omit NA

Chart 4. Translation choices by AV translators vis-à-vis a range of expressions

Another important finding of the study is that about one fourth of participants support the practice of subtitle censorship for movies broadcast on TV (See Chart 5).

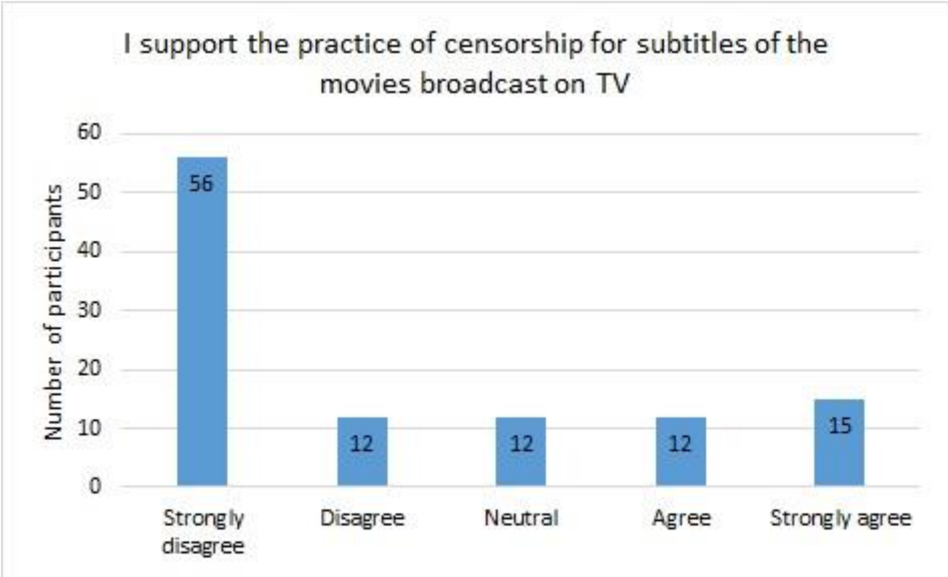


Chart 5. Views about censorship on TV

The role and place of fansubbing, an increasingly common practice in Turkey, is also valued by most participants. 69 of 106 respondents agree that fansubbing allows viewers to understand the original texts of the AV materials, whereas only 7 disagree. 53 of 106 respondents find fansubs successful, whereas 21 disagree and 29 reported being neutral, which suggests the extent of success is variable. Successful translation here refers to accurate and complete rendering of the source text, with culturally loaded elements such as jokes or references being transferred to the target language with no or minimum loss. Only 21 respondents considered fansubbing as a threat to the future of translation profession, whereas 68 disagreed with this statement. One important finding about fansubbing was that 83 of 102 respondents agree that fansubbing is increasing public awareness of translation, which can be considered as fansubbing's indirect contribution to the visibility of translation profession and translators in society. The increased visibility of translators and translation is quite evident in the number of fansubbers' social media followers. Moreover, fansubbing has been subject to several newspaper articles in recent years, including interviews with the better-known fansubbers. Some of the fansubbers started this practice with the aim of filling a gap, either by making their favorite shows available to others or because of discontent about the existing subtitles for certain productions. One respondent identified as a freelance translator and a graduate of economics, with 5-10 years of AVT experience states:

> Volunteer subtitling is certainly contributing to the society. When the foreign movies and serials started to be shared on the Internet, volunteer subtitlers made it possible for people who did not speak English or other foreign languages to view those movies or serials. They made the serials popular in our country and probably helped movie and serial channels on satellite to survive or even grow. Most volunteer translators transformed this practice into a profession and I am one of those. I started this job as a volunteer and now I am working as a freelance to earn money.

5. Conclusion

The current study aimed at discovering the dynamics of subtitling in Turkey with a special focus on censorship. Both professional translators and fansubbers were surveyed through an electronic questionnaire, e-mail correspondence and phone interviews to investigate attitudes toward censorship. The role of fansubbing in surmounting censorship was also examined.

Translators working mainly for TV channels are subject to intensive control due to RTSC regulations and precautionary measures taken by employers to avoid legal consequences. Film festivals seem to be the only venue where AV translators enjoy relatively more freedom. Internet portals provide an opportunity to disseminate subtitles without legal restrictions and censorship because the control mechanism seems to focus on quality checks only, rather than content. The fansubbers' tendency to be faithful to the original content, with minimal or no change in translations, is in line with the findings of Beseghi (2016) and Casarini (2014).

Most amateur subtitlers and fansubbers try to reflect the original message as it is, but some are influenced by society's value judgments or their own personal preferences. The political atmosphere in the country is also reported to have an impact on AVT practice. Instructions from employers regarding approaches to translation emerged as a recent phenomenon, related to the mentality of the government in power. Censorship on subtitles seems protect only those viewers with no knowledge of the language of the original AV material. Subtitles of the AV materials broadcast on TV are considered to have reduced effectiveness in reflecting the original due to the intensive level of control. While subtitles currently seem to be under strict control in Turkey, in another sense, control is breaking down with fansubbing practice becoming increasingly widespread.

If we look at the practice of audiovisual translation market through the lens of patronage (See Figure 2), we see that the main actors are the Radio and Television Supreme Council, TV channels, organizers of festivals, and the viewers themselves. Ideology, economics and status are shaping the patronage and professional AV translators, and most of fansubbers are under the influence of the abovementioned actors. Yet, a section of fansubbers enjoy freedom in their performance because of a lack of affiliation to any TV channel or internet portal, giving them the power to defy any form of censorship. Of course, practices are also shaped by the overall atmosphere in their community, socio-economic status, ideology, and personal beliefs. However, their censorship seems to be intrinsically motivated, unlike the case of AV translations for TV channels, which can exert a considerable level of pressure on translators. The overall lack of effective sanctions against the illegal use of copyrighted materials also seems to be another factor that nourishes fansubbing, and thus allowing fansubbers to present alternatives through the circulation of their work, generally free of charge.

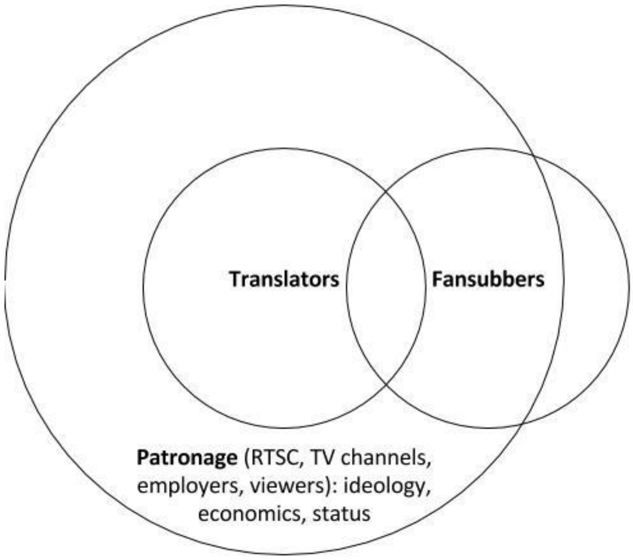


Figure 2. Patronage and audiovisual translation – (professional / employed) translators vs fansubbers – based on a model customized from Lefevere (1992)

More research and empirical evidence is needed to identify the degree of manipulation that occurs in translations. Comparison of translations for TV channels, film festivals, and internet portals, where possible conducted by the same translator, would provide greater empirical evidence for differences in the level of censorship. Additionally, the attitudes of other actors, such as viewers and employers, need to be investigated to be able to fully understand the underlying reasons and overall impact of censorship. Related issues such as copyright regulations, and the visibility, accountability and recognition of audiovisual translators also remain under-researched.

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Biography: Mehmet Şahin completed his undergraduate studies in the Department of Translation and Interpretation at Bilkent University. He received his master's degree at the same university in the field of Teacher Education. He received his PhD degree in Curriculum and Instruction with a minor in MA in Applied Linguistics/TESOL at Iowa State University. His research studies during his doctoral studies were mainly on computer-assisted language learning and language technologies. Mehmet Şahin has been working at Izmir University of Economics since 2008 and his research interests include translation studies, translation and interpreting technologies, machine translation, audiovisual translation, and translator and interpreter training.

Appendix: Questionnaire on Audiovisual Translation and Censorship

Audiovisual Translation and Censorship

This is a research study.

The aim of the study is to explore the general situation about the audiovisual translation in Turkey and to find out the views of the AV translators about censorship practices in AVT, and the impact of such practices on AVT.

Participation in this study poses no foreseeable risks.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or leave the study at any time.

You will incur no costs from participating in this study. You will not be compensated for participating in this study.

It will take about 20 minutes to complete the questionnaire. No personal information is required from you. Records identifying participants will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by applicable laws and regulations and will not be made publicly available.

When you complete this questionnaire and click on Send Form, it will be considered that you consented to participate in the study.

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time during this study. For further information about this study, please contact Mehmet Şahin through e-mail at sahin.ieu@gmail.com or mehmet.sahin@ieu.edu.tr

Thank you very much in advance for your participation and support.

Mehmet Şahin, PhD.

NOTE: In the questionnaire, the term "censorship" refers to "transferring an expression in the original text or subtitle to the target text by alternation, euphemism or omission" within the framework of the definition given by Turkish Language Association (TDK), which is "the practice of controlling all kinds of publications, cinema and theater work by the government in advance; strict inspection".

* Required

1. **Your age? ***

____

2. **Your gender? ***

Mark only one oval.

- ◯ Female
- ◯ Male
- ◯ Prefer not to say

3. **Your education level?** *

Mark only one oval.

- high school graduate
- undergraduate student
- university graduate
- master's student
- holding a master's degree
- PhD student
- holding a PhD degree
- Other: ______________________

4. **What is your latest major (field of study)?** *

____

5. **If you are a university student, what is your major?**

____

6. **Are you taking or have you taken any training on translation?** *

Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Other: ______________________

7. **What is your status as a translator?** *

Check all that apply.

- [ ] freelance translator
- [ ] translator for a translation company
- [ ] translator for own company
- [ ] translator for a private company
- [ ] translator for a public institution
- [ ] volunteer translator
- [ ] Other: ______________________

8. **Your translation experience?** *

Mark only one oval.

- less than 6 months
- 6 months - 1 year
- 1 to 3 years
- 3 to 5 years
- More than 5 years
- Other: ______________________

9. **When did you start translating subtitles?** *
If you do not translate subtitles or have never translated subtitles before, please do not complete this questionnaire.

10. **Your experience as audiovisual (AV) translator?** *
Mark only one oval.

- Less than 6 months
- 6 months - 1 year
- 1 to 3 years
- 3 to 5 years
- 5 to 10 years
- More than 10 years
- Other:

11. **You work as an AV translator for** *
Check all that apply.

- TV channels
- Internet portals
- Film festivals
- Private companies or institutions
- Open-access resources
- Other:

12. **Your motivation for translating subtitles** *
Please mark according to the order of priority (1= the strongest motivation, 6= the weakest motivation). For motivations that are irrelevant to you, please mark "NA".
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	NA
Earn money							
Improve translation skills							
Increase visibility							
Personal interest							
Serve the public good							
Professional reference point							

13. **Comments about the question above.**

14. **Which of them do you translate subtitles for?** *
Check all that apply.
Check all that apply.

- [ ] Movies
- [ ] TV shows
- [ ] Documentaries
- [ ] Animes
- [ ] Other:

15. **How many hours do you spend on AVT daily?** *
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Less than an hour
- ( ) 1 to 3 hours
- ( ) 3 to 5 hours
- ( ) 5 to 8 hours
- ( ) 8 to 10 hours
- ( ) Other:

16. **From which of these languages do you translate?** *
Check all that apply.

- [ ] English
- [ ] German
- [ ] French
- [ ] Spanish
- [ ] Russian
- [ ] Arabic
- [ ] Chinese
- [ ] Korean
- [ ] Persian
- [ ] Japanese
- [ ] Other:

17. **What is your translation choice for the following?** *

If you have not come across such expressions in your translations, please mark NA.

Mark only one oval per row.

	No change	Euphemism	Change	Omit	NA
Swearwords					
Racist expressions					
Insults to religious beliefs					
Sexist expressions					
Sex-related expressions					
References to homosexuality					
Political references					
Trademarks					
Proper names					
References to atheism					
Extreme religious expressions					
Hate speech					
Alcohol					

18. **Comments about the question above.**

19. **What are the reasons for censoring your translations?** *

Check all that apply.

- [ ] Value judgments of the society
- [ ] Personal preferences
- [ ] Instructions by employer
- [ ] Legal reasons
- [ ] I do not censor my translations.
- [ ] Other:

20. **To what extent do the following factors cause you to censor your translations?** *

Mark only one oval per row.

	Not at all	To a small extent	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To a very great extent	NA
Value judgments of the society						
Personal preferences						
Instructions by employer						
Legal reasons						

21. **Comments about the question above.**

22. **Does any individual or institution control your translations?** *

Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Other:

23. **If your translations are controlled by any individual or institution, please describe the nature of such control, any sanctions, and your views about this practice.**

24. **Do you receive any instructions or guidance from your employer about specific issues in your translations?**

If you do not work for a company or an institution, please do not answer this question.

Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Other:

25. **Comments about the question above.**

26. **Do you get the opportunity to view the final version of your translations before broadcast?**

If your translations do not undergo a control process, please do not answer this question.

Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Other:

27. **In your opinion, how successful are subtitles created for TV channels?** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not successful at all	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	Very successful

28. **Comments about the question above.**

____
____
____
____
____

29. **What is your criterion for choosing a movie or TV show to translate subtitles, if given the opportunity?** *
Please mark according to the order of priority (1= the most important criterion, 7= the least important criterion). For criteria that are irrelevant to you, please mark "NA".
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
Popularity	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
Novelty	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
Personal taste	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
Not translated before	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
My ability to understand the original text	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
Non-mainstream production	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭
In theaters in Turkey as well	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭

30. **Comments about the question above.**

____
____
____
____
____

31. **How do you translate subtitles?** *
Check all that apply.

- [ ] I watch the film and create my own interpretation.
- [ ] I translate the English subtitles.
- [ ] I watch the film first, and then translate the English subtitles.
- [ ] I synchronously watch the film and translate the English subtitles.
- [ ] I modify the Turkish subtitles of an already-translated film.
- [ ] Other: _______________

32. **Do you conduct the all phases of AV translation (spell-check, synchronization, technical control, etc.) without outside help?** *

Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Other: ____________________

33. **Why do you retranslate subtitles?** *

Check all that apply.

- [ ] I don't like the previous translation(s).
- [ ] I want to give my own voice to translation.
- [ ] I want to increase my visibility.
- [ ] I am interested in retranslating.
- [ ] My employer requests a retranslation.
- [ ] I never retranslate subtitles.
- [ ] Other: ____________________

34. **It is important for me to be the first person to translate subtitles of a production.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

35. **I take into consideration the value judgments of Turkish society in my translations.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

36. **I support the practice of subtitle censorship for movies broadcast on TV.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

37. **The presence / absence of obscene language is an important criterion in my selection of movies or TV shows for translation.** *

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Strongly agree

38. **I give serious consideration to comments about my translations.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	Strongly agree

39. **I revise my translations based on comments.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	Strongly agree

40. **Time pressure prevents translators from giving their translations a final check.** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly disagree	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	Strongly agree

41. **When I believe that some expressions in the subtitles might be incomprehensible to the target audience** *
Check all that apply.

- [ ] I give explanations within the translated subtitle.
- [ ] I attached a note to the subtitle file.
- [ ] I do not give any explanation.
- [ ] Other: ____________________

42. **Comments about the question above.**

____
____
____
____
____

43. **I provide the following information with my translations.** *
Check all that apply.

- [ ] Social media account
- [ ] First name and last name
- [ ] E-mail address
- [ ] Nickname
- [ ] Internet address
- [ ] None
- [ ] Other: ____________________

44. **How active are you on social media?** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
I do not use social media at all	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	Very active

45. **I immediately announce my translations on social media.** *
Mark only one oval.

- ⬭ Yes
- ⬭ No
- ⬭ Other: ____________________

46. **Have you ever collaborated with another translator on AV translation?** *
Mark only one oval.

- ⬭ Yes
- ⬭ No

47. **If yes, what difficulties have you encountered?**

____
____
____
____
____

48. **What kind of resources do you use when you encounter difficulties in translating subtitles?** *

____
____
____
____
____

49. **How do you rate your competence in translation theory and translation strategies?** *
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not competent at all	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭	Very competent

50. **Fansubbers pose a risk to the future of translation profession.** *

Mark only one oval.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree
- I have no idea
- Other: ______________________

51. **Fansubbing has increased awareness of translation in society.** *

Mark only one oval.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree
- I have no idea
- Other: ______________________

52. **Fansubbers have given viewers the opportunity to understand the foreign productions.** *

Mark only one oval.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree
- I have no idea
- Other: ______________________

53. **I find fansubs successful in general.** *

Mark only one oval.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree
- I have no idea
- Other: ______________________

54. **Comments about fansubbing?**

55. **How does the subtitling process work for you? Please explain briefly.** *

56. **Please supply your contact information (optional).** *

It is essential that this questionnaire is completed by an AV translator for the reliability of the results of this study. The information you provide will not be shared with any third party. In the articles or presentations where the results of the study are made public, all personal identification will be coded and the results will be presented without any personal information.

57. **Any further comments?**

Altyazı Çevirisi ve Sansür

Bu bir bilimsel araştırma çalışmasıdır.

Çalışmanın amacı Türkiye'de altyazı çevirisinin genel durumunu tespit etmek ve sansür uygulamaları hakkında çevirmenlerin görüşlerini ve söz konusu uygulamaların çeviriler üzerindeki etkilerini değerlendirmektir.

Ankete katılmanın öngörülebilen hiçbir riski yoktur. Ankete katılım tamamen gönüllülük temelindedir ve katılım karşılığında herhangi bir ödeme ya da ödüllendirme yapılmayacaktır.

Anketi doldurmanız yaklaşık 20 dakika sürecektir. Anket soruları sizden özel bilgiler talep etmemektedir. Sorulara vereceğiniz yanıtlar sadece araştırmacılar tarafından görüntülenecek ve analiz edilecektir. Her türlü kişisel bilgi yüksek güvenlikli, şifreyle korunan bilgisayarlarda muhafaza edilecektir.

Anketi tamamlayıp "Formu Gönder" tuşuna tıklayarak bu çalışmaya gönüllü olarak katıldığınızı kabul etmiş sayılıyorsunuz.

Anketle ilgili her türlü sorularınızı Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mehmet Şahin'e sahin.ieu@gmail.com ya da mehmet.sahin@ieu.edu.tr adresinden e-posta göndererek sorabilirsiniz.

Katılımınız ve desteğiniz için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz.

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mehmet Şahin

NOT: Ankette "sansür" sözcüğü Türk Dil Kurumu'nun "Her türlü yayının, sinema ve tiyatro eserinin hükûmetçe önceden denetlenmesi işi, sıkı denetim" olarak sunduğu tanım çerçevesinde "orijinal metinde ya da altyazıda geçen ifadeyi değiştirerek aktarma, yumuşatarak aktarma ya da hiç aktarmama" anlamında kullanılmıştır.

* Gerekli

1. **Yaşınız?** *

____

2. **Cinsiyetiniz** *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ◯ Kadın
- ◯ Erkek
- ◯ Belirtmek istemiyorum

3. **Eğitim durumunuz?** *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ◯ Lise mezunu
- ◯ Üniversite öğrencisi
- ◯ Üniversite mezunu
- ◯ Yüksek lisans öğrencisi
- ◯ Yüksek lisans mezunu
- ◯ Doktora öğrencisi
- ◯ Doktora mezunu
- ◯ Diğer: _______________

4. **En son diploma aldığınız alan nedir?** *

____

5. **Üniversite öğrencisiyseniz şu anda hangi bölümde okuyorsunuz?**

____

6. **Çeviri eğitimi alıyor musunuz ya da aldınız mı?** *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ( ) Evet
- ( ) Hayır
- ( ) Diğer: ______________________

7. **Çevirmen olarak çalışma statünüz?** *

Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.
Uygun olanların tümünü işaretleyin.

- [ ] Serbest çevirmen
- [ ] Çeviri şirketine bağlı olarak çalışan çevirmen
- [ ] Kendi şirketinde çalışan çevirmen
- [ ] Özel bir kuruma bağlı olarak çalışan çevirmen
- [ ] Kamu kuruluşuna bağlı olarak çalışan çevirmen
- [ ] Gönüllü çevirmen
- [ ] Diğer: ______________________

8. **Çeviri deneyiminiz?** *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ( ) 6 aydan az
- ( ) 6 ay - 1 yıl arası
- ( ) 1 yıl - 3 yıl arası
- ( ) 3 yıl - 5 yıl arası
- ( ) 5 yıldan fazla
- ( ) Diğer: ______________________

9. **Altyazı çevirisine nasıl başladınız?** *

Altyazı çevirisi yapmıyorsanız ya da daha önce altyazı çevirisi yapmadıysanız lütfen bu anketi doldurmayınız.

____
____
____
____
____

10. **Altyazı çevirisi deneyiminiz?** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- 6 aydan az
- 6 ay - 1 yıl arası
- 1 yıl - 3 yıl arası
- 3 yıl - 5 yıl arası
- 5 yıl - 10 yıl arası
- 10 yıldan fazla
- Diğer: ____________________

11. **Hangi kurumlar ya da etkinlikler için altyazı çevirisi yapıyorsunuz?** *
Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.
Uygun olanların tümünü işaretleyin.

- [ ] Televizyon kanalları
- [ ] İnternet portalları
- [ ] Festivaller
- [ ] Özel kişi, kurum veya kuruluşlar
- [ ] Herkesin erişimine açık kaynaklar
- [ ] Diğer: ____________________

12. **Altyazı çevirisi yapma motivasyonunuz?** *
Öncelik sırasına göre işaretleyiniz (1=en etkili motivasyon, 6=en etkisiz motivasyon). Size uygun olmayan motivasyonlar için "Geçersiz" seçeneğini işaretleyebilirsiniz.
Her satırda yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Geçersiz
Para kazanmak							
Çeviri becerilerimi geliştirmek							
Görünürlüğümü artırmak							
Kişisel ilgi							
Topluma katkı sağlamak							
Kadrolu çevirmenlik için bir referans noktası oluşturmak							

13. **Yukarıdaki soruyla ilgili yorumlarınızı buraya yazabilirsiniz.**

____
____
____
____
____

14. **Aşağıdakilerden hangilerini çeviriyorsunuz?** *

Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.

Uygun olanların tümünü işaretleyin.

- [ ] Film
- [ ] Dizi
- [ ] Belgesel
- [ ] Anime
- [ ] Diğer: ______________________

15. **Altyazı çevirisine günde ortalama kaç saat ayırıyorsunuz?** *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ( ) 1 saatten az
- ( ) 1-3 saat arası
- ( ) 3-5 saat arası
- ( ) 5-8 saat arası
- ( ) 8-10 saat arası
- ( ) Diğer: ______________________

16. **Hangi dillerden altyazı çevirisi yapıyorsunuz?** *

Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.

Uygun olanların tümünü işaretleyin.

- [ ] İngilizce
- [ ] Almanca
- [ ] Fransızca
- [ ] İspanyolca
- [ ] Rusça
- [ ] Arapça
- [ ] Çince
- [ ] Korece
- [ ] Farsça
- [ ] Japonca
- [ ] Diğer: ______________________

17. **Altyazı çevirilerinizde aşağıdaki ifadelerin çevirisinde nasıl bir yol izliyorsunuz?** *
Bu tür ifadelerle karşılaşmadıysanız "Geçersiz" seçeneğini işaretleyiniz.
Her satırda yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	Aynen aktarma	Yumuşatarak aktarma	Değiştirerek aktarma	Çıkarma	Geçersiz
Küfür					
Irkçı söylem					
Dinî inanışlara hakaret					
Cinsiyetçi söylem					
Cinsel içerikli söz					
Eşcinselliğe vurgu yapan söz					
Siyasal gönderme					
Marka ismi					
Kişi ismi					
Dinsizliğe vurgu yapan söz					
Aşırı dinî söylem					
Nefret söylemi					
Alkollü içecek isimleri					

18. **Yukarıdaki soruyla ilgili yorumlarınızı buraya yazabilirsiniz.**

19. **Altyazı çevirilerinizde sansür uygulama nedenleriniz nelerdir?** *
Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.
Uygun olanların tümünü işaretleyin.

- [ ] Toplumsal değer yargıları
- [ ] Kişisel tercihlerim
- [ ] Kurumsal / İşveren kaynaklı talepler
- [ ] Hukuki nedenler
- [ ] Oto-sansür uygulamıyorum.
- [ ] Diğer: ______

20. **Altyazı çevirilerinizde aşağıdaki faktörlere göre ne derece sansür uyguladığınızı düşünüyorsunuz?** *
Her satırda yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	Hiç	Biraz	Orta derecede	Oldukça çok	Aşırı derecede	Geçersiz
Toplumsal değer yargılarını dikkate alarak						
Kişisel tercihlerim doğrultusunda						
Kurumsal / İşveren kaynaklı talepler doğrultusunda						
Hukuki nedenlerden dolayı						

21. **Yukarıdaki soruyla ilgili yorumlarınızı buraya yazabilirsiniz.**

22. **Yaptığınız altyazı çevirileri başka bir kişi ya da kurum tarafından kontrol ediliyor mu?** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- Evet
- Hayır
- Diğer:

23. **Yaptığınız altyazı çevirileri başka bir kişi ya da kurum tarafından kontrol ediliyorsa bu kontrolün mahiyeti ve yaptırımı, çevirinize yansımaları konularında görüşlerinizi buraya yazabilirsiniz.**

24. **Yaptığınız altyazı çevirileri için çalıştığınız kurumdan çevirilerinizde dikkat etmeniz gereken hususlara dair önceden bilgi alıyor musunuz?**
Bir kuruma bağlı olarak çalışmıyorsanız bu soruyu yanıtlamayınız.
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- Evet
- Hayır
- Diğer:

25. **Yukarıdaki soruyla ilgili yorumlarınızı buraya yazabilirsiniz.**

26. **Yaptığınız altyazı çevirilerinin son halini yayınlanmadan önce görüyor musunuz?**
Altyazı çevirileriniz bir kontrolden geçmiyorsa bu soruyu yanıtlamayınız.
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- Evet
- Hayır
- Diğer:

27. **Televizyon kanallarında yayınlanan diziler, filmler ve benzeri yayınlardaki altyazıları ne kadar başarılı buluyorsunuz?** *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Hiç başarılı değil						Çok başarılı

28. **Yukarıdaki soruyla ilgili yorumlarınızı buraya yazabilirsiniz.**

29. **Seçim yapma şansınız olduğu zaman çevirisini yapacağınız filmleri veya dizileri neye dayanarak seçiyorsunuz?** *

Önem sırasına göre işaretleyiniz (1=en önemli kriter, 7=en önemsiz kriter. Size uygun olmayan kriterler için "Geçersiz" seçeneğini işaretleyebilirsiniz.

Her satırda yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Geçersiz
Popülerlik derecesine göre								
Yenilik derecesine göre								
İlgi alanıma göre								
Çevirisi yapılmamış olmasına bakarak								
Metni (orijinal altyazıyı ya da konuşmaları) anlama düzeyime göre								
Ana akım filmlerin dışında olmasına göre								
Türkiye'de gösterimde olmasına bakarak								

30. **Yukarıdaki soruyla ilgili yorumlarınızı buraya yazabilirsiniz. Örneğin, hangi durumlarda seçim yapma şansınız oluyor, hangi durumlarda olmuyor?**

31. **Çevirilerinizi hangi yolla yapıyorsunuz?** *
Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.
Uygun olanların tümünü işaretleyin.

- [ ] Filmi izleyerek kendi yorumumla
- [ ] İngilizce altyazı metnini çevirerek
- [ ] Önce filmi izleyip sonra İngilizce altyazı metnini çevirerek
- [ ] Aynı anda filmi izleyip İngilizce altyazı metnini çevirerek
- [ ] Başka bir Türkçe altyazıyı değiştirerek
- [ ] Diğer: ____________________

32. **Yaptığınız altyazı çevirisinin tüm aşamalarını (yazım kontrolü, senkronizasyon, teknik kontrol gibi) siz mi gerçekleştiriyorsunuz?** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ( ) Evet
- ( ) Hayır
- ( ) Diğer: ____________________

33. **Hâlihazırda çevirisi yapılmış dizi ya da filmleri tekrar çevirmenizin neden(ler)i?** *
Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.
Uygun olanların tümünü işaretleyin.

- [ ] Önceki çeviriyi beğenmediğim için
- [ ] Kendi yorumumu katmak için
- [ ] Görünürlüğümü artırmak için
- [ ] İlgi duyduğum için
- [ ] Çalıştığım kurum talep ettiği için
- [ ] Çevirisi yapılmış bir dizi ya da filmi tekrar çevirmiyorum
- [ ] Diğer: ____________________

34. **Bir dizinin ya da filmin çevirisini ilk yapan kişi olmak benim için önemlidir.** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

35. **Çevirilerimde Türk toplumunun değer yargılarını dikkate alırım.** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

36. **Televizyonda yayınlanan filmlerin altyazı çevirilerine sansür uygulanmasını doğru buluyorum.** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

37. **Çevirisini yapacağım film ya da dizileri müstehcen ifadeler içerip içermediğine göre seçerim.** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum						Kesinlikle katılıyorum

38. **Çevirilerim hakkında yapılan yorumları dikkate alırım.** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum						Kesinlikle katılıyorum

39. **Çevirilerim hakkında yapılan yorumları dikkate alarak çevirilerimi güncellerim.** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum						Kesinlikle katılıyorum

40. **Zaman baskısı çevirmenlerin çevirilerini yeterince gözden geçirmesini engelliyor.** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum						Kesinlikle katılıyorum

41. **Kaynak altyazının birebir çevirisinde hedef kitlenin anlamakta zorlanacağı ifadeler olabileceğini düşündüğümde** *
Uygun olanların tümünü işaretleyin.

- [ ] Çevirinin içinde açıklamalar yaparım
- [ ] Çeviri dosyasına ek olarak notlarımı yayınlarım
- [ ] Hiçbir ek açıklama yapmam
- [ ] Diğer: ______________________

42. **Yukarıdaki soruyla ilgili yorumlarınızı buraya yazabilirsiniz.**

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____

____

____

____

43. **Çevirilerimde aşağıdaki bilgileri veririm.** *
Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.
Uygun olanların tümünü işaretleyin.

- [ ] Sosyal medya hesabı
- [ ] Ad-Soyad
- [ ] E-posta adresi
- [ ] Rumuz
- [ ] İnternet sitesi
- [ ] Hiçbiri
- [ ] Diğer: ____________

44. **Sosyal medyada ne kadar aktifsiniz?** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Sosyal medya kullanmıyorum	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Çok aktifim

45. **Çevirimi bitirince hemen sosyal medyada duyururum.** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ◯ Evet
- ◯ Hayır
- ◯ Diğer: ____________

46. **Başka bir çevirmenle ortak bir altyazı çevirisi yaptınız mı?** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ◯ Evet
- ◯ Hayır

47. **Başka bir çevirmenle ortak bir altyazı çevirisi yaptıysanız, ne gibi zorluklarla ya da kolaylıklarla karşılaştınız?**

____
____
____
____
____

48. **Çeviride zorlandığınız noktalar olduğunda ne tür kaynakları kullanıyorsunuz?** *

____
____
____
____
____

49. **Çeviri kuramlarına ve çeviri stratejilerine ne kadar hâkimsiniz?** *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Hiç hâkim değilim						Çok hâkimim

50. **Gönüllü altyazı çevirmenleri çevirmenlik mesleğinin geleceğini tehdit ediyor.** *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
- Katılmıyorum
- Kararsızım
- Katılıyorum
- Kesinlikle katılıyorum
- Fikrim yok
- Diğer: ____________

51. **Gönüllü altyazı çevirmenleri sayesinde toplumda çeviri farkındalığı artıyor.** *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
- Katılmıyorum
- Kararsızım
- Katılıyorum
- Kesinlikle katılıyorum
- Fikrim yok
- Diğer: ____________

52. **Gönüllü altyazı çevirmenleri sayesinde izleyicilerin yayınların orijinal metinlerini anlaması mümkün oluyor.** *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
- Katılmıyorum
- Kararsızım
- Katılıyorum
- Kesinlikle katılıyorum
- Fikrim yok
- Diğer: ____________

53. **Gönüllü altyazı çevirmenlerinin yaptıkları çevirileri genel olarak başarılı buluyorum.** *
Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
- Katılmıyorum
- Kararsızım
- Katılıyorum
- Kesinlikle katılıyorum
- Fikrim yok
- Diğer: ____________________

54. **Gönüllü altyazı çevirmenliği ve çevirmenleri hakkındaki diğer görüşlerinizi buraya yazabilirsiniz.**

____

55. **Altyazı çevirisi süreci sizin için nasıl işliyor? Kısaca anlatabilir misiniz?** *

____
____
____
____
____

56. **İletişim bilgilerinizi bizimle paylaşmak isterseniz aşağıda belirtebilirsiniz.** *
Araştırmanın sonuçlarının güvenirliği açısından bu anketin gerçek bir altyazar tarafından doldurulması önemlidir. Buradaki bilgiler kesinlikle kimseyle paylaşılmayacaktır. Araştırmanın sonuçlarının yayınlandığı makalelerde ya da sunumlarda verdiğiniz yanıtlar kodlanarak isim ve iletişim bilgisi verilmeden sunulacaktır.

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57. **Eklemek istediğiniz görüşlerinizi buraya yazabilirsiniz.**

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Intermodal coherence in audio descriptive guided tours for art museums

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to propose a method for designing audio descriptive guided tours with tactile exploration in art museums. It draws on existing guidelines as well as on descriptive and theoretical studies of this intersemiotic translation modality, and is illustrated with materials designed for the *Describing Sorolla* tour held at the Sorolla Museum by Kaleidoscope, an organization dedicated to fostering universal access to culture. In order to give a detailed description of the method proposed, a semantic analysis of the audio description of one of the paintings selected for the visit is carried out. The results from this analysis are in turn discussed in relation to the tactile image used during the tour and the verbal instructions given for its exploration to provide a better understanding of intermodal coherence as an essential element of the method proposed to build this type of multimodal discourse.

Keywords

Intersemiotic translation, audio description, tactile image, art museums

1. Museums, accessibility and multimodality

Following the principles of New Museology (Marstine, 2006; Hooper Greenhill, 2007), museums around the world are increasingly aware of the need to implement resources that allow visitors with different capabilities to access their collections, transforming the museum into an inclusive learning experience (Soler Gallego, 2012). Nowadays, two accessibility resources are used to improve visually impaired visitors' access to the museum experience: verbal description and tactile exploration. Verbal description (VD) can be considered a modality of intersemiotic translation (Jakobson, 1959; Gottlieb, 2005) from images into words that aims at helping people with a visual impairment to build a mental image of what they cannot see (Salzhauer Axel & Sobol Levent, 2003, p. 229). Regarding the medium used, VD can be printed in big fonts or Braille, or conveyed orally through the acoustic channel. The latter is termed audio description (AD), and it is divided into two categories: live AD and recorded AD. The former is used during an audio descriptive guided tour of the museum or exhibition, and the latter can be either used to compose an audio descriptive guide or embedded into multisensory resources like the talking tactile pen and the talking tactile exhibit panel developed by Touch Graphics.

At museums, AD is often combined with a tactile exploration of the original exhibit, scale models or tactile images. This semiotic complementarity of the verbal-auditory mode and the tactile mode (and the visual, for those visitors with low vision) gives rise to a multimodal experience that allows visually impaired people to access both the knowledge contained in an exhibit and the sensations it provokes. These resources can be enriched with other acoustic information and effects such as prosody, music and sounds related to the exhibit (Neves, 2012, p. 290), as well as with olfactory information. In recent years, accessibility in Spanish museums has developed considerably, thanks to international, European and national legislation on accessibility, and to the joint efforts of museum professionals, companies (Access Friendly, GVAM, Aptent, Aristia, Touch Graphics, to mention a few), and organisations (CESyA, ONCE).

2. Museum accessibility for visually impaired visitors in Spain

In the past decade, the number of Spanish museums that use AD as an accessibility resource has increased. A list of museums that currently offer audio descriptive guided tours and audio descriptive guides to their visitors is displayed in Table 1. This evolution stems from recent advances in international, European and national legislation on universal accessibility. In 2006 the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was adopted by the United Nations, and took effect in Europe and Spain in 2008. According to Article 9, "States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure to persons with disabilities access, on an equal basis with others, to the physical environment, to transportation, to information and communications, including information and communications technologies and systems, and to other facilities and services open or provided to the public, both in urban and in rural areas" (UN General Assembly, 2006). These measures include the development, approval and monitoring of a set of accessibility guidelines.

To comply with the Convention, a law was passed in Spain that required the Government to approve a document of basic accessibility requirements within a period of two years (Spain, 2011). The Integral Spanish Strategy on Disability 2012-2020 and the Spanish Strategy on Culture for All were subsequently approved. The latter includes specific goals and actions aimed at ensuring cultural access for people with disabilities. The first goal is to integrate previous actions carried out by the Ministry of Culture into an accessibility plan. This plan includes the development of accessible multimedia guides for museums designed in accordance with the principles of universal accessibility, as well as guided tours for visually and mentally impaired visitors, and tactile itineraries. The second goal is to create a set of standards for the development of these resources. In order to fulfil this objective, two documents on the access to culture for hearing impaired people (Ferreiro, 2013) and visually impaired people (Bonmatí & Espinosa, 2014) were published.

Resource	Museum
Audio descriptive guided tour	Guggenheim MNCARS Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza Museo Sorolla Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona Fundació Joan Miró Museo Picasso (Barcelona) Museo Picasso (Málaga) Museo Carmen-Thyssen Colección CajaGRANADA Patronato de la Alhambra: Exposiciones temporales
Audio descriptive guide	Guggenheim Museo de Bellas Artes (Bilbao) MNCARS Museo del Prado Museo del Romanticismo Museo Lázaro Galdiano Museo Sorolla Museo Carmen-Thyssen Museo Arqueológico Nacional Museo Julio Romero de Torres Museo Nacional de Altamira Museo Sefardí Museo Nacional de Arte Romano Museo de la Evolución Humana Museo de la Naturaleza y el Hombre

Table 1. Spanish museums offering AD resources.

As observed in Table 1, some museums in Spain favour the audio descriptive guide as an accessibility resource for visually impaired visitors. However, these guides are in some cases underused, as potential users are not always aware of their existence and the museum staff may have little experience in dealing with this type of resource and visitor. This situation can be tackled by complementing the audio descriptive guide with audio descriptive guided tours, where visitors get to know the museum during a group activity that prepares them for future autonomous visits. The aim of this article is to propose a method for designing audio descriptive guided tours with tactile exploration in art museums, which draws on Braun's method for AD production (2011), existing guidelines, and professional practices identified in a previous corpus-based descriptive study of AD in art museums (Soler Gallego, 2016, in press).

3. The audio descriptive guided tour as a multimodal discourse

The audio descriptive guided tour consists of a visit to the museum's galleries during which a detailed and vivid description of a collection of exhibits as well as the physical environment where they are located is given to visitors. Some examples of this type of resource are the *Describing Sorolla, Describing Guerrero* and *Describing Picasso* visits within the *Words to See* program. This program has been carried out since 2014 by the Kaleidoscope organization (www.kaleidoscope-access.org), of which I am a co-founder, in collaboration with the Sorolla Museum, the Colección CajaGRANADA museum and the National organization of the blind in Spain (ONCE). It follows similar initiatives by the Thyssen-Bornemisza and MNCARS museums, and the Access Friendly company (www.accessfriendly.es).

During the audio descriptive guided tours of the *Words to See* program, the museum architecture, the exhibition design, and a selection of artworks are described. This description is complemented with contextual information and tactile images that are created using different materials and techniques (thermoforming, fuser, and ethylene-vinyl acetate or EVA). The tactile images are explored by visitors following instructions given by the guide. During the tour, visitors are invited to participate by sharing their own descriptions, interpretations and sensations within the group. Sometimes, the tour is followed by an art workshop during which visitors can express themselves through different materials and techniques related with the audio described works and especially adequate for visually impaired people (textured paint, modelling, embossing, etc.). A variety of this activity aimed at fostering universal accessibility at the museum is also carried out within the program. In this case, the activity is open to visitors with a visual impairment, with an auditory impairment, and with no disability at all. The ADs and other verbal-auditory information are interpreted in sign language. The aim of this tour is to create a space for cooperative learning, where every visitor benefits from multisensory techniques that were originally intended for people with visual disabilities.

The preparation of the audio descriptive guided tour follows a method based on Emancipatory Disability Research (Barnes, 2003; Oliver, 1992). This theory-methodology claims the active participation of people with disabilities in the research process and emphasizes the great value of their expert opinions, derived from their personal experience (Hollins, 2010, p. 228). Visually impaired consultants participate in the evaluation of the audio descriptive and tactile materials developed for the visit before they are implemented. Besides, after every visit participants are asked to share their opinions on the quality and adequacy of the materials.

Preparing the tour begins with the selection of the artworks with the help of the museum staff (the curators and educators). On average, we select two to four pieces per tour based on the overall theme of the tour, and typically we dedicate around twenty minutes to each work. The first stage of the AD process is the analysis of the artwork and its context. The most relevant components are then selected to create the script, and a tactile image is designed. The tactile image, as an intersemiotic translation of a visual text into a tactile representation, also requires a selection of the most relevant content of the original image. Finally, a set of verbal instructions for exploring the tactile image are put together. These instructions constitute a bridge between the AD (and the artwork), and the tactile image. To explain the method proposed to create audio descriptive guided tours with tactile exploration and illustrate how these three elements relate to each other in the construction of a multimodal discourse, I have selected one of the paintings that I audio describe during the tour at the Sorolla Museum entitled *Trata de blancas* (see Figure 1). This tour is done together with M. Olalla Luque Colmenero and Gala Rodríguez Posadas, audio describers and co-founders of Kaleidoscope.

Figure 1. Joaquín Sorolla Bastida, *Trata de blancas*, 1894. Oil on canvas. Museo Sorolla (inv. no. 00320).

4. Words to see: From visual interpretation to verbal reformulation

One of the main characteristics of AD is the need to translate simultaneously presented visual signs into a sequential verbal discourse, and this raises various questions for the audio describer, namely what to describe, the order in which to present the selected content, and how to link the visual elements in the verbal description (Braun, 2011, p. 658). Because the audio describer can focus on different components of the visual artwork, it is principal that different theories of visual communication be considered to guide the selection. Among the different theories of visual communication is Dondis' (2006) proposal, which draws from an approach to visual perception within Gestalt psychology and offers a categorization and explanation of the different components of visual data. Her aim is to promote visual literacy among both creators and receivers at a time when non-verbal images are increasingly used by humans to convey meaning.

According to Dondis (2006, p. 33), the composition of a visual message is the orchestration of the basic visual elements following specific techniques. These elements are the raw material of visual communication, and Dondis lists the following: dot, line, shape, direction, tone, colour, texture, dimension, scale, and movement. The two main techniques of visual communication are contrast and harmony, from which derive several sub-techniques expressed as opposites: horizontality–verticality, balance–imbalance, sequential–aleatory, and so on. These techniques are based on theories of human visual perception, such as the preference for the bottom left corner, or the sense of imbalance provoked by divergences from the vertical and horizontal axes (pp. 35 ff.).

In her theory, Dondis identifies three levels of visual data: symbol systems, representational visual material, and the abstract understructure (2006, p. 13). The abstract understructure consists of the basic visual elements, the composition and the medium, which are the formal components of the visual message. The content or meaning of this message consists of the iconic signs (those that represent our environment) and symbolic signs (those to which humans have arbitrarily assigned meaning), as well as of the concepts, sensations and emotions that the signs and the formal components evoked and triggered in the receiver (Dondis, 2006, p. 15). For the purpose of this study, I have termed these concepts, sensations and emotions as “opinion”.

In a previous corpus-based descriptive study of visual art AD, I carried out a semantic analysis of audio descriptive guides in art museums (Soler Gallego, in press). First, the verbs and their participants, i.e. the concepts that fit into the schematic structure activated by the verbs (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 269), were analysed and classified. The classification of verbs followed the methodology of lexicographic definitions analysis (Faber & Mairal, 1999), which was combined with the analysis of the verbs' co-text in the AD (Faber, 2012). I then classified the verbal participants into a taxonomy of the components of visual communication based on theories of art and design (Dondis, 2006; Fichner-Rathus, 2011), which is shown in Table 2 (categories used for the analysis in italics). Finally, both the verbs and their participants were interpreted conjointly.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="17">Visual communication</td><td rowspan="3">Content</td><td colspan="2">icon</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">symbol</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">opinion</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="14">Formal components</td><td colspan="2">technique</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">material</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">style</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">composition</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="10">Visual elements</td><td>dot</td></tr>
<tr><td>line</td></tr>
<tr><td>shape</td></tr>
<tr><td>space</td></tr>
<tr><td>dimension</td></tr>
<tr><td>movement</td></tr>
<tr><td>direction</td></tr>
<tr><td>texture</td></tr>
<tr><td>tone</td></tr>
<tr><td>colour</td></tr>
</table>

Table 2. Taxonomy of the components of visual communication

The formal components are defined as follows (see Appendix 1 for examples from a corpus of audio descriptive guides in art museums):

Technique: methods used to manipulate and create with the materials.

Material: physical elements used to create the artwork.

Composition: orchestration of the basic elements of visual communication with a specific communicative and expressive purpose.

Style: synthesis of medium (material and technique), composition and purpose.

Visual elements:

Dot: a place without area.

Line: a succession of adjacent dots.

Shape: a differentiated two- or three-dimensional area.

Space: the three-dimensional space of the real world and the implicit space created by visual techniques to simulate depth in two-dimensional media.

Dimension: size, scale and proportion of the visual elements.

Movement: the actual movement of entities in the real world and in a video recording, the implicit movement (it is inferred from the image that its elements moved), and the illusory movement (the image triggers the sensation that its elements are moving).

Direction: the direction of a movement or a shape.

Texture: perceptible structure made of lines or objects.

Tone: shades of grey, contrast (luminosity) and value pattern (variation and disposition of light and darkness).

Colour: visual perception of the different wavelengths.

The semantic analysis is illustrated here with the following excerpt from the AD of *Trata de blancas*: “Pegado a esta pared hay un segundo banco en el que dos muchachas duermen sentadas, con la cabeza caída hacia delante y ligeramente ladeada" (Alongside this wall there is a second bench where two girls are sleeping in a seated position, with their heads down and slightly tilted to the side). The analysis begins with the analysis of the verb “hay” (there is/there are). I define it as “existing or being present” based on the definitions found in various monolingual dictionaries and its specific meaning in the text, and classify it under the lexical domain of EXISTENCE. In this sentence, the verb “hay” has two participants: “pegado a la pared” (alongside this wall) and “un segundo banco” (a second bench). I classify the latter as ICON, since it refers to a component of the artwork that resembles and can be recognized as an element of the real world. The former is classified as COMPOSITION, since it indicates the location of the iconic sign within the two-dimensional space of the painting. The analysis continues with the classification of the second verb in the sentence (“duermen”) and its participants, and so on and so forth.

In a previous corpus-based study of audio descriptive guides of art museums, three levels of semantic specificity were identified: the translation of the work as a whole (Level 1), the translation of the content and formal components it is made of (Level 2), and the translation of the specific properties of the elements described in the previous level (Level 3). These results help to describe current professional practices in AD for art museums and coincide with the existing guidelines, which recommend beginning with an overview of the artwork, including subject matter, colours and composition, to be followed by a more vivid and particularized description (Salzhauer Axel & Sobol Levent, 2003, pp. 230-231).

The results of this analysis showed that the two lexical domains of POSITION and EXISTENCE are more activated by the verbs (33% and 48% of the verbs with a frequency of ≥ 0.05% in the corpus, respectively). These two domains are related to the existence and location of the components of the artwork. Particularly, the existence verb “ser” (35.7%), meaning “to exist as having a specified quality, state or identity or belonging to a specified group or type”, and the position verb “estar” (16.4%), meaning "being in a certain location or position", occur most frequently. ICON (31.7%) and COMPOSITION (17%) are the two components of the artwork most frequently activated in the AD of two-dimensional visual artworks, followed by COLOUR (6.8%) and SHAPE (6.6%).

The AD of *Trata de blancas* has three levels of semantic specificity. These three levels are illustrated below with excerpts from the AD:

Level 1

(1) Es un óleo sobre lienzo de formato cuadrado, de aproximadamente dos metros y medio de alto por dos metros y medio de ancho.

“It is an oil painting on canvas, square, measuring approximately two and a half meters in height and width.”

(2) Este cuadro representa el interior de un vagón de tren de tercera clase con paredes de madera marrón oscuro.

“This painting depicts the interior of a third-class train compartment with dark brown wooden walls.”

(3) La escena es oscura.

“The scene is dark.”

Level 2

(4) Pegado a esta pared hay un segundo banco en el que dos muchachas duermen sentadas, con la cabeza caída hacia delante y ligeramente ladeada.

“Alongside this wall there is a second bench where two girls are sleeping in a seated position, with their heads down and slightly tilted to the side.”

(5) En la parte izquierda del lienzo, un tercer banco comienza en la esquina inferior izquierda y se extiende hacia el centro del cuadro.

“On the left side of the painting, a third bench begins from the left bottom corner and extends towards the centre of the painting.”

Level 3

(6) La otra está tumbada en el banco, con la cabeza apoyada en el regazo de la primera, de forma que sus pies y piernas quedan en primer plano.

“The other girl is lying down on the bench, with her head resting in the lap of the first girl, in such a way that her legs and feet lie in the foreground.”

(7) Destaca la que está tumbada, que viste una falda de lo que parece ser raso rosa con enaguas de volantes blancas.

“The girl who is lying down is highlighted; she is wearing a skirt of what appears to be pink satin with ruffled white petticoats.”

With regard to the formal components, the composition of an artwork is a crucial element of visual communication – it is used by artists to affect how an observer (re)interprets the visual message (Dondis, 2006, p. 108), and is therefore of great importance to visually impaired persons in order to experience and understand the artwork. *Trata de blancas* is a figurative painting belonging to the *costumbrista* genre and as such it aims to portray the social reality of the time. Since the function of the tour is to help receivers build a mental image of the painting and familiarize themselves with the works of Sorolla, a detailed description of the represented reality (iconic signs) is also fundamental. Moreover, Sorolla belongs to the Realism movement and has a particular interest in the effects of light, so tone and colour are important elements that help to convey the painter's style. Based on this analysis of the source text along with results from the aforementioned descriptive study and existing guidelines, four components were selected as especially relevant and included in the AD of *Trata de blancas* for the guided tour: iconic signs, composition, colour, and tone (see Appendix 2 for the audio description script).

In order to draw a more detailed picture of the AD of *Trata de blancas*, I carried out a semantic analysis of the text following the method described in this section. The results showed that POSITION (31%) and EXISTENCE (23%) are the two lexical domains more activated by the verbs, and COMPOSITION and ICON are the two components of visual communication more frequently activated by the verbal participants (see Figure 2).

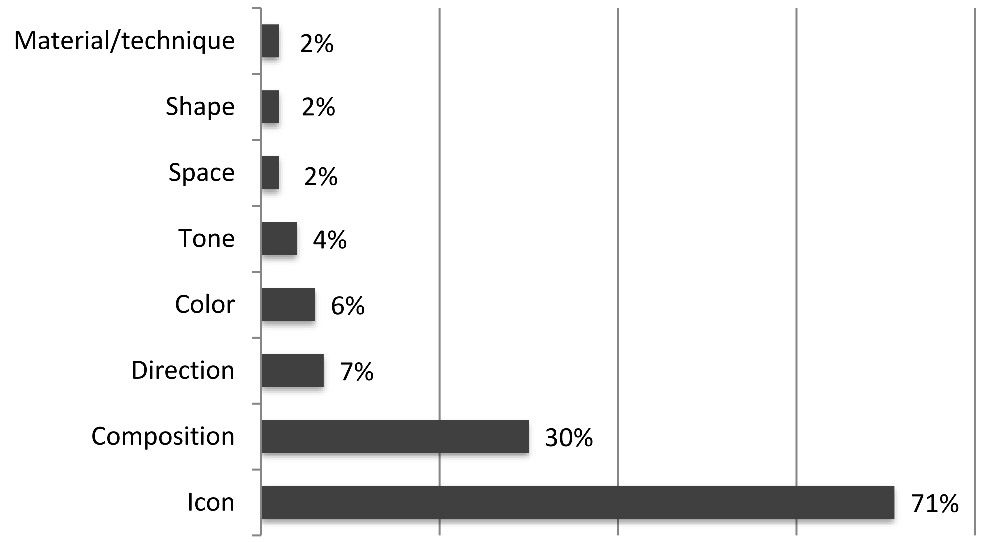

Figure 2. Frequency of the visual communication components in the AD

In this case, the importance of the icon category is related to the representational nature of the painting. For more abstract works, the AD of the basic visual elements (point, line, colour, etc.) becomes essential to facilitate access to the artwork for visually impaired people. In other words, the analysis of the source text and the documentation phase are fundamental to the selection of components from the source text to be translated and conveyed in the AD. Regardless of the level of abstraction, the composition of the painting and more specifically, the location of the different formal components are, according to Dondis (2006), paramount to understand a visual message. Therefore, it should be an essential aspect of visual art AD.

The specificity level will always depend on the complexity of the artwork, but in general terms this level is high in the method proposed. Given the diversity of needs and expectations among visually impaired people, we consider highly specific ADs to be more universally accessible. Although they may be judged as unnecessarily long by some visitors with better access to the visual message, they may be preferred by visitors with the least access, and we believe that the latter should be prioritized in accessibility programs.

5. Touch to see: From visual interpretation to tactile reformulation

Tactile images are a translation of visual images that imply a selection of the most relevant visual content: "The person responsible for the transfer interprets the picture, that is, analyses it and judges what is important to show in the tactile picture" (Eriksson, 2003, p. 103). This type of tactile translation of the visual has been proved to be useful not only for people with very low vision, but also for congenitally blind and late-blind individuals (Heller, McCarthy & Clark, 2005). As stated by Braun (2007, p. 366), "…in multimodal discourse coherence also needs to be achieved across different modes of communication". With regard to film AD, she claims that coherence between the AD and the other semiotic modes of the film must be built through intermodal links between sound and AD, and intramodal links between dialogue and AD (Braun, 2011, p. 650). Similarly, I claim that for guided tours in art museums, intermodal coherence must be built between the visual source text (the artwork), the verbal target text (the AD), and the tactile target text (the tactile image). For this purpose, the content selection for the tactile image of *Trata de blancas* and the sequence followed to explore it must be coherent with those used for the AD.

The tactile image of *Trata de blancas* was produced by Touch Graphics in thermoforming. Like the painting's AD, the tactile image focuses on the iconic signs and their distribution on the canvas, i.e. the work's composition. As in the AD, this tactile image shows three levels of translation of the visual source text. First, the shape of the work is indicated by a relief frame that surrounds the tactile image. At the second level, the most relevant iconic signs are translated into relief contours that allow the visually impaired receiver to perceive their shape and location. Finally, textures are added to some of these contours in order to facilitate the tactile distinction. Additionally, the pictorial representation of depth is translated to the tactile image by gradually diminishing the contours' height as the elements they represent move further away from the viewer (see Figure 3). This feature is supported by research on tactile image recognition suggesting that congenitally blind people are able to understand some aspects of perspective in raised-line drawings even if they are not familiar with this type of representation (Heller, Calcaterra, Burson & Tyler, 1996; Heller *et al.*, 2002).

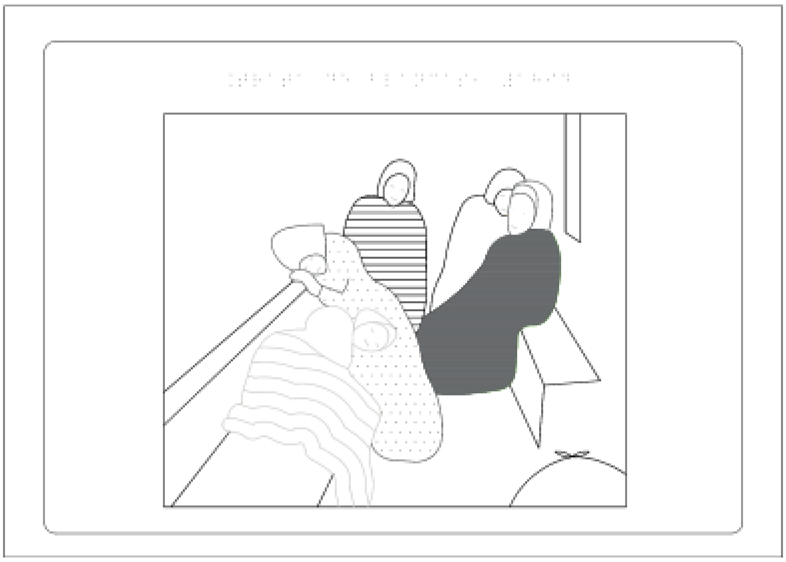

Figure 3. Design file of the tactile image of *Trata de blancas*

As stated in existing guidelines (Kardoulias, 2003, p. 291), the tactile image is used in combination with verbal instructions (see Appendix 3 for the verbal instructions script for the tactile image of *Trata de blancas*). The function of the verbal instructions is to organize the tactile exploration in a sequential way so that it facilitates the integration of the different elements into a mental image of the work, and to relate the contours and textures of the tactile image to the elements depicted in the artwork and translated in the AD. In the *Describing Sorolla* tour, the tactile exploration takes place after the AD and two discourse moves (Biber, Connor & Upton, 2007) are repeated in a cyclical way in order to guide the visitors' exploration:

> **Move 1: Location.** Instructions are given to move the hands from a starting point in a certain direction until noticing a tactile element (contour or texture).
>
> **Move 2: Identification.** The tactile component is related to the component of the artwork previously mentioned in the AD of the painting.

This cycle is illustrated in the following excerpts:

> (8) Coloca las dos manos en la esquina inferior derecha y desplázalas lentamente hacia arriba. Notarás en primer lugar una línea curva. Es el contorno del hato de ropa.
>
> “Put your hands on the right bottom corner and move them slowly upwards. You will first notice a curved line. This is the outline of the clothes bundle.”
>
> (9) Desde ahí, baja las manos hasta notar una trama de puntos. Es la muchacha que duerme reclinada sobre el banco de la izquierda. Sigue bajando hasta notar una trama de líneas curvas paralelas. Es la falda de la muchacha que duerme tumbada en el banco de la izquierda.
>
> “From there, lower your hands until you notice an area with dots. This is the girl who is sleeping in a leaning position on the bench to the left. Continue moving downwards until you notice an area of curved parallel lines. This is the ruffled skirt of the girl who is sleeping lying down on the bench to the left.”

The AD first provides visitors with a verbal translation of the visual communication components. The verbal instructions then refer to the same components to guide the tactile exploration and help users build a more accurate mental image of the painting. These intermodal links are illustrated in Table 3 (highlighted in bold).

Audio description	Verbal instructions
En la parte izquierda del lienzo, un tercer **banco** comienza en la esquina inferior izquierda y se extiende hacia el centro del cuadro… En la parte de la izquierda duermen otras dos **muchachas**. Una, la que está al fondo, está **sentada de lado** en el banco de manera que su cuerpo queda mirando hacia nosotros… La otra está tumbada en el banco, con la cabeza apoyada en el regazo de la primera, de forma que sus pies y piernas quedan en primer plano. **"On the left side** of the painting, a third **bench** begins from the left bottom corner and extends towards the centre of the painting... On the left-hand side, two other **girls sleep**. One, the one at the back, is **seated sideways** on the bench so that her body remains facing toward us… The other is lying on the bench, with her head supported by the lap of the first, in a way that her feet and legs remain in the foreground."	Es **la muchacha** que duerme **reclinada** sobre **el banco de la izquierda**. "This is **the girl** who is sleeping **in a leaning position** on **the bench to the left.**"
Destaca la que está tumbada, que **viste una falda** de lo que parece ser raso rosa con enaguas de volantes blancas. "The girl who is lying down is highlighted, **she is wearing a skirt** of what appears to be pink satin with ruffled white petticoats."	**Es la falda de la muchacha** que duerme tumbada en el banco de la izquierda. **"This is the skirt of the girl** who is sleeping lying down on the bench to the left."

Table 3. Content selection in the AD and the verbal instructions

The tactile exploration and the AD follow the same order, which builds yet another level of intermodal coherence. The order chosen to audio describe a painting and to guide the exploration of its tactile translation depends on the level of abstraction of the source text and its composition (Soler Gallego, Luque Colmenero & Rodríguez Posadas, 2016). For this realist painting, the figures' proximity makes spatial contiguity a better technique with which to describe and explore the image. Rather than proceeding horizontally from the background to the foreground or vice versa, as suggested in existing guidelines (Kardoulias, 2003, p. 292), the truncated triangle "drawn" by the figures' arrangement is used to audio describe the composition and to guide the tactile exploration. Both the AD and the tactile exploration start with the right side of the painting, continue to the upper side and end at the left side. This progression is illustrated in Table 4.

Audio description	Verbal instructions
A la derecha del cuadro está la pared exterior del vagón, con dos pequeñas ventanas. Pegado a la pared hay un primer banco que se extiende desde la **esquina inferior derecha** hacia el centro del lienzo. En este banco se sienta **la mujer mayor** con la espalda apoyada en la pared y la cabeza ligeramente vuelta hacia nosotros… A su izquierda, sobre el banco y en primer plano, hay varias piezas de equipaje… "On the right side of the painting is the outer wall of the train compartment, with two small windows. Alongside this wall, there is a bench which extends from the **bottom right corner** to the centre of the painting. **The old woman** is seated on this bench, with her back resting against the wall and her head slightly turned towards us… To her left, on the bench and in the foreground of the painting, there are various pieces of luggage…"	…coloca las dos manos en la **esquina inferior derecha**. Notarás en primer lugar una línea curva. Es el contorno del hato de ropa. Continúa hacia arriba hasta notar unas líneas rectas: son la maleta del equipaje. Continúa hacia arriba y notarás un área lisa en relieve. Es el cuerpo de **la mujer mayor.** "…place your hands on **the bottom right corner**. You will first notice a curved line. This is the outline of the clothes bundle. Continue moving upwards until you notice some straight lines: they form the portmanteau among the luggage. Continue upwards and you will notice a smooth area in relief. This is the body of **the old woman**."
Frente a vosotros, en el fondo del vagón, hay otra pared que se extiende **hacia la izquierda** del cuadro, donde se pierde. Pegado a esta pared hay un segundo banco en el que **dos muchachas duermen sentadas**, con la cabeza caída hacia delante y ligeramente ladeada. "In front of you, at the back of the compartment, there is another wall which extends **to the left** of the painting, where it disappears. Alongside this wall there is a second bench upon which **two girls** are asleep **in a seated position**, their heads bowed and slightly tilted."	Ahora desplaza la mano **hacia la izquierda** hasta notar una trama de líneas horizontales paralelas. Es una de **las dos muchachas sentadas** en el banco del fondo. "Now move your hand **to the left** until you encounter a series of parallel horizontal lines. This is one of **the two girls seated** on the bench in the background".
A la izquierda del lienzo, un tercer banco comienza en la esquina inferior izquierda y se extiende **hacia el centro del cuadro**… El banco tiene un respaldo de madera que está unido al asiento y al techo del vagón por unas barras de metal. En este banco **duermen otras dos muchachas**… "On the left side of the painting, a third bench begins at the bottom left corner and extends **towards the centre of the painting**… The bench has a wooden backrest which is fastened to the seat and the compartment roof by metal bars. On this bench, **two other girls are sleeping**…"	Desde ahí, **baja la mano** hasta notar una trama de puntos. Es **la muchacha que duerme reclinada** sobre el banco de la izquierda. "From there, **lower your hand** until you notice an area with dots. This is **the girl who is sleeping in a leaning position** on the bench to the left."

Table 4. Information structure in the AD and the verbal instructions

In summary, the selection of components from the source text for the AD and the tactile image should be consistent to foster intermodal coherence between the verbal mode and the tactile mode. Likewise, the verbal instructions to explore the tactile image should refer to the components included in it and previously mentioned in the AD. Finally, the verbal instructions should follow the same order or sequence as the AD to ensure yet another level of intermodal coherence and facilitate understanding of the multimodal discourse made of the source text, the AD, and the tactile image.

6. Conclusions

Nowadays, a growing number of museums offer accessibility resources for visually impaired visitors. The general trend seems to be towards designing multisensory experiences where information is conveyed through different semiotic modes and channels. In Spain, the museums' response to recent laws on accessibility has been positive. As a result, museum accessibility has developed considerably in this country within the past few years. Combining resources that allow for visitors' autonomous visit and audio descriptive guided tours, which provide an inclusive social event, could be essential to the improvement of accessibility for visually impaired visitors of museums in the following years.

By moving from theoretical and descriptive research to applied research in AD studies, it is possible to have a direct and positive impact in the provision of resources that guarantee equal access to culture, education and society by people with a visual impairment. This article has offered a detailed description of a method to design audio descriptive guided tours with tactile exploration for art museums, in which the visual source text, the AD and the tactile image relate to each other to create a coherent multimodal discourse. The interrelated analysis of the artwork's AD, the tactile image and the verbal instructions for its tactile exploration, allow us to describe the intermodal links that are to be created between these three elements and the artwork in order to facilitate access for visually-impaired people to the art museum experience. The translation of visual content into the verbal-auditory and tactile modes exposed in this article is addressed to a prototypical completely blind visitor. In order to adapt the tour to different visitor profiles, it is essential to foster visitors' participation so that they may express their needs and perceptions. By doing so, they are given the opportunity to contribute to the creation of a more dynamic, collaborative and inclusive experience of visual art in the museum context.

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Appendix 1. Audio description of the visual communication components

Technique

It is a detailed **etching** showing a narrow road or track into Wivenhoe across fields of tall grass.

Material

The final zip is tan, and almost looks like raw canvas. But closer examination shows that it too is **paint**.

Style

This is an **abstract expressionist** painting.

Composition

A bluish-black bird with long tail feathers and an orange underbelly **sits on a branch** in profile, facing to the right, silhouetted against the patch of blue sky behind him.

In front of her, another woman sits or squats, elbow on one raised knee, which juts toward the center of the painting.

The result is an intricate, rigid **geometric pattern**, set against an off-white background.

Dot

Little **dabs** and dashes of paint seem to dance over the surface of the canvas – white, red, blue, deep purple, pink and green.

Line

This expanse of colour is interrupted by five thin vertical **stripes**. Each is an inch or two wide, but no two are exactly alike.

Shape

In the center is an open **cylinder** representing the sound hole; it is about three inches wide and protrudes out about five inches.

Space

There is only the slight **illusion of depth** created by their circle of joined hands.

Dimension

That is due partly to the subdued lighting – as requested by the artist Mark Rothko - and partly to the fact that the paintings are **huge** – and, since they are without glass, sound-absorbent.

Movement

Little dabs and dashes of paint seem **to dance** over the surface of the canvas – white, red, blue, deep purple, pink and green.

Direction

The next pole, in the back corner of the platform to your right, is about 8 inches wide and shaped like a surfboard, tapering at both ends. It faces in, **toward the center pole.**

Texture

Knowing that the work is made of steel, you might imagine it being **smooth**, shiny and reflective. In fact it is the opposite. It is dark grey, and the surface is dull and appears **rusty and weathered**.

Tone

The **shadows** are somewhat heavier across the left side of his torso and along his left shoulder and upper arm.

Color

The upper right corner is an especially **bright and sunny yellow**, as if it is an extension of the landscape at sunset.

Appendix 2. Audio description script

Estamos ante una pintura realizada por Sorolla en el año 1894 titulada *Trata de blancas*. Es un óleo sobre lienzo de formato cuadrado, de aproximadamente dos metros y medio de alto por dos metros y medio de ancho.

Este cuadro representa el interior de un vagón de tren de tercera clase con paredes de madera marrón oscuro. En él viajan cinco mujeres: una mujer mayor, que está despierta, y cuatro muchachas jóvenes, que duermen. Están distribuidas en tres bancos de madera: uno a vuestra derecha, otro a vuestra izquierda, paralelo al anterior, y otro frente a vosotros, en el fondo del vagón. Todas llevan la cabeza cubierta con un pañuelo doblado en triángulo y atado bajo el mentón. Visten también mantón cruzado sobre el pecho y falda larga hasta los tobillos. Vamos a ver más detenidamente la composición del cuadro y cada uno de estos personajes, comenzando por la derecha, siguiendo por el fondo y terminando por la izquierda.

A la derecha del cuadro está la pared exterior del vagón, con dos pequeñas ventanas. Pegado a la pared hay un primer banco que se extiende desde la esquina inferior derecha hacia el centro del lienzo. En este banco se sienta la mujer mayor con la espalda apoyada en la pared y la cabeza ligeramente vuelta hacia nosotros. La piel de su rostro dibuja numerosas arrugas, tiene los ojos entreabiertos y la mirada perdida, y viste de negro de pies a cabeza. A su izquierda, sobre el banco y en primer plano, hay varias piezas de equipaje: una guitarra, una maleta de piel, una cesta de mimbre, una bolsa de viaje y un hato de ropa que queda cortado por el borde del lienzo.

Frente a vosotros, en el fondo del vagón, hay otra pared que se extiende hacia la izquierda del cuadro, donde se pierde. Pegado a esta pared hay un segundo banco en el que dos muchachas duermen sentadas, con la cabeza caída hacia delante y ligeramente ladeada. Sus ropas en general son oscuras, con tonos marrones, azul marino y negro, salvo por el rojo del pañuelo con que una de ellas cubre su cabeza.

A la izquierda del lienzo, un tercer banco comienza en la esquina inferior izquierda y se extiende hacia el centro del cuadro. Tras este banco no hay pared, sino que el vagón continúa en esa dirección, sin que veamos qué sucede en él. El banco tiene un respaldo de madera que está unido al asiento y al techo del vagón por unas barras de metal. En este banco duermen otras dos muchachas: una está sentada de lado en el banco y, por tanto, de frente a nosotros, con la cabeza y las manos apoyadas en el respaldo. La otra está tumbada en el banco, con la cabeza apoyada en el regazo de la primera. Las faldas de estas tienen colores más claros que las ropas de las demás. Destaca la que está tumbada, que viste una falda de lo que parece raso rosa con enaguas blancas con volantes.

La escena es oscura, apenas iluminada por la tenue luz que se filtra a través de las ventanas e ilumina la pared del fondo del vagón y las faldas de las muchachas del banco de la izquierda. Los blancos y rosas de estas faldas contrastan con el negro de la ropa de la mujer mayor y los tonos marrones de las paredes de madera del vagón.

El rostro de las mujeres está pintado con bastante detalle, al igual que las texturas de los diferentes materiales que aparecen en la escena: la desgastada madera de las paredes, el entramado del mimbre de la cesta, el brillante raso de la falda de la muchacha en primer plano y las arrugas y los efectos de luz en la vestimenta de todas ellas.

Appendix 3: Verbal instructions for exploring the tactile image

Este diagrama táctil es una imagen simplificada de la obra superpuesta a una reproducción del original. El diagrama representa los contornos y áreas de los elementos más relevantes de la obra. Los contornos son líneas en relieve y las áreas están marcadas con tramas diversas.

El diagrama de la obra está centrado en la lámina y enmarcado por una línea continua. Encima de la obra figuran el título y la fecha de la obra en Braille y en español. Primero, explora la imagen con las dos manos para conocer el tamaño y hacerte una idea general de las texturas y elementos que contiene.

Ahora, coloca las dos manos en la esquina inferior derecha. Notarás en primer lugar una línea curva. Es el contorno del hato de ropa. Continúa hacia arriba hasta notar unas líneas rectas: son la maleta del equipaje. Continúa hacia arriba y notarás un área lisa en relieve. Es el cuerpo de la mujer mayor. Ahora desplaza la mano hacia la izquierda hasta notar una trama de líneas horizontales paralelas. Es una de las dos muchachas sentadas en el banco del fondo. Desde ahí, baja la mano hasta notar una trama de puntos. Es la muchacha que duerme reclinada sobre el banco de la izquierda. Sigue bajando hasta notar una trama de líneas paralelas. Es la falda de la muchacha que duerme tumbada en el banco de la izquierda.

Ahora coloca las manos en la esquina superior derecha y desplaza la mano lentamente hacia la izquierda hasta notar dos líneas verticales paralelas. Es uno de los dos ventanucos que iluminan el vagón.

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Parallèles 30(2) Octobre 2018

La recherche en révision : portrait bibliométrique, questions de recherche et méthodologies

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Research on revision at a glance: bibliometric overview, research questions and methodologies – *Abstract*

Revision, i.e. the verification of a translation by a reviser who is not the translator, is a common professional practice in major international institutions as well as in translation agencies. This has especially been the case ever since the publication of the European standard EN15038 on translation services, in which it is an integral part of the translation process, from order to delivery. But what about the place of revision in translation research? Have researchers taken a greater interest in the revision in view of the standing it was given by the profession? What are the main research themes and methodologies? These are the questions we will answer in this paper through an analysis of bibliometric data and a review of the literature on revision. Notably, the results reveal a craze for revision since the end of the 1990s, as well as an increase in experimental studies over the past ten years.

Keywords

Translation revision, research in revision, methodology, research question, bibliometric data

1. Introduction

La révision en traduction, que nous définirons brièvement comme une opération qui consiste à examiner la traduction d'autrui[1] et y apporter les modifications nécessaires dans le but de la rendre conforme à des critères linguistiques et fonctionnels reconnus, est omniprésente dans le monde professionnel de la traduction et ce, dans trois contextes au moins. Le premier est celui des organismes internationaux où la révision se pratique depuis le XX^{e} siècle et c'est d'ailleurs de ces organismes que nous vient une des premières publications sur l'évaluation de la qualité de la révision (Arthern, 1983). La révision au sein de ces grandes organisations demeure une pratique quotidienne, comme en témoignent de récentes recherches ou réflexions à son égard (cf. section 3.2.4.2). Le deuxième contexte est celui des bureaux de traduction où des réviseurs (internes) sont chargés de réviser les traductions de traducteurs freelances. En effet, depuis 2006 et la publication de la norme européenne 15038:2006 sur les « Services de traduction – Exigences requises pour la prestation du service » (Comité européen de normalisation, 2006), la révision constitue une procédure d'assurance qualité obligatoire dans le processus de traduction pris dans le sens large, à savoir de la commande à la livraison. Il en va de même dans la norme ISO 17100:2015 (International Organization for Standardization, 2015), en quelque sorte le successeur de la norme européenne. Par conséquent, dans les bureaux accrédités, la révision est omniprésente. Enfin, troisième contexte, le traducteur freelance. À l'heure actuelle, avec la généralisation des mémoires de traduction, la révision est une activité quotidienne : qu'est-ce qu'évaluer et éventuellement adapter un segment issu d'une mémoire de traduction (d'autrui) sinon... réviser ? À ce type de révision s'ajoute bien évidemment la révision « traditionnelle » de traductions d'autrui, pratiquée par de nombreux traducteurs freelances comme l'a montré Hernández-Morin (2009a, 2009b) pour le marché français.

Par conséquent, on peut affirmer, comme l'écrivait déjà Brunette dans ce qui constitue sans doute une des premières thèses consacrées à la révision (Brunette, 1997, p. 11), que « la révision des traductions se pratique ». À l'époque, Brunette poursuivait en affirmant que les théoriciens de la traduction ne s'étaient « jamais penchés sérieusement sur la révision ». Qu'en est-il aujourd'hui ? La révision a-t-elle trouvé sa place dans la production traductologique ? Qui sont ces chercheurs en révision et via quel type de publication choisissent-ils de diffuser les résultats de leurs travaux ? Et enfin, quelles thématiques privilégient-ils et quelles sont les méthodologies mises en place ? Telles sont les questions auxquelles nous entendons répondre dans le présent article. Dans une première partie, nous dresserons un bref portrait bibliométrique des publications consacrées à la révision pour, dans une seconde partie, nous pencher sur les thèmes abordés par les chercheurs et ce, en fonction de la méthodologie sélectionnée.

2. Un bref portrait bibliométrique de la révision

Notre recherche de publications sur la révision se base principalement sur la consultation de deux banques de données bibliographiques sur la traductologie, disponibles en ligne, à savoir

[1] À noter qu'il ne s'agit donc pas d'auto-révision, à savoir par le traducteur de sa propre traduction. Le terme de « révision » est parfois utilisé pour désigner cette étape du processus de traduction (voir, par exemple, Robert, 2008).

la *Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB)*[2] et BITRA[3]. Les mots clés utilisés ont été les termes de « révision » et de « réviseur » (en anglais : *revision*, *reviser*, *revising*, mais aussi *editor*, *editing*). Nous avons complété nos recherches par la consultation de Google Scholar et de la fonction *UAntwerpen Discovery Service* de la bibliothèque de l'Université d'Anvers, qui permet une recherche simultanée dans toutes les ressources disponibles à la bibliothèque, qu'elles soient sous forme électronique ou papier (EBSCO).

Bien que la TSB fournisse 275 références sous le mot clé « editing-revising-revision », de nombreuses références sont à écarter, car portant non pas sur la révision au sens où nous l'entendons, mais sur l'auto-révision par le traducteur ou encore sur la révision de la traduction de logiciels, qui s'inscrit davantage dans le domaine de la localisation. Il en va de même pour BITRA : en lançant une recherche sur les termes de « revision », « reviser » et « revising » dans le titre, nous avons obtenu respectivement 227, 13 et 29 références, mais ici aussi, une sélection doit être opérée manuellement pour ne retenir que les publications consacrées à la révision. Nous avons finalement pu identifier 158 références, ce qui ne veut pas dire que notre liste soit exhaustive, mais nous pensons toutefois qu'elle est assez complète et représentative. Notre bref portrait bibliométrique portera sur les aspects suivants : dates de publication, auteurs et affiliations, types de publication.

2.1. La révision au fil des ans

La première publication recensée par nos soins date de 1969, la dernière de 2018. En moyenne, sur près de 50 ans, les chercheurs ont produit 4,38 publications par an. Toutefois, si l'on prend la date de la première thèse sur la révision comme point de repère (Brunette, 1997), on constate que 88 % de la production traductologique sur la révision date d'après 1997. La Figure 1 représente la répartition par année et révèle des « pics de production » (min. 10 publications) en 2007, 2009, 2014 et 2015. En 2007, la revue de traductologie *JoSTrans* a consacré un numéro spécial à la révision, d'où ce score élevé. L'intérêt des chercheurs a sans doute aussi été stimulé par la publication de la norme européenne EN 15038 faisant de la révision une étape obligatoire du processus de traduction[4]. En 2015, même phénomène, avec un dossier spécial sur la révision dans le magazine *Circuit* de l'Ordre des traducteurs, terminologues et interprètes agréés du Québec. Pas de numéro spécial toutefois en 2009 et en 2014.

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2 www.benjamins.com/online/tsb/.

3 Université d'Alicante, https://aplicacionesua.cpd.ua.es/tra_int/usu/buscar.asp?idioma=en.

4 Une recherche dans Bitra basée sur « EN 15038 » révèle 28 publications.

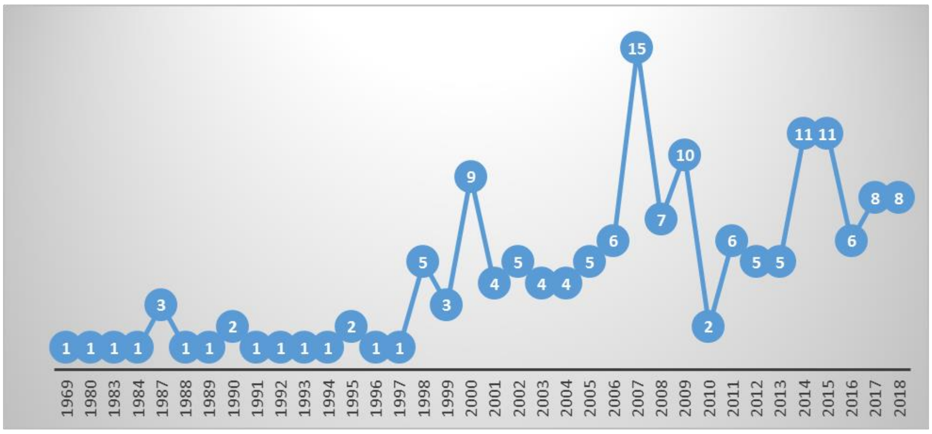

Figure 1. Évolution du nombre de publications sur la révision depuis 1969

2.2. Les chercheurs en révision

Les 158 publications recensées sont le fruit du travail de 104 auteurs différents qui ont, dans la majorité des cas, travaillé seuls (132 publications avec un seul auteur, contre 18 avec 2 auteurs et 8 avec plus de 2 auteurs). En moyenne, les auteurs ou groupes d'auteurs ont publié 1,51 publication, mais certains sont très prolifiques, avec jusqu'à 15 publications[5]. Quelque 43 % des publications sont le fruit du travail des 9 auteurs ou groupes d'auteurs ayant publié au minimum 4 articles. Ils sont repris dans la Figure 2. Leur affiliation ainsi que le pays de résidence est repris dans le Tableau 1. Pour l'ensemble des publications (N =158), le Canada arrive en tête, suivi de l'Espagne, de la France, de la Belgique et de l'Italie, comme l'illustre la Figure 3. Enfin, en ce qui concerne la langue de publication, l'anglais est le plus populaire avec 50 % des publications, suivi du français avec 26 % (cf. Figure 4).

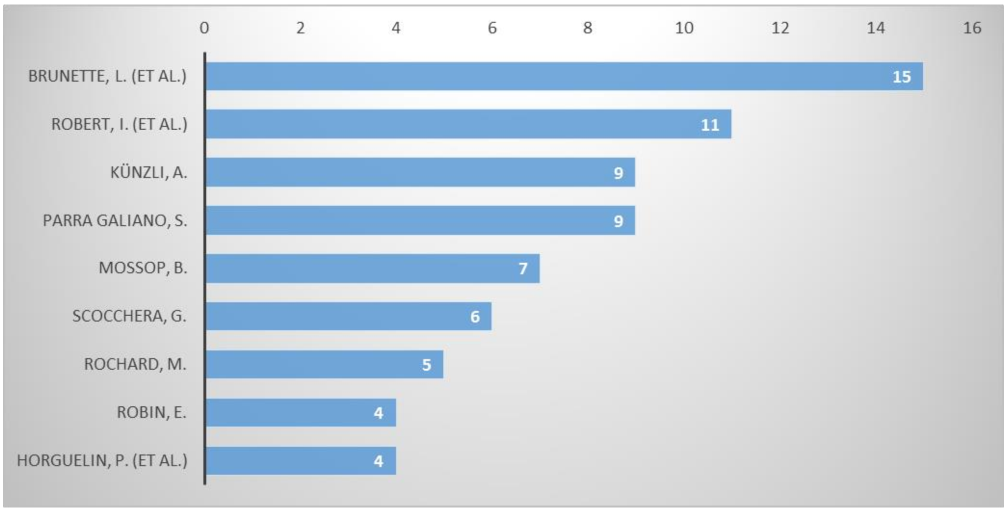

Figure 2. Auteurs et groupes d'auteurs ayant au minimum 4 publications sur la révision à leur actif

[5] Comme nous le montrerons dans la seconde partie, un certain nombre d'auteurs publient plusieurs articles sur la base d'une même étude. Toutefois, chaque étude porte sur un aspect bien précis des résultats. Malheureusement, et nous parlons par expérience, la limite de mots imposée par les revues scientifiques ne permet pas toujours aux chercheurs de présenter tous les résultats d'une même étude dans une seule publication. Par conséquent, le nombre de publications dépasse effectivement parfois le nombre d'études.

Auteur	Affiliation	Pays	# publ.
Brunette, L. (et al.)	Université du Québec en Outaouais	Canada	15
Robert, I. (et al.)	Université d'Anvers	Belgique	11
Künzli, A.	Stockholm University, Université de Genève	Suède, Suisse	9
Parra Galiano, S.	Universidad de Granada	Espagne	9
Mossop, B.	York University School of Translation, Bureau de la traduction	Canada	7
Scocchera, G.	Università di Bologna	Italie	6
Rochard, M.	OCDE	France	5
Robin, E.	Eötvös Loránd University	Hongrie	4
Horguelin, P. (et al.)	Université de Montréal	Canada	4

Tableau 1. Affiliation principale (ou organisation) et pays de résidence des auteurs ayant au minimum 4 publications[6]

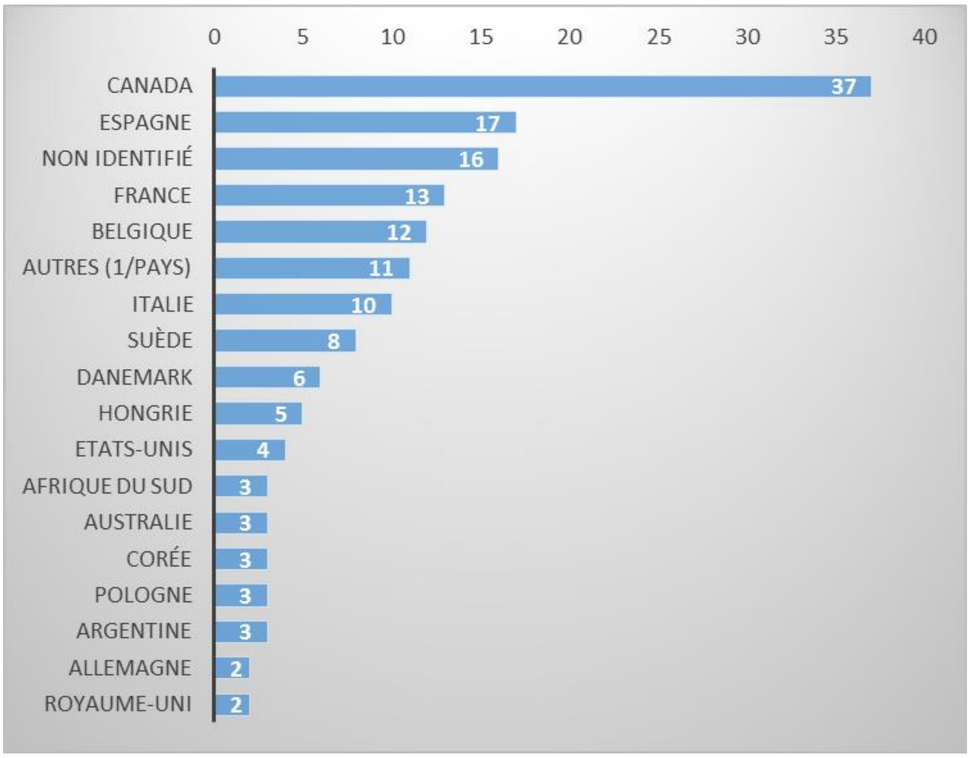

Figure 3. Publications par pays

Note : Le pays n'a pas toujours pu être identifié, d'où la dénomination « Non identifié ». Les pays n'ayant qu'une seule publication ont été regroupés dans un seul groupe (« Autres »).

[6] Les affiliations et les pays de résidence (affiliation ou organisation) sont basés sur les informations disponibles dans les articles consultés. Ils pourraient donc ne pas être à jour dans le cas de publications plus anciennes.

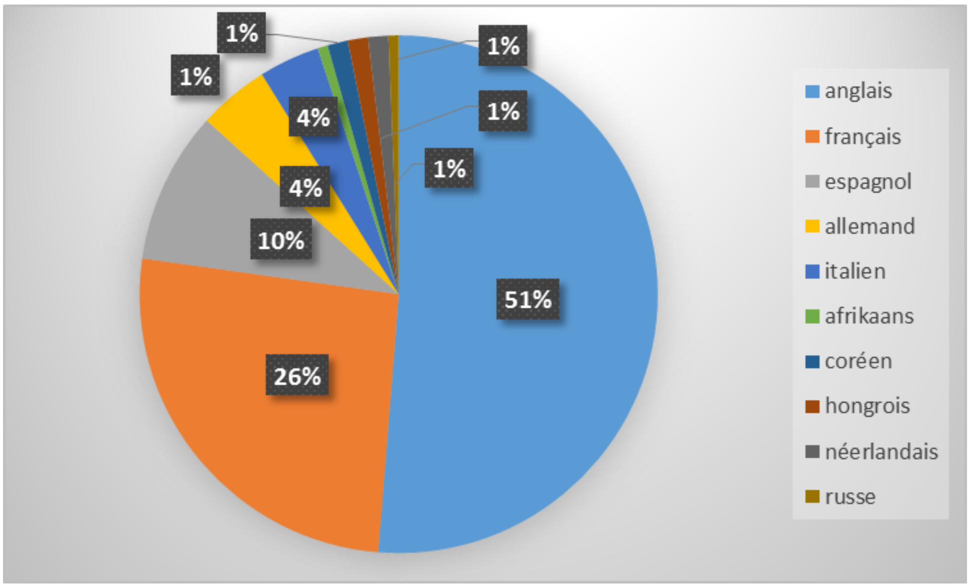

Figure 4. Langues de publication

2.3. Types de publication

Pour notre analyse, nous avons réparti les publications recensées en 6 groupes, comme indiqué dans la Figure 5. On constate que les publications dans les revues scientifiques et/ou professionnelles sont majoritaires, avec 62 %. Les actes de colloque et les chapitres de livres édités représentent chacun 12 et 13 %, suivis des sections de manuel consacrées à la révision (5 %) (par ex. Gile, 1995 ; Gouadec, 2007 ; Samuelsson-Brown, 2004), les manuels de révision (4 %) (par ex. Horguelin & Pharand, 2009 ; Mossop, 2014) et les thèses sur la révision (4 %) (par ex. Brunette, 1997 ; Parra Galiano, 2005 ; Robert, 2012 ; Scocchera, 2017a). Le nombre de publications par revue est repris dans le Tableau 2. La revue professionnelle québécoise *Circuit* arrive en première position, un résultat en phase avec les statistiques relatives aux auteurs et leur affiliation. À noter toutefois qu'il s'agit de contributions plus courtes que dans les revues scientifiques, puisqu'elles se limitent généralement à une ou deux pages. *Circuit* est suivie par une série d'éminentes revues de traductologie (dont nombreuses sont reprises dans le *Web of Science*), ainsi que d'autres revues professionnelles comme la revue *Traduire* de la SFT (Société française des traducteurs) par exemple.

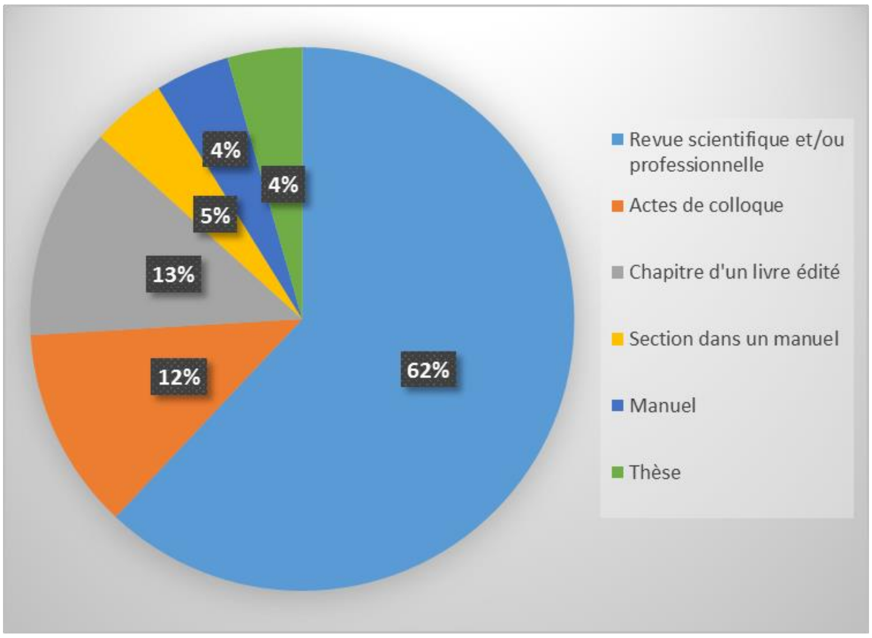

Figure 5. Types de publications

Revue	Nbre de pub.
Circuit	13
JosTrans	8
Perspectives: Studies in Translatology	8
Meta	7
Traduire	5
The ATA Chronicle	4
inTRAlinea	3
Rivista Internazionale di Tecnica della Traduzione	3
Across	2
Conference Interpretation and Translation	2
Entreculturas: revista de traducción y comunicación intercultural	2
LANS	2
Lebende Sprachen	2
LitNet Akademies	2
Target	2
Terminologie & Traduction	2
The Translator	2
trans-kom	2
TTR	2
Turjuman	2
Revue avec 1 publication	24

Tableau 2. Liste des revues avec au moins 2 publications sur la révision

3. La recherche en révision

Comme nous l'écrivions dans l'introduction, les recherches en révision sont aujourd'hui nombreuses, mais relativement récentes et datent en majeure partie d'une vingtaine d'années. Ipsen et Dam (2016) parlent d'ailleurs d'un thème émergent en traductologie. Dans le domaine de la révision, on distingue deux grandes tendances parmi les chercheurs : d'une part les publications à caractère principalement théorique ou conceptuel, qui sont souvent des réflexions personnelles sur des aspects particuliers de la révision, fondées généralement sur une étude de la littérature et/ou une argumentation, et d'autre part des études empiriques que nous pourrions répartir en quatre groupes d'un point de vue méthodologique, à l'image de la classification des études empiriques en traductologie par Saldanha et O'Brien (2013) : les études axées sur le *produit*, sur le *processus*, sur le *participant* et sur le *contexte* (voir plus loin). Toutefois, les études empiriques combinent bien souvent différents aspects.

Outre ces deux grands groupes d'études sur la révision, on trouve également des manuels ou guides pratiques (N=7, par exemple Horguelin & Brunette, 1998 ; Horguelin & Hosington, 1980 ; Horguelin & Pharand, 2009 ; Mossop, 2001, 2007b, 2014) et des thèses de doctorat sur le sujet (N=7, par exemple Brunette, 1997 ; Hernández-Morin, 2009a ; Horváth, 2009 ; Parra Galiano, 2005 ; Robert, 2012 ; Robin, 2014b ; Scocchera, 2017a).

L'analyse qui suit est basée uniquement sur les articles de revues professionnelles et/ou scientifiques, les chapitres de livres édités et les actes de colloque, tous comptant 4 pages au moins (N=115). En effet, les contributions de moins de 4 pages (N=18) sont pour la plupart des comptes rendus de pratique professionnelle, des réflexions personnelles ou de courts plaidoyers, certes intéressants, mais peu axés sur la recherche. Par ailleurs, certaines publications reprises dans l'analyse bibliométrique n'ont pas pu être consultées soit parce qu'elles n'étaient pas disponibles, soit parce que nous ne maitrisions pas la langue (par ex. coréen ou russe). Notre analyse se fonde dès lors sur 102 publications. La Figure 6 montre le poids respectif de chaque type d'études. Les études théoriques représentent 31 % des études que nous avons analysées, contre 69 % d'études empiriques. Parmi ces dernières, les études axées sur le processus sont majoritaires, mais suivies de près par les études axées sur le contexte.

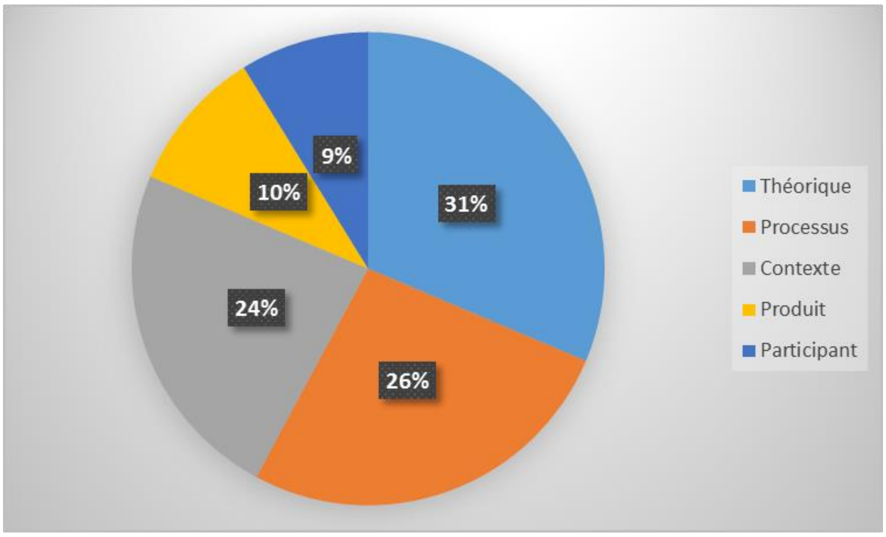

Figure 6. Répartition des études par type de méthodologie

La Figure 7 révèle une évolution dans le choix de la méthodologie au fur et à mesure des années. Comme expliqué auparavant, la production traductologique d'avant 1998 est assez faible, 1997 marquant un réel tournant, avec la publication de la première thèse en révision (Brunette, 1997). Durant la période 1998-2007, ce sont les études théoriques qui sont les plus représentées, suivies des études empiriques axées sur le contexte et des études empiriques consacrées au processus. Durant cette même période, les études empiriques de type « produit » et « participant » (cf. sections 3.2.1 et 3.2.3) sont (quasi) absentes et n'apparaissent qu'au cours des dix dernières années (2008-2018). Durant cette dernière décennie, alors que les études théoriques et les études empiriques axées sur le contexte stagnent ou sont même en perte de vitesse, les études empiriques de type « processus » (principalement expérimentales) poursuivent leur progression et deviennent la méthodologie la plus appliquée par les chercheurs en révision.

Dans les sections suivantes, nous aborderons les questions de recherche et les méthodes de recherche de chaque type d'études, mais pour les études dont la méthodologie est en progression (processus, produit et participant), nous présenterons aussi brièvement les résultats.

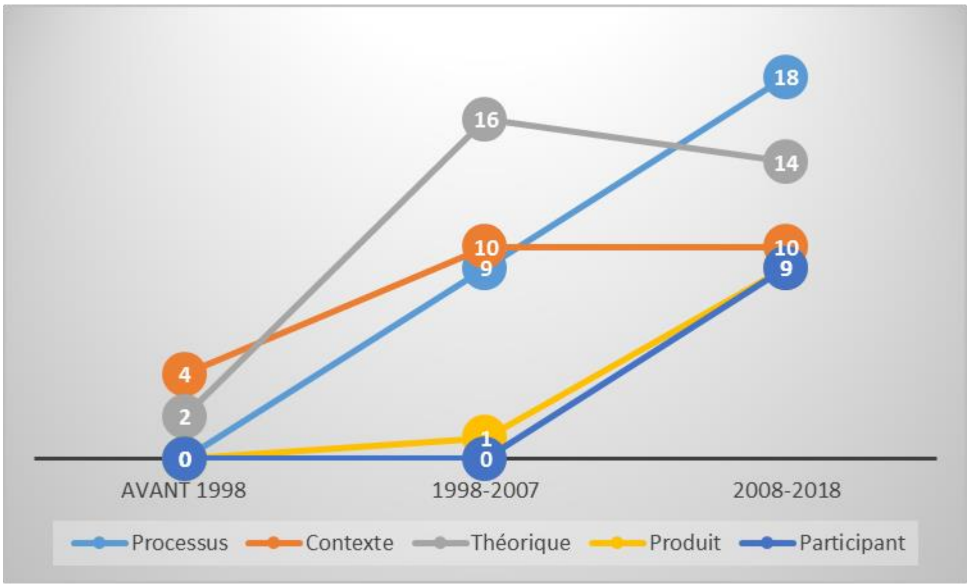

Figure 7. Méthodologie selon l'époque

3.1. Publications à caractère théorique

Parmi les publications (articles) à caractère théorique, c'est-à-dire basées tantôt sur des études de la littérature, tantôt sur des réflexions et analyses personnelles (ou les deux), on distingue dans un premier temps des articles de synthèse, particulièrement intéressants pour tout lecteur intéressé par un tour d'horizon de la discipline[7]. Le plus complet est de Künzli (2014) et rédigé en allemand. L'auteur s'intéresse non seulement au concept de révision, mais fait également le point sur les recherches en la matière et formule toute une série de propositions

[7] À noter que les thèses en révision citées précédemment comprennent également un état de la question.

de recherche[8]. Une synthèse comparable en anglais est également disponible, mais plus ancienne (Mossop, 2007a, 2011) ou chez Garcia & Sydney (2008), mais dans le domaine de la localisation.

On retrouve ensuite une série de publications portant sur différents aspects de la révision, tels que la terminologie de la révision (Scocchera, 2013 ; Brunette, 2000, 2007), les principaux concepts en révision (Tardáguila, 2009), les paramètres de révision (Lee, 2006), la révision en tant que méthode d'assurance qualité et ses aspects méthodologiques fondamentaux (Parra Galiano, 2016), la gestion des risques liée à la décision de réviser ou non en milieu professionnel (Martin, 2007), la place de la révision dans le processus de traduction, l'importance du mentorat et de la révision pédagogique dans la formation des futurs traducteurs (Rochard, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2007), la révision face au risque de censure (Brunette, 2002), les risques d'une révision abusive pouvant dénaturer la traduction (Pergnier, 1990), l'importance de la révision après mais aussi avant la traduction (*pre-editing* dans le cas d'une traduction machine) et l'avènement de la révision sur écran (Heath, 2001) ou encore l'importance des instructions de traduction (Allman, 2008). Tout récemment, Mellinger (2018) souligne la nécessité d'intégrer la révision unilingue et bilingue dans les modèles de TQA tandis que Nord (2018) nous livre une réflexion intéressante sur la révision en sa qualité de réviseure professionnelle, passant en revue différents aspects tels que les critères, procédures, principes et compétence de révision, pour terminer par l'application du principe de « qualité à la source » au processus de révision et à la gestion de la qualité en général.

Parmi les publications à caractère principalement théorique, on recense également des contributions liées à l'enseignement de la révision ou à la compétence de révision. Ainsi, Rodríguez (2012) nous propose une analyse de l'approche constructiviste dans l'enseignement de la révision, tandis que Brunette se penche sur l'enseignement de la révision pédagogique (Brunette, 1998) pour s'intéresser ensuite (Brunette, 2003) à la place du code linguistique dans l'enseignement de la révision et en particulier sur les interférences linguistiques. Parra Galiano (2015) étudie les origines d'une révision déficiente après avoir mis en avant l'importance de l'apprentissage de la révision chez les traducteurs (Parra Galiano, 2001), celle-ci les préparant au monde professionnel en stimulant la confiance en soi. Enfin, certains chercheurs s'intéressent à la compétence de révision, en proposant un descriptif de cours (Mossop, 1992), une liste de compétences (Chakhachiro, 2005), une méthode d'enseignement pour développer la compétence de révision (Mendoza García & Ponce Márquez, 2013) ou encore un modèle de compétence (Robert, Remael & Ureel, 2017).

3.2. Études empiriques

3.2.1. Études axées sur le produit

Les études portant prioritairement sur l'analyse du produit révisé sont récentes, encore peu nombreuses et font généralement appel à l'analyse de corpus. Certaines cependant sont basées sur l'analyse du produit par le biais d'une étude de cas.

Parmi les études de corpus, Bisiada (2018a, 2018b, 2018c) se base sur un corpus parallèle composé de textes sources en anglais, de leurs traductions non révisées en allemand et de

[8] Le plus récent est de Robin (2016), mais il est moins complet puisqu'il ne cite que Mossop, Horváth et Arthern comme auteurs de publications sur la révision. Le présent chapitre montre à quel point les publications sont relativement nombreuses et diverses.

leurs traductions publiées en allemand (et donc révisées), l'objectif étant d'analyser les interventions des réviseurs, en particulier au niveau des constructions nominales. Il constate que les réviseurs ont un impact important et systématique sur le texte traduit et que ce que certains considèrent comme des « traductions littérales » ne sont pas nécessairement le résultat de la traduction, mais de la révision. Mc Donough (2015) analyse un corpus de traductions sur Wiki et les révisions de ces traductions afin de déterminer la fréquence des problèmes de traduction liés au transfert d'une part et à la langue ou au style d'autre part, ainsi que les solutions proposées. Elle constate que les deux types de problèmes de traduction sont pratiquement toujours présents et que la moitié ne sont généralement pas détectés. Les problèmes liés à la langue et au style sont révisés plus fréquemment que les problèmes de transfert. Popic (2014) analyse un corpus de textes traduits et révisés pour vérifier si la norme européenne est appliquée en Slovénie. Elle constate que ce n'est pas le cas : la révision y est bien souvent unilingue et n'est pas nécessairement réalisée par un réviseur ayant une formation de traducteur.

Dans le domaine littéraire, Solum (2018) analyse un corpus de romans traduits de l'anglais au norvégien pour déterminer quels changements sont proposés par les réviseurs et acceptés ou non par le traducteur. Bien qu'ils soient « invisibles », car rarement mentionnés dans les remerciements des livres publiés, les réviseurs ont une influence indéniable sur les parties des traductions qu'ils commentent. Les traducteurs acceptent en effet un grand nombre de suggestions de la part du réviseur, pour autant qu'elles soient de bonne qualité, et les traducteurs littéraires norvégiens attendent d'ailleurs de leur éditeur qu'un solide travail de révision leur soit proposé. Robin (2014a) de son côté analyse un corpus de textes de fiction traduits de l'anglais au hongrois et de leurs versions révisées afin de déterminer ce qui arrive aux « universaux de traduction » durant la phase de révision. Elle constate que les phénomènes d'explicitation et d'implicitation, généralement considérés comme le fruit du travail des traducteurs, peuvent très bien être le résultat du processus de révision. Ensuite, elle propose une typologie des interventions de révision sur la base de règles, normes et stratégies linguistiques et traductionnelles (Robin, 2018).

Certaines études, axées sur l'analyse du produit, se basent sur une analyse de texte ou d'un corpus restreint, que l'on peut considérer comme une étude de cas. Magris (1999) analyse la révision de la traduction d'un manuel de soins infirmiers et s'intéresse notamment à la définition de la tâche et à la tolérance du réviseur, en se basant sur le modèle psycholinguistique de Hayes, Flower, Schriver, Stratman et Carey (1987). Rega (1999) analyse les révisions de trois textes de l'allemand à l'italien et présente des exemples d'interventions subjectives, d'interventions nécessaires d'un point de vue stylistique et d'interventions nécessaires effectuées par un spécialiste du thème abordé dans le texte. Elle constate par exemple que les interventions du second type sont nombreuses et que le style doit faire l'objet d'une attention accrue au sein des cours de traduction à l'université. Notaristefano (2010) analyse la révision de la traduction d'un manuel de macroéconomie de l'anglais à l'italien, classe et quantifie les changements et tente ainsi d'identifier le profil professionnel idéal du réviseur.

3.2.2. Études axées sur le processus

Les études axées sur le processus sont de type expérimental et font appel à des méthodes qualitatives et/ou quantitatives. Il s'agit du groupe d'études le plus représenté en révision, avec une série d'études axées sur la compétence de révision d'une part et sur le couple processus-produit (qualité) de révision d'autre part. On constate que dans les études les plus récentes, les chercheurs combinent davantage d'outils de collecte de données relatives au processus, tels que les logiciels de saisie de frappe et de mouvements de souris (Inputlog[9], Translog), les protocoles verbaux, les logiciels de capture d'écran. Toutefois, aucune étude à ce jour ne semble avoir fait appel à l'oculométrie.

3.2.2.1. Compétence de révision et enseignement

La première étude sur la compétence de révision (Lorenzo, 2002) compare la compétence de révision et d'auto-révision vers la langue étrangère d'étudiants en traduction, dont les tâches ont été enregistrées avec le logiciel de saisie de frappes Translog. La chercheuse constate que les étudiants ne parviennent pas à réviser avec succès, faute de stratégies de détection et d'évaluation des erreurs. Il semble également qu'ils révisent mieux la traduction d'autrui que leur propre traduction. La deuxième étude, menée par Künzli (2006b), repose sur l'analyse de protocoles de réflexion à voix haute de dix réviseurs professionnels, dans le but de mettre au jour des composants de la compétence de révision et formuler un descriptif de cours de révision. Il propose ainsi un module de révision centré sur les sous-compétences stratégique, interpersonnelle et instrumentale. On retrouve ensuite une étude longitudinale menée au Danemark de 2003 à 2007 avec des étudiants et des professionnels (respectivement 71 et 28), visant à comparer la compétence de traduction à la compétence de révision (Hansen, 2009), et reposant sur des analyses de produit et de processus via le logiciel Translog, des questionnaires et des interviews. Une des principales conclusions, c'est que les traducteurs expérimentés ne sont pas nécessairement de bons réviseurs et inversement. La compétence de révision demande des aptitudes et des attitudes supplémentaires.

La dernière étude en date a été conduite dans le but de valider un modèle de compétence de révision de traduction (Robert *et al.*, 2017) et a fait l'objet de trois publications rendant compte des premiers résultats de ce processus de validation (Rigouts Terryn, Robert, Ureel, Remael & Hanoulle, 2017 ; Robert, Rigouts Terryn, Ureel & Remael, 2017 ; Robert, Ureel, Remael & Rigouts Terryn, 2018). Pour valider leur modèle de compétence de révision, les chercheurs ont effectué une étude expérimentale de type prétest-posttest, faisant appel à 21 étudiants répartis dans deux groupes, le groupe expérimental et le groupe de contrôle. Le groupe expérimental a suivi un module de révision, contrairement au groupe de contrôle qui n'a reçu aucune formation en révision. Les outils de collecte de données comprenaient une série de tâches de révision, avec enregistrement du processus via le logiciel Inputlog. L'expérimentation était suivie d'un questionnaire en ligne. Les chercheurs constatent par exemple que la sous-compétence de recherche et d'utilisation d'outils est différente chez les étudiants ayant reçu une formation en révision : ils utilisent bel et bien les mêmes outils, mais ils les utilisent différemment, à savoir, plus fréquemment. En d'autres termes, ils effectuent davantage d'opérations de recherche pour pouvoir justifier leurs modifications et se montrent plus méticuleux. Les étudiants en révision se révèlent également plus tolérants et apportent moins de modifications inutiles (hyperrévisions). Toutefois, les chercheurs ne sont pas parvenus à démontrer que les étudiants ayant suivi un module de révision révisaient mieux, et donc, apportaient davantage de modifications justifiées, un indicateur de la sous-compétence stratégique. Les chercheurs expliquent ce résultat par la courte durée de la formation, ainsi que par les limites propres à une étude pilote (par ex. nombre de participants).

[9] Voir www.inputlog.net/.

Outre la compétence de révision, on recense également deux études expérimentales portant sur l'enseignement de la révision et menées respectivement avec des étudiants et des professionnels. Dans la première étude (Shreve, Angelone & Lacruz, 2014), les chercheurs ont comparé l'effet de la capture d'écran et du protocole de « compte-rendu intégré de décisions et problèmes » (IPDR en anglais, *integrated problem and decision report*) (Gile, 2004) sur l'efficacité du processus de révision chez douze étudiants. Ils ont constaté que les étudiants étaient plus performants quand ils disposaient de données du processus de traduction sous forme de captures d'écran, par rapport aux données sous forme de rapports écrits. Dans la seconde, Robert et Brunette (2016) ont étudié le lien entre la réflexion à voix haute, la qualité de la révision et la capacité à détecter des erreurs chez seize réviseurs professionnels et ce, de façon à mettre au jour un éventuel bénéfice de cette pratique pour les apprenants. Les résultats montrent par exemple que plus les réviseurs verbalisent un diagnostic détaillé de l'erreur, mieux ils détectent et corrigent l'erreur, mais plus longtemps ils travaillent. D'un point de vue didactique, les chercheuses concluent dès lors qu'il pourrait s'avérer utile de demander aux étudiants en révision de penser à voix haute lorsqu'ils effectuent des travaux de révision à domicile par exemple.

3.2.2.2. Processus, produit et qualité de révision

Parmi les études qui portent principalement sur le produit et le processus de révision, on retrouve de nombreuses publications, parfois basées sur une seule et même étude expérimentale, mais avec un objectif distinct ou avec des résultats partiels. C'est le cas de Künzli (2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007a, 2007b, 2009b) et de Robert (2013, 2014a, 2014b ; Robert & Van Waes, 2014).

L'étude expérimentale de Künzli repose principalement sur l'utilisation de protocoles de réflexion à voix haute et de trois tâches de révision effectuées par dix professionnels. Dans un premier temps, Künzli (2005) s'est intéressé aux principes qui guident les réviseurs dans leur tâche de révision, tout en étudiant également la qualité du produit et la durée du processus. Il constate que les réviseurs n'appliquent pas toujours les principes qu'ils verbalisent, comme le principe de « réviser n'est pas retraduire ». Ensuite, le chercheur s'est penché sur le sentiment de loyauté et la prise de décision (2006a) et a conclu que les réviseurs étaient face à un dilemme : loyauté envers soi-même versus loyauté envers les autres acteurs du processus de traduction, comme le client et le lecteur. À propos de l'importance des instructions de révision (*revision brief*) au regard de la performance des réviseurs, Künzli (2006c) a noté que l'absence d'instructions de révision claires et transparentes avait un effet néfaste sur le produit révisé. Le chercheur a également étudié les changements apportés par les réviseurs, les changements non apportés mais qui auraient dû l'être et la définition de la tâche des réviseurs et il a constaté qu'une révision déficiente pouvait être due à l'absence, chez le réviseur, d'une définition claire de la tâche à accomplir, ainsi qu'à l'absence de procédures bien structurées (2007b). Par ailleurs, la qualité prend du temps et, généralement, le fait que le réviseur lise d'abord la traduction et ensuite le texte source ou l'inverse ne semble pas avoir d'impact sur la qualité (Künzli, 2009b). Enfin, Künzli (2009a) s'est également penché sur l'utilisation des pronoms personnels dans la révision du français au suédois chez 10 professionnels (tâche avec réflexion à voix haute) et a constaté qu'il s'agissait là d'un véritable problème de traduction, même pour les réviseurs expérimentés. L'analyse des protocoles de réflexion à voix haute a par ailleurs révélé une grande incertitude chez les participants, optant pour différentes solutions au fur et à mesure de la tâche.

Robert (2013, 2014b ; Robert & Van Waes, 2014) s'est intéressée au lien entre la procédure de révision d'une part et le produit (qualité) et le processus de révision (potentiel de détection d'erreurs et durée) d'autre part. Elle a fait appel à seize réviseurs professionnels devant réviser chacun quatre traductions à chaque fois selon une procédure différente. Pour la collecte de données relatives au processus, elle a utilisé les protocoles de réflexion à voix haute, ainsi que le logiciel Inputlog et un questionnaire. Elle a constaté que le choix de la procédure avait effectivement un impact sur le produit et le processus de révision et a formulé différentes recommandations en fonction des instructions de révision. À noter que l'étude mentionnée dans la section précédente (Robert & Brunette, 2016) est basée sur la même étude expérimentale principale.

Le thème de la procédure de révision était également au centre de trois autres études expérimentales. La première est postérieure aux travaux de Robert : Ipsen et Dam (2016) ont fait appel à neuf étudiants devant effectuer une tâche de révision dans le logiciel de mémoire de traduction MemSource. Pour la collecte des données, les chercheuses ont utilisé le logiciel de capture d'écran Snagit, des interviews et des protocoles de réflexion à voix haute rétrospectifs. Les chercheuses ont constaté que, quelle que soit la procédure de révision sélectionnée, les participants obtiennent le meilleur résultat quand ils lisent d'abord la traduction. Toutefois, l'ordre des opérations a été établi a posteriori sur la base de l'analyse de protocoles rétrospectifs et non de données oculométriques sur le comportement de lecture des participants. Les autres études sont antérieures. Marashi et Okhowat (2013) ont comparé la révision avec et sans texte source de 40 réviseurs professionnels, en s'intéressant principalement à la qualité linguistique de la révision et au profil des réviseurs. Ils ont utilisé une tâche de révision et un questionnaire. Ils constatent que pour ce type de révision (purement linguistique), le recours au texte source n'a pas d'impact sur la qualité. Enfin, le groupe de recherche GREVIS (Brunette, Gagnon & Hine, 2005) s'est penché sur le type d'interventions de révision de 14 réviseurs professionnels ayant révisé un texte traduit avec le texte source dans un premier temps, et sans le texte source dans un deuxième temps. La méthode de collecte de données s'est limitée aux tâches de révision et l'analyse portait donc uniquement sur le produit de révision. Les chercheurs concluent qu'une révision unilingue est à déconseiller.

Le produit et le processus de révision ont également été étudiés dans un environnement de mémoire de traduction par Mellinger et Shreve (2016). Les chercheurs ont observé les travaux de révision de 9 traducteurs professionnels et enregistré leur processus de révision avec TransCenter[10] (saisie de frappes, mouvements de souris, etc.). Ils ont constaté une tendance à la surrévision chez leurs sujets.

Enfin, dans une étude pilote, Van Rensburg (2012) a cherché à déterminer l'impact du travail de différents réviseurs sur la qualité de la traduction, tout en s'intéressant aussi au temps consacré à la révision. Quatre réviseurs ont révisé deux traductions de l'anglais à l'afrikaans : un texte peu spécialisé traduit par un étudiant en traduction et un texte spécialisé traduit par un traducteur professionnel expérimenté. Ensuite, pour chaque texte, trois évaluateurs ont évalué les cinq traductions du même texte source, à savoir la traduction non révisée et quatre traductions révisées. Van Rensburg a constaté que la révision avait eu un moins grand impact sur la qualité de la traduction effectuée par le professionnel, d'où la question de la nécessité de réviser le travail de traducteurs chevronnés. Les résultats de son étude montrent également

[10] Voir www.cs.cmu.edu/~mdenkows/pdf/transcenter-amta2012.pdf.

qu'il n'y a pas nécessairement de corrélation positive entre la qualité de la révision et l'expérience en révision. Enfin, la chercheuse a constaté que les réviseurs avaient consacré moins de temps à la révision de la traduction effectuée par un professionnel, mais elle estime qu'ils auraient sans doute perdu moins de temps à vérifier la terminologie s'ils avaient su qui était le traducteur, d'où l'intérêt, pour le traducteur, d'inclure des commentaires à l'intention du réviseur, notamment sur le plan terminologique. Dans une étude plus récente, Van Rensburg (2017) a conçu des instruments de mesure de la qualité de la révision pour ensuite étudier le lien possible entre la qualité de la révision et certaines variables du profil du réviseur. Pour son étude, elle a fait appel à 30 réviseurs et 3 évaluateurs. Elle a constaté une corrélation significative entre le nombre d'années d'expérience en traduction et un seul des indicateurs de son instrument de mesure, à savoir les corrections linguistiques nécessaires en langue cible.

3.2.3. Études orientées vers les participants

La recherche par enquête est assez populaire parmi les chercheurs en révision en Europe. Scocchera (2015) étudie la révision littéraire et éditoriale en Italie sous deux points de vue : d'une part, la relation traducteur/réviseur via une enquête (80 répondants) et, d'autre part, la place de la révision collaborative numérique dans la « génétique » ou « genèse » de la traduction[11]. Elle constate notamment que 43,6 % des traducteurs ont toujours des contacts avec leur réviseur, mais que la même proportion (43,6 %) n'en ont jamais. Chez les 12,8 % restants, les contacts sont sporadiques. En ce qui concerne la formation à la révision, la chercheuse constate que très peu de réviseurs ont reçu une formation à la révision de traductions littéraires. Sur la base de cette même enquête, la chercheuse (Scocchera, 2014) formule dès lors des suggestions pour un cours de révision littéraire et plaide pour l'utilisation d'outils spécifiques, tels que les fonctions de révision de Word, les guides de style, les paramètres de révision de Mossop (2001, 2007b, 2014) et la typologie des tendances déformantes de Berman (1985). Par ailleurs, elle complète les résultats de son enquête par une réflexion personnelle sur l'importance du caractère collaboratif de la révision et ce, par le récit d'une expérience personnelle en tant que réviseure (2016). Enfin, toujours sur la base de son enquête (notamment), Scocchera (2017b) met en avant l'aspect « relecture » du processus de révision, tout en s'attachant aux stratégies et objectifs du réviseur.

Au Danemark, Rasmussen et Scholdager (2011) se penchent sur les procédures et paramètres de révision et les profils des réviseurs dans les bureaux de traduction danois (22 répondants) et complètent leur méthodologie par des interviews. Les résultats montrent que 10 % des traductions ne sont pas révisées du tout, mais que 90 % le sont par le biais d'une procédure comparative. Il semble également que peu de bureaux de traduction aient établi un guide de révision, mais que la plupart des réviseurs sont traducteurs de formation. En 2008, les chercheurs (Schjoldager, Rasmussen & Thomsen, 2008) avaient déjà eu recours à l'enquête et à l'interview pour le développement d'un module de contraction de texte et de révision.

En France, c'est via une enquête également (115 répondants) que Hernández-Morin (2009b) a étudié les pratiques et les perceptions de la révision dans l'Hexagone. Elle constate par exemple que la plupart des traducteurs freelance français sont favorables à la norme

[11] La génétique de la traduction, ou encore genèse de la traduction, s'inscrit dans le cadre des études de « traductologie génétique », une nouvelle forme de recherche traductologique s'inspirant de la critique génétique. Il s'agit d'y étudier les différentes versions d'une œuvre, en l'occurrence la traduction, mais aussi des manuscrits et autres avant-textes. Voir à ce sujet le numéro 14 (2015) de la revue de traductologie LANS (https://lans-tts.uantwerpen.be/index.php/LANS-TTS/issue/view/16).

européenne EN 15038 et favorables à la révision, tout en indiquant qu'une révision n'est pas toujours nécessaire.

En Belgique, Robert (2008) s'est penchée sur les procédures de révision (48 et 21 répondants pour les enquêtes 1 et 2 respectivement) après avoir abordé le flou terminologique entourant le concept de révision par le biais d'une étude de la littérature. Par ailleurs, bien qu'il ne s'agisse pas de révision de traduction « traditionnelle », c'est aussi par le biais d'une enquête européenne (99 répondants) cette fois que Robert et Remael (2016) ont étudié la révision du sous-titrage dans le domaine de la traduction audiovisuelle.

Enfin, bien que son étude porte principalement sur la compétence de traduction, Lafeber (2012) a mené une enquête auprès de traducteurs et réviseurs employés à l'interne pour étudier l'importance de différentes habiletés et connaissances, et celles qui étaient jugées insuffisantes chez les nouvelles recrues. Les résultats ont confirmé que les traducteurs ne pouvaient se contenter de compétences linguistiques.

3.2.4. Études orientées vers le contexte

Comme nous l'expliquions précédemment, ces travaux sont principalement des études de cas. On distingue d'une part les études de cas en milieu éducatif et d'autre part les études de cas en milieu professionnel.

3.2.4.1. Milieu éducatif

En milieu éducatif, la plupart des études de cas consistent en une description et une analyse d'un cours de révision dans l'institution du chercheur. En 1988 déjà, Horguelin nous livre une description de son cours de révision à l'Université de Montréal. Plus tard, Wolfson (2001, 2004, 2005) nous propose une rétrospective d'un cours de révision à distance tandis que Hine (2003) relate son expérience d'enseignement de la révision dans un environnement multilingue. Brunette et Gagnon (2013) rendent compte de l'intégration des textes Wiki dans l'organisation de leur cours de révision. Pietrzak (2014) décrit l'intégration de la révision dans un cours de traduction comme outil de feedback collectif.

3.2.4.2. Milieu professionnel

Les études en milieu professionnel se situent souvent dans les départements de traduction de grandes organisations internationales. Ainsi, Arthern (1983, 1987, 1991) décrit un modèle d'évaluation de la qualité des révisions développé par ses soins afin d'évaluer les réviseurs qu'il dirige au sein de la division d'anglais de la DGT. C'est sur la base de trois études de cas, dont une menée au Centre de traduction des organes de l'Union européenne[12] que Parra Galiano (2006, 2007a, 2007b) formule une proposition méthodologique de la révision intégrant les principes, les paramètres et les modalités de révision ainsi que les profils professionnels des réviseurs. En partant de leur expérience professionnelle et de projets menés à l'OCDE, Prioux et Rochard (2007) nous décrivent une véritable économie de la révision au sein de leur organisation. Yousif (2009) se penche sur la révision de documents institutionnels et propose un guide méthodologique de la révision, constitué de quatre tâches axées chacune sur un ou deux paramètres précis, comme la terminologie propre à l'institution concernée, par exemple. Allain (2010) quant à lui nous propose une réflexion sur la révision croisée, basée sur son expérience professionnelle au Conseil de l'Europe. Enfin, Bertaccini et Di Nasio (2011) offrent

[12] Voir https://cdt.europa.eu/en.

une description de l'activité de révision dans deux contextes différents, à savoir un bureau de traduction privé d'une part et la Direction générale de la traduction (DGT) d'autre part.

Certains auteurs s'intéressent aussi de près aux normes professionnelles, comme Schopp (2007) qui étudie non seulement la norme européenne EN 15038, mais aussi la norme DIN 16511 sur les symboles de correction. Biel (2011) aussi analyse la norme européenne, mais dans le but cette fois de dégager ses implications pour l'industrie de la traduction et la formation des futurs traducteurs. Parra Galiano (2011) quant à elle analyse la norme européenne en se penchant sur différents aspects, tels que le degré de révision dans la norme, les paramètres, etc. La chercheuse poursuit son investigation quelques années plus tard, avec la norme ISO 17100:2015 (Parra Galiano, 2017).

Enfin, tout comme Scocchera par le biais de l'enquête, Feineuer et Lourens (2017) étudient le monde de la révision littéraire, mais cette fois par le biais d'une étude de cas : l'analyse métatextuelle du discours entre agents du processus de traduction. Ko (2011) quant à lui se penche sur le marché chinois et propose une étude de cas, issue de sa propre expérience professionnelle.

4. La recherche en révision : conclusions

L'objectif principal de cette étude de la révision était d'aborder notre objet de recherche sous deux angles : bibliométrique et méthodologique. Dans un premier temps, nous avons dressé un bref portrait bibliométrique de la révision. Les principaux résultats montrent que la recherche en révision semble avoir pris son élan à la fin des années 90 et l'année 1997, date de la publication de la première thèse en révision, peut être considérée comme une date charnière. Quelque 88 % des publications sur la révision ont été publiées après cette date. À titre de comparaison, la banque de données TSB compte 84 % de publications ultérieures à 1997. Les chercheurs en révision sont une centaine environ, mais les neuf chercheurs les plus productifs, avec au minimum 4 publications, ont rédigé à eux seuls quelque 43 % de l'ensemble des publications sur la révision. Le Canada est le pays où la révision est la plus étudiée, suivi de pays européens comme l'Espagne, la France et la Belgique. Enfin, l'anglais domine comme langue de publication (50 %), mais le français arrive en deuxième position, avec environ un quart des publications.

Malgré un engouement pour la révision, elle reste peu étudiée, comparée par exemple au sous-titrage (755 références dans le TSB) ou à la traduction machine (1341 références), mais elle se place devant une forme de révision particulière, à savoir la post-édition (70 références). Toutefois, l'évolution technologique entrainera sans aucun doute un intérêt accru pour cette activité dont nous pensons qu'elle se pratiquera de plus en plus et, surtout, de plus en plus souvent en alternance avec la révision. Les outils d'aide à la traduction intègrent en effet non seulement des mémoires de traduction et donc des segments de traduction d'autrui à réviser, mais aussi des modules de traduction automatique, et donc des segments de traduction automatique à post-éditer.

Dans un deuxième temps, nous avons proposé un tour d'horizon des études en révision. Les études empiriques sont majoritaires, elles représentent 69 %, contre 31 % pour les publications à caractère théorique. Les études empiriques se composent en majorité d'études expérimentales axées principalement sur le processus (26 %). Au cours des dix dernières années, ce sont les études de processus qui sont devenues les plus populaires, mais les études du produit sur la base de corpus sont en forte augmentation, ainsi que les études basées sur des enquêtes.

Entreprendre un tour d'horizon bibliométrique et méthodologique des études en révision n'est pas sans risques. Même si les principales banques de données ont été consultées, des publications sont sans doute restées dans l'ombre. Par ailleurs, nous n'avons pas pu consulter toutes les références bibliographiques identifiées. Enfin, la classification des études selon la méthodologie principale s'est parfois révélée ardue, en raison de la combinaison des méthodes. Toutefois, nous espérons que nos travaux feront le point sur la recherche en révision et encourageront les chercheurs à entamer ou poursuivre des investigations dans cette discipline en pleine croissance.

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Díaz Cintas, Jorge & Nikolić, Kristijan (dir.). (2017). *Fast-forwarding with audiovisual translation*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. ISBN: 978-1-78309-936-8. EUR 120.

Depuis près de trois décennies maintenant, le nombre de publications en traduction audiovisuelle (TAV) s'est accru de manière quasi exponentielle – non sans répétitions sur les sujets, les approches. Au moins, cette quantité a pu asseoir la TAV comme matière à réflexion, à discussion, à formation. A-t-on pour autant progressé dans ce domaine, c'est-à-dire connait-on mieux, en profondeur, les divers défis à relever quand on produit, on regarde des sous-titres, des doublages, quand on vise à rendre accessibles films et autres programmes AV, conférences de presse, vidéo, quand on essaie d'améliorer la productivité des traducteurs avec divers logiciels, y compris de traduction automatique ? Chacun répondra différemment à cette question, selon ses attentes et besoins. La compilation d'articles dans un volume collectif n'aide pas nécessairement à dynamiser la TAV comme champ de recherche. Ne serait-il pas plus bénéfique d'avoir moins d'ouvrages mais à la cohérence thématique et méthodologique renforcée, avec questions et analyses plus ciblées (par exemple sur l'oculométrie ou la réception en TAV) ? De telles questions se posent à la lecture du livre *Fast-forwarding with audiovisual translation* dont le contenu d'ensemble ne coïncide guère avec le titre. Sous-titrage, doublage, sous-titrage pour les sourds et malentendants (SDH, en anglais) et audiodescription sont les modalités de TAV offertes à la lecture. Mais où sont les changements rapides annoncés ? Certainement pas en abordant la censure dans le monde arabe (chap. 3), la lente émergence du SDH en Turquie (chap. 10) ou encore en développant des études de cas plutôt conventionnels (chap. 2 et 6).

L'ouvrage est divisé en quatre parties, chacune regroupant de deux à quatre chapitres, permettant ainsi de sélectionner au mieux ses lectures – sur le transfert de langue et culture (partie 1), sur la réception, surtout de sous-titres (partie 2), sur l'environnement professionnel (partie 3) et sur la dimension pédagogique de l'audiodescription et du sous-titrage (partie 4). Le tout est précédé d'une introduction qui rappelle les facteurs de changement (surtout technologiques) qui affectent le paysage AV et la TAV.

Les 12 contributions, pour moitié descriptives et pour moitié expérimentales, recourent à des méthodes diverses : interview, questionnaire, oculométrie, comparaison textuelle, étude lexicographique… qui reflètent la pluralité des approches en TAV, appliquées ici à des contextes diversifiés. Avec toujours cependant ce tropisme national dominant : la plupart des 18 auteurs (dont cinq affiliés en Pologne et quatre en Italie) se préoccupent d'abord de ce qui se passe sur leur territoire, même si la production, la transmission, la distribution, la réception AV font de plus en plus fi des frontières nationales, comme d'ailleurs un certain nombre d'agences de TAV. Ainsi Netflix, pour ne prendre qu'un exemple récent, peut rendre les épisodes d'un talkshow en 20 langues en moins d'une trentaine d'heures, sans parler des communautés de fans. Seul le chapitre 1 dans l'ouvrage en recension traite de ce saut multinational et multilingue, passant d'une source culturelle indienne, en hindi, à la diaspora aux États-Unis, pour finalement être doublé en italien : de Bollywood à Hollywood puis à la version italienne, diverses contraintes appellent différentes distributions, diverses audiences attendent diverses accommodations. On est loin d'une confrontation binaire, avec une langue de départ et une langue d'arrivée, pour un public supposé homogène.

Une ultime remarque suscitée par l'ouvrage recensé : les travaux en TAV ont pris leur distance avec la spéculation et les jugements de valeur, au fur et à mesure qu'ils suivaient les exigences scientifiques. Mais la tentation demeure encore de formuler des recommandations (voir les chapitres 2, 8, 9, 11, 12). La collaboration entre les industries de l'AV et le monde académique est une nécessité pour analyser les pratiques réelles. Est-ce pour autant à la recherche d'élaborer des guides, des instructions, des normes pour les milieux professionnels ? Les chercheurs peuvent fournir des analyses fines, justifiées, fondées sur des principes scientifiques et produire ainsi des documents de travail utiles aux divers agents de la production AV, de la TAV. Mais la logique de la recherche ne peut se confondre avec celle du marché, celle des conditions de travail et celle des différentes corporations qui constituent la dynamique de la TAV. Cette tentation de donner des conseils de la part des universitaires dans leurs productions de recherche est sans doute un point faible qui mériterait davantage de réflexions sur le rôle de chacun et les enjeux de la recherche.

En un mot, l'ouvrage collectif, comme d'autres du même genre, se caractérise par un mélange de textes disparates dont je retiendrai, personnellement, surtout le chapitre 1, déjà mentionné (malgré ses généralisations hâtives), le chapitre 4 (logiquement structuré) à propos de l'impact du changement de plan sur la relecture éventuelle des sous-titres. Je retiendrai aussi le chapitre 7 (novateur car très peu d'études existent aujourd'hui sur le processus de doublage analysé par oculométrie, et dont les résultats sont clairement mis en relation avec d'autres, acquis dans d'autres conditions) et le chapitre 9 (en dépit de son formalisme statistique outrancier, basé finalement sur un corpus de 48 petites annonces publiées dans 16 pays).

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