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FAMILY. A COGNITIVE-PRAGMATIC APPROACH

THE TRANSLATION OF HUMOUR BASED ON CULTURE-BOUND TERMS IN *MODERN FAMILY*. A COGNITIVE-PRAGMATIC APPROACH[*]

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Abstract

If the translation of humour may become problematic for a translator, this is particularly so in those cases in which humour is based on culture-bound terms which are not shared by the target culture. The main aim of this paper is to analyse the solutions adopted by the translators into Spanish to deal with culture-specific jokes in the first two seasons of the American TV series *Modern Family*. Both the DVD dubbed and subtitled versions have been focused on. The approach adopted in this paper is Relevance Theory. From the perspective of this theoretical framework, the translator will resort to different solution-types to try to recreate the cognitive effects intended by the source communicator with the lowest possible processing effort on the part of the target addressee. Different aspects related to the translator's metarepresentation of the target audience's cognitive environment, among other factors, will determine his/her choice of solution-type.

Resumen

Si la traducción del humor puede resultar problemática para un traductor, en aquellos casos en los que el humor se basa en elementos culturales no compartidos por la cultura meta, la dificultad se incrementa. El principal objetivo de este trabajo consiste en analizar las soluciones adoptadas por los traductores al castellano para abordar

chistes asociados a una cultura concreta en las dos primeras temporadas de la serie de televisión estadounidense *Modern Family*. Se han analizado tanto la versión doblada como la subtitulada para DVD. El enfoque adoptado en este estudio es la Teoría de la Relevancia. Según este marco teórico, el traductor recurrirá a distintos tipos de soluciones para intentar reproducir los efectos cognitivos que el emisor original intenta transmitir con el menor esfuerzo de procesamiento posible por parte del receptor del texto meta. La elección del tipo de solución adoptado dependerá, entre otros factores, de diversos aspectos relacionados con la metarrepresentación por parte del traductor del entorno cognitivo del público meta.

1. Introduction

By means of the expression "verbally expressed humour (VEH) travels badly," Chiaro (2008: 569) highlighted the difficulty involved in the translation of humour. This difficulty increases in those cases in which the joke is based on a culture-bound term. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the solution-types adopted by translators to deal with culture-specific humour in the first two seasons of the famous American sitcom *Modern Family*. Apart from cases of culture-specific humour, the greatest part of the examples analysed are also instances of language-specific humour, or in Zabalbeascoa's (2005) terms, "language-restricted jokes," as, in the immense majority of cases, the culture-bound term corresponds to one of the meanings conveyed in a pun, or, in fewer cases, gives rise to a pun in the immediate context or appears close to a pun in the same joke. This linguistic specificity present in the jokes adds to the complexity involved in the translation of culture-specific humour. As stated elsewhere by Chiaro (1992: 87), "jokes in which sociocultural references cross-cut play on language are the most difficult of all to render in another language." In any case, the focus of this paper is on the translation of the culture-bound terms, rather than on the translation of wordplay.[1]

The theoretical framework adopted in this study has been Relevance Theory (RT), one of the most influential theories in the field of cognitive pragmatics.[2] Prior to focusing on the translation of culture-bound terms in jokes from the first two seasons of *Modern Family* in section 3, section 2 will be devoted to an account of translation from the perspective of RT.

2. Relevance Theory and translation

From a relevance-theoretic perspective, translation involves interpretive use across languages. In this connection, RT allows the study of intra- and

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1. For studies on the translation of wordplay from a relevance-theoretic perspective, see Díaz-Pérez (2013; 2014; 2015).
2. A general account of RT may be found, for instance, in Sperber & Wilson (1986; 1995) or in Wilson & Sperber (2004).

inter-lingual verbal communication as manifestations of the same underlying concepts, and in this sense, offers a unified theory of verbal communication.

The basic assumption from which RT departs is that human beings are programmed to address their attention to that which is relevant to them, or in other words, to that which may produce changes in their cognitive environment. Those changes are technically called cognitive effects, and according to RT, the more cognitive effects a given stimulus yields, the more relevant it will be. However, those cognitive effects must be put in relation to the effort needed to derive them, since an increase in the effort required to process a given utterance will result in a decrease in its relevance. Thus,

> a. Other things being equal, the greater the positive cognitive effects achieved by processing an input, the greater the relevance of the input to the individual at that time.
> b. Other things being equal, the greater the processing effort expended, the lower the relevance of the input to the individual at that time (Wilson & Sperber 2004: 609).

In this sense, one of the main principles of RT is the principle of relevance, according to which, "[h]uman cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance" (Wilson & Sperber 2004: 610). In other words, an addressee will make the effort to process a given statement if s/he considers that the statement will be relevant, or in relevance-theoretic terms, will be able to modify his/her cognitive environment. As will be seen below, many of the decisions taken by a translator can be explained by resorting to the principle of relevance.

As mentioned above, from a relevance-theoretic standpoint, translation involves interpretive use across languages. In Gutt's words,[3]

> [f]rom the relevance-theory point of view, translation falls naturally under the interpretive use of language: the translation is intended to restate in one language what someone else said or wrote in another language. In principle it is, therefore, comparable to quoting or speech-reporting in intra-linguistic use. One of its primary distinctions setting it off from intra-lingual quoting or reporting is that original text and translation belong to different languages (1998: 46).

Unlike the descriptive use of language – in which a given utterance is intended to be taken as true of a state of affairs in some possible world – the interpretive use involves an utterance which represents what someone else has said or thought. In this sense, there is a relation of interpretive resemblance between

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3. Among the different applications of RT to translation, Gutt's is probably the most influential one. For a full account of his view of translation, see Gutt (2000).

the original utterance and that other utterance used to represent it. The degree of interpretive resemblance will depend on the amount of implicatures and explicatures shared between the two utterances.[4]

From the perspective of RT, then, the relation between a translation and its source text (ST) is considered to be based on interpretive resemblance. After analysing the original communicator's assumed intentions and assessing the cognitive environment shared by ST addresser and target text (TT) addressee, the translator may adopt different types of solutions to try to recreate the cognitive effects intended by the original communicator with the lowest possible processing effort by the TT receptor.

Gutt (2004) claims that when translation brings into contact a communicator and an audience with different cognitive environments, additional sophistication is required, namely the human beings' capacity of metarepresentation.[5] Metarepresentation involves the ability to represent in one's mind how other human beings represent states of affairs in the world in their minds. The translator needs to metarepresent not only the shared cognitive environment between the ST communicator and his/her audience, but also the target receptors' cognitive environment. In Gutt (2005), translation is defined as a higher-order act of communication (HOAC), that is to say, as "an act of communication that is about another (lower-order) act of communication" (2005: 25). Since the lower-order act of communication consists of a stimulus and an intended interpretation, according to Gutt (2005: 34) two modes of higher-order communication can be distinguished, namely the *stimulus-oriented mode* (or *s-mode*) and the *interpretation-oriented mode* (or *i-mode*).

3. The translation of culture-bound terms in jokes from *Modern Family*

According to González-Davies and Scott-Tennett, a *cultural reference* can be defined as

> [a]ny kind of expression (textual, verbal, non-verbal or audiovisual) denoting any material, ecological, social, religious, linguistic or emotional manifestation that can be attributed to a particular community (geographic, socio-economic, professional, linguistic, religious, bilingual, etc.) and would be admitted as a trait of that community by those who consider themselves to be members of it (2005: 166).

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4. The content explicitly communicated by means of an utterance is an explicature, whereas the content which is derivable from the proposition expressed by the utterance together with the context is an implicature.
5. Wilson (2012: 230) has defined metarepresentation as "a representation of a representation: a higher-order representation with a lower-order representation embedded within it."

Any expression of this type may pose a translation problem, because it may not exist in the target culture or because it may have a different value. In this sense, Franco Aixelá (1996) prefers the term culture-specific-item (CSI). In his own words, "in translation a CSI does not exist of itself, but as a result of the conflict arising from any linguistically represented reference in a source text which, when transferred to a target language, poses a translation problem" (Franco Aixelá 1996: 57). As highlighted by González-Davies and Scott-Tennett (2005: 164), translation problems demand a conscious decision on the part of the translator to apply a motivated translation strategy from among a range of options. Those "translation strategies," which following Zabalbeascoa (2000) will be referred to as solution-types here, may be ordered in a cline, depending on whether they are more oriented towards the source culture or towards the target culture.
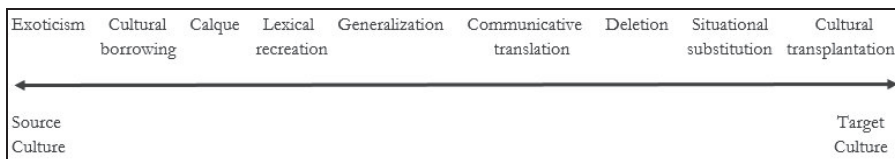
Figure 1 – Cline of solution-types for the translation of culture-bound terms
(adapted from Haywood et al. 2009: 73).

(1)   First example

CAMERON: Let's go, Illini!
MITCHELL: Let's go, right now!
JAY: Looks like I gotta watch the game with **Dick Butkus**.[6]
MITCHELL: Dad! Dad, come on. That's offensive.
CAMERON: No, Mitchell, he's one of the greatest **linebackers** to ever play at Illinois, and one of my personal heroes.
MITCHELL: And his name is **Butkus**? And we're just choosing to… Okay, all right. Dad, I thought you were being homophobic. I'm sorry.
(Season 1 Chapter 5 "Coal Digger" 00:08:27)

CAMERON: ¡Arriba, Illini!
MITCHELL: ¡Venga, vamos!
JAY: Parece que voy a ver el partido con **Dick Butkus**.

6. Bold type in the examples is used to highlight the cultural elements being discussed as well as their counterpart textual fragments in the TT. Emphasis is mine.

> MITCHELL: ¡Papá! Vamos. Eso es ofensivo.
> CAMERON: No, Mitchell, ha sido uno de los mejores **linebackers** de Illinois y uno de mis héroes personales.
> MITCHELL: ¿Y se llama **Butkus**? Y hemos decidido… Vale. Papá, perdona, pensé que habías sido homófobo.
> (Subtitled version)

In the source culture extreme of the continuum is *exoticism* (Haywood et al. 2009), *loan* (Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2014), *repetition* (Franco Aixelá 1996), or *retention* (Pedersen 2011). This solution-type involves leaving ST words or sequences in their original forms, in the source language (SL), English in this case. Exoticism is normally used when dealing with proper nouns, as is the case in example (1) above. Proper nouns are normally considered cultural references *per se*, but in this case, the name – *Dick Butkus* – also refers to a famous American football player. Humour derives from the fact that there is also a multiple pun on two parts of the male human body and on the noun phrase *butt kiss*.[7] Therefore, there are three phonologic puns contained within this three-sided pun: a first one based on the homonymy between the proper noun *Dick* and *dick* as a common noun meaning "[t]he penis,"[8] a second one based on the paronymy[9] between *Butkus* and *buttocks*, and a third one based on the paronymy between *Butkus* and *butt kiss*. By leaving the name in English in the Spanish subtitles, those cognitive effects related to humour are not accessible to the monolingual Spanish viewer. In the same scene *linebackers* – another culture-bound term – is also kept in English in the Spanish subtitles.

This solution-type represents a clear case of stimulus-oriented mode or s-mode, according to Gutt (2005), as the higher-order communicator – or translator in this case – reproduces another token of the original stimulus. In s-mode the target audience "is practically independent of the interpretive activities of the higher-order communicator" or translator (Gutt 2005: 38). The decisive factor which will determine how close the target receptor's inter-pretation gets to that of the source addressee is the extent to which s/he can have access to the originally intended context.

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7. I would like to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for drawing my attention to this sense of the multiple pun.
8. *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version 2016.
9. According to Delabastita (1993: 80), paronymy is a relation between words or word groups which are "nearly but not quite identical in spelling and pronunciation."

(2)   Second example

CAMERON: We're at the ten. We're at the five. We're at the one. Daddy, we're scoring a **touchdown**.
MITCHELL: Please don't spike our baby.
(S1 Ch5 "Coal Digger" 00:01:43)

CAMERON: Estamos a 10 yardas. A cinco. A una. ¡Papá, estamos marcando un *touchdown*!
MITCHELL: Por favor, no lances a la niña.[10]

Figure 2 – *Touchdown* in the headline of a Spanish newspaper.[11]

Some authors establish a distinction between exoticism and cultural borrowing, since the latter solution-type refers to "loan-words from the SL that are already established in the TL, retaining a degree of exoticism but combining it with familiarity and incurring a much lower risk of incomprehensibility"

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10. In those cases in which the version – subtitled or dubbed – is not indicated, this implies that there is no difference between both versions regarding the translation of the relevant culture-bound terms, although there might be slight differences in the wording of the extract as a whole. The exact wording corresponds in all those cases to the subtitled version.
11. http://www.sport.es/es/noticias/mas-deportes/increible-touchdown-vida-direccion-contraria-4622932.

(Haywood et al. 2009: 76). That is the case of *touchdown* in (2). For those TT addressees who are familiar with the American culture, or more specifically, with American football, one of the meanings conveyed by that noun, precisely that which corresponds to a cultural reference – "the act of touching the ground with the ball behind the goal-line, usually that of the opposing side, to score points"[12] – would be easily accessible. In fact, the English word is commonly used in Spanish newspapers, as can be seen in figure 2 above. However, humour in this case derives from the fact that there is a pun on *touchdown*, since it may also be interpreted as "[t]he action of coming into contact with the ground during landing,"[13] which is the interpretation given to it by Mitchell, who is not adept on American football at all. Misunderstanding gives rise to humorous effects to which only those TT addressees familiar with the English language will have access.

The two solution-types dealt with so far are very clearly oriented towards the source culture and in that sense, they constitute an extreme case of what Venuti (1995: 20) has called *foreignising translation*, since the cultural values or, in this case, the language of the source or foreign culture are present in the TT. In this sense, the linguistic and cultural difference of the ST is thus registered and "the cultural other is manifested" (Venuti 1995: 20), in such a way that the target viewer is sent abroad.[14] According to Yus's (2012, 2016) terminology, both in (1) and (2), the cultural scenario has been favoured over the pragmatic one.[15] From the perspective of RT, on the one hand, these solution-types can contribute to the creation of cognitive effects associated with different aspects of the source culture. On the other hand, the fact that the culture-bound term may be felt as alien by the target viewer due to linguistic form and cultural difference may increase the processing effort, which goes to the detriment of relevance. As put forward by Martínez-Sierra (2008: 237), the adoption of foreignising or exoticising types of solutions might increase the processing effort and affect the derivation of humorous effects. The extent to which the target viewer derives ST-intended humorous effects will depend on his/her knowledge

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12. *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version 2016.
13. *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version 2016.
14. Although the dichotomy foreignizing vs domesticating translation may seem a simplification which is unable to capture all the diversity of solution-types, it is also true that certain solution-types are more oriented towards the source culture (such as exoticism or cultural borrowing), whereas others are more oriented towards the target culture (such as cultural transplantation).
15. With regard to the translation of humour, Yus (2012, 2016) devises the existence of three parameters, which he calls scenarios, namely the cultural, pragmatic, and semantic scenarios.

of the source culture or of the subject matter. Shared background knowledge of the world is, therefore, particularly important in this case, as highlighted more than once (Zabalbeascoa 2005; Chiaro 2008; Martínez Sierra 2010; Díaz-Pérez 2014, 2015). But, elsewhere, Martínez Sierra (2006: 221) also says that adopting a domesticating or familiarising strategy may also involve a risk, since it might be perceived as artificial and unnatural by the target addressee, and consequently the joke might not work in the target culture.

(3)   Third example

Phil: Somebody's still a little toy -about losing last year's **color war**.
Claire: Not.
Phil: She was on team blue -Mm-hmm. Or as I like to refer to them as team **blue-zer**. And I was on white.
Claire: That's good.
Phil: And if you ain't **white**.
Claire: No.
Phil: You ain't **right**!
(S1 Ch8 "Great Expectations" 00:01:45)

Phil: Alguien sigue dolida por perder **la guerra de colores** el año pasado.
Claire: No.
Phil: Ella estaba en el equipo azul… o, como me gusta llamarlo, **lament-azul-able**. Y yo en el blanco.
Claire: ¡Qué bien!
Phil: ¡Si no eres blanco, **lo llevas claro**!

(4)   Fourth example

Phil: I didn't do anything. She kissed me.
Claire: What? Who kissed you?
Phil: Gloria.
Jay: What?
Gloria: It was the "**kiss cam**."
Jay: Why did you kiss Cam?
Gloria: No, I kissed Phil. He told me I had to.
(S1 Ch24 "Family Portrait" 00:16:46)

Phil: Yo no he hecho nada. Me ha besado ella a mí.
Claire: ¿Qué? ¿Quién te ha besado?

PHIL: ¡Gloria!
JAY: ¿Qué?
GLORIA: Era la "**cámara del beso**".
JAY: ¿Has besado a una cámara?
GLORIA: Pregúntale a Phil. Dijo que debía hacerlo.

Figure 3 – Kiss cam (S1 Ch24 "Family Portrait" 00:07:58).

As stated by Haywood et al. (2009: 77), the solution-type known as *calque* or *literal translation* is "a less radical form of foreignization." Although the cultural reference in the ST in (3), *color war* ("a competition in which participants are divided into teams, each of which is assigned a colour and competes against the other teams in different challenges to earn points") does not exist in the Spanish culture, the fact that it has been literally translated into Spanish together with the accompanying context make it easily understandable by the Spanish audience. In addition, the term serves to introduce two puns in the TT which correspond to two ST punning fragments: a morphologic one on *lament-azul-able* (*piti-blue-ful*) and an idiomatic one on the set phrase *lo llevas claro* – or *llevarlo claro*, in the infinitive –, which is a colloquial idiomatic expression meaning "to be in for a shock or a disappointment" or "to have one's work cut out."[16] But the adjective *claro* in Spanish may also be used in reference to colours to mean *light*, *pale*, and therefore, the literal interpretation is also possible in this context. The introduction of these two TT puns contributes to the yielding of cognitive effects analogous to those intended by the ST, since

16. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/es/traducir/espanol-ingles/claro

the culture-bound term referred to above gave rise to the introduction of two phonologic puns: a vertical one on *bluzer* (a paronym of *loser* in this context) and a horizontal one based on the paronymy between *white* and *right*. Not only has the cultural scenario been preserved in this case, then, but also the pragmatic one, both in the quantity and quality of inferential strategies and in the balance of cognitive effects and mental effort (Yus 2012: 144).

Likewise, in (4), the culture-bound term *kiss cam* is calqued into Spanish as *cámara del beso*. The sequence *kiss cam*, however, in this case conveys itself a pun, as it may be simultaneously interpreted as a culture-bound term referring to "a live video feed in a sports arena showing images of selected couples in the audience in the expectation that they will kiss,"[17] as portrayed in figure 3 above, and as a verb phrase in which the direct object is one of the characters in the sitcom. The semantic ambiguity and the misunderstanding to which it gives rise yield some cognitive effects, among which humorous effects are particularly relevant. As in the ST, in the TT Jay also misinterprets the sequence *cámara del beso*, which also produces humorous effects. This misinterpretation – *camera to be kissed* –, however, does not coincide with that in the ST. In other words, a new pun was created in the TT and in this new pun only one of its senses is shared by the ST pun.

(5)   Fifth example

CAMERON: This production was a joke until I introduced these children to the musical-theater greats... Bernstein, **Sondheim**. Years from now, some of these kids will still be talking about the way I **Sondheimized** them.
MITCHELL: Ooh, I don't think that's a good way of saying... okay.
(S2 Ch19 "The Musical Man" 00:12:29)

CAMERON: Esta producción era ridícula… hasta que yo le hablé a estos niños de los grandes del musical… Bernstein, **Sondheim**. Algunos siempre recordarán… cómo los "**Sondheimicé**".
MITCHELL: No creo que sea apropiado decirlo así.

Another solution-type available to the translator to render a culture-bound term is *lexical recreation* or the invention of a neologism in the TL. As stated by Díaz-Cintas & Remael (2014: 206), "[t]he neologism is placed between quotation marks in the subtitles." They also highlight that lexical recreation may be inevitable when the ST also contains a newly coined word. In example

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17. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/kiss-cam

(5) a new verb, *Sondheimize*, is coined in the English ST by adding the suffix *–ize* to the name of a famous American composer. The TT also includes the new coinage *Sondheimizar*. Apart from these coinages themselves, humorous effects are derived from the puns on those newly coined verbs and the verbs *sodomize* in English and *sodomizar* in Spanish. Mitchell's response and reaction to Cameron's words gives rise to humorous effects, since Mitchell is implicitly saying that the verb used by Cameron could be misinterpreted due to its phonologic similarity to another existing verb which is totally inappropriate in this context.

(6)   Sixth example

PHIL: Ordinarily, I'm a rule follower, but when someone tells me I can't bring my own snacks into their stadium, that's when I get a little nuts. It's a free country, right? Let's just say it **ruffles** me when some **goobers** tell me I have to spend half my payday on their hot dogs.
(S1 Ch24 "Family Portrait" 00:00:11)

PHIL: Por lo general yo sigo las normas, pero si alguien me dice que no puedo llevar algo para picar al estadio, se me va un poco la pelota. Este es un país libre, ¿no? Digamos que me toca las **patatas** cuando un **cacahuete** me dice que tengo que gastarme medio sueldo en sus perritos calientes. (Subtitled version)

Generalisation, as its name indicates, involves the use of a more general or neutral term in the TT to translate a given ST culture-bound term (Molina & Hurtado Albir 2002: 510). As defined in Pedersen (2011: 76), "[t]his strategy makes the TT rendering less specific than the ST ECR [Extralinguistic Cultural Reference]. It can be done either by using a Superordinate Term or a Paraphrase." The lexical items *ruffles* and *goobers* convey puns in which one of the senses corresponds to a culture-bound term. Thus, apart from being a verb meaning "to annoy, irritate, or unsettle,"[18] *ruffles* is the name of a brand of ruffled or crinkle-cut potato crisps, whereas *goobers*, apart from being used in American English to refer to "a naive, ignorant, or foolish person,"[19] is another brand name, in this case of chocolate-coated peanuts. In the Spanish subtitles those culture-bound terms have been replaced by their superordinate terms, respectively *patatas* (potatoes) and *cacahuete* (peanut). The noun *patata* in the singular is used in slang Spanish to refer to the heart, so the translator seems

18. *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version 2016.
19. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/goober

to have intended to introduce a pun there, whereas *cacahuete* seems to have inherited one of the meanings of *goober* in English, although it does not normally have that signification in Spanish. In Yus's (2012, 2016) terms, it could be said that the cultural and semantic scenarios have been partially modified in favour of the pragmatic scenario. In this sense, those ST-intended cognitive effects – including humorous effects – associated with wordplay processing would be accessible to the TT viewer as well.

Figure 4 – Phil pointing at the pocket where he keeps his *patatas* (S1 Ch24 "Family Portrait" 00:00:22).

Figure 5 – Phil pointing at the pocket where he keeps his *cacahuetes* (S1 Ch24 "Family Portrait" 00:00:24).

This is one of the cases in which the visual component, rather than constraining the translator, helps both translator and viewer and contributes to the creation of humorous effects. I agree, in this sense, with Martínez Sierra (2009: 147), when he says that

> [l]o que sí parece claro es que, si bien en ciertos casos el factor visual complicará la labor de traducción de textos audiovisuales humorísticos, en otros muchos, en cambio, tendrá el efecto contrario y supondrá una ayuda tanto para el traductor como para el (tele)espectador.

At the two moments coinciding with the two culture-bound terms in the ST, the visual component is an aid for both translator and target addressee and will allow the latter to derive cognitive effects, including humorous effects. Thus, when Phil points at two pockets in his sweatshirt, he is indicating where he is hiding his snacks, corresponding to one of the meanings conveyed by respectively the pun on *patatas* (Figure 4) and *cacahuete* (Figure 5).

(7)   Seventh example

> CAMERON: His babysitter's right over there. She's... she's not much of a disciplinarian. Ohh. Because I can assure you, if our child did something like this, we would be on her **like white on rice**.[20] And I know that sounds a little bit like a racial slur because we're white and she presumably likes rice, but I didn't intend it that way.
> (S2 Ch10 "Dance Dance Revelation" 00:02:39)

> CAMERON: Su niñera está allí. No es muy disciplinada. Porque si mi hija hiciera eso… **no le quitaríamos ojo**. Y sé que suena racista… porque somos blancos y ella no, pero no iba por ahí.

As defined by Haywood et al. (2009: 78), *communicative translation*

> involves selecting those features of the TL that will convey the meanings and reproduce the textual effects of the ST in ways designed to strike the reader of the TT as idiomatic, stylistically coherent and in line with how the content would naturally be expressed by a native speaker.

Sometimes the application of this solution-type may involve great shifts from a literal translation. Whenever the register is informal or there is an idiom or proverb in the ST whose literal translation would be nonsensical in the TL – as in the idiom *like white on rice* in (7), meaning "as close as something or somebody can get" –, *communicative translation* is normally resorted to by

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20. http://www.dictionary.com/browse/like-white-on-rice

translators.[21] Thus, in the subtitled version, the ST idiom has been translated as *no le quitaríamos ojo*, which with completely different lexis, reproduces the semantic content of the original, but not the humorous effects, as the literal interpretation of the sequence ("we wouldn't take our eye from her") is not related to the situation. In the dubbed version, however, the idiom has been translated almost word for word into Spanish as "como está el blanco sobre el grano de arroz," which is not a Spanish idiom and which could cause surprise to the TT viewer.

In relevance-theoretic terms, the application of *communicative translation* responds to a decision by the translator to reproduce in the TT some of the ST-intended cognitive effects, such as, for instance, cognitive effects associated with an informal or an idiomatic register. However, in this case those humorous effects derived from an idiomatic pun in the ST are not accessible to the TT viewer. The connection between the culture-bound term and Cameron's mention of racism is obvious in the ST, but the TT viewer might keep wondering if there is something funny about the reference to racism in that scene. The use of an idiomatic expression containing the lexical term *chino* (Chinese) in Spanish – such as *engañar como a un chino* (to take somebody for a ride; lit. *to be deceived like a Chinese*), *sudar tinta china* (to sweat blood; lit. *to sweat Chinese ink*), or *trabajar como un chino* (to work like a horse; lit. *to work like a Chinese*) – would have made ST-intended humorous effects accessible to the TT viewer and would have fitted the situational context. Such as a solution would have preserved the pragmatic scenario, unlike those adopted in the Spanish subtitled and dubbed versions, which favoured the semantic scenario instead.

(8)   Eighth example

CAMERON: No, no, you did the best you could, and, plus, this is double what Andrew had last year for **Cello submarine**. Thank you.
(S2 Ch16 "Regrets Only" 00:18:51)

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21. This pun could be included within the first type in Yus's (2003: 1321) classification, since the utterance yields two propositions with similar balance of effects and effort. It could be argued that the accessibility of the idiomatic interpretation is consistent with the principle of relevance and, consequently, is to be chosen as the right interpretation. Nevertheless, the literal interpretation is brought to the foreground by Cameron's reference to a *racial slur* together with the fact that it is evident that there is a humorous intention in this scene. The balance of effort and effects is quite similar in both interpretations. Using Yus's words, the addressee "will probably be led to a kind of interpretive switch between them which might well be found amusing" (2003: 1321).

CAMERON: No, no. Has hecho lo que has podido y esto es el doble de la gente que tuvo Andrew el año pasado. Gracias.
(Dubbed version)

(9)   Ninth example

JAY: I don't think you met my wife, Gloria.
GLORIA: Hola.
FRANK: Oh, it's a pleasure. You are a lovely woman.
GLORIA: You must be Frank.
FRANK: Okay, then, you are hotter than a Las Vegas sidewalk on **the Fourth of July**.
(S1 Ch 21 "Travels with Scout" 00:20:24)

JAY: Creo que no conoces a mi mujer, Gloria.
FRANK: Es un placer. Eres una mujer preciosa.
GLORIA: Tú debes ser Frank.
FRANK: Me pones más caliente que una acera de Las Vegas.

In (8) the *Cello submarine* is a noun phrase containing a pun on *Yellow submarine*, a culture-bound term which is the title of a song by The Beatles. After analysing the cognitive environment of ST addresser and TT addressee, the translator probably decided that the extra processing effort with which the target viewer would have been burdened if for instance exoticism, calque, or an equivalent TT cultural reference had been used would not have been outweighed by additional cognitive effects. In other words, the translator may have considered that the cultural reference would not have contributed to the relevance of the TT, considering the processing effort imposed on the viewer. Therefore, the translator simply opted for getting rid of the cultural reference in the TT, which involves the application of the type of solution known as *deletion* (Franco Aixelá 1996; Haywood et al. 2009) or *omission* (Pedersen 2011; Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2014). The principle of relevance can then be considered to have guided the translator in the decision-making process. Similarly, in (9) the culture-bound term *the Fourth of July* has been omitted in the TT.

(10)   Tenth example

HALEY: I won't be home till late. I have another shift at the restaurant.
PHIL: That's our **working girl**. **Let the river run**, honey.
(S2 Ch16 "Regrets Only" 00:02:57)

HALEY: Llegaré tarde. Tengo otro turno en el restaurante.
PHIL: Eso son **armas de mujer**. **Viva la mujer trabajadora**.
(Subtitled version)

HALEY: Hoy llegaré tarde. Tengo turno en el restaurante.
PHIL: Nuestra **hija la trabajadora**. **Di que sí**, cielo.
(Dubbed version)

The translator may also decide to disregard the ST culture-bound element and replace it by a textual fragment which may fit the situation, but which does not reflect the meaning of the original cultural reference. This solution-type has been called *situational substitution* by Pedersen (2011: 95), who considers that it is "a quasi-omission strategy." In (10) there are two culture-bound terms, *working girl*, which is the title of a famous American film, apart from containing a pun on the literal meaning of the noun phrase, and *let the river run*, which is the name of the central song in the soundtrack of the film. The renderings of the latter cultural reference in the two Spanish versions of the film do not reproduce the sense of the original. Thus, in the subtitled version, it is translated as *viva la mujer trabajadora* (hurray for the working woman) and as *di que sí* (come on, lit. *say yes*) in the dubbed version.

(11)   Eleventh example
       ROBBIE: Yeah, well, I better get going. I've got an early-morning run, celebrity client. Don't ask me who. Let's just say that if I'm late, I'll be in **Jeopardy**.
       ALEX: Who is **Alex Trebek**?
       ROBBIE: Uh, he's a game-show host. Why?
       ALEX: No reason.
       (S2 Ch15 "Princess Party" 00:11:44)

       ROBBIE: Sí, será mejor que me marche. Tengo un cliente famoso muy temprano. No me preguntéis quién. Digamos que si llego tarde, no me comeré ni un "**rosco**".
       ALEX: Claro, tendrás que "**pasarpalabra**".
       ROBBIE: ¿Cómo? ¿Por qué?
       ALEX: Por nada.
       (Subtitled version)

       ROBBIE: Sí, yo tengo que irme. Tengo un servicio a primera hora para un famoso. No me preguntéis quién es, pero como llegue tarde, David Letterman **me saca en las noticias**.
       ALEX: ¿Quién es **David Letterman**?

> Robbie: Un presentador de noticias, ¿por qué?
> Alex: Por nada.
> (Dubbed version)

At the target-culture end of the cline is *cultural transplantation* (Haywood et al. 2009), also called *naturalization* (Franco Aixelá 1996) or *transposition* (Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2014). By means of this solution-type, "culture specific elements in the ST are replaced in the TT by elements that are specific to the TL culture" (Haywood et al. 2009: 80). In Venuti's terms, it represents an extreme case of *domestication*. Using his own words, a domesticating method is "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home" (Venuti 1995: 20). From the perspective of RT, it could be said that the translator, considering his/her metarepresentation of the target addressee's cognitive environment, opted for a solution which implied a reduction in the processing effort required of the target viewer. In (11) there are two culture-bound terms, *Jeopardy* and *Alex Trebek*, both of them related to American television,[22] which are not likely to be part of the target addressees' cognitive environments. The translator, then, decided to introduce two cultural references belonging to the target culture, *pasarpalabra* and *rosco*, both of them associated with a famous TV game show in Spain, *Pasapalabra*. These two culture-bound terms are also used to introduce two new puns in the TT, since apart from being culture-bound terms, the signifiers *rosco* and *pasarpalabra* are also related to idiomatic expressions in Spanish. *No comerse un rosco* (or *una rosca*) means "to be unsuccessful, not to achieve what one is after,"[23] whereas *pasar palabra*, or rather *paso palabra*, in turn, is a set phrase that a speaker can use when s/he avoids answering to a given question or commenting on a given issue.

Following Yus (2012: 141), it can be said that whereas a change has been introduced to the cultural and semantic scenarios in this case, the pragmatic scenario seems to have been preserved. The inferential steps are similar in the ST and in the TT, as is the balance of cognitive effects and mental effort. In spite of having changed the cultural scenario and having introduced two new cultural references, these cultural references are not too specifically tied to the Spanish culture. In fact, *Pasapalabra* is adapted from the British format *The*

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22. *Jeopardy!* is an American television game show which features a quiz competition in which contestants must provide the questions related to general knowledge clues in the form of answers. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeopardy!). *Alex Trebek* has been the host of *Jeopardy!* and of some other game shows (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alex_Trebek).
23. http://dle.rae.es/?id=WimfWEH

Alphabet Game and the Italian version *Passaparola*. The intention to escape from a too local culture-bound term which could cause surprise to the TT viewer – who could eventually react negatively to the TT joke – has probably led the translator not to introduce Christian Gálvez, the host of the game show in Spain, as a cultural reference.

In the dubbed version, in turn, *Alex Trebek* has been replaced by another cultural reference, *David Letterman*, also belonging to the source culture. This may be due to the fact that the translator might have considered that David Letterman may be better-known in the target culture than Alex Trebek. The introduction of the new cultural reference keeps a foreignizing solution and at the same time allows the translator to introduce an idiomatic pun on the phrase *sacar a alguien en las noticias*, an idiomatic expression which means *to take a dig at somebody*, *to criticise someone or attack someone verbally* and whose literal interpretation is *to put somebody in the news*, although David Letterman is famous for having hosted a late night television talk show, rather than for being a newsreader.

4. Results

The most frequent solution-type in the whole corpus has been exoticism, with 36.5 % of the cases, which implies a certain bias towards the source culture (see Graph 1). Despite this general tendency, there is a significant difference between the two modalities of audiovisual translation analysed in this paper, since exoticism – even though it is the first solution-type in both audiovisual translation modalities – in subtitling represents 40.4 % of the cases, while in dubbing it reaches 30.8 % (see Graph 2). There are also significant differences between subtitling and dubbing regarding other solution-types, such as situational substitution, communicative translation, or calque, as portrayed in Graph 2.
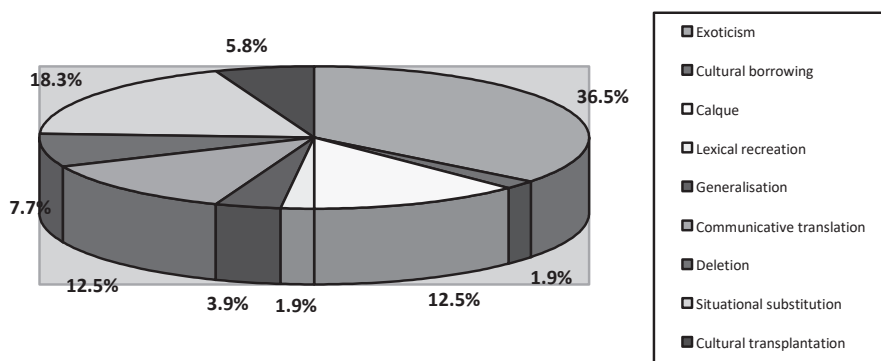
Graph 1 – Solution-types.
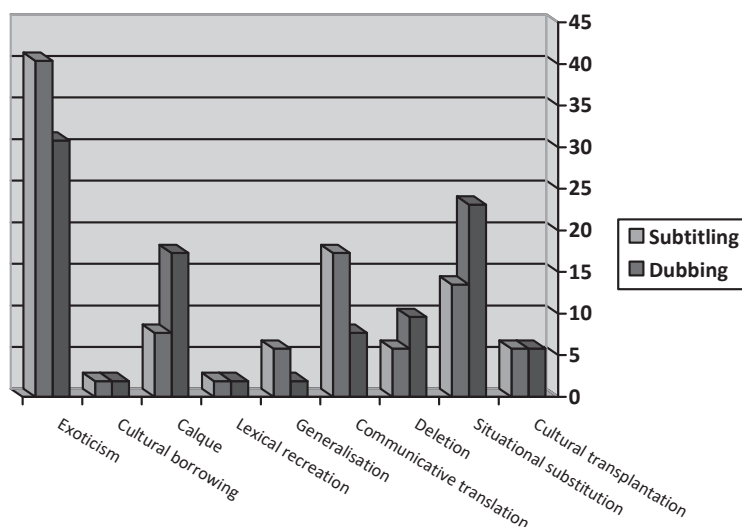
Graph 2 – Solution-types across modalities of audiovisual translation.

(12)   Twelfth example
CAMERON: ¡Vamos, equipo!
MITCHELL: ¡Vamos, equipo!
JAY: Voy a tener que ver el partido con el **Ballena**.
MITCHELL: ¡Papá! Vamos. Eso no se dice.
CAMERON: No, Mitchell, es uno de los mejores **defensas** que ha jugado jamás en Illinois y uno de mis héroes.
MITCHELL: ¿Y se llama el Ballena? Si lo dices para… Vale, está bien. Papá, creía que era un insulto homófobo. (S1 Ch5 "Coal Digger": 00:08:27) (Dubbed version)

(13)   Thirteenth example
GLORIA: How many pets have you killed?
JAY: Just the two. I took the heat on the bird. It was a big Flimistake. To this day, Mitchell looks at me, I see him thinking, "That's the guy who killed **Fliza Minnelli**."
(S1 Ch17 "Truth be told" 00:07:26)

GLORIA: ¿Cuántas mascotas has matado?
JAY: Solo esas dos. Pagué caro lo del pájaro. Fue un error. Incluso hoy en día, cuando Mitchell me mira, siento que piensa: "Ese hombre mató a **Fliza Minnelli**".
(Subtitled version)

GLORIA: ¿Cuántas mascotas has matado?
JAY: Solo dos. Di la cara con lo del pájaro y fue un gran error. Incluso hoy, cuando Mitchell me mira, sé que piensa: "Ese es el tío que mató a mi **Vuelisa Minnelli**".
(Dubbed version)

(14)   Fourteenth example
LUKE: One time, she gave me a **Woody**.
CLAIRE: Sweet Je...
LUKE: She remembered he's my favorite character from "**Toy Story**."
(S2 Ch20 "Someone to Watch Over Lily" 00:03:36)

LUKE: Una vez me dio un **Woody**.
CLAIRE: Jesús…
LUKE: Se acordaba de que era mi personaje preferido de *Toy Story*.
(Subtitled version)

LUKE: Una vez me dio un **mordisco**.
CLAIRE: Será, eeh…
LUKE: Siempre pide un sándwich de queso que me encanta.
(Dubbed version)

(15)   Fifteenth example
CLAIRE: Honey, do you want popcorn or anything?
PHIL: No, I'm good... 'N' plenty. So hold your water 'cause I've got some **Twix** up my sleeve.
(S2 Ch12 "Our Children, Ourselves" 00:13:39)

CLAIRE: ¿Quieres palomitas?
PHIL: No, estoy bien… y muy lleno. Se me hace la boca agua… porque llevo unos **Twix** en la manga.
(Subtitled version)

CLAIRE: Cariño, ¿quieres palomitas o algo?
PHIL: No, estoy bien surtido, así que prepárate, porque tengo un **banquete** en la manga.
(Dubbed version)

Examples (12) to (15) serve to illustrate the above-mentioned difference regarding the use of exoticism between the two modalities of audiovisual translation analysed in this paper. Thus, the translation for the dubbed version of example (1), presented above as (12), involves situational substitution rather than exoticism, solution-type which had been adopted in the subtitled version. Rather than keeping the linebacker's name, the subtitler translated the cultural reference as *el Ballena* (the whale). Likewise, in examples (13), (14) and (15), the subtitler has resorted to exoticism, whereas the translator for the dubbed version has adopted solution-types less oriented towards the source culture, such as calque in (13), situational substitution in (14) – *Woody* was translated as *mordisco* (bite), which reproduces semantic ambiguity in the TT –, or generalisation in (15), as *Twix* is translated as *banquete* (banquet). The three examples contain ST puns in which one of the senses corresponds to a cultural reference. Thus, *Fliza Minelly* and *Woody* refer to a famous American actress and a character in the *Toy Story* films, and also to the verb *to fly* in the first case and to an "erection of the penis"[24] in slang in the second case, whereas in (15) there is an idiomatic pun on the set phrase *to have something (or an ace) up one's sleeve*, meaning "to have in reserve, at one's disposal, or ready for some need or emergency."[25] Based on this idiomatic expression, the pun involves the replacement of *an ace* by *a Twix* – a culture-bound element –, so that the literal and idiomatic senses of the set phrase on which the pun is based may be retrieved by the ST addressees from their cognitive environments.

(16)   Sixteenth example

PHIL: Now, I might forget that name. But he was wearing a grateful dead t-shirt. What's a band like **the Grateful Dead**? **Phish**. Where do fish live? The ocean. What else lives in the ocean? **Coral**. Hello, **Carl**.
(S1 Ch1 "The Old Wagon" 00:05:04)

PHIL: El otro día conocí a un tal Paul. Llevaba una camiseta con **la bandera alemana**. ¿Marca de coches alemanes? **Volkswagen**. ¿Coche Volkswagen? El Polo. ¿Qué nombre se parece a **Polo**? **Paul**. Hola, Paul.
(Subtitled version)

PHIL: Como el otro día, que conocí a un tal Carl, un nombre que podría olvidar, pero llevaba una camiseta de los Grateful Dead. ¿Otro grupo

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24. *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version 2016.
25. *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version 2016.

como los **Grateful Dead**? **Phish**. ¿Qué significa fish? Peces. ¿Dónde viven los peces? En el **coral**. Hola, **Carl**.
(Dubbed version)

In spite of what has been said above, there are some exceptional cases in which in the dubbed version the translator has resorted to exoticism, whereas the subtitler has not, as happens in example (16) above. Both the *Grateful Dead* and *Phish* are culture-bound terms referring to two American rock bands,[26] but there are also two puns on those two noun phrases. *Grateful dead* also refers to "the spirit of a deceased person who bestows benefits on the one responsible for his burial"[27] in folktales of many cultures, and *Phish* and *fish* are homophones, which gives rise to a phonologic pun. These two culture-bound terms have been kept unchanged in the dubbed version, as opposed to the subtitled version, in which *the Grateful Dead* and *Phish* have been respectively replaced by *la bandera alemana* (the German flag) and *Volkswagen*, which has allowed the translator to foreground the introduction of a new pun – on *Polo* and *Paul* – to render the ST pun on *coral* and *Carl*. This third ST horizontal pun on *coral* and *Carl* also involves a culture-bound term, the name *Carl*, which has also been rendered by means of exoticism in the dubbed version, whereas in the subtitles it has been replaced by another culture-bound term associated with the source culture, *Paul*. No matter the solution-types adopted in this case, the ST pun has a punning textual fragment as counterpart in the TT, and therefore, the pragmatic scenario has been preserved in both versions, which implies that the ST-intended humorous effects will be accessible to the TT viewers of the dubbed and the subtitled versions.

4. Conclusions

The results of the analysis carried out in this paper show that there is a general tendency to resort to solution-types oriented towards the source culture, even if on some occasions that decision implies that the TT viewer will not have access to ST originally intended humorous effects. This may be motivated by the fact that, in the translator's view, a too domesticating translation could produce surprise and eventually rejection in the Spanish speaking viewer, which would therefore not achieve the original intention either. Other external factors

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26. *The Grateful Dead* was a rock band from Palo Alto, California. It was formed in 1965 and its official site is www.dead.net. *Phish* is another rock band, formed at the University of Vermont in 1983. Its official site is phish.com.

27. http://global.britannica.com/topic/grateful-dead-folklore

should not be disregarded, however, such as the translator's unawareness of the existence of a joke in some of these contexts, his/her inability to find a solution which reproduced a joke in the TT, or certain requirements coming from his/her client. Even in those few cases in which cultural transplantation is resorted to, the new cultural references are not too local, so that there is no discordance which could produce a negative reaction in the TT viewer.

From the perspective of RT, the translators, based on their metarepresentations of the target addressee's cognitive environments, decided to be as faithful as possible to the cultural scenario. There are, nonetheless, also many cases in which the pragmatic scenario is adhered to as well, which implies that humorous effects are also accessible to the TT viewer, even if on some occasions this required a change in (part of) the semantic and cultural scenarios. In these latter cases, the inferential strategies followed by ST addressee and TT addressee are very similar both in quantitative and qualitative terms. Likewise, the balance between processing effort and cognitive effects is also very similar for the ST and TT audiences.

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