Multiple Causality of Differences in Taboo Translation of Blockbuster Films by Chinese Fansubbers and Professionals

Zhengguo He

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the regulations for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Newcastle University

School of Modern Languages

June 2018

Acknowledgement

This thesis owes its existence to the expert supervision and encouragement of my first supervisor, Dr Ya-yun Chen, who always inspired me with her insightful feedback, and my second supervisor, Dr Valerie Pellatt, whose rigorous and holistic academic thinking had a profound influence on the structure of my thesis. It has been both a privilege and a pleasure to have the opportunity to be supervised by two supportive and inspiring scholars. I am also indebted to my Annual Panel Reviewers Professor Qian Jun, Dr Michael Jin, and Dr Francis Jones for their insightful review and advice. I would also like to express my deep gratitude to my viva examiners Drs Yvonne Lee and Pauline Henry-Tierney, for their very detailed and valuable critique.

My sincere thanks must go to my family and friends during my PhD studies. Special thanks should be given to my family, especially my father, Qingxiang He, for his unfailing support throughout my years in the UK and Dr Mark James for his moral support and encouragement. I would also like to extend my sincere gratitude to Dr Joseph Banks and Karen Blacker, who offered me advice regarding my English composition; and Drs Peter Avery and Damien Hall for their valuable comments on my statistical analysis.

Note on Translation and Transliteration

All translations from Chinese in this thesis are mine, unless otherwise noted. Full transliteration of names of Chinese persons and places is provided, without tone marks. Chinese person names are retained in the original surname-given-name order. Titles of Chinese publications are translated into English.

Table of Abbreviations

AFFS	August First Film Studio
AVT	Audiovisual Translation
CCDS	Changchun Dubbing Studio
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CFGC	China Film Group Corporation
CFGDC	China Film Group Dubbing Centre
CFIEC	China Film Import & Export Corporation
CSC	Chinese Subtitle Corpus
CTS	Corpus Translation Studies
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
ECSPC	English-Chinese Parallel Subtitle Corpus
IMDb	Internet Movie Database
KWIC	Key word in context concordances
PIS	Popular Internet slang
POS	Part-of-speech
SHDS	Shanghai Dubbing Studio
ST	Source text
TT	Target text

Table of Contents

List of figures

List of tables

Abstract

Audiovisual Translation (AVT) has entered an important stage in which amateur subtitlers (*fansubbers*) from around the world converge and communicate instantaneously online. Fansubbers often form collectives, known as *fansub groups*, which are "volunteer, non-profitable and non-governmental" (Balemberg 2011). They not only translate but also voice their opinions through internet social media. The influence of fansubbing, or fansub, on professional film translation in China has become increasingly evident in the last decade. In recent years, professional film translation has often been criticised by fansubbers and viewers for its inaccurate translation of taboo words and the use of Chinese Popular Internet Slang (PIS) words which are not yet fully accepted into mainstream Chinese language. This thesis hence sets out to investigate the differences in the translation of taboo words between film fansubbing (fansub) and professional dubbing (produb) in China, and the factors which contributed to the differences.

This thesis adopts Brownlie's (2003) "multiple causality model" providing full explanation of the translational phenomena by integrating translation norm theories and Bourdieu's sociological concepts including habitus, capital and field. The multi-causality explanatory model links the qualitative data (translators' statements, etc.) to the quantitative data (the textual evidence, a corpus of 51 English films and their two Chinese translation versions: fansub and produb), with regards to the complexity of translational activities in the field of film production. There is a focus on aspects such as the translation group and its associated practices, and manifestations of film translation as an institutional operation both in fansub and produb. The combination of translation norm theory and Bourdieu's sociological concepts has been proven to be a sound framework for explaining the production practice of translation agents in the film translation field in China. According to this study's results, Bourdieu's sociological concepts integrated into the explanatory model have contributed to the description of power struggles in the film translation field in China, enabling researchers to understand the complex relations within a certain social context. Against the lack of systematic data analysis supporting the theoretical arguments surrounding taboo translation, this thesis succeeds in putting forward a conceptual and methodological framework substantiated by empirical evidence for analysing the effects of social factors on translator behaviour.

Chapter 1   Introduction

1.1   General introduction to this thesis

As modern technology for film distribution has evolved, film viewing is no longer confined to the cinema setting. Home viewing of films was made possible with the arrival of television, then the Video Home System (VHS). VHS technology using video cassette recorders (VCRs) enabled fans of certain TV programmes and films to subtitle and distribute them for the first time. With the development of laser technology (DVD and Blu-ray) and the internet, audiovisual material distribution technology has subsequently evolved, entering an important stage in which these amateur subtitlers (fansubbers) from around the world can converge and communicate instantaneously online.

The term *fansub* originally referred to "a fan-produced translated, subtitled version of a Japanese anime programme" (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz 2006:37). An anime, or Japanese animation programme, attracted many fans who wanted to share the programme with other fans by subtitling it. With increasing internet usage, other programmes—mostly from Japan, Korea, UK and America—were subtitled by fans and shared online. The definition of *fansub* has now expanded to include any fan-produced, translated, subtitled version of any programme (Boyko 2012, O'Hagan 2008, Tian 2011). Fansubbers often form groups, known as *fansub groups*, which are volunteer, non-profitable and non-governmental. They not only translate but also voice their opinions through internet social media. The influence of fansubbing or fansub, the subtitle translation produced by amateur individuals or groups, is increasingly evident in the last decade by professional film translation in China. Viewers (including professional film translators) can now compare professional film translation with its fansub version, offer critiques and share their reviews online. This interaction between fansubbing and professional film translation is an intriguing field for exploration. Since it deals with translation works as well as a social phenomenon, it is essential that theories from both Translation Studies and Sociology be employed to fully understand fansubbing as the product of a group with a distinct identity and set of motivations.

Sociological concepts of *habitus*, *capital* and *field* in cultural production developed by the French sociologist Bourdieu may help illuminate the underlying social mechanisms of translation activities. Translation researchers (Inghilleri 2003, Simeoni 1998) have explored theoretically the applicability of Bourdieusian conceptual tools to inform norm theory in Translation Studies by situating translation practice in the field of cultural

production. Due to social elements in the notion of norms, "elaboration of concepts derived from sociological theories like those of Bourdieu" may be "a promising and exciting prospect" (Hermans 1998:58).

Against the bias towards text-based analyses in Translation Studies, the thesis recognises the need to adopt distinctly sociological approaches for understanding translation practice. It has hence drawn upon norm theories from Translation Studies and Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology to investigate the phenomenon of film translation produced by non-professionals (film fansubbing) in China during the last decade. Fansubbers employ internet-based tools to communicate and cooperate with each other, pooling resources and skills to translate and circulate audiovisual materials. As these fansubbers identify with each other and organise their activities, certain norms may be established to maintain order and productivity in the group.

Fansubbing, when studied within the framework of Bourdieu's influential field theory, points to a significant change in film translation: the entry of new comers (fansubbers) and the rise of non-professional audience participation in film translation. Bourdieu's (1986b) perception that a cultural arena as a cultural field is a useful concept. It establishes the rules and norms of the field deputies who are the focus of his conclusions. However, his investigation is based on the distinct barrier present between culture producers and their viewers. The increase in film fansubbing in China illustrates the significant change in audiovisual translation (AVT): the amateur audience members have become part of the cultural production through the internet. The increasing influence of these non-professional audience-participants poses great challenges to field study. In Bourdieu's terminology, these non-professionals, contributing a translation product, constitute "new entrants" whose impact on the film translation field has not yet been fully explored.

One challenge that Chinese professional film translators received from fansubbers and viewers is that their professionalism was brought into question. It has been frequently reported in Chinese media that viewers spotted mistranslations by professionals: English swear words have been replaced with polite references in Chinese, for example. Viewers have also questioned the appropriateness of the professional translator's use of Chinese Popular Internet Slang (PIS). This neologism language is often used by fansubbers in our translation but forbidden by Chinese authorities to be used in media in order to protect the purity of the Chinese language. Such translation issues involving these controversial

2

words, under the umbrella term *taboo words* in this thesis, have led viewers to ask whether fansubbers should be employed to translate films for the cinema since it seems they can do a better job than the professionals.

This chapter introduces general information about the research background, scope and gap. First, the development of both professional film translation and film fansubbing in China is reviewed to lay the foundation for further discussion of the sociology of film fansubbing. Second, the definition of taboo words is discussed as the translation of these words is an area that this thesis endeavours to explore from the sociological perspective. Third, the research gap is briefly introduced. Fourth, research questions that the thesis attempts to answer are outlined. Fifth, a rationale of the methodology employed in the research is given. Finally, an overview of the thesis structure is provided.

1.2   The development of film translation in China

Professional film translation pre-dates film fansubbing in China. This section offers an introduction of professional translation to illuminate the differences and similarities between these two practices.

1.2.1   *Professional film translation in China*

The development of professional film translation in China has been a long and tortuous process. It has evolved from films with slideshow subtitles in the 1920s and 1930s; to "yiyifeng/译意风" (Earphone) narration explaining the film plot in the late 1930s and 1940s; and then to film dubbing and subtitling in 1948 (Chen 2015). Initially, foreign films in China were subtitled with slideshows, and the audience was mainly a small number of elite citizens who could understand a foreign language. Later, the Earphone, a commentary style of translation, was used. In this style, live narration explained the film content; sometimes the narrator simultaneously interpreted the dialogue in the film. The audience paid extra for Earphone commentary. Then in 1948, one year before the People's Republic of China was formally established, the first dubbed film was screened in Chinese cinemas. Film dubbing in those early years of the Chinese Republic allowed access to foreign films for the illiterate or semi-literate population (accounting for over half of the total citizenry).

In the 1980s, China ended the decade-long chaos of the Cultural Revolution and foreign classic films were once again screened in cinemas. It is commonly believed that the decade of the 1980s was the Golden Age for China's film translation industry. With

dubbing as the main translation mode, China opened its doors and imported films from the West (Wei 2011). Currently since 2014, China imports around 40 foreign films annually for cinemas nationwide, and as Chinese audiences increasingly prefer listening to the original soundtrack to learn the foreign language or appreciate the unaltered original sound, the subtitled versions of films have greater market share as compared to that of the dubbed versions (Chen 2015). Nevertheless, it is believed that the dubbing industry, though declining, will last for many more years to meet the demands of children and the older generation.

In recent years, professional film translation has often been criticised for its "translationese," inaccurate translation of taboo words, and the use of neologisms including Chinese PIS words. For example, viewers have questioned professional translator Jia Xiuyan's translation inaccuracy, and her "overuse" of PIS in the translation of the film, *Men in Black 3* (Ren 2012). In response to this criticism, Jia explained that requirements for cinema film translation vs. fansubbing are very different. She argued that to be suitable for audiences of all ages and varying levels of sophistication, cinema translation must be easy to understand, and overly-vulgar words are not allowed and should be altered. Furthermore, she felt restricted when translating films which contain a large amount of American slang words and cultural allusions because she could not use annotations the way fansubbers do to explain these expressions. She used PIS as a means of solving these translation problems.

Many viewers in China have watched fansub and questioned whether fansubbers could translate films for cinema release. Despite viewers' wishes, at present authorities in China only allow film dubbing for cinema release to be conducted by one of four studios: Shanghai Dubbing Studio (SHDS); Changchun Dubbing Studio (CCDS); China Film Group Dubbing Centre (CFGDC) and August First Film Studio (AFFS). These studios have few full-time film translators, instead engaging part-time translators and dubbing actors in whom they trust. Fansubbers, remaining anonymous behind PC screens, are normally not employed to translate for cinemas; one rare exception was made in 2015 when a famous fansubber, by invitation of Marvel Entertainment, translated the Hollywood film *Avengers: Age of Ultron*. The fansubber's version was used only for importation approval by the Chinese administration, and the final version was produced by AFFS, one of the four sanctioned studios mentioned above for cinema release (Meimei 2015). Significantly, however, this symbolises fansubbers' penetration into the realm of professional film translation.

1.2.2 *Film fansubbing in China*

During the 1980's, the first fansubbers distributed their fansub offline, i.e., on VHS via the postal service. Since then fansub has become an important source for Western viewers to watch TV programmes, especially Japanese animation series, offering the original Japanese voices. In the late 1990s, fansub began to be distributed chiefly online, mostly through File Transfer Protocol (FTP) websites and early peer-to-peer networks (Leonard 2005:301). Fansubbing of foreign audiovisual materials in China started around 2001, when fans of American and British TV programmes congregated on internet fora and formed a fansub group named *F6* to share these audiovisual materials by translating and distributing them without charge. Later, the fansub group splintered, evolving into several major fansub groups including TLF, YYeTs, YDY, Fengruan, Ragbear, and SCG.

In 2006, the fansubbed American TV drama *Prison Break* swept through the internet in China. This caught the attention of *The New York Times* (2006) which quoted a Chinese fansubber from the Fengruan group. Since then, Chinese mainstream media such as China Central Television has extensively covered these fansub groups. Some well-known domestic newspapers and magazines also conducted interviews with the fansub group. Fansub groups, once "mysterious" due to their anonymity, gradually appeared in the discourse of mainstream culture, and the media's coverage of them symbolises the rise to prominence of Chinese fansubbing. During this period, the website Shooter.cn, originally a small online forum storing subtitles collected by a handful of volunteers, expanded into a major subtitle sharing platform.

Fansub groups suffered temporary setbacks in China towards the end of 2009 when over 530 audiovisual websites (Ren 2009) were forced to shut down by the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television (SARFT) due to their "unregistered status." In the second half of 2010, due to copyright issues, the network server of China's biggest fansub group, YYeTs, was confiscated by authorities. Despite the setbacks, upon receiving donations by internet users, the group purchased another site server and after a month-long hiatus became active once again. The authorities launched another crackdown at the end of 2014, resulting in the official closures of China's largest subtitle website, Shooter.cn, as well as YYeTs. Following the crackdown, however, duplicate websites of Shooter.cn appeared online, and lesser known fansub groups became substitutes for YYeTs, which reappeared in 2016 after changing their webserver several times.

Currently, although films have been translated by professionals, fansub groups still produce their own versions and share them online, stressing their originality. Usually fansubbers obtain film copies from file sharing BitTorrent websites. These film copies are mostly ripped from DVDs, Blu-rays or online streaming platforms. Cinematic releases usually appear on DVD or digital download services 90 days after their debut. Therefore, the fansubbed version of film subtitles usually comes out three months after the release of its professional film translation in China. Due to the illegality of sharing copyrighted audiovisual materials online, fansubbers use pseudonyms to mask their identities.

The internet is a powerful tool fostering interactions among fansubbers and facilitating their cooperation. Despite threats of suppression from authorities, fansubbing in China has developed quickly in the last decade. The establishment of major fansub groups which produce a large quantity of audiovisual materials has attracted an audience of millions, influencing their reading habits. These subtitling enthusiasts not only translate but also critique professional translation. This has sparked heated debate regarding issues in professional film translation in China, challenging the legitimacy of professionals in the field. Fansubbers and professional film translators, while competitors on some level, have also learned from one another, sharing certain common translation norms in their practice. In summary, film fansubbing, a phenomenon in the Chinese political-social context during the current digital age, constitutes an intriguing yet challenging topic for an interdisciplinary study between Translation Studies and Sociology.

1.3 Definition of taboo words

Taboo words vary by culture, and this not only presents challenges to translators but also offers the opportunity for researchers to study the ways in which they are dealt with by groups of translators from varying cultural backgrounds. The study of taboo translation has significance because the different translation strategies used by fansubbers and professionals can exemplify and even symbolise their attitudes (conservative or liberal; pro-establishment or anti-establishment). Translation of taboo words is difficult in that translators need to be familiar with the culture of both source and target languages and respect norms of good usage (Alavi, Karimnia, and Zadeh 2013). Swearing and the use of other taboo words constitute a distinctive feature and comprise a great portion of dialogues in English language blockbusters released in China. Taboo translation conducted by fansubbers has rarely been studied, suggesting it somehow remains an area

"unworthy" of academic research, partially due to the illegitimacy and amateur nature of fansubbing.

According to Britannica (2015), from an anthropological perspective, taboo is "the prohibition of an action based on the belief that such behaviour is either too sacred and consecrated or too dangerous and accursed for ordinary individuals to undertake." In linguistic and Translation Studies, "taboo language" relating to "sexual, socio-political and religious issues" is often discussed (Isbuga-Erel 2008:276). Taboo words, also called "forbidden words," are defined by Allan and Burridge (in preface, 2006) as "words and expressions viewed as 'taboo', such as those used to describe sex, human body parts and their functions, and those used to insult other people." Taboo is usually studied on the lexical level and a corpus-based research method is often used (see Alavi, Karimnia, and Zadeh 2013, Allan and Burridge 2006, Dewaele 2004, Gallego 2013, Isbuga-Erel 2008, Parini 2010, Stenström 2006, Vossoughi and Etemad Hosseini 2013). As this thesis aims to identify the differences between fansub and produb in terms of taboo translation, based on Isbuga-Erel's (2008) definition of taboo language as cited above, the research scope covers not only taboo words in the conventional sense (including swear words and political taboos), but also the contentious neologism, namely PIS, which has yet to be fully accepted into mainstream Chinese language. PIS, deemed by the Chinese authorities to have the potential to undermine the purity of Chinese, was officially banned on publications by China's SARFT in 2014 (Ding 2014, SARFT 2014a). Due to the large number of swear words in the corpus, this study focuses mainly on the differences in translation of swear words between fansub and produb.

This thesis uses Pinker's (2008) taxonomy of swear words based on functions to classify instances of swearing in the corpus, as it allows for a translation comparison that takes into account the situational context of swearing in subtitles. Psychologist Pinker (2008:350) outlines five different ways of swearing in his book *The Stuff of Thought: Language as a Window Into Human Nature*: (1) Dysphemism –descriptive swearing: *Let's fuck!* using the actual denotational meaning of the word. This usage is not found in my corpus, so this category is not included in this study. (2) Emphatic Swearing –used for emphasis: *This is fucking amazing!* (3) Cathartic Swearing - a response to stress , as in the use of an expletive after spilling hot coffee over oneself. (4) Abusive Swearing – name calling designed to insult. (5) Idiomatic Swearing – language that establishes informality and asserts "coolness": *It's fucked up*. By employing this taxonomy of swear words, I am able to examine how fansubbers and professional film translators deal differently with

taboo words used in a certain context. Each category of taboo words may pose different challenges to the translator. For example, the highly offensive insult, "motherfucker," in the category "abusive swearing," does not have a ready equivalent in Chinese, so translators need to decide whether to literally translate it to retain the coarseness, or to use a similar Chinese swear word, toning down the offensiveness.

1.4   Research gap

In recent years, fansubbing has attracted attention in academic research areas including Translation Studies. For instance, translation researchers and students in China as well as in other countries have investigated translation quality, norms, legality and other issues in fansubbing (Ferrer Simó 2005, Díaz Cintas and Muñoz 2006, González 2007, Agcaoili 2011, Lee 2011, Tian 2011, Boyko 2012, Dwyer 2012, Wilcock 2013). Nevertheless, fansubbing has remained under-studied. Díaz Cintas and Muñoz (2006) observe that the fansub phenomenon seems to "have passed unnoticed" by the academic community, and the few investigations conducted to explore this new type of AVT have analysed it only superficially.

Fansubbing began with anime (Japanese animation) in the 1980s, and has now expanded to include translation of various audiovisual materials such as video games, TV programmes and films. Nevertheless, a "Google Scholar[1]" website search finds that the majority of research on fansub in the West has focused on anime translation from Japanese to English, with the phenomenon of Chinese fansubbing rarely explored. As anime fansubbing and Chinese fansubbing are conducted in different language pairs and social contexts, there are bound to be significant linguistic and social-cultural differences between them.

To date, studies in China which focused on film translation (including both film fansubbing and professional film translation) have been restricted to the examination of translation strategies at the textual and cross-cultural level, with limited attention paid to social perspectives. In China, professional film translation is a highly collaborative activity involving many agents: the film translation companies and the translators, film distributors, and the State administration of the film industry. Similarly, a fansub group is a well-coordinated organisation including senior coordinators, proof-readers (editors), translators, and time-code technicians. All of these agents contribute to the final translation product. Accordingly, film translation, whether professional or amateur, is a

---

[1] Access date: 10/06/2015

social act involving various human agents. Consequently, in order to fully elaborate on the social nature of film translation, it is necessary to conduct a well-rounded investigation into the development of film fansubbing in China, considering its social, political, and technological contexts.

A few researchers (e.g. Kung 2010, Liang 2010a) have applied Bourdieu's sociology to their translation studies with a narrow focus on Bourdieu's concept of habitus, neglecting the norm concept in Translation Studies. For example, Kung (2010) attempts to apply Bourdieu's and Latour's frameworks to explain how a network of translation agents in Taiwan was formed and operated to export contemporary Taiwanese literature to the West. Liang (2010a) constructed the role of human agents in Translation Studies, with a focus on Bourdieu's concept of habitus, to understand the translation of fantasy fiction in Taiwan. On the whole, although the researchers mentioned above endeavoured to test Bourdieu's habitus theory, the role of norms is downplayed. This echoes Simeoni's representation of the relation between habitus and norms in terms of a closed cycle, where habitus reproduces norms which in turn fashion and condition habitus. This representation misses the dynamic character of Bourdieu's sociology, where norms and practices are always in a state of flux and subject to challenge. In contrast, Sela-Sheffy (2005:19) argues that the field of translation is a space regulated by its own internal activities and competitions among translation agents. The field dynamics offer researchers a means of perceiving the tension between the variability and predictability of translators' choices or preferences which are influenced by their group identity. Because this thesis attempts to understand the translation behaviour of the fansub group compared with its counterpart professional group, Sela-Sheffy's model is more applicable than Simeoni's (1998) in terms of interpreting both regularities and irregularities in fansubbers' translation.

1.5   Research questions

The last three decades have witnessed the development of norm theory in Translation Studies. In the last decade, Bourdieu's sociological model has become especially influential in the field, thus broadening translation researchers' horizons by viewing translation within a wider social context. This research attempts to study the translation of film fansubbing as a socially situated activity by integrating translation norm theory and Bourdieusian sociology. Therefore, the initial pertinent question about the phenomenon of film fansubbing in China is:

1. Are there differences in terms of the translation of taboo words in film fansubbing (fansub) and professional dubbing (produb) in China? If so, what factors contributed to the differences?

This first research question encompasses two intersected sub-questions, asking "what" and "why." The first sub-question addresses the importance of investigating the linguistic features exhibited in film fansub and produb to find whether these different groups of translation agents show a consistent tendency to adopt special translation strategies in their distinct social contexts when translating the same source. The linguistic features serve as textual evidence for the differences in the collective behaviour of these translation agents. That is, the textual regularities in the film translation products help us identify the translators' behavioural patterns.

The second sub-question delves deeper into the translation phenomenon. Based on the understanding that translation is a social activity (O'Hagan 2011), this thesis asks what factors may cause translation agents to behave differently from their counterparts in varying social contexts. This will help the researcher understand how translation norms develop, and how the norms contribute to the final translation products. Bourdieu's sociological concepts including habitus, capital and field, have been found useful in this regard.

2. Compared with other models in Translation Studies, to what extent can translation norm theory and Bourdieu's sociological concepts (habitus, capital and field) complement each other to explain film fansubbing in modern China in the current digital era?

This question is in line with the current development of sociological research in Translation Studies. In addressing this question, the relationship of Bourdieu's sociology to Translation Studies will be explored. Bourdieu's studies were conducted mainly before the modern internet era, so the social phenomena that emerged during the internet age was scarcely explored in his works. Film fansubbing in China is done by a special social group during a new historical period when the internet has significantly impacted the ways in which people communicate. Since the late 2000s, internet technologies have been closely integrated into almost every aspect of modern life. Currently in China, every film viewer proficient in English who has access to a PC with internet access has the potential to contribute to film translation and its transmission. Therefore, there are new social implications of film fansubbing in China in the 21st century. It is, in fact, crucial to discover how Bourdieu's sociological model and Toury's norm theory can complement

each other to aid the understanding of film fansubbing in China where State censorship is extensive and government control of the film industry is tight.

1.6   Methodology rationale

Translation researchers studying sociological phenomena translation norms and habitus naturally need to consider the culture and society within which the translation is conducted. In this context, a qualitative method is essential as it is concerned with understanding human behaviour from the perspective of informants. In Translation Studies, it relates the translator's textual manipulation to the historical-social context, aiming to reveal the social-ideological outlook of the translator and other agents involved in translation. For a qualitative analysis of these agents' attitudes and philosophies about translation, this research collects data through participant observation, interviews and online postings made by translators. As the qualitative analysis is highly reliant on the researcher's observation and judgment, it is important to acknowledge my background as the researcher involved. I hold expert knowledge in fansub and have fluency in both English (source language and culture) and Chinese (target language and culture), hence the capability to interpret qualitative data.

1.7   Structure of the thesis

The organisational structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature relevant to this research, including theories and research methods in AVT, particularly the translational norm theories and Bourdieu's sociological concepts: habitus, capital, and field. The framework of translation norm theory and Bourdieu's sociology in Translation Studies provides not only insight into the current development of film translation in China, but also an opportunity for the researcher to scrutinise the limitations of those studies, which may be complemented by present research.

In addition to theories, this chapter reviews previous research methods applied to translation in order to justify their suitability for the present study on fansubbing, a mode of AVT. Furthermore, the studies of taboo words are reviewed in this chapter in order to lay a groundwork for the present study. In addition, the chapter examines the relationship between Bourdieu's theory and Translation Studies, and explains the importance of studying the translation of taboo words in fansub and produb.

Chapter 3 reports research methods used in this study: the construction of the corpus, corpus analysis, and interviews designed to determine how translators deal with taboo

words. The corpus of materials contains subtitles of 51 English-language films from America and Britain released in Chinese cinemas between 2006 and 2015. The film selection criteria are set out and justified. Furthermore, the rationale for picking 11 films from the 51-film corpus for a more in-depth study of SCG (the fansub group I joined and observed) is explained. Their translation of these 11 films will be compared with the version produced by professionals in China to have a closer look at how these two groups in different social contexts translate uniquely. The case study focuses on a single fansub group so as to have an in-depth analysis of its hierarchy and translation norm establishment and maintenance. In addition, interviews are conducted to gather information from translators to learn what principles they apply when translating taboo words in films.

Chapter 4 discusses the findings obtained from the corpus study and the study of SCG's translation of 11 English films. In particular, Section 4.1 in this chapter discusses the general linguistic features of film fansub and produb: word count, type/token ratio, and the frequency of PIS. In addition, the severity of the swearing conveyed, and use of translationese in swearing translation in both fansub and produb are compared. These textual findings serve as empirical evidence of a certain translation tendency in fansubbers and film translation professionals. Section 4.2 presents both SCG and professionals' translational patterns dealing with taboo words in the source language. The study of translational patterns enriches Section 4.1's findings in that it discovers how these translation agents temper the severity of swearing in the source language and what tendencies they exhibit when making word choices for translating swear words.

Chapter 5 discusses the social factors that condition film fansubbing, compared with professional dubbing in China. Translation norm theories and Bourdieu's sociological concepts are applied to the discussion. Particular emphasis is given to the interaction between human agents involved in both fansub and produb film translation.

Chapter 6 comprises a summary of the research findings, the applicability and limitations of norm theories and Bourdieu's sociological concepts, a discussion of the limitations of the present study, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2   Literature review

Recent years have seen a "social turn" (Wolf 2006:9), following the "cultural turn" of the 1980s (Lefevere and Bassnett 1990) in Translation Studies. For Lefevere & Bassnett, translation is chiefly contextual, so it cannot be well explained through exploring the linguistic equivalence between languages. Their criticism of the linguistic approach symbolised the focal shift from language to culture in Translation Studies. More recently, Translation Studies has been largely influenced by Pierre Bourdieu's sociological approach and has established "a clear focus on translators as agents and actors"(Carmona 2011:15). For example, Pym, Shlesinger, and Jettmarova (2006) applied modern sociological approaches including Pierre Bourdieu's and Bruno Latour's theories to "the context of intercultural communication and translation." Gideon Toury's norm theory also contributed to the current sociological turn by establishing the foundation for a sociocultural orientation in the discipline of Descriptive Translation Studies.

The main aim of this study is to investigate what and how social factors contribute to the differences in the translations of taboo words in recent blockbuster films by two different social groups in China: fansubbers and professional film translators. To explain the differences in the distinct versions of translation produced by the two groups, their norms, habitus, and cultural fields will be discussed in later chapters. In summary, the investigation involves certain key concepts: *norm*, *taboo word*, *taboo*, and Pierre Bourdieu's sociological concepts including *habitus*, *capital* and *field*. These concepts will be reviewed in this chapter to lay a concrete basis for explaining social factors affecting film fansubbing in the Chinese context of the digital era.

2.1   Descriptive Translation Studies

Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), a branch of *Translation Studies*, aims "to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience" Holmes (1988:71). Holmes' publication has a significant influence within the Translation Studies circle, and has considerably widened the scholar's horizon. According to Toury (1980:30), within DTS a translation can be "any target language utterance which is presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds." By adopting the DTS approach, translation researchers are no longer bound by the single linguistic perspective. Instead, they are free to employ an interdisciplinary perspective. In this regard, Díaz Cintas (2004), an expert in the studies of AVT, shares the same viewpoint. He dismisses the mapping of AVT from just a linguistic standpoint as

obviously insufficient. Furthermore, he believes that DTS equips Translation Studies scholars with a "sufficiently homogeneous and flexible theoretical framework" to conduct their research in AVT.

2.2 Audiovisual translation

2.2.1 *An overview of AVT*

In recent years, fruitful theoretical achievements in Translation Studies have been made which have greatly benefited the AVT branch of study. For example, the functional approach of Skopos theory was used by Alkadi (2010) to investigate the problems that translators face in the dubbing and subtitling of English-language TV programmes and films into Arabic. The findings show that by adopting "a more functional translation approach" translators may improve the quality of their translation such that the effect of the translation on the target audience is similar to the effect that the ST has on its audience (ibid). Another model, translation norm theory, has proven to be very useful in elucidating "the policy that regulates the whole AVT project" and the operational norms that emerge in the transferring of the linguistic material from source to target language (Díaz Cintas 2004:26). These norms help us observe the translator's behaviour in the linguistic transferring of the audiovisual media, and identify the distinctive features that regulate the delivery of the subtitled discourse. Meanwhile, Díaz Cintas also cautions that when applying norm theory to AVT one needs to be careful to avoid becoming over-prescriptive (ibid). Such caution is indeed necessary as some researchers have demonstrated this tendency. For example, Li and Bo (2005) reported on a case study of applying Toury's theory of operative translation norms to subtitling, and proposed that the ultimate goal of subtitle translation, constrained by translation norms, is to achieve "invisibility of subtitling." By proposing such a goal of achieving translation invisibility, Li and Bo's discussion became over-prescriptive, putting forward a norm for translators to conform to.

Currently, there are some fragmented analyses and expositions of AVT in China, most of which are case studies of some films or TV programmes. Few are in-depth studies from the perspective of sociology, political economy, or literature. AVT studies in China do not focus on the processes or management of translation or the relationship between AVT and social development (Yang 2010). A professor at Communication University of China (Beijing), Ma (2005), published a book entitled *Scenario Translation and Dubbing*, in which comments about methods of dubbing and subtitling were made. These comments

are opinions based on personal preferences, not based on social surveys or field trips. In summary, the knowledge of AVT in China is not systematic.

2.2.2   *AVT modes: voice-over, dubbing, and subtitling*

A wide range of modes of AVT exist due to various economic situations, cultural ideologies, audience preferences and needs in various areas and countries. There are three primary methods of AVT in Europe: *voice-over*, *dubbing*, and *subtitling* (Díaz Cintas 2005).

Voice-over is "the speaking of a person or presenter (announcer, reporter, anchor, commentator, etc.) who is not seen on the screen while her or his voice is heard" (Newcomb 1997). Voice-over and dubbing differ in that voice-over translation is often done by a single artist whose voice is recorded over the original audio track which is not completely silenced and so can still be faintly heard by the audience. Usually, dubbing takes longer and is more costly than voice-over and subtitling. Voice-over translation is widely used in eastern European countries such as Lithuania (Baranauskienė and Blaževičienė 2008). In Viet Nam, voice-over is known to be heavily used for translating Chinese TV series (Yao and Le 2016) while dubbing and subtitling are the more common methods for AVT in China (Niu 2014).

Both subtitling and dubbing have advantages and disadvantages. Though subtitling keeps the original sound intact, the audience, by listening to the original sound and reading subtitles, actively participates in the creative process, i.e., the audience "dubs" the video through subtitles. One disadvantage of reading subtitles is that it diverts the audience's attention away from the video aspect. In subtitling, annotation to explain cultural references is possible, but in dubbing it is impractical, as speech, intended to be synchronised to the character's lip movements, is temporal, or transient (Yang 2010). Annotation used in subtitling, especially in fansub, allows the audience to gain more understanding of the original culture through subtitles.

The choice between dubbing and subtitling varies by geography and culture around the world, and this constitutes a research area for AVT literature. So far, research on norms determining the choice between dubbing and subtitling is usually country- or area-specific. For example, Baranauskienė and Blaževičienė (2008) conducted a study of the distribution of AVT methods in Lithuania, and discovered that the AVT modes seem to remain unchanged. Voice-over has been and remains "the most widespread translation type," followed by subtitling; dubbing is limited to animated productions. Dubbing has

not been popular in the Arab world although it is believed to be a viable option (Maluf 2005). According to a report conducted by Chen (2015) regarding contemporary practices in China, a foreign blockbuster film usually has both a subtitled and dubbed version available for the market. However, cinemas in first tier cities such as Beijing and Shanghai prefer subtitled versions, while other cities offer both versions (30% dubbed, 70% subtitled). Individual Chinese moviegoers have their own preferences for either dubbing and subtitling for various reasons: foreign language learning, foreign culture exposure, or the ease of understanding speech in a film by listening to the dubbed sound track. The availability of two translation versions is largely determined by demand in the Chinese market, that is, meeting the audience's need for access to the original sound track.

2.2.3   *Subtitling*

2.2.3.1   *The features of subtitling*

Subtitling is defined by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:8) as:

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

According to the definition above, "subtitling" differs from "captioning" in terms of inter-linguistic transfer, that is, subtitling is translation while captioning is transcription of the same language in the audiovisual material. As for the "discursive elements" mentioned in the definition, Gottlieb (2004:133) believes that when subtitling, poly-semiotic texts such as images and sound effects must also be considered. The coexistence of images and words is advantageous to subtitlers since these two semiotics very often communicate equivalent information. To address this poly-semiotic issue, Chaume (2004) introduced the term *semiotic cohesion* to denote a gap or ellipsis in the subtitled dialogue being filled with information that the viewer obtains from the screen images instead of the verbal text. While audiovisual media, a collection of poly-semiotics, offers subtitlers the leeway to make their translation concise, it also imposes two inescapable constraints on translators: space and time. In other words, the subtitle must fit onto the screen, and must be readable within the time limits, usually a few seconds. To cope with this issue, some companies apply the "six-second rule" in their subtitling, which refers to the time needed by an

average viewer to read two lines of a subtitle, each line containing 35 to 37 characters (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007:23).

2.2.3.2 *Subtitling and new technology*

With the development of new technology and the world economy, subtitling is no longer dominated by a small number of professionals. Amateurs world-wide now can congregate on the internet to pool resources and disseminate their work. More people, especially the younger generation, now have access to audiovisual materials on the internet. Consequently, in this context, researchers need to "revise and rethink certain concepts in Translation Studies" due to the digitisation of audiovisual materials (Gambier 2006:91). One result of technology development is that the audience's viewing mode has become more active. Computer and tablet users, or even mobile phone users, can pause the videos and listen again to words they have missed. Bilingual and monolingual versions of subtitles are available for viewers to choose according to their personal preference. As a result, the translation practices of subtitlers may also have changed to meet the expectations of the audience. For example, fansubbers in China produce distinct versions for different viewers: simplified for audiences in China and Singapore; traditional Chinese versions for Taiwanese and Hong Kong viewers; and bilingual versions for language learners. Furthermore, they may also embed annotations into their subtitles to explain extralinguistic cultural references (Pedersen 2007:41). According to Pedersen, *extralinguistic cultural references* are expressions that comment on "entities outside language, such as names of people, places, institutions, food, customs etc., which a person may not know, even if s/he knows the language in question"(ibid). With new technology, fansubbers are able to develop new strategies to tackle translation issues derived from extralinguistic cultural references.

With some training, or self-learning via online video tutorials made by experienced subtitlers, amateurs can participate in subtitling and publish their works on the internet. The requirements for entry into the field are minimal: a computer with internet access, a free programme, and a copy of the audiovisual material (Díaz Cintas 2005). However, the low threshold does not guarantee that the subtitled products will easily reach an audience. Although the products can be uploaded to a video sharing website like YouTube or shared through peer-to-peer technology, many factors determine the popularity of the product: the reputation of the subtitler or the translation group; early and timely uploading; and the availability of the video. Nevertheless, this development is interesting for purposes of

AVT research because the new technologies, platforms and channels used by audiences to access audiovisual materials will probably induce different needs and demands (Díaz Cintas 2005:11). For example, fansubbers in China, owing to its technology democratisation, can contest government dominance by liberating themselves from authoritarian and economic imperatives (Wang and Zhang 2017).

2.2.4 *Fansub*

Fansubbing remains under-studied in AVT literature. The technically "illegitimate" nature of this translation activity and the low translation quality of some works by fans have marginalised fansubbing within the overall domain of AVT research (González 2007). A fansub group is a volunteer, not-for-profit and non-governmental group (Balemberg 2011). Fansubbing began with anime (Japanese animation) in the 1980's, and a search on the website "Google Scholar[2]" finds that the majority of research on fansubbing has focused on anime. In 2006, Díaz Cintas and Muñoz observed that few translation studies have been conducted to explore fansub, with most researchers analysing it only superficially. For instance, fansubbing or volunteer subtitling is never referred to in the chapter concerning subtitling in *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies* (2011). The audiovisual materials fansubbers translate have now expanded beyond just Japanese anime to include films, TV series, reality shows, documentaries and even video games. In consideration of this development in AVT, many scholars have appealed for more attention to be paid to fansub. For instance, O'Hagan (2008:178) warns that "Translation Studies can no longer afford to overlook the fan translation phenomenon." Dwyer (2012) suggests that the growing influence of fansubbing activities should suggest to translation scholars that professional translation of audiovisual materials must "become more cross-disciplinary" and should incorporate elements of the gaming and television cultures. Another researcher Ferrer Simó (2005) sees fansubbing as an activity that has led to some changes in the mainstream practice of professional subtitling and, in some circumstances, a fansubbed version of audiovisual material can set a precedent or example for the official version.

2.2.4.1 *Fansub motivations*

Volunteer turnover rates seem to be quite high in most fansub groups. Díaz Cintas and Muñoz (2006:50) attribute the high attrition rate of fansubbers to the increasingly high

---

[2] Access date: 10/06/2015

translation standard and speed that the audience demands. Indeed, subtitling is also highly time-consuming, so strong motivation and good time-management are required to stay active in a fansub group for extended periods. Through factor analysis, Leung (2009) identified four types of gratifications (motivations) driving volunteers in making user-generated content (e.g. Wikipedia and Blogger.com): recognition needs, cognitive needs, social needs, and desire for entertainment. Leung discovered that the more that an internet user's need for recognition is satisfied, the more s/he perceives that s/he is empowered with self-efficacy and competence.

Social identity theory was developed by Tajfel (1978) to describe factors that determine one's self-concept construction in which one perceives membership in a related social group. For fansub researchers, social identity theory aids in illuminating the social motivations of fansubbers. Hence, the theory facilitates the theoretical framework of the fansub study. According to Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory, people tend to group themselves and others into a certain social category using characteristics such as affiliation, membership, gender, and age. Social identity can enhance an individual's support or commitment to groups to which the individual feels s/he "belongs." As the term *fansub* denotes, many group members are devotees of certain films or TV series. However, Barra (2009:517) discovered that fansubbers do not necessarily have to be "fans." Instead, they may be more motivated by their wish to be part of a group.

By studying socialisation within fansub groups and the interaction between fansub group administrators, older members and newcomers, we can understand how fansub members are motivated and how translation norms are established and maintained. In this regard, Liang (2010a:38) believes the investigation of translational norms should extend its scope from textual evidence to the sociocultural evidence governing translator behaviour. The psychological concept of *overjustification effect* has been used by WZSB (2014) to explain the enthusiasm of fansubbers and the lack of professional translators in fansub teams. The overjustification effect explains the consequence that promising a reward such as money or prizes for a previously unrewarded activity undermines one's intrinsic interest. Driven by common interests such as foreign language learning and sharing videos, participants are willing to spend much time on the work without being remunerated. In a team sharing a clear goal, the same spirit and equivalent intelligence, fansubbers' personal interests are further stimulated by the joy of sharing, group identity and personal ability improvement (WZSB 2014). As for professional translators, their enthusiasm is undermined by the payment they receive; hence, they are not willing to

translate for free after being paid for similar work (ibid). The application of "overjustification" to fansub sounds convincing, but the fansub group demography has not been carefully studied. The percentage of professional subtitlers within a typical fansub group remains unknown.

2.2.4.2 Fansub legality

According to copyright laws in China (NPC 2011), the translation of a published work may be used by researchers without permission from the copyright owner, provided that the translation shall not be published or distributed. Fansubbing works can be regarded as academic research if they are free of charge and considered separately from videos (Zhou 2008). Hoping to avoid prosecution, fansubbers in China often use a disclaimer in their subtitles, asserting that their subtitles are only for education purposes. However, they often merge subtitles with the videos they have translated, "burning in" subtitles within the actual video. These are then published online so that Chinese audiences do not have to import a separate subtitle file into a video player for viewing. By merging subtitles with videos and publishing them, they infringe upon copyrights in China (Yuan 2014). The subtitles of pirated American and British films and TV programmes by Chinese fansub groups can be easily held as evidence of China's rampant piracy and is one of the reasons these fansub group members remain anonymous. It appears that non-profit fansubbers in China involved in subtitling have not been subject to widespread prosecution. There are exceptions; when one Chinese fansubber sold his works online in 2013, he was arrested and charged with piracy by Chinese police (Lei 2013). Other countries, such as Japan, appear to have stricter laws in against illegal fansubbing. Two Chinese fansubbers were arrested in Japan in September 2016 for subtitling and publishing Japanese animation online (Yu 2016). Sometimes, fansubbers fight back. In 2016 a group of fansubbers united to form the "Free Subtitles Foundation" and took the Hollywood-backed anti-piracy Netherlands group BREIN to a Dutch court, arguing that their activities are protected by freedom of expression. Though the court ruled that fan-made subtitles for TV shows and movies are illegal, the reality is that actually policing subtitle sites is difficult. Fansubbing has been subject to severe criticism and repression for more than a decade but is still going strong.

The holders of copyrights to foreign films and TV programmes have a special relationship with fansub groups. Some companies believe that the early introduction of some episodes of their TV series is beneficial in terms of the programme's popularity, and

others may allow "fan activity" on the condition that it does not significantly impact sales in a negative way (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz 2006). Other companies may not have the money and energy to prosecute copyright violations in foreign countries. So far, there are no reports of foreign copyright holders taking direct legal actions against fansubbers in China although they may exert pressures on the Chinese government. The reasons behind their lack of zeal in prosecuting fansubbers are complicated. China is one of the countries that maintains a high degree of control over ideology. Government officials have a strong desire to protect both domestic markets and Chinese culture. Thus, foreign TV programmes entering the Chinese market undergo quite demanding, complex and lengthy approval procedures, with many works failing to meet the standards that would allow them to be viewed in China. Against this background, the copyright holders of foreign programmes usually turn a blind eye to fansub activities, through which they hope to circumvent government censorship and develop new markets (You 2014). Film producers "for art's sake" may even allow piracy so that their works may be accessed by viewers in a totalitarian country. For example, *The Lady*, a biographical film of Nobel peace prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi championing democracy, was banned but nevertheless fansubbed in China. Luc Besson, the director of the film, expressed his approval of piracy, saying at a press conference in Hong Kong: "As an artist, I'm always very happy, even if it's through piracy that they can have access to culture" (WSJ 2012).

2.2.4.3 Fansub quality

The quality of fansub has been controversial, and several scholars have conducted studies to discover the factors which affect fansub quality. In 2006, Díaz Cintas and Muñoz considered the quality of the fansub translations on the internet to often be "below par" due to the dearth of native English speakers who could translate anime. Bogucki (2009:56) notes the poorer quality of amateur subtitles compared to that of professional subtitles, and attributes the translational errors in the former to "the translator's lack of linguistic competence in the source language" or/and "incomplete STs." It is noteworthy that the studies of Díaz Cintas and Muñoz, as well as Bogucki (56), were conducted approximately ten years ago, and fansubbing has developed tremendously since then. The proliferation of volunteer subtitles has been self-evident. Quite a few scholars recognise fansub's active role in Translation Studies. For example, Carmona (2011) identifies fansub as "a very active subfield," while Dwyer (2012:237) recognises fansub volunteers' translating "impetus and subversive potential."

Though considered unprofessional or substandard by some, fansubbed foreign films and TV series have attracted a large audience in China. The Chinese fansub audience has grown quite accustomed to the translation style of fansub groups and many viewers have praised the good quality and high standards of fansubs. Boyko (2012) examined the community of fansub groups in China and Russia and researched their group structure and communications, qualifications for members and newcomers, and operating process. Boyko discovered that the recruitment process in Chinese fansub groups is "more and more similar to the process in offline companies" in terms of application. To ensure translation quality, major fansub groups set strict entrance requirements. These popular groups attract numerous volunteers, so they keep their entrance threshold high, especially when the craze for a popular TV drama is triggered. For example, the most popular American TV fansub groups including YYeTs, FRM and Ragbear have published recruitment posts on their online fora. These specify that if one wants to become a subtitle translator, s/he must first take certain tests, usually a translation test of a short video clip. The examination assesses the candidate's facility with English and Chinese writing. The recruitment procedures of some fansub groups are on par with those of corporate entities (Zhou 2008). Many fansub groups add two conditions: (1) a sense of responsibility and a willingness to give selflessly; and (2) an abundance of available time and perseverance. These volunteers are well organised through instant messengers, online chat rooms and emails. A medium-sized fansub group has approximately 80 members, while large groups such as the YDY and YYeTs have 300-400 participants. Many are proficient English users who hold high level English proficiency certificates such as *Test for English Majors Band 8* (ibid).

Fansubbers value peers' evaluations and criticism. In their interview with a fansubber, Liu and Wu (2014) found that fansubbers not only cheer for each other but also offer constructive criticism, creating a healthy learning environment. For example, fansubber Ting Zhang from YYeTs criticises other fansubbers for their usage of PIS words as a means of catering to the general appeal but compromising the classical maxim *Xin Da Ya* (faithfulness, comprehensibility and elegance). In contrast, in the view of fansubber Ming Wu, Ting Zhang has "language mysophobia," overstressing conventional language use. When translating classical English poetry, some will translate literally whereas Ting will use Chinese classical poetry style words to render English poetry (Liu and Wu 2014). The three-principle model of *Xin Da Ya* has obviously been highly regarded as a guideline, not only in the professional industry but also in fansubbing (ibid).

The term *shenfanyi* (神翻译, literally: mind-boggling translation) in Chinese has been coined online to categorise all the strange or unconventional translations and outrageous translation mistakes made by fansubbers. Each fansub group has its own norms in terms of approval or disapproval of such translation. One translation error of this type involves the transliteration of English words, the result of which has a meaning not related to the source text. For example, the English song title "*We Found Love*" has been translated as "*Weifang* de ai (潍坊的爱, literally: Love in Weifang)" (Zhuang 2012), which is an unusual combination of transliteration and paraphrasing. The translation can also be a Chinese PIS word which is hard for the older generation to understand. For example, "talk to the hand" in the American TV series *The Big Bang Theory* is translated as *lǎndéniǎonǐ* (懒得鸟你, a slang word, literally: I'm too lazy to bird/notice you)" by fansubbers (NetEase 2013). However, according to Liu and Wu (2014), "cautious" group members, such as *The Simpsons* fansub team leader Marco, keep their distance from such translation behaviour. Fansub leaders have considerable influence on the overall translation style of a fansub group; hence, they play an important role in establishing and maintaining the translation norms in the group. Therefore, in order to understand the translation norms of a fansub group, it is crucial to investigate the attitudes of the group members, especially the leaders.

2.2.4.4   Fansub creativity

Fansub has now become a "site for creativity" because the "greater access to and affordability of subtitling software" has advanced fansubbing rapidly, and volunteer subtitling is "penetrating other AVT genres" (Munday 2008:190). Compared with professional subtitling, one of fansub's distinctive features is that cultural referents including place names, celebrations and rituals are annotated through translator's glossaries and notes (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz 2006). This new form of internet subtitling is "far less dogmatic and more creative and individualistic" than traditional subtitling for the cinema, television or DVD (ibid).

Other scholars have also conducted similar studies concerning fansub's creativity. Wilcock (2013) makes a comparison of fansub and professional subtitling, and observes that fansub adopts a more source-oriented and complete translation approach due to the audience's request for faithfulness or authenticity. Wilcock further explains that fansubbers are more free to eschew the norms or 'best practice' of the professional subtitling industry. For that reason, they employ more creative translation strategies and

presentation. Another researcher, González (2007:76), observes that fansubbers' notes are used to explain culture-specific references and concepts and to provide "overt instances of interpretation, thus directly contravening professional 'objectivity' codes." Ferrer Simó (2005) offers an extensive list of the important technical and translational features which define fansub. These include translation of opening and closing credits, use of different fonts, and acknowledgment of fansubbers. Díaz Cintas and Muñoz (2006:46) discover translators' tendency to "stay close to the original text and to preserve some of the cultural idiosyncrasies of the original in the TT." The reason behind such a propensity is the translators' awareness of their audience's interest in anime and Japanese culture (ibid). A comparison of the different translation strategies used in fansub and professional AVT has illuminated fansubbers' considerable creativity. After many years of practice, this creativity has become a defining feature of fansub and the audience seems to have grown quite accustomed to it.

The researchers mentioned above appear to view fansubbers' particular ways of translation as evidence of greater creativity compared with their counterpart professional translators. The situation is similar in China as journalists or researchers consider fansubbers' different strategies of translation as innovative. These strategies often include using Chinese idioms and proverbs and adding comments or annotations to facilitate viewers' understanding. For example, Zhou (2008) observes that many internet users praise fansub in China as being apt and witty, conveying not only the meanings, but also the translator's feelings accurately. In their opinion, when compared with professional translation, fansub is livelier and less awkward.

2.2.4.5 *The voice of fansubbers*

New technologies (first DVD, then the high-speed internet), combined with the audience's preference for the image and sound, have greatly promoted the exchange of audiovisual materials across the globe. This rapid growth has led to the surfacing of new voices – "voices of dissent that subvert conventions traditionally considered standard in the delivery of subtitles" (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007:139). For example, headnotes or topnotes, almost non-existent on cinema screens, are frequently used in fansub translation to facilitate the audience's understanding of technical terms and culture-specific elements, challenging norms established in professional film subtitling. The opinions of fansubbers can often be heard in the commentaries embedded in the subtitles they produced. This is unheard of in professional subtitling, which emphasises simplified standard language or

24

the so-called "neutral language" for subtitling (Kaufmann 2004). For example, in one episode of the American television series *24*, a fansubber added his own comment on the TV programme plot: "*Xiǎoqiáng hái méi sǐ! Zhēn qiáng!* (literally: Little Strong is not dead yet! So strong!)" referring to the main character Jack as *Xiaoqiang* (小强, literally: little strong), a slang word for meaning cockroach (Zhou 2007). Adding "preface" and "postscript" to subtitles is another important characteristic of fansubbing (Tian 2011). In so doing, the translator communicates with the audience, making his or her visibility clear.

When examining AVT fan activity, Burn (2006:88) argues how such fan work, similar to translation of other audiovisual materials online, can both "revere the original text, seeking to remain as true to it as possible" and "dramatically alter the original text, adapting it to express the particular interest of the fan or fan group." Nornes (1999) believes that fansubbers' experimental nature and their tendency to deviate from norms of AVT lead to the their "experimentation with language and its grammatical, morphological, and visual qualities," so they can bring the audience closer to the original by challenging certain of the conventional constraints imposed upon subtitles. DVD storage technology allows producers to include subtitle streams with these experimental procedures (Nornes 1999), and newer video player programmes on computers also allow viewers to select whichever version of subtitles they prefer.

2.2.4.6   *Fansub in China*

Fansub has been prolific in China, more so than produb, exerting a major influence on people's entertainment and thinking. In 2013, The State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television of the People's Republic of China (SARFT 2014b) published a directory of 78 approved foreign films and 54 TV series (a total of 1073 episodes) from outside mainland China including the USA, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. According to this document, foreign television series should not be broadcast during prime time hours (19:00-22:00), and foreign television series aired by each TV channel shall not exceed 25% of the total TV series aired on the same day (SARFT 2012). In contrast, in 2013 China's biggest fansub group YYeTs published online 2977 recent TV episodes from the USA alone for offline watching anytime, almost three times as many as those government sanctioned ones (YYeTs 2014).

Chinese fansubbing has gained popularity because it meets the needs of both its audience and fansubbers. That is, the audience has entertainment needs and curiosity regarding the

outside world, while fansubbers satisfy their social needs by working for their fellow viewers in a team, socialising with other fansubbers. Many Chinese have complained about dull Chinese TV series and films, and their limited access to foreign TV programmes and films due to the government's slow importation and strict censorship. With the help of fansub, Chinese audiences who are not proficient in English can access the latest British and American TV programmes which are not officially imported into China. Fansub offers the Chinese audience another audiovisual source besides the "boring and uncreative" Chinese TV programmes (Ren 2013).

Translation strategies may differ depending on the motivations of the translator (Wu 2016). Therefore, it is necessary to consider these motivations when studying fansub. Currently, although the main product of fansub in China is the translation from other languages to Chinese, there are more and more instances of fansubbing from Chinese to other languages, which may become a new popular topic in AVT studies (Yang 2010). Though fansubbers translate fewer Chinese than English-language films (Pellatt, Liu, and Chen 2014), it is believed that the volume of Chinese films and TV programmes being translated is growing (SCOL 2011). Whether it is translation from Chinese to other languages or vice versa, a researcher trying to understand the translation phenomenon needs to consider who translated the audiovisual materials and for what purpose, as these two factors likely determine the form and content of the translation product. For example, according to producer Cao Ping, in 2014, the translation of Chinese TV drama *The Legend of Zhenhuan* into English would be completed by an American team to ensure the transfer of Chinese classical culture as well as guarantee that it is easily understood by an American audience (Qiu 2014). The director Zheng Xiaolong emphasised that the American version will not be a literal translation of the original but an "artistic adaptation," and some lines that are untranslatable will be deleted if the deletion does not affect the understanding of the context (ibid). As a result, the TV drama was shortened from 76 episodes to six episodes by the professional team to cater to the viewing habits of the audience, whereas, the fansub version on website viki.com includes all episodes, and is "closer" to the Chinese "meanings" in the original version (Zhang 2015a).

2.2.5   *Professional AVT in China*

The concept of AVT in China has evolved beyond "Film Dubbing/电影译制" (literally: film translation and production) which was the main mode of foreign film translation in the 1949 to 1978 period. When China entered the 1980s, film dubbing was in its prime.

Some film translation products became classics and had an enormous impact on social attitudes. Meanwhile, TV translation activity increased and became the main object of AVT, leading to the expansion of the term "Film Dubbing" to "Film and TV Translation/ 影视译制" (Yang 2010:15). When China entered the internet era, fansub grew very quickly and challenged the traditional concepts of AVT. Yang (2010) believes that AVT is a special spiritual and cultural production, and is a product of social development (ibid). AVT in China evolved from film dubbing, to TV translation, and then to the coexistence of films, TV translation and fansub. Curiously, the preference for dubbing over subtitling in China appears to have reversed in recent years. One piece of evidence is that China's biggest TV station, China Central TV, usually just broadcasts dubbed foreign films and TV series. Yet it reported it would broadcast the subtitled American TV series *The Big Bang Theory*, which is unusual in China (Li 2014b). Another American TV series, *Game of Thrones, Season 4,* will be subtitled instead of being dubbed like the previous three seasons (ibid).

The production mode of dubbing and subtitling studios from 1949 to 2003 was a consequence of the planned economy (Yang 2010). Since 2004, the AVT industry in China has gradually become market-oriented. For example, in 2004, China Film Group Corporation (CFGC), one of the country's major film production companies, established its own "dubbing centre," abolished the distribution system of State-owned enterprise, and adopted a "personnel appointment system" (ibid). The new system meant that it could reduce costs and employ translators and voice actors of different styles. Meanwhile, the country has also tried to break the government-sanctioned company's monopoly of foreign film distribution in China. CFGC, directly subordinate to SARFT, used to be the only film importer. When Huaxia Film Distribution Co., Ltd. was established in 2003, it became the second company authorised by the State to distribute foreign films (Li 2003), breaking CFGC's 50 year monopoly.

For blockbusters, China has an annual import quota of less than 100 films (Han 2013). Four dubbing companies are qualified by SARFT to translate them: SHDS; CCDS; CFGDC and AFFS[3] (Han 2013). Table 1 offers brief information about the four State-owned dubbing studios in China. One reason for the monopoly of film translation is the

---

[3] In 2016, the four state-sanctioned film studios started to cooperate with a private translation company Transn (Li and Zhou 2017), however, none of the films in my corpus have been translated by Transn.

protection of copyrights: in order to prevent blockbuster leaks, the translation needs to be commissioned to a credible institution (Lu 2014).

Table 1. Four State-owned dubbing studios in China

Dubbing studio	Full English name	Chinese name	Parent (English)	Organisation system	Headquarters
SHDS	Shanghai Dubbing Studio	上海译制厂	Shanghai Film Group	State-owned Enterprise	Shanghai
CCDS	Changchun Dubbing Studio	长春译制片公司	Changchun Film Group	State-owned Enterprise	Changchun
CFGDC	China Film Group Dubbing Centre	中影译制中心	China Film Group	State-owned Enterprise	Beijing
AFFS	August First Film Studio	八一电影制片厂	People's Liberation Army	State-owned Institution	Beijing

Produb usually endures much scrutiny before it reaches the audience. Elements that contradict the ideology are usually deleted or changed, given the fact that the cinemas and TV are mass media. For example, the Japanese TV series *Lily of the Valley* (铃兰,すずらん), as broadcast on China Central Television, was "abridged and adjusted," and subtitles were provided to illustrate some portions of the plot that had been edited out. In addition, some of the lines of militarism were expurgated (Zhang 2003).

In China, translation of a film may be supervised by the film producer. Although the producer does not have the right to translate subtitles, that is not to say that they have no control over the content of the subtitles (Lu 2014). For example, Disney dispatches specialists to inform the dubbing studio of the translation guidelines: which part needs to be serious, which part needs to be funny, or even which part needs to be "localised/接地气" to add local cultural references. As for some special terms, the film producer will provide a list, which is the same as the one given to the translators in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Translators also discuss any controversial or questionable translation with the film producer (Lu 2014).

The translation strategy of using local cultural references has aroused great controversy within China. The most famous translator using this strategy is Jia Xiuyan, who works for AFFS. For example, because the translation of the 2013 blockbuster film *Pacific Rim* frequently uses "local cultural reference" vocabulary such as *tiānmǎ liúxīng quán* (天马流星拳, Pegasus Meteor Fist) and *liàngjiàn* (亮剑, Blank Sword), it has received much criticism from Chinese internet users. The question of whether the translation should be of "local cultural reference" or faithful to the original film has become a hot topic again.

Proponents of this translation strategy think it adds humour, making the film more interesting, while opponents of it argue it is improper or non-standard (He 2012). Indeed, this kind of translation gives viewers an impression that characters in the film can speak Chinese slang and buzz words. Jia has used the same strategy for several films already, including *Men in Black 3*. Many film enthusiasts are very critical of the translation by Jia. The controversy was so great that some viewers even suggested a boycott, and the fansubber Wuliaolaosheng who transcribed the film's dubbing into subtitles posted a disclaimer stating, "I only did the transcription based on the Mandarin audio track. My work [subtitling] does not indicate my approval or disapproval of Jia's translation." Nevertheless, it seems the controversial translation did not negatively impact the box office of *Pacific Rim,* but instead helped the film garner more attention. Furthermore, the box office receipts within China reached over $100 million in 2013, ranked only second to *Iron Man 3* among all imported films that year (Wang 2013). The controversy generated from translation increased the film's popularity and attention in China. "Jia Xiuyan Translation" even became a publicity motif for the film (Lu 2014).

Foreign TV programmes imported into China are translated and broadcast on traditional television by various TV stations, including China Central TV (the predominant State television broadcaster in China), as well as provincial and city TV stations (Yang 2010). Recent years have seen the rise of online video streaming websites, which broadcast popular American and British TV dramas. The ratings of these dramas indicates viewership of them is restricted to "high-income and highly-educated people," a small proportion of the website's users (Zhang 2011).

In recent years, Chinese commercial video streaming websites have communicated or cooperated with fansubbers, though not always in a sensible way. Sometimes, these commercial websites use fansubbers' works without acknowledgment, arguing that fansub is not protected by copyright because of its illegitimacy. In 2014, the influential fansub group YYeTs published a microblog accusing a video streaming website, Tudou.com, of using their subtitles without acknowledgment and voiced their discontent (see below).

> Without our consent or knowledge, [Tudou] used our group's publically released subtitles, and deleted the translator list and group name. This behaviour shows a disrespect of fansubbers. We strongly urge Tudou at least to retain the translator list and group name, showing respect to the fruits of our labour. –YYeTs (2014), reported by journalist Li (2014a)

Commercial video streaming websites may sometimes also pay fansubbers a paltry fee to translate popular foreign TV dramas, turning these fansubbers into professional translators. However, non-profit fansubbing will remain active in China because Chinese authorities still have strict policies on the importation of foreign audiovisual materials and have tightened censorship of their publication.

2.3   Translation norm theories

Norms, as postulated by Toury (1980, 1995), have great significance in the DTS framework. The concept of norms has evolved over the last few decades. In traditional translation theory, norms are understood as guidelines or rules that translators should follow. Therefore, this approach to norms is a prescriptive or directive one. Norms are considered to be that which typifies the translations rendered by a translator or a group of translators. In current translation theories, norms describe the general patterns exhibited by translators and the constraints under which they operate. The new concept of norms is highly important in Translation Studies because it provides researchers with epistemological focus, defining what should be analysed and studied. The concept of norms marks a shift of study focus from equivalence between Source Text (ST) and Target Text (TT) to cultural and social explication of translation behaviour and strategies (Díaz Cintas 2004).

2.3.1   *Norms, conventions, rules, idiosyncrasies*

The notion of norms has been introduced and employed by numerous researchers including Hermans (1999c:80), Chesterman (1998), and Toury (2012) in Translation Studies to understand the social interaction between the translator and the audience. As defined by Hermans (1999c:80):

> The term 'norm' refers to both a regularity in behaviour, i.e. a recurring pattern, and to the underlying mechanism which accounts for this regularity. The mechanism is a psychological and social entity. It mediates between the individual and the collective, between the individual's intentions, choices and actions, and collectively held beliefs, values and preferences.

Chesterman (1998), discussed what the introduction of translation norms has offered us: the "expansion of the object of study," i.e., a broadening of the concept of what is considered to be translation.

The constraints on translators have received much attention from researchers. In response to these constraints, translators consciously or unconsciously adjust their rendering to meet readers' expectations; yet, one should not overlook the fact that the interaction between translators and readers is bidirectional. Besides relying on target language norms, "the expectations of readers are also based on their experience reading translations written by professional translators, which means the translators are initially responsible for establishing product norms" (Chesterman 1997:67-68). Professional translation has been probed within Chesterman's theoretical framework, though little attention has been paid to volunteer translation by groups such as fansub. Fansub's norm conformity and creativity needs much more exploration from a sociocultural perspective.

In Toury's (1995:55) rubric, norms, rules and idiosyncrasies are differentiated by their potency, that is, their power or capacity to constrain the translator's behaviour. Such constraints can be described along a scale "anchored between two extremes: general, relatively absolute rules on the one hand, and pure idiosyncrasies on the other" (ibid.). On this scale, norms occupy the vast middle ground between the two extremes in a gradual continuum: some of them are more rule-like, others more idiosyncratic (Toury 1998:17). These constraints are not fixed on the scale; instead they continue to evolve. Over time, each method of constraint often "moves into its neighbouring domain(s) through processes of rise and decline". In some cases, "mere whims" may gain more potency and grow more binding and norms can also become as strong as rules after gaining enough validity (ibid).

There are some terminological inconsistencies of *norm* and *convention* in the field of Translation Studies. Boundaries between norms, conventions, rules, and idiosyncrasies are blurry. Many scholars prefer the term *conventions* to *norms*, arguing that norms carry the connotation of being prescriptive, like rules (Schäffner 1998). Some scholars do make a distinction between the two terms. For example, Chesterman (1998:94) sees the differences between them in terms of the consequences that result from deviating from

them: "Unlike the case with conventions, norm-breaking can lead to sanctions (or indeed rewards), evidenced in the reactions of readers and/or clients." Hermans (1999a) espouses a similar view, contending that conventions are merely expectations without sanctions, whereas norms are binding, and sanctions are levied as a consequence of violating them.

Based on the review above, it is evident that the commonly accepted conception of norms is that they are situated between rules and conventions. In terms of potency, the following figure arranges *rules*, *norms*, *conventions* and *idiosyncrasies* in decreasing order according to the strength of the sanctions applied for violating them.

```
┌─────────┐     ┌─────────┐     ┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────────┐
│  Rules  │ ──▶ │  Norms  │ ──▶ │ Conventions  │ ──▶ │  Idiosyncrasies  │
└─────────┘     └─────────┘     └──────────────┘     └──────────────────┘
```
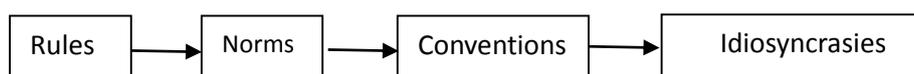
Figure 1. Different levels of sanctions

According to the model above, the consequences of violating rules are more serious than deviations from norms. For stylistic reasons, translators may depart from norms. They must recognise and mediate the ramifications of such a departure, because there may be a price to pay for non-conformity. Nevertheless, it is also possible that a translator "can get away with it and maybe make new norms" (Chesterman 1998:90). In the existing literature, there have been few empirical studies concerning the sanctions, and Toury (1998) believes that it would be meaningful to study both the positive and negative sanctions associated with certain translation behaviour, i.e., translators' innovativeness and creativity.

2.3.2 *Establishment and identification of norms*

As discussed in the previous section, norms have the power to constrain the translator's behaviour, thereby facilitating the production of regularities in their translations (fansub and produb in our case). It is therefore important to understand how norms are established and identified so we can explain translation regularities. Scholars have offered different explanations for the establishment of norms. For instance, Chesterman (1997) used the notion of *meme*, a unit of cultural information (e.g. a cultural idea or practice) that is transmitted through language or by repeated action from one person to another. According to Chesterman, norms play an important role in spreading ideas in translation theory and a norm is developed in this way: If a meme comes to dominate, then it becomes regarded as a norm. Meanwhile, Toury (2012:62) believes that social conventions are established through negotiation of "agreements about actions" between

group members who tend to behave according to these social conventions under particular circumstances. Furthermore, certain members within a given group position and status may be more powerful than other group members in terms of bringing about changes in the norms (Toury 1998). Norms may also develop from other social constraints. In Schäffner's (1999) view, there is also "the possibility of change and transition" between norm and convention.

In Translation Studies, the identification (or discovery) of norms is finding out what norms exist in a group of translation agents. One method for identifying a norm is to link translation regularities to norms. The two are often assumed to be the same: the regularities are equated with the norms. Toury (1995) cautions that such equation should be avoided because "the regularities themselves are not the norms; they are merely evidence of the norms". Besides the regularities, translation strategies are additional methods adopted by the translator in response to norms. Though norms are not directly observable, they can be reconstructed through observing the strategies used by translators. One way of telling whether a frequently used strategy is a norm is to "talk about norms in terms of expectations," i.e., to examine the audience's expectations of a translator, and vice versa (Hermans 1999b:84). Translation norms can also be traced from the translation profile— "the totality of a translation's linguistic features (Chesterman 1998:94)." To find out why a translation text exhibits a certain feature, the researcher can examine the translator's decision making, then further investigate the translator's beliefs and views, which may reflect their understanding and attitude regarding related translation norms in a special social and cultural milieu.

2.3.3 *Yan Fu's normative translation principle Xin Da Ya*

 Yan Fu's normative translation principle, *Xin Da Ya,* has been a central principle for translation for almost a century in China. This three-word principle—*Xin* (信, faithfulness), *Da* (达, comprehensibility) and *Ya* (雅, elegance)—has been widely referred to within Chinese academic discussions and upheld as a touchstone for translation quality for many decades (Ng 2009). Thus, it is necessary to review here the concept of *Xin Da Ya* in Chinese translation literature and to investigate in later sections why and how this principle has become one of the sociocultural determinants impacting the translatorial habitus of translators when rendering films in China. A large proportion of translation literature has been devoted to the discussion of *Xin Da Ya* from the perspective of translation equivalence and target-audience reception. One fact has been

neglected in the literature: human agents, including translators and other people involved in the translation process, exhibit predictable as well as unpredictable behaviour, not necessarily always conforming to this normative *Xin Da Ya* maxim (Liang 2010a). Nevertheless, it is certainly clear that Yan Fu's *Xin Da Ya* has not only influenced translation academia but also translation agents in China, providing them with a guiding framework for their translation production.

In the late 19th century, Yan Fu produced Chinese translations of Western books including Darwin's *Natural Selection* and Thomas H. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*. Yan's translation raised Chinese awareness of the significance of modernisation in the early 20th century. *Xin Da Ya* was first introduced in *Tianyanlun* (天演论, 1898), Yan's translation of *Evolution and Ethics*. Below is an extract from "General Remarks on Translation" in the preface to *Tianyanlun*, containing Yan Fu's discussion of *Xin Da Ya* wherein he succinctly summarises the art of translation with three Chinese characters: *Xin* (信), *Da (*达) and *ya* (雅).

> 译事三难：信、达、雅。求其信已大难矣，顾信矣不达，虽译犹不译也，则达尚焉。[...] 故信达而外，求其尔雅，此不仅期以行远已耳。(Yan 1898:6).

> Translation involves three requirements difficult to fulfil: faithfulness (Xin), comprehensibility (Da) and elegance (Ya). Faithfulness is difficult enough to attain but a translation that is faithful but not comprehensible is no translation at all. Comprehensibility is therefore of prime importance. [...] In addition to faithfulness and comprehensibility, we should strive for elegance in translation. This is not just for extending the effects far. –Translated by Hsu Fu (1973)

In his elaboration of *Xin Da Ya*, Yan puts faithfulness in front, implying it is the first priority in the tripartite principle. Nonetheless, he then states that comprehensibility is of "prime" importance, acknowledging its potential conflict with faithfulness. He believes that ensuring comprehensibility can resolve the conflict because "only when a piece of translation is comprehensible can it be regarded as faithful" (Hsu Fu (1973). As for "elegance," in the case of *Tianyanlun*, Yan strove for it by employing the writing style of the pre-Han period (before 200 BC) to facilitate the second principle: comprehensibility. According to Yan's statement, his primary translation objective was to introduce Western thoughts and scientific principles to China, and comprehensibility hence surpasses faithfulness and elegance in importance. Consequently, the tripartite principle essentially revolves around its core value: comprehensibility. Yan's emphasis on comprehensibility is actually similar to the notion of bringing the reader to the author, which stresses the importance of getting ideas across, dismissing a close adherence to the ST's wording and sentence structure at the expense of clarity.

Yan Fu's tripartite principle, debated for over a century, has developed into four major schools including *Xin Da Qie* (信达切/faithfulness, comprehensibility and equivalence), *Xin Shun* (信顺/ faithfulness, fluency), *Xin* (信/ faithfulness), and *Chushengruhua* (出神入化/reaching the highest level of literary attainments)" through the inheritance, criticism, and innovations applied to it by succeeding generations of translation scholars (Liu 2000:96). However, Yan Fu's *Xin Da Ya* remains extremely influential, almost ingrained in the belief of many Chinese translators and translation critics as an integral part of their translatorial habitus. This tenet will be further elaborated upon in later chapters.

2.3.4 *Norms in AVT*

It is safe to say that earlier work regarding AVT norms was done within the polysystem theory framework developed by Even-Zohar (1971), mainly because it provides a flexible approach for including AVT in the "culture polysystem of a given society." Later on, AVT norms were discussed by various scholars such as, Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:63), Gambier (2004), Pedersen (2011), and Ramos Pinto (2012), concerning the establishment, changing nature, and identification of AVT norms.

2.3.4.1 *Establishing norms in AVT*

It is often a slow process for an AVT norm to be established or changed. Once an AVT mode (e.g. subtitling, dubbing, or voice-over) for television or films has been adopted in a language community, it is very difficult to modify (Pedersen 2011). Many factors including influential figures and authorities, ideology (Isbuga-Erel 2008), and audience expectations (Chesterman 1997) serve as determinants of the establishment of a norm in AVT. Standards set by influential translators who become translation scholars are usually authoritative. These standards are hence considered norms that the translator abides by. In addition, translators can observe traditional guidelines as norms. According to Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:63), "basic subtitling guidelines are almost universal" despite the fact that clients exert significant influence over the outcome of subtitling, and subtitling style varies more or less with genre. Historically, AVT norms were occasionally established but not always systematised, and their application in technical and subtitle graphic design arenas could vary. In order to improve consistency, Ivarsson and Carroll (1998:157) proposed a "Code of Good Subtitling Practice" offering general subtitling guidelines to promote and preserve quality in AVT. These recommendations have been

widely adopted as the standard in subtitling. Although many praise the creation of these subtitling parameters as a meritorious effort, others disapprove of it as a "dogmatic catalogue of rules and regularities" which promotes unnecessary uniformity and suppresses national idiosyncrasies (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007:80).

Despite the variety of ways in which subtitles are handled, their visual regularities are not accidental and subtitlers must remain cognizant of certain forms of norms. Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007:139) observe that on the whole, interlingual subtitling is conservative by nature and is subject to a small number of norms, compared with similar discursive practices such as subtitling for the deaf and the-hard-of-hearing. Over time, the audience has become accustomed to these established norms of subtitled programmes, and whenever they are watching a subtitled film, they may unconsciously sense any deviation from the norm (Cerón 2001:173).

2.3.4.2 *The changing nature of norms*

Translation norms evolve as Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:142) point out: subtitling norms are not unchangeable and one cannot predict with absolute certainty whether the newly established ones are merely an ephemeral trend or "the seed of a new type of subtitling for a new distribution format." Different subtitling strategies and approaches are competing and amalgamating, and newer subtitling forms, such as film and TV fansub and computer game translation, usually derive their conventions from existing styles, just as subtitling for the opera and other theatrical performance turned to open subtitling for guidance (ibid.). New technology, such as DVDs, seems to be exerting an influence on TV subtitling norms. Norms in different AVTs such as fansub, DVDs and computer games seem to be interacting with, and thereby influencing, one another. It is usually not the subtitler who makes the final decision in these matters. Nevertheless, Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007:81) suggest that future subtitlers make efforts to be flexible in adopting subtitling approaches, weigh each strategy's advantages and disadvantages, and "be consistent" when following the conventions outlined by a particular AVT company.

For scholars, the changing nature of norms is a double-edged sword, having both advantages and disadvantages. One advantage is that it enables a steering away from the prescriptive "postulates of previous theoretical constructs"(Díaz Cintas 2004:26). The equivalence of ST and TT is no longer considered absolute; instead, it varies as the socio-historical situations change. These norms also permit us to focus on both the *supralinguistic* and *metalinguistic* aspects. The former refers to the author's established

status, presentation of the translation, and the venue and time when the original work and the translation were made. In contrast, the metalinguistic aspects refer to critical reviews and formulations that offer explanations about translating and the products thereof. The aspects mentioned above have been ignored for a long time, or in some cases analysed in a rather superficial way.

2.3.4.3 Identifying norms in AVT

In contrast to the establishment of norms, "identifying or formulating norms in AVT" describes the academic construct of norms by the scholar. In the AVT norm theoretical framework, Díaz Cintas suggests that researchers should concentrate on distinguishing norms within the socio-historical context, and postulates that the comparative analysis of multiple films may be more effective than analysis of a single film (Díaz Cintas 2004:27). One such analysis was completed by Ramos Pinto (2012), who made an extensive attempt to investigate subtitling norms for TV. In his study, Ramos empirically explored a large-scale corpus of TV subtitles from countries in Scandinavia, along with data retrieved from other European countries. He focused on *extralinguistic cultural references*, defined as "references to people, places, customs, institutions, food, etc. that are specific to a certain culture" (ibid.). From these references, which pose "symptomatic translation problems,," the scholar can gain insight into subtitling norms that are evidenced in subtitles.

Nevertheless, due to the changing nature of norms, Díaz Cintas (2004:27) cautions that the scholar needs to be careful not to over-generalise when trying to infer what norms regulated the translator's behaviour over an extensively long period of time. It is advisable to identify norms in data that are more manageable and homogeneous and less extensive (ibid.). AVT is an area with many more uncertainties, and the audiovisual translator rarely enjoys full autonomy. AVT products go through many different hands and stages before reaching the audience. Norms and standards are applied by production companies, subtitlers, dubbing directors, performers, technicians, and/or linguistic advisers. Translators are just one part of a multi-faceted team, and their translation may be changed considerably in refining the final product. In order to observe normative behavioural patterns more specifically, researchers must consider the influence of other translation agents rather than focusing solely on the translator alone.

2.3.5 *Studying translation norms with corpus*

In the last two decades, corpus-based translation studies have given rise to a large body of research on the exploration of translation norms. In addition, many researchers (e.g. Hu 2006, Wilcock 2013, Georgakopoulou 2009, Munday 1998) have shown that it is plausible to investigate translation norms in AVT with corpus-based methods. For instance, a *monolingual comparable corpus* is used to explore different aspects of translation norms by comparing translated TTs and non-translated TTs of the same language. Another type, the *parallel corpus,* is used to compare STs with correspondent TTs for the identification of translation norms related to shifts from the source language. The aim of these methods is to arrive at a definition of the culturally determined translation norms that underlie the translator's choices and strategies, and to identify factors other than purely linguistic ones which motivate such shifts (Laviosa 2002). Researchers usually discover the patterns or tendencies of translation behaviour evidenced in texts, and then use norms to explain the findings. The most noteworthy study among these is the one conducted by Baker (2000), who used translation corpora to identify the styles of two different British translators, and explored the possibility of norms behind the translator's style. Baker discovered patterns or tendencies of using specific linguistic features, and then related them to the personal background of translators and the authors of the original texts. The model of analysis proposed by Baker may help us understand the translation process and the establishment of norms. Baker's research approach provides another way to look at the regularities in film subtitling and examine the underlying mechanism. Above all, Baker's article paves the way for further research in Translation Studies using a corpus-based translation studies tool.

A monolingual comparable corpus constructed by Hu (2006) was used to explore different aspects of norms in translation of novels from multiple foreign languages to Chinese. Hu finds that the frequencies of Chinese personal pronouns, except for 它*(it)*, 他 的(*his*), and 她的(*her*), tend to be closer to the tendencies of English than to Chinese, which can be understood as a deviation from the Chinese grammatical norm. However, because Hu studied a monolingual corpus (Chinese TT) rather than a parallel corpus (both ST and TT), the translation shifts from the source language are not fully explored. Wilcock (2013) constructed a small-scale TT fansub and produb corpus and discovered the different strategies employed by each group, determining that fansubbers opted for a more faithful and source-oriented transferring of the ST. Wilcock's research is enlightening, but the scope of the research is not sufficiently large to make valid

generalisations . Besides being a reasonably-sized corpus for drawing conclusions, a well-developed approach is needed to integrate "systemic functional linguistics, corpus linguistics, cultural studies and reception theory to analyse translation shifts in ST-TT pairs" (Munday 1998:542) so that the culturally-determined translation norms underlying the translator's choices and strategies can be identified.

The corpus-based studies of translation norms mentioned above analysed the patterns of shifts in the translation and identified key trends in the overall strategy employed by the translator. Parallel or/and comparable corpora have been used to identify the translation patterns, styles, or tendencies by comparing the TT with the ST or/and the non-translated text in the target language. It is encouraging that some researchers (e.g. Munday 1998, Baker 2000) have considered the translator's background and opinions about translation in order to understand the norms which may have conditioned the identified translation patterns.

2.4   Bourdieu's sociological concepts: habitus and field

2.4.1   *Habitus and norms*

Bourdieu defines *habitus* as:

> [a] system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems (Bourdieu 1977:95).

Here the concept of habitus is defined as a transformation mechanism mediating between social structures and an individual's perceptions and actions. The term *disposition* designates, for Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1977:214), "a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination". Habitus is a property of social agents (individuals or groups) that comprises a "structured and structuring structure" (Bourdieu 1994a:170). This reflects three points: (1) Habitus is "structured" by one's past and present circumstances (e.g. education, family upbringing); (2) Habitus is "structuring" in the sense that it helps shape one's present and future practices; and (3) habitus itself is a "structure" which is systematically patterned and ordered. These dispositions or tendencies are *durable* in that they last over time, and *transposable* by being capable of becoming active within a wide variety of theatres of social action (1993a: 87). The habitus is thus structured by conditions of existence and

generates practices, beliefs, perceptions, feelings and so forth in accordance with its own structure (Maton 2008:51).

This definition implies that an individual's performance is regulated through shared schemes which are not prenatal, but rather internalised under similar and shared historical conditions (Sela-Sheffy 2005). As critics, including Brubaker (1985), have indicated, the notion of habitus has a major weakness: it may convey a deterministic view of human action. Simeoni (1998) argues for such determinism, and considers translator's "submissiveness" (i.e., obedience to norms) as a static, universal element of translatorial habitus. This argument over-stresses the controlling power of norms in translation, neglecting the variability in the actions of translators. Sela-Sheffy (2005:19) takes a critical look at Simeoni's arguments on the relatedness of habitus and norms, and argues that the field of translation is a space regulated by its own internal activities and competitions between translation agents. The field dynamics offer researchers a means of perceiving the tension between the variability and predictability of translators' choices or preferences which are influenced by their group identity.

Simeoni (1998) sees the relation between habitus and norms in terms of a closed cycle, where habitus reproduces norms which in turn fashion and condition habitus. Simeoni's representation of the relation between habitus and norms misses the dynamic character of Bourdieu's sociology, where norms and practices are always in a state of flux and always subject to challenge. While seeking to use Bourdieu's concept of habitus to give prominence to the role of translators vis-à-vis translational norms, Simeoni paradoxically ends up endorsing the power of norms and assigning translators a mere reproductive function. Tied to this view of the translator's habitus is Simeoni's understanding of the field of translation as one which is not autonomous in the Bourdieusian sense (Wolf 2012). Conformity to and divergence from norms, i.e., "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy", coexist and both are essential aspects of Bourdieu's concept of *field* (Bourdieu 1986a:98). Field is a space where actors, equipped with habitus to help them judge instinctively and make choices available to them, compete for favourable positions. In the space, conformity and divergence are strategies taken by actors under certain circumstances. That is, actors can be either conservative or subversive in line with the accepted repertoire in the field, depending on their positions (or aspired positions) in it.

Numerous researchers (e.g. Kung 2010, Liang 2010a, Liu 2012, Yan 2013) have applied the concept of habitus to their studies; however, much greater weight is put on habitus

and less on norms. Liang (2010a) constructed the role of human agents in Translation Studies, with a focus on Bourdieu's concept of habitus, to understand the translation of fantasy fiction in Taiwan. Liang's study reveals that the production of translation of fantasy fiction in the literary field in Taiwan was conditioned by the logic of the market, with a tendency toward prioritising the profitability. Liu (2012) criticises the deterministic nature of Toury's theory of preliminary and operational norms for its lack of attention to translation motivation and reception. Liu then proposes the investigation of the translator's habitus (specifically, their internalisation of translation norms) to explain the reasons behind the conformity to, and deviance from, norms. On the whole, although the researchers mentioned above endeavoured to test Bourdieu's habitus theory, the relationship between habitus and norm has not been explored in-depth.

Some scholars have provided a working framework for future researchers to investigate the relationship between translation norms and habitus. For example, Xing (2007) suggests that the concept of habitus balances the current "norm-oriented" model of interpretation with the revelation that what accounts for translational phenomena may not simply be the intervention of external factors, but includes the translator's subjective pursuit as well. To Xing, habitus is a kind of disposition system which translators develop in their translating practice. The habitus is embodied in translation styles (including translation material selection, translation strategy, etc.). The comparable translation style, as well as translators' similar attitudes towards translation and social functions, constitute translation norms—whether they are dominant or marginalised, conservative or revolutionary. On the other hand, translation norms in turn help to shape the habitus of translators. The two are at once related to and different from each other, showing an interactive form structure. With the accumulation of cultural capital and the associated improvement in social status, however, the translator can facilitate the change of norms. Another scholar, Luo (2010), holds a similar view, believing that the translator's habitus promotes translation norms and the latter shapes the former. To illustrate his points, Luo (2010) expounds the interrelated mechanisms between translator Hu Shi's habitus and translation norms during the New Culture Movement (1915–1921) in China by analysing Hu's poetry translation in terms of the shift of subject and form in his poems. Both Xing (2007) and Luo (2010) have provided a working framework for future researchers to investigate the relationship between translation norms and habitus.

2.4.2 *Habitus and field interaction*

According to Bourdieu (1990), habitus drives human agents in a field to take action in pursuit of prestige. The field is thus constructed through the constant struggles of human agents for position. In this interaction of habitus and field, one's action reveals two facets: the unconscious nature of choice-making, and the correlation of interdependent choice-making with social status. An individual has an intuitive ability to participate in the ongoing collective construction of common-sense agreements on acceptable forms of behaviour. These are agreements that feel quite real for members of any given culture yet are so hard to trace through empirical research, precisely because they defy formal codification (Bourdieu 1990).

All this can also be applied to the study of the field of translation. In fact, it is perfectly in line with the idea of norms in suggesting that not everything is explainable on the level of systematic problem solving. Translators act as they do mainly because they feel it is right to act in a certain way, that is, they translate using "tacit knowledge" (Eraut 2000:113), which is difficult to put in writing and transmit explicitly. As suggested by Toury (1995), the process of becoming a natural translator is formed through socialisation, often unconsciously. Through the process, translators construct linguistic dispositions, constituting their translatorial habitus. These dispositions include their ability to choose an appropriate style of writing and language register, and their regard or disrespect for norms. In order to understand translators' performance, it is crucial to identify shared tacit knowledge or common sense about what reads smoothly and what is suitable for the viewer or reader (Sela-Sheffy 2005:15).

To discover the causes of a translation product, it is necessary to consider other relevant theoretical explorations made by Bourdieu. As he suggests, practices, including translation, are the result of "an obscure and double relation" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:126) between a habitus and a field which he summarised using the following equation (1986b:101):

$$[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

As this equation states, relations between one's habitus (namely, dispositions) and one's position in a field result in practice for accumulating capital, "within the current state of play of that social arena, i.e., field" (Maton 2008:50). This concise equation integrates Bourdieu's three main concepts (*habitus*, *capital* and *field*), highlighting their interlocking nature. This summary of relations between one's habitus and one's current social

circumstances (field) offers a theoretical framework for this present study. In this framework, the concepts of habitus, capital, and field are linked to each other to achieve full analytical potency. Together they enable sociologists to elucidate the notion of *norm*. First, these concepts suggest that an expected situation or pattern of behaviour is not constant. That is, a norm remains stable for a certain period of time if there is a good match between the subjective habitus and the objective social structures where people are located. Furthermore, each relatively autonomous field develops its own set of norms (popular opinions or beliefs), creating a bond between participants. The combination of the three concepts allows researchers to illustrate cases of cultural reproduction and transformation. That is, cultural reproduction happens when mental and social structures are in agreement and they reinforce one another; cultural transformation occurs when habitus and field are in discordance, leading to structural changes, innovation or crisis (Wacquant 1998:223).

The habitus of a translator is, according to Bourdieu (1990:53), the product of the field they are in, and their personal experiences acquired through socialisation. The habitus engenders the strategies which enable them to reach the goal of accumulating capital. Bourdieu distinguishes between *primary habitus* and *professional habitus*. The former comprises the dispositions acquired by the individual during the early processes of socialisation (through the family, social class and schooling). The latter, professional habitus, consists of the dispositions and schemes of perception acquired by the individual when getting involved in specific professional activities. Therefore, one's translatorial habitus can be deduced from their professional (translation) training and consequently their translation skills and knowledge.

2.4.3   *Fansubbing and Bourdieu's field theory of cultural production*

Fansubbing, when studied within the framework of Bourdieu's influential field theory, points to a significant change in film translation: the rise of non-professional audience-participant film translation. Bourdieu's (2006) notion of a *cultural field* is a useful concept, placing the values and norms of the field's agents at the centre of his theory. However, his analysis is based on a clear division between culture producers and their audiences. Film fansubbing in China is a cultural product created by non-professional participants and transmitted through the internet rather than the cinema setting. The increase in the number of these audience-participants poses compelling new challenges to field study.

Bourdieusian sociology of cultural production is highly effective due to the dialectic of two emphases: (1) "the drive for autonomy characteristic of the field of cultural production"; and (2) "the interconnectedness of the field of cultural production with other fields", namely the fields of economy and politics, education and academics (Hesmondhalgh 2006:216). Bourdieu's study of the field of journalism provides an apropos model for the study of fansub and produb, as these two fields of cultural production are similar. Compared to approaches within a specific medium, Bourdieu's overarching approach offers a new perspective for understanding journalism since media institutions, producers and their products imbricate, learn from, emulate, and challenge one another. Bourdieu (2005a) mapped out the structure of the journalism field along two main dimensions: one conditioned by economic and cultural resources, and the other by the competition between the old and the new. According to him, the new can push forward transformation or conserve conventions. If these new agents, as Bourdieu argued, have the connections or resources of the ''ruling class,'' then they are probably more motivated and capable of bringing about change. In contrast, those with less social or economic capital are less likely to challenge existing norms. Furthermore, the new entrants respond to norms differently when the availability of jobs changes. The likelihood that those having the job will conform increases as the number of jobs decreases, whereas, the number of positions is directly proportional to the number of risk-taking innovations. As the availability of jobs increases, the frequency of risk-taking innovations also increases. This model of Bourdieu's journalism field is a useful tool for understanding other similar media fields of cultural production including film translation. Because Bourdieu has not distinguished professionals from non-professionals among new agents in journalism, the model does not provide an in-depth analysis of the impact of non-professionals on field transformation. If this model is going to be applied in film translation studies in China, some update will be necessary.

Another aspect of Bourdieu's model for understanding cultural production which has been criticised is its selective coverage. Hesmondhalgh (2006) points out that Bourdieu focuses on small-scale (otherwise called restricted) production while neglecting large-scale production, especially in his *The Rules of Art* (Bourdieu 1996), leaving the heteronomous end of cultural production "largely unexamined in field theory." Meanwhile, Bourdieu does not address the dramatic changes evident in the cultural production field during the last century, particularly the conglomeration of multinational entertainment enterprises, which has further intensified in the last two decades. Garnham

(1993) has maintained that these changes pose a considerable challenge for Bourdieu's cultural production theory.

2.4.4 *Structure of the social space*

In Bourdieu's field theory, the space of social positions is differentiated by two intersecting principles, representing types of capital: economic and cultural. Their distribution defines the two divisions that form a firm basis for conflict and disunion in society. The first division sets the dominant class in conflict or competition with the dominated class. The dominant class are those agents holding a large quantity of either economic or cultural capital, whereas the dominated class is deprived of both types of capital. The second division exists within the dominant class, between the dominant fraction (e.g. business managers or owners) and the dominated fraction (e.g. teachers and artists). The former possesses much economic capital but few cultural assets, while the latter possesses mainly cultural capital. Agents within the social space endeavour to defend or improve their positions by converting or exchanging one kind of capital for another. The following figure illustrates the structure of the social space revealed by Bourdieu (1984).
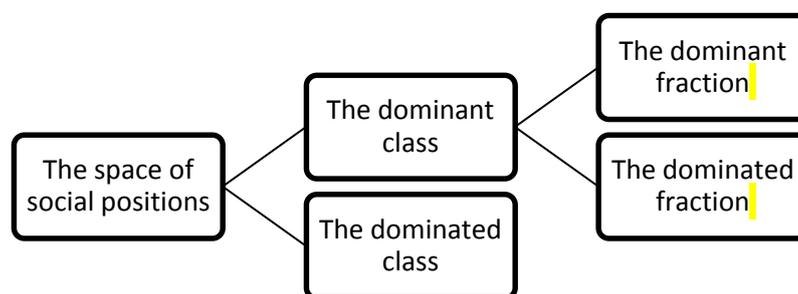

Figure 2. Structure of the social space

Bourdieu (1996) views the field of cultural production as characterised by low levels of economic capital (CE–) and high levels of cultural capital (CC+) as shown in Figure 3. Within the field of cultural production are two subfields (see Figure 3): small-scale production (or "restricted production") and large-scale production. These two subfields are chiefly distinguished by the degree of autonomy from the field of power, characterised by a high level of economic capital (CE+) and a low level of cultural capital (CC–). According to Bourdieu, small-scale production has a high, but never full, degree of autonomy; whereas large-scale production is heavily influenced by outside rule. It is "heteronomous," but never fully so. Bourdieu implies in his works that small-scale production is arts-oriented while large-scale (mass) production is commerce-oriented.
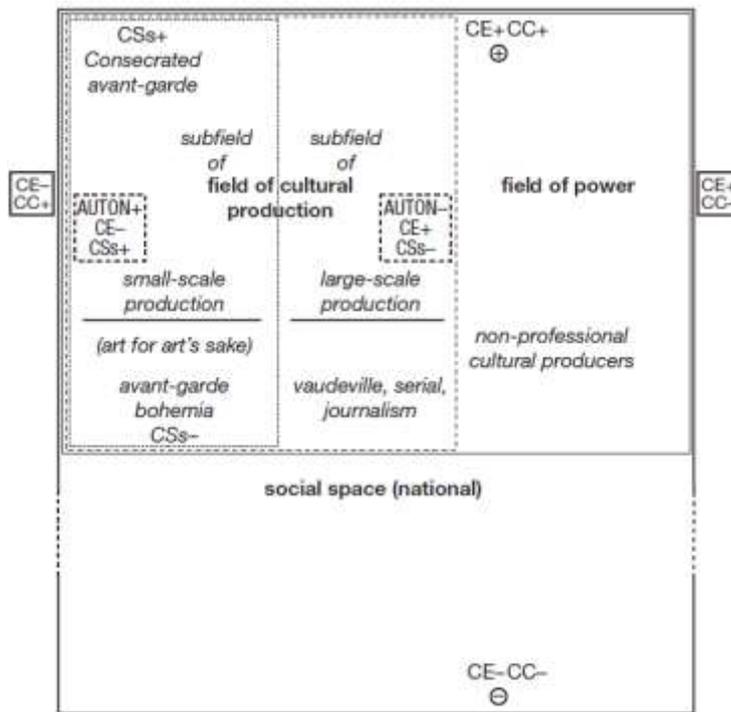
Key: — Social space; — Field of power; ---- Field of cultural production;
..... Subfield of small-scale production;
Abbreviations: CE = Capital – economic; CC= Capital – cultural;
CSs = Capital– symbolic, specific; AUTON+ = High degree of autonomy;
AUTON– = Low degree of autonomy

Source: Bourdieu (1996)

Figure 3. The field of cultural production in the field of power and in social space

Fields of cultural production, in accordance with Bourdieu's scheme, are constituted by sets of possible positions. In these fields, different agents including established producers and heretical newcomers struggle over their positions, and recreate or restructure relevant fields or subfields. As these cultural producers hold a relatively lower level of economic capital, they strive to acquire cultural capital to compensate for it. It is therefore obvious that the field of cultural production is largely occupied by the subordinate fraction of the dominant class, as shown at the top of Figure 3. The whole figure represents a social space (national level), wherein those with a high level of both economic and cultural capital occupy the space at the top, and those with a small amount of both types of capital occupy the space at the bottom. Although non-professional cultural producers are incorporated into this model, Bourdieu (1996) did not elaborate upon the role these producers play, leaving many areas for later researchers to explore. Furthermore, Bourdieu's studies were carried out in the pre-internet era, so the balance of power

between the dominant and dominated may have tipped somewhat as the internet has given considerable power to the dominated class which it did not have previously.

Bolin (2012) criticises Bourdieu's model for treating the very heterogeneous group of agents as one single field. In Bolin's view, this mixed group consists of different agents including company executives, academics and politicians competing for different kinds of capital that they consider worthy. Bourdieu's model, in this sense, is inconsistent with his concept of a field. Bolin (2012) proposes an adapted model to theorise multiple fields of power "that are linked in mutual relations, each trying to force upon the other fields their respective outer demand." Based on Bourdieu's field theory, Bolin outlines these relations as shown in Figure 4.
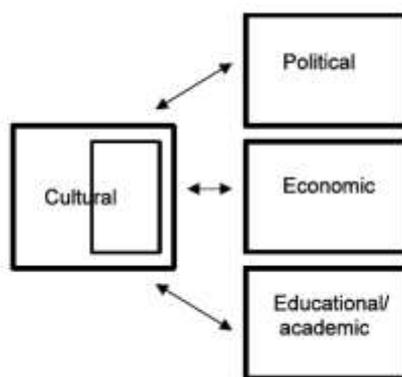
Source: The Forms of Value by Bolin (2012)

Figure 4. Outline of the relations between fields of power

Bolin's model (2012) describes four fields of power: the cultural field, which interacts with each of the remaining three fields, namely political, economic, and educational/academic. The subfield of large-scale (mass) production occupies the right side of the cultural field. In this subfield, unrestricted production interacts with consumption. What distinguishes unrestricted from restricted production is the audience to which it is aimed: anyone intending to engage in these cultural products, instead of specific individuals or groups, is the target of unrestricted production. This subfield, compared with restricted production, is relatively close to the other three fields of power, implying that the subfield is faced with greater constraints of demand from those three fields of power. In comparison, the subfield of restricted cultural production is farther away from the demand pressures of the three fields, and so possesses greater autonomy.

2.4.5 *Identifying translatorial habitus*

As habitus is "a disposition that generates meaningful practices" (Bourdieu 1984:170), it is essential to identify both the individual translator's habitus and the translator group's collective habitus so that we can explain translation patterns. The habitus is "the elaborate result of a personalised social and cultural history" (Simeoni 1998:32), and it constitutes "a set of historical relations" incorporated within a person "in the form of mental and corporeal schemata"(Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In other words, the habitus is the internalisation of a field, namely a set of common assumptions and understandings that develop within a field over time. The translator's preference, interests, motivations and physical conditions can affect their translational attitudes. The individual translator has an important impact since "all causal influences are filtered through the translator's own mind" (Chesterman 2000:26). In this sense, Wolf and Fukari (2007:19) agree with Chesterman (2000:26), asserting that the act of translating is mediated through, and influenced by, the translator's habitus, which can be identified through the reconstruction of the translator's social trajectory.

A researcher, in order to identify a translator's habitus, can look at the translator's schemata related to their habitual linguistic practices (e.g. accent, vocabulary), and the ways they evaluate themselves and others through categorisation (e.g. refined or vulgar; masculine or feminine). Another way to identify a translator's habitus is to conduct close examination of the lifestyle parameters and history of the relevant groups (Sapiro 2013). Such examination involves a large number of variables, so it may not always be feasible. Lamont (1992) then suggests using *evaluation markers*, i.e. translators' views about the translation profession, including the valuation of their status and self-esteem, to help researchers infer the translator's general cultural preferences and the "social constraints inscribed in individuals" which regulate translators' decisions and choices. Information about the markers can be acquired through discourse evidence, such as discussions, interviews, conversations or written statements (Peterson 1997). What a researcher looks for is certain favourable personal dispositions that qualify a translator (e.g. personality, attitudes towards foreign cultures, education or family background) and create their group identity. Furthermore, a competent translator has knowledge (both tacit and explicit) about what they should do or say as a translator. This knowledge, which varies among different groups, is internalised and reproduced by translators, and shared by other agents involved in translation including commissioners and sponsors in the translation industry, readers, and translation students (Sela-Sheffy 2005).

For most agents, translation is their second profession; hence, their translatorial habitus is secondary to the habitus marked by their primary professions (Wolf 2012). The postulate of Krais and Gebauer (2002) that the habitus of an individual or a group can be reconstructed through their activities points to a way of understanding the translation process through the correlation of textual production (translation) and social internalisation (i.e., the translator's habitus). Thus, it can help researchers identify those prerequisites which enable translatorial "negotiation." This, on the other hand, reveals that the translatorial habitus not only results from social practice but can also create values and produce knowledge related to action. In such a way, its constructing aspect is uncovered, and the potential for the manipulative component of translation is disclosed (Wolf 2012).

2.4.6   *Brownlie's explanatory model of multiple causality*

As the aim of this thesis is to explain the differences in translation produced by two socially distinctive groups, Brownlie's (2003) model of four potential co-acting sources/factors, integrated with norm theory and Bourdieu's field theory, is conducive to the purpose. Other causal models based on relevance theory or skopos theory are not suitable for this research, as they focus on a single cause source (e.g. skopos/purpose relevance/cognitive explanation), neglecting the social factors of translator groups. Brownlie's model looks more broadly at norms and other socio-cultural conditions which may affect a translator's decision making and give a translation particular features. Though the model considers individual characteristics, including translators' attitudes, as one of the causal factors for translation phenomenon, it lacks the robust explanatory power that the application of Bourdieu's sociological concept of habitus brings to the explication of that factor. Adapting the model for this research by considering habitus can help us fully understand how the four causal factors co-act with and complement each other, contributing to the translation production. The social structure of norms, is inculcated by an individual, then embedded in the mind and body in the form of habitus. Therefore, the concept of norms can account for impersonal translation tendencies, and the concept of habitus can explain how these norms are incorporated into a translator's thinking and practice (Gouanvic 2005), reflecting the specific translation field within which they operate.

2.4.6.1 Introduction of Brownlie's model

Brownlie (2003) attempted to provide explanations for translational phenomena in her corpus data (the English translations of works written by French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard). In order to facilitate her explanation, Brownlie (2003:111-152) proposed a model which incorporates Bourdieu's sociological concepts to illuminate translation practice or phenomenon. As this thesis aims to explain the practice differences of fansub and produb from a sociological perspective, Brownlie's model is useful for this purpose.

Brownlie's model takes a qualitative approach, proposing multiple causality (four major interacting sources) in translation for explaining translational phenomena: individual situations; the translator's own norms; textuality; and the target-culture context. Though looking for causes of certain translation practices, Brownlie points out that the causes identified are "probabilistic rather than deterministic" (Brownlie 2003:112). Furthermore, in this model, multiple causes are proposed based on the belief advocated by Pym (2008:311) that a single condition is not a sufficient cause for the production of a practice and the combination of multiple conditions is usually necessary for supplying a solid explanation. Brownlie also cautions that the status of proposed explanations remains hypothetical due to the problematic nature of causality (Brownlie 2003:141).

Brownlie's model incorporates sociocultural factors, which are suggested by Evan-Zohar (1978) and Toury (1995:276) to influence a translator's decision-making. This echoes Dietrich's (2010) summary of factors that influence the choices: past experience (Juliusson, Karlsson, and Gärling 2005), cognitive biases (Stanovich and West 2008), age and individual differences (Bruine de Bruin, Parker, and Fischhoff 2007), and belief in personal relevance (Acevedo and Krueger 2004). Therefore, Brownlie's (2003) model of potentially co-acting causes (sources) is a comprehensive one that allows for the explanation of various translational phenomena. According to Brownlie, the four causality sources proposed do not function separately; instead, these categories are interrelated. Namely, between these causality (explanatory) sources, there exist different types of relations: (1) hierarchical at different levels or at the same level (e.g. a field governing a norm); (2) cooperative and competitive (i.e. the four sources work together to bring about a practice; one or several sources surpass others). The four sources are listed and described separately in the following sub-section for the sake of exposition, and their

review is focused on how Bourdieu's sociological concepts are, or can be, incorporated into the explanatory model.

2.4.6.2 Four sources of causality

The first source "individual situations" includes the context of translation production in the corpus and attitudes of the individual translators (Brownlie 2003:116). One disadvantage of this source is that the context of translation production contains a very wide range of aspects: the particular translator's background (translation experience/skills, and subject matter knowledge); the translator's working conditions; collaboration with co-translators; the role of the editor; the type of publication or genre, date of publication, nature of ST, and number of TT's version (first or revised). Some of these aspects (e.g. the role of the editor) overlap with those in the fourth source "target culture context". Furthermore, this source of explanation lacks a sociological/theoretical concept (e.g. habitus) to help explain how these individual situations affect the translation production.

The second source "textuality" refers to the text the translator works with, and is believed to be one factor that constrains or initiates translator's creativity. Brownlie (2003:120) identified four conditions of textuality relevant to the corpus she used: (1) TT as a text in its own right; (2) TT as a target language text produced for a target culture audience; (3) TT represents ST, acting as a substitute; (4) Intertextual relations. The first condition refers to TT's grammar system or its special characteristics which facilitates easy reading. The second condition refers to "means and norms peculiar to target language" (Brownlie 2003:122). The third condition focuses on TT's imitation of ST at different textual levels (from paragraph to word level) including using ST words and phrases in TT, and the imitation of ST form. The fourth condition "intertextual relations" refers to TT's relations with other texts in target language, including the adoption of prior or existing translations for quotations and technical terms, and target culture genre conventions. Brownlie also pointed out the coexistence of these four conditions can bring about various effects: TT becoming more homogeneous than ST (e.g. flattening of ST stylistic characteristics); and heterogeneity within TT as compared with ST (borrowing or imitation of TT form and words in TT together with the adaptation to target language norms). Similar with the first source, this source of explanation in Brownlie's model has elements (e.g. ST and target language norms) that are the same as in the third source (see next paragraph).

The third source "translation norms", namely a translator group's notions of approved translating behaviour, is supposed to have causal force for regularities in translations. As regularities are not necessarily norms, Brownlie discussed how to investigate translation norms: use both sources of data, namely regularities in corpus data and translators' statements. Furthermore, four categories of relationship were identified between translator statements and corpus data as shown in Table 2. Among the four, Category 1 is correspondence between the collective notion and regular behaviour pattern.

Category	Translator statements	Corpus data	Match/mismatch
1	Consensus	Regularity	Match
2	Lack of consensus	Irregularity	Mismatch
3	Consensus	Irregularity	Mismatch
4	Lack of consensus	Regularity	Mismatch

Table 2. Four types of relationship between translator statements and corpus data

Brownlie believes that the first category (match between translator and regularity in corpus data) indicates a norm of collective preferences conditioning regular behaviour. According to Brownlie, there are two points researchers should pay attention to when studying translation norms: a normative scale (stronger and weaker normative notions); and the complexity in the relationship between conscious normative notions and actual behaviour. As shown in Table 2, Category 2 indicates there may be competing normative notions causing the lack of consensus, and Category 4 indicates there may be lack of awareness of a norm.

In the fourth source, Brownlie investigates people involved in translation besides translators, believing different groups holding different ideas relevant to translation may affect translation in various ways. The fourth source incorporates Bourdieu's (1994b) term 'field'. Brownlie's notion of a field is "that of a relatively autonomous arena of social activity involving activities, institutions, agents, and products (Brownlie 2003:132)." Brownlie envisages academic translation in her case study as being situated at the intersection of three fields which negotiate with each other: academia, publishing, and professional translation. Two types of relations among the three fields are explored: conjunction (overlapping relations, shared priorities by different groups); and disjunction (divergent characteristics and priorities). The translation product is therefore conceived not as the result of a single system, but as consensus or conflictual negotiation among translation agents in the intersecting field.

In general, Brownlie's model of multiple co-acting causes is a useful tool for explaining translation phenomena. The four sources are extensive, offering a comprehensive coverage of causes that may contribute to the final translation production. The incorporation of Bourdieu's sociological concepts has enhanced its theoretical explanatory power. The model has touched on the different types of relations between the four explanatory sources. However, it has not fully explored the relationship between its first source "individual situations" and the concept "field" in the fourth source. Bourdieu's another concept "habitus" could have been used to improve its explanatory power. This will be discussed further in the Methodology chapter and the Discussion chapter.

2.5   Corpus-based translation studies

Corpus-based translation studies, or Corpus Translation Studies (CTS) uses corpus linguistics to study the characteristics of translation as a social and cultural phenomenon. That is, in CTS, corpus linguistics is used as a research tool for a descriptive study of the translation process (Hu 2006). There are two main definitions of corpus proposed, one by Laviosa (2003), and one by Johansson (1998:3). Laviosa defines "corpus" as either a collection of texts or pieces of language, while Johansson (1998:3) defines it as "a body of texts put together in a principled way and prepared for computer processing."

The definition by Laviosa stresses the element of a corpus, that is, "texts" and other materials similar to texts (e.g. transcription of speech, either original or translated/dubbed). In contrast, the definition by Johansson emphasises the role of the computerised analysis of patterns in a language. Both definitions encompass all types of corpora from the smallest monolingual corpus consisting of one text to more complex bilingual or even multilingual corpora representing all languages for Translation Studies.

Comparative models have played a major role in the study of AVT. As Chesterman (2000:17) notes, corpus-based studies are 'a more recent variant of the comparative model." In recent decades, using data processing software (such as concordancer and database management systems), scholars are able to identify regularities of translated language through comparison with STs, and derive data-driven conclusions from the interpretation and analysis of a corpus (Olohan 2004). Corpora used in AVT study are usually large collections of translator's products—TTs, and the vast amounts of data required to identify certain patterns of translated texts are generally regarded as

"sufficient evidence of the validity and generalizability" of computer-based findings (Pérez-González 2014).

2.5.1 *Main methods of corpus data analysis*

Translation corpora, containing actual translations, are usually constructed in ways that allow for systematic analysis of the target language's linguistic features. Furthermore, many sorts of computer tools are currently available for different methods of keyword searching, data sorting and display. This section reviews several methods of corpus data analysis: frequency list, type/token ratio, lexical density and KWIC concordance.

The frequency list, namely a list of words in a corpus, ranked according to their frequency, is a useful tool for finding out what words are repeated (Wilcock 2013). The differential in frequency for various keywords compared to a reference corpus will clearly show the differences between the texts being compared. The use of the reference corpus is helpful in comparison of translation features and norms, but the difference in the size of different corpora requires using log-likelihood scores (Rayson and Garside 2000).

In theory, Type/Token Ratio weighs the range of vocabulary for size of the speech sample (Hess, Sefton, and Landry 1986). The types are unique word forms, e.g. "speak" and "speaks" are two types although "speaks" is the third person singular form of "speak." If a text is 2,000 words long, then it has 2,000 "tokens." However, many of these types are probably repeated, e.g. "speaks" may be repeated several times. The frequency measure type/token ratio can be used for investigations of language features (Laviosa 1998:566). In addition, clusters of words can also be searched to reveal repeating patterns in a ST or TT (Wilcock 2013). The type/token ratio is also used to determine the translation universal "simplification." According to Bernardini and Zanettin (2004:60), the type/token ratio (TTR) in a translation corpus indicates simplification if it meets two criteria, as shown in Table 3. First, TTR of corpus [A] must be lower than that of corpus [B] (i.e., a corpus of comparable original texts in the target language). Additionally, this difference between the TTR of corpus [A] and [B] must be greater than that between the TTR of corpus [C] and corpus [D] (its STs and a control corpus in the source language).

Language	Type/token ratio	Difference	TTR
Target language:	[A] Translation	<	[B]Comparable original texts
Source language:	[C] ST		[D] Control corpus

Table 3. TTR in target language and source language

The Key Word in Context (KWIC) is a common format for a concordance, which is a list of lines containing the key word extracted from one text or a set of texts, presented with the key word's neighbouring words in the context. KWIC is useful for studying the context of a certain word to be investigated.

2.5.2 *Corpus-based taboo translation study*

Corpus-based methodology has been adopted by many scholars to study the translation of different kinds of taboo words, e.g. mafia argots (Parini 2010), sexual references (Chiaro 2007) or a general coverage of all the taboo words (Vossoughi and Etemad Hosseini 2013). Although the comparative models they adopted may differ, they all found that the norm of translating taboo words is to attenuate the level of offensiveness of the taboo words. However, these studies have just investigated professional AVT; no corpus-based taboo translation studies on fansub have been found. The following three paragraphs review the abovementioned three studies.

Parini (2010) made an analysis of a corpus of five American mafia films dubbed in Italian. Taboo language, together with slang, is identified as one of the characteristics of the socio-dialect used by Italian Americans in these mafia films. Parini finds that there is general tendency to attenuate the level of obscene expressions from the original films and attributes the tendency to the following three factors: (1) different levels of tabooisation of certain fields between American culture and Italian culture; (2) a lack of semantic and functional equivalents between the two languages; and (3) self-censorship and policies of censorship (ibid).

Vossoughi and Etemad Hosseini (2013) investigated the dominant norms in translating taboo words and concepts (English-to-Persian) after the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Four English language novels of Paulo Coelho (translated from Portuguese by Margaret Jull Costa) were selected as source texts. Vossoughi identified three main strategies at work in translating taboo words and concepts into Persian: omissions, manipulations of segmentation, and euphemisms. Toury's (1995) framework for classification of norms was used to discover the norms of translating taboo words and concepts. Vossoughi concluded that euphemism, with a frequency of 37.87 percent among the three strategies, was the dominant norm. The dominant ideology in Iran was a determining factor in the process of the translators' decision making (ibid).

Chiaro (2007) discussed the norms that govern the translation of so-called "adult" materials in Italian TV from two angles: 1) an examination of the linguistic content of the

programmes themselves, and 2) operators involved in the dubbing process. Chiaro provided an overview of the procedures in which content is mitigated through dubbing in Italy via the use of censorship and the toning down or total elimination of reference to behaviour considered beyond traditional "mainstream" sexual practices.

In summary, the taboo translation studies reviewed above attempted to examine how and why taboo was attenuated in the target language. Researchers' findings are various, but they all tended to attribute taboo attenuation, sometimes identified as a norm, to a common cause: censorship or the deeper level "ideology." Other factors affecting the translator's decision making when dealing with taboo words were also discovered by different researchers. One improvement these studies can make is that the correlation and interaction of these factors contributing to the final translation product needs to be studied in-depth in order to form a systematic understanding of taboo translation.

2.6   Translation of taboo words

In recent years in China, professional film translators have been criticised for their improper translation of English taboo words, and for using Chinese PIS, a type of taboo language, in their translation. It has been assumed that fansubbers first started using PIS in their translation, which was perfectly acceptable for the audience, but when professionals imitated fansubbers using PIS, it became very controversial (CQSB 2010). Consequently, when dealing with taboo words, either in source text or TT, a translator needs to make a choice about how to translate or use them. In order to lay the foundation for my research, this section reviews how the severity of swear words has been measured, and what researches have been conducted regarding translation taboo words in AVT.

2.6.1   *Severity of English taboo words*

Previous research has been carried out to measure the severity of English swear words, which can serve as a reference for this thesis to study the severity (coarseness) transfer of English swear words into Chinese subtitles. Jay (1992) conducted experiments to find tabooness and frequency ratings of cursing in America. 28 taboo and 28 non-taboo words were selected from Foote and Woodward (1972) to be rated by a group of 29 female and 23 male students in introductory psychology courses. The taboo words were those most frequently reported by university students. The subjects were asked to provide estimates of tabooness on a scale of one to nine. The results were intended to reflect general standards, not college students' values. The rating scale ranged from 1 (not obscene at all)

to 9 (the most obscene word imaginable). Table 4 presents the results of Jay's experiments, listing frequency and tabooness ratings for the 28 English taboo words.

Word	Tabooness			Cameron*
	Mean	Male	Female	
Motherfucker	8.56	8.43	8.65	---
Cocksucker	8.04	8.17	7.93	
Fuck	7.98	8.26	7.76	311
Pussy	7.06	6.7	7.34	10
Cunt	7.04	6.65	7.34	---
Prick	6.96	6.82	7.07	136
Cock	6.9	7.35	6.55	52
Bastard	6.19	5.65	6.62	234
Son of a bitch	6.13	6	6.24	13
Asshole	5.88	5.48	6.21	16
Suck	5.77	5.61	5.9	9
Nigger	5.73	5.65	5.79	---
Tits	5.65	5.39	5.86	3
Whore	5.51	5.35	5.66	---
Goddamn	5.44	5.22	5.62	218
Shit	5.38	5.57	5.24	266
Bitch	5.31	5.39	5.24	189
Piss	5.23	4.61	5.72	115
Slut	5.19	4.65	5.62	--
Queer	4.96	5.00	4.93	57
Bullshit	4.94	5.09	4.83	119
Ass	4.77	4.52	4.97	89
Spic	4.21	4.91	3.66	---
Blow	4.13	4.91	3.52	22
Jesus Christ	3.92	3.39	4.34	208
Damn	3.73	3.61	3.83	404
Hell	3.4	3.43	3.38	378
Pig	3.1	2.96	3.21	---

* Occurrences per 48,918 words sampled from college student conversations. Blanks indicate that no data were available.

Table 4. Frequency and Tabooness Ratings for Taboo Words (Jay 1992)

A validity check on the ratings proved encouraging. Frequency ratings for non-taboo words correlated positively with Cameron's (1969) data (r=.56). Both taboo and non-taboo correlations were acceptable relationships in light of the fact that each measure is based on a different context (Jay 1992:142).

2.6.2 *Methodology applied to taboo translation study*

In the existing literature, many researches have been conducted to study translation of taboo in audiovisual materials. Whether it is a case study of a certain film or a study of

many dramas or films, these studies have one thing in common: the use of a mix of quantitative and qualitative analysis. This methodology, which will be employed in this research (see Chapter 3 Methodology), has helped researchers produce fruitful findings. Usually, strategies or choices of translating taboo language are identified, and the frequency of a certain strategy is then calculated. Subsequently, theoretical explanations follow the quantitative analysis and suggestions are offered. For example, Liang (2010b) used Peter Newmark's dual theory of semantic and communicative methods of translation to study the translation of profanity in the American film *Superbad* (2007), and argued that the translator is innately aware of the functions of swearwords and thus takes quite a similar approach in dealing with different categories of swearing. Xue (2009) used Eugene Nida's translation theory of dynamic equivalence and principles of communicative translation to discuss various translation problems regarding sexual language in the popular American popular TV series *Sex and the City*. Through categorisation of translation examples and a systematic analysis, Xue offered a suggested translation that better meets the purpose of providing entertainment and communicating with the audience.

When applying norm theory to their studies, scholars often employ a corpus-based method to acquire the data concerning the regularities in the translator's choices. This research model is currently more applicable than before with the development of computer technology. For example, Vossoughi and Etemad Hosseini (2013) used the norm theory and corpus to investigate the dominant norms in translating taboo words and concepts after the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and found out that the dominant ideology in Iran was a determining factor in the translators' decision making; Parini (2010) made an analysis of the Italian dubbed versions of five American mafia movies released in the 90's using corpus, and discovered that attenuating the vulgarity level of the language of American films is quite the norm in Italian dubbing, and film translators lower the coarseness of the language upon requests from the production and translation companies.

In summary, the taboo translation studies reviewed above each attempted to examine how and why taboo was attenuated in the target language. Researchers' findings are various, but they all tended to attribute taboo attenuation, sometimes identified as a norm, to a common cause: censorship or the deeper level "ideology." Other factors affecting the translator's decision making when dealing with taboo words were also discovered by different researchers. However, the correlation and interaction of these factors contributing to the final translation product needs to be studied in-depth in order to form a

systematic understanding of taboo translation. Furthermore, these studies have mainly focused on the investigation of professional AVT; corpus-based research on taboo translation by fansubbers is an area rarely explored.

Chapter 3   Methodology

3.1   Research design

In Chapters 1 and 2, the definitions of taboo words, features of AVT, translation norm theories, Brownlie's explanatory model of multiple causality, and Bourdieu's sociological concepts (habitus, capital, and field) have been discussed to lay a foundation for this thesis. In order to discover the differences between film fansubbing and professional film translation in China, and explain why such differences occur, this thesis employs a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches.

The quantitative approach in the present study is corpus-based, which is "descriptive-empiricist," (Crisafulli 2002:37) aiming to discover textual regularities or tendencies of translators. After obtaining statistical results from the corpus-based quantitative approach, a qualitative approach was applied to make sense of the results by studying the characteristics of translation as a social and cultural phenomenon. This study investigated three sets of data, using the two abovementioned approaches (see also Figure 5):

1. A 51-film English-Chinese parallel corpus. A quantitative approach is used to analyse this type of data. Specifically, three research methods are used to analyse the corpus: (1) analysis of basic linguistic features of the 51 films; (2) analysis of severity transfer of swearing, and translationese in taboo translation of 51 blockbuster films; and (3) analysis of patterns of taboo translation of eleven films selected from the 51-film corpus.

2. Statements and interviews of translators and other translation agents. For this type of data, a qualitative approach is used.

3. Information about translators' backgrounds, the structure of the fansub group SCG and the film translation industry in China. For this type of data, a qualitative approach is used.
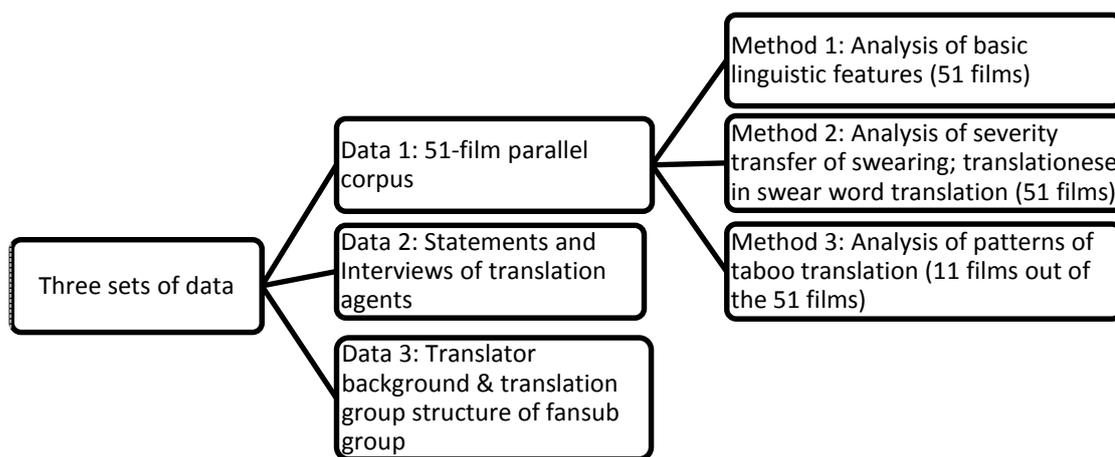
Figure 5. Three types of data used in this thesis

For the first set of data, quantitative analysis was conducted to investigate the textual regularities and irregularities in fansub and produb in order to provide empirical evidence of certain translation tendencies or norms in film translation in China. This empirical approach endeavours to observe fansubber's translation behaviour as objectively as possible. I first explored all 51 films. Although these films contain a large amount of data, with computer tools, it is possible to gain statistics about general textual features and I also focused on only swear words. I then narrowed the film list down to 11 out of the 51 films, concentrating on patterns of taboo translation with context (plot) of these films in mind.

For both the second and third sets of data, a qualitative approach was employed. With the second set of data, I examined the translation attitude and philosophy of fansubbers, professionals, and other translation agents. With the third set of data, the relationships between translators and other translation agents in the film translation field in China were investigated. By comparing diverse types of data, the thesis aims to provide triangulation reinforcing findings and ensuring a rich study by revealing complexities.

The qualitative approach was conducted through an explanatory model adapted from and based on Brownlie's (2003:111) model of "multiple causality" to provide full explanation of the translational phenomena. Brownlie's model was chosen based on the belief that a single condition rarely sufficiently explains the final formation of a translation, which is a notion advocated by Pym (2008:311). Brownlie's model contains four major interacting sources of explanation: the individual situations; textuality; the translator's own norms; and the target-culture context (see Section 2.4.6 in Literature Review). One major advantage of this model of potentially co-acting causes is that it incorporates linguistic

61

factors and Bourdieu's sociological approach, thus allowing for the explanation of various translational phenomena, which include the differences between film fansub and professional film translation in China.

To improve the theoretical explanatory power of Brownlie's model, the thesis further incorporates Bourdieu's sociological concept of habitus into the first source "the individual situations". Although the first source in Brownlie's original model does not use the concept of habitus, it takes into account the translator's background and attitudes, which constitute the translator's habitus in the sense of Bourdieu's sociology. By adopting the concept of habitus, the thesis can increase the depth of analysis, offering a clearer explanation concerning the influence of the individual situations of film translation in China. Furthermore, the thesis considers two different channels (internet and cinema) used for transmitting translated films and their potential influence on film translation. Given the fact that the goal of the research is to provide maximal explanation of film fansubbing in China, and in consideration of the special media (internet) that fansubbers utilize to transmit audiovisual materials, the thesis also considers "media transmission" as a mode of cultural production, and integrates it into the field theory. In summary, this thesis adds both Bourdieu's sociological concept of habitus and "media transmission" to the explanatory model, in the hope of improving the model's explanatory power both theoretically and empirically.

3.2 Quantitative approach (corpus-based)

This thesis uses a neutral and objective attitude to select subject matter and draw conclusions, so it opts for quantitative approach, aiming to conduct "objective and unbiased" research, as advocated by empiricists in Translation Studies including Baker (1993) and Toury (1995). As the first part of my multiple causality model, the quantitative approach is a "quasi-scientific method" used by (McLeod 2008) to discover facts regarding the film fansubbing phenomenon by analysing textual data through numerical comparisons and statistical inferences. Textual data were stored in a corpus of my design, and statistics were obtained from the corpus through computerised tools.

3.2.1 *Corpus design*

3.2.1.1 *Organising corpus data*

The corpus was designed according to the research objective: a comparison between two sets of TTs (fansub and produb), namely two Chinese translation versions of the same 51

English blockbuster films released in China. The translated versions of the 51 blockbuster films collected for the corpus were released in China between 2006 and 2014. The corpus includes a version produced by fansub groups in China and a version produced by professional film translators. The two sets of TTs were compared with a corpus of comparable non-translated Chinese texts to discover special textual features in translated texts. The two forms of comparison are intended to examine whether any hypothesised translational feature constitutes individual or widespread behaviour.

The main source of data was organised in the English-Chinese Subtitle Parallel Corpus (ECSPC) which I constructed. A number of factors contributed to my focus on blockbuster film subtitles. The first is that, compared to literary texts, film translation is seriously under-represented in translation research. Secondly, blockbuster film subtitles were selected due to their popularity among Chinese cinema audiences and internet users, hence the guaranteed availability of the raw textual materials. This popularity is exemplified by the availability of three or four versions of fansub translation of a single film. My corpus ECSPC has three subcorpora: (1) ECSPC-EN, consisting of English subtitles of the 51 English blockbuster films on DVD or Blu-ray; (2) ECSPC-PRO, consisting of the Chinese translation (dubbed version) produced by professionals in China; and (3) ECSPC-FAN, consisting of the Chinese translation (subtitled version) produced by fansub groups in China. The Chinese Subtitle Corpus (CSC) of original Chinese films was used as a reference corpus to be compared with ECSPC-PRO and ECSPC-FAN. Figure 6 illustrates the structure of the corpus.
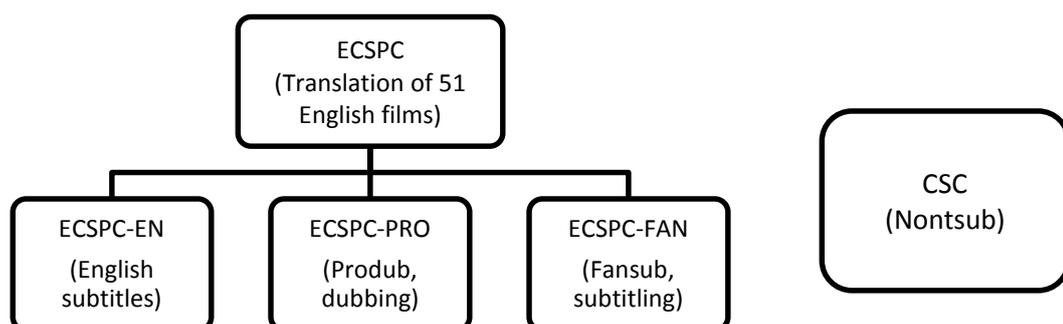

Figure 6. The structure of the corpus

The descriptive method here uses a two-level cross examination, which facilitates comparison across the corpus items and allows for the examination of corpus regularities. The two levels are: (1) global issues, namely the basic linguistic statistics (e.g. word count, PIS word frequency); and (2) severity transfer of swearing and translationese in

swear word translation. The first level taps into the possibility of fansub groups establishing their own norms regarding conciseness and remaining textually close to the target language/culture; the second level examines fansub from a sociological perspective, focusing on the translation of swearing due to its heavy social connotations. The first level exploration of textual features lays a foundation for the norm research on the second level. This two-level hierarchy provides a platform for the researcher to discern tendencies at varying levels, allowing for a cross-examination of norms formulated by the researcher.

The corpus is described further in the following sub-sections, with special attention given to the process of locating two Chinese translations of the same STs and the principles of selecting suitable film subtitles for inclusion in ECSPC. This is followed by an outline of the corpus construction procedure and a discussion of special requirements in Chinese text processing, parallel text alignment involving English and Chinese, and the software packages used to access the four subcorpora. Given that the present research prioritises the parallel approach to investigating translation of taboo words (i.e. the translation of swear words and the use of PIS) and draws on comparable data merely for supportive evidence, much of the discussion of methodology below focuses on the use of parallel data to explore taboo translation quantitatively and qualitatively. A method for identifying instances of taboo translation using parallel data is also discussed and assessed.

3.2.1.2 Text selection criteria

Having defined the basic structure of ECSPC (one set of STs and two sets of TTs, supported by a target language reference corpus), the next step was to specify a timeframe as well as specific criteria for selecting appropriate subtitles to be included in ECSPC. For the following reasons, the range of years from 2006 to 2014 was considered most suitable. The first reason relates to the availability of bilingual subtitles produced by professionals and fans. Around 30 foreign blockbuster films (mostly Hollywood) annually have been released and screened at cinemas in China in recent years (2001-2014), and each year an average of five films of Chinese subtitles are readily available online for downloading. Another reason for choosing 2006 as the start year is that fansub groups in China became very active that year, producing a large amount of subtitling due to the development and popularisation of broadband internet in China, which attracted media attention from America, including *The New York Times* (2006). In summary, the following criteria were applied to the selection process:

- Only Chinese translations of blockbuster films published between 2006 and 2014 are included in ECSPC.
- Translations included in ECSPC are available in both professional and fansub Chinese versions.

The 51 films identified in the above process, and downloaded from the internet, cover a wide range of film genres including action, comedy, and animation (see Appendix D for the full list of films).

To maintain consistency of the data in the corpus and guarantee the availability of the translation, this project only includes the dubbed versions for the ECSPC-PRO sub-corpus, although three out of the 51 films have subtitled versions. The professional subtitles collected for the corpus are actually transcriptions of the dubbed film's Mandarin Chinese soundtrack. The processes for making such subtitles (transcription) by online volunteers are usually as follows: 1) listen to the Mandarin Chinese soundtrack of the film; 2) make a full typewritten transcript of the speech of the dubbing actors; and 3) add time codes to the *written* copy to make a subtitle file. The 51 films were translated by four different companies (AFFS, CCDS, CFGDC and SHDS, see Section 1.2.1) and four different fansub groups (FRM, SCG, TLF, and YYeTs). Table 5 lists the amount of films in the corpus that each company or fansub group translated:

Company	Films	Fansub Group	Films
AFFS	7	FRM	1
CCDS	8	SCG	40
CFGDC	15	TLF	8
SHDS	21	YYeTs	2
Total	51	Total	51

Table 5. The number of films each company or fansub group translated

Usually a foreign film, especially a popular one, has several fansub versions translated by different fansub groups. One single fansub version produced by a fansub group for each is included in the corpus. The table above shows that the work of SCG accounts for most of the films in the corpus, for the following reasons: (1) SCG is the most prolific in terms of film translation, and in fansub, a few films in the corpus have been translated only by SCG; (2) I joined SCG to observe the group's activities, and interview members from this group. The inclusion of works by SCG provides translation products for the triangulation of textual data with qualitative data (e.g. interviews with the group). Overall, films translated by other fansub groups accounted for 20 percent of the total in the corpus, which strengthens the inclusiveness of the corpus.

Several subtitle websites were used for subtitle downloading: subom.net; sub.makedie.me; and cmct.tv. The first two websites contain both original foreign language subtitles and their translation; the latter specialises in subtitles transcribed from professional dubbing (see Secton 3.2.1.2 for transcription procedures). To collect non-translated Chinese subtitles of original Chinese films for the sub-corpus CSC, *The China Box Office Charts* was used as the film list to identify the subtitles on the database website sub.makedie.me. The Box Office Charts indicate the popularity of the films, hence the availability of their subtitles. The subtitles of highly popular films are usually available on the website.

3.2.1.3 *Procedures of cleaning up "text noises"*

After downloading the subtitle files from the website, the "text noises" were cleaned up in the subtitles. The electronic subtitle texts (in TXT or SRT file format) are promising sources for the text-analytical research, but they contain text "noises" of sampling errors that "induce biases and distort the reliability of content-analytical results" (Kantner et al. 2011). In order to improve the reliability of my data analysis, the following text "noises" in the subtitles were deleted:

- Monolingual Chinese texts that have no corresponding English texts.
- Font colour codes.
- Film cast list, names of film companies, and names of fansubbers and their groups.
- Fansubber's annotations. Each annotation usually comprises one surtitle (top-note) to explain a special term. Since the term is already translated in the subtitle, the surtitle annotations are considered extra information and not translation in this study.
- Subtitles of scenes cut from the cinema versions. These are not included in the corpus as this research focuses on the translator's textual manipulation on the word/phrase level, rather than the sentence/film scene level.
- Lyrics. Singing is not dubbed in professional translation, whereas lyrics are always translated in SCG. As there is no possibility of comparison, lyrics are not included in the corpus.

3.2.2 *Basic linguistic statistics*

Corpus-based methodology is used in this thesis to study various phenomena with the help of software packages which allow researchers to process texts in machine-readable form. These complex and comprehensive tools are used for the collection of information from the data stored in my corpus. Basic linguistic statistics (word count, and lexical variation), which are very helpful for preliminary analysis of translation were drawn from the corpus. The computer programme used for concordancing and text analysis is AntConc, developed by Laurence Anthony from Waseda University in 2014. This freeware corpus analysis toolkit is more efficient than the popular commercial software Wordsmith in dealing with Chinese characters.

3.2.2.1 *Word count comparison*

Word count statistics of fansub and produb in my corpus include counts of Chinese characters; English words in the source text; and types and tokens of Chinese words. These statistics are used to determine the differences between fansub and produb in the degree of reduction in the two types of AVT. The lexical variation measured through the type-token ratio of the texts, with types being "the number of different words in a text," and tokens being "the total number of 'running words' in the text" (Kruger 2004:74). A higher type-token ratio reflects a higher variety and lower repetition of the vocabulary usage in a corpus.

The number of Chinese characters in produb and fansub, was obtained from Microsoft Word (2013, English version), which counts non-Asian words in Chinese texts. The information about the amount of types and tokens concerning Chinese words was obtained from the corpus software AntConc. Microsoft Word counts individual Chinese characters and English words, while AntConc counts Chinese words. Each Chinese word may contain one or multiple characters.

Word segmentation was used as a necessary first step in Chinese language processing in this project, because in Chinese text, sentences are represented as strings of Chinese characters or *hanzi* without similar natural delimiters such as white spaces in English (Xue 2003). In order to make a corpus linguistic analysis of Chinese texts, word segmentation and part-of-speech (POS) tagging were used. The example below shows a Chinese sentence being parsed. In "Segmented TT", there are spaces between Chinese words (one character or multiple characters). Under the sentence of Chinese characters, a segmented Romanised version (*pinyin*) is provided.

English ST	We have an escape from Bendwater Penitentiary.
Chinese TT	我们找到一名从曲水监狱越狱出来的犯人
	Wǒ men zhǎo dào yī míng cóng qū shuǐ jian yù yuè yù chū lái de fàn rén
Segmented TT	我们 找到 一名 从 曲水 监狱 越狱 出来 的 犯人
	Wǒmen zhǎodào yīmíng cóng qūshuǐ jiānyù yuèyù chūlái de fànrén
Back translation	We found one from Qushui Prison break out of prisoner.

The software used for these purposes is NLPIR Chinese Segmentation System (aka, ICTCLAS2013). Its main functions include Chinese word segmentation, POS tagging, recognising Weibo words, finding new words, and keyword extraction. This software, used by many scholars (Zhang 2013, Li 2014c, Gao 2013) for corpus linguistics studies, has several advantages compared with other similar software. First, other tagging programmes such as TagAnt can only handle European languages. Second, the tagging accuracy of NLPIR is very high, around 98%, much higher than the online free tagging service on cncorpus.org. According to the description on the homepage of NLPIR, this programme has also won several prizes related to word segmentation, evidence of its high degree of accuracy in tagging.

In addition to comparing fansub and produb, this thesis further compares them with other types of translation in terms of the ratio of the number of Chinese characters to that of English words (C-E ratio), which can indicate the reduction of the translation. For the comparison, three C-E parallel corpora compiled by other scholars or organisations are used: (1) Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC) parallel Chinese/English corpora (Liberman 2005, Ma and Cieri 2006), a comprehensive collection of corpora containing a wide range of genres of texts; (2) Cuyoo News English-Chinese Corpus; and (3) Hong Kong Bilingual Corpus of Legal & Documentary Texts (HKBC), a legal text corpus. These three parallel corpora are selected because the information about their C-E ratios is available.

3.2.2.2 *PIS frequency comparison*

The frequency of PIS words in three discourses in my corpus is compared: fansub, produb, and non-translated Chinese subtitles (nontsub). The goal of this comparison is to understand whether PIS is used more frequently in fansub than produb and nontsub. These statistics may shed light on the different norms in fansub and produb concerning PIS usage. The usage of PIS in media has been discouraged by Chinese authorities (Ding 2014, SARFT 2014a), so my finding may test the assumption that PIS is used less frequently in produb than fansub. In order to do the comparison, a list of Chinese PIS

68

words was first compiled for keyword search in my corpus (see Appendix E. A list of Chinese PIS). The full list of PIS words was selected on the basis of three criteria: (1) Popularity. As the term PIS (popular internet slang) denotes, these words should be popular. Frequency of PIS words is used as an indication of popularity; (2) Creativity. These words should be newly created, different from standard Chinese; and (3) Being used and popular between 2006-2014, the same period films in my corpus were released in Chinese cinemas. To meet the criteria set above for the list compilation, I used a combination of the following three sources:

(1) The "Yearly Top Ten PIS Words," published in the magazine *Yaowenjiaozi* [咬文嚼字]. This magazine annually publishes the ten most popular PIS words voted by its readers, but it does not include "crude" words, which would compromise its "popularity" selection criteria (Nanjing Daily 2013).

(2) Two major online Chinese fora including Tieba Baidu and Tianya.com.

(3) Chinese mainstream media news reports about PIS usage. These news reports were retrieved through keyword search (e.g. 2015 年网络流行语/2015 PIS) on Baidu.com, China's biggest online search engine.

3.2.3 *Severity transfer of swearing*

The comparison of the severity, or level of offence, in the transfer of swearing in fansub and produb is used to answer the research question: *Are there differences in terms of the translation of taboo words in film fansubbing (fansub) and professional dubbing (produb) in China?* The method is analysis within a synchronic retrospective methodology framework based on Toury's (2012:93) comparative model, which allows a reconstruction of the regularities in translators' choices. The comparative model helps the researcher discover whether fansub and produb show differing patterns of rendering swear words: specifically, whether the offensiveness of swear words transferred by fansub is higher than produb.

Using data in my corpus, I compared the extent to which the two translated versions transferred the severity of English swear words into Chinese. In order to achieve this goal, the severity transfer was quantified and measured. A list of English swear words to be investigated was compiled for the comparison. Then the Chinese translations (corresponding words/phrases) of the English swear words were identified from the corpus to compile a Chinese swear word list. The severity of the Chinese translations on the list was determined through a survey, in which a group of native Chinese speakers

rated the Chinese translations. The average severity of each Chinese translation of a swear word was obtained, and a table of severity values was compiled. The severity of each Chinese translation of an English swear word was rated in the corpus according to the table compiled. Subsequently, analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was conducted to determine the significance of difference in the swearing severity transfer between fansub and produb.

To compile the English swear word list for investigation, I referred to "Tabooness Ratings for Taboo Words" (Jay 1992), as shown in Table 4 in Section 2.6.1. Each English swear word on the list was used as a key word for my search. Two groups of words from the list were eliminated: (1) blow; cock; cocksucker; pussy; pig; queer; slut; spic; suck; (2) cunt; nigger; tits. The first group was eliminated because they were not found in my corpus. The second group was omitted because the words occur only once in my 51-film corpus (i.e., a key word search returned only one entry) and statistics for the ANOVA test of such swear words with only one instance cannot be computed. After the elimination process, the following English swear words were selected for investigation: ass; asshole; bastard; bitch; bullshit; damn; fuck; goddamn; hell; Jesus; motherfucker; piss; prick; shit; son of a bitch; whore. "Jesus" is considered a short form of "Jesus Christ."

In order to measure the severity of Chinese swear words used in produb and fansub to translate English swear words, a questionnaire survey based on Jay's (1992) model was conducted (see Section 2.6.1 for Jay's model; see Appendix I for the questionnaire). Fifty respondents (native Chinese speakers) rated the severity of 72 Chinese swear words used in both fansub and produb in my corpus. The questionnaire contains the 72 Chinese swear words, which are translation equivalents of the English swear words in the ST. Respondents rated the swear words on a scale of 1-9 (1: not obscene at all; 9: the most obscene word imaginable) based on how offensive they felt those Chinese words were. The average/mean value of each swear word's severity (offensiveness) was obtained this way: each swear word's rating by the 50 respondents was added up, then divided by 50. The results of the survey were compiled in a table (see Appendix C. The severity of individual Chinese swear words).

With the Chinese swear word severity level table for referral, each Chinese translation of English swear words in the corpus was assigned a value as indicated in the table. For example, in ST (1) in Table 6, the Chinese translation of "fuck" in line 230 of Babylon A.D. (2008) was translated as *tāmāde* (他妈的) by both fansubbers and professionals.

Because the severity level of *tāmāde* is 5.3 according to the Chinese swear word severity level table (see #15 in Appendix C), the value 5.3 was assigned to both translations: fansub and produb. If an English swear word was omitted or substituted with a non-swear word in the translation or the coarseness was not transferred, then the translation is rated 1 (see ST 2).

Source text	Fansub and its severity		Produb and its severity	
(1) Don't **fuck** with me...	你要是敢**他妈的**耍我…(If you dare **fucking** mess with me)	5.3	别**他妈**惹我(Don't **fuck** with me...)	5.3
(2) What the **fuck**	我操... (I **fuck**!)	3.9	怎么回事 (What's wrong)	1

Table 6. Two translation examples

To investigate whether there are significant differences in severity transfer of English swear words between fansub and produb, this research compares the mean of severity transfer of each English swear word in fansub and produb. The severity means of both groups (see an example in Table 7) and the mean difference significance value *(p*-value) were obtained through one-way ANOVA test with IBM SPSS Statistics 21. For example, in Table 7, the mean severity of all four fansub instances of "prick" is 3.84, and the mean severity of all four produb instances of "prick" is 5.16.

Instance	Fansub severity	Produb severity
1	3.62	1.20
2	3.90	7.76
3	3.90	7.76
4	3.90	3.90
Mean	3.84	5.16

Table 7. An example of calculating mean severity of all translation instances of "prick"

3.2.4 *Translationese in swear word translation*

To further investigate the differences in terms of the translation of taboo words in film fansubbing and professional film translation in China, this thesis also explores the translationese in swear word translation in fansub and produb. Translationese, "the third language" (Duff 1981, 12), is a term referring to "target language usage which because of its obvious reliance on features of source language is perceived as unnatural, impenetrable or even comical" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 2014:188). There is an assumption in the media and among film viewers that film translation produced by professionals in China contains a high level of translationese. Therefore, the investigation of translationese in swear word translation in fansub and produb will test this assumption.

This thesis uses cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to investigate the association between two categorical variables: (1) groups of translators (fansubbers and professionals); and (2) their swear word translations of different levels of translationese. Three translationese levels are determined by the "naturalness" of the Chinese translation:

- Level 1, the lowest level of translationese. This category of translation contains Chinese PIS words.

- Level 2. This category of translation contains standard Chinese vocabulary.

- Level 3, the highest level of translationese. This category of translation contains unnatural Chinese vocabulary, or in-between language, which sounds foreign and gives viewers a sense of foreign flavour.

In order to identify words in the third category, I applied Havlásková's (2010) definition of "in-between language," or interlanguage, "a kind of system which lies somewhere in between source language and target language." In-between language is usually not used in daily conversation in real situations. For example, the expressions of cathartic swearing in Chinese, *gāisǐ* and *jiànguǐ*, are "imported goods [舶来品]" (Chen 2001:58). These two words do not sound natural when used to express frustration or surprise in modern Chinese. Both *gāisǐ* and *jiànguǐ* are rarely used in my non-translated subtitles (Nontsub) in the original Chinese film corpus (CSC), as shown in Table 8 (frequency 3 and 1), indicating that these two expressions are mostly used in translated vs. original Chinese films.

Version	Gāisǐ	Jiànguǐ
Nontsub	3	1
Fansub	185	35
Produb	153	156

Table 8. Usage of *gāisǐ* and *jiànguǐ* in films

The mild swearing with reference to "God" is also investigated through cross tabulation and chi-square analysis to discover the differences between fansub and produb in terms of translationese. The investigation of the translationese in swear word translation is based on the swear word list (see Section 3.2.3). The swear word list was originally used for investigating severity transfer. Because the severity of swear words/phrases with reference to "God" is very low (close to 1), they are not included in the list. SCG's online postings reveal that the fansub group has a normative notion concerning avoiding translationese when translating swearing with reference to "God" (to be discussed more in Chapter 5). "Oh my God," once considered taboo in polite conversation, has become

common in English parlance. However, "Oh my God" can still be offensive to Christians, because it would be considered as using God's name in vain. Although "Oh my God" is very mild profanity, the translation of it is worthy of investigation here as fansubbers and professionals may translate it with differing degrees of translationese. Besides "Oh my God," two more swear phrases ("swear to God" and "for God's sake") are investigated as a group due to their reference to "God." Judging from the corpus, the main translations of swear phrases containing "God" are divided into three categories based on the different degree of translationese in the three versions:

- Category 1, low level of translationese, translation containing *tiān* (heaven);
- Category 2, medium level of translationese, non-translation (reference to *tiān* or *shàngdì* deleted).
- Category 3, high level of translationese, translation containing *shàngdì* (God);

3.2.5 *Patterns of taboo translation*

In order to carry out an in-depth and focused analysis of differences and similarities of taboo translation in film fansub and produb, this thesis established two criteria to select sections of 51 films to analyse patterns of taboo translation as a complement to computerised studies of the 51-film corpus. Consequently, 11 films out of the 51-film corpus were selected for the study of translation patterns based on the following criteria: (1) high frequency of swearing in the film for the study of taboo translation differences; and (2) the availability of interviews of fansubbers or professional translators to find out why they translate in a certain way. Only interviews with SCG fansubbers are available; therefore, the selected films were restricted to those translated by fansub group SCG. The 11 films were also translated by the four government-sanctioned film translation companies, and journalist's interviews of the professional translators are available. SCG is a good representative of the four fansub groups in my corpus since SCG translated the majority of the films, 40 out of 51. Furthermore, all these groups have the following important factors in common (see

Group name	Founded	Members joined	Active Members

SCG	2005	500 (2015)	150 (2015)
FRM	2005	500 (2006)	150 (2012)
TLF	2002	500 (2011)	100 (2011)
YYeTs	2003	N/A	150 (2008)

Table 9): (1) having over 10 years of history; (2) having over 100 members active in translating; (3) having a hierarchy, with an administration team consisting of senior fansubbers; (4) consisting mainly of young fansubbers (age 16 to 30).

Group name	Founded	Members joined	Active Members
SCG	2005	500 (2015)	150 (2015)
FRM	2005	500 (2006)	150 (2012)
TLF	2002	500 (2011)	100 (2011)
YYeTs	2003	N/A	150 (2008)

Table 9. Basic data of the four fansub groups[4]

The eleven films selected (see Table 10 below) were also translated by the four government sanctioned film translation companies and interviews of the professional translators by journalists are available. The "Professional Translator" column in Table 10 lists the names of professionals who translated the films, and the "Company" column lists the organisations for which the professional translators worked. The "Year" column reflects the fact that interviews of the professional translators for these 11 films were just made available in the last five years.

No.	Film	Year	Professional Translator		Company
1	The Expendables 2	2012	Lu Yaorong	（陆瑶蓉）	SHDS
2	Battleship	2012	Lu Yaorong	（陆瑶蓉）	SHDS
3	Men in Black 3	2012	Jia Xiuyan	（贾秀琰）	CFGDC
4	Skyfall	2012	Liu Dayong	（刘大勇）	AFFS
5	Escape Plan	2013	Lu Yaorong	（陆瑶蓉）	SHDS
6	Fast and Furious 6	2013	Zhang Yunbi	（张陨璧）	CFGDC
7	Pacific Rim	2013	Jia Xiuyan	（贾秀琰）	AFFS
8	Kingsman: The Secret Service	2014	Zhang Youyou	（张悠悠）	SHDS
9	Edge of Tomorrow	2014	Cui Xiaodong	（崔晓东）	CCDS & CFGDC
10	Guardians of the Galaxy	2014	Jia Xiuyan	（贾秀琰）	AFFS
11	Transformers Age of Extinction	2014	Zhang Yunbi	（张陨璧）	CFGDC

Table 10. Eleven films for translation pattern analysis

The analysis of taboo translation patterns takes into account context, as Pinker (2008) and Wajnryb (2005) acknowledge that swearwords serve specific functions and cannot just be reduced to degrees of obscenity relative to their semantic field. This thesis employs

---

[4] Data obtained from the following sources: Baidu Baike, a Chinese-language, collaborative, web-based encyclopaedia; news report by Liu and Liu (2012)

Ghassempur's (2009) definition of "pattern" to identify taboo translation paradigms: a consistent strategy of either interference or standardisation by one or both translators that occurs at least three times. Some patterns in the translation of these 11 films may concur with the regular tendencies found through previous computerised methods of studying the 51-film corpus. Conversely, however, some patterns may constitute irregularities, which may provide another angle for the study of norms concerning taboo translation in films.

As varying sorts of taboo words pose unique challenges to translators who may then translate them in differing ways, I divided taboos into two categories: swearing and taboo issues. Swearing is further divided into emphatic swearing, cathartic swearing, abusive swearing and idiomatic swearing (see Section 1.3 for definition of each). Each section is divided into sub-sections according to the patterns found in the fansub and produb. While the Findings chapter forms the descriptive phase of the study, the following chapter will form the explanatory phase.

3.3   Qualitative approach

3.3.1   *Qualitative data*

To explain why fansub and produb have different linguistic features, I examined the following qualitative data:

- The news reporters' interviews of translators, interviews of fansubbers conducted by me, and interviews of fansubbers conducted by their fellow fansubbers and published on the fansub group's online forum.
- Interviews of other translation agents including professional translators' supervisors, dubbing directors, dubbing voice actors, and film distributors. Interviews of viewers.
- Online polls and surveys.
- Online postings and microblogs published by translators to explain their translation decision making and to talk about their views concerning translation.

By searching News Baidu, an internet search engine that indexes millions of news stories published in mainland Chinese media, I mined the archives of online newspapers and the digital versions of traditional newspapers. In total, 33 newspaper articles published on Chinese media and a sample of ten posting entries on the SCG fansub group's website were retrieved for analysis. All of the materials analysed specifically address issues

including PIS use, fansubbing motivation and current professional film translation in China.

This research focuses on the qualitative data of fansub group SCG in order to conduct an in-depth analysis of the group's normative notions. To learn about their translation style, I interviewed SCG members who translated films in the corpus. Translators were asked about their translation philosophy and their attitudes of approval or disapproval towards certain translational procedures for film subtitles. A synthesis of results produced a set of interview data. It is unlikely that statements of these fansubbers are deliberately deceptive as they were asked about their views of approved behaviour in general. Thus, the interview data is deemed to be reliable. I also included data from interviews conducted by, and of, SCG members themselves. These interviews are a great data source for the qualitative analysis of the group. I remain bound to respect the confidentiality of SCG and its group members. The group members have, therefore, been given pseudonyms in the form of their online usernames in this thesis, and the permission of all members participating in the encounters was obtained for their inclusion.

I joined SCG after passing its entry test, which involved translating a 10-minute video clip. As an insider and observer, I was able to use observer impression, examining the data as an expert or bystander, and interpreting it by forming an impression and reporting it in a structured form. After gaining entry into the group, I participated in their fansubbing and observed their process and online discussion. As a newcomer in the group, my translation was critiqued by senior members and I discussed my translation with them. This anthropological approach, an immersive and observational study, is aimed to explore the complexity and nuances of interactivity and culture in the fansubbing community. I gained access to qualitative data from their forum website for the case study including: SCG's online discussion/postings about their translation, the translation feedback posted by fansub proofreaders, and interviews of certain group members by their fellow fansubbers. The website also contains polls delineating demographic information about the group members (e.g. age, sex, college education), thus serving as a reliable information source for formulating the group's habitus.

3.3.2 *Qualitative analysis*

The qualitative analysis will be integrated into the discussion chapter, which adopts Brownlie's explanatory model of multiple causality. By applying this model, the research is aimed at not only disclosing social context embedded in film translation produced by

both fansubbers and professional film translations in China but also discussing and presenting the reasons and processes of how the habitus and norms are formed within social contexts, and how they interact with fields to bring out translation product.

In the present study, the qualitative analysis is focused on two groups of translators: the fansub group SCG and professional translators who translated the same films as SCG. In particular, after analysis of textual features of film translation produced by SCG and discussion of the possible reasons behind those features, the social elements of the groups are explored and related to the features. Therefore, this study triangulates linguistic findings with the qualitative data concerning SCG's group structure, members' individual habitus, group habitus and their position in the cultural production. This triangulation is intended to improve the rigorousness of this study.

In order to complement Brownlie's (2003) model for the present study in the context of film translation in China, this thesis adapts it by incorporating into the model Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" (for rationale, see Section 2.4.6.2). The new model in this study contains the following three explanation sources: translator's habitus, translator's norms, and the interaction of fields. The three explanation sources do not to act alone leading to the final translation production. Instead, habitus, translator's norms and fields are seen as structuring and being structured by each other. Translation practices are considered as the result of what Bourdieu calls a "double relation" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:126) between a habitus and a field. That is, they are each products and producers of each other. Based on Bourdieu's (1986b:101) summary of this relation using an equation (see Section 2.4.2), the new model I propose here is as follows in Figure 7:

norm

(habitus)(capital) + field (transmission media) = translation practice
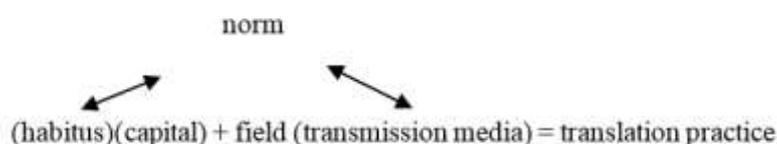
Figure 7 The model of multiple causality (field, norm, habitus)

This equation can be unpacked as stating: translation practice results from relations between translators' habitus (dispositions) and their positions (in a field), within the current state of play of that social arena (field). Meanwhile, habitus and field (including the transmission media that translators use) give rise to relevant translation norms which in return condition habitus and field (to be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 Discussion). Norms need "a habitus to instantiate them" (Simeoni 1998:33) to exert influence on a

translator's practice, so it is reasonable to study how habitus and norms work together, leading to the differences in the translation conducted by fansubbers and professionals.

The new model used in this study thus comprises three sources: influence from fields of power; translator's norms; and translator's habitus. The three sources are called "field, norm, and habitus" in short. "Field" is placed first in the Discussion chapter for the sake of a clear exposition as field is a macro factor in relevant to "habitus". My concept of a film translation field is a social arena of social activity involving film translation, institutions, agents, products and their media of transmission. The film translation field in China is divided into two overlapping subfields (fansub and produb) according to different viewership and media transmission. The two subfields are subject to external fields (forces) of power, namely the political, economic and educational/academic fields. Due to the different distances of the two subfields to their external fields of power, fansub and produb subsequently exhibit differences in their linguistic features. Furthermore, my new model considers "media of transmission" as part of the film translation field in China. Media of transmission refers to the media (i.e. internet and cinema) used for transmitting audiovisual materials and their translation (dubbing and subtitles). In Bourdieu's sociological framework, the two different channels (internet and cinema) are positions, namely the options that the film translation field makes available to fansubbers and professionals (producers of culture). These two options are modes of production containing cultural elements (e.g. artistic forms, linguistic practices) that fansubbers and professionals choose from.

 The second source norm is argued to have causal force with respect to regularities in behaviour and, thus in translations, the product of behaviour. That is, some of the textual patterns may be the result of translators' norms. As norm is a sociological concept, this thesis specifies its social context at a specific point in time in order to accurately formulate it. I used both types of data (quantitative/corpus and qualitative) to cross-examine a norm. The corpus data were used to investigate the regularity while the qualitative data were examined to identify the translators' ideas about translation. This method is therefore consistent with the definition of a norm. The synthesis of all of the translators' statements was used for formulating a group norm (i.e., a notion of approval), which was then compared with the relevant regularity deduced from the corpus data. This second source norm in my model includes "textuality" in Brownlie's model because "textuality" in Brownlie's model is essentially norms.

78

The third source habitus is incorporated in the explanatory model because, according to Bourdieu (1990:53), it engenders the strategies which enable agents to reach the goal of accumulating capital and secure desirable positions in a social field. The model for this study examines the differences in professional habitus (namely translatorial habitus) of fansubbers and professionals is, and assume the differences in habitus can lead to the differences in the translation produced by translators. As reviewed in Section 2.4.2, one's translatorial habitus can be deduced from their professional (translation) training and the social and economic condition they internalise. In order to determine their habitus differences, I looked at several factors of translators' personal history which contribute to their habitus. These factors include translation training, translation field entry (trajectory), translation motivations, and their age (time period).

The three sources of explanation for translational phenomena in the corpus are listed separately for the purpose of a comprehensive description and explanation of the translation of taboo words in Chinese film fansub and produb. The three sources do not function independently. For example, an individual translator's dispositions (habitus) develop within their social circumstances. Translational phenomena also depend on choices made by a translator. Some decisions are closely circumscribed by factors such as the commissioner's translating instructions, translational norms, and target language linguistic and textual norms.

Chapter 4   Findings

4.1   Quantitative findings

In this section, I present the quantitative findings of fansub and produb, including their basic linguistic statistics (word count), PIS frequency, severity transfer of swear words, and translationese in swearing translation. My major findings are: (1) fansubbers have established their own norms concerning translation of English personal names and usage of PIS (see Section 4.1.1); (2) fansub has transferred a higher degree of severity of swearing that produb (see Section 4.1.2); and (3) fansub exhibits a lower level of translationese (see Section 4.1.3).

4.1.1   *Basic linguistic statistics*

4.1.1.1   English-Chinese word count ratio

The word count statistics of fansub and produb show that fansub contains a large number of English words, and therefore has a higher Chinese-English (C-E) word count ratio than that of produb. The type/token ratio (TTR) of fansub is greater than produb, indicating a high degree of lexical variation. Table 11 below presents the word count of English subtitles in ST, and Chinese subtitles in TT (produb and fansub). Word count of Chinese subtitles here means the number of Chinese characters, plus the number of non-Asian words including English words and punctuation (see "total" in Table 11). The number of Chinese characters of TTs including produb and fansub was divided by the word count of ST (English subtitles) to get the C-E ratio. The statistics of word count ratio were obtained with Microsoft Word, while the type/token ratio (TTR) of TT was obtained with the corpus software AntConc.

Translation Version	ST English Words	TT					C-E ratio
		Chinese Characters	Non-Asian	Total	Type/Token	TTR	
Produb	401,595	591,272	6,986	598,258	17637/412084	0.0428	1.490
Fansub		602,655	29,494	632,149	18254/418645	0.0436	1.573

Notes: Non-Asian refers to non-Asian words, including Arabic numbers and English words. C-E ratio refers to the value of TT Chinese character count (including Non-Asian words) divided by ST English word count.

Table 11. English-Chinese word count ratio

In Table 11, the token statistic represents the volume of the corpus (i.e., the number of Chinese words contained therein). The number of types represents the vocabulary volume

(17,637 in produb; 18,254 in fansub). The vocabulary volume of produb and fansub is similar, with that of fansub being slightly higher, partly due to English words remaining untranslated. The similar TTR indicates that vocabulary usage in terms of word variety is similar in fansub and produb.

The C-E ratio of produb is lower than that of fansub, suggesting that professional translation is slightly more concise than fansub. The word count statistics reveal that the number of non-Asian words in fansub is much higher than in produb (29,494 versus 6,986) primarily because fansubbers often leave English names untranslated and these English names are counted as non-Asian words by Microsoft Word.

Table 12 below shows that the C-E word ratios of fansub and produb (1.57 and 1.49, respectively) are smaller than other types of text, including: (1) a wide range of text genres in LDC; (2) texts of news in CNC; and (3) legal texts in HKBC. This indicates that film translation (both fansub and produb) in my corpus is more concise and condensed than other types of translation.

Corpus	Fansub	Produb	LDC*	CNC*	HKBC*
C-E ratio	1.57	1.49	1.7	1.91	1.67

LDC - Linguistic Data Consortium; CNC - Cuyoo News English-Chinese Corpus; HKBC - Hong Kong Bilingual Corpus of Legal Texts

Table 12. C-E word ratios of different corpora

The finding that fansub is more succinct than other types of translation investigated can be explained by the conciseness norm in fansub. An investigation of *Subtitling Norms* (for an example, see Appendix G) published by fansub groups in my corpus reveals that fansubbers have the normative notion that "the translation must be concise".

The higher C-E ratio in fansub, compared to produb, is due to fansubbers' deviation from the professional norm that all English personal names should be translated into Chinese. A review of the corpus reveals that in produb, all English personal names were translated; this was not the case in fansub. In their online discussion, some fansubbers expressed that it is a fansubbing norm that English personal names be kept untranslated (as it is in the original text), a convention evident in other major fansub groups China[5]. This practice was established through polls, according to an online posting of SCG[6] (2008). The

---

[5] Source link: http://www.cnscg.com/thread-560283-1-1.html
[6] Source link: http://www.cnscg.com/thread-446011-1-1.html

practicality is to avoid different renditions of the name by various fansubbers working on the same film. Through polling, fansubbers have developed their own norms, distinguished from those used in professional film translation.

4.1.1.2   PIS usage comparison

The comparison of PIS usage between fansub, produb, and nontsub reveals the fansub corpus contains the largest number of PIS words, and the highest prevalence rate of PIS words (111, in Colum "PRPM" in Table 13 below), indicating fansubbers' relatively liberal attitude towards the use of PIS. The PRPM measures the number of PIS words in a sample translation of one million Chinese characters. The PRPM of produb is 72, lowest among all three corpora, indicating professional translators' relatively conservative usage of PIS in their translation.

Subtitles	PIS	TT	PRPM*
Fansub	70	632,149	111
Produb	43	598,258	72
Nontsub*	33	337,208	98

*Nontsub refers to non-translated Chinese film subtitles; PRPM refers to
Prevalence Rates per Million, gained from this formula: PIS/TT*1,000,000

Table 13. The frequency of PIS words found in three corpora

A paired samples *t*-test was carried out to test the difference between translator group (fansubbers or professionals) and PIS usage. Because the *p*-value (0.047) is lower than 0.05, it can be concluded that there is statistically significant difference in PIS usage between fansub and produb. That is, the comparison of PIS usage in fansub and produb of individual films reveals that in the 51-film corpus generally, fansub uses PIS more frequently than produb (in 42 films). One particular anomaly is that in *Men in Black 3,* the professional film translator used seven PIS words in her translation while fansubbers used none (see Table 14).

No.	Film	Year	Fansub	Produb
1	Babylon A D	2008	1	0
2	Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince	2009	0	1
3	Tron: Legacy	2010	1	0
4	Battle Los Angeles	2011	3	2
5	Mission Impossible Ghost Protocol	2011	0	1
6	War Horse	2011	1	0
7	Skyfall	2012	1	0
8	Battleship	2012	2	1
9	Ice Age Continental Drift	2012	1	2
10	Men in Black 3	2012	0	7
11	The Avengers	2012	0	2
12	The Hobbit: An Unexpected Journey	2012	0	1
13	Escape Plan	2013	1	0
14	Fast and Furious 6	2013	1	0
15	Frozen	2013	1	0
16	The Hunger Games Catching Fire	2013	2	0
17	Man of Steel	2013	3	1
18	Oblivion	2013	1	0
19	Pacific Rim	2013	3	1
20	Thor: The Dark World	2013	1	0
21	Captain America The Winter Soldier	2014	2	0
22	Edge of Tomorrow	2014	0	1
23	Godzilla	2014	1	0
24	Guardians of the Galaxy	2014	6	3
25	Interstellar	2014	3	0
26	Kingsman: The Secret Service	2014	8	6
27	Need for Speed	2014	3	4
28	Paddington	2014	2	0
29	Penguins of Madagascar	2014	15	7
30	Rio 2	2014	1	1
31	The Amazing Spider-Man 2	2014	1	0
32	The Dark Knight Rises	2014	1	1
33	Transformers Age of Extinction	2014	4	1
	(Other 18 films)		0	0
	Total		70	43
Paired samples t-test P-value = 0.047				

Table 14. PIS frequency in each film

4.1.2 *Swear word severity transfer*

The investigation of swear word severity transfer reveals that fansub transferred significantly greater severity than produb in my corpus. The investigation is focused on the following English swear words (in alphabetical order): ass; asshole; bastard; bitch; bullshit; damn; fuck; goddamn; hell; Jesus; motherfucker; piss; prick; shit; son of a bitch; and whore. To investigate whether there are significant differences in severity transfer of English swear words between fansub and produb, this research compares the mean severity transfer of each English swear word in fansub and produb. The method for calculating the mean severity transfer was described in Section 3.2.3.

A comparison of the means reveals a significant difference in severity transfer of swearing between fansub and produb, especially in translation of the most frequent four swear words (*hell, shit, fuck* and *damn*, see Table 15 below), which constitute 74% of all swearing instances in the 51-film corpus. In Table 15, the "Frequency" column lists the number of instances for each English swear word investigated; "Fansub mean" lists the mean severity value of fansub translations of each English swear word; "Produb mean" lists the mean severity value of produb translations of each English swear word; "Difference sig.", also known as "p-value", lists the significance of mean difference between the groups. Table 15 arranges the English swear words in the ST according to their frequencies (from high to low) in my corpus.

Source word	Frequency	%	Fansub mean	Produb mean	Difference sig.
Hell	327	*26%*	1.40	1.20	0.000
Shit	278	*22%*	2.70	1.81	0.000
Fuck	175	*14%*	3.31	2.14	0.000
Damn	148	*12%*	2.22	1.72	0.000
Jesus	46	4%	1.31	1.31	0.323
Goddamn	45	4%	2.95	2.25	0.295
Ass	44	4%	1.18	1.12	0.280
Son of a bitch	39	3%	4.70	3.56	0.062
Bastard	32	3%	6.24	5.68	0.268
Bitch	27	2%	4.78	3.66	0.186
Bullshit	25	2%	2.20	1.88	0.603
Asshole	22	2%	2.90	2.95	0.879
Piss	20	2%	1.10	1.20	0.389
Motherfucker	11	1%	3.10	2.45	0.096
Prick	4	0.3%	3.40	5.48	0.477
Whore	4	0.3%	6.20	4.60	0.253
*Insults	100	9%	4.94	4.31	0.012

* "Insults" contains the following insulting terms of address for people with low frequency (<30) in the corpus: bitch, asshole, motherfucker, prick, and whore.

Table 15. Differences in severity transfer between fansub and produb

As shown in Table 15, the following four English swear words have a *p*-value smaller than 0.05: hell; shit; damn; fuck. That is, the difference in translations of these words by fansubbers and professionals is significant at the 0.05 level. In Table 15, "Insults" contains the following degrading terms of address, with frequencies lower than 30 grouped together: bitch, asshole, motherfucker, prick, and whore. When measuring group differences (e.g. t-test, ANOVA), cell size of 30 is recommended for 80% power, the minimum suggested power for an ordinary study (VanVoorhis and Morgan 2007). Therefore, this study aggregates the low frequency (<30) insulting terms to investigate the "insults" severity transfer difference between fansub and produb. Since the resulting *p*-value of the ANOVA test is 0.012 (< 0.05), a conclusion is made that swearing severity transfer of "insults" is associated with translator group (fansubbers or professionals). That is, there is a statistically significant difference between the two translations in terms of the severity transfer of high frequency English swear words and insulting terms, and a greater severity is associated with the fansubber group.

The results show that when translating high frequency swear words and most insulting terms, fansubbers tended to transfer greater coarseness of language than their counterpart professionals. The group of fansubbers translated for their peers online, while the group

of professionals translated for cinema patrons. With such a small *p*-value in the comparison of their translations of those four English words, it is safe to infer that the different strategies employed by these two groups of translators in dealing with swear words and insults are not just random behaviour.

4.1.3 *Translationese in swearing translation*

The investigation of translationese (see Section 3.2.4) in translation of swearing finds that generally there is a statistically significant difference in use of translationese between fansub and produb, with fansub demonstrating a lower frequency of translationese. The cross tabulation (see Table 16) displays the frequency distribution of the three translation categories (slang, standard, and in-between) of each swear word investigated. Table 16 provides a basic picture of the interrelation between two variables: (1) translation version, either fansub or produb; and (2) frequency of certain translationese level in translation instances of an English swear word. Table 16 shows that the *p*-value of Pearson's chi-squared test applied to sets of categorical data (translation versions and translationese levels of "hell," "shit," and "fuck") is less than 0.05. Therefore, it can be concluded there is a statistically significant difference between fansub and produb in terms of the frequency of translationese usage for these three words. The instances of these three swear words account for the majority (62 percent) of all occurrences of swear words in the corpus.

Word	Version	Slang	Standard	In-between	Total	Chi-square*
Hell	Fansub	16	340	1	327	*0.001*
	Produb	1	323	3		
Shit	Fansub	15	180	83	278	*0.001*
	Produb	2	169	107		
Fuck	Fansub	35	136	4	175	*0.001*
	Produb	2	157	16		
Damn	Fansub	2	91	55	148	0.154
	Produb	0	103	45		
Jesus	Fansub	0	46	0	46	0.153
	Produb	0	44	2		
Goddamn	Fansub	0	31	14	45	0.192
	Produb	0	25	20		
Ass	Fansub	0	2	42	44	0.153
	Produb	0	0	44		
Son of a bitch	Fansub	0	33	6	39	0.555
	Produb	0	31	8		
Bastard	Fansub	0	1	31	32	0.221
	Produb	0	0	32		
Bitch	Fansub	0	27	0	27	0.313
	Produb	0	26	1		
Bullshit	Fansub	0	25	0	25	0.312
	Produb	1	24	0		
Asshole	Fansub	0	22	0	22	.[a]
	Produb	0	22	0		
Piss	Fansub	0	20	0	20	.[a]
	Produb	0	20	0		
Motherfucker	Fansub	0	11	0	11	0.306
	Produb	0	10	1		
Prick	Fansub	0	4	0	4	.[a]
	Produb	0	4	0		
Whore	Fansub	0	4	0	4	.[a]
	Produb	0	4	0		

Note:.[a] means no statistics are computed because the translationese level is a constant

Table 16. Translationese differences in swear word translation in fansub and produb

Table 17 below shows that the translationese level of fansub is lower than produb in terms of swearing translation with reference to "God," because the frequency of the translation version *shàngdì* (Christian God) in fansub is lower than produb (29 versus 49). Furthermore, the difference is statistically significant, because the *p*-value (.000) of the chi-square test is lower than 0.05. The difference indicates there may be a norm of avoiding use of the *shàngdì* version in fansub to prevent translationese (to be further discussed in Chapter 5). *Tiān a* (Heaven, Oh) is considered more Chinese or closer to

Chinese culture than *wǒde shàngdì* (My God) as *tiān a* is often used by Chinese in daily conversation. *Wǒde shàngdì* has a foreign flavour to Chinese audiences due to its rare usage by native Chinese speakers.

Phrase	Version	Tiān a	(Deleted)	Shàngdì	Total	Chi-square*
(Oh) My God	Fansub	168	13	29	210	.000
Swear to God For God's sake	Produb	122	39	49	210	

Note: the p-value of chi-square test

Table 17. Translation of swearing with reference to "God"

4.2 Patterns of taboo translation

This section describes both fansubbers' and professional translators' patterns in rendering swearing and other taboo issues in eleven films translated by fansub group SCG and four government-sanctioned companies. It has been found that generally there are significant differences in taboo translation between fansub and produb. To facilitate the description, the Chinese translation was back-translated to English. The back translation is intended to illustrate how fansubbers or professional translators manipulated the texts, so the English used may not read smoothly. In each example, I provide the following four pieces of information, in order:

- ST: the original English line in the film;
- Fansub: the fansubber translation version (with English back translation);
- Produb: short for "professional dubbing", the professional translation version (with English back translation);
- Line location: The film title, line number, and time code.

4.2.1 *Patterns in translating emphatic swearing*

This research has found a statistically significant difference between fansub and produb in their translation of emphatic swearing. The frequencies of identified translation patterns in the rendering of emphatic swearing vary between fansub and produb versions, showing that fansubbers tend to translate emphatic swearing more directly than professionals. Three patterns are identified both in fansub and produb based on their transfer of emphasis and coarseness:

P1. **Direct translation**, in which translation transfers both emphasis and coarseness, using a Chinese swear word equivalent.

P2. **Emphasis transfer.** This pattern of translation transfers emphasis, and mild or no coarseness/severity. When the severity of the Chinese swear word used is less

than 1, then it is considered mild or no severity being transferred. See Appendix C for the table of Chinese swear word severity.

P3. **Zero transfer**, in which neither emphasis nor coarseness is transferred.

Emphatic swearing includes the following swear words/phrases in my corpus: "the hell," "the fuck," "fucking," and "damn." As Table 18 shows, 221 instances of emphatic swearing are identified. The chi-square analysis (p-value 0.001, < 0.05) shows that there is a statistically significant difference between fansub and produb in terms of translation patterns of emphatic swearing. Fansub has double the frequency of P1 (Direct Translation) as compared to produb.

| Version | Pattern | | | Total | Chi-Square |
	Direct Translation	Emphasis Transfer	Zero Transfer		
Fansub	90	7	124	221	.000
Produb	45	18	158		

Table 18. Patterns in translating emphatic swearing

The following examples illustrate the three translation patterns under discussion. Example 1 below illustrates pattern P1 (Direct Translation) in fansub and the second pattern P2 (Emphasis Transfer) in produb. In fansub, *tāmā* or its variant *tāmāde* is used to render the emphasis intended by the speaker or the social identity/relationship implied in the swearing. Though *tāmā* and *tāmāde* literally mean "his mum" and "his mum's," respectively, without any connotation of "sex" but referring to a family member, they are common offensive swear words and serve a swearing function similar to "fucking" in English.

Example 1

ST: - You jacked his **fucking** car keys, bruv? - Yeah. Now we're gonna nick his car.
Fansub: - 你他妈 (**tāmā**) 偷了他的车钥匙 老兄? - 是啊 这下可以顺走那小子的车了 [- You **fucking** stole his car keys, brother? - Yeah. Now we can take that idiot's car.]
Produb: - 你偷了那家伙 (**jiāhuo**) 的车钥匙 - 对 接下来是他的车 [- You stole that **joker**'s car keys ("bruv" omitted)? - Yeah. Next it'll be his car.]
Line location: Kingsman: The Secret Service (2014), line 155, 00:14:01

In Example 1, leading character Eggsy, an unrefined but promising street kid, steals a bully's car keys, and his friend asks what Eggsy has just done. Semantically, "fucking" is used here by the speaker to show or give emphasis; meanwhile, it helps the speaker to align himself with his fellow youngster. Fansubbers used the direct equivalent *tāmāde* (fucking) in their translation to intensify the statement, transferring the sense of coarse

language in the original text. Professional translators did not translate "fucking" directly, but used *jiāhuo* (joker), a slightly derogatory term, to refer to their bully. By using *jiāhuo* and not translating "fucking" and "bruv", the line is kept short. Therefore, obviously, the translation skill "reduction (reducing the number of characters)" was applied by the translator to keep the line concise to better fit the film screen.

Example 2 below shows the third pattern P3 (Zero Transfer) in produb for translating emphatic swearing. In this translation pattern, professional translators omitted the swearing contained in the original text; therefore, the swearing was not transferred to the TT.

<div align="center">Example 2</div>

> ST: Where **the fuck** is Breslin?
> Fansub: 布雷斯林**他娘的 (tāniángde)** 去哪了? [Where **the fuck** did Breslin go?]
> Produb: 布雷斯林到哪儿去了 [Where ("the fuck" omitted) did Breslin go?]
> Line location: Escape Plan (2013), line 963, 01:25:42

In Example 2, a prison guard shouts "Where the fuck is Breslin?" after losing track of his opponent Ray Breslin, an escaped prisoner. *Tāniángde* (literally: his mum's), a strong swear word in Chinese was used by fansubbers to render the vulgarity in the language of the warder, whereas the vulgarity is missing in the produb because no swear word was used.

4.2.2   *Patterns in translating cathartic swearing*

This research has found a statistically significant difference between fansub and produb in terms of their translation of cathartic swearing. The frequencies of various translation patterns identified in the translation of cathartic swearing are different in fansub and produb, as fansubbers tend to translate cathartic swearing more directly than professionals.

4.2.2.1   *Three patterns in translating cathartic swearing*

Cathartic swearing contains the following swear words in my corpus: "shit," "damn," "goddamn," "Jesus," "hell," and "fuck." The following three translation patterns have been identified both in fansub and produb for translating cathartic swearing based on transfer of emotion and coarseness:

P1. **Direct Translation**. The first pattern of translation transfers both emotion and coarseness, using a Chinese swear word equivalent.

P2. **Emotion Transfer**. This pattern of translation transfers emotion, but mild or no coarseness is transferred (severity<1, see Appendix C).

P3. **Zero Transfer.** This pattern of translation transfers neither emotion nor coarseness.

As Table 19 illustrates, 113 instances of cathartic swearing are identified. The chi-square analysis (*p*-value 0.001, <0.05) shows that there is a statistically significant difference between fansub and produb in terms of the different frequencies of translation patterns of emphatic swearing. Fansub has a higher frequency of direct translation, and much lower frequency of omission, about one- third that of produb.

Version	Pattern			Total	Chi-Square
	P1. Direct Translation	P2. Emotion Transfer	P3. Zero Transfer		
Fansub	85	15	13	113	0.001
Produb	62	16	35		

Table 19. Patterns in translating cathartic swearing

The table above shows the majority (75%) of all English cathartic instances have been directly translated by fansubbers into their offensive Chinese equivalents, compared with 52% by professionals. This indicates that fansubbers have a greater tendency to convey the severity, whereas professional translators tend to tone down cathartic swearing or delete it altogether.

The following examples Table 19 illustrate the three patterns mentioned above. In Example 3, pattern P1 (Direct Translation) was used for both fansub and produb. The cathartic "fuck" was translated in fansub as *kào* (靠/fuck, a similar-sounding but less-rude substitute for *cào*/操, fuck); while in produb, it was translated as *jiànguǐ* (见鬼/damn; literally: "see a ghost"), an in-between language swear word in Chinese.

Example 3

ST: - We have a situation up here! - **Fuck**!
Fansub: -上面有情况! -靠 **(Kào)**! - [Up there (we) have a situation! – **Fuck**!]
Produb: -我们这里有情况 -见鬼 **(Jiànguǐ)** - [We here have a situation – **Damn!]**
Line location: Escape Plan (2013), line 1045, 01:36:06

As seen above, the captain of a ship is making an emergency phone call to report that his vessel is under fire by several men in a helicopter. The captain shouts "fuck!" when several bullets almost hit him. Fansubbers translated "Fuck!" faithfully and literally by

using the euphemism *kào* (fuck). In produb, it is translated as *jiànguǐ*, a swearword rarely used in non-translated modern Chinese, but frequently used in translated texts.

In Example 4 below, translation pattern P1 (Direct Translation) was used in fansub, while pattern P3 (Zero Translation) was used in produb. In this excerpt, one female trainee on a plane is nervous about the imminent parachute training. She keeps repeating "fuck," while another trainee shows his concern by asking if she is afraid of heights. Fansubbers translated "fuck!" faithfully and literally by using its direct and rude equivalent *cào* in Chinese. In produb, all the swearing was omitted.

Example 4

ST: - **Fuck, fuck. Fuck, fuck, fuck**. - What, don't like heights?
Fansub: - 操 操 操 操 操 (C ào, **c** ào, **c ào, c** ào, **c** ào) - 怎么了 你恐高?
 [- **Fuck, fuck. Fuck, fuck, fuck**. – What's wrong? You are afraid of heights?]
Produb: - … - 怎么了你有恐高症
 [- ("Fuck" omitted) - What's wrong? You're afraid of heights?]
Line location: Kingsman: The Secret Service (2014), line 556, 00:47:52

In Example 5, "fuck" is an expletive for expressing the character's excitement after he realises he is not going to die. Fansubbers used P1 (Direction Translation), and translated it as *cào*, a Chinese literal equivalent of "fuck" to express the same emotion, while professional translators used P2 (Emotion Transfer), and translated it *tiānla* (oh, heaven), an exclamation, which contains almost no offensiveness.

Example 5

ST: Me first! Oh, **fuck**! Yes!
Fansub: 我第一个! **操(C ào!)**! 太棒了! [I am first! **Fuck!** So great!]
Produb: 我先来 **天啦 (Tiānla)** [I go first. **Oh Heaven!**]
Line location: Kingsman: The Secret Service (2014), line 613, 00:51:21

To investigate whether the proofreader (editor) in the SCG fansub group played a role in forming such a tendency, a comparison was made of a film's final subtitle version proofread by the editor and its previous draft produced by fansubbers. The goal was to see if the editor had changed translations of swear words. I randomly chose two films from the 11-film corpus: *Escape Plan* and *Kingsman: The Secret Service*, and investigated whether the editor made changes to other fansubbers' translation of the swear word "fuck." The results reveal that translating cathartic "fuck" as its rude Chinese equivalent was a collective decision of those fansubbers; the editor of the two films did not correct

their translations at all. Twelve fansubbers[7] from SCG used *cào* or its euphemism *kào* (literally: fuck) for almost every cathartic "fuck" in *Escape Plan* and *Kingsman: The Secret Service*.

4.2.2.2 *In-between language usage in pattern P1 (Direction Translation)*

Further investigation into pattern P1 (Direct Translation) reveals that fansubbers were less likely to substitute English cathartic swear words (e.g. fuck, shit, damn) with in-between language in Chinese (*gāisǐ* and *jiànguǐ*), which indicates that fansubbers have a lower tendency of using translationese in their direct translation of English cathartic swearing. This is evidenced in the results listed in Table 20: the in-between language used by fansubbers accounts for a minority (35%) of all Direct Translation instances; the language used by professionals accounts for a majority (75%). The *p*-value (.000 in "Sig." column of Table 20) shows that such difference is statistically significant. Furthermore, the results demonstrate that, when using in-between language (Chinese), professionals tended to use *jiànguǐ* (34 times; literally, "see a ghost"), which has a lower severity than the other in-between language swear word *gāisǐ* (literally, "should die"). It is also noteworthy that fansubbers frequently used *cào* (fuck) to translate cathartic swearing, and in comparison, professionals used it only a few times (38 versus 6). In summary, fansubbers not only translated cathartic swearing more directly (transferring more coarseness in language), but also exhibited less translationese in their renderings.

| Version | Pattern 1 (Direct Translation) | | | | | | Sig. |
	Gāisǐ	Jiànguǐ	Cào	Others	In-btw %	Total	
Fansub	19	11	38	17	35%	85	.000
Produb	13	34	6	9	75%	62	

Note: In-btw% refers to the percentage of in-between language in all instances of P1 (Direct Translation)

Table 20. Frequencies of in-between language in Pattern 1

Example 6 below shows how fansubbers and professionals used *jiànguǐ* and *gāisǐ* for translating cathartic "shit". In this example, the character Barney, played by Sylvester Stallone, exclaims "shit" after he realises a tank has just appeared and poses a grave threat to them. Fansubbers used *gāisǐ* to translate "shit", and professional translators used *jiànguǐ*.

---

[7] The name list of fansubbers for *Escape Plan* 协调: 影子 翻译: yjk8654 morning 西皮 波特妹子 校对: 影子 有个饭团; The name list of fansubbers for Kingsman: The Secret Service 协调&校对: 影子 骑士 翻译: 兰斯捞盐 梅林的胡子 小黄不小黄 Morning 翻译: 贝德维尔 ArthU 薇 凤梨酥. Note: these names are pseudonyms. They were published in the subtitles.

<div align="center">Example 6</div>

ST: - Oh, **shit**. - What? - They got a tank. Come on, come on!
Fansub: - 该死 (gāisǐ) -什么? - 他们有坦克 快 快点! 快点! [-**Shit** - What? - They got
　　a tank. Quick, quick, quick!]
Produb: -噢 见鬼 (jiànguǐ) -怎么 - 他们有辆坦克 走 走 快走 [- Oh **shit** - What? -
　　They got a tank. Quick, quick, quick!]
Line location: The Expendables 2 (2012), line 662, 00:56:47

A binominal regression analysis of the frequency of *jiànguǐ* used to translate cathartic swearing (shit, damn, fuck, etc.) reveals that the odds of translating cathartic swearing as *jiànguǐ* are 3.991 times greater for professionals as opposed to fansubbers (see the "EXP(B)" column in Table 21). The statistical significance (*p* =.000) of the test is found in the "Sig." column, which shows that identification of the translator group (fansubbers or professionals) added significantly to the model and prediction.

Version	Jiànguǐ	Others	Total	Sig.	B	Exp(B)
Fansub	11	102	113	.000	1.420	3.991
Produb	34	79				

<div align="center">Table 21. Frequencies of *gāisǐ* and *jiànguǐ* in translating cathartic swearing</div>

The result of the regression analysis indicates that when having two in-between language choices (*gāisǐ* and *jiànguǐ*) available for translating cathartic swearing, professionals are much more likely to opt for *jiànguǐ,* a word of less severity (coarseness).

4.2.3　*Patterns in translating abusive swearing*

4.2.3.1　*Two patterns in translating abusive swearing*

Two patterns of abusive swearing are identified in terms of their abuse and coarseness transfer, and in this study a statistically significant difference in the way fansub and produb translate this language is identified. Fansub has produced more translation instances that transfer both language abuse and coarseness. The two patterns of abusive swearing are:

P1. **Direct Translation**, through which the abuse, and at the same time coarseness, is transferred.

P2. **Coarseness Deletion**, through which coarseness/severity is lost and abuse becomes mild or lost.

Abusive swearing (see Section 1.3 for definition) includes the following swear words/phrases in my corpus: "asshole," "bastard," "bitch," "motherfucker," "prick," "shit," and "son of a bitch." As Table 22 shows, 76 instances of abusive swearing are

identified. The chi-square analysis (*p*-value 0.001, < 0.05) shows a statistically significant difference between fansub and produb in terms of their different frequencies of patterns for translating abusive swearing, with fansub exhibiting a higher frequency of direct translation.

| Version | Pattern | | Total | Chi-Square |
	Direct Translation	Coarseness Deletion		
Fansub	71	5	76	0.045
Produb	63	13	76	

Table 22. Patterns in translating abusive swearing

The translation strategy for pattern P1 is a replacement of an English swear word with a Chinese swear word (see Example 7). The strategies in pattern P2 used by translators to delete coarseness are: (1) deletion of the swear word or its reference; (2) substitution of the swear word (an insulting name) with a non-offensive reference (see Example 8); and (3) euphemism (see Example 9). The following paragraphs illustrate the patterns with examples.

In Example 7 below, both fansubbers and professional translators translated "son of a bitch" as a highly rude version *gǒuniángyǎngde* (son of a dog mother) and *wángbādàn* (son of a bastard; literally, "turtle egg"). *Wángbādàn*, chiefly used in northern China, is a very offensive word describing someone unpleasant.

Example 7

ST: Come on, you **son of a bitch**.
Fansub: 来吧 狗娘养的 **(gǒuniángyǎngde)** [Come on! You son of a bitch!]
Produb: 来吧 你这王八蛋 **(wángbādàn)** [Come on! You **bastard**!]
Line location: Fast and Furious 6 (2013), line 287, 00:21:35

The literal and direct equivalent for "son of a bitch" in modern Chinese is *gǒuniángyǎngde*, a swear word of high severity; however, in produb this direct equivalent was not frequently used. Instead, most instances of the English insult "son of a bitch" have been translated as swear words of medium severity in produb. Some other insults in English have been toned down also, as shown in the following examples of produb.

<div align="center">Example 8</div>

ST: And this green whore, she, too...
Fansub: 还有这个绿色的**婊子 (biǎozi)** 她也是... [And this green **whore**, she, too...]
Produb: 这个绿**虎妞 (hǔniū)** 也是我的朋友 [This green **tiger girl** is also my friend.]
Line location: *Guardians of the Galaxy* (2014), line 1259, 01:29:04

As Example 8 shows, in produb, "whore" was translated as *hǔniū* (tiger girl) in Chinese. In this way, the offensive phrase became a term of endearment in the TT. As a result of that, the potential offensiveness to audience and the linguistic insult were totally lost in the transfer.

In Example 9, fansubbers translated the insult "a piece of shit" faithfully and directly. Interestingly, the professional translator used the slang Chinese euphemism "米田共/*mǐ-tián-gòng*," a polite version of swearing. The three Chinese characters 米田共 (*mǐ-tián-gòng*) constitute the three parts of 糞 (*fèn*, faeces), a Chinese variant of 屎 (*shǐ*, shit). This special way of writing *fèn* has moderated the swearing, making it less offensive.

<div align="center">Example 9</div>

ST: You're a piece of **shit**, Wu.
Fansub: 吴，你就是一泡**屎 (shǐ)** [Wu, you're a piece of **shit**.]
Produb: 你属**米田共 (mǐ-tián-gòng)** 吴 [You are **fae-ce-s**, Wu]
Line location: *Men in Black 3* (2012), line 167, 00:13:19

4.2.3.2 Both attenuated "motherfucker"

In pattern P1, one translation feature shared by both fansub and produb is salient: the severity of "motherfucker" was attenuated. In both fansub and produb, all eight instances of the highly offensive "motherfucker" were either translated as a neutral personal pronoun ("you"), or as a Chinese swear word of medium severity *húndàn* (混蛋, bastard) or its similar variant *hùnzhàng* (混账, bad thing). In English, to call someone a motherfucker is to accuse them of incest, the worst of all sexual offences (Berger 1973). "Motherfucker" is generally considered to be a very strong swearword in English (8.56 on a scale of 1-9, see Table 4), whereas its Chinese translations *húndàn* and *hùnzhàng* are swearwords of medium severity (3.2 on a scale of 1-9, see Appendix C); *Húndàn* and *hùnzhàng* are almost interchangeable in modern Chinese though the former is more frequently used, according to the search results from the online modern Chinese corpus of the Centre for Chinese Linguistics, Peking University[8]. Based on the fact that fansubbers

---

[8] Corpus link: http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/

and professionals opted for these two swear words in Chinese respectively (see example below), it can be concluded that they both attenuated the profanity in the source text.

<div align="center">Example 10</div>

ST: Breslin! Open before I break you, you **motherfucker**!
Fansub: 布雷斯林! 开门 不然我宰了你 混账 (**hùnzhàng**) 东西! [Breslin! Open the door or I will kill you, you **bastard**!]
Produb: 布雷斯林 把门打开 你这个混蛋 (**húndàn**) [Breslin! Open the door you **bastard**!]
Line location: Escape Plan (2013), line 986, 01:28:57

In this example, a team of warders (prison wardens)are chasing the escaped prisoners. The warder team leader gets frustrated after the prisoners lock a door and block the way. The team leader shouts and swears, "you motherfucker," trying to intimidate the prisoners. Fansubbers used *hùnzhàng* (bastard) and similarly professional used its variant *húndàn* (bastard) to transfer the abusive swearing. Neither fansubbers nor professional translators used the English swear word's literal equivalent *cāoniángde* (操娘的), opting for the standard Chinese swear word *húndàn*. This reflects their tendency of making sure their translation reads naturally and is widely accepted by the target culture.

4.2.4 *Patterns in translating idiomatic swearing*

Two patterns of idiomatic swearing are identified in terms of their coarseness transfer. As summarised in Table 23, the chi-square analysis of these two patterns (*p*-value 0.524, > 0.05) reveals that there is no significant difference between fansub and produb in terms of the frequency of these two patterns. The two patterns of idiomatic swearing are:

P1. **Direct Translation**, through which coarseness is transferred. The translation strategy for this pattern is a replacement of an English swear word with a Chinese swear word (not necessarily the English swear word's corresponding equivalent in Chinese).

P2. **Coarseness Deletion**, through which coarseness/severity is lost and abuse becomes mild or lost. Idiomatic swearing includes "shit" "fuck", "damn", "bullshit", "piss", and "ass" in my corpus.

| Version | Pattern | | Total | Chi-Square |
	Direct Translation	Coarseness Deletion		
Fansub	30	65	95	0.524
Produb	26	69	95	

<div align="center">Table 23. Frequency of patterns in idiomatic swearing</div>

Both patterns are found in fansub and produb (see Table 23, 95 instances). In pattern P2 (Coarseness Deletion), only semantic meanings of the idiomatic swearing in the original text is transferred, and the sense of swearing, that is, its function, is lost in the transfer. The high frequency of P2 in both fansub and produb may be attributed to the lack of a corresponding Chinese equivalent for idiomatic English swear words. Idiomatic swearing in English is swearing without really referring to the matter (e.g. shit, fuck, and arse). Thus, a literal (word-to-word) translation of English idiomatic swearing would create nonsense or unnatural language in Chinese. Examples are given below to illustrate strategies the translator used, resulting in the loss of swearing which would otherwise give a sense of informality in conversation. In the example below, one prisoner talking to another used "fuck up" to mean "mess up," and thereby establishes a sense of informality between the two peer speakers. The swearing was omitted in both fansub and produb, so both translations failed to transfer such informality.

Pattern P1 (Direct Translation) was used in produb by professionals in the example below. In this scenario, the main character Eggsy in *Kingsman: The Secret Service (2014)* tells his peer trainees about his plan. The idiomatic use of "fuck," showing the speaker's group identity among his peers, was not transferred into fansub because the translation *chūwèntí* (broken) produced by fansubbers is a formal way of making a statement. Professional translators used a mild swear word *dǎoméidàn* (unlucky egg), transferring a slight informality to the TT.

Example 11

> When we know who's **fucked**, the person on their right grabs them.
> Fansub: 等到我们知道是谁的降落伞**出问题 (chūwèntí)** 了 他旁边的人就能把他抓住 [When we know whose parachute's **broken**, the person on the right grabs them.]
> Produb: 找到那个**倒霉蛋 (dǎoméidàn)** 后 右手边的人负责抓住他 [After finding that **unlucky fool,** the person on the right hand side will grab him.]
> Line location: *Kingsman: The Secret Service* (2014) line 601 00:51:13,704

Sometimes, fansubbers used a PIS swear word to translate idiomatic swearing, which follows pattern PI (Direction Translation, replacement of an English swear word with a Chinese swear word). In the example below, in fansub, "kick someone's ass" was translated as PIS swear word *bàojú* (爆菊; literally, "bust a daisy"), while in produb, it was translated as standard Chinese non-swear word *āizòu* (挨揍). *Bàojú* is a derivative of another PIS word, *júhuā* (菊花, daisy), or its short version *jú* (菊), meaning "arse, anus". It is worth noting that "get your ass kicked" can be literally translated into Chinese as

tīnǐpìgu and understood by a Chinese audience, though it may sound unnatural in Chinese culture. The fact that fansubbers did not opt for this literal translation may indicate their conservative attitude, choosing instead to use a language with which they are familiar. That is, they are unwilling to "foreignise" the text, avoiding creation of "translationese," as evidenced in their online postings.

<div align="center">Example 12</div>

ST: You'd get your **ass** kicked in Ireland for saying that.
Fansub: 敢在爱尔兰这么说 你就等着被**爆菊 (bàojú)** 吧 [If you dare to say that in Ireland, you just wait for being **arse-busted**.]
Produb: 你在爱尔兰这样说的话 是会**挨揍 (āizòu)** 的 [If you dare to say that in Ireland, you will be **beaten up**.]
Line location: Transformers Age of Extinction (2014), line 737, 00:48:02

The Chinese equivalent of "arse" and "bottom," *pìgu*, is often considered taboo on the silver screen in China. For example, in *Despicable Me 2 (2013)*, a villain character says: "I am the league's director, Silas Ramsbottom," Another character, a Minion, giggles: "bottom" was translated by professional translator Cui Xiaodong as *pìgu*. According to an interview conducted by Xue, Gao, and Zhang (2013), the translator's supervisor was concerned with SARFT's censorship, worrying it would not pass scrutiny. Cui persuaded his supervisor to keep the translation by quoting a precedent example used in a 1969 Yugoslav film *The Bridge (Most)* translated into Chinese. The concern of Cui's supervisor indicates the taboo nature of *pìgu*, which is one constraint that a professional translator needs to consider.

4.2.5   *Patterns in translating taboo issues*

A statistically significant difference between fansub and produb was discovered in terms of different frequencies between the two patterns for translating taboo issues:

P1. **Direct translation**. In this pattern, translators faithfully render the original meaning, retaining the taboo references;

P2. **Censorship**. In this pattern, translators alter or expurgate the reference. Fansubbers used P1 (direct translation) for all 14 instances of taboo issues.

As summarised in Table 24, fansubbers used P1 (Direction Translation) for all 14 taboo instances; in comparison, professionals used P1 for only three instances, and P2 (Censorship) for the other 11 instances. The *p*-value (0.000, <0.05) of Pearson's chi-squared test applied to sets of categorical data (translator groups and translation patterns) is less than 0.05. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a statistically significant

difference between fansub and produb in terms of their choice of Direct Translation or Censor. The big difference is evidence of fansubbers' liberal attitude towards translation of taboo issues. The 14 taboo instances in the 11 films can be divided into five categories: anal penetration (4 instances); reference to a person as a homosexual (3 instances); reference to a terrorist group (2 instances); portraying a negative image of Chinese or China (3 instances), and offensive reference to a certain ethnic group (2 instances).

Taboo issues	Instances	Fansub		Produb	
		Direct*	Censor	Direct	Censor
Anal penetration	4	4	0	0	4
Reference to a person as a homosexual	3	3	0	2	1
Reference to a terrorist group	2	2	0	0	2
Negative portrayal of Chinnese or China	3	3	0	0	3
Offensive reference to a certain ethnic group	2	2	0	1	1
Total	14	14	0	3	11
Chi-square p-value: 0.000					

Note: Direct – Pattern 1, Direct translation; Censor – Pattern 2, Censorship

Table 24. Patterns in translating taboo issues

It is worth noting that a mere mention of a thing, person or group is not necessarily a taboo, but degrading or speaking offensively of the target may constitute a taboo. In Table 24, taboo instances concerning the following three taboo issues were all censored: anal penetration, reference to a terrorist group, and portraying a negative image of Chinese. That indicates that there is a strong censorship of those three issues. The other two taboo issues (reference to a person as a homosexual, and offensive reference to a certain ethnic group) were not all censored by professional translators, indicating relatively weak censorship.

Censorship employed by professional translators can be divided into two types: alteration and omission. The following two examples (Example 13 and Example 14) illustrate the two patterns (direction translation and censorship) and two types of censorship mentioned above. In Example 13, the character Peter Quill uses a slang phrase, "with sticks up their butts," to describe people who are "particularistic, rigid, and not flexible[9]." This expression is not well understood by another character Gamora, who then asks about the "sticks." The fansub transferred the literal reference of "arse" with *júhuā* (daisy), and added *jiǎzhèngjīng* (prudish) in an attempt to convey the connotation too; whereas the produb used *guīmáo* (turtle fur), a Chinese dialect slang word with a connotative meaning of "being overcautious; punctilious." Because of the reference alteration strategy adopted

---

[9]Definition source link: http://www.urbandictionary.com (stick up their butt)

by professional translators, this vernacular expression carries little vulgarity and the sentence loses the reference to "butts" totally. Therefore, the professional translator here used translation pattern P2 (Censorship).

Example 13

ST: (- A great hero, named Kevin Bacon, teaches an entire city full of people with sticks up their butts that, dancing, well, is the greatest thing there is.)
 - Who put the sticks up their **butts**?
Fansub: 谁会**假正经 (jiǎzhèngjīng)** 到把棍子插进**菊花 (júhuā)** 里 [Who would be so **prudish** as to put a stick into his **arse**?]
Produb: 他们为什么会长**龟毛 (guīmáo)** [Why would they grow **turtle fur**?]
Line location: *Guardians of the Galaxy* (2014), line 750, 00:52:33

In Example 14, fansubbers kept the homosexual reference *nǚ tóngxìngliàn* (female homosexual), whereas professional translators omitted it, using translation pattern P2 (Censorship). In March 2008 in an Official Notice on the Restatement of Film Censorship Standards (广电总局关于重申电影审查标准的通知) [10] SARFT stated that scenes in a film containing homosexuality should be "cut and corrected". Despite such an "Official Notice", professional translators did not censor all taboo instances concerning homosexuality. This shows that professional translators may have interpreted the administrative notice differently and sometimes decided not to abide by it.

Example 14

ST: (It's like those fucking state school kids who get into Oxford on "C" grades) 'cause their mum is a one-legged **lesbian**.
Fansub: 就因为他们的妈妈是只有一条腿的**女同性恋 (nǚ tóngxìngliàn)** [Only because their mum is a one-legged **female homosexual**.]
Produb: 全靠他们老妈只有一条腿 [Only because their mum's got only one leg ("lesbian" omitted).]
Line location: *Kingsman: The Secret Service* (2014), line 497, 00:42:29

4.3   Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the findings of quantitative analysis of two Chinese translation versions of 51 English blockbuster films released in China between 2006 and 2014. The two versions are (1) fansub/subtitles, produced by four fansub groups named FRM, SCG, TLF, and YYeTs; (2) produb/dubbing, produced by government sanctioned professional companies, namely AFFS, CCDS, CFGDC, and SHDS. For each of the 51-films in the corpus, two versions of translation were studied: one done by a fansub group, and one done by a company. I have discovered the following main differences between the two versions of translation concerning taboo words and concepts: (1) heavier usage of

---

[10] Accessible at http://www.sarft.gov.cn/art/2008/3/7/art_106_4477.html

PIS in fansub; and (2) a higher degree of severity of swearing in fansub; and (3) a lower level of translationese in fansub.

Eleven films were selected from those 51 films for further investigation, with a focus on patterns of taboo translation. These 11 films were translated by fansub group SCG and four government sanctioned companies. The investigation is targeted at explaining in greater depth the findings from the initial 51-film comparison, specifically: (1) how swearing severity has been transferred more in fansub than produb; and (2) how translationese level taboo translation is lowered more in fansub. Study of the 11-film taboo translation pattern has yielded interesting findings. Concerning the translation of five types of taboo (including four types of swearing and one type of taboo issues), a significant difference was found in translation patterns of the following four types of taboo: emphatic swearing, cathartic swearing, abusive swearing and other taboo issues (see Table 25). The general difference is that fansubbers tend to translate taboo more directly, using a Chinese swear word or taboo equivalent to render taboo in the original English text.

Taboo type (instances)	Patterns	Difference
Emphatic swearing (221)	Direct translation; emphasis transfer; zero transfer	Significant
Cathartic swearing (113)	Direct translation; emotion transfer; zero transfer	Significant
Abusive swearing (76)	Direct translation; coarseness deletion	Significant
Idiomatic swearing (95)	Direct translation; coarseness deletion	No
Other taboo issues (14)	Direct translation; censorship	Significant

Table 25. Taboo translation patterns in 11 films

Specifically, fansub has a much higher frequency of "direct translation" than produb when translating emphatic swearing, cathartic swearing, abusive swearing and other taboo issues. In pattern P1 (Direct Translation) for translating English cathartic swear words (e.g. fuck, shit, damn), fansub substituted in-between language in Chinese (*gāisǐ* and *jiànguǐ*) much less frequently than produb, indicating that fansubbers have a lower tendency to use translationese in their direct translation of English cathartic swearing. This is contrary to the popular belief that fansubbers tend to use foreignisation to transfer foreign cultural references.

Two irregularities have been identified as well. In pattern P1 (Direction Translation) of abusive swearing, one feature shared by both fansub and produb is salient: the severity of "motherfucker" was attenuated. In both fansub and produb, all eight instances of the

highly offensive "motherfucker" were either translated as a neutral personal pronoun ("you"), or as a Chinese swear word of medium severity *húndàn* (混蛋, bastard) or its similar variant *hùnzhàng* (混账, bad thing). This is contrary to fansubbers' tendency to keep the severity of swearing in Chinese approximately equivalent to that in English. The other irregularity is that there is no significant difference between fansub and produb in terms of the frequency of the two patterns (direct translation; coarseness deletion) in idiomatic swearing translation. Reasons for these two irregularities will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The two film translation versions were produced by two distinct groups. As described in Section 2.2, fansub is subtitles produced by amateurs who form groups and cooperate with each other in their translation of films viewed by an online audience. Produb is dubbing produced by professionals employed by government sanctioned companies, and released in cinemas for public viewing. Fansub and produb have different audiences (internet users and cinema goers) and a different medium of transmission (the internet and cinema). In contrast to traditional professional film dubbing in China, fansubbing is a new mode of film translation which became active in China in the early 21st century. Fansub and produb are therefore cultural products of distinct social milieus or fields. These fansubbers, as newcomers producing their own translation versions through piracy, challenge and compete with professionals for recognition. Newcomers, as Bourdieu suggests, not only introduce new techniques of production and new modes of evaluating products, but they also introduce innovative products, asserting their originality and differences (Bourdieu 1996:225). Bourdieu's key notion of 'field', together with other interrelated concepts (habitus and capital), will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, testing their applicability for understanding the structure and dynamics of the generic field of film translation in China, and within it the specific fields of fansub and produb. In what follows, Bourdieu's concept of the cultural production field, along with its boundaries, structure, and dynamics, will be expounded to account for the differences of taboo translation in fansub and produb, that is, to explain why fansubbers translate swearing more directly, and why they produce translationese at a lower frequency in taboo translation.

Chapter 5   Discussion, towards an explanation: multiple causality

In Section 3.3.2, I proposed an explanatory model containing three explanation sources to be used in this chapter for answering the question why there are differences of taboo translation in fansub and produb. The three interrelated sources or factors include: influence from fields of power; translator's norms; and translator's habitus. Although these sources are listed separately here, they do not function independently. For instance, an individual translator's dispositions (habitus) develop in the context of their social circumstances (field); habitus initiates norms which regulate translator behaviour. By applying this explanatory model of multiple causality incorporating norm theory in Translation Studies and Bourdieu's sociological concepts (habitus and field), the research is aimed at offering a clear explanation how habitus and norms are formed within social contexts, and how they interact with fields to bring out translation product.

The model used in this chapter is adapted from, and based on, Brownlie's (2003) model of potentially four co-acting causes, which include: the individual situations; the translator's own norms; textuality; and the target-culture context (field). As reviewed in Section 2.4.6, the four sources in Brownlie's model are extensive, and the incorporation of Bourdieu's sociological concepts has enhanced its theoretical explanatory power, allowing for the explanation of various translational phenomena. Brownlie's model has touched on the different types of relations between the four explanatory sources, but it has not fully explored the relationship between its first source "the individual situations" and the concept "field" in the fourth source. Furthermore, its second source "the translator's own norms" and the third source "textuality" overlap. I therefore incorporated Bourdieu's key concept "habitus" into the model to cover its first source "the individual situations" so that I could increase the model's explanatory power theoretically. I also combined its two overlapping sources "the translator's own norms" and "textuality" into "translator's norms" so that the model could offer a clearer explanation of the differences in fansub and produb.

5.1   Influence from fields of power

In order to understand textual differences between fansub and produb, and to explain why fansubbers and professionals translate differently, it is insufficient to look only at their comments or their finished products. As Bourdieu (2005b:148) argued, it is necessary to examine the social space (field) in which these translators interacted with each other and with other agents. Fansubbers and professionals employ different modes of cultural

production (subtitling vs. dubbing) and different transmission media (the internet vs. cinema). In Bourdieu's (1996:225) sociological framework, these two groups thus occupy different positions in the film translation field in China, inhabiting distinct subfields (fansub and produb), each with a different distance to fields of powers. They are under constraints of different extent, which contribute to the variations in their taboo translations. In the field of film translation, there are two opposing modes (poles) of production: autonomous versus heteronomous film translation. Fansubbing, the autonomous film translation, tends to produce translations that are more likely to appeal to internet audiences; fansubbers surmise the expectations and needs of their audience and conform to them. In contrast, in the heteronomous mode/pole, namely the produb subfield of professional film translation in China, the output of translators is subject to more influences including government authorities (censorship), the viewing audience, and agents in the film industry. These professionals thus translate at the expense of source text films, altering or omitting taboo from the source culture in order to secure their positions in the field.

In this section, for a full explanation of reasons behind the differences in taboo translation produced by fansubbers and professionals, I will first demarcate the film translation field in China and its two subfields: fansub and produb. The demarcation will lay a foundation for further discussion about how these two subfields differ in their relationship to fields of power and how this contributes to the differences in taboo translation between fansub and produb. I will then briefly describe the characteristics of the fansub and produb fields, and conclude with an analysis of two types of relationships: (1) one between the film translation field and other fields of power; and (2) another between the fansub and produb subfields. Specifically, in Section 5.1.2.1, I outline the relations between these four fields of power related: the film translation; political; economic; and educational / academic fields. I argue that innovation and special norms of online film fansub are the result of conditions and contexts distinct from those of produb. The online participation of fansubbers, serving their peers, challenges the traditional definition of film translation. In anticipation of competition from fansubbing and market demand, professional film translation in China is also becoming audience-centred. The arrival of previously dominated new entrants (fansubbers) into the field of film translation in China introduces a new variable and represents a major influence on current professional film translation. In Section 5.1.3 and 5.1.4 I explain in detail both the fansub subfield and the produb

subfield including their field structure, and relationship between different agents within each subfield, and outside in fields of power.

5.1.1 *Demarcating film translation in China*

The film translation field in China is demarcated in this study as a social theatre in which both amateurs and professionals working with other agents translate films which are then published through different media of transmission (either internet or cinemas in China). Because film translators are seen as auxiliary agents in the context of the film industry, their ambivalent occupational status obscures the translators' field structure. It is not as easy to spot the boundaries of the film translation field as easily as in the rigidly codified realms of professional practices like medicine and law. The concept of the field helps us understand the flexible cultural dynamics as evidenced in the findings. The manifestations of the field dynamics are diverse as film translators are under the influence of multiple sources. Film producers and distributors from the source culture have exerted influence on film translations to maximise their profits in the target culture. Therefore, in my research, these agents from the source culture context are also studied to account for variation in the translation.

5.1.1.1 *Medium of transmission*

A film can be transmitted in a cinema setting or via the internet. Fansubbers use the internet as the channel of choice to share films and subtitles, compared to professional translators' use of the cinema setting. These two different channels lead to different constraints on film translation. The following paragraphs in this section compare the two different channels.

In AVT, dubbing utilises the acoustic medium (voice) to transfer the dialogue in the film, while subtitling utilises the visual medium (texts on the film screen). Voice dubbing aids translators and authorities in their censorship because it ensures that the audience will not hear the original sound track/voice. Audiences proficient in the original foreign language cannot compare the original dialogue with dubbing to find discrepancies or "inaccurate" manipulated translations. As images in a film constantly move, the audio and visual information is transitory. Consequently, both dubbing and subtitles are limited by time. Subtitles are further limited by screen space and the viewer's reading speed. Due to these constraints, translators may reduce the number of Chinese characters to translate swear

words (see Example 1 in Section 4.2.1, the translation of "fucking"), so the information is transmitted at a speed suitable for viewer comprehension.

The medium used for transmitting the film also affects how content (including sound, subtitles, and images) is manipulated or censored. Professional film translation is transmitted through the cinema, a public venue with no entry requirements in China. Consequently authorities seek strict control of what is transmitted to the public, and both imported films and their translation by professional film translators in China are controlled by the Film Examination Committee (电影审查委员会), primarily comprised of high ranking professionals. Their function relies upon the implementation of government policy directing the Committee to cleanse film content and maintain the party's reputation. By contrast, fansubbers use audiovisual material transmitted via the internet, which differs from the traditional media in the sense that information spreads multi-directionally rather than uni-directionally when being shared and forwarded by fansubbers. Furthermore, compared with traditional media, the internet is more difficult for the government to control as a website's network server may exist in another country; thus, physical control (e.g. confiscation or destruction) by the State is difficult. With "self-media" platforms such as microblogs, not only can fansubbers disseminate audiovisual materials they have translated, but they can also easily exert their influence by expressing criticism of professional film translations.

Theoretically every viewer with a self-media account can become a critic of film translation. The internet has made this possible through technical means, as members of the public can use online self-media tools such as online fora, Weibo microblogs, and WeChat to transmit foreign audiovisual material and voice their opinions. Viewers' criticisms published via their own self-media are not censored by film translation companies; their opinions can be easily heard by other viewers, and shared on their microblogs and online fora. Dissemination of their criticism can be very rapid, causing sensation in China. The venerable profession of film translation finds itself at a rare moment in history where, for the first time, its hegemony as gatekeeper of film texts is threatened by fansubbers, an audience that not only translates but also shares films with their fellow viewers. The fansubbers, forming institutionalised groups armed with broadband connections and web publishing tools, have the means to participate actively in the dissemination and manipulation of audiovisual materials.

The non-profit behaviour of a fansub group is a challenge to the existing traditional film censoring system. Fansubbers' translation, consumption and dissemination of foreign audiovisual material is in conflict not only with the government's dominant ideology and political philosophy, but also with the economic interests of commercial organisations. The fansub group's uncensored translation products may spread foreign values that could challenge the Chinese government's dominant ideology. Foreign TV series and films are very popular among college students and young white-collar workers who watch these programmes for entertainment and to improve their foreign language skills. These enthusiasts often spontaneously identify with lifestyles and values embodied in the films and TV programmes. Therefore, these viewers prefer unaltered, original sound and pictures, or subtitles that stay as close to the original meaning as possible. If they are confident in their foreign language skills, they prefer bilingual subtitles (both English and Chinese, for example).

As fansub is not profit-oriented, the fansub group does not mass-market its production. That is, fansubbers take no initiative to circulate text outside their own community. Instead, followers of the fansub group subscribe to the group's social media and website for the latest films and TV programmes. Through social media, fansubbers establish their target viewers as other fans; their translation strategies are hence decided, in part, by this characterisation.

5.1.1.2 *Delimiting two subfields*

Film translators (both fansubbers and produbbers) in present day China, though mostly coming from other fields, develop a specific habitus that permits them to identify and utilise their capital within the field of film translation. This field, a stratified space of positions, contains translators of different status and habitus: novices and seniors; innovators and conservatives; the less criticised and the more criticised. These translators endeavour to occupy their position with different motivations and incentives. That is, both fansubbers and professional film translators establish a distinctive translation field, regulated by its own internal hierarchy, norms, morality and politics. In addition, fansubbers and professional film translators of the same films in my corpus are very dissimilar groups of people, and the film transmitting media (internet vs. cinema) and clienteles (viewers) are different as well. Therefore, it can be said that fansubbing and professional film translation are activities performed by agents of different dispositions in

different fields. The film translation field in China (field of cultural production) thus can be further divided into two subfields: fansubbing and professional film translation.

Professional film translators in China work "behind the scenes" (Sun 2000), consigned to an inferior rank or position in society. Two reasons may explain the rather weak status of the translation field in the period under investigation. First, according to interviews with professional translators, most film translators engage in another primary profession[11]; their first professions may be film direction, language instruction, newspaper editing, or acting rather than translating. Second, the entry threshold for the position of translator is low, with an intermediate competency in English considered acceptable for entry into the profession. In recent years, China has witnessed the proliferation of university translation diploma programmes; but a translation diploma is obviously not a requirement for such jobs. Professional film translators have no unified sets of professional ethics, formal obligatory training frameworks, or jurisdiction. As for fansubbers, entry to the fansubbing world is possible within a wide age range (generally any age older than 16)[12] and anyone with computer skills, internet access, and a passing mark on their translation test is granted entry into their community.

Though the film translation field in China does not have a clear boundary, the film translatorial habitus has been evolving and subsequently the status of the professional field has strengthened. For example, the criticism of professional translator Jia's works has attracted much media coverage regarding the low remuneration for film translation, eliciting sympathy for the film translator's low status. Only in recent years have translators' names appeared in film credits at the end of a film (Lu 2014). Another example is that the bachelor's degree in Film and TV Translation (影视翻译专业) started at Communication University of China in 2003 (Zhao and Song 2017), though the programme was suspended due to low market demand in 2014 (Niu 2014).

This discourse of journalists' coverage about criticism from fansubbers and defence of professional translators is a channel that attempts to establish translation as an independent field with an exclusive symbolic capital. In the realm of film translation, these attempts seem to be the driving force behind the process of professionalisation. The above mentioned educational frameworks (e.g. the master's degree programme in AVT) offered by universities in China, the seminars and events organised by translation

---

[11] Data obtained from interviews conducted by Li (2011),

[12] Survey of the ages of SCG fansubbers [年龄大调查]; Source link: http://hdscg.com/thread-479136-1-1.html

associations, and various internet discussion groups are all signs that this process is intended to stimulate a professional consciousness and group solidarity. It also indicates an attempt to raise the requirements for admission to this field as a "professional club" with objective competence, designed to grant translators "group dignity."

5.1.2 *Communication between the fields*

In China nowadays, film translation involves many groups of people (film industry administrators, commissioners, editors, fansubbers and viewers), who form distinct subfields within the film translation field. These agents have contrasting priorities regarding translation, and thus hold their own normative notions which may influence translation outcomes. The film translation product, therefore, is a result of negotiation between the translator and other agents within the film translation field. The negotiation implies a certain degree of flexibility for conforming to, and deviating from, translation norms, thus allowing some irregularity in translation behaviour. This section relates translators' behaviour to the priorities and normative notions of distinct groups and individuals within the film translation field. By doing so, it endeavours to explain the translator's behaviour by examining the relationships between the subfields (fansub and produb), and between the film translation field and other fields of power.

5.1.2.1 *The film translation field related to fields of power*

Based on both Bourdieu's (2005a) and Bolin's (2012) models of the field of cultural production (see Section 2.4.4), this thesis takes into account the specificities of film translation in China. The film translation field in China is seen as structured by two opposing poles: a heteronomous pole "favourable to those who dominate the field economically and politically" (Bourdieu 1983:321) and an "autonomous [pole]". The autonomous pole comprises amateur translators who are the least dependent on the State and the market and thus the most independent, whereas the heteronomous pole comprises the institutions which are more heavily dependent upon the State and the market.

This graphic representation (Figure 8) is sketched from the perspective of the film translation field in China, wherein the right side comprises the subfield of mass production (produb) in Bourdieu's cultural production schema. This is the field where foreign films are professionally translated to serve non-specific audiences all over China. On the left side, the fansub field represents a restricted production in the sense that translators are part of the audience and that audience must be "computer-savvy" in order

to access fansubbed films. This audience needs to know how to download such films using file sharing methods. The audience is therefore constricted, comprised mostly of educated young people. Fansubbing takes up an unoccupied space (i.e., online downloading and private viewing), distinct from that of a cinema setting. The two fields, fansub and produb within the film translation field, are intertwined in the sense that fansubbers may have grown up watching dubbed films, learning that special "dubbese" Chinese, and professional film translators may also watch fansubbed TV shows or films, learning from the translation skills of fansubbers. In this sense, we are witnessing an expansion of the subfield of restricted production, which has edged into the subfield of mass production.
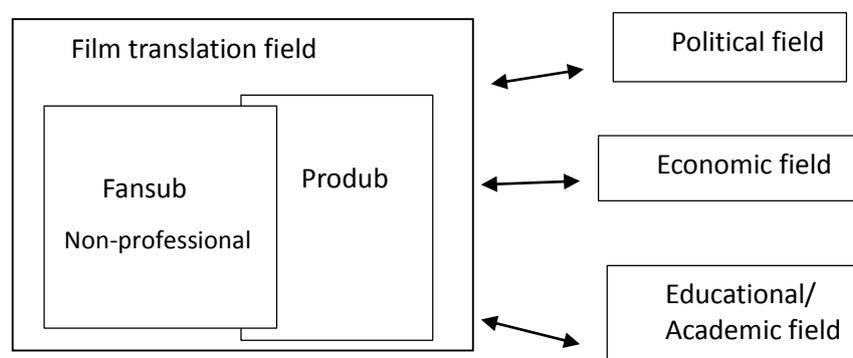
Figure 8. Relations between fields of power related to film translation

As shown in Figure 8, the produb subfield is closer than fansub to the remaining fields of power, namely the political, economic and educational/academic fields. This implies that produb faces greater pressures from the other fields of power in terms of demand, including censorship from the authorities, profit-seeking film producers and sponsors, and translation maxims (e.g. Yanfu's *Xin Da Ya*) accepted within the academic field. The fansub subfield, with portions of online viewers delivering cultural production for their fellow viewers online, appears to be farther away from the demands of the remaining three fields of power. This subfield has greater autonomy than produb, and the value produced in the field is hence measured in line with its special principles. Non-professionals (fansubbers) place an emphasis on transparency, networking and unfiltered information, whereas professional film translation ethics emphasise verification and gate-keeping.

In the Chinese film translation field, fansub and produb subfields converge in the sense that they borrow translation knowledge and skills from one another, and share certain common values and norms. The new agents comprise not only fansubbers with a passion

for sharing audiovisual materials through translation, but also young professional film translators. Fansubbers are a force for transformation by fostering originality and innovations. Meanwhile new professional film translators (e.g. Jia), when allowed by resourceful contacts, can have both the incentive and capacity to engender changes to challenge the status quo. In comparison, new translators—especially those new fansubbers with motivation to improve their English or translation skills—have more incentive to conform, as they may embrace the established norms in order to be accepted and "fit in" as a member of the group.

5.1.2.2   *The interaction between fansub and produb fields*

The interaction between the two fields (fansub and produb) is both a competition and learning exchange. Currently fansub and produb are two separate and isolated fields in terms of the fluidity of movement of translation agents in China. Thus fansubbers' and professional translators' different habitus is relatively stable in these two fields, contributing to the taboo translation differences (e.g. lower level of translationese and higher swearing severity transfer in fansub taboo translation). Nevertheless, these two groups of translators are able to access each other's translations, critique and learn from each other, contributing to translation similarities (e.g. an emphasis on conciseness; moderate PIS usage in translation). Though the quality of the professional film translation has been questioned recently in China, and viewers have suggested introducing competition to improve the translation, the suggestion seems impractical as fansubbing is considered piracy and a violation of the rules governing dubbing studios in China.

Professional translators such as Jia have stated that they would like to learn from fansubbers; likewise, it is also possible for fansubbers to refer to professional versions of film translation to improve their translation skills. However, there is no mechanism for free personnel movement between fansub and produb fields. Fansubbers challenge professional translators for several reasons: to prove they can be better translators and to express their disapproval of the government's spasmodic crackdown on their fansubbing (as quoted by Jia's supervisor Wang Jinxi). The challenge from fansubbers also shows the competition between fansubbers and professional film translators as a battle for symbolic capital, that is, audience recognition.

Professional film translators in China may have gained their role more by "disposition" than by production. There are sufficient examples of Chinese professional film translators who gained entry into the film translation field based more on their social capital (their

personal image and social network) than on their "objective" translation output. For example, commercial film translators are usually chosen from a small circle, as a director from Changchun Dubbing Studio told reporter Han (2013): "If the film is leaked [by the translator], then it would bring huge losses to the producer. So dubbing studios tend to choose only trusted insiders to translate the scripts." For translators who have not worked with or who are unfamiliar with dubbing studio procedures, it is very difficult to enter this exclusive film translation group (Xiaobiao 2014). Wang Jinxi, the film dubbing director at AFFS, clearly stated that he would not cooperate with fansub groups because he had no confidence or trust in people with whom he had not worked [有诸多不放心]; instead, he trusts the translators that he personally trained, like Jia Xiuyan (Xiaobiao 2014). As Jia Xiuyan confessed, a fansubber's English competency level may be higher than hers, but because of the sensitive topics in a film and piracy prevention, there is little chance that people outside the "system [体制]" can enter the profession.

The "system" Jia Xiuyan noted has been excluding "outsiders" including fansubbers. In addition, cinema film translation has not been entirely privatised [市场化]. According to a veteran in the film industry, Yu, interviewed by Xiaobiao (2014), the translation of a film titled *Phantom of the Louvre* was once commissioned to a private company, but the deal was later cancelled. The film is a special commodity, and every procedure is administrated strictly: importing, censorship (review), dubbing and distribution.

For a foreign film to be accepted for import into China, a translation draft needs to be submitted to SARFT. Though it is possible that the translation draft could be completed by a fansubber, the final translation for the cinema screen still must be completed by one of the state-sanctioned companies. For example, in February 2015, Marvel Entertainment approached a famous fansubber, Gudabaihua, to produce a translation draft for a film's import approval. Though the draft was not used for the cinema, it was hailed by Gudabaihua's fans as a version superior to the official cinema version (Meimei 2015). Interestingly, when this fansubber entered the monopoly "system," he indicated his translation was very different from his usual fansub version:

> My translation for SARFT was done strictly according to the requirements for the public release. It does not contain vulgarity, sexual references, or PIS. People from Marvel who read my translation all showed warm approval. –Gudabaihua, 2015

Gudabaihua's statement implies that to gain approval from the State and film producers, the translator ("transformed" from a fansubber) would manipulate text by eliminating offensive words or a special community language (e.g. PIS used by young people) to

conform to establishment norms by obscuring his own identity as a young fansubber and regular user of PIS. This special individual fansubber, after gaining fame, accumulating substantial cultural and symbolic capital in the fansub field, crossed halfway into the professional film translation world. Even so, his translation was only used for the first review by SARFT to decide whether the film could be imported. His translation was not used for the film's final cinema release due to the unspoken rule that films released in the cinemas must have been translated by one of four government-sanctioned dubbing studios. Nevertheless, the fansubber aligned his habitus with the new field, and helped the film producer gain importation approval from the Chinese authorities.

Judging from statements of professional translators and other agents in the film translation industry, it is discovered that the monopoly of commercial film translation has endowed professional translators with a powerful position as gatekeepers, acting on behalf of the film industry and committing themselves to educating a "cultured audience." As such, they see themselves not as servants of norm-dictating authorities, but rather as culture determiners who set norms in the case of professional film translators. Taking an orthodox position, therefore, serves veteran translators as a means of securing their advantageous status and establishing the gap between "experts" and "non-experts." Besides, professional translators have the annotated transcripts, a capital that fansubbers lack to help them produce the best quality representations of the original text. They are considered as insiders by the company, which then blocks the admission of novice translators into the sanctuary of their trade.

The transition from fansubber to professional translator of film and TV programmes may be possible in China, though difficult. If a fansubber wants to turn professional and translate for a dubbing studio, they need to acquire extra social capital for their job application, and cultural capital (extra skills) to make their subtitles suitable for dubbing (especially for lip-syncing). The internet has served as a platform for agents from the two fields to communicate and learn from one other. For example, in her spare time, professional film translator Lu Yaorong watches fansubbed American TV dramas to find inspiration from fansub translation (Li 2011). The transition from fansubber to professional translator can also illustrate the difference between fansubbing and professional AVT in terms of translators' motivations and their translation outcome. Some fansubbers have even entered the professional realm, translating for online video streaming websites. However, not all fansubbers are enthusiastic about the offers as the pay is low and the deadlines are stringent. Those who did accept the offer have reported

that there was less freedom in their translation choices as they needed to cater to market needs, and one complained that "the audience has the final say in their translation quality" (Guo 2015); furthermore, there is no freedom to choose translation projects because the jobs are allocated to them by the company (Liu 2014). This implies that when fansubbers are outside their familiar social field and their habitus does not match the new field well, they tend to be dissatisfied and frustrated.

Although the job market for professional film translation in China seems all but impenetrable, the impact of fansubbing on professional film translation is obvious. Professional film translators and their supervisors are taking greater risks, demonstrating that they are amenable to change. The professional film translation industry sometimes poaches fansub, adopting their skills and values to remain relevant in current markets. Film fansubbing, a form of external force that Bourdieu deems considerably influential, represents a catalyst bringing about changes to the produb field. The ratio of the quantity of job applicants to the number of open positions is one of the important variables in Bourdieu's cultural field theory, where a higher ratio gives rise to conformism and a lower ratio engenders rule-bending innovation. Indeed, if the number of fansubbing applicants increases but the number of positions available for fansubbing films stays the same, the likelihood of fansubbers conforming to established norms remains high. However, in China, job opportunities of professional film translation have not extended to fansubbers, since the piracy that fansubbers are engaged in and their anonymity have de-legitimised them. The professional film translation industry in China is a monopoly of the four translation companies, and entry into such jobs is largely dependent on one's social capital. Furthermore, the number of opportunities remains static; the job market remains tightly controlled and the number of foreign films available for cinemas is limited by China's trade protection policy. The changes in the produb field therefore are predicted to be limited.

With fansub available online as an alternative mode of cultural production to produb in the cinema setting, competition for audiences has increased along with rule-bending innovation. The inaccuracies in professional film translation as perceived by viewers raise serious questions about translation professionalism as one of its most viable qualities. That is, the newcomers (fansubbers) to the film translation field in China have sought to assert their difference, adding new positions and introducing changes (e.g. lower level of translationese, heavier usage of PIS and more faithful transfer of swearing).

The application of Bourdieusian analysis to film translation in China has revealed some limitations of Bourdieu's field theory. The relationship of field autonomy to heteronomy may occasionally be more flexible or complicated than Bourdieu has indicated, and mass cultural production can be more diversified than he suggests. Professional film translation in China is highly institutionalised in the sense that the government plays an important gatekeeper role in importing and scrutinising translation. The payment system (resource distribution) is that of a planned economy style with a fixed rate, while translators work in a market economy, translating against the clock with some interference from film producers and distributors. Within this social milieu, professional film translators in China have mixed priorities, that is, they can be both arts-oriented, endeavouring to follow classical translation maxim Xin Da Ya, and commerce-oriented in large-scale (mass) production. My analysis suggests that film production and translation companies have granted some autonomy to the innovative professional translator so as to produce translation that could appeal to, and thereby gain recognition from, the younger members of the audience. That is, these companies are motivated in targeting the film at particular market segments through film translation. Audience expectation and reception do provide some restrictions on the autonomy of cultural producers, with increased pressure towards increasing heteronomy in film translation.

In the previous subsection (5.1.1) and this subsection (5.1.2), I have discussed that film fansubbers and professionals in China work in different production modes, so they occupy different positions in the translation fields. They thus work within two separate subfields: fansub and produb. In Bourdieu's field theory framework, the produb (dubbing) subfield, compared with fansub, is seen as positioned closer to the fields of power (economic and political) because it is profit-oriented and administered by the government. The following two subsections will discuss the two subfields in details, and explain in depth how they are related to the fields of power and how these fields of power influence the two subfields to contribute to the textual differences in taboo translation between fansub and produb.

5.1.3 *The fansubbing field*

The lines that previously separated film producers, translators, and audiences have grown flexible and fluid, especially in the case of fansub groups. In view of the significant interplay between fansubbers and their fellow viewers, it is apparent that Bourdieu's (1996) field theory, when applied to amateur film translation, cannot be built upon clear-

cut divisions between translators and their audiences. Fansubbers, whether skilled or unskilled in computer technology, constituting "new agents" in Bourdieu terms, can now create "networked" audiovisual materials through their group efforts. This historic shift poses challenges to the film translation field and is changing its foundation and character. Researchers need to redefine production and reception studies as a result. The demographic qualities of these new agents enable us to gain a better understanding about the group of people who comprise the "amateur variable" (Russell 2007:289) so as to explore their potential impact.

With analysis of sociological considerations, the act of fansubbers' retranslating films can be better explained by considering both the linguistic framework and the specific social contexts in which translators are situated. This research does not assess the quality of fansub or produb production; instead, from a sociological perspective, it sees film translators' activity as a social practice in a complex social milieu, and explores how fansubbers compete over cultural capital in order to maintain or overturn the hierarchy of values through fansubbing.

5.1.3.1   *Structure of the fansub field*

 A developed fansub group in China usually comprises the following roles: translators, project coordinators, administrators, and technicians (including timers, video compressors and website masters). This section utilises the fansub group SCG as an example, and illustrates its inner structure. Translators in SCG can be further divided into three groups: novice translators; formal translators; and proofreaders. The three groups, as shown in the figure below, progress from left to right. Novice translators in the first group are the lowest level. After completing a certain number of translation tasks to a required standard, they progress into the second group of "formal translators." They can then opt to progress into the third group in the same manner. Meanwhile, proofreaders, project coordinators and administrators also often carry out translation tasks.

(1) Novice translators   →   (2) Formal translators   → (3)   Proofreaders

Figure 9. Fansubber progress

Using the internet as a platform (e.g. online forum websites, instant messenger chat rooms), fansubbers converge and form a community that mimics a conventional translation institution. Within this community, fansubbers may become friends, lovers or

even spouses[13]. The hierarchy of the fansub group SCG is a bottom-up management system in which fansubbers are encouraged to voice their opinions about translation issues through polls and postings. Administrators then consider those views when establishing particular translation norms. The group appears to be highly democratic; nevertheless, the administrators and high-level translators have substantial power, deciding the low-level translators' promotion. For example, the novice translators [新人] can only "graduate" after they complete four translation tasks per month for two continuous months to a good standard, approved by proofreaders. The implication of maintaining admission standards, is that access of non-qualified students who do not possess required cultural capital (translation skills, English skills, dedication) can threaten fansubbing standards.

The SCG group is an intricate network, comprising different divisions or teams for specific tasks. Besides the subtitling team, consisting of the translators, SCG has two other teams: its administration and technician (work) teams. The group has a hierarchy with the administration team occupying the top positions in the field, and with novice fansubbers and technicians comprising the bottom positions. The administrative team, responsible for recruiting new members and issuing translation tasks, comprises senior fansubbers who have translated and worked in the group for many years, thus accumulating much cultural capital and holding exclusive powers. The "Administration" sub-section of the group's online forum, exclusive to the administrative team, is a platform where these administrators discuss the group's future development. Another team, "the work team," has several responsibilities other than translation: merging videos with subtitling; posting information about music and computer games; maintaining their forum website; and publishing the translation through the forum and their social media accounts. Figure 10 adapted from the forum website structure reveals the group's three divisions: administration team (版主); work team (工作组); and subtitle team (字幕组).

---

[13] The evidence of marriage is a posting about a fansubber couple's online wedding [Date: 15/06/2012]. Source link: http://hdscg.com/thread-892725-1-2.html

```
                            ┌─────────────────┐
                            │       SCG       │
                            └────────┬────────┘
          ┌──────────────────────────┼──────────────────────────┐
┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐
│ Administration team │   │ Technician/Work Team│   │    Subtitle Team    │
└──────────┬──────────┘   └──────────┬──────────┘   └──────────┬──────────┘
           │                         │                         │
 ┌─────────────────────┐  ┌─────────────────────┐  ┌─────────────────────┐
 │ Recruiting new      │  │ CNSCG- Archive; High-│ │ Subtitling Learning │
 │ members; issuing    │  │ definition Movie and │ │ Materials; Proof-   │
 │ translation tasks   │  │ TV; Music; Monitor;  │ │ reading Comment     │
 │                     │  │ Offloading (File     │ │ Forum; TV Drama;    │
 │                     │  │ share); Computer;    │ │ Movie; Senior       │
 │                     │  │ Game                 │ │ Management Team;    │
 │                     │  │                      │ │ Comprehensive       │
 │                     │  │                      │ │ Archive             │
 └─────────────────────┘  └─────────────────────┘ └─────────────────────┘
```

Figure 10. SCG Work Group Structure (Online forum)

SCG is not a mere aggregate of atomistic individuals; instead, it is well organised with a meticulous division of labour. As the group develops, a set of community norms is also gradually established. When new members enter SCG, senior members of the community introduce them to norms written in "must-read" manuals (see Appendix G. Translation norms regulated by fansub group SCG). The SCG group has become a community of individuals with a high degree of cohesive identity and a sense of belonging. One of the most important activities of the fansub group is producing and disseminating texts, and the internet has provided the group with such a platform, facilitating their participation in the re-creation and propagation of the texts.

To encourage fellow fans to actively participate in translation tasks, the fan group organisers provide incentives, including special perks that non-member fans do not receive. For example, the online forum website of the SCG fansub group has a computer system that rewards group members with "prestige points (威望)" or "SCG dollars (圣元)" for their work and contribution. The reward somehow brings group members spiritual satisfaction and a sense of accomplishment. The SCG dollar is internal currency that can be spent in several ways: to reward a posting publisher; to gain access to a posting's attachment (usually a downloading link of a video); to publish a reward posting for a desired audiovisual material; to gain rapid promotion of membership level; or to gain customised gifts, for example, a desk calendar with the logo of SCG[14].

Just as in traditional offline society, the interpersonal communication between fansubbers is a process of socialisation. To facilitate completion of translation tasks, the fansub group is institutionalised. It has become a microcosm of an authoritarian regime, in which

---

[14] Source link: http://www.cnscg.com/thread-1309492-1-1.html

individual fansubbers must learn the structure of the group, the language of communication, and code of conduct to fit into the group environment. As members in the group integrate, they construct a system of similar ideas, values and norms so that group order is maintained, and group attachment is sustained. Decisions are made after members both identify with the group and have an attitude of commitment to participation in the interaction.

5.1.3.2 Fansubbing—retranslation

By invoking Bourdieu's sociological concepts such as cultural capital and habitus, this study analyses how fansubbers have engaged in retranslating cinematic films. It clearly suggests that retranslations of film texts can be understood as the social practice carried out in a relevant field in which these translators are constituted. Fansubbers are the peripheral dissidents in the regime, where highly valued literature (e.g. foreign films and TV series of possible commercial success for cinema customers) is translated and published by institutions controlled by the authorities. Fansubbers take pride in the audiovisual materials they translate. By producing their own versions, and creating differences in their translation compared with produb, fansubbers can convert these differences into cultural capital, and maintain their position in the film translation field. Because of censorship and the slow process of importing foreign films, fansubbers in China, a totalitarian regime, temporarily "poach" foreign films and TV series and turn to AVT through which they can indirectly speak their mind, promulgating the foreign ideology embedded within films and TV series.

On the surface, fansubbers translate so they can transmit and share audiovisual materials for entertainment and satisfy their cultural needs; at a deeper level, they also compete to control cultural capital. For example, they translate and publish films online as soon as possible to attract more viewers than other fansub groups. They intend to maintain high translation quality so viewers are willing to return. As a result, the film translation field in China is a battlefield where fansubbers compete for cultural capital so that they can gain and maintain high social status and power to manipulate texts and attribute personal values via their productions. As a result, blockbuster films are frequently chosen by fansubbers for retranslation, and the fansub group challenges professional film translators by providing "full justice" to the film and creating a version different from the professional's. Retranslating films is thus a social practice in which fansubbers are inclined to use all available cultural capital (embodied, objectified, and institutionalised)

120

to claim the audience niche left by the Chinese government, i.e., to attract audience members who are non-cinema customers for recognition.

As the translation of a blockbuster film is repeatable, state-sanctioned organisations and various fansub groups produce their own translation versions of the same foreign film. This implies that film translation can be seen as a source of competition allowing the translator to integrate their ideology, and values into their text. In the fansub field, translation agents include translators and editors, whereas in the professional film translation field, apart from the direct involvement of translators engaged in the retranslation of films, there are other agents including critics, agents, publishers, and other intermediaries. These agents with various motivations, intentions and constraints both political and economic, shape social demands and the reception of translations.

SCG, a fansub group which translated most of the films in the corpus, prides itself on translating and creating original subtitles for foreign audiovisual materials. This is different from fansub groups such as CMCT (*ChùMōChūnTiān*, Touching Sky) who do not translate, but specialise in transcribing dubbing, and then converting the transcription into subtitles (see Secton 3.2.1.2 for transcription procedures). The objectified capital is the digitalised audiovisual resources obtained with their created subtitles, which is then transmitted.

Although fansubbers hold cultural capital (translation and computer skills; audiovisual materials), their "possession of cultural capital does not necessarily imply possession of economic capital" (Bourdieu (1993:7). This means that fansubbers will need to first create productive differences with their own translation version in order to gain, control, and distribute their cultural capital. Then they must gain audience recognition and sometimes convert it into economic capital through revenues from adverts on their websites to fund their activities. To achieve this, fansubbers set timelines in order to guarantee an early delivery of their products to increase viewership. Though they do not usually use advertisements, they do use their social media and online websites to publicise and publish their products within their own circles. Fansubbers decide to translate the text, partially because they believe the professional's version "contains errors and translationese." All these explain why the fansub group produces a version different from that of the professional group in the first place, and why they produce translation that has a lower level of translationese in terms of the transfer of swearing. This so-called difference is part of the fansubber's embodied cultural capital, and it is as much expressed

in the creativity, techniques, and strategies involved in the translating process as is the desire for viewer and fansub group recognition. Cultural capital is what they can claim to have and use, in the hope of honing their language and translation skills for use in their careers.

Contrary to Song's (2012:176) proposition that "the ultimate goal of creating productive differences is to gain, control, distribute, redistribute, and eventually convert cultural capital into economic capital," this thesis has discovered that fansubbing presents a more complicated situation. Song made his conclusion based on a study of the retranslation of a classical Chinese book and claimed it was a lucrative business. Fansub presents a more complex circumstance as various fansubbers have unique motivations or a combination of motivations. Fansubbing translators do not get paid for their work. Though the fansub group SCG's website has many adverts to generate income to fund the operation of their website, fansub translators are largely there for their psychological satisfaction, seeking to gain a sense of belonging as evidenced in their statements, so their ultimate goal may not be converting their cultural capital (translation skills, etc.) into economic capital.

Doubtlessly, both fansubbers and professional translators have pursued cultural capital in and through translating films. Compared with professional translators who appear to be more focused on how to leverage embodied, objectified, and institutionalised cultural capital, fansubbers seem to be in pursuit of symbolic capital like status or prestige. To achieve that goal, in recent years fansubbers have not only created their own translation works, but also have launched their attack on certain professional translators, primarily on one front: the accuracy norm, criticising errors in professional film translation. By doing so, fansubbers may enhance their own profile, while damaging the image of professional translators. In contrast, professional translators defended themselves by citing censorship as the main reason for their errors.

5.1.3.3 *Peer-sanctioned capital in fansubbing*

Bourdieu's notions of fields and capital are further employed in this sub-section to examine power relations within the fansubbing field. Specifically, I show how fansubbers can possess "peer-sanctioned capital" which is legitimate and valued within the field, and how fansubbers' pursuing such capital contributes to differences in their translation compared with produb. The definition of this special capital can help illustrate how Bourdieu's cultural capital theory can be conducive to the analysis of power-relation in an online fansubbing community. My definition of "peer-sanctioned capital" is a kind of

cultural capital and the resource that forms the capital is gathered from fansubbers' contribution to the community.

Peer-sanctioned capital exists within a fansub group and is primarily evidenced by placement as a fansubbing translator somewhere along a continuum between novice and veteran. This peer capital emerges from the progressing status that the fansub group bestows upon a fansubber in response to the latter's translation contribution. Not all fansubbers adhere to the rules and norms that fansub groups establish, which usually include meeting deadlines, conforming to subtitling format requirements (e.g. using special punctuation marks), and avoiding translationese. However, when they do adhere to the rules and norms by conforming to fansubbing expectations of appropriate conduct (as well as being respectful and meticulous), they are accorded a certain measure of value and esteem. They can then opt for promotion, becoming a proofreader or even an administrator, much like academic organisations that hold degree-conferring power over students. Along with that personal capital, individuals are given opportunities to manage the fansub group, acting as gatekeepers for fansubbing quality. This cultural capital that fansubbers "earn" in their online community, unlike official cultural capital, is not typically convertible into immediate economic capital – although there are rare exceptions when a minority of disgraced fansubbers sell their subtitles for profits. Acquiring cultural capital will not directly enhance a fansubber's career compared to actual cultural capital that is manifested in educational qualifications. Its benefits lie in the esteem of their peers and pleasures gained from a community of like-minded individuals with similar tastes and interests.

Fansubbers as a group accumulate symbolic capital through the reputation of their translation and audience appreciation, plus the peer recognition of their work by fellow group members. Therefore, SCG produces a cultural and literary discourse in the discursive and social field "marked by the struggle for distinction" (Benson 2003:122). Within the SCG group's online community, a recognition system "virtual salary" has been created to recognise fansubbers' achievement. Table 26, adapted from SCG's website (hdscg.com[15]), shows that to be promoted into an "Intermediate Level" group, a novice fansubber needs to translate 30 films with other fansubbers, earning 30 "SCG Credit Points" (one credit per 200-250 lines in a film).

---

[15] Source link: http://hdscg.com/thread-518011-1-1.html

Promotion	Requirements
1. Promotion to **Intermediate** Work Group	Gaining over **30** Internal Credit Points within the work group, and have been active in completing tasks, with outstanding performance
2. Promotion to **Advanced** Work Group	Gaining over **100** Internal Credit Points within the work group, and have been active in completing tasks, with outstanding performance
3. Promotion to **Core Work** Group	Gaining over **200** Internal Credit Points within the work group, and have been active in completing tasks, with outstanding performance

Table 26. SCG's translator promotion system

Besides the Credit Points system, SCG uses a medal system to show the group's appreciation for a member's achievement. Table 27 displays three fansubbers' profiles, including their medals. As the table shows, the chief of the fansub group has gained numerous medals, including for example the "Sixth Anniversary" and "Lifetime Achievement" awards, while a novice fansubber such as username "sophie890714" has earned much fewer medals.

Username	Position	Medals
Feitianyu	Chief of SCG	36
Blakwind	Advanced Work Group	16
Sophie890714	Work Group	3

Table 27. Three SCG fansubbers' medal accumulation

SCG also uses a punishment system to discourage procrastination and carelessness. To guarantee translation quality and efficiency, fansubbers' translations are proofread and edited and deadlines are set. The phases of subtitling are translation, proofreading, and reviewing. If a fansubber translates poorly, s/he is required to write a self-review, and to have a private conversation with their *shifus* (师傅, master/teacher). The fansubber may also receive admonishment from a senior administrator, and if the translation is not improved, the fansubber gets a warning of possible expulsion from the group. The group reward and punishment system serves to assure that fansubbers conform to established norms (e.g. avoiding translationese, to be elaborated on in Section 5.2), so that they can accumulate cultural capital including peer-sanctioned capital.

5.1.3.4 *Equality between translators and audience in fansubbing*

The internet distribution of fansubbed films, in comparison with cinema distribution in China, is multi-directional in the sense that viewers can choose between multiple

translation versions produced by different fansub groups. Furthermore, they can transmit and share the film online with comments and reviews attached. Fansubbers translate for free, and viewers obtain the film and its translation without paying fansubbers. This form of entertainment consumption grants fansubbers an equal status with that of their audience; whereas, the status of the cinema audience is relatively higher than that of professional translators. Since cinema viewing is a ritual consumption behaviour of the audience, it is one-way communication, formal and expensive. It is conceivable that professional translators may feel more constraints or pressure to make the translation sound formal or elegant, to suit the cinema setting. Thus they generally hold a conservative view regarding using strong language and neologism in translation, and tend to attenuate swearing and restrict the usage of PIS (see Section 4.1.1.2). By comparison, a fansub group is an organisation of amateurs offering pro bono work, so they have less responsibility than professional film translators in terms of using their own language (e.g. blending in PIS to translate swear words), whereas, cinema viewers may be more sensitive to using PIS in their translation. This argument can be supported by an example of a fansubber who turned professional. When the translator's status changed and he became employed by a video streaming website, he revealed in an interview with Ye (2014) that, "working professionally for the video website was not as freely as for the fansub group previously because the audience of the video site had the final say judging their translation[16]". The translator's statement indicates that he felt being constrained by the commercial nature of professional audiovisual translation. Therefore, commercialism has an influence on translators, that is, the economic field of power exerts its force on the produb subfield, and translators lose some autonomy due to the commercialism (see Section 5.1.2.1)

By serving their peers, namely fellow viewers, these fansubbers create the field of "small-scale" or "restricted production" (Bourdieu 1985), which, compared with mass production, is relatively independent of influences from the economic field of power. Because fansubbing is produced without any payment for a demographically narrower audience online, the field is typically autonomous. Whether they decide to take a conservative or innovative position, these fansubbers insist on their freedom and translatorial taste in helping other viewers understand foreign audiovisual materials, showing their contempt for financial gain. The field of restricted cultural production is

---

[16] Original words: 视频网站打工时，是观众说了算，观众说翻得不好就是不好，没有以前做字幕组时自在.

regulated in line with the principle of autonomy. To be successful within the field, a fansubber needs to achieve the symbolic recognition of other members in the field, requiring a high level of symbolic capital, constituting "accumulated prestige or honour" (Bourdieu 1991:14). It should be pointed out that though fansubbing is not profit-oriented, the field is not fully autonomous because it is dependent on economic capital, that is, it relies on donation from fansubbers and selling VIP membership and adverts on their website to get funding for their network server.

In comparison, the professional film translation field is one of large-scale production regulated by the "heteronomous principle" (Bourdieu 1985). In this field, film translation products with the audio and video included are created primarily to make a profit, and are targeted at the largest audience possible. This field transmits mass culture that is produced by a vast culture industry, and holding a large quantity of economic capital is one of the substantial factors deciding the success of such a culture industry. In summary, the fansubbing field has a relatively high degree of autonomy, but is not fully autonomous; the professional film translation field is largely subject to external rules. The discrepancy in degree of autonomy between the fansubbing field and the professional film translation field contributes to the differences in taboo translation between fansub and produb.

5.1.4 *The professional film translation field*

Besides conjunction relationships among the fields of film translation in China, disjunction relations also exist within related fields (the government, film translation, film production and distribution), influencing the final output of the translation. Each group has its own interests, so they set their own priorities. Consequently, norms within these fields may converge and interact, causing tensions between distinct groups (translators, film industry administrators, etc.). These tensions may explain issues in their translation: "inaccuracy", manipulation or "mistranslations" pointed out by viewers. These issues constitute differences between fansub and produb presented in Chapter 4, e.g. faithful translation of taboo issues in fansub, but alteration and omission of them in produb.

Film translation for cinemas in China is a paid professional activity aiming to fulfil both audience requirements and film industry profit demands. The translation, published on cinema screens as created by voice actors for audiences throughout the nation, therefore, demands high quality and great accuracy. Translation critics in China often quote Yan Fu's translation maxim *Xin Da Ya* (faithfulness, comprehensibility, and elegance; see Section 2.3.3) as the criteria or standard for all translations including film translation.

However, as professional translators noted (Liu 2015), it is difficult to achieve both faithfulness and elegance in film translation as the translator needs to also censor offensive language.

The disjunction between subfields in film translation in China can be related to Hermans' idea that competing norms arise when the cultural production is embedded in different systems, involving groups of agents with different priorities and interests (Hermans 1996: 36). Since the film industry (including film translation) is market-oriented, viewership demand has great power or influence over film translation. On the other hand, within fansubbing, a certain autonomy exists: translation is, to some extent, undertaken primarily to satisfy the translator's idealism and to gain the esteem of their peers, thus partially bowing to the recipients' demands.

5.1.4.1 *Structure of the produb field*

The professional film translation field in China is comprised of four distinct groups of agents: (1) State supervisors; (2) film production companies; (3) dubbing studios; and, (4) the audience. Figure 11 elaborates on the first three groups.
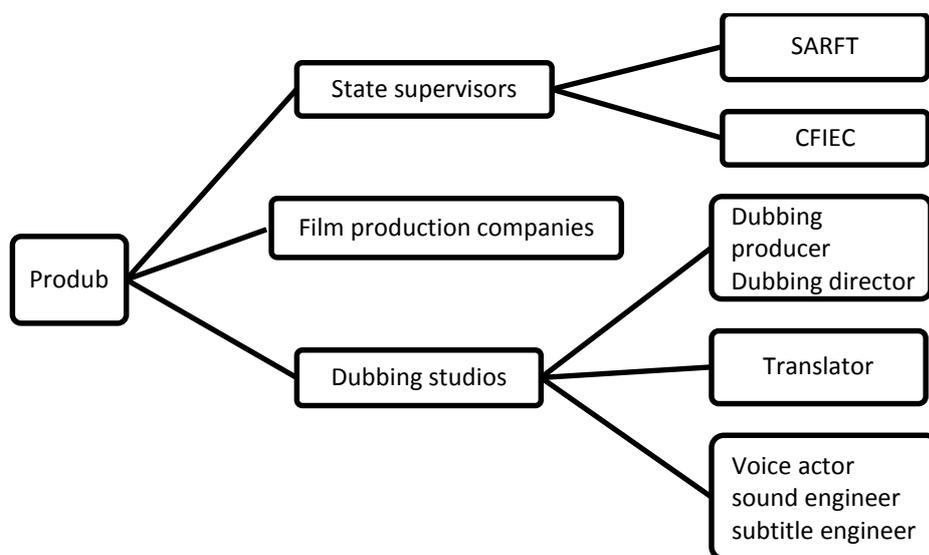
Adapted from 1905.com (Zheng 2014)

Figure 11. Agents involved in professional film translation

In the produb field, all agents involved in producing a film carry out their own responsibilities and contribute to the final production of film translation. Their goals and priorities may be consistent, or in conflict, with each other. The first group of agents are State supervisors, comprising the film industry administration SARFT and the China Film Import and Export Corporation (CFIEC). SARFT and CFIEC are responsible for

127

importation of foreign films. A foreign film entering the Chinese market legally must go through a two-stage process. First, the film production company commissions a translator to translate the film into Chinese, then submit it to CFIEC for importation approval. The translator chosen by the film company is usually independent of the four dubbing studios in China. They can even be film enthusiasts including fansubbers. Next, the film is submitted to SARFT for approval (Si 2016). After gaining SARFT's approval, CFIEC sends the film to one of the four dubbing studios for retranslation for cinema release (Li and Zhou 2017). The completed retranslation is then sent to SARFT's Film Examination Committee for censorship.

The second group of agents comprise the four dubbing studios which contain the following staff members: (1) dubbing producer [制片人], who undertakes a dubbing task and selects the directors, translators, and sound engineers; (2) director [导演], responsible for proofreading the dialogue script, selecting and coordinating the dubbing/voice actors; (3) translator/s, tasked with translating film dialogue, making the dialogue script, and proofreading the subtitle script; (4) various other staff members, including voice actors [配音演员], sound engineers [录音师], and subtitle engineer [字幕员]. The third group of operatives comprise film production companies and their agents [片方负责人] stationed in China to supervise the film translation.

The structure of the produb field is highly hierarchical with SARFT having the supreme power of controlling the output of film translation. While the goal of SARFT is to help the film industry meet the people's cultural needs, it is also required to ensure that film products are in line with communist party ideology, which may conflict with the film producer's profit-seeking goal and the translator's professionalism. The Chinese film industry, serving a mass consumer market, still maintains a high degree of administrative intervention (行政高度干预) (*Fanink* 2016). The monopoly of professional film translation by four dubbing studios enables the government to control foreign cultural input, and to scrutinise the translations produced by the four dubbing companies. Meanwhile, the professional translator is in a special institution that can both provide and undermine translation legitimacy. For example, professional translator Jia works for AFFS, an institution affiliated with the Chinese Army. Jia's job title is "film promotion [电影宣传]" rather than "film translation." The job title "film promotion" undermines her legitimacy as a representative of the original film, since she is seen by viewers as a part-time translator. Defending her translation legitimacy in an interview, Jia explained that while her primary duty is translation and her institution (company) offered her years of film

translation training, the organisational system did not give her a "translator" title because "the position does not exist in the Army's rank system (*bianzhi*/编制, the table of organisation)."[17]

Agents from the film production company may also have conflicting interests and considerations when dealing with the translator. To prevent the translator from leaking film copy, the film production company supplies the translator with a film sample of lower quality where, for example, some pictures may be blurred, or noise may be added to the sound track. Meanwhile, to facilitate the translation, they provide a film transcript with detailed descriptions of the film. Certain film producing companies even dispatch staff members from their subsidiary companies in China to supervise the translation/dubbing process and offer advice. For example, Disney provided professional translator Jia with English dialogue scripts containing time codes and annotations; a glossary sheet containing English-Chinese terms and a list of English Proper Nouns including personal and place names (名词中译表); an introduction to the film; and guidelines for translation. Sometimes the film producer specifically asks the translator to replace an English noun with a "unique local word" (Chinese culture-specific term) so the film sounds *jiēdìqì* (接地气, domesticated, literally: connecting the place's qi), according to Jia in her interview with Zheng (2014).

In contrast with fansubbers, professional film translators may need to consider extra factors, including government interests and concerns (see section 5.1.4.1), the film producer's interests as mentioned above, and the expectations of the cinema viewers. The cinema audience of professional film translations in China primarily consists of mainly young people with higher education. In 2013 and 2014, according to "The Research Report of the Import of Chinese Film Market in 2014 (Hamai 2015)," released by the film industry research company EntGroup, the 19-30 year-old age group accounted for more than 50% of the total Chinese movie-going audience, while 31-40 year-old accounted for 37%. To put it another way, these two groups of relatively young people (19-40 year-olds) comprise the vast majority of the audience (87%). In terms of educational background, 80% were university graduates. Among the 2014 box office Top 30, science fiction films from the United States occupied 45% of the whole market in China. Judging from these statistics, the audience comprises a majority of young, highly educated viewers, the so-called "petty bourgeoisie youth (小资青年)," a sub-stratum of the middle

---

[17] Jia's original quote: it is due to the Army's rank system (国家军队的编制问题). Interviewer: Zheng (2014)

classes in China (Zheng 2014). Since China's film industry does not have a film rating system, professional film translators also consider the sensitivities of children who may be in the audience, and thus tone down swearing. Similarly, they may also consider the older generation in the audience, thereby avoiding using new slang words to translate humour or swearing. Having said this, translators may also, as evidenced in their interviews, take into account the film genre (such as modern comedy), and assume that their audience of a film of a specific genre is mostly "petty bourgeoisie youth" and therefore adjust their language use by incorporating PIS into the translation.

Most professional film translators such as Jia Xiuyan and Liu Dayong consider the cinema environment as a cultural platform in which the use of humorous language should not be uncouth or vulgar. The ruling party considers the dubbing industry to be not only responsible for entertainment but also to "promote the construction of socialist spiritual culture" as stipulated in Film Management Regulations (2001). This is also evidenced in an interview with Ma Zhengqi, a professor at the Communication University of China, who is responsible for its Film and Television Translation (Niu 2012) degree programme:

> China in current times still needs dubbed foreign films. The introduction of foreign films into China, is a long-term task, and a way for connecting the [Chinese] culture with the world. It is preparing Chinese culture to 'go out' [i.e. exporting Chinese]. Dubbing is needed for the nation's cultural development. Part of young people use watching the original film as a way to learn foreign languages. There is nothing wrong with that, but their preference cannot represent the whole country's. In consideration of China's national conditions, these young audience in this big market only constitutes very small portion of [the audience].

Ma, as an influential figure within the professional film translation field, thus is seen to represent the stance of the authorities: the dubbing industry has been elevated to a higher level, not just to meet audience's entertainment needs, but also to advance the nation's cultural development requirements. This coincides with the professional translator's desire to treat dubbing as an art. For example, the translator of the film *Transformers 3*, Zhang Yunbi, expressed confidence in the dubbing industry's future, stressing the importance of facilitating the audience's appreciation of culture and arts:

> For example, in the *Transformers* film series, the story [development] and language rhythm are fast, and the films contain many Western-style humour and English slang words. As the information volume in the original film is huge, it is difficult for the audience to digest all the content. Through dubbing, we convert into Chinese the contents that the audience cannot understand. We use the voice to convey the emotions of the film characters. It can be said to be a double enjoyment both cultural and artistic. –Zhang Yunbi, interviewed by Niu (2012)

In summary, the field of professional film translation consists of a hierarchy of various agents having different priorities and concerns regarding the rendering of a foreign film to public audiences. The hierarchy is a top-down management system where top-level managers (the Film Examination Committee) dictate the content of the final film product, and decide whether the product can ultimately be released. The next level down, the dubbing producer, supervises the translator, ensuring that the translation meets demands for censorship (see Section 5.1.4.2). This top-down hierarchical management structure determines the overall shape of the film translation. The agents in the film translation field in China may not share the same priorities, but the constraints exerted on each of them have the potential to influence the translation production. These shared interests and conflicts will be further discussed in later sections.

5.1.4.2   *Film industry administration's censorship*

In my corpus, professional translators used fewer coarse swear words and more moderate swear words than fansubbers. This shows the professional translators' tendency to moderate swearing. In general, fansubbers maintain greater fidelity regarding swear words than professional translations. Furthermore, the choices preferred by professional translators when translating political issues are omission and alteration (see examples in Section 4.2.5). In contrast, faithful translation was preferred by fansubbers. This pattern in translators' choices suggests these professional translators have avoided producing faithful translations regarding sensitive political issues. There must be some constraints or censorship that impelled the translators to make choices only in favour of omission and alteration, while excluding other available alternatives or choices. After examining translator's interviews and statements (see Appendix B), it was found that state censorship can be attributed to this pattern among professional translators. Professional translators' mitigation of swearing vocabulary indicates a conflict between film industry administration and professional translation: the former wishes the audiovisual materials including the language to be appropriate for the general public and the regime, while the latter holds the fidelity of the translation as the priority.

In Bourdieu's field theory framework, audience and fansubbers can be seen as the dominated, while political actors the dominant ones. The political field of power in China, having possession of economic capital, has control over activity of the film translation field and the translators who occupy positions within. These translators uphold and defend values and social norms defined legitimate by society's most powerful, dominant groups. Professional translators, by using censorship, protect not only society's most defenceless members (e.g. children) from strong language but also its most secure and dominant ones from dissidents. Through censorship, translators help the powerful defend and preserve the status quo, serve the interests of the dominant elite, and suppress the introduction of the unfiltered foreign works to the dominated. Fansubbers in the dominated group respond by retranslating foreign films and other audiovisual materials containing "corrupt" ideology and "dangerous" expressions that the authorities fear.

China's ruling party, the Communist Party of China, considers itself as promoter and advocate of China's "advanced culture," aiming to promote both socialist material civilisation and spiritual civilisation under the guidance of Marxism, and to enrich people's social and cultural life (CPC 2011). It has made macro-level policies to guide cultural industries, including the film industry. It aims to meet the psychological needs of the people and guarantee box office business, while acting as a patriarch controlling what citizens can see on the silver screen. The Chinese government maintains a defensive stance in importing films from Western countries, the United States in particular. Censorship is executed by the Film Review Committee, organised by the film industry administration SARFT under the State Council, which has the right to decide the release of a film in China. Some of the market's popular Hollywood films such as *Gravity* (2013), which depicts China in a way favourable to the country's image, have been faithfully translated. Meanwhile, those which may damage China's image in Skyfall (2012) have been altered in translation (see examples in Appendix K). With regard to media policy and regulation, restrictions have been continuously imposed on the distribution of homosexual-related media content in China. For example, The Film Censorship Regulation (SARFT 1997) also stipulates that homosexual-related plotlines, language or scenes "should be cut or altered." The State-owned and state-sanctioned company, CFIEC, a subsidiary of China Film Group, determines which films to import, defying market mechanisms. The films selected by CFIEC are then submitted to SARFT for approval. If a film does not meet the censorship standards, SARFT rejects the film, or gives directions to alter or edit the film (Si 2016). So in summary, the film importation

system in China is a double-threshold one: China Film Group importing films, and SARFT reviewing films.

China imposes strict state censorship on TV programmes and films for two interplaying reasons: (1) to ensure the media facilitate the State's achievement of its political goals; and (2) to make the films suitable for all audiences around the country, because the State has not equipped itself with a film rating system like that used in the US (Xuan and Ha 2014). According to Le (2012), China rejects a rating system so that it can protect people from pornography and violence in a film, and remain in control of the ideological and political education of her people through films. China's film industry administration SARFT has long played the "parent" role, with the totalitarian Chinese government looking after her "children." For SARFT, its duty is to control what its "children" can see, and to define what is healthy or unhealthy. The Chinese State, acting as a guardian for its citizens, still uses censorship to limit the thoughts and aesthetic taste of its people.

In 2014, China tightened censorship of foreign TV shows broadcast on the internet mainly for moral and legal reasons. Though the censorship guidelines were published for TV dramas, the guidelines have been employed for reference or self-censorship by film-makers and translators. As no rating system is adopted in China, all broadcasts and films must be suitable for the general public to watch. In 2014, SARFT circulated a list of offensive content that would not be permitted in TV dramas. The list includes, among other things, depiction of the following actions of the Communist Army in spy dramas: 1) sexually seducing an enemy to gain cooperation; 2) assassination; and 3) paying money to obtain information (Wu and Nan 2014).

Though these censorship guidelines are codified, they are not uniformly enforced. In my corpus, criticism and negative portrayals of the Chinese government were strictly censored, for reasons discussed above, but strong language in cinematic blockbusters was not always toned down through translation. Experienced professional translators or their supervisors, may gain a good understanding of the censorship system, and adjust their translation accordingly. For example, Wang Jinxi, a veteran of 18 years in the film dubbing industry, revealed that he deduced the approximate rules of censorship. He developed his own understanding about what scenes or lines should be deleted. Generally, he avoids sensitive topics and bad language, or edits frames that would prevent the imported film from passing final scrutiny by SARFT (Xuan and Ha 2014).

5.1.4.3 *The monopoly of professional film translation*

Film translation is an interesting field as it involves an economic dimension (i.e., it is business). In this field, film distribution companies assist film translation companies in converting symbolic capital into economic capital. In addition, professional translators are in a highly institutionalised and monopolised system that discourages competition from non-government sanctioned translation companies and fansubbers. Furthermore, credits shown on the screen acknowledge the translation company's recognition and names the translators. This certainly lends professional film translators exclusive legitimacy as the film's representatives. All these factors have helped professional film translators increase their cultural capital. From a Bourdieusian sociological point of view, the following paragraphs explain the monopoly of cinema film translation in China: how it works in the "planned economy," and how the monopoly system affects film translation.

In China's professional film translation field, heavy government monopoly within the industry exhibits the strong characteristics of a planned economy. Currently there are only four qualified institutions in China for film dubbing as stipulated by the relevant provisions of the Film Board of SARFT. The ambiguous administrative language, "qualified film dubbing companies," is interpreted to require that films imported for China's cinemas must only be translated by these four institutions; otherwise they cannot be legally released in China. The monopoly system has its disadvantages affecting the translation quality and professionalism, as AFFS's Director Wang Jinxi lamented in an interview with Mtime (Xuan and Ha 2014): "It is very sad that [film dubbing] is done in a way of planned economy. Everyone has food to eat; no one will starve to death." When viewers online criticised professional film translation for poor quality (including the alteration of swearing), Director Wang blamed the "planned economy" in which competition of translation is not encouraged (see next section).

Besides discouraging "outside" competition, competition among "insiders" is not fully promoted either because the allocation of film resources to the four film translation institutions is not a competitive process. There is little or no evidence of professional film translation infighting since the State-owned company CFIEC does not have strict rules or fixed standards for the distribution of film resources to the four film translation companies. The regular pattern is that the corporation usually assigns films of the same series to the same regular dubbing studio. Additionally, it assigns films according to the general strengths of each dubbing studio (Li 2012). For example, CCDS's advantage is

having a relatively larger number of Japanese-Chinese translators, so the studio gets more Japanese films than others; similarly, AFFS and CFGDC, which share the same dubbing team, are competitive in translating animation and war films. It is also said that whichever company translates "faster and better" than others gets more films.

 To some extent, this distribution system has given CFIEC so much power that the fairness of film resource distribution cannot be guaranteed. According to professional translator Jia Xiuyan, "AFFS and the China Film Group have a close relationship like a family" and it has the "proximity advantage" since the two companies are located close to each other in Beijing. As for other film translation companies (SHDS and CCDS), who do not have such advantages, they can only wait patiently for the film resources, as they noted in an interview with Li (2012): "So we passively wait for the translation allocation. It is like waiting for the supply of rice to cook a meal." The statements of these interviewees indicate that the competition in professional film translation field within China is not totally fair or necessarily based on demonstrated competence.

Although three out of the four state-sanctioned film translation companies have restructured themselves from institutions to market-oriented enterprises, these companies, highly controlled by SARFT, still maintain authority and legitimacy within the professional film translation field. Translation has been considered by the authorities to be a window through which foreign influences can penetrate the minds of the Chinese people. Consequently, these monopolistic companies are a necessary establishment to whom the government must entrust the task of translating. "Trusted" professional film translators chosen by these companies thus produce what is generally acknowledged by viewers as an altered (inauthentic) version. Professional film translation industry within China, monopolised by the four dubbing studios, is unlike that in free market economies, where trade liberalisation and establishment of private enterprises are promoted. Due to this special situation in China, certain external forces (e.g. consumer needs) affecting professional film translation agents may exert less influence compared to that in free market systems where prices for goods and services are determined by consumers and an open market, and where supply and demand are free from major intervention by the authorities.

Within the professional film translation field, translators gain and consolidate their social capital through social networks and monopolistic conditions. This appears especially true for an institutional studio such as AFFS. For example, translator Jia Xiuyan from AFFS

revealed in an interview (Hu 2012) that her company recruits temporary part-time translators through the recommendation of an "insider (staff member)." According to the interview, in the selection of film translators, the trustworthiness of the candidate, rather than translation skills, is the prime criterion. This is because the translator usually gains access to the film one month before the film release, and hiring insider translators for the job can allegedly prevent piracy. This coterie, because of the monopoly, excludes "outsiders" from professional film dubbing, thus allowing the government to have "safe" control of the film and its translation.

5.1.4.4 *Commercialisation and the audience*

The film industry in China remained in a planned economy until the late 1990s, when the market economy was introduced (Zuo 2008:13). One effect of the entry of economic power was to introduce competition and improve economy, rendering film translation companies more permeable to external forces. External forces – particularly those emanating from the fields of power (political and economic) – thus impact the field of professional film translation. There has been increasing pressure on the film translation institutions to respond to these forces, from market especially.

The overlapping relations in the produb field among viewers, translators, and supervisors indicate that there are various degrees of conjunction at the intersection of these fields. This section explores the conjunctional relations between: 1) the translator and the audience; 2) the film production company and the translator; 3) the translator and their supervisor/director; and 4) the film industry administrator and the translator. The conjunctional relation here is defined as the relation between two groups of people who share a common goal. The most significant area of conjunction regarding all subfields is the importance attributed to viewers' preferences and needs. This conjunction may explain why viewership can be shown to play a significant role with respect to my corpus in shaping translational phenomena. One example of a conjunctive relation takes place when audience expectations and needs are of high importance to both amateur and professional translation, although fansubbers' interaction with the audience's expectations may be different from that of professional film translators. The audience's expectations are highly prized in the film industry (produb), since films meeting audience's expectation will satisfy the profit motive. In contrast, it is possible that fansubbers may adopt a "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude towards the audience's expectations or criticism because they translate for free.

In recent years, even though the government still has a nationwide monopoly of professional film translations, China has witnessed a transformation in the structure of the four government-sanctioned dubbing studios: a change from public institution to enterprise. The extent of structural transformation may affect the way film translation is performed and how translators are selected. According to a staff member of SARFT, all the State-owned public-institutional [国有事业性][18] film dubbing studios were required to convert into enterprises in 2009, with the exception of AFFS, probably due to the studio's "special circumstances [特殊情况]" (Zhou 2009). Consequently, three film translation companies (CCDS, CFGDC, and SHDS) were privatised, completing their institution-to-enterprise reform [企业化改制], and downsizing their personnel. As a result, the translation products have been diversified, as professor Ma Zhengqi from Communication University of China (Beijing) observed:

> The media environment has become complicated [in recent years]. Previously, in the times of planned economy, the industry was managed by the State on the national level. There was no market-oriented operation. The audience had few choices. In that situation, the market was much normalised. Later on, because of the development of technology and market economy, market-oriented operation started. Without good supervision [like before], the chaos appeared inevitably. –Ma Zhengqi, interviewed by Niu (2012)

The correspondence between viewers' notions and translators' notions, together with the significance of translators' concern with viewership, seem to lend support to Nord's and Chesterman's hierarchy model whereby readers' expectations govern translators' norms (Nord 1991, Chesterman 1993). For a case study of the translation of *Men in Black 3*, I obtained information about the attitudes towards translation from a group of Chinese viewers from the survey mentioned in Table 28 (see Section 5.3.2). A first indication regarding the role of viewers' notions is the correspondence between translators' and viewers' statements. Concerning the neologisms (specifically, the Chinese PIS), the translator's statements and viewers' comments display a fairly close fit between translators' goals or preferences and viewers' preferences / expectations.

The translator's notions are to some extent subordinate to viewers' notions, since viewers' identities, needs and attitudes have constituted a more fundamental level of explanation of translational phenomena in the corpus. Evidences in the corpus and translators' statements indicate that both fansubbers and professional translators highly

---

[18] A institution in China [国有事业性制片厂] is a "work unit" (单位), which is classified into three categories based on their primary functions: (1) party or government organizations (党政机关) ; (2) enterprises (企业单位); and (3) institutions (事业单位).

respect viewers' expectations by adhering to source text orientation, creating translation imitating the original text's stylistic specificities (including the original film character's personality and intonations). The function of the translations for viewers, as expressed in fansubbers' online posting, is to allow viewers access to foreign films. Viewers expect the translation to act as a substitute for the source text, hence the following preferences: reproduction of source text effect, meanings, and style in the translated text, with as few additions and omissions as possible.

Apart from the desire that the translated text acts as a substitute for the source text, another reason for source text orientation is that the English texts enjoy high status and viewers consider language a vital part of the film being "consumed", i.e., part of the entertainment; viewers have a passionate attitude towards such texts. Translations omitting or altering significant portions are considered to be of low quality, as evidenced in cinema viewers' comments and "canons of accuracy" signalled in fansubbing guidelines published by SCG.

The adaptation of cultural references is an obvious example of the influence of the prospective viewership on the translator and/or editor. Quite a few films in the corpus are comedies, and reproducing the humorous effect of the source text in the translated text has become one of the priorities considered by translators. According to the translator's statements, a proportion of humour, which plays with taboo subjects (including sex and scatology), is difficult to reproduce in the Chinese language. To circumvent this translation difficulty, professional translators (e.g. Jia Xiuyan, Gu Qiyong) resorted to using Chinese-specific cultural references, such as Chinese PIS and Chinese celebrity names, for humorous effect in the film. As Gu explained in an interview by China Youth (2006), if [localised/domesticated] humour understandable to the Chinese people is embedded in the translation, then the audience may "laugh when they are supposed to laugh," thus creating a similar text effect in the target culture.

Professional translators have shown a certain inconsistency in their translation strategies due to commercialism. They may yield to market requirements (adding Chinese-specific elements such as PIS to create humour, for example) or temper taboos to abide by rules set by the authorities. Occasionally, however, their translation professionalism may win over, staying faithful to the original text and keeping the offensiveness of the taboo to a level equivalent to the original. In summary, in this section, I have described two film translation groups in China which, in a period of market economy, exhibited different

translation behaviour in their translation. The two groups occupy differing positions within the hierarchy of the film translation field and the research indicates that their different translation practices can be conceptualised as their strategic response to external forces in accordance with their positions in the field. Since the market economy system was introduced into the film translation industry, professional translators have paid more attention to market needs than before, trying to change their rigid translation style and to make their translation close to the audience culture. For this purpose, they ventured to use PIS considered uncouth by the authorities. Nevertheless, due to the formal cinema setting (see Section 5.1.3.4) and professional translators' identity of being gatekeeper, they tend to refrain from using PIS, leading to a lower frequency of PIS in their translation. It can be predicted then that without commercialisation of professional film translation, the frequency difference in PIS usage between fansub and produb may be bigger.

5.1.4.5 *The translator, film producer and dubbing producer*

Since the translation of a foreign film for Chinese release is commissioned to one of the four companies in China, film producers from USA and UK can influence the translation through the transcripts they provide or through their staff members stationed in China. The films in my corpus are all revenue-sharing films, which means producers of these films have a stake in the translation of their films. Influential film producers, such as Disney, may direct the translator to proceed in a way that can maximise profit (economic capital). Film producers from the West usually exert their influence on film translation in China in such a subtle way to avoid challenging the Chinese authorities directly. According to Teng Jun, a film distributor interviewed by *Vistastory* magazine (2012), only those film distributors "in good relations with the Import and Export Company of CFGC" can "give film translation advice." Disney (China), which operates as the subsidiary of Disney responsible for the company's film distribution in China, supervises the film translation. In contrast, Paramount, the film production company of revenue-sharing blockbuster *Madagascar 3*, "is not in the position [不方便]" to impose translation requirements (Basi 2015).

Foreign films imported into China can be divided into two types based on the profit distribution: (1) Revenue-sharing films (*fēnzhàngpiàn*, 分账片), with roughly 25% of the box office going to U.S. distributors; and (2) Buy-out films (also known as flat-fee films, *mǎiduànpiàn*, 买断片) where Chinese distributors "buy-out" the rights and keep all the profit themselves (Papish 2016). For buy-out films, the film production company can

choose one translation company with which it has a good cooperative relationship (Jian and Li 2012). As for revenue-sharing films in my corpus, the film production company does not enjoy the same freedom to choose a translation company, since the distribution company, CFG in China, decides which one of the four translation companies to use. Nevertheless, there may be some flexibility. According to confidential informed sources, the production company does have a say in choosing a translation company although "no one would dare to openly say so, because most do not want to challenge CFG's authority" (Jian and Li 2012).

Foreign film companies' influence on the translation is also evidenced in professional translator Jia's revelation of her cooperation with Disney (China). The following quotation from Jia explains her "mistranslation" of "the sticks up their butts" pointed out by internet users (see Example 13 for Jia's translation).

> The second issue (inaccuracy) is related to censorship. Rude words or sexually suggestive jokes are not allowed to be in official version of subtitles. For example, people who "put the sticks up their butts" is American slang referring to prudish people. Its literal meaning is "bàojú (爆菊, literally: to bust a bum)", but this kind of words [such as bàojú] are banned from the silver screen. […] I translated the sentence as "why would they twist their butts" [in the subtitled version]. In this way, I kept the joke reference "butts"; at the same time, I used a safe word play [更稳妥的文字游戏]. Both Disney and I felt that was appropriate[19]. –Jia (2014)

In this quotation, Jia's phrase "Disney and I" reveals that she considered her translation had been approved by Disney, which serves as a good defence of her controversial translation choice. Disney, together with SARFT and the translation company, form an establishment group that the translator wanted to please.

In order to appreciate the film and render it in another language, the translator is inclined to develop a personal relationship with the film, especially with the dialogue in the audio track. The closer to the original film in habitus, the greater the acceptance the translator tends to receive from representatives of the original film, since embodied cultural capital is "a form of knowledge, an internalised code or a cognitive acquisition which equips a social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artefacts" (Bourdieu 1993: 7). Fansubbers have a desire for value addition and value replacement when they retranslate/produce their own translation

---

[19] Original words: 第二类问题可以归结为审查尺度的问题，有一些比较粗鲁的词或者有性暗示的笑话，是不允许出现在官方字幕里的。"比如'扭屁股'那个梗，'屁股里插了棍子'它其实是个美国俚语，原指那些假正经的人，字面意思就是'爆菊'，但这种词是禁止出现在银幕上的。而且跳舞时肯定要扭屁股啊，它本身也包含了点不正经的喜感。而且后面卡魔拉还追问'为什么要爆菊？'我翻译成'为什么要把他们的屁股扭起来'，相当于保留了'屁股'这个梗，但换了一个更稳妥的文字游戏，当时迪士尼和我们都觉这样比较合适。

of a film. They intend to make an appreciable difference so that the new version can be distinguished from, and stand out among, other versions in existence. Regarding the closeness to the original film in habitus, one advantage that professional translators hold is that they have annotated transcripts provided by the film production company to help them stay close to the original. Another way that both a fansub group and a dubbing studio ensure translator's similarity with the original film in habitus is that they both tend to choose translators who are familiar with the topic of the film.

To ensure accuracy, film producers provide professional translators with transcripts including explanations of all dialogue in the film. According to a professional translator's statement in an interview with journalist Lu (2014), the film distributor usually provides a transcript of dialogues and a glossary, in which special meanings of some terms and their usage are clearly defined. As Jia defended, they do not make mistakes when translating taboo words, thanks to the detailed scripts which can enable even "a translator of average English level to understand all the lines in the film" (Lu 2014).

In addition to the film production company, film sponsors in China may also influence the translation. For example, according to Lu Yaorong, a professional translator of *Kung Fu Panda 2*, the sponsor demanded that their advertisement slogan "*bù zǒu xún cháng lù (不走寻常路*, literally: not to take a usual road)"[20], a PIS phrase, be added in the subtitles (Wang 2012). This is an advertising technique used by the sponsoring company to subtly promote their products through embedding their slogan within film translations. This is especially challenging for the translator since it does not easily fit into the plot, as noted by translator Lu in the following interview excerpt when she was asked why she used PIS :

> One sponsor of *Kung Fu Panda 2*, required us to add an advertisement slogan *bù zǒu xún cháng lù*. I thought very hard [to find a way to embed that line into the translation]... Although the original meaning of the PIS word *Méng* (萌, bud) is very similar to that of the English word "cute", I still thought it was very risky to use it.– Lu Yaorong, interviewed by Wang (2012)

As translator Lu indicated, PIS is neologism that may not enjoy wide acceptance by the audience, so using it in film translation is "very risky" in her opinion. The translator might not have used the PIS translation if she had not been under the influence of the film

---

[20] Original words: 《功夫熊猫 2》有赞助商，需要我们加广告词—"不走寻常路"。我左思右想，很费劲，"萌"虽然和原意"cute"很接近，但当时我还是挺冒风险的。

sponsor. This example hence illustrates the multiple constraints on the translator's action, not only from the state censorship but also from the film sponsor.

In addition, the dubbing producer (译制片制片人) often also plays the role of the dubbing director and as the translator's supervisor, guides and proofreads the translation (Xiaobiao 2014). The dubbing producer, as "CEO" of the translation project, acts as a chief designer deciding the overall style and content of the film translation. For example, according to professional translator Jia Xiuyan (Xiaobiao 2014), her company AFFS adopts the system of "overall responsibility by the (dubbing) producer [制片人负责制]," which allows the Chinese dubbing producer to be an important determinant of the final product in terms of the translation style and quality. Meanwhile, professional film dubbing producers usually do not make major changes to the translation when proofreading, thus "showing respect" for the translator (Ding and Gao 2013). In this sense, the dubbing producer gives the translator freedom and space to translate after first setting the overall translation style.

Jia's supervisor and instructor, Wang, had a huge influence on her translation choices. Wang identified areas that required particular attention and what translation styles were required for particular films (Yuanyuan 2012). In an interview conducted by the magazine *Popular Movies* (2012), Jia said Wang gave her advice about how to set the translation style of *Men in Black 3*. Jia believed that Wang's thinking "paces with the times (与时俱进)" because he suggested using PIS to create Chinese culture-specific humour. According to Jia, Wang gave her that advice because he saw PIS being used in the translation of a previous film *Happy Feet Two* and he liked it. This indicates film dubbing producers are also under the influence of other translation agents in the field. The relation between dubbing producers and professional translation are directional. That is, they affect each other one way or another in terms of their translation ideas and behaviour.

5.2 Translator's norms

As discussed in Section 2.3, it is safe to suppose that a group's collective vision of approved translation behaviour has causal force upon translation behaviour patterns that are indicative of translators' norms. Film translation then constitutes a special situation in which norms may influence the selection of translation behaviour in each specific social environment. Consequently, the systematic occurrence (or absence) of specific translation behaviour can give us clues to formulate norms. In the present section I will sketch a group of interactive film translation norms that coexist and compete to shape the final translation product by correlating quantitative and qualitative findings through the

comparison of fansub and produb norms. The reconstruction or formulation of these norms will rely on: 1) the study of the meta-texts (e.g. translators' statements, online postings, interviews, and fansub group's published guidelines); 2) the actual translation textual regularities observed in the translation corpus; and 3) comparison of fansubbers' and professional film translators' taboo translation patterns. Both consistencies and variations of behaviour were discovered. The consistencies resulted in the formulation of related norms, while the variations may be explained by an array of factors: translator's habitus; and the weak potency of norms.

5.2.1 *Establishment of fansubbing norms in SCG*

In Section 4.1.3, I presented the finding that there is a significant difference in the translationese level of taboo translation between fansub and produb. Furthermore, in Section 4.2.2.2, I found that SCG fansubbers not only translated cathartic swearing more directly (transferring more coarseness in language), but also exhibited less translationese in their renderings. A qualitative analysis of online discussion of SCG members reveals the group has a notion of avoiding translationese to produce translation that reads smooth and natural in Chinese, and proof-readers have endeavoured to correct translationese in translation drafts and encourage novice fansubbers to avoid translationese. This match between fansubbers' textual practice and their notion thus is a strong evidence that the norm of avoiding translationese has been established and maintained within the group. The norm, being internalised by novice translators through training, becomes their translatorial disposition (habitus), hence guiding that subtitling practice.

Over time, SCG has gradually developed a variety of group norms, which became expectations of translation procedure. The translation norms that were developed and established in a fansub group influence the ways group members communicate with each other. For example, in 2010, five years after the group was founded, SCG's group chief [字幕组组长] published a document containing a set of fansubbing norms on their forum website (see Appendix G). Translation accuracy and conciseness were emphasised in the document and interactions and coordination between translators, proofreaders and editors were regulated. The team decided to intentionally set norms that every member could endorse. These norms were based upon rationality and practicality. For example, SCG provided its rationale for the conciseness norm: "Redundancy should be avoided in

translation, so that the audience can better enjoy the movie, and less attention is diverted to reading subtitles. Therefore, please try to refine the language[21]."

This set of norms established by the group regulates what special words translators needed to add for the convenience of editors[22]. In addition, the regulation about the coordination between translators, proofreaders and editors was meant to ensure that a translation project could be completed by the team in time. The norm was officially established when experienced fansubbers drafted the document, published it online, and then offered interpretation or clarifications to fellow fansubbers. SCG's written norms are a handy framework for potential members and recruits to quickly get a sense of how this group operates and how fansubbing is accomplished. With norms in hand, the team can move forward, confident in the security such guidelines provide for completing a translation project.

As the tentative model described in *Descriptive Translation Studies & Beyond* (Toury 1995:248) illustrates, fansubbers and professionals in my corpus interact with the translation environment in a series of incremental stages, embarking on a journey to be recognised by peers and others for their full-fledged competence. Thus, these fansubbers and professional film translators, through training, step by step, inculcate norms, and acquire skills of film translation. It is a slow process of inculcation, relieving the translator gradually from the "shackles of external pressures" (Simeoni 1998) as they internalise normative behaviour deeply in their practice. Once norms concerning the translation of taboo words are internalised, they become part of the translator's mental apparatus, namely, the translatorial habitus.

SCG fansubbers are subject to persuasion both by group norms and the information they receive. These two types of influence (informational and normative) have been distinguished by social psychologists, including Asch (1956). The following is an example of an SCG proofreader who revealed her translation training history and talked about "translationese" in an online posting:

---

[21] Original words: 翻译切忌冗余，为的是能让观众更好的欣赏影片，而不至于将更多的注意力分散到字幕上去，所以，尽量精炼语言。

[22] E.g. adding 啊/呢/呀(A/ne/ya) to English personal names (PS 关于中文是人名或地名 跟英文字幕无区别的情况不好拆分，暂行的方法是人名或地名后加虚词. Van Pelt... ->Van Pelt 啊/呢/呀...)

> After entering the fansub group, I have read many proofreading reviews written by proofreaders. I found that one problem prevailed: we over-emphasise literal translation, while ignoring fluency of the translated sentences. The translation is not consistent with language habits of the audience (i.e. Chinese). As a result, the "translationese" is created. As for the term "translationese", I first heard (learned) from my teacher's class of Intermediate Interpreting. Translations of "translationese" are often not reader-friendly. In the case of subtitling, it is not audience-friendly. Lu Sungu, editor of the "English-Chinese Dictionary", defined "translationese" as "an expression that does not read smoothly, not authentic translation style" and "translated text that reads awkwardly."[23] –Huakaihualuo (2008)

The fansubber gained knowledge about "translationese" in her interpreting class, part of her formal education. She further read about it in a book published by a famous translator. The fansubber was persuaded by the content she heard and learned. Her opinion was further consolidated by her own reasoning: the translated text should be audience-friendly because it is the audience that she intended to serve. The habitus she gained from education and the social environment aided her thinking about translationese. The fansubber's online posting was viewed 508 times and replied to 35 times by 21 June 2016. All the replies by remaining fansubbers showed approval in one way or another: some directly said they "supported" the idea; some said they would improve their translation by avoiding translationese; and some supported the idea and showed concern about how to successfully implement the idea. As this "avoiding translationese" idea gained the approval of most SCG fansubbers, it became one of the norms within the group. Other fansubbers who did not reply to the posting, but viewed it, may have been under the normative influence mentioned above, as normative influence occurs when group members are persuaded by the knowledge shared by most group members.

Novice fansubbers in SCG may challenge the established norm, while the senior fansubbers, holding proofreading powers, endeavour to maintain the norm by applying a mechanism established within the group. For example, I observed an argument between a novice translator and a proofreader who criticised the former for producing an "incomprehensible" Chinese version for "Mad Air on the Half Pipe" in an animation film, *Ice Age: Collision Course* (2016). "Mad Air on the Half Pipe," a skateboarding term for performing aerial manoeuvres on a U-shaped structure, is a term that is difficult to translate into Chinese. In their argument, the novice translator and the proofreader demonstrated opposing stances concerning the translation. The novice challenged the proofreader, arguing that the translator's aim was to transfer the foreign flavour, while the

---

[23] http://hdscg.com/thread-358807-1-1.html

latter argued the aim of translation was to make the translated text easily understandable to the audience. This indicated that the novice translator deviated from the comprehensibility norm, and thus may be sanctioned. Furthermore, the proofreader, acting as the authority in translation skills, was supported by the coordinator who later intervened, threatening to involve the novice translator's *shifu* (master). It is clear that senior translators have a forceful influence in maintaining the comprehensibility norm in translation. This implies that the coordinator and the proofreader have established their positions, holding power by deciding whether the novice translator can remain in the field. If the novice translator wishes to remain in the field, then conformity to the translation norms established by the group is an expected and necessary behaviour.

In summary, fansubbers, equipped with their education concerning language, culture and translation, internalise the fansubbing field's structure. While their translatorial habitus contributes to the establishment of norms in fansubbing, it also reproduces norms which in turn fashion and condition habitus. Due to the specialty of the fansubbing field (e.g. translation transmission mode, restricted audience, hierarchy in the group), fansubbing norms established and maintained by fansubbers have become distinct from those in the produb field. The following sub-sections discuss in detail what norms have been established in the fansub and produb fields, and how they brought about the differences in their taboo translation of films in my corpus.

5.2.2 *Avoiding translationese in fansubbing*

Avoiding translationese is considered by fansubbers to be a special skill that a translator needs to practice. Fansubbers emphasise avoiding translationese in their postings and in their guidance to newcomers. Proofreaders in SCG correct translationese in their translation products, and the corpus exhibits indications of fansubbers' efforts to avoid translationese (e.g. using a non-translationese equivalent *tiān'a* for "Oh, my God"). This behaviour implies that the view of the fansubbers is consistent with their action, and avoiding translationese is a norm in their translation practice.

Fansubbers translated "Oh, my God" as *tiān'a* (天啊）much more frequently than professionals. That is one example of a norm that differs between fansubbers and professional film translators. This special norm is developed within this specific community where fansubbers stress the need to produce concise translation, and study and learn from their own previous classic translation works. In this special community environment, fansubbers not only carry on the old translation norms established within

professional film translation, but also develop and establish their own norms. In SCG, norms find a "direct" expression in proofreader's prescriptive statements on their practice of film translation. An example would be a fansub proofreader's posting, stating their discovery of the common "translationese problem" in fansubbing (see Huakaihualuo's statement in section 5.2.1).

The rationale for avoiding translationese provided by the proofreader above is that translationese reads awkwardly, and hinders the audience's understanding of the subtitles; the text of translationese does not facilitate the viewer's enjoyment of watching a video. The translator realised that translating involves two languages, and the translator needs to refer to the original text while transferring the meanings from the source language to the target language. Under the influence of the original text when translating, the translator may produce translationese text, retaining features of the original text and thus violating the language norms of the translated text. In the proofreader's opinion, what translators ought to do is avoid translationese, and proofreaders, as key members in charge of quality control, should correct translationese. Though translationese appears to be a prevailing problem in apprentice fansubbers' translation drafts, these fansubbers make efforts to avoid it and their actual translation of swearing has a lower level of translationese than produb. Thus, it can be concluded that avoiding translationese is a norm in SCG.

Proofreaders and senior fansubbers attempt to regulate the translation, ensuring apprentice fansubbers conform to the established norm. Those who deviate from the norm may be reprimanded. In 2016, a senior fansubber, the chief of SCG (圣城城主), published a posting on the group's website "A summary regarding the recent lower translation quality." The posting illustrates how he admonished newcomers for translating "Oh, my God" as *ó shàngdì a* (哦 上帝啊 oh, God ah), a version considered to have strong translationese, rather than its non-translationese equivalent *tiān'a*[24]. The senior fansubber felt that translation quality in the community had suffered recently, which led to shifting more responsibility to proofreaders. One of the major problems he pointed out to his fellow fansubbers is concerned with conventional translation methods (惯用译法) for translating "Oh, my God" and "you know." The chief criticised some fansubbers' "bad" translation methods of dealing with "Oh, my God." His tone was authoritative, showing the power of his administrative position and acting as a patriarch maintaining good

---

[24] Source link: http://hdscg.com/thread-1274823-1-1.html

translation quality. The posting also shows the responsibilities (i.e., power) of proofreaders, which will be explained more in the following section.

Proofreaders in SCG have the power to approve or disapprove a fansubber's translation, which may determine whether a fansubber remains in or leaves the group. The translation philosophy of a given editor determines the nature of their translation products. The editors in SCG often work hard to make other fansubbers conform to their standards. They make "corrections" without talking to translators first. In contrast, a professional translator's supervisor usually discusses the edits with the translator. The hierarchy in a fansub group facilitates the consolidation of the norms within the group: novice fansubbers need to gain approval from their *shifus* (master/teacher), who grant them entry into the fansub groups. These newcomers then strive to gain approval from proofreaders who advocate "non-translationese." Likewise, new editors, promoted from fansubbers, need validation from the senior fansubbers who have remained in the fansub group for many years and produced prolific translation works. The tradition of producing "non-translationese" text thus carries on and becomes consolidated. An example below illustrates how a senior fansubber in the SCG fansub group advises newcomers to mind the "translationese" problem. Silin [飓麟], a senior member and coordinator within the group, following completion of a translation project, asks new fansubbers to be aware of their "translationese" problem and advises the editor to give new fansubbers feedback:

> The translation task of the film has been completed. You have worked hard. @Piaopiao [飘飘], please give some form of feedback about the translation. Our new translators, please be sure to pay attention to translationese. When you finish translating, you should watch the whole video[25]. –Silin (2016)

This guide given to newcomers (including me) obviously reflects the translation procedures for a typical translation project, in which the fansub group maintains authority and the proofreaders have the responsibility of making sure newcomers conform to the norm of avoiding translationese. Further evidence of the norm of avoiding translationese in fansub is that fansubbers and viewers have made postings online, "ridiculing translationese" in professional film translation (Xu 2013). The disapproval shown by fansubbers reveals, that in their mind, translationese is something unpleasant that should be shunned. Professional film translators seem to have realised that and made efforts to change the situation. For example, professional film translator Jia expressed in an

---

[25] One interesting point is that the coordinator reminded fansubbers to watch the whole video. This is because a film is usually divided into five to six sections, and each fansubber in the team only translates one section. Some fansubbers may run out of time and just view their own section of the film, hence translating without considering the whole context.

interview with Yuanyuan (2012) that film translation should develop with the times, and the "new translation style" should be one that avoids heavy translationese.

When dealing with English insult expletives which have no equivalent in Chinese, such as "motherfucker," fansubbers and professional translators did not create new vocabulary terms for the translation, showing signs of endeavouring to conform to language norms. Both fansubbers and professional translators rendered the insult "motherfucker" with old-fashioned expletive expressions (see Pattern 4.2.3.2, Both attenuated "motherfucker"). Faced with the lack of a direct equivalent expletive in the target language to convey the incest connotations of the original, both fansubbers and professional translators applied the risk-averse strategy of employing medium-profane expletives, an action indicating these two groups of translators attempting to avoid translationese. Both fansubbers and professional translators apparently felt they had to translate this frequently occurring expletive and opted for conventional expressions that did not always fully convey the emotional force of the original. Regarding strange or unnatural expressions in the translated text, the fansubbers I interviewed felt that strangeness is undesirable and would not condone unnatural or unusual expression in the translated text. They believe an unnatural expression in translated text is caused by imitative translation or choice of expression.

In summary, this research has discovered two facts: (1) fansubbing proofreaders have criticised apprentice fansubbers and professionals for their translationese, and these proofreaders corrected apprentice fansubbers' translationese; (2) the fansub version of swearing translation in my corpus has a lower level of translationese than the professional version. The first fact indicates there is a notion of avoiding translationese in the fansub field, and the second fact confirms avoiding translationese in the fansub field has become a norm, and such a norm has more potency in the fansub field than the produb field.

5.2.3   *Avoiding illogicality in produb*

Professionals have expressed the idea that they should avoid illogicality in produb when using PIS and other Chinese culture references. Their opinion is generally consistent with their practice in produb, that is, their usage of PIS is smaller than that in fansub. Hence, avoiding illogicality in produb is identified as a norm in the produb field. The following sub-sections illustrate the establishment of this norm and how it contributes to the differences in PIS usage between fansub and produb.

5.2.3.1 Different slang-usage expectations of fansubbing and produbbing

The corpus data reveals that both fansubbers and professional film translators use PIS in their translation, generally with fansubbers using PIS more frequently than professional translators do. For a specific film (*Men in Black 3*), fansubbers used PIS much less frequently than the professional translator (0 versus 7). Judging from the reviews of the audience's response to fansubbing and professional film translation, using PIS in fansubbing has rarely been criticised, while its use in professionally dubbed films (e.g. especially in *Men in Black 3*) was criticised fiercely by some viewers online, and caused a great sensation in China when it was reported by major Chinese newspapers (e.g. Clarissa 2012, Ren 2012, Wu 2012, Xu 2012). The range of viewers' responses indicates the different audience expectations for fansubbing and professional film translations.

The severe criticism Jia received for using local elements (including PIS) can be taken as a result of her deviation from the conservative PIS usage norm. Such deviation, namely the heavy usage of PIS in *Men in Black 3,* compared with SCG fansubbers, is a choice made after her decision to innovate, according to her own statement. The said innovation was beyond audience's expectation, although it turned out to be a success, according to audience feedback and the film's box office revenue in China.

The use of PIS of Chinese cultural elements poses one risk: it may cause a plot flaw that undermines credibility, creating a sense of falsehood in the audience's mind. If a character acts in a way that does not make sense to the audience, i.e., a character in a translated foreign film speaks PIS that is supposedly only used in a Chinese community, then the character creates an event that may not be believable, and it becomes a distraction for the audience. Professionals have a good reason to be cautious using PIS in their translation. Because of the risk of illogicality, or creating a plot flaw [跳戏], the translator needs to ensure there is enough stimulus to motivate the action of a character's speaking PIS in a film translated into Chinese. For example, it makes more sense if a film character in the original film is a comedian who uses American slang frequently, such as the character Agent J in *Men in Black 3*. Under criticism from the audience about excessive use of PIS in her translation, professional translator Jia defended herself in a microblog by stating the fact that the original film character uses English slang and tries to be funny:

In the film, J's speech style has always been relatively vulgar. He speaks frankly, in a sort of talk-show style. [...] I used PIS words *kēngdiē* (坑爹) and *Shāngbùqǐ* (伤不起), absolutely not without considering the appropriateness. [...] As for using *dìgōuyóu* (地沟油) and *shòuròujīng* (瘦肉精), I admit I may have overused PIS [发挥过度], because I also agree [with you] that it would have been just fine if I had translated according to the original meanings. I did that way so that the audience can have some fun together. It is well-intentioned. I had no intention of grandstanding.

In the statement above, Jia justified her translation by expressing her intent to create humour through the usage of such slang. Including PIS in film translation for cinemas has been considered a new translation method, and professional translators interviewed generally hold conservative views about using it in their translation. For example, regarding the controversy about adding Chinese cultural elements (e.g. PIS, poems) in the translations of *Men in Black 3* and *Madagascar 3*, SHDS full-time translator Lu Yaorong stated in an interview (Guo and Yun 2012) that:

As a translator, I would also consider using PIS in my translation, but they are, after all, complementary things [锦上添花的东西]. A film translator's greatest responsibility is to transfer authentic and original meanings clearly rather than engage eagerly in re-creation.

For Lu, PIS is neither must-use language, nor proper translation. Instead, it is adaptation, or "re-creation" in her opinion. To her, using PIS may cause the audience to "jump out of the film [跳戏]," and that is against her ideal of producing a translation in which viewers do not feel they are watching a translated film (Guo and Yun 2012). Lu's conservative attitude towards PIS usage in translation is consistent with her practice, and her film translation products indeed contain little PIS. This also indicates her anticipation of the audience's expectation, which is to see as little PIS in the translation as possible.

In comparison, fansubbing receives much less criticism from the audience for use of PIS. Such audiences may be more tolerant towards fansubbers' usage of PIS in translation. One piece of evidence is that journal reports regarding fansubbers' usage of PIS is mostly positive (e.g. CQSB 2010, Mu 2012, Xinhua 2014), commending them for the innovative way of using a new style of language. Additional evidence is provided by the audience's comments on the "large amount of PIS" in a translated programme[26]. Though some viewers expressed their resentment towards the overuse of PIS in translation, many viewers also expressed their willingness to tolerate such translation behaviour since fansubbers translate for free. Most stated they liked translation with a moderate amount of PIS added.

---

[26] http://bbs.tianya.cn/post-funinfo-3161283-1.shtml

5.2.3.2 *Film genre*

One of the factors constraining translators' agency is their work materials (e.g. language and text). The functioning of these materials has a force of their own and a certain determining power with regard to translational phenomena; hence causal force must be attributed to them. The films in my corpus mainly serves to entertain, and the texts of these films are often treated differently from those film types that mainly serve to inform by communicating facts. The source films have a particular status within the genre of action films to which they relate.

In my corpus, PIS occurred in the translation of all genres of films released from 2008 to 2014, including comedies and non-comedies, both in fansub and produb (see Appendix A.). Further investigation reveals PIS was used not just to translate humour, but also swearing. The larger number of occurrences of PIS in fansub than in produb (70 versus 43) in my corpus reveals that translators may have constraints which prevented them from using PIS as freely as fansubbers.

My corpus reveals that films with high PIS occurrences in subtitles or dubbing are comedies or films which contain much banter between characters. For example, the comedy film *Kingsman: The Secret Service* contains 15 PIS occurrences in fansub, the highest number among all films; and another comedy film, *Penguins of Madagascar,* contains eight PIS occurrences in fansub and six in produb. *Guardians of the Galaxy,* though not classified as a comedy film by the Internet Movie Database (IMDb), contains much banter between various characters in the film. Unexpectedly, and contrary to other films in the corpus, *Men in Black 3* has a much higher number of PIS occurrences in produb than in fansub (seven versus zero). This is because professional translator Jia, being a young woman with frequent internet usage, ventured to use PIS to entertain the audience, as evidenced in her statement.

In the translations of *Men in Black 3* and *Guardians of the Galaxy,* professional translator Jia frequently used lines of Chinese culture-specific elements including PIS. Examples include PIS such as *kēngdiē* (坑爹, dodgy) and *Hold Zhù* (hold on, Hold 住), and the names of Chinese comedians such as Zhao Benshan (赵本山) which did not exist in the original film texts. According to an interview with the translator, the heavy use of Chinese culture-specific elements is "appropriate" re-creation, aiming to facilitate the Chinese audience's understanding of the foreign humour in the comedy film. Faced with criticism of her being unfaithful to the original film by bringing Chinese culture-specific

elements into the translated text, Jia stressed her priority of being faithful to the original film, and defended herself by arguing that she tried to bring some "fun" (entertainment) to the audience (Nadi 2014)[27].

Jia consciously considered the function of the comedy film and "localised" or "obscured" the background information and culture-specific vocabulary in the film. This strategy has both advantages and disadvantages. For those audience members who treat the film mainly as entertainment, such translation is accessible to them. For those audiences (especially fans of the film) who prefer the style and content of the original film, such a translation is too "Chinese," losing its foreign flavour. The latter type of audience appears to be the minority, though their online complaints attracted much publicity. Two examples of evidence could support this claim. First, the reporter Nandi (2014) interviewed people from the cinema audience of *Guardians of the Galaxy*, and most showed their approval of this style of translation. Second, comments following the report reveal that a majority of those who commented preferred Jia's method of dealing with humour in the original film.

The regularity of PIS usage by both fansubbers and professionals in translating comedy films, and the statements of translators approving such usage, have confirmed that it is a norm in China to use PIS to translate swearing and transfer humour in English films, or to create humour as a means of compensating for the original humour lost in translation. Overall, this occurs more in fansub translations as the production is more restricted to internet users than the general public.

5.2.3.3 *Social acceptance of neologism in film translation*

A PIS word can be considered as a neologism, which is "an item newly introduced into the lexicon of a language" (Malmkjær 2009:601). Such a neologism is "a relatively new or isolated term, word, or phrase that may be in the process of entering common use, but that has not yet been accepted into mainstream language" (Todd 2011:3). Compared with conventional Chinese idioms (usually four-character set phrases, such as *yījiànzhōngqíng* (一见钟情，fall in love at first sight），PIS, as a type of neologism, is non-conventional language used in daily and online conversation by a particular group who, usually young, frequent online fora or chat rooms. Though PIS has been used widely online and even offline, it has been deemed by Chinese authorities to have the potential to undermine the purity of Chinese. In 2014, China's mass media administration SARFT issued an

---

[27] Original text: 通过一些适当的再创作，以加强中国观众对国外笑料的理解，最大限度上忠于原片，在这个基础之上能带给大家一些娱乐，这就是翻译最大的乐趣

administrative notice entitled, *Circular on the Standardisation of the Use of National Common Language in Radio and Television Programmes and Advertisements*. The notice forbids Chinese mass media from "using Chinese words devised from PIS"[28] (SARFT 2014a), which indicates the taboo nature of PIS.

The social acceptance of PIS may increase as time passes. Some PIS words may become a permanent part of the Chinese language, while others may vanish quickly, forgotten by future generations. An interview (see below) with veteran dubbing actor Liu Feng indicates that the usage of PIS in film translation has been increasingly accepted by cinema audiences, signalling a changing norm in produb.

> Previously, translators tried to bring the audience closer by using Chinese set phrases (成语). […] The phrase I dubbed *Wǒ huīcháng huīcháng kāixīn*[29] [contains PIS], so it would have never been used previously. Even if it had been used, it would have been censored. Nowadays, it is no longer a problem. It is close to people's life and the priority is to make it easy to understand. […] The sentence *Mǎnchéng jǐndài shǎdàmù*[30] [containing PIS] was "killed (censored)" in *Garfield* (2006) at the beginning. Many dubbers did not understand that sentence. Translator Gu Qiyong and I insisted on using that (translation). Unexpectedly, it turned out to have such good effect! –Liu Feng, interviewed by journalist Chen (2007)

Here the voice-over actor Liu Feng considered using PIS to be a risk worth taking. Though she did not translate the film, she had a major influence on the final dubbing output. It was she who decided whether to retain the PIS produced by translator Gu. For professional translators, using Chinese set phrases in professional film translation is a relatively safer translation method than using PIS due to their wider acceptance by the general audience. Against this tradition of using Chinese set phrases, Liu Feng decided that taking the risk of deviating from the norm of using traditional Chinese idioms may be rewarded socially, symbolically, and eventually financially.

When faced with the criticism that the use of such slang would limit audience range by excluding older people, professional translator Gu explained that, "the audience of movies like *Garfield* (2006) and *Night at the Museum* would be mostly young people who use the internet often and who are familiar with PIS. […] Using PIS is a shortcut for the survival of film translation." Here Gu anticipated his audience's demography and estimated their needs and expectations. The translator attempted to meet the audience's

---

[28] Original words: 不得使用或介绍根据网络语言、仿照成语形式生造的词语

[29] This sentence means: I'm very happy. Huīcháng is a PIS word, meaning "very". Original quote: 我灰常灰常开'

[30] This sentence contains a special reference to the title of a popular Chinese film; and the title had been altered and reproduced by internet users for fun. (像'满城尽带傻大木'那句，开始就给毙掉了，好多配音不懂)

expectations to conform to the expectancy norms. According to Chesterman (1997:64), expectancy norms are not only established by readers' expectations, but are also "governed by the prevalent translation tradition, by the form of other texts of the same genre, and by various other factors." PIS is a new type of slang that arose only after the internet was popularised in China, so there was no such "prevalent translation tradition" to follow in professional film translation, which means professional translators would assume substantial risk of not being accepted by the audience.

When a translator's statements concur with the data provided by his or her translation, we can assume that the translator's attitudes played a conditioning role with respect to behaviour. A clear example of this is provided by professional translator Jia's statement and her translation. This case in point is additional evidence indicating the public's increasing acceptance of PIS in cinema translation. Jia used PIS to render swearing in *Men in Black 3* (see Example 9 in Section 4.2.3.1). Regarding why she used PIS in the translation, she explained in an interview conducted by Xu (2012) that it was because her supervisor instructed her to produce a version targeting young people by adding popular and funny elements, which basically means references to current events or PIS. In Jia's opinion, she was following fansubbers' translation style, using PIS to translate both swear words and non-swear words, in order to add humour to a film.

Actually, Jia's "adding some popular and comedy elements" into TT has been controversial. According to Xu's (2012) report, most cinema goers felt the subtitles were funny and did not feel distant from them. There were some viewers though who believed the translation strategy was excessively used, which caused the loss of the original flavour of the film. Zhang Miao, director of Sony Pictures' Chinese branch that distributed the film, commented in an interview conducted by Yang (2012) that using PIS is a deviation from the faithfulness norm in the three-principle translation maxim *Xin Da Ya* (faithfulness, comprehensibility and elegance), but the company is satisfied with the results (a huge box-office success and positive audience feedback). In Zhang's opinion, due to the differences in languages and cultures, it is difficult for people in China to understand American (or British) humour, so it is a worthy risk for the translator to take as the audiences gain more familiarity with PIS.

Regarding "localisation" phenomenon of subtitle translation for imported films, professional translators and film critics seem to have reached a consensus: PIS should only be used in moderation. This indicates that, using PIS temperately should be regarded

as one of the norms in film translation. The following are a few quotations from translators and critics in the film translation circle regarding this principle:

> We must "implant" humour that is understandable to Chinese audience. When adding Chinese elements, one needs to do it in moderation according to different situations; otherwise it will be "neither fish nor fowl" [grotesque, 不伦不类].— Professional film translator, Gu Qiyong, 2012

> This localised humour has reduced the gap between [two different] comedy cultures. As long as it [PIS] is not overused, it is appropriate. —Film Critic, Bi Chenggong, 2012

> I have no objection to use PIS subtitles, but it should be on one condition: it depends on the time period in which the film is set. —Former director and voice-over actor of SHDS, Cao Lei, 2012 (Zhao 2012)

The extent of moderation obviously depends on factors including a film's genre (serious or comic) and the film's time period or setting. Most professional translators in journalistic interviews believed adding some PIS in their translation to create some humour for a comic film is fine, while for some (e.g. Lu Yaorong), the priority is to transfer the original meanings clearly instead of producing a second-hand creation (二度创作). As there are multiple factors (e.g. film genre, plot, translatorial habitus) influencing the use of PIS, it is difficult to determine how many PIS words per film is considered acceptable. There is a notion in the film translation field that the appropriate number of PIS words is around two. According to insiders from SHDS, a clear instruction was given to translators: "The studio does not reject the use of PIS […] one is almost enough, two at most. Seven or eight (such as those used in *Men in Black 3*) are too many" (Jian and Li 2012).

In summary, the use of PIS in professional film translation is a result of three factors: the translator's habitus, the film genre or plot, and the translator's field. The translator's habitus (e.g. age, exposure to the internet) is a prime factor. Younger translators such as Jia, Gu and Lu stated they may use it, whereas the veteran translator Liu Dayong claimed "he does not know how to use it" because PIS is a language of "a special group of people." Secondly, PIS is most likely to be used in comedy films. Finally, the translator may follow a supervisor's or film producer's encouragement of using PIS. The audience's approval of such usage may also spur the further expansion of PIS. The first factor (the translator's habitus) is salient when compared with fansub as fansubbers translate in a group and the professional usually translates alone. If the translator is older and has little exposure to the internet community, then we can assume it is unlikely s/he will use PIS in the film. This shows that, concerning the use of PIS, there is more heterogeneity than

homogeneity in the professional film translation field in China as professional translators normally translate individually rather than in a group. This will remain an interesting subject for future audiovisual reception studies.

The effects resulting from the translator's behaviour deviance from a prevailing norm may indicate the strength of the norm. Professional translator Jia's translation style (i.e., heavy use of PIS in her translation) has been controversial because she violated the long-held norm of using a "serious" style (high register) in film translation. Though innovative, this translation style has been criticised as "improper" by some critical viewers. The conservative use of PIS by professionals in China has been the norm in film translation for a decade, as shown in my corpus. This finding is further supported by Wang Jinxi, a veteran in the film dubbing industry for two decades, who expressed in an Xiaobiao (2014) interview that in his estimation, film dubbing in China has not changed much. The institutionalised system of dubbing may have contributed to the stability of Chinese dubbing norms. The "rigidity" in dubbing, long criticised by some viewers, has persisted in the industry for decades, and as Wang Jinxi lamented, it seems that professional dubbing/subtitling cannot keep pace with the audience's growing need to appreciate the foreign cultures embedded in the films.

5.2.4 *The norm of attenuating swearing in produb*

This thesis has found that film fansubbers in my corpus transferred less severity of swearing than professionals, and professionals generally toned down swearing in produb. Translators' explanatory statements confirm that toning down swearing in produb constitutes a norm. The underlying reasons for tempering swearing in produb include the influence of state censorship and the translator's self-censorship due to the cinema environment and the nature of the audience. In comparison, fansubbers tend to assume the audience to be their peers in the online community; consequently, their translation of swear words tends to be direct. However, it is worth noting that both professional film translators and fansubbers sometimes deviate from the practices noted above due to a norms conflict, wherein the translator is attempting to simultaneously conform to a variety of norms (e.g. the fluency norm, avoiding-translationese norm and faithfulness norm).

The ways in which professional film translators and fansubbers' translated the cathartic swearing such as "fuck" can illustrate very well the different norms for dealing with swear words within the two groups. The choices preferred by professional translators are

omission and euphemism in an attempt to reduce the force of the expletive. Professionals avoided transferring the coarseness in the original texts, whereas fansubbers tend to produce faithful translations of cathartic "fuck." This comparison shows that there must be some constraint in choice-making by professional translators who are in favour of omission and alteration, while defying the principle of being faithful to the original. It appears that all the constraining factors must have forced professional translators to conform to the institutional norm of moderating swearing, and producing translated texts which may break the norm of being faithful to the original text. Institutional norms refer to the expectations of behaviour or practice that are acceptable within an institutional environment (Wong and Boon-itt 2008). These widely known and strongly held norms are accepted or supported by legitimate authorities, and incorporated into the social conscience of the translators, thus regulating their conduct. The opposite practice, faithful translation of the cathartic expression "fuck" in cinema, is regarded as taboo by the authorities. The choices adopted by professional translators reflect their conservative ideology at the societal level. This is confirmed by the explanations given by professional translators Jia and Liu who defended their translation when they were criticised by film viewers online. Due to their knowledge of society, the translators must have been aware of the conservative policies formulated by the government. It is obvious that professional translators exert self-censorship, knowing that highly offensive words are forbidden on Chinese cinema screens. It should be also noted that the personal experiences of the translators played an important part in their translation choices. They were no doubt aware of other pertinent external factors such as audience taste, the translation company's guideline and censorship, as well as taboos in the mind of the typical viewer, all of which must have exerted constraints upon their ultimate translation choices.

In the category of idiomatic swearing, the omission of a swearing function by professional translators can be clearly attributed to the translators' objectives and the formal requirements based on expectations. The swearing in the source text may be attenuated or omitted in produb; however, the function of the original expletives is conveyed perfectly. This is due to the characteristics of the target language, which allow the option of expressing feelings such as disgust, shock, doubt or anger through the use of standard phrases or interjections rather than expletives. The mental or emotional nature of the agent involved also plays a role in this pattern, as the decision of both types of translators to seek renditions that convey the function of the original (final cause) must have been taken on a conscious or unconscious level.

The practice of toning down foul language in produb is not specifically sanctioned by government film regulations in China. That is, it does not work through laws or regulations (e.g. Film Management Regulations, see Appendix H), which are usually written and put into force by institutions. Professional translators mainly exercise subconscious self-censorship when translating strong language in foreign films. In this sense, it is a cultural or professional norm upheld by most professional translators. Although it is strictly prohibited in a dubbed or subtitled movie for cinemas to show words such as *biǎoziyǎngde* or *gǒuzázhǒng*, as professional translator Liu believed, those two words can still be found in produb in my corpus. This reveals the weak potency of the norm of toning down foul language, as there has been neither reported protest from the audience nor government sanctions. This is in contrast to the strength of the norm regarding conservative PIS use discussed in the previous paragraphs, indicating the variable strength of different translation norms within film translations.

5.2.5   *Summary*

In their statements, fansubbers and professionals spoke about what norms they prioritised: fansubbers stressed avoiding translationese and professionals stressed avoiding illogicality due to the use of PIS. These normative notions expressed through a translator's statements generally coincided with the behaviour shown in their translation, although some deviance occurred. In other words, the study has found that both film fansubbers and professional translators have normative notions that influence their behaviour, but the relationship between their conscious normative notions and actual behaviour is complex.

Novice SCG fansubbers may challenge the established norm, while the senior fansubbers, holding proofreading powers, endeavour to maintain the norm by applying a mechanism established within the group. If the novice translator wishes to remain in the field, then conformity to the translation norms established by the group is an expected and necessary behaviour. In this sense, fansub groups seem authoritarian and intolerant of novice translators' challenge.

As for produb, the practice of attenuating foul language is a norm, rather than a rule or law specifically imposed by government film regulators in China. The institutionalised system of dubbing may have contributed to the stability of the dubbing norms such as avoiding illogicality and promoting the conservative use of PIS. Due to economic incentives and a need to meet the audience's entertainment needs, professional translators

have tried to adapt their habitus in order to produce translations that fit the market. The following section will discuss translator's habitus in depth.

5.3   Translator's habitus

This thesis utilises Bourdieu's sociological framework and places translators of my film corpus within the translatorial habitus, arguing that their translation choices can be related to the nature of negotiation as a habitus-governed practice. The translator's habitus is identified by reconstructing their social trajectory, taking into account factors including the translator's social milieu, age, internet usage, group identity, motivations, and morality when dealing with taboo words. In Section 4.2, I have described the different patterns of the fansub group SCG and professional translators in their translation of taboo in eleven English films. In this section I aim to compare the two groups' habitus, and explore how the differences in their habitus contributed to the differences in their translation.

5.3.1   *Fansubbers' habitus*

Fansubbers' translatorial habitus distinguishes itself from professional film translators' in terms of their special social dynamics within the fansubbing community and their special fansubbing motivations, identity (use of PIS words), and morality (toning down swearing).

5.3.1.1   *Motivations of fansubbers*

Motivation is considered as a dimension of habitus which influences an agent's practice (Hsieh, Rai, and Keil 2011). Fansubbers translate for the enjoyment of the activity itself, and their translation behaviour is hence driven by an "intrinsic" motivation rather than an "extrinsic" one (Ryan and Deci 2000). Experts (Amabile 1985, Deci and Ryan 1992) have found evidence for the hypothesis that people are more creative when they are intrinsically motivated. This partially explains how new norms different from those in produb are established within the fansub group. Fansubbing also helps to meet the translators' psychological needs, providing a sense of belonging. This has a huge impact on their behaviour, encouraging fansubbers, especially novice ones, to conform to the established norms in the group. Fansubbers pursue cultural capital (new language and translation skills and new knowledge about a subject), which is "the inevitable driving force behind all socially organised activities" (Sela-Sheffy 2005).

Benefit-sharing is the basic starting point for the internet community of fansubbing. Benefits expected to be realised by fansub group members include both tangibles (i.e., audiovisual materials) and intangibles (i.e., new knowledge and information; psychological satisfaction from communication with like-minded people). Meanwhile, fansubbers have earlier access to new audiovisual materials than ordinary fans or viewers, which is a great reward to them because they usually are very eager to watch the latest films and episodes of TV series. This benefit-sharing within the fansub group creates a fertile atmosphere for active communication and mutual learning. Individual fansubbers not only offer their translation service but also gain a sense of being wanted in the group; therefore, together they construct a group identity of mutual trust and dependence.

The following paragraphs categorise the main motivations reported by fansubbers in an online posting on Zhihu (a Chinese online forum)[31], then illustrate an individual fansubber's motivation as an example. Fansubbers' motivations can be divided into six categories based on my qualitative analysis of the online posting:

1. **Learning new things**. Fansubbers having this motivation hope to improve their foreign language skills or gain new knowledge about a specific subject through the audiovisual materials they translate. In this way, they can gain cultural capital, which may be eventually converted into economic capital when they put their new skills and knowledge into use.

2. **Pursuing one's interests.** Fansubbers have interests in films and TV series, as well as different subjects (e.g. history, music, engineering, etc.). Popular films and TV programmes attract a large number of fans to translate them, while the less popular ones attract few fans. Fansubbing provides them with the opportunity to gain quick access to audiovisual materials.

3. **Believing they can produce better translation**. Fansubbers holding this view are critical about translation done by other fansubbers or professional translators.

4. **Viewers' recognition**. The pseudonyms of the fansubbers are imprinted in the videos to acknowledge their work; viewers' thank-you notes left on the downloading websites give fansubbers a sense of gratification.

5. **Group identity**. Fansubbers of the same TV series or film may become friends after translation. They share the same interest, and most of them are university

---

[31] Source : https://www.zhihu.com/question/22457885

students who can chat about common topics in an online chat room, which gives them a sense of belonging.

6. **Power acquisition**. Some fansubbers wish to obtain promotion and become a "leader" or a "mentor" in the group, gaining respect and admiration from new recruits and obtaining the privilege and potential to possibly set new translation norms.

One or a combination of motivations 1, 2 and 3 may be the cause for a fansubber's joining a fansub group; motivations 3 and motivation 4 may be the cause for a fansubber's remaining in a fansub group. Motivation 1, "learning new things," and motivation 2, "pursuing one's interests," may inspire fansubbers to render the "foreign elements" in the original text as intact as possible. Since fansubbers are enthusiastic about foreign language and foreign culture, they naturally tend to remain faithful to the original. Thus, when translating taboos, they most likely tend to fully transfer the offensiveness so that their audience will experience the original culture as much as possible. Motivation 4, "viewers' recognition," and motivation 5, "group identity," may inspire fansubbers to conform to fansub norms in order to gain recognition from both peers and viewers. These motivations are key factors influencing translators' tendency, namely their translatorial habitus, for dealing with taboo. The final outcome of translation may be a result of one or multiple motivations working together.

Fansubbers in SCG express their fansubbing motivations in postings published on their online forum, which helps us gain a deep insight into their group identity. For example, a SCG fansubber made a posting online explaining why she was leaving the group[32]:

> I'd like to say goodbye to everyone here. Writing these words, I now feel very sad. [I was asked to choose between this group SCG and the other group Sheldon.] I cannot leave Sheldon because it is the first group that I joined. I have good friends and buddies there. I am very reluctant to leave this group; reluctant to say goodbye to the excitement when translating *2 Broke Girls* every Tuesday; reluctant to say goodbye to the happiness and joy when I saw the final [translation] draft. Finally, thank you, thank you all fellow classmates [童鞋们] who understand or do not understand me. Thank you master Benben [笨笨师傅] for taking me as a disciple; thank you Jingli [景鲤] for taking me into the group; thank you Taozi Dada [桃子大大], UU Dada, Yingzi Dada who patiently answered my repetitious questions every time; thank you everyone here.

The fansubber exhibited her bond with SCG group (through the interaction with her *shifu* (master) and other senior fansubbers who she called *Dada* (a term of endearment). She

---

[32] Online posting source link: http://hdscg.com/thread-969151-1-1.html

also expressed her enjoyment of translating the audiovisual materials which she loved. The group identity and happiness she gained from working for the group are the two main motivations that kept her involved.

A fansub group is commonly believed by both fansubbers and their viewers to be not for profit. Based on fansubbers' statements, their passion for foreign audiovisual materials and their spirit of sharing are the main pillars that sustain a fansub group. Making money from fansubbing is considered disgraceful among those in the fansubbing circle. Nevertheless, to keep an influential fansub group going, some economic capital is required. For example, fansubbers need computers and access to high-speed internet, and the whole group needs an internet server to store their online forum as a means of facilitating their information sharing and communication. To secure funding for the server, the fansub group usually obtains donations from fellow fansubbers and their viewers. Most major fansub groups in China sell adverts on their websites to generate revenue to cover the cost of running an internet server. For example, the fansub group SCG receives revenue from the online forum (BBS website), selling VIP membership to its members, as well as from adverts on the forum. The SCG's online forum has over one million members, and some have paid for VIP membership. The high-level administrators form an exclusive sub-group within SCG, not accessible to ordinary fansub translators and forum members. Ordinary fansub translators are not remunerated for their work, though it is speculated that high-level administrators may share the extra revenue if there is surplus after the fansubbing and online forum costs are covered. This has called into question the common research assumption that commercialism, especially advertising, necessarily undermines the critical, oppositional stance of the cultural producer. Although relying on advertising to some extent, the fansub group is not necessarily the most conservative and can even be quite progressive in all senses of the term.

In summary, fansubbers have common interests and the spirit of sharing resources. These psychological ties unite fansubbers around the world to defend themselves against criticism and even discrimination from outsiders. For fansubbers, the importance of such sharing spirit within their community has outweighed the risk of privacy and condemnation outside their community. That is, their community ethics are valued above mainstream social values. Driven by an "intrinsic" motivation, they hence are able to establish and maintain different norms from those in the produb (e.g. fansubbers' avoiding translationese in taboo translation).

5.3.1.2 *Translator identity*

Through cooperative translation activities, fansubbers in SCG develop group identity. This identity constitutes their group habitus and mediates their practice of conforming to their group norms. Fansubbers gain self-esteem and pride by belonging to a group which gives them a sense of social identity. This group identity is expressed through language, namely their more direct translation of swear words, lower level of translationese and relatively higher frequency of PIS usage in subtitles compared with produb.

When fansubbers of virtual identity participate in fansub group activities, they reconstruct a fansub group personality as a channel for identifying and being themselves. Individual identity formed in this online group context constantly changes. The greater the contribution a fansubber makes, the easier it is for him/her to be accepted by the group. For example, if a potential fansubber wants to enter film translation, they need to pass a small video clip translation test. The test is examined and judged by a senior fansubber who will then assume the role of teacher or mentor, giving guidance and training. The fansubber's symbolic and social capital outside of the community is not considered as such, as in the professional film translation field. To gain respect and maintain their reputation among their peers, fansubbers need to begin anew, and continuously present their products. To gain access to the upper levels of the hierarchy (to become a proofreader/editor), they need to have enough translation products approved by proofreaders, and pass a proofreading trial test, conforming to established norms within the group. Through the social space (in this case, the fansub group community), a fansubber as an individual moves through time by acquiring capital.

Although fansubbers participate voluntarily in an online virtual community, they are not necessarily aware that they are being constrained, or even controlled. The environment has been designed to subtly manipulate the behaviour of these volunteers. In the fansub community, a fansubber's personal "identity equipment" (Goffman 1961:47) such as clothing or other possessions with which the member may have identified himself, are not seen by other members. The community is a system in which fansubbers do not transfer their identity or utilise the social status gained in non-virtual life. Fansubbers re-establish their status within the community by completing tasks, and by doing so, they reconstruct their identities online. The system provides every new member with a mentor who offers early-stage training and support. The administrators manage volunteers, encouraging members to conform to their translation norms, and work hard for the survival and

development of the community. By cooperating, they create a sense of community and fellowship, making themselves feel that they are part of something bigger than themselves.

In fact, the internet has acted as a platform for fansubbers to construct their self-identity in a virtual online community, through communicating information and sharing benefits. They produce texts, challenging the professional norms and disciplines (e.g. translationese, censorship) established in this modern society, obtaining a sort of pleasure from confronting the authorities. For example, the following quotation from a posting published on SCG's forum website indicates that fansubbers in the group do not think highly of professional translation (dubbing) due to its translationese issue, and they advocate a change.

> It [translationese] is like when we watch dubbed films on China Central TV, we get goose bumps. It is because it is supposed to be Chinese people speaking Chinese, but [those dubbing actors] imitate the foreigners' intonations and accent. It is very awkward listening to it. Translationese is the same. You translate subtitles into Chinese, then you should make your Chinese consistent with the language logics and habits of Chinese people. –A SCG senior fansubber (2010)[33]

A fansub group is a social community having its own semantic space and cultural transmission mechanism. In this semantic space, PIS can be used in a conversation with a stranger or an old friend to banter and mock scandals. These fansubbers not only meet online but also meet offline when possible, creating a broader living space in such textual context. Fansubbers' ability to understand PIS comes from frequenting social network communities or from their regular use of such specialised language. While translating, they unconsciously exhibit the identity of belonging to an online community through the use of PIS. Meanwhile, as they aim to use a language familiar to their audience, there is a tendency to use their own language to ensure the translation does not sound awkward, avoiding translationese as much as possible.

These translators are mostly young people, with those 16 to 30 years old accounting for 92% of all group members, according to my interview with the group leader and a poll conducted on the online forum. These young fansubbers, mostly students, are exposed to the internet constantly and they tend to use PIS as a way of exhibiting their identity when communicating online with each other. As translation of foreign audiovisual materials is part of the communication conducted by fansubbers, it inevitably features PIS.

---

[33] Source link: http://www.cnscg.com/thread-704474-1-1.html

5.3.1.3   Morality and ethics

Moral censorship is the removal of materials that are obscene or otherwise considered morally questionable. Moral, or puritanical censorship is a term borrowed from Ermolaev (1997), who divides censorship practices into puritanical and political. Political censorship, also known as state censorship, concerns internal and external policies of the State, while moral or puritanical censorship concerns issues such as sex, violence, and foul language (Ermolaev 1997:825). As evidenced in the corpus (see Section 4.2.3), fansubbers have self-censored some strong language in their translation, though less frequently than professional translators. As fansubbers have expressed their possibility of censoring such strong language for the sake of their audience, I hence attribute attenuation of strong language in fansub to fansubbers' self-censorship (puritanical) due to their morality. Furthermore, because of the lack of political (state) censorship in the field, fansubbers' habitus (tendency to attenuate strong language) was not enhanced as professionals' habitus in the produb field, leading to differences in the transfer of swearing severity.

Regarding the translation of expletives, among four fansubbers I interviewed, three stated they usually toned down the expletives because they felt it was inappropriate to use strong language in the translation, while only one fansubber believed expletives should be translated faithfully to keep the film plot intact (see quotations below).

Translator A: I usually just translate them as words like tāmāde. Because I myself do not use those strong words, it is difficult for me to use them directly in my translation.

Translator B: I may (subconsciously set my audience as a certain group of people)... When I translate animation films, the language will not be so vulgar... but when the original text has very vulgar language, if I deliberately try to evade it, my translation will be misunderstood... I have translated films full of foul language before, and I believed the audience should expect to hear such language and prepare themselves psychologically beforehand [心理应该有预设], so they do not get shocked...

Translator C: When I was a child, I watched American TV series, and saw those expletives were translated as gǒuniángyǎngde (son of a bitch). I do not consider my audience may include children. I just feel that it is polite [文雅] if they are translated as húndàn (idiot, bastard).

Translator D: Some expletives such as "motherfucker" and "cunt" are very coarse [粗暴] to me. I will not use literal translation. I usually just use frequently-used Chinese words such as TMD (literally: fucking). I think swear words are actually used to express one's feelings at the moment. As long as the feeling is expressed, it does not matter what is said.

Most of the fansubbers above considered using coarse language as bad behaviour, thus having a normative notion of avoiding using such strong language in their translation. With the absence of state censorship, fansubbers are ideally placed in a position of translating voluntarily to introduce foreign cultures (including coarse language) to Chinese speakers; as a result, their revision of the source text can reveal their own values. Due to the influence of their own values (e.g. moral standards), the translator's position of text control does not always guarantee a translation production that remains completely faithful to the original text. Fansubbers, in the absence of state censorship, have not consistently conveyed a similar coarseness of swearing in the source text, as would be expected in the case of non-censored translation. Most of the fansubbers interviewed clearly stated that they felt it was inappropriate to translate strong language directly. This indicates their translation is one that is constrained by their own morality and cultural background.

The subconscious manipulation by fansubbers has signalled an operational element in film fansubbing that passes beyond the norms in translation. This element is the space in which the habitus of fansubbers as free-willed individuals is entwined with their translatorial habitus. In the case of fansubbers, the translation is not just performed by a translator who tends to conform to the assumed "polite" target culture, but also by a fan who wishes to transfer an intact, un-manipulated audiovisual product to their fellow fans.

This disposition of fansubbers "not being offensive" should be considered as a form of habitus because it constitutes a general inclination that fansubbers draw upon to inform their action in dealing with strong language. The habitus is formed through negotiated action in which translators form moral interests based on their empathy with and expectation of the audience. Here, habitus is a useful concept for understanding the formation of moral norms because it links the internal disposition of translators with its embodiment in the action negotiation within the social structure, that is, the translator's behaviour has been mediated by their own psychological and reflexive processes.

5.3.2 *Professional translator's habitus*

This section explores the special historical trajectory of professional film translators, mainly that of Jia Xiuyan from AFFS, in order to understand their translatorial habitus. Professional translators work to establish parameters for themselves in the produb field. It is crucial to identify professional translators' habitus as a field habitus or identify the professional translator's habitus as an individual (Osman 2012). Apart from Jia Xiuyan (female, in her 30s), this section also touches upon the historical trajectory of other professional translators, such as Gu Qiyong (male, in his 30s, SHDS) and Liu Dayong (male, in his 50s, AFFS). My findings about professional translator's habitus are based on the qualitative analysis of journalistic interviews and reports of these translators.

5.3.2.1 *Professional film translator's training and entry into film translation*

This section conducts a case study of professional film translator Jia's training and entry into the field of film translation. The purpose is to illustrate what it takes to be a film translator, i.e., what capital one needs to enter the field. From a Bourdieusian perspective, her habitus is derived from both her cultural capital (e.g. language skills, translation training) and social capital (her social network). From a study of Jia's life trajectory and the capital she has accumulated, I can deduce her translatorial habitus and how it acts with the film translation field to bring about her translation practice.

Jia was chosen for the case study because: (1) her background information is most available among all professional film translators in China; and (2) she is one of the most prolific film translators in my corpus. Jia has been heavily reported by the Chinese media due to her controversial translation style, characterised by adding Chinese culture-specific elements into her translation. Jia may not be representative of the whole team of professional film translators in China, but a case study of her products may offer a

glimpse of a professional film translator's habitus, helping us understand the development of a film translator in China. Jia's successful entry into the film translation field can be attributed to her proficiency in both English and Chinese and the social network in which she finds herself.

Professional film translators in my corpus (e.g. Jia Xiuyan, Cui Xiaodong, and Lu Yarong), usually do not have a university degree in translation or English. They are proficient in English, and often have received higher education in related areas, such as Chinese, dubbing, and film. In this case, the translator's dispositions, acquired through experiences related to fields other than film translation and to their social trajectory, are transposed to the film translation field, playing an essential role in the translator's habitus. For example, professional translator Jia's first university degree is Chinese Literature, while another professional translator Lu Yaorong, from SHDS, holds a Master's in Broadcasting and Hosting from Communication University of China (Beijing)[34]. Jia's proficiency in Chinese literature has been embodied in her film translations which are characteristic of "local elements" including Chinese poems and PIS.

Jia gained her first degree in Chinese Literature and her institutionalised cultural capital is one of many qualifications required for entry into professional film translation. Jia entered the film translation field in 2008, when Wang Jinxi, the director at AFFS, was looking for a Chinese-language major graduate proficient in English to participate in film translation (Han 2013). Her position in the field (working closely with the film dubbing director Wang) has been highly advantageous for her in securing the film translation job, as Jia herself said: "This society has so many talented people (能人很多), and I just happen to have this opportunity[35]". At her company, AFFS, she primarily performs publicity/advertising and distributing work. Because of the professional ties of her position, she and the film director Wang Jinxi were in the same department and participated in conferences together. Once Wang knew she loved English and films and that she translated poetry and short stories, he started to train Jia to translate films (Han 2013).

Jia's film translation training is through a "master-disciple" relationship (Niu 2014), rather than university degree training. Her case is typical within the professional film translation field. According to Jia's own statement in an interview conducted by Xiaobiao

---

[34] Source: an interview with Lu Yaorong, http://www.ximalaya.com/11725855/sound/3885640

[35] Original words: 这个社会上能人很多,我只是恰好有了这个机会而已. See Appendix B for Jia's full statement.

(2014), she learned translating by watching old films and comparing the original English and translated Chinese transcripts for one year. Then in 2009, under the guidance of her supervisor Wang Jinxi, she started to translate flat-fee films, which are not as significant as revenue-sharing films in terms of the film's influence and profit potential. After gaining recognition, Jia now translates five to six blockbusters annually. By studying previous translation works of old films, and gaining guidance from veteran film translators, internalising the translation norms that were effective in the profession, she became endowed with the required skills, accumulating cultural capital for higher position in the field.

Jia has accumulated symbolic capital from translating films for cinema release. These films achieved "classic" status after gaining commercial success in China. That is, the film acquires enduring, stable symbolic capital that canonises the film as classic. The translator benefits from the symbolic capital that has been invested in the original film produced and released in the source language culture. Through his or her translation, the translator intervenes as an agent who grants the film a quantity of capital by submitting it to the mechanism of recognition in the target cultural field. In a sense, the film and the translator are in a mutually beneficial relationship, boosting each other's symbolic capital within the target culture.

In summary, Jia's capital—cultural, social, and symbolic—interplay and reinforce each other. Her habitus then both determines and is determined by her capital, which is situated in a larger context, the film translation field in China. Being part of the film dubbing group, the community increases her capital, which in turn improves her status in the circle. Jia's master-disciple relationship with her supervisor Wang and senior-junior colleague connection with Liu highlight the translator's reliability and her potential to align her habitus with established translation norms. In a Jia interview by journalist Tian (2015), the major factor of "social capital" is the quoted experience of learning from senior translator Liu Dayong, pointing to the high value of this form of capital. As a metaphor for social power, social capital designates the resources related to the affiliation within a certain group. The amount of social capital depends on the extent of relations that can be mobilised by an agent (Bourdieu 1997: 63).

5.3.2.2 Age and the internet

The translator's age is a key factor in their translatorial habitus. Professional film translators in China are a mix of both young and old, who are unequally exposed to the

internet. This may partially explain why there is an uneven distribution of slang words used for translating swear words in Chinese professional film translation. Besides in-house film translators, the four dubbing studios in China also hire freelancers during the busy season of imported films arriving for translation (*Bandao Morning Post* 2012). According to professional translator Lu Yaorong (ibid.), the part-time translators hired by her company have various areas of expertise (e.g. costume dramas, war films). These translators are film enthusiasts, mostly young people in their 20s or 30s. Although many translators do not major in foreign languages, their attitudes towards and interests in film translation comprise a rather positive translatorial habitus. They have certain common traits: they are energetic, having broad interests; passionate about films and translation; and interested in European and American literature, film and TV (*Bandao Morning Post* 2012).

In addition to being young, professional translators frequently use the internet as evidenced in the translator's statements and interviews. For example, the professional translator, Gu Qiyong, in his 30s, has been noticeable because of his use of PIS in his film translation (Chen 2007). Gu's colleague, an older professional voice-over actress (Ding Jianhua), revealed that she and her fellow voice-over actors learned new slang words in the translation produced by Gu. When journalist Chen asked Gu about the "new words," he was surprised that other people would consider those PIS words as new. Those words were not new to him, as he explained, because he "frequented online fora and spent lots of time there" (Chen 2007), and he used the slang words which he learned from those online fora. The young translator went online frequently to get in touch with new PIS and thought of ways to use it in his subtitles, aiming to produce humour and bring the audience closer to the translation (Chen 2007).

In contrast, older professional translators may spend less time on social media, and thus are less exposed to PIS. Using PIS in one's translation can be seen as a sign of the translator's group identity. This formed translatorial habitus may decrease the usage of PIS for translating swear words. This can be exemplified by the case of older translator Liu Dayong, who defended himself against criticism from a microblogger. In 2015, the newspaper *Observer* (观察者) reported the online posting containing the criticism and attracted great attention in China. In the posting titled "Compilation of Mind-Boggling Translation of *Avengers: Age of Ultron*," the author (name unknown) criticised Liu's translation of "You son of a bitch:"

[It is translated by you as] *nǐgè lǎohuǒjì* (你个老伙计, literally: you old bloke)? It may be inappropriate to publicly swear on the big silver screen, but at least you should have translated it as *wòlegèdàchā* (卧了个大叉, literally: f**k a big cross) or *diāobàole* (刁爆了, literally: dick explodes). What do you mean by *nǐgè lǎohuǒjì*? What's supposed to be strong language has become something to show homosexual affection?!

What the microblogger wanted to protest is coarseness of the language being lowered in the translated text. The author also suggested using PIS to transfer the coarseness in the original English dialogue. Liu Dayong responded to the microblog posting by revealing the reason for his choice:

This movie line [You son of a bitch] means *nǐzhè biǎoziyǎngde* (literally: You raised by a whore), but here it actually expresses the speaker's surprise and his admiration for Fury, therefore, I took into account the original meaning and translated it as *Nǐ zhè lǎo jiāhuo* (你这老家伙, You old bloke). As you know, it is strictly prohibited in a dubbed movie to show words such as *biǎoziyǎngde* (婊子养的, son of a bitch), *gǒuzázhǒng* (狗杂种, literally: bastard dog); *dàchā* (大叉, literally: big cross), *diāobào* (刁爆, literally: cock busted) seems to be language only used by some special group of people. I do not know how to use such language. –Liu Dayong (2015b).

In Liu's opinion, PIS is "a language only used by a special group of people." This implies that Liu, a film translation veteran in his late 50s, did not think he belonged to that group. That is, this older-generation translator did not identify himself with the young translators who frequently use the internet and exchange ideas online. Liu was commissioned to translate four films in my corpus of 51 films and each of these four films are either thriller or fantasy films which contain few jokes or humorous remarks. These films were allocated to him likely because dubbing studios in China have realised the different habitus of their translators can affect their translation. As a film for Chinese cinemas is mostly translated by a single professional translator, the produb version of the film may often bear individual identity marks (habitus) of the translator. For example, in my corpus, the produb version of the 2012 film *Skyfall* contains no PIS word, while the fansub version contains one. Liu's translatorial habitus can partially explain this difference. According to a report by *Youth Times* (2013), film dubbing studios in China allocate films of different genres to translators of different ages. Older translators mainly translate films of historical themes, such as *Gladiator*; younger translators mainly translate animation films. This difference has been recognised by the translator's supervisors (e.g. Wang Jinxi, Sun Yufeng) who confirmed in their statements that they "assigned films of different themes to translators of different age" (Li 2013).

5.3.2.3 *Commercial motive of professionals*

Professional translators consider the audience's needs to be entertained, and strive to transfer humour from the original film. If that is not possible, the translator may add Chinese culture-specific elements to create humour. In this way, translators hoped to help film producers and distributors maximise the film profits by catering to consumers. This conjunction (between translators and film industry) may explain why the audience can be shown to play an important role with respect to my corpus in shaping translational phenomenon. Within the Chinese film industry, principal activities of entertainment, expectations and needs of recipients play an important role; and in cinema much attention is given to audience demand, more so than fansub (see Section 5.1.2.1). This commercial motive of professionals has spurred PIS usage in their translation, narrowing the differences in PIS word frequency between fansub and produb.

In order to examine to what extent professional translators' translation has met the audience's expectation, I obtained information about the attitudes of a group of Chinese audience members towards the cinema translation of *Men in Black 3* from journalist Wu (2012) news report in July 2012. According to Wu, an internet user criticised Jia's localised translation (adding Chinese cultural references) for *Men in Black 3*. The internet user listed examples of Jia's translation, then suggested her own "faithful" version (literal translation). 150 people online made relevant comments through Weibo.com. I categorised their comments regarding Jia's style of translation into three groups (approval, disapproval, approval with conditions), and calculated their percentage (see Table 28).

Viewer Comments	Frequency	Percent (%)
Approval with conditions	8	5.3
Approval	105	70.0
Disapproval	37	24.7
Total	150	100.0

Table 28. Viewer comments regarding Jia's localised translation for *Men in Black 3*

As shown in Table 28, most viewers approved Jia's style of translation. A closer reading of their comments reveals the primary reason for approval is that they thought the translation was humorous; local cultural references offset the disadvantage of their not being able to understand foreign humour. The main reason for disapproval was that viewers felt the foreign cultural elements were lost in Jia's translation and they were not able to experience the original movie fully. Those who expressed approval with

conditions believed that: 1) adding local cultural elements should be moderate; and 2) it is not possible to meet everyone's needs.

Another survey conducted by journalist Jian (2012) at Qinggong Film City cinema [青宫电影城] in Beijing indicates a match between the translator's expectations and the audience's. The journalist randomly interviewed over ten spectators. Half the respondents felt "the subtitles were funny, and they loved it." One third of the respondents said that "although they did not find it so funny, this kind of translation was more in line with the culture within China;" only two viewers stated that they "could not stand it." Another viewer said s/he did not notice the problem the reporter mentioned at all. On that particular evening, the attendance rate for the two films was over 60%, mostly young people. According to the reporter's observation, the subtitles did not always get the attention of the audience; only when the subtitles were closely related to the humour in the film [36] was "localised translation" noticed. For example, according to observation of journalist Jian (2012) who was among the audience to watch *Madagascar 3* in a cinema, there was obvious laughter when the following "localised" phrases appeared: Zhao Benshan (a famous comedian in China); *dìgōuyóu* (地沟油, Gutter oil).

It is noted in the survey that one prevailing attitude in Chinese audiences is that they want to enjoy a foreign film seamlessly, that is, film dialogue should be consistent with the pictures and the film's plot. To facilitate the audience's appreciation of a foreign language film, translation should be accurate in order to avoid spoiling the viewing. Furthermore, the majority of the audiences believe that to fully enjoy the film, foreign cultural elements not understandable to them should be substituted with Chinese cultural references to achieve an effect similar to that achieved in the source culture. Based on the fact that the professional translator and her supervisors actually paid attention to the audience's feedback online, according to a news report (Lu 2014), it is evident that professional translators do take into account audience expectations. However, according to interviews with professional translators, they still hold a cautious attitude towards PIS usage in the translation. Therefore, we can understand the lower frequency of PIS in produb than fansub as a balance struck by professional translators taking into account the audience's expectations and their cautious attitude towards PIS usage.

---

[36] The original Chinese text of "only when the subtitles were closely related to the humour in the film": 只有在和笑点结合得比较紧密时

5.3.3 *Similarities and differences in the two types of habitus*

This section, according to Bourdieusian theory, compares the habitus of professional and amateur film translators (fansubbers) participating in the film industry. The habitus of these translators consists of their tastes and interests, and their understanding of the world around them. It is created through their socialisation with family, culture and education. These two groups of translators have certain similarities in their education and profession which shape their tastes and interests. Most have not necessarily received a degree in English or translation and work chiefly in other fields (i.e. have a primary profession other than translation). In addition, they generally share an interest in American and British culture. The translator's habitus, consisting of their interests, the spirit of sharing the film with others, and their understanding of the world, has the potential to influence their actions in film translation. The cultural capital that both fansubbers and professional film translators accumulate operates through habitus to affect their film translation. To achieve success, translators use the capital they have received from education, communities, and prior experiences. Particularly, through translation training, these translators gain familiarity with the dominant norms (cultural capital) and this helps them maintain their position in the field.

More importantly, the two groups of translators (fansubbers and professionals) differ in their habitus, which may affect the way they translate. Firstly, entry into a fansub group, different from that into the produb field, requires a translator to pass an online test, usually translation of a short video clip. The candidate is free of geographical or social constraints. This method of recruiting ensures that whoever wants to participate and has the skills can join. In fansub, the translator's academic achievement and social background are then obscured, unknown to fellow fansubbers. Fansubbing networks negotiate certain norms from the bottom up, e.g. by conducting polls to discuss their opinions with fellow fan translators or audiences concerning a certain translation issue. This particular way of norm establishment empowers fansubbers to establish their own subtitling standards without regard for special professional film translation norms.

Secondly, when fansubbers and produbbers enter their respective fields, the habitus is altered as the training they receive is different. The two fields have different norms and traditions (see Section 5.2). To gain qualifications, translators receive training from others, or self-training by watching previous works. Fansubbers study the proofread works and corrections made by editors and read postings made by senior fansubbers. By

175

comparison, professional translators receive advice from their supervisors, study previous professional works, and align their work with the requirements of the new environment. The training received by professionals partially determines their habitus; hence their translation differs from that of fansub.

Thirdly, their motivations are different. Fansubbers choose films to translate based on their interests and the video source's availability. That is, if they are interested in a film and it is available for them, then they are inclined to translate and share it. Subtitling and sharing online by fansubbers, as opposed to dubbing by professionals for cinema settings, requires no dubbing actors or supervision from film producers and authorities. This is transformative in the sense that it aids in the revision of norms by circumventing these external demand "filters." Without altering the original audio track, this type of translation meets the audience's need for unfiltered and uncensored foreign cultural products.

The amateur participants act in a well-organised manner, motivated to distinguish themselves by producing their own original translations via adventurous moves in form and content. These moves can transform the existing field structure. These new agents (fansubbers) are rewarded emotionally and measure success through the quantity of satisfactory work completed. They stress their conformity to the established norms within the fansub field in order to "fit" into the institutionalised fansub group. The online fora and blogs on fansub websites, of course, play a key role in the transmission of audiovisual materials. Viewers' opinions, reviews, and gossip discussing fansub and produb are basically free of official censorship, hence facilitating transformation of the field.

Fansubbers, as a group of peripheral and subversive audiovisual dissidents translating and circulating productions of popular cultural entertainment, share a group habitus. Moreover, these fansubbers do not choose film translation as their profession; rather, they regard it as a hobby. It is true that their various intellectual, linguistic, and literary abilities may have been preconditioned by their habitus. The fact that these Chinese amateurs with good English skills translate and circulate audiovisual materials to help others gain access to these materials presents an interesting topic for further investigation of the field habitus as a temporary surrogate entity. In the case of film fansubbing, the translation of popular literature (i.e., blockbuster films and popular TV series) is yet another battlefield within the greater struggle to shape modern Chinese society to define a singular national and cultural identity. In comparison, professional translators entering the established produb

field bring with them their professional experience, combined with their social capital and symbolic capital acquired in other fields. Bringing their capital into the field of commercial film translation gives professional translators a considerable boost and affirmation of their translatorial habitus, and continually shapes and refines their habitus.

This study also confirms Fawcett's (2003) finding that film translation, like other modes of translation, is subject to human randomness. This randomness could similarly be explained through the concept of habitus (conditioned by the translator's expectations of the audience, and the translator's political and/or moral concern); the translation commissioner's financial interests; and the translator's constant mixed perception of their position as gatekeeper and communicator. Habitus, a shifting or variable constellation of dispositions, may be derived from a variety of sources, including general translational tradition, translation practice and training, social group, aptitude, company culture, and the national culture. It is described as shifting because, as shown by my findings, film translation in China is not a matter of consistent adherence to a canon of behaviour (normalisation and invisibility) but a form of behaviour subject to certain degree of randomness due to norm conflicts.

5.4   Summary

The discussion above implies the usefulness of the model of intersecting fields. Interviews of translators by journalists have illuminated the rationale behind the translator's behaviour. The different priorities and norms within the fields of film industry administration, translation, and film production may contribute to the conflicts and tension between distinct groups in China's film translation field. Rather than being the result of a single system, film translation is best conceived as the result of consensus or conflictual negotiation among actors and of divided allegiances within actors, owing to the conjunctions and disjunctions of principles and characteristics in the pertinent subfields.

The special motivation of fansubbers of an online community retranslating films shapes their translatorial habitus differently from professionals, which then contributes to the differences in taboo translation compared with produb. Unlike professional film translators who are acknowledged individually and can be identified by their actual name in film credits, fansubbers use pseudonyms, hiding their identities. Their power resides in their numbers, or rather in the cumulative power of the masses that view their audiovisual materials. Still, these masses do not show much interest in fansubbers as individuals;

rather, they consider the translators as a mysterious group. There is hardly any "*enjeu* (stake)" to fight for, in Bourdieu's terms, except the audience's recognition. The fact that fansubbers hate being victims of plagiarism indicates that fansubbers are eager for acknowledgement of their service. Expecting their audience to be mainly online young people similar to themselves, they tend to use a language in translation showing their identity of an online community. That explains why in fansub there is a heavier usage of PIS, a language used by fansubbers frequently to communicate among themselves.

The fansub field, with fansubbers occupying positions in a stratified space of an online community, is relatively more autonomous than the produb field, due to its non-profit and non-governmental nature. The fansub field thus is less affected by the external forces (economic and political). Equipped with their habitus, fansubbers hence made different translation choices, leading to the differences in taboo translation compared with produb. Fansubbers likely consider translating a vocation, not a profession; they see it as a cultural/political activity, and in most cases, are not earning a wage from the activity (or at least, they are not primarily profit-driven). The materials they translate and publish would otherwise have been officially censored, and their translation is a sign (and site) of resistance to the authorities' literature and arts standards and values which dictate the composition of "high" and "green (cleansed)" popular literature. At the very least, these subversive translators take pride in translating and publishing this literature online, receive admiration for their altruistic undertaking, and know they have a vast, albeit "unofficial," viewing public that is at times receptive to new ideas and foreign culture. They may also be aware that they are creating, or are at least part of, a "subculture" with a common interest and outlook. Considering the popularity of videos and the potential recognition from their audience, fansubbers have flexibility in accepting what the authorities considered "vulgar productions and kitsch [三俗：庸俗、低俗、媚俗]". Thus, it is inevitable that fansubbers were able to transfer higher severity of swearing from source text to target text, their fansub.

Most professional film translators look to mainstream, or even fansub, sources for models of commendable literary style; and although some of the models made it possible to experiment with colloquial language and slang, most translators chose "safe," acceptable options. A closer look at the few who made their way to the film translation profession indicate that it was their social relations (social capital), not necessarily their professional performance, that helped them gain entry into the field. In and of itself, amateur translation of films and TV series is an intriguing topic of research in terms of the habitus

theory. Complicating the application of Bourdieu's theory is the fact that some of these dissidents (fansubbers) eventually became professional translators for online video streaming websites rather than film dubbing studios, due to the entry restrictions and the translation monopoly of the studios.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

In order to empirically investigate the differences in the ways that fansubbers and professional translators deal with taboo language in English films, I constructed a corpus of Chinese translation of 51 English blockbuster films (2006-2014) with two translation versions included: fansub and produb. The analysis of the data concerning taboo translation generated from the corpus provided textual evidence for the researcher to examine translator behaviour. This thesis also collected and analysed qualitative data concerning the translator's thoughts related to taboo translation. Meanwhile, social milieus of the two groups of film translators (fansubbers and professionals) were investigated. The contributions and limitations of the present study will be discussed in the following sections. Suggestions for future research are given at the end of the chapter.

6.1   Contributions

By combining quantitative and qualitative data, the findings in relation to the research questions can now be put forward. The corpus data of 51 films provides textual evidence to suggest two main significant differences in translating taboo language between fansub and produb: (1) fansub transferred a higher severity of swearing than produb; and (2) fansub exhibited less translationese than produb. This indicates that the two groups of translators (fansubbers and professionals) have exhibited distinct translation behaviour in different social milieus. Eleven films out of the 51-film corpus were selected for the study of taboo translation patterns produced by fansub group SCG and produb as produced by four government-sanctioned companies. Concerning the translation of five types of taboo (including four types of swearing and one type of taboo issue), a significant difference was found between fansubbers' and professionals' translation patterns of four types of taboo. Fansubbers tend to translate taboo more directly, using a Chinese swear word or taboo equivalent to render taboo in the original English text.

This thesis has also conducted a qualitative analysis of the following data: statements and interviews of translators and other translation agents; the structure of fansub group SCG and of the professional film translation industry. It is discovered that fansub group SCG is an institutionalised virtual community. The group is a microcosm of an authoritarian regime, in which individual fansubbers construct a hierarchical system. Within this community, proofreaders act as authorities and edit fansubbers' translation drafts without consulting them. These proofreaders and project managers endeavour to maintain the established norms, admonishing other fansubbers if they deviate from group norms.

A model of multiple causality (see Section 3.3.2) containing the following sociological concepts has been employed to explain the differences between fansub and produb: translation norms; and Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and field. These concepts have significantly aided in the understanding of how and why the practices of translation agents are formed within the film translation field in China. The explanatory model views film translation in China as a cultural production field consisting of two subfields: fansub and produb. Compared with produb in the field of mass cultural production, fansub, situated in the field of restricted cultural production, has a higher level of autonomy as it is farther away from the three fields of power, namely, the political, economic, and educational/academic realms. It is then discovered that the two major factors impacting the produb field have less effect on fansub: state censorship from the political field and commercialism in the economic field. The anticipation of readers and the identity of fansubbers as members of an online community have facilitated the domesticated translation in fansub resulting in a lower level of translationese, while the censorship and the cinema setting constrain the professionals, leading to a lower level of swearing severity transfer in produb.

The comparative corpus study conducted has depicted the translatorial habitus of fansubbers and professionals in rendering taboo language in films at the textual level. It was discovered that several social determinants played a part in the constitution of the translatorial habitus of film translators: the translator's age, motivations, the internet, and the social structure within the fansubbing and professional film translation fields. Meanwhile, the habitus of translators contributed to the establishment of taboo translation norms which in turn fashioned and conditioned the habitus related to the translation of taboo language in films. As certain fansubbers accumulated their cultural capital from the audiovisual materials they translated, they gained a higher position in the power hierarchy within the fansub field, consolidating the norms of which they approve.

Against the lack of systematic data analysis supporting the theoretical arguments surrounding taboo translation, this thesis succeeds in putting forward a conceptual and methodological framework substantiated by empirical evidence for analysing the effects of social factors on translator's behaviour. The multi-causality explanatory model explores the qualitative data related to translators as a complement to the textual evidence. This study has undertaken research into the translation process through the combination of quantitative and qualitative data, with regards to the complexity of translational activities in the field of film production, focusing on aspects such as the

translation group and their practices and manifestations of film translation as an institutional operation both in fansub and produb. The combination of translation norm theory and Bourdieu's sociological concepts has been shown to work as a framework for explaining the production practice by translation agents in the film translation field in China. According to this study's research results, Bourdieu's sociological concepts integrated into the explanatory model have contributed to the description of power struggles in the film translation field in China, enabling researchers to understand the complex relations in a certain social context.

The present study has taken into consideration the role of the human actor in the study of translation, and investigated whether social factors have conditioned the behaviour of translators who exhibited regularities in their translation. This study pioneers the method of utilising a comparative corpus study to investigate textual behaviour in translating films in the digital era and the Chinese context. This study has discovered a significant domesticating tendency embedded in translatorial habitus of the fansubbing group when dealing with taboo language in films. Without considering the special social environment the group is in, it is difficult to understand why the fansubbing group exhibited such tendency in contrast to that of the professional film translation. A more comprehensive examination of the social factors constituting translatorial habitus and the field of power struggles enabled me to understand the domesticating tendency from the sociological perspective. It is discovered that both fansubbers and professionals produced texts conforming to established norms and expectations of the target audience, integrating their own linguistic and social experience into their translation practice. Moreover, it is evident that fansubbers' translatorial habitus is socially acquired and shaped in the context of the online Chinese community sharing audiovisual materials, leading to highly consistent textual features in film fansub.

6.2 Limitations and suggestions for future studies

The findings of the research open new avenues for the understanding of the phenomenon of film translation in the cultural production field in China. However, there were inevitable constraints on the scope and the availability of resources which may need to be overcome in further research. Fansub groups are difficult to access because of their anonymous nature and the 'illegal' copyright issues that made them reluctant for accepting interviews from outsiders. As the fansub group SCG translated the most films in my corpus, I joined SCG and concentrated on study of this particular group. Though

182

the group is similar with other major fansub groups in China in terms of its size, history and hierarchy, it may not represent all other Chinese fansub groups after all. Future research could also investigate the production of film translation in Taiwan and Hong Kong where political and economic situations are different, constituting a different social environment. For example, censorship is different among Taiwan, HK and China. They have different cultures and history, especially in the past 80 years. So, by looking more into these, we can understand more about fansubbers' behaviour and also their influence on society and economy. Moreover, the export of Chinese films into international markets, as opposed to the import of English films into China, can be seen as another film translation subfield in which government-sponsored culture export, private company's profit-oriented translation, and fansubbers' culture sharing coexist. The subfield's rich dynamics are more complex and the application of my explanatory model may need updates.

Secondly, although this research endeavours to answer a broad range of questions through a comparative study of the two translation versions of English films (fansub and produb) in China, some conclusions need to be further tested on a wider range of translators from different historical periods. The present study is a synchronic research that compares translations by different groups of translators in China during the same period, leaving the diachronic research to be conducted in the future.

References

Acevedo, Melissa, and Joachim I Krueger. 2004. "Two egocentric sources of the decision to vote: The voter's illusion and the belief in personal relevance." *Political Psychology* 25 (1):115-134.

Agcaoili, Mizhelle D. 2011. "Hybrid Identities: Filipino Fansubbers of Japanese Media and Self-Construction." *Special Issue: Cultural Hybridities of the Philippines al Hybridities of the Philippines* 47:10.

Alavi, Sayed Younes, Amin Karimnia, and Shahram Salehi Zadeh. 2013. "Translation of taboos from English into Persian: A skopos-based study." *Elixir Ling. & Trans* 54:12289-12292.

Alkadi, Tammam. 2010. "Issues in the subtitling and dubbing of English-language films into Arabic: problems and solutions." PhD, Durham University.

Allan, Keith, and Kate Burridge. 2006. *Forbidden words: Taboo and the censoring of language*: Cambridge University Press.

Amabile, Teresa M. 1985. "Motivation and creativity: Effects of motivational orientation on creative writers." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 48 (2):393.

Asch, Solomon E. 1956. "Studies of independence and conformity: I. A minority of one against a unanimous majority." *Psychological monographs: General and applied* 70 (9):1.

Baker, Mona. 1993. "Corpus linguistics and translation studies: Implications and applications." *Text and technology: In honour of John Sinclair* 233:250.

Baker, Mona. 2000. "Towards a Methodology for Investigating the Style of a Literary Translator." *Target* 12 (2):241-266.

Balemberg, Alissander. 2011. "The Fansub activity in the legend of the seeker: rhymes as a case in point." Bachelor, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina

Bandao Morning Post. 2012. "Two schools of translators for imported films; they are mostly part timers [进口片译制分两派 翻译大多非科班]." *Bandao Morning Post [半岛晨报]*. Accessed 07/25/2016. http://bit.ly/2vGSUW7.

Baranauskienė, Reda, and Rasa Blaževičienė. 2008. "Audiovisual translation of feature films from English into Lithuanian." *Jaunųjų mokslininkų darbai* 4:14-21.

Barra, Luca. 2009. "The mediation is the message Italian regionalisation of US TV series as co-creational work." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 12 (5):509-525.

Basi. 2015. "The root of the translation problems of imported film blockbusters is monopoly [进口大片荒唐翻译根在垄断]." *China Youth [中国青年网]*, 14/05/2015. Accessed 16/06/2016. http://bit.ly/2cfPUvc.

Benson, Rodney. 2003. "Commercialism and critique." *Contesting media power: Alternative media in a networked world*:111-27.

Berger, Arthur. 1973. "Swearing and society." *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*:283-286.

Bernardini, Silvia, and Federico Zanettin. 2004. "When is a Universal not a Universal." In *Translation Universals. Do they exist*, edited by Anna Mauranen and Pekka Kujamäki, 60-80. John Benjamins Publishing.

Bogucki, Łukasz. 2009. "Amateur subtitling on the internet." In *Audiovisual Translation*, edited by J. Diaz Cintas and G.. Anderman, 49-57. Houndmills Palgrave Macmillan.

Bolin, Göran. 2012. "The forms of value: Problems of convertibility in field theory." *tripleC (cognition, communication, co-operation): Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society/Unified Theory of Information Research Group* 10 (1):33-41.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Vol. 16: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1983. "The field of cultural production, or: The economic world reversed." *Poetics* 12 (4-5):311-356.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1985. "The market of symbolic goods." *Poetics* 14 (1-2):13-44.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986a. "The economy of practices." In *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, 97–256. London & New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986b. "The production of belief: contribution to an economy of symbolic goods." In *Media, culture & society: A critical reader*, edited by Richard E. Collins,

James Curran, Nicholas Garnham, Paddy Scannell, Philip Schlesinger and Colin Sparks. London: Sage.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The logic of practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Edited by John B. Thompson: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1993. *Sociology in question*. Vol. 18: Sage.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994a. *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology*. Translated by M Adamson. Cambridge: Polity.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994b. *Raisons pratiques: sur la théorie de l'action*. Vol. 4: Seuil Paris.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1996. *The rules of art: Genesis and structure of the literary field*: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2005a. "The political field, the social science field and the journalistic field." In *Bourdieu and the journalistic field*, edited by Rodney Benson and Erik Neveu, 29-47. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2005b. *The social structures of the economy*: Polity.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2006. "The Forms of Capital." In *Education, globalization, and social change*, edited by Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown, Jo Anne Dillabough and Albert Henry Halsey. Oxford university press.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc JD Wacquant. 1992. *An invitation to reflexive sociology*: University of Chicago Press.

Boyko, Diana. 2012. "A Study of Organisational Structure and Practices of Fansub Groups in China and Russia." Master, Department of Information and Communications, Shih Hsin University

Brownlie, Siobhan. 2003. "Investigating explanations of translational phenomena: A case for multiple causality." *Target* 15 (1):111-152.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1985. "Rethinking classical theory." *Theory and society* 14 (6):745-775.

Bruine de Bruin, Wändi, Andrew M Parker, and Baruch Fischhoff. 2007. "Individual differences in adult decision-making competence." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 92 (5):938.

Burn, Andrew. 2006. "Re-Working the Text: Online Fandom." In *Computer Games: Text, Narrative and Play.* , edited by D Carr, D Buckingham, A Burn and G Schott, 88-102. Cambridge Polity Press

Carmona, Jeffersson David Orrego. 2011. "The Empirical Study of Non-Professional Subtitling: A Descriptive Approach." Master, Universitat Rovira i Virgili.

Cerón, Clara. 2001. "Punctuating subtitles: Typographical conventions and their evolution." *Benjamins Translation Library* 34:173-178.

Chaume, Frederic. 2004. *Cine y traducción*. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Cátedra.

Chen, Qimei. 2007. "'Translating Times'--New talk, new people, new stories in film subtitles ['译时代'--看电影字幕中的新话新人新故事]." *Youth Weekend [青年周末]*, 05/04/2007. Accessed 13/06/2015. http://bit.ly/2eKVQgI.

Chen, Xuelian. 2015. "Where are dubbed films? [配音片去哪儿了]." *International Herald Leader [国际先驱报]*, 26/05/2015. Accessed 28/09/2016. http://bit.ly/2fWnmIh.

Chen, Yuan. 2001. *In the jungle of words - applied sociolinguistics [在语词的密林里-应用社会语言学]*: The Commercial Press, Ltd [台湾商务印书馆].

Chesterman, Andrew. 1997. *Memes of translation: The spread of ideas in translation theory*. Vol. 22: John Benjamins Publishing.

Chesterman, Andrew. 1998. "Description, explanation, prediction: A response to Gideon Toury and Theo Hermans." *Current Issues in Language & Society* 5 (1-2):91-98.

Chesterman, Andrew. 2000. "A causal model for translation studies." *Intercultural Faultlines. Research Models in Translation Studies* 1:15-27.

Chiaro, Delia. 2007. "Not in front of the children? An analysis of sex on screen in Italy." *Linguistica Antverpiensia, New Series–Themes in Translation Studies* (6).

China Youth. 2006. "Dubbed verson of 'Garfield 2' an unprecedented success: I always support you] [《加菲猫 2》配音版空前火爆：我一直顶你]." *China Youth [中国青年报]*, 14/08/2006. Accessed 28/02/2016. http://bit.ly/2c7svLf.

Clarissa. 2012. "The translation of Men in Black 3 attracts internet users to correct errors; The producer claims it is recreation of arts [《黑衣人 3》翻译引网友纠错 片方称艺术再加工]." *NetEase [网易]*, 05/06/2012. Accessed 05/07/2016. http://bit.ly/2tAuigz.

Council, State. 2001. Film Management Regulations [电影管理条例]. edited by State Council of the People's Republic of China.

CPC. 2011. CPC Central Committee's decisions on several major issues about deepening reform of cultural system and promoting socialist cultural flourish and development [中共中央关于深化文化体制改革 推动社会主义文化大发展大繁荣若干重大问题的决定]. edited by CPC Central Committee. Beijing: Xinhua News.

CQSB. 2010. "'Geili' and 'shenma doushi fuyun'; fansub groups closely follow popular internet slang ['给力','神马都是浮云' 字幕组紧跟网络流行语]." *Chongqing Commercial News [重庆商报]*, 25/10/2010. Accessed 25/06/2016. http://bit.ly/2tHtqe1.

Crisafulli, Edoardo. 2002. "The Quest for an Eclectic Methodology of Translation Description." In *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research Models in Translation Studies II, Historical and Ideological Issues*, edited by Theo Hermans, 26-43. Manchester, UK & Northampton MA: St Jerome Publishing.

Deci, Edward L, and Richard M Ryan. 1992. "The initiation and regulation of intrinsically motivated learning and achievement." *Achievement and motivation: A social-developmental perspective*:9-36.

Dewaele, Jean-Marc. 2004. "The emotional force of swearwords and taboo words in the speech of multilinguals." *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development* 25 (2-3):204-222.

Díaz Cintas, Jorge. 2004. "In search of a theoretical framework for the study of audiovisual translation." In *Topics in Audiovisual Translation*, edited by Pilar Orero, 21-34. Benjamins Translation Library.

Díaz Cintas, Jorge. 2005. "Back to the Future in Subtitling." *Marie Curie Euroconferences MuTra: Challenges of Multidimensional Translation, University of Saarland* 200.

Díaz Cintas, Jorge, and Sánchez Pablo Muñoz. 2006. "Fansubs: Audiovisual translation in an amateur environment." *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 6 (1):37-52.

Díaz Cintas, Jorge, and Aline Remael. 2007. *Audiovisual translation: subtitling*. Manchester, UK: St. Jerome Publishing.

Dietrich, Cindy. 2010. "Decision making: factors that influence decision making, heuristics used, and decision outcomes." *Inquiries Journal* 2 (02).

Ding, Fei, and Qingxiu Gao. 2013. "'Pegasus Meteor Fist' shockingly appeared in lines of "Pacific Rim"; translator: it's a matter of opinion [《环太平洋》台词惊现'天马流星拳' 翻译:见仁见智]." *China Radio [中广网]*, 07/08/2013. Accessed 11/12/2016. http://bit.ly/2uucKW2.

Ding, Jieshuai. 2014. "Henan regulates that internet language including "kengdie" is forbiddeng in official documents and textbooks [河南规定机关公文和教科书禁用 "坑爹" 等网络语言]." *Zhengzhou Daily*, 25/03/2014. Accessed 23/11/2016. http://bit.ly/2eLFq7P.

Duff, Alan. 1981. *The third language: recurrent problems of translation into English*. Oxford: Pergamon Pr.

Dwyer, Tessa. 2012. "Fansub Dreaming on ViKi: 'Don't Just Watch But Help When You Are Free'." *The Translator* 18 (2):217-243.

Eraut, Michael. 2000. "Non‐formal learning and tacit knowledge in professional work." *British journal of educational psychology* 70 (1):113-136.

Ermolaev, Herman. 1997. *Censorship in Soviet literature, 1917-1991*: SIAM.

Evan-Zohar, Itamar. 1978. "The position of translated literature within the literary polysystem." *Literature and Translation*:117-127.

Even-Zohar, Itamar. 1971. "An introduction to a theory of literary translation." *Unpublished PhD thesis (in Hebrew), Tel Aviv University*.

Fanink. 2016. Fanink 2015 film market report [凡影 2015 电影市场总结]. Fanink.

Fawcett, Peter. 2003. "The manipulation of language and culture in film translation." In *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology-ideologies in Translation Studies*, edited by Maria Calzada-Pérez, 145-163. Routledg.

Ferrer Simó, María. 2005. Fansubs y scanlations: la influencia de los aficionados en los criterios profesionales. Puentes.

French, Howard. 2006. "Chinese Tech Buffs Slake Thirst for U.S. TV Shows." *The New York Times*, 09/08/2006. Accessed 26/01/2016. http://nyti.ms/2vGrnEw.

Fu, Yan. 1973. "General remarks on translation [in Tianyanlun], 1989]." *trans. CY Hsu, Renditions* 1:4-6.

Gallego, Guillermo Sanz. 2013. "Translating Taboo Language in Joyce's Ulysses: A Special Edition in Spanish for Franco and Perón." *Atlantis. Journal of the Spanish Association for Anglo-American Studies* 35 (2):137-154.

Gambier, Yves. 2004. "Tradaptation cinématographique." *BENJAMINS TRANSLATION LIBRARY* 56:169-182.

Gambier, Yves. 2006. "Multimodality and audiovisual translation." MuTra conference Audio visual Translation Scenarios, Copenhagen 1-5/05/2006.

Gao, Jinju. 2013. "Event extraction of Weibo open field [微博开放领域的事件抽取]."Master, Zhongshan University [中山大学], Cnki.

Garnham, Nicholas. 1993. "Bourdieu, the Cultural Arbitrary and Television." In *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma and Moishe Postone, 192. Cambridge:: Polity Press.

Georgakopoulou, Panayota. 2009. "Subtitling for the DVD Industry." In *Audiovisual Translation: Language Transfer on Screen*, edited by Jorge Diaz Cintas and Gunilla M. Anderman, 21-35.

Ghassempur, Susanne. 2009. "Tha'sounds like me arse!': a comparison of the translation of expletives in two German translations of Roddy Doyle's' The commitments." Dublin City University.

Goffman, Erving. 1961. "On the characteristics of total institutions." Symposium on preventive and social psychiatry.

González, Luis Pérez. 2007. "Fansubbing anime: Insights into the 'butterfly effect'of globalisation on audiovisual translation." *Perspectives* 14 (4):260-277.

Gottlieb, Henrik. 2004. "Language-political implications of subtitling." *Benjamins Translation Library* 56:83-100.

Gouanvic, Jean-Marc. 2005. "A Bourdieusian theory of translation, or the coincidence of practical instances: Field,'habitus', capital and 'illusio'." *The Translator* 11 (2):147-166.

Guo, Huiqiao. 2015. "Secrets of fansub groups revealed: no financial rewards, but gaining happiness [揭秘字幕组：没酬劳却能收获快乐]." *Chutian Metropolis Daily [楚天都市报]*, 12/04/2015. Accessed 23/12/2016. http://bit.ly/2vGDm4M.

Guo, Xinyang, and Zhangwan Yun. 2012. "Local 'seasoning' added to foreign films; is it to enhance or to ruin it [洋电影里的本土"佐料"锦上添花还是画蛇添足]." *People Daily [人民日报]*, 25/07/2012. Accessed 25/11/2016. http://bit.ly/2fH1L51.

Hamai. 2015. In 2014, marketing expenses of China film industry reached 3.6 billion yuan; audience of age 19-40 contributed 87% to the box office [2014 中国电影营销费 36 亿 19-40 岁观众贡献 87%票房].

Han, Wei. 2013. "Stories about translated films behind 'Pegasus Meteor Fist' ['天马流星拳'背后的译制片江湖]." *The Time Weekly [时代周报]*, 22/08/2013. Accessed 08/04/2016. http://bit.ly/2fWlA9K.

Hatim, Basil , and Ian Mason. 1997. *The translator as communicator*. London & New York Routledge.

Havlásková, Zuzana. 2010. "Interference in Students' Translations." Masarykova univerzita, Filozofická fakulta.

He, Yonghai. 2012. "The translation of imported films still needs 'Xin Da Ya' [引进片中文翻译仍需'信达雅']." *People 's Daily Overseas Edition [人民日报海外版]*. Accessed 11/10/2014. http://bit.ly/2fpI26Q.

Hermans, Theo. 1998. "Translation and normativity." *Current Issues in Language & Society* 5 (1-2):51-72.

Hermans, Theo. 1999a. "The First Debate." In *Translation and Norms*, edited by Christina Schäffner, 46. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Hermans, Theo. 1999b. "The Second Debate." In *Translation and Norms.*, edited by Christina Schäffner, 46. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Hermans, Theo. 1999c. *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and System-Oriented Approaches Explained*. Edited by Anthony Pym, *Translation Theories Explained*: St. Jerome Publishing.

Hesmondhalgh, David. 2006. "Bourdieu, the media and cultural production." *Media, culture & society* 28 (2):211-231.

Hess, Carla W, Karen M Sefton, and Richard G Landry. 1986. "Sample size and type-token ratios for oral language of preschool children." *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research* 29 (1):129-134.

Holmes, James S. 1988. *Translated!: papers on literary translation and translation studies*: Rodopi.

Hsieh, JJ Po-An, Arun Rai, and Mark Keil. 2011. "Addressing digital inequality for the socioeconomically disadvantaged through government initiatives: Forms of capital that affect ICT utilization." *Information Systems Research* 22 (2):233-253.

Hu, Biying. 2012. "Who are creating absurb subtitles for the Hollywood blockbusters? [谁在制造好莱坞大片的"雷人"字幕？]." *Vistastory [看天下]*. Accessed 26/08/2015. http://bit.ly/2vEYMzp.

Hu, Xianyao. 2006. "A Corpus-based Study on the Translational Norms of Contemporary Chinese Translated Fiction [当代汉语翻译小说规范的语料库研究]."PhD, East China Normal University, Cnki.

Inghilleri, Moira. 2003. "Habitus, field and discourse: Interpreting as a socially situated activity." *Target* 15 (2):243-268.

Isbuga-Erel, Reyhan Funda. 2008. "Translating taboo and ideology: a socio-cognitive diachronic critical discourse analysis framework for translations of English and American novels." University of East Anglia.

Ivarsson, Jan, and Mary Carroll. 1998. *Subtitling*. Simrishamn: TransEdit.

Jay, Timothy. 1992. *Cursing in America: A Psycholinguistic Study of Dirty Language in the Courts, in the Movies, in the Schoolyards, and on the Streets*: John Benjamins Publishing.

Jian, Fang. 2012. "Subtitles localisation overdone; half of internet users surveyed are against the 'through' translation [字幕本土化过火　半数网友反对"穿越式"翻译]." *Nanfang Metropolis Daily [南方都市报]*. Accessed 14/02/2015. http://bit.ly/2vFwDZ2.

Jian, Fang, and Jia Li. 2012. "Investigating the truth of translation of imported films; who are the translators? [引进片翻译真相调查 吐槽译者到底是何方神圣]." *Nanfang Metropolis Daily [南方都市报]*. Accessed 26/06/2016. http://bit.ly/2vFjn6F.

Johansson, Stig. 1998. "On the Role of Corpora in Cross-linguistic Research." *Language and Computers* 24:3-24.

Juliusson, E Ásgeir, Niklas Karlsson, and Tommy Gärling. 2005. "Weighing the past and the future in decision making." *European Journal of Cognitive Psychology* 17 (4):561-575.

Kantner, Cathleen, Amelie Kutter, Andreas Hildebrandt, and Mark Puettcher. 2011. "How to get rid of the noise in the corpus: Cleaning large samples of digital newspaper texts." *International Relations Online Working Paper* 2.

Kaufmann, Francine. 2004. "Un exemple d'effet pervers de l'uniformisation linguistique dans la traduction d'un documentaire: de l'hébreu des immigrants de «Saint-Jean» au français normatif d'ARTE." *Meta: Journal des traducteursMeta:/Translators' Journal* 49 (1):148-160.

Krais, Beate, and Gunter Gebauer. 2002. Habitus. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Kruger, Alet. 2004. "Corpus-based translation research: its development and implications for general, literary and Bible translation." *Acta Theologica* 22 (1):70-106.

Kung, Szu-Wen. 2010. "Agents and Networks in the Translation of Taiwanese Literature." University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Lamont, Michele. 1992. *Cultivating differences: Symbolic boundaries and the making of inequality*: University of Chicago Press.

Laviosa, Sara. 1998. "Core patterns of lexical use in a comparable corpus of English narrative prose." *META-MONTREAL-* 43:557-570.

Laviosa, Sara. 2002. *Corpus-based Translation Studies: Theory, Findings, Applications*. Vol. 17: Rodopi.

Laviosa, Sara. 2003. "Corpora and translation studies." *GRANGER, Sylviane, LEROT, Jacques & PETCH-TYSON, Stephanie (eds.)*:45-54.

Le, Yun. 2012. "Why China rejects film rating system [详解中国拒绝电影分级制]." *The Time Weekly [时代周报]*. Accessed 17/25/2015. http://bit.ly/2utTw2I.

Lee, Hye-Kyung. 2011. "Participatory media fandom: A case study of anime fansubbing." *Media, Culture & Society* 33 (8):1131-1147.

Lefevere, André, and Susan Bassnett. 1990. "Introduction: Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights." *Cultural Turn 'in Translation Studies ', in Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (eds) Translation, History and Culture, London & New York: Pinter Publishers*:1-13.

Lei, Dongrui. 2013. "Man self-taught six foreign languages, sentenced for translating and selling 400 foreign literature videos [男子自学 6 门外语翻译 400 部外国文艺片出售 被判刑]." *Yangtze Evening News [扬子晚报]*. http://bit.ly/2uTpfvg.

Leonard, Sean. 2005. "Progress against the law: Anime and fandom, with the key to the globalisation of culture." *International journal of cultural studies* 8 (3):281-305.

Leung, Louis. 2009. "User-generated content on the internet: an examination of gratifications, civic engagement and psychological empowerment." *New Media & Society* 11 (8):1327-1347.

Li, An. 2014a. "Fansub group YYeTs accusing Tudou.com of plagirarising their subtitles [人人字幕组指责土豆网盗用字幕]." *China National Radio [央广网]*. Accessed 18/02/2015. http://bit.ly/2gZpak8.

Li, Fangming. 2011. "Chinese dubbing uses popular slang words profusely; detailed analysis of dubbing for Hollywood blockbusters [中文配音网罗流行语言 详解好莱坞大片配译指南]." *Rednet [红网]*. Accessed 14/07/2016. http://bit.ly/2tGExnC.

Li, Fangming. 2013. "Mind-boggling translation of *Pacific Rim* criticized [《环太平洋》雷人翻译遭吐槽]." *Youth Times [青年时报]*. Accessed 11/12/2015. http://bit.ly/2uVS9uy.

Li, Heqing, and Zhenjie Bo. 2005. "Norms in Subtitle Translation." *Chinese Science & Technology Translators Journal* 2:011.

Li, Jianzhong. 2003. "How is the territory of Huaxia and CFG divided? [华夏、中影'势力'如何瓜分]." *Shanghai Morning Post [新闻晨报]*. Accessed 28/06/2015. http://bit.ly/2fHlMqm.

Li, Tong, and Huixiaowan Zhou. 2017. "Who to blame for the errors in subtitles of foreign films? [引进片字幕出了错，应该谁来背这个锅？]." *Beijing News [新京报]*. Accessed 25/12/2015. http://bit.ly/2eKLvkV.

Li, Xiazhi. 2014b. "Popular US dramas broadcast on CCTV; the translation requires 'Xin Da Ya' [热播美剧上央视，翻译力求'信达雅']." *Beijing Daily*. http://bit.ly/2fCoRYh.

Li, Xingxing. 2014c. "Research on Opinion Mining Technology for Product Reviews of B2C Websites [B2C 网站商品评论挖掘技术的研究]."Master, Beijing Jiaotong University [北京交通大学], Cnki.

Li, Xuan. 2012. "Film dubbing studios 'endangered' [电影译制厂"濒危"]." *Zongyi Weekly [综艺报]*. Accessed 14/01/2015. http://bit.ly/2tyZPiJ.

Liang, Wen-Chun. 2010a. "Constructing the role of human agents in translation studies: translation of fantasy fiction in Taiwan from a Bourdieusian perspective." PhD, School of Modern Languages, Newcastle University.

Liang, Xiaodong. 2010b. "Translation Strategies of Vulgarism in Subtitling [论电影字幕中的粗话翻译策略]." Master, Hebei Normal University [河北师范大学].

Liberman, Mark. 2005. "One world, how many bytes?", accessed 06/07. http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/~myl/languagelog/archives/002379.html.

Liu, Lisheng. 2012. "Sociological Approach to Relations between Translation Norms and Translatorial Behavior -- Exemplified by Literary Translation in Late Qing Era and the 17 Years (1949-1966) " PhD, Shandong Univeristy.

Liu, Qijia. 2000. "On the Historical Development of "Xin Da Ya" [论"信达雅"的历史发展轨迹]." *Foreign Languages [外国语文]* (2):96-101.

Liu, Xiao, and Jie Liu. 2012. "A catalogue of major fansub groups [主流字幕组盘点]." *Guangdong Yangcheng Evening News [羊城晚报]*. Accessed 11/08/2015. http://bit.ly/2vWHf52.

Liu, Yang. 2015. "Why do imported blockbusters frequently get into ' translation-gates'?[进口大片，为何屡陷"翻译门"]." *People Daily [人民日报]*. Accessed 16/08/2016. http://bit.ly/2fpETUK.

Liu, Yumeng. 2014. "YYeTs fansub group and Shooter.cn have been closed down one after another; where should fansub groups go [人人影视射手网相继关闭 字幕组成员何去何从]." *Qianzhan [前瞻]*. http://bit.ly/2enKlul.

Liu, Zhuxi, and Xuefeng Wu. 2014. "Translation gurus in fansub groups [字幕组的翻译大神们]." *Nanfang Metropolis Daily [南方都市报]*, 07/08. Accessed 12/10/2014. http://bit.ly/2tz7opE.

Lu, Shu. 2014. "Who is deciding foreign film subtitles viewed by hundreds of millions of viewers? [谁在决定亿万观众看到的外语片字幕？]." *Tencent Entertainment [腾讯娱乐]*.

Luo, Ping. 2010. "Translation Norms and Translator 's Habits: A Case Study of Hu Shi 's Translated Poems. [翻译规范与译者惯习——以胡适译诗为例]." *Journal of Xi'an International Studies University [西安外国语大学学报]* 18 (2):75-78.

Ma, Xiaoyi, and Christopher Cieri. 2006. "Corpus support for machine translation at LDC." Proceedings of LREC.

Ma, Zhengqi. 2005. *Scenario Translation & Dubbing [影视译制概论]*. Beijing: China Communication University Press.

Malmkjær, Kirsten. 2009. *The Routledge linguistics encyclopedia*: Routledge.

Malmkjær, Kirsten, and Kevin Windle. 2011. *The Oxford handbook of translation studies*: Oxford University Press.

Maluf, R. 2005. "A potential untapped? Why dubbing has not caught on in the Arab world." *TBS Journal*.

Maton, Karl. 2008. "Habitus." In *Pierre Bourdieu: key concepts*, edited by Michael Grenfell, 49-65. Routledge.

McLeod, Saul. 2008. "Qualitative quantitative." *Simply Psychology*.

Meimei. 2015. "Able people should do the work! Gudabaihua subtitles 'Avengers: Age of Ultron' for China [我行我上!谷大白话任《复联 2》内地版翻译]." *Sina Entertainment*. Accessed 16/09/2016. http://bit.ly/2fpDkGb.

Mu, Chenxi. 2012. "Yuanfang Style language appears in US drama 'Green Arrow'; the fansub group gets famous [美剧《绿箭侠》现元芳体 字幕组亮了]." *Bandao Morning News [半岛晨报]*. Accessed 05/12/2015. http://bit.ly/2uuiXkZ.

Munday, Jeremy. 1998. "A Computer-assisted Approach to the Analysis of Translation Shifts." *Meta* 43 (4):542-556.

Munday, Jeremy. 2008. *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*. London, New York: Routledge.

Nadi. 2014. "Shame on the translation of 'Guardians of the Galaxy' [《银河护卫队》翻译之殇]." *The Economic Observer [经济观察报]*. Accessed 15/11/2015. http://bit.ly/2uu7WAg.

Nanjing Daily. 2013. "Controversy in '2013 Top Ten Catchwords' in 'Yaowenjiaozi' [《咬文嚼字》2013 "十大流行语"引争议]." *Nanjing Daily*, 20/12/2013. Accessed 16/07/2015. http://bit.ly/2vFiB9y.

NetEase. 2013. "Watch US dramas and appreciate fansub group's marvelous translation [看美剧领略字幕组的神级翻译]." *NetEase Education*, 17/09/2013. Accessed 15/10/2015. http://bit.ly/2tWgFrn.

Newcomb, Horace. 1997. voice-over. In *Encyclopedia of Television*, edited by Horace Newcomb.

Ng, Yin Ling Elaine. 2009. "A systemic approach to translating style: A comparative study of four Chinese translations of Hemingway's The Old Man and the Sea." UCL (University College London).

Niu, Mengdi. 2012. "我们还需要译制片吗?" *Guangming Daily [光明日报]*, 01/02/2012. Accessed 22/12/2015. http://bit.ly/2uVNwAP.

Niu, Mengdi. 2014. "University programme in Film and TV translation will be cancelled; bleak prospect for translated films [影视剧译制即将退出专业设置 译制片渐行渐远]." *China Culture Daily [中国文化报]*, 06/06/2014. Accessed 16/11/2015. http://bit.ly/2vWQ4fd.

Nornes, Abé Mark. 1999. "For an abusive subtitling." *Film Quarterly*:17-34.

NPC. 2011. Copyright Law of People's Republic of China. edited by National People's Congress. Beijing.

O'Hagan, Minako. 2008. "Fan translation networks: an accidental translator training environment?" In *Translator and Interpreter Training: Issues, Methods and Debates*, edited by John Kearns, 158-183. London: Continuum.

O'Hagan, Minako. 2011. "Community Translation: Translation as a social activity and its possible consequences in the advent of Web 2.0 and beyond." *Linguistica Antverpiensia, New Series–Themes in Translation Studies* (10).

Olohan, Maeve. 2004. *Introducing corpora in translation studies*: Routledge.

Osman, Ghada. 2012. ""The sheikh of the translators": The translation methodology of Hunayn ibn Ishaq." *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 7 (2):161-175.

Parini, I. 2010. "Audiovisual translation and censorship: the case of taboo language in mafia movies." Hidden words, forbidden books: Five hundred years of censorship in the English world.

Pedersen, Jan. 2007. "Cultural interchangeability: The effects of substituting cultural references in subtitling." *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 15 (1):30-48.

Pedersen, Jan. 2011. *Subtitling norms for television an exploration focussing on extralinguistic cultural references*, *Benjamins translation library,*. Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co.,.

Pellatt, Valerie, Eric T Liu, and Yalta Ya-Yun Chen. 2014. *Translating Chinese Culture: The Process of Chinese--English Translation*: Routledge.

Pérez-González, Luis. 2014. *Audiovisual Translation Theories, Methods and Issues*. London: Routledge.

Peterson, Richard A. 1997. "Changing representation of status through taste displays: An introduction." *Poetics* 25 (2):71-73.

Pinker, Steven. 2008. *The stuff of thought: Language as a window into human nature*: Penguin.

Pym, Anthony. 2008. "On Toury's laws of how translators translate." *Benjamins Translation Library* 75:311.

Pym, Anthony, Miriam Shlesinger, and Zuzana Jettmarova. 2006. *Sociocultural aspects of translating and interpreting*. Vol. 67: John Benjamins Publishing.

Qiu, Junfeng. 2014. "US version of 'Legend of Zhen Huan' to be broadcaste the end of this year [美版 《甄嬛传》 或年底开播]." *Haikou Evening News [海口晚报]*, 04/05/2014. Accessed 15/05/2015. http://bit.ly/2fHkc5T.

Ramos Pinto, Sara. 2012. "Subtitling Norms for Television." *Perspectives* 20 (3):387-389.

Rayson, Paul, and Roger Garside. 2000. "Comparing corpora using frequency profiling." Proceedings of the workshop on Comparing Corpora.

Ren, Hongwei. 2012. "The 'wizardly' translation of Men in Black 3; fierce criticism from internet users [黑衣人 3 神翻译 网友狂批]." *Chengdu Commercial News [成都商报]*, 08/06/2012. Accessed 08/02/2016. http://bit.ly/2gZU6k6.

Ren, Xiaofei. 2013. "Many video download sites shut down [多家视频下载网站关闭]." *Jinan Daily [济南日报]*, 27/04/2013. Accessed 12/06/2015. http://bit.ly/2tzi47W.

Ren, Yijie. 2009. "Top three BT websites in China were all shut down [国内前三大 BT 网站全遭关停]." *China National Radio*, 13/12/2009. Accessed 12/12/2015. http://bit.ly/2eKILUo.

Russell, Adrienne. 2007. "Digital communication networks and the journalistic field: The 2005 French riots." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24 (4):285-302.

Ryan, Richard M, and Edward L Deci. 2000. "Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being." *American psychologist* 55 (1):68.

Sapiro, Gisèle. 2013. "Translation and Identity: Social Trajectories of the Translators of Hebrew Literature in French." *TTR: Traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 26 (2):59-82.

SARFT. 1997. Film Censorship Regulations, the People's Republic of China [电影审查规定]. edited by Publication State Administration of Press, Radio, Film and Television (The People's Republic of China).

SARFT. 2012. Notice of SARFT on Further Strengthening and Improving the Administration of the Importation and Broadcasting of Overseas Films and TV Plays [广电总局关于进一步加强和改进境外影视剧引进和播出管理的通知]. edited by Film and Television of the People 's Republic of China [中华人民共和国国家广播电影电视总局] State Administration of Radio.

SARFT. 2014a. Circular on the Standardisation of the Use of National Common Language in Radio and Television Programmes and Advertisements [关于广播电视节目和广告中规范使用国家通用语言文字的通知]. edited by SAPPRFT.

SARFT. 2014b. A list of foreign films and television programmes approved to distribute, 2013 [2013 年同意发行的境外影视剧目录]. edited by SARFT. Beijing: The state administration of radio film and television.

Schäffner, Christina. 1998. "The concept of norms in translation studies." *Current Issues in Language and society* 5 (1-2):1-9.

Schäffner, Christina. 1999. "The First Debate." In *Translation and Norms.*, edited by Christina Schäffner, 46. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

SCOL. 2011. "A Brief Introduction to Chinese - English Subtitle Translation of China-made TV dramas [介绍国产剧汉译英字幕组]." *Tianfu Morning Post [天府早报]*, 08/09/2011. Accessed 04/05/2015. http://bit.ly/2tzJ3QL.

Sela-Sheffy, Rakefet. 2005. "How to be a (recognized) translator: Rethinking habitus, norms, and the field of translation." *Target* 17 (1):1-26.

Shuttleworth, Mark, and Moira Cowie. 2014. *Dictionary of translation studies*: Routledge.

Si, Taifen. 2016. "[What decides the importation of a foreign film: who is the fault is it that "Suicide Squad" could not come into mainland China?] [外片引进靠什么：《X 特遣队》无缘内地是谁的锅？]." *1905.com*, 26/08/2016. Accessed 11/06/2015. http://bit.ly/2tzraS2.

Simeoni, Daniel. 1998. "The pivotal status of the translator's habitus." *Target* 10 (1):1-39.

Song, Zhongwei. 2012. "The Art of War in retranslating Sun Tzu: Using cultural capital to outmatch the competition." *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 7 (2):176-190.

Stanovich, Keith E, and Richard F West. 2008. "On the relative independence of thinking biases and cognitive ability." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 94 (4):672.

Stenström, Anna-Brita. 2006. "Taboo words in teenage talk: London and Madrid girls' conversations compared." *Spanish in Context* 3 (1):115-138.

Sun, Yufeng. 2000. "An interesting script, actors of characters [剧本有 "味"，演员有 "神"]." *New Films [电影新作]* 2:004.

Tajfel, Henri Ed. 1978. *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*: Academic Press.

The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. 2015. taboo. In *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Tian, Wanting. 2015. "Liu Dayong's so wrongly criticized [刘大勇被骂 太委屈他了]." *The Mirror [法制晚报]*, 14/05/2015. Accessed 05/05/2016. http://bit.ly/2vWLRIj.

Tian, Yuan. 2011. "Fansub cyber culture in China." Master, The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Georgetown University.

Todd, Maria K. 2011. *Handbook of Medical Tourism Program Development: Developing Globally Integrated Health Systems*: CRC Press.

Toury, Gideon. 1980. *In search of a theory of translation*, *Porter Institute of Poetics and Semiotics*. Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, Tel Aviv University.

Toury, Gideon. 1995. *Descriptive translation studies and beyond*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.

Toury, Gideon. 1998. "A Handful of Paragraphs on 'Translation' and 'Norms'." In *Translation and Norms*, edited by Christina Schäffner, 10-32. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Toury, Gideon. 2012. *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond: Revised edition*. Vol. 100. Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.

VanVoorhis, CR Wilson, and Betsy L Morgan. 2007. "Understanding power and rules of thumb for determining sample sizes." *Tutorials in Quantitative Methods for Psychology* 3 (2):43-50.

Vossoughi, Hossein, and Zohre Etemad Hosseini. 2013. "Norms of translating taboo words and concepts from English into Persian after the Islamic revolution in Iran." *Journal of Language and Translation* 3 (2):1-6.

Wacquant, Loïc. 1998. "Pierre bourdieu." In *Key sociological thinkers*, 215-229. Springer.

Wajnryb, Ruth. 2005. *Expletive deleted: a good look at bad language*: Simon and Schuster.

Wang, Dingkun, and Xiaochun Zhang. 2017. "Fansubbing in China." *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies* 29 (2):301-318.

Wang, Jinyue. 2013. "Box office of 'Pacific Rim' depends on Chinese market《环太平洋》成绩好坏指望中国." *Beijing Evening [北京晚报]*, 20/08/2013. Accessed 16/05/2015. http://bit.ly/2tWuExj.

Wang, Xiaojing. 2012. "A dialogue with professional translators: transferring the original flavour [对话专职翻译：应先把原汁原味翻出来]." *Sina*, 14/06/2012. Accessed 12/06/2015. http://bit.ly/2tzqwnE.

Wei, Xin. 2011. "'Voice actor' becoming seiyuu, Shanghai Dubbing Studio to build sound industry ['配音演员' 成声优 上海译制片厂打造声音产业]." *Chengdu Daily [成都日报]*.

Wilcock, Simone. 2013. "A Comparative Analysis of Fansubbing and Professional DVD Subtitling." Master, University of Johannesburg.

Wolf, Michaela. 2006. *Übersetzen-translating-traduire: towards a' social turn'?*: Lit-Verlag.

Wolf, Michaela. 2012. "The sociology of translation and its "activist turn"." *Translation and interpreting Studies* 7 (2):129-143.

Wolf, Michaela, and Alexandra Fukari. 2007. *Constructing a sociology of translation*. Vol. 74: John Benjamins Publishing.

Wong, Chee Yew, and Sakun Boon-itt. 2008. "The influence of institutional norms and environmental uncertainty on supply chain integration in the Thai automotive industry." *International Journal of Production Economics* 115 (2):400-410.

WSJ. 2012. "Myanmar Residents Scramble to See 'The Lady'." *The Wall Street Journal*. Accessed 15/09/2016. http://on.wsj.com/2x2c0tC.

Wu, Lixiang, and Ning Nan. 2014. "Sexual seduction, assassination, and buying intelligence are banned in spy dramas; supervised by the Security Department[谍战剧不许色诱刺杀买情报 由安全部监管]." *The Beijing News [新京报]*, 14/05/2014. Accessed 15/06/2015. http://bit.ly/2tGMMzQ.

Wu, Shan. 2012. "Individualised translation in Men in Black 3 attracted criticism from internet users [《黑衣人 3》个性化翻译引网友吐槽]." *Nanfang Metropolis Daily [南方都市报]*, 07/06/2012. Accessed 18/11/2016. http://bit.ly/2tzqL22.

Wu, Yuefan. 2016. "From "Going Out" to "Being Accepted" - The "Failure" and "Success" in the translation of "The Legend of Zhen Huan" and "Nirvana in Fire" 从"走出去"到"被接纳"—《甄嬛传》和《琅琊榜》译介的"败"与"成"." *International Communications [海外传播]* (05):33-35.

WZSB. 2014. "Why are fansub groups willing to translate for free [为什么字幕组肯免费为大家翻译]." *Wenzhou Commercial News [温州商报]*, 06/09/2014. Accessed 12/10/2014. http://bit.ly/2enNfzx.

Xiaobiao. 2014. "The exposed secrets of subtitling for cinematic films; it's doomed [院线片字幕大揭秘一没救]了." *SM Weekly [南都娱乐]*, 28/10/2014. Accessed 16/12/2015. http://bit.ly/2vF5xkL.

Xing, Jie. 2007. "Translators' Habitus: A New Perspective on Descriptive Translation Studies [译者"思维习惯"——描述翻译学研究新视角]." *Chinese Translators Journal [中国翻译]* (5):10-15.

Xinhua. 2014. "Fansub groups is going to 'wash then bed'? Reviewing those hilarious subtitles ['字幕组' 要洗洗睡了吗 回顾那些笑喷的台词]." *Xinhua Entertainment*, 25/11/2014. Accessed 11/01/2015. http://bit.ly/2eL578i.

Xu, Shengquan. 2013. "Summer blockbusters being broadcast, translationese criticised by internet users [暑期大片热映，翻译腔遭网友吐槽]." *Jiangnan Times [江南时报]*, 01/08/2013. Accessed 18/01/2015. http://bit.ly/2vXg0Ya.

Xu, Sijian. 2012. "Chinese translation 'time travels through'; Men in Black speaks 'shangbuqi' [中文翻译"玩穿越"黑衣人说"伤不起"]." *The Mirror [法制晚报]*, 01/06/2012. Accessed 16/23/2015. http://bit.ly/2uVNo4h.

Xuan, Haoxi, and Mai Ha. 2014. "From being admired by millions to being condemned by many; dubbed films' yesterday and today[从万人敬仰到千夫所指 译制片的昨天和今天]." *Mtime [时光网]*, 24/07/2014. Accessed 15/06/2015. http://bit.ly/2h01f3X.

Xue, Nianwen. 2003. "Chinese word segmentation as character tagging." *Computational Linguistics and Chinese Language Processing* 8 (1):29-48.

Xue, Qianwen, Min Gao, and Yun Zhang. 2013. "How to translate "You son of bitch" [You son of bitch 究竟该怎么翻译]." *China Newsweek [中国新闻周刊]*.

Xue, Yixin. 2009. "Translating Sex: A Case Study of the Chinese Subtitles in Sex and the City [情色用語之翻譯問題: 以影集《慾望城市》 字幕譯文為例]." Master, Taiwan Normal University [臺灣師範大學].

Yan, Jia. 2013. "A study on Howard Goldblatt's translation habitus from the Bourdieusian sociological perspective " PhD, Shandong University.

Yang, Heping. 2010. *Contemporary Dubbing in China [当代中国译制]*. Beijing: Communication University of China.

Yang, Lin. 2012. "Internet users criticize Chinese subtitles of 'Men in Black 3'; Localised translation receives mixed reviews [《黑衣人 3》中文字幕被网友纠错 '接地气'翻译褒贬不一]." *Beijing News [新京报]*. http://bit.ly/2eIHo34.

Yao, Qilin, and Yanna Le. 2016. "Ratings of Chinese TV dramas exported overseas remain high [中国电视剧输出海外收视杠杠的]." *Xinhua News Agency*. http://ent.news.cn/2016-11/06/c_1119857778.htm.

Ye, Jian. 2014. "Video websites unlikely to become ideal homes for fansub groups; fansubbers may 'retire' and become viewers [视频网站难成字幕组理想归宿 或"退役"为观众]." *International Herald Leader [国际先驱导报]*, 16/12/2014. Accessed 23/12/2015. http://ihl.cankaoxiaoxi.com/2014/1216/598925.shtml.

You, Yunting. 2014. "Does Tudou need to obtain authorization for subtitles translated by YYeTs? [土豆网使用人人影视字幕需要取得授权吗?]." *Sina*, 06/10/2014. Accessed 12/12/2015. http://bit.ly/2h0fKoj.

Yu, Pengfei. 2016. "Chinese fansubbers arrested in Japan [中国人"字幕组"在日被捕]." *Huanqiu [环球网]*, 29/09/2016. Accessed 19/11/2016. http://bit.ly/2h0bEg4.

Yuan, Suwen. 2014. " Internet subtitle creators [网络字幕制作者]." *Xinhuanet [新华网]*, 25/11/2014. Accessed 11/11/2016. http://bit.ly/2uWmut5.

Yuanyuan. 2012. "Jia Xiuyan: Imported film translation ups and downs [贾秀琰: 进口片翻译的酸甜苦辣]." *Popular movies [大众电影]* (14):20-21.

YYeTs. 2014. "YYeTs TV schedule, October 2014 [人人影视美剧 2014 年 10 月播出时间表]." accessed 11/10/2014. http://www.yyets.com/php/tv/schedule/.

Zhang, Hui. 2015a. "The American version of "The Legend of Zhen Huan": first cold-shouldered, and then praised [美国版《甄嬛传》：先遇冷，再被挺]." *Elite Reference [青年参考]*, 08/04/2015. Accessed 08/06/2016. http://bit.ly/2uxT81R.

Zhang, Ke. 2013. "Research and Implementation of Text Similarity Computation Based on the Original Space of CNKI [基于《知网》义原空间的文本相似度计算研究与实现]."Master, Chongqing University, Cnki.

Zhang, Langhua. 2015b. "Liu Dayong responds to criticism of his absurd translation of Avengers: Age of Ultron [刘大勇回应《复联2》神翻译]." *Mtime [时光网]*, 15/05/2015. Accessed 26/01/2016. http://bit.ly/2h0AtZj.

Zhang, Xiaohe. 2011. "Viewership of US TV dramas is only one-tenth of Chinese dramas [美剧收视仅国产剧十分之一]." *Chongqing Times [重庆时报]*, 30/09/2011. Accessed 06/06/2016. http://bit.ly/2eLmmGq.

Zhang, Ziyang. 2003. "Import to Create - A Probe into CCTV's Dubbing of TV and Film [引进是为了创造—央视译制影视剧实践探微(上)]." *Journalism and Communication [新闻传播]* (02):40-41.

Zhao, Guangxia, and Xinrui Song. 2017. "A discussison about the cooperation of audiovisual translation between China and foreign countries [共话中外影视译制合作]." *People's Daily Online*.

Zhao, Yaxi. 2012. "Localized subtitles of blockbusters cause controversy [进口大片字幕翻译"本土化"引争议]." *China Reform Daily [中国改革报]*, 2012-07-15, 002.

Zheng, Wei. 2014. "Unvailing the translation process of 'Guardians of the Galaxy': 8 procedures all examined [揭秘《银河护卫队》翻译过程：8道工序层层把关]." *1905Film*, 24/10/2014. Accessed 23/05/2016. http://www.1905.com/news/20141024/813592.shtml.

Zhou, Haibin. 2009. "How will state-owned film studios transform [国有电影制片厂如何涅槃]." *China Economic Weekly [中国经济周刊]*, 10/08/2009. Accessed 18/05/2015. http://bit.ly/2tWCs21.

Zhou, Jieqiong. 2008. "Fansub groups' fast-paced daily subtitling of US dramas [美剧字幕翻译组每天上演生死时速]." *Hangzhou Daily [杭州日报]*, 19/11/2008. Accessed 11/10/2016. http://bit.ly/2eIFwaz.

Zhou, Nanyan. 2007. "Big topic: I am crazy for US dramas [大型专题：我为美剧狂]." *NB Weekly [南都周刊]*. http://bit.ly/2fieURq.

Zhuang, Xiaolei. 2012. "Fansub group's mind-blowing translation [字幕组的'神翻译']." *Today Morning News [今日早报]*, 13/07/2012. Accessed 23/05/2016. http://bit.ly/2fHo20H.

Zuo, Fang. 2008. "Research on China's Film Transformation and Marketisation in the Past 30 Years of Reform and Opening - up [改革开放三十年中国电影转型与市场化研究]." *Chinese Film Market [中国电影市场]* (09):10-13.

Appendices

Appendix A. PIS distribution/occurrences in fansub and produb*

No.	Film	Genre	Fan	Pro	Year
1	Babylon A D	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	1	0	2008
2	Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince	Adventure | Family | Fantasy	0	1	2009
3	Tron: Legacy	Action | Adventure | Fantasy	1	0	2010
4	Battle Los Angeles	Action | Sci-Fi	3	2	2011
5	Mission Impossible Ghost Protocol	Action | Adventure | Thriller	0	1	2011
6	War Horse	Drama | War	1	0	2011
7	Skyfall	Action | Adventure | Thriller	1	0	2012
8	Battleship	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	2	1	2012
9	Ice Age Continental Drift	Animation | Adventure | Comedy	1	2	2012
10	Men in Black 3	Action | Comedy | Sci-Fi	0	7	2012
11	The Avengers	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	0	2	2012
12	The Hobbit An Unexpected Journey	Adventure | Fantasy	0	1	2012
13	Escape Plan	Action | Mystery | Thriller	1	0	2013
14	Fast and Furious 6	Action | Crime | Thriller	1	0	2013
15	Frozen	Animation | Adventure | Comedy	1	0	2013
16	The Hunger Games Catching Fire	Adventure | Sci-Fi | Thriller	2	0	2013
17	Man of Steel	Action | Adventure | Fantasy	3	1	2013
18	Oblivion	Action | Adventure | Mystery	1	0	2013
19	Pacific Rim	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	3	1	2013
20	Thor The Dark World	Action | Adventure | Fantasy	1	0	2013
21	Captain America The Winter Soldier	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	2	0	2014
22	Edge of Tomorrow	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	0	1	2014
23	Godzilla	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	1	0	2014
24	Guardians of the Galaxy	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	6	3	2014
25	Interstellar	Adventure | Drama | Sci-Fi	3	0	2014
26	Kingsman: The Secret Service	Action | Adventure | Comedy	8	6	2014
27	Need For Speed	Action | Crime | Drama	3	4	2014
28	Paddington	Comedy | Family	2	0	2014
29	Penguins of Madagascar	Animation | Adventure | Comedy	15	7	2014
30	Rio 2	Animation | Adventure | Comedy	1	1	2014
31	The Amazing Spider-Man 2	Action | Adventure | Fantasy	1	0	2014
32	The Dark Knight Rises	Action | Thriller	1	1	2014
33	Transformers Age of Extinction	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	4	1	2014
	(Other films)		0	0	
	(Total)		70	43	

Note: (1) the genre data were retrieved from IMDb.com. The column "fan" refers to the number of occurrences of PIS in fansub; the column "pro" refers to the number of occurrences of PIS in fansub; the column "year" refers to the year the film was released in America. (2) 18 films do not contain PIS.

Appendix B. Jia's defence against criticism of inaccuracy in her translation

English version translated from Chinese:

===========Repost===========

Repost time and date: 13:54:41, 10/10/2014

I am Translator Jia Xiuyan, and I have written this article to offer some explanations.

Sorry to keep everyone waiting. I did not get online in time to communicate with you. It is definitely not as you suspected: I ran, was scared, embarrassed, or admitted my mistakes. It is because I have recently been busy with many things, and I really have had no time to write online. I have carefully read each comment on the post and carefully read some pieces of news about me on the internet. I have some thoughts. I want to speak truthfully to clarify a few points of contention. (All the words I say definitely are not, as some internet users (internet users) described, "Contrary to what I think [正话反说]", or "using euphemism and irony to ridicule [高级黑]". I am not going to flatter anyone or deliberately yield to anyone because I fear them. Please absolutely do not misunderstand me.)

1. The criticism post (捉虫贴). I'd like to repeat that sentence: the thread/post starter has a high level [of language skills], and I am very grateful for the post starter's hard work and seriousness about this incident. I am also a translator, so I know that if you did not have a passion with translation, the English language, and movies, then you would not have so much patience and perseverance. You have put in such a great deal of effort, just using the pirated [and low quality] version of pictures and audio track. You could understand the lines in such details, and publish such a long post. I have the official script in hand, and I am not able to complete such compilation work [整理工作] (I had wanted to complete that summary after translation), so you are really much greater than me [强得多]. I sincerely admire you. Fansub groups are really amazing. When I chatted with others, I repeatedly spoke of that—because their translation is high speed, high quality, and most importantly, they do not have ulterior motives. They neither seek money nor fame. They do that simply because of their interest. I once wanted very much to do some work for a fansub group, but I did not get that opportunity. I have carefully read the results of your hard work. Please be rest assured, I will not be ungrateful to your sincere labour. As for the lines you commented on [summarised], I want to say a few words. Internet users say I have mistranslated, omitted meanings, created my own plot/storyline, and, therefore, they even suspected my English level is poor. I think you probably hate the way I translated

and your anger has confused you [affected your thinking]. I hope you can calm down and think. I have the detailed official script in hand. It has such a level of detail that basically every movie line in the script has been annotated to help translators in every country understand the meaning connotations and plot coherence [前后呼应]. I cannot present the script to you here, because of the copyright. I could copy one paragraph of it, so that it can help you understand it.

> "It was just ground this morning."
>
> (note that this joke is based on a double meaning of 'ground'—[1] pulverised into small bits - referring to coffee beans being prepared to make coffee; and [2] the solid surface of the Earth - referring to the coffee tasting like 'dirt')

Here it uses "ground" pun. If we want to lip-sync with the character's lip movement, then it is difficult to express it [the line] succinctly. Agent K speaks a whole paragraph in order to express that, even though he often tells people it is bad to drink coffee that way. He himself drinks it every day. So I just used the Chinese phrase "Rú rén yǐnshuǐ, gānkǔ zì zhī 37[People who drink water know what it tastes sweet or bitter.]" K, throughout the movie, speaks in this style. His words are concise, tasteful, full of meaning, and witty using cold humour. He has the style of an old-school gentleman, which is K's charming way of speech. It also demonstrates K's unique charisma. After careful deliberation, I selected ancient poems and idioms to be used in my translation of K's speech. I think that is a good integration [of Chinese poems and idioms into K's speech] and a good solution. Perhaps internet users have better ways of integration, so we can discuss that. As for J, internet users criticised that my translation is very vulgar, but in the film J's speech style has always been relatively vulgar. He speaks directly, in a talk-show style, which is in stark contrast with K's tactful speech style. The words, *kēngdiē* (坑爹), or *shāngbùqǐ* (伤不起), were not just placed by me into movie lines anywhere. *Kēngdiē* is used in the dialogues between Andy Warhol and J. J's exact words: You know, I have no problem pimp-slappin' the shiznit out of Andy Warhol.

37Original words: 如人饮水, 甘苦自知

(pimp-slappin': see definition for, 'fish-slapping', Title #141 - 'pimp' is a slang term for a man who procures customers for a prostitute)

(shiznit: contemporary slang euphemism for, 'shit', originally a shortening of the last part of the phrase, 'that's the shit, isn't it' [vulgar slang for, 'that's the best, isn't it'])

(pimp-slappin' the shiznit out of Andy Warhol : slang for, 'brutally slapping Andy Warhol')

(Warhol, not recognising the anachronistic slang, frowns in confusion)

If we are going to use the same length of Chinese to translate J's cursing of Andy, then I think the *kēngdiē* used here can fully express the meaning. If you have a better solution we can discuss it together. In addition, *shāngbùqǐ* well denotes the meaning that the aircraft will have problems and cause injury or death to passengers. J uses some silly jokes [水词], so adding this line will not twist the meaning. As for the *dìgōuyóu* (地沟油, gutter oil) and *shòuròujīng* (瘦肉精, lean meat powder)", I admit I may have overplayed because I also approve the strategy of just transferring the original meaning. I translated it that way because I just wanted to offer some fun/entertainment. It was well-intentioned. I also had not meant to grandstand. So internet users, please calmly think about it. I have such a detailed script in hand, so even if I used Google translation machine to translate it, I would not have made so many errors that you would reprimand me. How I wish I was in a fansub group, then I would not have as many constraints. In fansubbing, fansubbers can translate every line correspondingly. They can even put annotations in brackets to help the audience fully appreciate the screenwriter's intentions. However, that's not allowed in professional subtitles and dubbing, because the biggest difference between the official translation and fansub is that: the professional version has lip-sync constraints, so word count of every sentence/line has strict limits, and it has to be suitable for speaking, because we all know that Chinese and English differ in terms of expression. English tends to use inversion/anastrophe a lot. Due to my aim to comply with Chinese speech habits, to allow viewers to understand the hidden meaning, to lip-sync, not to twist meanings or affect the audience's understanding of the story, these things criticised by the post happened: inaccurate translation, meaning not translated, and adding meanings. Maybe we can say it is because we have no other alternatives. In fact, that is where we need to use our wisdom for the translation work. I think that is the fundamental difference between official film dubbing, fansub and book translation. If internet users can stop and look at the sentences (lines) you criticised, I don't think I had twisted meanings, or misled the audience, or impeded the audience's understanding of the story.

2. There is a question whether the majority of the audience liked it or not. As for that, I would like to say a few words for myself. Perhaps the words I am going to say will cause resentment from you, nevertheless, I am still going to do it. I say this way, definitely not because I feel I am very important or arrogant. Please do not get me wrong. When *Men in Black 3* was just released, I was on the Sina Weibo microblogging site every day, putting in two keywords *Men in Black 3* and "translator". At that time, you still did not know that the translator was me. I am absolutely honest with you: almost every comment [I saw] was positive. Going to the cinema to watch a sci-fi comedy without any ulterior motive; we all feel it is a very happy, a very fun thing to do, watching post-credits scenes (stinger/ credit cookie 彩蛋), getting a pleasant surprise, nothing more. Later, I was interviewed, and later this criticism post came out, then criticism flooded Douban and Weibo microblogging sites. I have sent a private message to a Weibo microblogger who constantly criticised me. Through sincere communication, we became friends and he told me reasons why he harshly criticised me. The reason was my attitude shown in the interview, and they thought I was arrogant and self-righteous, which made people very uncomfortable. In particular, some words like, "Jia Xiuyan has passed College English Test Band 6!" "When I saw the humour I designed made the audience laugh, I was very pleased." "For Jia Xiuyan who has four years of translation experience, translating *Men in Black 3* is very easy." "Jia Xiuyan did not major in English in college. She majored in Chinese." "To translate Hannah Montana, she devoted so much effort, carefully choosing words." "She did not get translation certificate" and so on. I admit that while I have been working behind the scenes, this suddenly come to the foreground. I am inexperienced, and media reporters wrote about me out of good intentions, but some words were completely misunderstood [by you]. I do not expect everyone to understand me, but I want to say, when translating *Men in Black 3*, I never thought I would catch so much attention, and I never thought about grandstanding, and I am no more clever than other people. This society has so many hotshots, and I just happen to have this opportunity. I just want to properly complete this job. I did not want to disappoint those who entrusted me with the translation of the film, nothing more. A newspaper recently wrote: "Dìgōu yóu, shòu ròu jīng, zhàoběnshān, zhōujiélún, shìjiè nàme luàn, màiméng gěi shuí kàn[38]..." seeing such subtitles, you may think you are watching Chinese-made films. No, they are not! Because they appeared in recent two Hollywood blockbusters *Men in Black 3* and

---

[38] Original words: 地沟油、瘦肉精、赵本山、周杰伦、世界那么乱, 卖萌给谁看[literally: Waste oil, clenbuterol, Zhao Benshan, Jay Chou, the world's so messy, fake cuteness for whom to see]

Madagascar 3. These are "results of translators' hard work", but they have received universal bad reviews from the audience. Where do these 'universal bad reviews' come from? Please be sincere, is using the word "universal" fair?

3. I thank everyone for showing concern for the translated films. I think the dispute is particularly necessary because this has attracted attention to the film translation industry and is especially meaningful. In recent years, with the improvement of the audience's education, they would go to the cinema generally choosing to watch the version with the original English soundtrack. Film dubbing gradually has been relegated to an insignificant role (to be behind the scenes), so insignificant that it is completely negligible. But through this discussion people have noticed this industry, so it helps the industry to progress and survive. It is actually very good. What I've learned from the experience is: the dubbed version and the subtitled version must be their own versions [be different/independent]. Staff members of the official translation here actually respect the result of the translator's work very much. I mean, the proofreader only checks, the hard-core (serious) mistakes, such as the accuracy of person names, place names, and numbers; as for the lines, they fully respect the translator, and will not easily change the words. When they produce subtitles, they do it based on the dubbing script provided by the translator and the dubbing director. If internet users are interested, you can also study subtitles of other films released in cinemas. In addition to my translation of ancient poetry and internet buzzwords, every film would definitely contain those so-called "translation errors, meaning not translated, adding words". Although we all know we can't keep everyone happy if we do a job, what this debate teaches me is that in the future I will be more careful. And I need to produce a subtitled version that is different from the dubbed version. The subtitled version does not need to strictly lip-sync, so we can translate without the shackles of word count limit. Then we can be absolutely faithful to the original while integrating our wisdom (into the translation) to meet the needs of viewers. Finally I would like to talk about *Madagascar 3*. I did not translate the film. I think it was translated/dubbed by Changchun Film Studio because both *Madagascar 1* and *2* were dubbed by the studio. I watched the first two sequels at the cinema, and they were Chinese dubbed version. I felt that the cartoons dubbed by Changchun Film Studio were really great! As for this current sequel *Madagascar 3*, although I do not know who translated it. But to my friends in the audience, media, and internet users, please do not say that the translator copied my so-called "Jia's translation style", because, according to my experience, the film had just been released. So at least it was dubbed more than a

month ago, and that time *Men in Black 3* had not yet been released. If *Madagascar 3* had been released before *Men in Black 3*, then I am afraid that I would have had copied his style. As for translators in SHDS, I think they are also very great. I always think they were able to translate *Inception*. It indicates that they are definitely worthy to be respected and emulated. As for Liu Dayong in Beijing Film Studio [also known as The Dubbing Centre of China Film Group], he translated *Avatar* and *Lord of the Rings* series and other blockbusters. His meticulousness is absolutely the guarantee of epic drama translation.

4. Translation style. I hope that viewers and internet users, after reading the above description, could understand what I mean, and at the same time be relieved. I want to say, different films have different modes of translation. If the epic drama contains *kēngdiē, shāngbùqǐ, dìgōuyóu,* and those words or phrases in my translation *Men in Black 3* then I'd be too stupid [太二了]. I am quack/imposter/ fake. Viewers and the official version will *shāngbùqǐ* (suffer)!

5. Finally, if my translation has brought you any bad feelings, it really is not my intention. My initial idea was to bring you some cool joy in this summer. If you have gained it, I'm really happy. ～～～

Original Chinese version:

转载日期 2014-10-10 13:54:41[39]

我是翻译贾秀琰, 此文用来做一些说明。

大家久等了, 之所以没能及时上网和大家交流, 绝非网友们揣测的我跑了、害怕了、没脸了、认错了等等原因, 而是最近忙于很多事情, 实在没时间上网写东西。这个帖子里的每一条我都仔细阅读了, 而且网上关于我的一些新闻报道我也认真看了, 有些感想, 想用真心话 (我说的所有话绝对不会像某些网友那样正话反说, 做一些 "高级黑" 的事, 也更不会谄媚谁或者是刻意屈服谁害怕谁, 大家在看时绝对不要误会) 解答一下集中的几个争议点。

1. 关于捉虫贴。我依旧是那句话, 楼主的水平非常高, 非常感谢楼主的辛苦劳动和对这件事的认真程度, 我也在做翻译, 我很了解, 若非你们是真正热爱翻译、热爱英语、热爱电影, 绝对不会有这么大的耐心和毅力, 花费这么大的精力, 仅仅是用枪版的画面和声音, 就可以听得出这么详细的台词, 发布这么长的帖子。我有官方的剧本在手, 都未能完成这样的整理工作 (我曾经很想在翻完后做些总结), 所以你们真的比我强得多, 我由衷地敬佩你们。民间字幕组真的很了不起, 我在和别人聊天时屡次说起过, 因为速度之快、质量之高, 而且最重要的是无功利性, 既不为挣钱也不为出名, 完全是因为兴趣爱好在做, 真的很了不起, 我也曾经非常想做些字幕组的工作, 但我没有得到这样的机会。你们辛苦劳动的成果我都认真看了, 放心, 我不会辜负你们的真诚劳动。就你们总结的这些句子, 我想说两句。网友说我错翻、漏翻、自创剧情, 甚至于因此质疑我英语水平很差。我想你们或许是讨厌我的翻译方式而被愤怒冲昏了头脑, 希望你们能冷静下来想一想, 我有详细官方的剧本在手, 剧本的详细程度到了基本上每句话都有注解, 来帮助各国的翻译理解台词的引申含义和前后呼应性, 剧本我没有办法呈现给大家, 因为涉及版权。我可以把其中一段拷贝下来, 让大家体会一下。

"It was just ground this morning."

(note that this joke is based on a double meaning of 'ground'—[1] pulverised into small bits - referring to coffee beans being prepared to make coffee; and [2] the solid surface of the Earth - referring to the coffee tasting like 'dirt') 此处讲了 ground 的双关, 这句话要想对上人物的口型, 需要言简意赅地表达出来很难, K 说整段话是为了表示尽管他经常跟人说觉得咖啡这样那样不好, 但他还是每天都在喝, 所以我才用了 "如人饮水, 甘苦自知"。K 在通篇都是这样的风格, 言简意赅, 说话很有品位, 富有意蕴, 高段冷幽默, 老派绅士风格, 这是 K 讲话的魅力, 同时也展现了 K 独特的性格魅力。反复思量, 我选取了古诗词和成语用在了 K 的语言中, 我认

---

[39] Source link: source: https://movie.douban.com/review/7124047/

为这是一个好的结合和解决方式。或许网友们有更好的结合方式，咱们可以讨论。至于 J, 网友们嫌我翻得很庸俗, 但是在影片中 J 的言语风格本来就是比较俗的, 说话比较直接, 有脱口秀风格, 和 K 说话婉转有意蕴形成鲜明对比。这些词, "坑爹" 也好, "伤不起"也好, 绝对不是不看位置, 随便瞎塞进去的, "坑爹" 是用在和安迪沃霍尔的对话里, 当时 J 的英文原话 You know, I have no problem pimp-slappin' the shiznit out of Andy Warhol.

> (pimp-slappin': see definition for, 'fish-slapping', Title #141 – 'pimp' is a slang term for a man who procures customers for a prostitute)
>
> (shiznit: contemporary slang euphemism for, 'shit', originally a shortening of the last part of the phrase, 'that's the shit, isn't it' [vulgar slang for, 'that's the best, isn't it'])
>
> (pimp-slappin' the shiznit out of Andy Warhol : slang for, 'brutally slapping Andy Warhol')
>
> (Warhol, not recognising the anachronistic slang, frowns in confusion)

要用和 J 说话长度对等的中文来表现 J 骂安迪的话，我认为 "坑爹" 用在这里是完全可以表达这个意思的，你们有更好的解决方法，也可以一起来讨论。还有 "伤不起" 也是契合了当时说飞行器会出问题导致乘客受伤或死亡的意思，并且 J 当时说的是水词，加上这句话完全不会害意。至于 "地沟油" 和 "瘦肉精" 这一段，我承认或许是我发挥过度了，因为我也同意按原意来翻译也是可以的，翻成这样完全和为了和大家一起娱乐一下，是好意，当初一点也没有想过哗众取宠。所以如果网友们能冷静想一下，我手里有如此详细的剧本，即使用谷歌翻译器翻译一遍，我也不至于水平和错误大到让你们这样斥责。我多么希望我是字幕组，这样我可以省劲很多，在做字幕时完全按照每句话的对应来翻，甚至为了让观众完全体会到电影编剧的意图，可以加括号注解。但官方字幕和台词不可以，因为官方翻译和字幕组最大的不同就在于，官方会受到口型的限制，于是对一句话的字数要求有严格的限制，而且要符合人物说话的习惯, 因为我们都知道，汉语表达和英语表达方式不同, 英语是习惯倒装的。为了符合中文说话习惯、让观众理解隐藏含义、对上口型, 同时不害意不影响观众对剧情的理解, 所以就会发生捉虫贴里说我的所谓错翻、漏翻、加词现象, 这可以说是一种不得已, 其实也是翻译需要运用智慧的地方。我想这也是官方译制电影和字幕组以及译书译文的根本区别所在。如果网友们可以静下心来仔细看看你们捉虫的那些句子, 我认为我没有翻得害意, 也并没有误导观众, 妨碍观众对剧情的理解

2. 关于到底是大多数观众喜欢还是大多数观众不喜欢的问题。这件事情我想为自己说几句话, 或许我说的这些话会引起网友们的反感, 但是尽管如此, 我还是要说, 我这样说绝对不是自我感觉良好或者骄傲什么的, 请大家千万不要误解。≪黑衣人3≫刚上映的时候, 我每天都在新浪微博上的微博搜索栏里面搜索"黑衣人3 翻译"这两个关键词, 那时大家还都不知道翻译是我。我绝对是实话实说, 几乎每一条都是好评, 没心没肺地去影院看一场科幻喜剧片, 大

家都觉得很欢乐很好玩有彩蛋有意外惊喜, 仅此而已。后来我接受了采访, 再后来此捉虫贴一出, 豆瓣上和微博上骂声一片。我曾私信给一个不停踩我的微博博主, 经过真诚交流, 我们成了朋友, 他也告诉了我一些骂我的原因。就是我在接受采访时的态度, 他们觉得我傲慢自以为是, 这种人让人很不爽。尤其是一些字眼儿 "贾秀琰英语也是过了 6 级的哦!" "看到我设计的笑点观众笑了, 我很欣慰。" "对于做了四年翻译的贾秀琰, 《黑衣人 3》的翻译可谓是手到擒来。" "贾秀琰不是学英语出身, 是学习中文出身" "孟汉娜通篇字斟句酌花费心血"还有什么没考笔译证之类等等。我承认我一直从事幕后工作, 这次忽然走到幕前, 经验尚浅, 媒体记者也是出于好意来写我, 但是有些字眼全然是误解。我并不指望所有人都理解我, 但我想说, 在翻译《黑衣人 3》的时候, 我从来没有想过会受到这么大的关注, 也从来没有想过哗众取宠, 我也并没有多高明, 这个社会上能人很多, 我只是恰好有了这个机会而已。我只是想好好完成这个工作, 不让委托我译制此片的老师们失望, 仅此而已。有些报纸最近写 "地沟油、瘦肉精、赵本山、周杰伦、世界那么乱, 卖萌给谁看……看到如此字幕, 千万别以为你在看一部国产片, 因为它们都出现在近期的两部好莱坞大片《黑衣人 3》和《马达加斯加 3》中。这些字幕组的 "心血创作", 却遭到了观众的普遍恶评。 "这个"普遍恶评"是从哪里来的呢?请您真心诚意的说, "普遍"是公平的吗?

3. 感谢大家对译制片的关注。我觉得这次争议特别有必要, 因为引起了大家对电影翻译这个行业的关注, 这一点特别有意义。最近这些年随着观众素质的提高, 大家普遍都会去电影院选择看英文原声版, 电影译制逐渐退居到真正的幕后, 幕后到大家完全忽略不计的程度。但通过这次讨论能让大家注意到这个行业, 从而帮助这个行业更好的进步和存在下去, 这样很好。这次给我的经验是:中文配音版和字幕版一定要有各自有版本。官方译制这边是非常尊重翻译的劳动成果的, 我说的他们的校对, 主要是校对硬伤, 如人名地名数字的准确性, 而对于台词, 他们完全尊重翻译, 不会轻易改词, 上字幕时会根据翻译和译制导演最终提供的配音台本来上字幕。网友们如果有兴趣也可以扒一下其他上映影片的字幕,除了我翻译的古诗词和网络热词台词外,捉虫贴上所说的 "错翻漏翻添词" 现象绝对是每部都存在。尽管我们都知道, 做一件事情并不能得到所有人的满意, 但这次争议给我的经验就是将来我会更用心, 做字幕本要和做台词本区别两个版本, 字幕本可以不严格对口型, 这样可以解开字数束缚, 在绝对忠于原著的同时兼顾智慧, 满足专业观众的需求。最后还想说一下《马达加斯加 3》, 这部电影不是我翻译的, 我想应该是长影译制, 因为 1 和 2 都是长影译制的。前两部我在电影院看了, 而且看的还是中文配音版, 当时觉得长影译制动画片真的很棒! 至于这次的, 虽然不知道是谁翻译的, 但请媒体观众和网友们千万别说他是抄袭我的什么所谓"贾氏翻译法", 因为按照经验, 片子此时上映, 至少在一个多月前已经译制好了, 那时黑衣人 3 还没有上映。如果马达加斯加 3 先上映, 恐怕就是我要抄袭他了。至于上译, 他们也很厉害, 我一直认为能翻

译≪盗梦空间≫, 绝对是很值得尊敬和学习的。而京译的刘大勇老师(翻译作品: 阿凡达、指环王系列化等大片都是他翻译的), 他的严谨绝对是史诗大片的保证。

4. 翻译风格问题。希望观众和网友们看了以上的说明后, 能理解我的意思, 同时放下心来。我还是想说, 不同的影片, 翻译方式不同。如果史诗正剧里出现了什么坑爹, 伤不起, 地沟油, 引用我翻译的黑衣人 3 里的几个词, 那 "我也太 2 了, 我就是一个坑爹的, 观众和官方译制就真心伤不起了!"

5.最后, 如果我的翻译带给大家一些不好的感觉, 这真的并非我的初衷。我最初的想法是, 能在这个初夏,带给大家一些清凉的欢乐。如果你有的话, 我真的很高兴~~~

==============转载完毕=================

Appendix C. The severity of individual Chinese swear words

#	Word	Pinyin	Back translation	Avg	#	Word	Pinyin	Back translation	Avg
1	操你妈	cāo nǐ mā	Fuck your mother	8	37	混蛋	húndàn	Bastard	3.2
2	杂种	zázhǒng	Bastard	7.9	38	靠!	Kào!	fuck	3.2
3	狗杂种	gǒu zázhǒng	Dog hybrid	7.8	39	笑/懂个屁	xiào/dǒng gè pì	laugh/know arse	3.1
4	狗娘养的	gǒu niáng yǎng de	raised by a dog mother	7.7	40	同性恋	tóngxìngliàn	Homosexual	3.1
5	婊子	biǎo zi	whore	7.5	41	倒霉蛋	dǎoméi dàn	Hapless	3.1
6	贱货	jiànhuò	Bitch	7.1	42	疯子	fēngzi	madman	3.1
7	狗日的	gǒu rìde	Dog fuck	6.8	43	特么	tème	Fucking	3.1
8	你妈的	nǐ mā de	Your mother	6.6	44	搞什么飞机	gǎo shénme fēijī	What's wrong	3.1
9	畜生	chùshēng	Animal	6.4	45	屁话	pìhuà	fart words	2.9
10	你是一坨屎	nǐshìyītuóshǐ	you are a piece of shit	6.2	46	白痴	báichī	Moron	2.9
11	爆菊	bào jú	bust arse	6.1	47	闭嘴	bìzuǐ	Shut up	2.9
12	鸡巴	jībā	Dick	6	48	去你的	qùnǐ de	Get lost	2.9
13	贱人	jiàn rén	bitch	5.8	49	衰人	shuāi rén	Loser	2.8
14	菊花	júhuā	daisy/arse	5.6	50	抠门	kōumén	Stingy	2.8
15	他妈的	tā mā de	Fuck	5.3	51	鬼东西	guǐ dōngxī	What'd hell	2.7
16	王八蛋	wángbā dàn	Son of a bastard	5.2	52	卧槽	wòcáo	Fuck	2.6
17	操他神	cāo tā shén	Fuck his soul	5.1	53	我靠	wǒ kào	Fuck	2.6
18	人渣	rén zhā	man rubbish	5.0	54	我擦	wǒ cā	Fuck	2.6
19	穷鬼	qióng guǐ	Poor ghost	4.9	55	废话	fèihuà	Nonsense	2.6
20	垃圾	lèsè	rubbish	4.5	56	傻瓜	shǎguā	idiot	2.5
21	傻逼	shǎbī	Silly	4.5	57	破事	pòshì	Useless	2.5
22	小人	xiǎo rén	small man	4.5	58	勒个去	lēi gè qù	What the *	2.4
23	滚	gǔn	Get lost	4.1	59	胡扯	húchě	Nonsense	2.4
24	操蛋	cāodàn	Fucking	4	60	家伙	jiāhuo	bloke	2.3
25	操/我操	cāo/wǒ cāo	Fuck/I Fuck	3.9	61	坏蛋	huàidàn	Bad guy	2.2
26	操!	cāo!	fuck	3.8	62	胡说	húshuō	bullshit	2.0
27	狗屁	gǒupì	Dog fart	3.8	63	见鬼	jiànguǐ	Hell	1.9
28	去死	qùsǐ	Die	3.8	64	完蛋	wándàn	Finished	1.8
29	该死	gāisǐ de	damn it	3.8	65	讨厌	tǎoyàn	Annoying	1.8
30	放屁	fàngpì	Fart	3.7	66	小子	Xiǎozi	joker	1.8
31	兔崽子	tùzǎizi	Rabbit brat	3.7	67	什么鬼	shénme guǐ	what ghost	1.8
32	天杀的	tiān shā de	Damned	3.6	68	毛线	máoxiàn	Fucking	1.6
33	蠢货	chǔnhuò	Idiot	3.5	69	我的妈呀	wǒdemā ya	my mum oh	1.6
34	臭嘴	chòu zuǐ	Smelly mouth	3.5	70	老天爷	lǎotiānyé	Heaven	1.4
35	变态	biàntài	Pervert	3.4	71	上帝啊	shàngdìa	Oh, God	1.3
36	狗	gǒu	Dog	3.3	72	天啊/哪	tiān a	My God	1.2

This appendix presents the results of the survey (see Appendix I. Questionnaire: How do you feel about these swear words in subtitles?). The "Avg" column lists the average severity value of each Chinese swear word; "Pinyin" denotes a Chinese swear word's pronunciation using the Roman alphabet. "Back translation" offers a literal translation of the Chinese swear word back into

English and it does not strictly correspond to its English equivalents as one Chinese swear word may correspond to several English equivalents.

"Avg" refers to average

Appendix D. Fifty-one films selected for the corpus.

Year	Film Title	Genre	Pro translators	Company	Fan group
2012	Skyfall	Action | Adventure | Thriller	Liu Dayong	AFFS	SCG
2013	After Earth	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2012	Avengers Assemble	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	Cui Xiaodong	CFGDC	TLF
2008	Babylon A.D	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi | Thriller	Gu Qiyong	SHDS	FRM
2011	Battle: Los Angeles	Action | Sci-Fi	Zhou Dong	SHDS	TLF
2012	Battleship	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi | Thriller	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2014	Captain America: The Winter Soldier	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2014	Dawn of the Planet of the Apes	Action | Drama | Sci-Fi | Thriller	Zhou Dong	SHDS	SCG
2014	Edge of Tomorrow	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	Cui Xiaodong	CCDS	SCG
2013	Escape Plan	Action | Mystery | Thriller	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2013	Fast and Furious 6	Action | Crime | Thriller	Zhang Yunbi	CFGDC	SCG
2013	Frozen	Animation | Comedy | Family	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2013	G.I. Joe: Retaliation	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi | Thriller	Zhang Yunbi	CFGDC	SCG
2014	Godzilla	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi | Thriller	Cui Xiaodong	CCDS	SCG
2013	Gravity	Sci-Fi | Thriller	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2014	Guardians of the Galaxy	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	Jia Xiuyan	AFFS	SCG
2009	Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince	Adventure | Family | Fantasy	Kang Lin; Feng Er	SHDS	SCG
2012	Ice.Age.Continental.Drift	Animation | Comedy | Family	Zhou Dong	SHDS	YYeTs
2014	Interstellar	Adventure | Drama | Sci-Fi	Cui Xiaodong; Li Hong	CFGDC	SCG
2013	Iron Man 3	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	Cui Xiaodong	CFGDC	SCG
2014	Kingsman: The Secret Service	Action | Adventure | Comedy | Crime	Zhang Youyou	SHDS	SCG
2013	Man of steel	Action | Adventure | Fantasy | Sci-Fi	Zhang Yunbi	CFGDC	SCG
2012	Men in Black 3	Action | Comedy | Sci-Fi	Jia Xiuyan	CFGDC	SCG
2011	Mission Impossible Ghost Protocol	Action | Adventure | Thriller	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2014	Need For Speed	Action | Crime | Drama | Thriller	Jia Xiuyan	CFGDC	SCG
2013	Oblivion (I)	Action | Adventure | Mystery |	Cui Xiaodong	CCDS	SCG
2013	Pacific Rim	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	Jia Xiuyan	CFGDC	SCG
2014	Paddington	Comedy | Family	Li Hongyuan	CCDS	SCG

2014	Penguins of Madagascar	Animation | Comedy | Family	Cui Xiaodong	CCDS	SCG
2011	Pirates of the Caribbean On Stranger Tides	Action | Adventure | Fantasy	Cui Xiaodong; Liu Dayong	AFFS	SCG
2012	Prometheus	Adventure | Mystery | Sci-Fi	Jia Xiuyan	CFGDC	SCG
2014	Rio 2	Animation | Comedy | Family	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2014	RoboCop	Action | Sci-Fi | Thriller	Jia Xiuyan	CFGDC	SCG
2013	Star Trek Into Darkness	Action | Adventure | Sci-Fi	Cui Xiaodong; Li Hong	CCDS	SCG
2014	The Amazing Spider-Man 2	Action | Fantasy | Sci-Fi	Zhang Youyou	SHDS	SCG
2012	The Bourne Legacy	Action | Mystery | Thriller	Cui Xiaodong	CCDS	TLF
2013	The Croods	Animation | Comedy | Family	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2012	The Expendables 2	Action | Adventure | Thriller	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2014	The Expendables 3	Action | Adventure | Thriller	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	SCG
2006	The Fast and the Furious: Tokyo Drift	Action | Crime | Drama | Thriller	Zhang Yunbi	AFFS	TLF
2012	The Hobbit: An Unexpected Journey	Adventure | Fantasy	Liu Dayong	AFFS	SCG
2013	The Hunger Games: Catching Fire	Adventure | Sci-Fi | Thriller	Jia Xiuyan	CFGDC	SCG
2011	The Three Musketeers	Action | Adventure | Romance	Zhang Chenzheng	AFFS	YYeTs
2012	The Dark Knight Rises	Action | Thriller	Lu Yaorong	SHDS	TLF
2013	Thor: The Dark World	Action | Adventure | Fantasy	Liu Dayong	AFFS	SCG
2010	Toy Story 3	Animation | Comedy | Family	Zhou Dong	SHDS	SCG
2014	Transformers: Age of Extinction	Action | Sci-Fi	Zhang Yunbi	CFGDC	SCG
2010	TRON: Legacy	Action | Fantasy | Sci-Fi	An Shaofeng	CFGDC	TLF
2011	War Horse	Drama | War	Zhang Chenzheng	CFGDC	TLF
2011	X-Men First Class	Action | Sci-Fi	Sun Xu	CCDS	SCG
2014	X-Men: Days of Future Past	Action | Sci-Fi | Thriller	Zhang Youyou	SHDS	SCG

Appendix E. A list of Chinese PIS (2006-2014)

No.	Year	Chinese Word	Meaning	No.	Year	Chinese Word	Meaning
1	2004	FB	First Blood	122	2011	有木有	Have or not have
2	2004	东东	Dongdong/thing	123	2011	此处省略一万字	Here a million words omitted
3	2004	沙发	Sofa/ the first one to reply to an online posting	124	2011	死了就不用写作业	If I'm dead, then I do not have to do homework
4	2004	迟早都要还的	Sooner or later, I have to pay back	125	2011	气场	Ambience
5	2004	酱紫	Like this	126	2011	淘宝体	Taobao writing style
6	2006	人不能无耻到	People can not be shameless to	127	2011	肿么了	What's wrong
7	2006	你不是一个人	You are not alone	128	2011	郭美美	Guo Meimei
8	2006	侮辱我的人格	My personality insulted	129	2012	style	Style
9	2006	压海棠	A May-December relationship	130	2012	中国好	China is great
10	2006	我们不专业啊	We are not professional!	131	2012	中国式	Chinese-style
11	2006	我顶你个肺	What the heck	132	2012	中国梦	Chinese dream
12	2006	注意素质	Mind your manners	133	2012	亚历山大	Alexander/Huge pressure
13	2006	饿滴神啊	Oh my God	134	2012	你妹	Your sister/Go to hell
14	2007	zzZZz	Zzzzz/sleeping	135	2012	你幸福吗	Are you happy
15	2007	做人要厚道	Be kind	136	2012	傲娇	Proud
16	2007	史上最	The most * in history	137	2012	元芳	Yuanfang
17	2007	哦了	Oh, OK	138	2012	压力山大	Tremendous stress
18	2007	太有才了	So talented	139	2012	吃货	Eating machine
19	2007	工龄归零	The length of service is zero	140	2012	基友	Gay friend
20	2007	平常心	Normal mind	141	2012	奇葩	Wonderful work
21	2007	弓虽	Strong!	142	2012	女神	Goddess
22	2007	正龙拍虎	Zhenglong patting the tiger	143	2012	小清新	Simple and plain style
23	2008	不折腾	No go to great lengths	144	2012	屌丝	Loser
24	2008	不抛弃不放弃	Do not abandon, do not give up	145	2012	干爹	Godfather
25	2008	你全才	You are so versatile	146	2012	感觉不会再爱了	I think I would not love anymore
26	2008	做人不要太 CNN	Do not be too CNN	147	2012	我再也不相信爱情了	I do not believe in love anymore

27	2008	叉腰肌	Iliopsoas/ignorant	148	2012	我能说脏话吗	Can I say dirty words
28	2008	口红效应	Lipstick effect	149	2012	拉黑	Block someone online
29	2008	囧	Oops	150	2012	接地气	Connected to ground Qi (Localised)
30	2008	宅女	House woman	151	2012	最美	The most beautiful
31	2008	宅男	Otaku	152	2012	正能量	positive energy
32	2008	山寨	Copycat	153	2012	毁三观	Destroyed three outlooks
33	2008	很雷很山寨	Very mind-boggling, very fake	154	2012	甄嬛体	Zhen Huan body
34	2008	很黄很暴力	Full of porn and violence	155	2012	真赞	Great approval
35	2008	我看行	I believe it is good quality	156	2012	约架	To start a fight the shelf
36	2008	拐点	Turning point	157	2012	绳命是入刺的井猜	Life is so wonderful
37	2008	被和谐	Being harmonised	158	2012	翔	Shit
38	2008	雷人	Ridiculous	159	2012	舌尖上	On the tip of the tongue
39	2008	雷倒	Shocked/surprised	160	2012	节操碎一地	Section to break the ground
40	2008	霹雳	Thunderbolt	161	2012	表叔	A corrupt man wearing famous-brand watches
41	2008	非诚勿扰	You Are the One	162	2012	赞 (太赞 很赞...)	Approval
42	2009	不差钱	Not in short of money	163	2012	躺枪	Be made innocent victim
43	2009	不能说太细	Can not give too many details	164	2012	躺着也中枪	Be made innocent victim
44	2009	低碳	Low carbon	165	2012	鄙视链	Derision chain
45	2009	你是哪个单位的	Which work unit are you with?	166	2012	重口味	Unusual taste
46	2009	信春哥	Believe in Brother Chun	167	2012	随时受不了	Cannot stand at any time
47	2009	信曾哥	Believe in Brother Zeng	168	2012	高富帅	Tall, rich and handsome
48	2009	偷菜	Steal plants/vegetables from friends (an online game)	169	2013	你为何放弃治疗	Why did you give up treatment?
49	2009	别迷恋哥	Do not be obsessed with me	170	2013	倒逼	Forced
50	2009	哥只是个传说	I am just a legend	171	2013	光盘	Finish food on a plate
51	2009	哥吃的不是面，是寂寞	I am not eating noodles. I'm eating loneliness.	172	2013	内什么	Hey.
52	2009	嫁人就嫁灰太狼	If I'm going to marry, Huitailang (a cartoon character) is the best choice.	173	2013	吊炸天	So cool
53	2009	心神不宁	Restless	174	2013	土豪	Local tycoon/new rich

54	2009	感谢八辈祖宗	Thanks to eight generations of ancestors	175	2013	大 V	Big VIP
55	2009	替党说话	Speak for the (communist) party	176	2013	奇葩	Wonderful work/A strange person
56	2009	杯具	Tragedy	177	2013	女汉子	Tough/butchy girl/woman
57	2009	槑	Naive	178	2013	妈妈再打我一次	Mom, hit me again
58	2009	欺实马	A bullying-horse (a bully)	179	2013	小伙伴	Little partner/my mate/friend
59	2009	秒杀	Get something done quickly	180	2013	帮汪峰上头条	Help Wang Feng to get on the headlines
60	2009	纠结	Tangled	181	2013	待我长发及腰	Wait 'til my long hair reaches waist
61	2009	草泥马	Fuck you	182	2013	感觉不会再爱了	I think I would not love anymore
62	2009	蚁族	Ant tribe	183	2013	我去年买了个表	I bought a watch last year
63	2009	蜗居	Snail house /live in a narrow space	184	2013	房姐	A woman owning many houses
64	2009	被代表	Faking representative statistics	185	2013	抢头条	Compete to get on the headlines
65	2009	被就业	Faking employment statistics	186	2013	捡肥皂	Pick up the soap (prison rape)
66	2009	被捐款	Faking donation statistics	187	2013	是无鞋	Being naive
67	2009	被自愿	Faking volunteer statistics	188	2013	爸爸去哪	Where is the father?
68	2009	跑偏了	Running away	189	2013	臣妾做不到	I (a humble concubine) cannot do it
69	2009	跨省抓捕	Inter-provincial arrest	190	2013	要火的节奏	The rhythm of the fire
70	2009	躲猫猫	Hide and seek	191	2013	负分滚粗	Give you negative points so you can get lost
71	2009	这个可以有	You can say "we have this"	192	2013	赶脚	Rental
72	2009	钓鱼	Fishing	193	2013	逆袭	A dark horse
73	2010	94	94 (that's it)	194	2013	高大上	High end and luxurious
74	2010	富/官二代	Rich / official second generation	195	2013	高端大气上档次	High-end first class
75	2010	gaga	gaga	196	2014	APEC 蓝	APEC Blue
76	2010	JS	JS/Dodgy businessman	197	2014	不作死就不会死	no Zuo no Die/Don't be stupid
77	2010	out 了	Outdated	198	2014	且行且珍惜	Cherish what you have at the moment
78	2010	偶 (偶稀饭)	I (I like it)	199	2014	也是蛮拼的	Having a fighting spirit
79	2010	凤姐	Sister Feng	200	2014	也是醉了	That is weird.
80	2010	喊你回家吃饭	Call you home for a meal	201	2014	买买买	Buy! Buy! Buy!
81	2010	围脖	Weibo microblog	202	2014	什么仇什么怨	What hatred is there between us?
82	2010	围观	Onlookers	203	2014	什么鬼	What the hell is that

83	2010	姜你军	Ginger price soaring/sky-rocketing	204	2014	你家人知道吗	Do your family know?
84	2010	宝马车里哭	Crying in a BMW car	205	2014	你懂得	You know what I mean
85	2010	我爸是李刚	My dad is Li Gang	206	2014	你行你上	If you can do it, then do it
86	2010	打酱油	Not my concern/business	207	2014	单身狗	A single dog/ Being single
87	2010	拜金女	A woman materialist	208	2014	做个安静的美男子	Be a quiet good-looking man
88	2010	拼爹	Gaining competitiveness from one's father	209	2014	哪家强	Which school/shop is the best?
89	2010	数钱帝	A counting-money Emperor (Be rich)	210	2014	喜大普奔	A good thing worth a celebration
90	2010	犀利哥	Brother Sharp (A fashionable tramp)	211	2014	国民岳父	National father-in-law
91	2010	神马	Everything	212	2014	失联	Went missing/ losing contact
92	2010	神马都是浮云	Everything is nothing	213	2014	小鲜肉	Small fresh meat
93	2010	稀饭	I like it.	214	2014	就是这么任性	Is so wayward
94	2010	穿越	Time travel	215	2014	心塞	Heart
95	2010	糖高宗	Price-skyrocketed sugar	216	2014	惊呆了	So shocked
96	2010	给力	Awesome	217	2014	我竟无言以对	I am even speechless
97	2010	羡慕嫉妒恨	Envy, jealousy, hate	218	2014	我读书少	I am not well educated
98	2010	蒜你狠	You are mean	219	2014	手滑	My hands got slippery
99	2010	豆你玩	I am joking	220	2014	撕逼	Dirty fight
100	2010	达人	A talent	221	2014	整个人都不好了	So battered
101	2010	闹龙套	A small potato (nobody)	222	2014	断舍离	Hard to say goodbye
102	2010	非常艰难的决定	Very tough decision	223	2014	新技能 get	New skill get
103	2010	顶	Support/approve	224	2014	时间都去哪了	Where are the times?
104	2010	鸭梨山大	Huge pressure	225	2014	暖男	Warm-hearted man
105	2011	2B 青年	2B youth (A stupid man)	226	2014	有钱任性	Corrupted by money
106	2011	Hold 住	Hold there/ Stand it	227	2014	根本停不下来	Cannot stop at all
107	2011	不走寻常路	Take an unusual step	228	2014	段舍离	Say goodbye
108	2011	亲	Dear * (endearment).	229	2014	炸鸡和啤酒	Fried chicken and beer
109	2011	伤不起	Cannot afford to be hurt	230	2014	现在整个人都不好了	Now the whole person is not good
110	2011	萌/好萌/卖萌	Cute / Very cute / Act cute	231	2014	直男癌	Prejudice of a straight man

111	2011	反正我信了	Anyway, I believe it	232	2014	神器	Powerful artefacts/tools
112	2011	吐槽	Make complaints	233	2014	约吗	Do we have a meet?
113	2011	咆哮体	Roaring writing style (To rant)	234	2014	脑洞大开	Be inspired.
114	2011	坑爹	Doggy	235	2014	艰拆装死	I'll kill you if you continue to be pretentious
115	2011	忐忑	Perturbed	236	2014	萌萌哒	Cute cute
116	2011	总结体	Summary writing style	237	2014	被你承包了	You are contracted
117	2011	悲催	Sad reminder	238	2014	辣条	Spicy fried gluten stick
118	2011	我反正信了	I anyway believe it	239	2014	这画面太美我不敢看	This picture is too beautiful. I am afraid to see it
119	2011	文艺青年	Young artists	240	2014	逼格	Ability to be pretentious
120	2011	方阵体	Sports-meet writing style	241	2014	那么问题来了	So here is the issue
121	2011	普通青年	Ordinary youth				

Appendix F. List of original Chinese (non-translated) films

No	Year	Film Title	English name	Genre	Production Area
1	2009	熊猫回家路	Touch Of The Panda	Family	China
2	2009	喜羊羊与灰太狼(2009)	Pleasant Goat and Big Wolf 2009	Comedy / animation / children	China/HK
3	2010	喜羊羊与灰太狼(2010)	Pleasant Goat and Big Wolf 2010	Animation / comedy	China
4	2011	新少林寺	Shaolin	Feature / action	China/HK
5	2011	龙门飞甲	Flying Swords of Dragon Gate	Action / martial arts / costume	China/HK
6	2012	浮城大亨	Floating City	Feature	China/HK
7	2012	大上海	The Last Tycoon	Feature / action	China/HK
8	2012	匹夫	An Inaccurate Memoir	Drama / Action / War / West	China
9	2012	寒战	Cold War	Feature / action / crime	China/HK
10	2012	痞子英雄之全面开战	Black & White (Episode 1)	Feature / action / crime	China/Taiwan
11	2012	大追捕	Nightfall	Feature / action / crime / suspense	China/HK
12	2012	逆战	The Viral Factor	Feature / action / crime / horror	China/HK
13	2012	黄金大劫案	Guns and Roses	Feature / comedy / action / history	China
14	2012	大魔术师	The Great Magician	Drama / comedy / love / fantasy	China/HK
15	2012	消失的子弹	The Bullet Vanishe	Action / suspense / crime	China/HK
16	2012	血滴子	The Guillotines	Action / martial arts / costume	China/HK
17	2012	画皮 2	Painted Skin II	Action / love / fantasy / horror	China/HK
18	2012	四大名捕 2	The Four 2	Action / love / suspense / martial arts	China/HK
19	2012	车手	Motorway	Action / crime / feature	China/HK
20	2012	十二生肖	Chinese Zodiac	Comedy / action / adventure	China/HK
21	2012	大武当之天地密码	Wu Dang	Comedy / action / adventure	China/HK
22	2012	太极 1：从零开始	Tai Chi 0	Comedy / action / fantasy / martial arts	China
23	2012	太极 2：英雄崛起	Taichi Hero	Comedy / action / fantasy / martial arts	China/HK
24	2013	一代宗师	The Grandmaster	Feature / biography / action	China/HK
25	2013	警察故事 2013	Police Story 2013	Feature / action / crime	China/HK
26	2013	警察故事	Police Story	Feature / action / crime	China/HK
27	2013	激战	Unbeatable	Feature / action / movement	HK/China
28	2013	致我们终将逝去的青春	So Young	Feature / love	China/HK
29	2013	风暴 風暴	Firestorm	Action / crime	HK/China

30	2013	特殊身份	Special ID	Action / crime	China
31	2013	狄仁杰之神都龙王	Young Detective Dee Rise of the Sea Dragon	Action / crime / suspense / costume	China/HK
32	2013	不二神探	Badges Of Fury	Comedy / action / crime	China/HK
33	2013	西游降魔篇	Journey To The West Conquering The Demons	Comedy / fantasy / adventure	China/HK
34	2014	黄金时代	The Golden Era	Feature / biography / love	China/HK
35	2014	黄飞鸿之英雄有梦	Rise of the Legend	Feature / action / love / martial arts	China/HK/UK
36	2014	王牌	Who is Undercover	Feature / suspense	China
37	2014	西游记之大闹天宫	The Monkey king	Action / fantasy	China/HK
38	2014	一个人的武林	Kung Fu Jungle	Action / horror	China/HK
39	2014	智取威虎山	The Taking of Tiger Mountain	Action / war / adventure	China/HK
40	2014	白发魔女传之明月天国	The White Haired Witch of Lunar Kingdom	Action / love / fantasy / martial arts	China/HK
41	2014	四大名捕大结局	The Four 3	Action / love / suspense / martial arts	China/HK
42	2014	魔警	That Demon Within	Action / crime / suspense / horror	HK/China
43	2014	窃听风云 3	Overheard 3	Action / crime / suspense / horror	HK/China
44	2014	龙之谷	Dragon Nest Warriors Dawn	Animation / fantasy / adventure	China
45	2014	澳门风云	From Vegas to Macau	Comedy / action	China/HK
46	2014	甜蜜杀机	Sweet Alibis	Comedy / love / crime	Taiwan
47	2008	长江七号	CJ7	Drama / comedy / family / fantasy	China / HK
48	2008	叶问	Ip Man	Feature / action / biography / history	HK/ China
49	2006	龙虎门	Dragon Tiger Gate	Feature / action	China / HK
50	2014	亲爱的	Dearest	Feature / family	China / HK
51	2012	新天生一对	New Perfect Two	Drama / comedy / love / family	China/Taiwan

Note: (1) HK= Hong Kong; (2) The information in the "Genre" was translated from Chinese. Source: www.mtime.com

English version translated from Chinese:

SCG Subtitle Translation Norms (2010)[40]

I. Each translator must ensure that their translation quality meets the following requirements:

1. The translation must be accurate.

2. The translation must be concise.

Translators should avoid translation redundancy, so that the audience can enjoy the film as much as possible, without being distracted much by the subtitles. Therefore, translators should try to refine their language.

3. Translators should not translate person names, but they should capitalise the first letter.

4. Well-known place names should be directly translated. ("Well-known" means place names including country names, national capital names, US states, famous tourist sites, etc.)

Annotations should be added to little-known place names and personal names, for the convenience of the audience. The format of the annotation should be unified as follows: add a () behind the English place names or person names, and put relevant content into the (). For example, in *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*, Dark Lord is mentioned. Then the translator can annotate: Dark Lord (Voldemort namely 伏地魔).

4. The lyrics in subtitles should be translated.

Very often, the lyrics are associated with the film closely, and they help characters express their feelings, so the translation is necessary. The translation of lyrics should not only be accurate, but also elegant and beautiful. PS: As for American TV dramas, due to time constraints, translators may not translate them unless specifically requested. Under normal circumstances they should be translated.

5. Mark (TBD) in your translation where you feel you are unsure.

If you encounter a sentence you are not sure of, add (TBD) to the end of that sentence, so that it is easy to proofread.

---

[40] Source link: http://www.cnscg.com/thread-622427-1-1.html (Published on 05/01/2010)

NOTE: adding TBD does not mean you do not need to translate it. You should translate it according to your understanding. You should not keep the English for the proofreader to translate.

6. Embedded (hard) subtitles should be translated.

Embedded subtitles refer to captions which appear on the film screen, but are not available in English subtitles. Many embedded subtitles are closely related to the plot, thus requiring being translated. As for embedded subtitles, the English texts do not need modification, but they should be translated and corresponding time codes should be added in Chinese subtitles. If translators do not know how to add time codes, then add the translation to the nearest time code and notify the proofreader to add time codes.

7, File format for submission.

Bilingual subtitles, with English text on top, and Chinese underneath.

If you translate line 101-200, then name your file: film name.101-200 by **.eng&chs.srt Note that if you translate line 101-200, then you need to delete lines of English texts before line 101 and after line 200, keep only your own translation of that 100 lines. Remember to hit the "return" key on your keyboard one extra time after the last line.

Special note: Before submitting English-Chinese bilingual subtitles, be sure to try to attach the subtitles to the video so as to confirm the subtitles can be played on the video.

Finally, compress the subtitle file, upload it to the forum (you should find the task posting, reply to it, and attach your file to the posting).

II. English subtitles format specification

1. Subtitles must be put into one line only, that is, one time code goes with only one line of subtitles underneath.

2. Annotations in front of the subtitle must be deleted, as illustrated below in the red circle. If underneath the time code there is just an annotation and no subtitles needed to be translated, delete the annotation, and leave the time code only. (NOTE: <i>, </ i > should also be deleted)

3. The time code order number occupies one line; the time code occupies one line. This cannot be modified.

4. A blank line must be maintained between each subtitle line and the next order number.

5. Punctuation marks including commas, full stops, and exclamation marks need to be retained. A space should be added to the punctuation marks and then subtitles can follow. Marks including "---" or "--" (dash) or "-" (non-hyphen) need to be changed to "…" (Ellipsis). PS: ellipsis in the beginning of a sentence should be deleted

6. The dialogue format: one space after the short dash, and two spaces between the two sentences in the dialogue. For example:

 - XXX - XXX

7. Lyrics format:

Xxxx

Note: On the left in the figure are the original English subtitles, on the right is the edited English subtitles.

III. Chinese subtitles format specification

1. Subtitles must be put into one line only, that is, one time code goes with only one line of subtitles underneath.

2. Punctuation:

(1) Commas and full stops are not kept in Chinese subtitles. Remove the commas in subtitles translation ",," and ".", replace each one with a blank space. If it is at the end of the sentence, then delete it.

(2) Other punctuation marks should be retained, but they must be English half-size (half-width). For example, question marks, exclamation, ellipsis, quot, and dash in front of a dialogue. They should be followed by a space and then by subtitles.

Marks including "---" or "--" (dash) or "-" (non-hyphen) need to be changed to "...". For example: the question mark (?);   Exclamation mark (!); Ellipsis (...) must be three dots, no more and no less.

3. The dialogue format: one space after the dash, two spaces between the two sentences in one dialogue. For example:

 - XXX   - XXX

4. Lyrics format:

Xxxx

Note: on the left is the English subtitles; on the right is translated Chinese subtitles.

Chinese version:

SCG 翻译规范

一、每个翻译必须保证自己的翻译质量，满足以下要求：

1、翻译必须准确。

2、翻译必须简洁。

翻译切忌冗余，为的是能让观众更好的欣赏影片，而不至于将更多的注意力分散到字幕上去，所以，尽量精炼语言。

3、翻译中遇到的人名不翻译，但是要将其首字母改为大写。

4、翻译中遇到的地名，熟悉的应直接译出来。（所谓熟悉的，包括国家名、国家首都名、美国州名、著名景点等）

很陌生的地名和人名，为方便观众可以加上注释，注释的模式统一为：英文地名或人名后面用（），里面写上相关内容，比如，哈利波特与凤凰社中提到 Dark Lord，则可以再注释为：Dark Lord（Voldemort 即伏地魔）

4、字幕中的歌词也需要翻译。

很多时候，歌词跟影片关联密切，直接表达剧中人的心情，所以，是有必要翻译的，翻译歌词不仅要做到翻译准确，而且需要用词文雅、优美。PS:美剧由于时间紧迫,特别要求时可以不翻译, 一般情况下需翻译.

5、翻译拿不准的地方标记为(TBD)。

翻译的时候，可能会有拿不准的句子，在本句末尾加上（TBD），便于校对。

注：TBD 的地方不代表不翻。也应根据自己的想法翻出。不得留英文给校对翻。

6、内嵌字幕需翻译。

内嵌字幕即 在电影画面中出现的字幕，但未在英文字幕中给出。很多内嵌字幕都与剧情密切相关，因此要求翻译出来。遇到内嵌字幕时，英文字幕不做修改，在中文字幕中给出翻译同时加上相应的时间轴。若翻译不会做时间轴，则将翻译加于附近的时间轴下，并通知校对加好时间轴。

7、 提交的文件格式。

中英文双语字幕，英文在上，中文在下，如果你翻译的是 101-200 句的话，字幕命名为：电影名.101-200 by 某某.eng&chs.srt

注意，如果你做的是 101-200，就需要将英文的 101 句之前的和 200 句之后的都删除，中英文都只保留自己翻译的那 100 句。最后一句字幕后面要多打一个回车。

特别提醒：在提交中英文字幕之前，一定要将中英文字幕挂上片源试试，确认能挂上片源后再提交。

最后，把字幕文件打个压缩包，上传到论坛上面（找到你所做的任务的任务贴，然后，在上面回帖，添加附件就行了）

二、英文字幕格式规范

1、字幕必须整理到一行上去，即一个时间行下面仅能有 1 行字幕。

2、字幕前面的注释是必须删掉，如下图红圈内的部分。若时间轴下仅有注释而未有需要翻译的字幕，则删除注释，保留空轴。（注：<i>,</i>也应删除）

3、序号占一行，时间占一行，不能修改。

4、每行字幕和下个序号之间必须保留一个空行。

5、英文字幕里的逗号、句号、感叹号等标点需保留。且之后应空一格再接字幕。其中"---"或"--"（破折号）或非连字符"-"需改成"..."（省略号）PS:省略号在句首需删除

6、对话格式：短横杠后空一格，两句对话间空两格。如：

 - XXX - XXX

7、歌词格式：遇到歌词时格式如下：

xxxx

注：上图左边为原始英文字幕，右边为整理后的英文字幕。

三、中文字幕格式规范

1、字幕必须整理到一行上去，即一个时间行下面仅能有 1 行字幕。

2、标点符号：

（1）中文字幕里不保留逗号和句号，翻译时删除字幕中的逗号"，"和"."，用一个空格代替，如果在句末，则直接删除。

（2）其它标点需保留，但必须是半角英文标点。例如问号、叹号、省略号、引号、对白前面的短横杠。且之后应空一格再接字幕。

（3）字幕里的"---"或"--"（破折号）或非连字符"-"，需改成"..." 如：问号？ 叹号! 省略号 …(必须是 3 个点，不能多也不能少)

3、对话格式：短横杠后空一格，两句对话间空两格。如：

 - XXX - XXX

4、歌词格式：遇到歌词时格式如下：

xxxx

注：左边为英文字幕，右边为翻译后的中文字幕。

PS:关于中文是人名或地名 跟英文字幕无区别的情况不好拆分

暂行的方法是人名或地名后加虚词

Appendix H. Film Management Regulations (Revised)

Posted on December 25, 2001; updated on June 15, 2010

Source: https://chinacopyrightandmedia.wordpress.com[41]

(Translator unknown)

State Council of the People's Republic of China Decree

(No. 342)

The "Film Management Regulations" were adopted at the 50th executive meeting of the State Council on December 12, 2001, are hereby promulgated, and shall come into force on February 1, 2002.

Premier: Zhu Rongji

December 25, 2001

Chapter I: General Provisions

Article 1: In order to strengthen film industry management, promote the film industry, and satisfy the people's cultural life needs, promote socialist spiritual and material civilisation, these Regulations are formulated.

Article 2: These Regulations shall apply to activities such as the production, import, export, distribution and projection, etc. of films inside the territory of the People's Republic of China, including feature films, documentary films, science and education films, animations, and special topic films.

Article 3: People engaged in the activities such as production, import, export, distribution and projection, etc. of films shall abide by the Constitution and relevant laws and regulations, and shall adhere to the orientation of serving the people and serving socialism.

Article 4: The State Council administrative radio, film and television entity shall be in charge of film affairs in the entire country.

---

[41] Full source link: https://chinacopyrightandmedia.wordpress.com/2001/12/25/film-management-regulations-revised/

The county-level or higher People's Government administrative film entities shall be responsible for the film management within their own jurisdiction in accordance with these Regulations.

Article 5: The State shall establish licensing system for the production, import, export, distribution, and projection of films and public projection of films. Any work unit or individual, without permission, may not be engaged in the activities of production, import, distribution or projection of films, and may not import, export, distribute or project films for which the permit has not been obtained.

Permits or approval documents issued in accordance with these Regulations shall not be leased, lent, sold, or transferred in any other form.

Article 6: A national-size film industry social organisation shall, in accordance with its articles of association, practice self-disciplined management under the direction of State Council administrative radio, film and television entity.

Article 7: The State grants rewards to entities and individuals making significant contributions to the film sector development.

Chapter 2: Film Production

(Omitted here)

Chapter III Film examination

Article 24: The State applies a film examination system.

Films not been examined and adopted by the film examination entity of the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity (hereinafter referred to as "the film examination entity") shall not be distributed, projected, imported or exported.

The import of special subject films for reference in science research or teaching and the import by China Film Archive of films for archival shall occur in accordance with Article 32 of these Regulations.

Article 25: The following content is prohibited from being recorded in a film:

(1) content that defies the basic principles determined in the Constitution;

(2) content that endangers the unity of the nation, sovereignty or territorial integrity;

(3) content that divulges secrets of the State, endangers national security or damages the honour or benefits of the State;

(4) content that incites nation hatred or discrimination, undermines the solidarity of the nation, or infringes upon national customs and habits;

(5) content that propagates evil cults or superstition;

(6) content that disturbs the public order or destroys the public stability;

(7) content that propagates obscenity, gambling, violence or instigates crimes;

(8) content that insults or slanders others, or infringes upon the lawful rights and interests of others;

(9) content that endangers public ethics or the fine folk cultural traditions;

(10) other contents prohibited by laws, regulations or State provisions.

The technical quality of films shall conform to State standards.

Article 26: A film production entity shall, in accordance with Article 25 of these Regulations, be responsible for the examination of screenplays to be put into shooting and films not having left the factory.

A film production entity shall, after examining a screenplay to be put into shooting in accordance with the provisions in the preceding paragraph, report to the film examination entity for filing; the film examination entity may examine the screenplays reported for filing, and shall, where finding any content prohibited by Article 25 of these Regulations, timely notify the film production entity that they may not shoot. Specific measures shall be enacted by the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity.

Article 27: A film production entity shall, after producing a film, submit it to the film examination entity for examination; the film import entities shall, after completing the temporary import formalities for the film, submit it to the film examination entity for examination.

The standards for charging fees for film examinations shall be jointly stipulated by the State Council department in charge of price with the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity.

Article 28: The film examination entity shall, within 30 days as of receipt of a film submitted for examination, notify the submitting entity in writing of the examination decision. If the film is examined to be qualified, a "Public Film Projection Permit" shall be issued by State Council administrative radio, film and television entity.

A film production entity or film import entity shall print the number of its "Public Film Projection Permit" on the front of the first copy of the film. Where the film is examined to be unqualified, and is submitted after amendment for re-examination, the examination period shall be recalculated in accordance with Paragraph 1 of this Article.

Article 29: Where a film production entity or film import entity disagrees with the examination decision concerning the film, it may, within 30 days as of receipt of the examination decision, apply to the film re-examination institution of the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity for re-examination; where the film is re-examined to be qualified, the applicant shall be issued the "Public Film Projection Permit" by State Council administrative radio, film and television entity.

Chapter IV: Film Import and Export

Article 30: The business of importing films shall be operated by film import entities designated by State Council administrative radio, film and television entity; without being designated, no entity or individual shall conduct films importing business.

Article 31: Whoever intends to import films for public projection shall, before the import, submit a sample copy of the film to the film examination entity for examination.

Concerning films submitted to the film examination entity for examination, the designated film import entity shall conduct the temporary film import formalities with Customs with the approval documents for temporary import issued by the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity; after the temporarily imported film has been examined by the film examination entity to be qualified and the "Public Film Projection Permit" and the approval documents for import have been issued, the film import entity shall conduct import formalities with Customs with the approval documents for import.

Article 32: An import entity which intends to import special topic films for reference in science research or teaching shall report to the relevant State Council administrative department for examination and approval, conduct the import formalities with Customs with the approval documents, and report to the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity for record within 30 days as of the date of import. However, it shall not import feature films in the name of science research or teaching.

China Film Archive may, when importing archival films, directly conduct the import formalities at customs. China Film Archive shall report quarterly the archival films it has imported to the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity for filing.

Unless otherwise provided in this Article, no entity or individual shall import films that have not been examined to be qualified by State Council administrative radio, film and television entity.

Article 33: A film import entity shall, after obtaining permission from a copyright owner for exploitation of his film work, exploit the film work within the scope of permission; no entity or individual shall exploit the imported film work without obtaining the permission for exploitation.

Article 34: A film production entity that exports its own films shall conduct film export formalities with Customs with the "Public Film Projection Permit".

Where a film produced through Sino-foreign cooperation is to be exported, the Chinese partner shall conduct export formalities with Customs with the "Public Film Projection Permit". Where film materials produced through Sino-foreign cooperation are to be exported, the Chinese partner shall conduct the export formalities with Customs with the approval documents by State Council administrative radio, film and television entity.

Where a film or some film materials produced with the assistance of a Chinese party are to be carried outside of the territory, the Chinese assistor shall conduct the exit formalities with Customs with the approval documents by the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity.

Article 35: Whoever intends to organise a Sino-foreign film exhibition, international film festival, or provide films to a film exhibition or film festival, etc. held outside the territory, shall report to the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity for approval.

Films prepared for film exhibitions or film festivals listed in the preceding paragraph must be submitted to the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity for examination and approval. After a film prepared for a film exhibition or film festival held outside the territory has been approved, the participant shall conduct the temporary film export formalities at Customs with the approval documents by State Council administrative radio, film and television entity. After an overseas film prepared for a Sino-foreign film exhibition or international film festival held inside the territory of China

has been approved, the holder shall conduct the temporary import formalities with Customs with the approval documents by State Council administrative radio, film and television entity.

Chapter V Film Distribution and Projection (omitted)

Chapter VI Film Sector Protection (omitted)

Chapter VII Punitive Provisions (omitted)

Chapter 8: Supplementary Provisions (omitted)

Article 67: The State applies an annual inspection system to the "Film Production Permit", the "Film Distribution Operating Permit" and the "Film Projection Operating Permit". The measures for annual inspection shall be formulated by the State Council administrative radio, film and television entity.

Article 68: These Regulations shall take effect on February 1, 2002. The "Film Management Regulations" promulgated by the State Council on June 19, 1996 shall be simultaneously abolished.

Chinese version:

电影管理条例

中华人民共和国国务院令

第 342 号

《电影管理条例》已经 2001 年 12 月 12 日国务院第 50 次常务会议通过，现予公布，自 2002 年 2 月 1 日起施行

总 理 朱镕基

二 00 一年十二月二十五日

电影管理条例

第一章 总则

第一条 为了加强对电影行业的管理，发展和繁荣电影事业，满足人民群众文化生活需要，促进社会主义物质文明和精神文明建设，制定本条例。

第二条 本条例适用于中华人民共和国境内的故事片、纪录片、科教片、美术片、专题片等电影片的制片、进口、出口、发行和放映等活动。

第三条 从事电影片的制片、进口、出口、发行和放映等活动，应当遵守宪法和有关法律、法规，坚持为人民服务、为社会主义服务的方向。

第四条 国务院广播电影电视行政部门主管全国电影工作。

县级以上地方人民政府管理电影的行政部门（以下简称电影行政部门），依照本条例的规定负责本行政区域内的电影管理工作。

第五条 国家对电影摄制、进口、出口、发行、放映和电影片公映实行许可制度。未经许可，任何单位和个人不得从事电影片的摄制、进口、发行、放映活动，不得进口、出口、发行、放映未取得许可证的电影片。

依照本条例发放的许可证和批准文件，不得出租、出借、出售或者以其他任何形式转让。

第六条 全国性电影行业的社会团体按照其章程，在国务院广播电影电视行政部门指导下，实行自律管理。

第七条 国家对为电影事业发展做出显著贡献的单位和个人，给予奖励。

第二章 电影制片

(Omitted)

第三章 电影审查

第二十四条 国家实行电影审查制度。

未经国务院广播电影电视行政部门的电影审查机构（以下简称电影审查机构）审查通过的电影片，不得发行、放映、进口、出口。

供科学研究、教学参考的专题片进口和中国电影资料馆进口电影资料片，依照本条例第三十二条的规定办理。

第二十五条 电影片禁止载有下列内容：

（一）反对宪法确定的基本原则的；

（二）危害国家统一、主权和领土完整的；

（三）泄露国家秘密、危害国家安全或者损害国家荣誉和利益的；

（四）煽动民族仇恨、民族歧视，破坏民族团结，或者侵害民族风俗、习惯的；

（五）宣扬邪教、迷信的；

（六）扰乱社会秩序，破坏社会稳定的；

（七）宣扬淫秽、赌博、暴力或者教唆犯罪的；

（八）侮辱或者诽谤他人，侵害他人合法权益的；

（九）危害社会公德或者民族优秀文化传统的；

（十）有法律、行政法规和国家规定禁止的其他内容的。

电影技术质量应当符合国家标准。

第二十六条 电影制片单位应当依照本条例第二十五条的规定，负责电影剧本投拍和电影片出厂前的审查。

电影制片单位依照前款规定对其准备投拍的电影剧本审查后，应当报电影审查机构备案；电影审查机构可以对报备案的电影剧本进行审查，发现有本条例第二十五条禁止内容的，应当及时通知电影制片单位不得投拍。具体办法由国务院广播电影电视行政部门制定。

第二十七条 电影制片单位应当在电影片摄制完成后，报请电影审查机构审查；电影进口经营单位应当在办理电影片临时进口手续后，报请电影审查机构审查。

电影审查收费标准由国务院价格主管部门会同国务院广播电影电视行政部门规定。

第二十八条 电影审查机构应当自收到报送审查的电影片之日起３０日内，将审查决定书面通知送审单位。审查合格的，由国务院广播电影电视行政部门发给《电影片公映许可证》。

电影制片单位或者电影进口经营单位应当将《电影片公映许可证》证号印制在该电影片拷贝第一本片头处。

审查不合格，经修改报送重审的，审查期限依照本条第一款的规定重新计算。

第二十九条 电影制片单位和电影进口经营单位对电影片审查决定不服的，可以自收到审查决定之日起３０日内向国务院广播电影电视行政部门的电影复审机构申请复审；复审合格的，由国务院广播电影电视行政部门发给《电影片公映许可证》。

第四章 电影进口出口

第三十条 电影进口业务由国务院广播电影电视行政部门指定电影进口经营单位经营；未经指定，任何单位或者个人不得经营电影进口业务。

第三十一条 进口供公映的电影片，进口前应当报送电影审查机构审查。

报送电影审查机构审查的电影片，由指定的电影进口经营单位持国务院广播电影电视行政部门的临时进口批准文件到海关办理电影片临时进口手续；临时进口的电影片经电影审查机构审查合格并发给《电影片公映许可证》和进口批准文件后，由电影进口经营单位持进口批准文件到海关办理进口手续。

第三十二条 进口供科学研究、教学参考的专题片，进口单位应当报经国务院有关行政主管部门审查批准，持批准文件到海关办理进口手续，并于进口之日起３０日内向国务院广播电影电视行政部门备案。但是，不得以科学研究、教学的名义进口故事片。

中国电影资料馆进口电影资料片，可以直接到海关办理进口手续。中国电影资料馆应当将其进口的电影资料片按季度向国务院广播电影电视行政部门备案。

除本条规定外，任何单位或者个人不得进口未经国务院广播电影电视行政部门审查合格的电影片。

第三十三条 电影进口经营单位应当在取得电影作品著作权人使用许可后，在许可的范围内使用电影作品；未取得使用许可的，任何单位和个人不得使用进口电影作品。

第三十四条 电影制片单位出口本单位制作的电影片的，应当持《电影片公映许可证》到海关办理电影片出口手续。

中外合作摄制电影片出口的，中方合作者应当持《电影片公映许可证》到海关办理出口手续。中外合作摄制电影片素材出口的，中方合作者应当持国务院广播电影电视行政部门的批准文件到海关办理出口手续。

中方协助摄制电影片或者电影片素材出境的，中方协助者应当持国务院广播电影电视行政部门的批准文件到海关办理出境手续。

第三十五条 举办中外电影展、国际电影节，提供电影片参加境外电影展、电影节等，应当报国务院广播电影电视行政部门批准。

参加前款规定的电影展、电影节的电影片，须报国务院广播电影电视行政部门审查批准。参加境外电影展、电影节的电影片经批准后，参展者应当持国务院广播电影电视行政部门的批准文件到海关办理电影片临时出口手续。参加在中国境内举办的中外电影展、国际电影节的境外电影片经批准后，举办者应当持国务院广播电影电视行政部门的批准文件到海关办理临时进口手续。

第五章 电影发行和放映

第六章 电影事业的保障

第七章 罚则

第八章 附则

第六十七条 国家实行《摄制电影许可证》和《电影发行经营许可证》、《电影放映经营许可证》年检制度。年检办法由国务院广播电影电视行政部门制定。

第六十八条 本条例自２００２年２月１日起施行。１９９６年６月１９日国务院发布的《电影管理条例》同时废止。

Appendix I. Questionnaire: How do you feel about these swear words in subtitles?

调查问卷: 你对这些字幕中粗话脏话看了什么感觉？

做这个调查是为了研究翻译，看英语电影中的脏话是怎样翻译到汉语。请凭你自己的感觉给问卷的汉语脏话评级评分（1-9）。1 等级最小，表示不会冒犯到别人（一点都不脏），数字越大，等级越高，第 9 等级最高 表示最脏的了。(Please rate the offensive level of Chinese swear words in this survey (1-9). Level 1 is the lowest level, meaning the swear word will not offend anyone (not offensive at all). The higher the number, the higher the offensive level. Level 9 is highest, meaning the most offensive.)

No.	Chinese words	Pinyin	Scale
Q01	操你妈的	cāo nǐ mā de	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q02	贱货	jiànhuò	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q03	杂种	zázhǒng	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q04	操他神	cāo tā shén	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q05	鸡巴	jībā	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q06	我操	wǒ cāo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q07	狗杂种	gǒu zázhǒng	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q08	狗日的	gǒu rìde	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q09	卧槽	wòcáo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q10	操蛋	cāodàn	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q11	你妈的	nǐ mā de	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q12	狗	gǒu	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q13	王八蛋	wángbā dàn	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q14	傻逼	shǎbī	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q15	我靠	wǒ kào	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q16	畜生	chùshēng	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q17	我擦	wǒ cā	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q18	同性恋	tóngxìngliàn	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q19	变态	biàntài	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q20	毛线	máoxiàn	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q21	蠢货	chǔnhuò	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q22	他妈的	tā mā de	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q23	混蛋	húndàn	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q24	白痴	báichī	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q25	放屁	fàngpì	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q26	穷鬼	qióng guǐ	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q27	狗屁	gǒupì	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q28	臭嘴	chòu zuǐ	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q29	兔崽子	tùzǎizi	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q30	去死	qùsǐ	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q31	天杀的	tiān shā de	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q32	滚	gǔn	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q33	倒霉蛋	dǎoméi dàn	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q34	疯子	fēngzi	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q35	衰人	shuāi rén	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q36	特么	tème	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q37	勒个去	lēi gèqù	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Q38	完蛋	wándàn	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q39	坏蛋	huàidàn	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q40	闭嘴	bìzuǐ	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q41	该死的	gāisǐ de	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q42	破事	pòshì	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q43	废话	fèihuà	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q44	抠门	kōumén	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q45	胡扯	húchě	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q46	搞什么飞机	gǎo shénme fēijī	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q47	鬼东西	guǐ dōngxī	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q48	讨厌	tǎoyàn	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q49	见鬼	jiànguǐ	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q50	老天爷	lǎotiānyé	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q51	小子	xiǎozi	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q52	什么鬼	shénme guǐ	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q53	屁话	pìhuà	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q54	笑/懂个屁	xiào/dǒng gèpì	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q55	贱人	jiànrén	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q56	婊子	biǎo zi	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q57	狗娘养的	gǒu niáng yǎng de	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q58	家伙	jiāhuo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q59	垃圾	lèsè	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q60	胡说	húshuō	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q61	小人	xiǎorén	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q62	傻瓜	shǎguā	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q63	去你的	qùnǐ de	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q64	我的妈呀	wǒ de mā ya	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q65	人渣	rén zhā	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q66	天啊/哪	tiān a/nǎ	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q67	操!	cāo!	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q68	靠!	Kào!	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q69	上帝啊	Shàngdìa	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q70	你是一坨屎	nǐ shìyī tuóshǐ	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q71	菊花（网络语：屁股）	júhuā (wǎngluò yǔ: Pìgu)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Q72	爆菊	bàojú	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Q73. 你的年龄 (Your age): 0-15; 16-20; 21-25; 26-30; 31-35; 36-45; 46-50; >51

Q74. 你的教育 (Your education): 小学 Primary school; 中学 Secondary school; 大学 University;研 Postgraudate

Q75. 你的性别 (Gender): 男 Male; 女 Female

Appendix J. Interview/survey questions and purposes of asking these questions

Questions in English:

Hello. I am also a member of SCG. Nice to meet you here.

Recently I'm writing my degree thesis. The theme is the translation of swear words in subtitles.

Can I ask you several questions about subtitle translation for my data collection? Your identity

236

will be confidential. I will only denote you in my thesis as Translator No.1 or Translator No. 2. Is that alright?

Usually how do you translate rude swear words?

What principles do you adhere to when you translate swear words?

Would you consider using in their subtitle translation and why.

Do you refer to the official version produced by professionals?

What constraints do you consider when you translate swear words?

What is your gender? What age group are you in: 15-20, 21-25, 26-30, 30-35, or 35-40? Are you or were you an English major in the university? Are you a student or do you work now?

Questions in Chinese:

你好, 在吗? 我也是 SCG 字幕组的. 很高兴在这里见到你.

我最近在写毕业论文, 主题是字幕中脏话的翻译. 能问你几个关于字幕翻译的问题用于我论文的数据采集吗? 你的身份我会保密, 我在论文中只会标记译员 1, 译员 2. 这样行吗?

你一般怎样翻译脏话？你翻译脏话时候会考虑什么限制吗？

你翻译脏话有依据什么原则吗？ 你会考虑用在你的翻译中用流行语吗？为什么？

你有参考官方翻译版本吗?

你的性别是? 年龄段 15-20 岁, 21-25 岁,26-30 岁, 30-35,35-40? 英语专业的? 学生还是工作了?

Appendix K. Instances of taboo issues

Anal penetration (4 instances)

Ex. 1

ST: (- A great hero, named Kevin Bacon, teaches an entire city full of people with
sticks up their butts that, dancing, well, is the greatest thing there is.)
- Who put the sticks up their **butts**?
Fansub: 谁会**假正经 (jiǎzhèngjīng)** 到把棍子插进**菊花 (júhuā)** 里 [Who would be
so **prudish** as to put a stick into his **arse**?]
Produb: 他们为什么会长**龟毛 (guīmáo)** [Why would they grow **turtle fur**?]
Line location: *Guardians of the Galaxy* (2014), line 750, 00:52:33

Ex. 2

ST: Before I bust your **hole** with my boot heel!
Fansub: 趁我还没踢爆你的**菊花 (júhuā)**! [Before I kick and bust your arse)!]
Produb: 别等着我踢你**屁股 (pìgu)** 废物 [Don't wait for me to kick your **arse, trash!**]
Line location: Edge of Tomorrow (2014), line 464, 00:33:01

Ex. 3

ST: I'm gonna slather you up in Gunavian jelly, and **go to town**...
Fansub: 我要给你**菊花 (júhuā)** 涂满润滑剂 然后好好操... [I am going to apply lots
of jelly on your **arse**, and fuck well.]
Produb: 我要把你蘸着甘纳维安果酱**吃 (chī)** 大餐 [I'm gonna **eat you up** with
Gunavian jelly, as a big dinner]
Line: Guardians of the Galaxy (2014), line 340, 00:26:28

Ex. 4

ST: Or I'm going to break my steel leg off into your **ass**.
Fansub: 不然我就用假肢爆你**菊 (jú)** [or I am going to use my artificial limb] to bust
your **arse**.]
Produb: 要么我就用钢腿踢烂你的**屁股 (pìgu)** [or I am going to use my steel leg to
kick your **arse** hard.]
Line location: Battleship (2012), line 1044, 01:23:10

Homosexuality (3 instances), ethnic group (2 instances), terrorist group (2 instances)

Ex. 5

ST: It's like those fucking state school kids who get into Oxford on "C" grades) 'cause
their mum is a one-legged **lesbian**.
Fansub: 就因为他们的妈妈是只有一条腿的**女同性恋 (nǚ tóngxìngliàn)** [Only
because their mum is a one-legged **female homosexual**.]
Produb: 全靠他们老妈只有一条腿 [Only because their mum's got only one leg
("lesbian" omitted).]
Line location: Kingsman: The Secret Service (2014), line 497, 00:42:29

Ex. 6

ST: **Jew,** nigger, *fag-lovers*, and the Devil is burning them for all eternity! 永世不得
超生

Fansub: **犹太人 (yóutàirén)** 黑鬼 *基佬 (jīlǎo)* 恶魔将永远灼烧他们! [**Jew,** nigger,
gays. The Devil will burn them forever.]

Produb: 黑鬼 *同性恋 (tóngxìngliàn)* 永世不得超生 将在地狱的烈火中备受煎熬
[(**"Jew" omitted**), nigger, and *homosexuals* will never be reincarnated. They
will be tormented in the flames of hell!]

Line location: Kingsman: The Secret Service (2014), 989, 01:18:01

Ex. 7

ST: About 30 Taliban opened up from these houses in the hills above us.

Fansub: 大约有 30 个**塔利班分子 (tǎlìbān fènzǐ)** 从山上的房子里朝我们开火
[About 30 **Taliban members** opened up from these houses in the hills above
us.]

Produb: 30 多个**敌人 (dírén)** 从山上的房子里向我们开火 [Over 30 **enemies** opened
up from these houses in the hills above us.]

Line location: The Expendables 2 (2012), line 290, 00:27:07

Ex. 8

ST: Where are you going, you fucking towel-head **al-Qaeda faggot**?

Fansub: 你他妈说谁呢 **基地组织 (jīdì zǔzhī)** 的毛巾头**死基佬 (sǐ jīlǎo)**? [Who the
fuck you are talking about? **al-Qaeda** towel-head **bloody gay**?]

Produb: 要去哪儿 给我回来 嗨 你这个该死的毛细虫**恐怖分子 (kǒngbù fènzǐ, "al-
Qaeda" deleted)** *同性恋 (tóngxìngliàn)* [Where are you going? Come back!
You damn insect capillary **terrorist** *homosexual*!]

Line location: Escape Plan (2013), line 955, 01:24:14

Ex. 9

ST: How do you say, "Get the fuck out of the way" in **Chinese**?

Fansub: 都给我让开用**中文 (zhōngwén)** 怎么说? [How do you say, "Get out of the
way" in **Chinese**?]

Produb: 我的天呐 他们怎么这么淡定 [Oh, my God! How come they are so calm
(**"Chinese" omitted**)?]

Line location: Transformers Age of Extinction (2014), line 1895, 02:07:11,083

Chinese image (3 instances)

Ex. 10

ST: The tattoo on your wrist is Macau **sex trade**. You belonged to one of the houses.
What were you? 12? 13?

Fansub: 你腕上的纹身是澳门**性交易组织 (xìng jiāoyì zǔzhī)** 的 你属于其中一家
会是哪家呢? 12 号? 还是 13 号? [The tattoo on your wrist is a Macau **sex trade
organisation.** You belonged to which organisation? Number 12 or 13?]

Produb: 你手腕上的纹身 是澳门**黑帮**的标记 你属于他们中的某个集团 多大了?
12? [The tattoo on your wrist is the mark of a Macau **gang group**. You belonged
to which one of those groups. How old were you? 12?]

Line location: 007 Skyfall (2012), Line 482, 01:01:23

Ex. 11

ST: - I told you, I made contact with the KGB, MI6, Mossad and **Beijing**. They all
　　insist he wasn't one of theirs.
　- **Beijing**. So freaky how there's no recognisable name for the *Chinese* secret service.
Fansub: -我说了 我和克格勃 军情六处 摩萨德和**北京 (Běijīng)** 都联系过了 他们
　　都说不是他们的人 [I told you, I made contact with the KGB, MI6, Mossad and
　　Beijing. They all said he wasn't one of theirs.]
　- **北京 (Běijīng)** 真奇怪 *中国的 (zhōngguó)* 情报机关都没有名字 [**Beijing**. So
　　strange that the *Chinese* secret service does not have a name.]
Produb: - 我告诉过你了 中情局 克格勃 军情六处 摩萨德那我都问过了说不是他
　　们的人 [I told you, I made contact with the KGB, MI6, and Mossad **(**"Beijing"
　　omitted). They all said he wasn't one of theirs.]
　- 摩萨德 这些特务机关起的都是些什么稀奇古怪的名字 [Mossad. These secret
　　services have so strange names (***"Chinese" omitted**).]
Line location: Kingsman: The Secret Service (2014), line 440, 00:38:17

Ex. 12

ST: They kept me for five months in a room with no air. They tortured me.
Fansub: 他们把我关在不见天日的囚室里 **折磨 (zhémó)** 我 [They kept me for five
　　months in a room with no air. They **tortured** me.]
Produb: 他们把我关了整整五个月 **不让我见任何人 (bù ràng wǒ jiàn rènhérén)**
　　[They imprisoned me for five whole months, and **did not allow me to see
　　anyone**.]
Line location: 007 Skyfall (2013), line 767, 01:22:20

(Note: multiple taboo instances may be in one same example).