

FACULTY OF ARTS AND EDUCATION

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Abstract

Approximately 14,5 percent of the Norwegian population suffer from a substantial hearing loss. As a result, these people cannot see Norwegian films at the cinema because they are not subtitled. Producers and filmmakers do not subtitle their films for aesthetic reasons. Furthermore, it is a common assumption that the normal hearing audience do not want Norwegian films to be subtitled because it disturbs the visual experience.

The present study aims to chart if adding audio in brackets, direct transcription or audio in brackets might represent the dialogue more correctly, using a quantitative analysis. 1131 respondents, 83,5 percent normal hearing and 16,5 percent hard of hearing, completed an online questionnaire. The results show that the hard of hearing respondents prefer subtitling with audio in brackets, an alternative not preferred by the normal hearing respondents. However, both groups prefer including direct transcription of exclamations, like "huh" or "eh" in subtitles, and the use of additional punctuation (?!) for emphasis.

Most importantly the results show that the assumed attitudes among the normal hearing audience towards subtitling of Norwegian films at the cinema are incorrect. Among a normal hearing audience the vast majority do prefer subtitling, because they find it easier to grasp the dialogue. This means that in addition to the approximately 600 000 Norwegians who rely on subtitling, the majority of the hearing audience prefer and benefit from subtitling as well.

Content Page

1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Context	1
1.2 Outline of thesis	2
2. BACKGROUND	4
2.1 Introduction	4
2.1 INTRODUCTION 2.2. SUBTITLING	
2.2.1 The first subtitles	
2.2.2. Subtitling versus dubbing	
2.2.3 Subtitling in Norway.	
2.2.4 Subtitling and language acquisition	
2.2.5 Difference between film and television subtitling	
2.2.6 Reading subtitles at the cinema	
2.2.7 Reading speed and exposure time	
2.2.8. Reading speeds vary with the audience	
2.2.9. Problems with subtitling	
2.3 GENERAL SUBTITLING	22
2.3.1 "Skrifta på Skjermen"	23
2.3.2 Difference between spoken and written language	25
2.3.3 Language and the Internet	
2.3.4. Report on subtitling in Norway	
2.3.5 Jan Ivarsson – Subtitling for the media	
2.3.6 Henrik Gottlieb	
2.3.7 Other Scandinavian Research	
2.3.8 Further research	
2.4 EYE-TRACKING RESEARCH	
2.4.1 Automatic reading behaviour	
2.4.2. Eye movement Patterns of Captioned Television Viewers	
2.4.3 Subtitling or Dubbing?	
3. SUBTITLING OF NORWEGIAN FILMS	47
3.1 Introduction	47
3.1.1. Cinema habits in Norway	48
3.2 THE OFFICIAL 2003 REPORT ON SUBTITLING OF NORWEGIAN FILMS	
3.2.1 The economic aspect	
3.2.2. Alternative solutions	
3.2.3. The industry's opinion	
3.2.4. The subsidy as of today	
3.3. MOVIES SUBTITLED IN NORWAY 2004-2007	
3.4. THE SITUATION 2008	
3.5. THE HEARING AUDIENCE	
3.5.1. The normal hearing also benefit	
3.7. SUBTITLING SITUATION IN THE OTHER SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES	60
4.0 METHODOLOGY	61
4.1 Introduction	61
4.1.1 Target group	
4.2 Method	
4.2.1 Piken	
4.2.3 Piloting	
4.2.4 The Questionnaire	68
4.2.5 Distribution	71
5. RESEARCH	73
5.1. DESCRIPTION OF RESPONDENTS	73
5.2.1 Awareness of subtitles	
5.2.2. Different types of subtitling	

5.3 SPECIFIC SUBTITLING VARIATIONS	76
5.3.1 Capital letters	77
5.3.2 Additional punctuation	77
5.3.3 Auditive information in brackets	<i>7</i> 8
5.3.4 Direct transcription of speech	<i>7</i> 8
5.3.5 Sum up and results	
5.4. SUBTITLE PREFERENCES IN DIFFERENT SETTINGS	79
5.4.1 SETTING 1	79
5.4.2 Setting 2	81
5.4.3 Setting 3	83
5.4.4 Setting 4	85
5.4.5 Sum up and results	86
5.5. ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUBTITLES	89
5.5.1 General attitudes	
5.6. THE RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS SUBTITLES	
5.6.1 "I THINK SUBTITLES DRAWS ATTENTION AWAY FROM THE PICTURE"	
5.6.2 "I read subtitles automatically"	92
5.6.3 "Subtitles steal focus"	
5.6.4 "I find it easier to follow the action when there are subtitles"	95
5.6.5 "I think Norwegian films shown at the cinema should have subtitles"	96
5.6.6 Subtitle because of dialects and background noise?	97
5.6.7 Exclusion of hard of hearing audience	98
6. CONCLUSION	99
7. BIBLIOGRAPHY	101
8. APPENDIX	107

1. Introduction

1.1 Context

If one tries to turn the sound off a computer and then watch a trailer for a Norwegian film, for example *Varg Veum* or *Gymnaslærer Pedersen*, one instantly understands that watching a non-subtitled film without hearing the dialogue feels utterly meaningless. However, watching Norwegian films without subtitling is usually the only alternative for the approximately 14,5 percent of Norwegians who suffer from a substantial hearing loss. In the period from October 2004 to February 2008, when it has been possible to receive government funding for subtitling Norwegian films, 11 out of 70 were subtitled. This means that the remaining 59 were not accessible for the hard of hearing audience.

A small part of the normal hearing audience continually complains when Norwegian films are subtitled at the cinema because it "disturbs the visual experience" and "it's not necessary to subtitle Norwegian film" (see sections: 5.6.1 and 5.6.5). At the same time Norwegians have grown so accustomed to subtitling, since approximately 40 to 60 percent of all television programmes are subtitled, that they might have unconsciously started to rely on subtitling for understanding. When the Norwegian crime series *Torpedo* was broadcast without subtitles, a large number of people both normal hearing and hard of hearing objected either because they could not hear the dialogue through the background noise, had problems comprehending the different Norwegian dialects, or could not hear at all.

This dissertation is called *Intralingual subtitling of Norwegian film* – representing the audio aspect in the best way possible for both a hearing and a hard of hearing audience, and has two main aims. The first aim is to examine what attitudes actually exist about subtitling of Norwegian films at the cinema, as this has never been thoroughly investigated. The opinions people believe to be correct, for example in the film industry (see section 3.2.3), are largely based on assumptions and personal preferences. When the hard of hearing try to argument for subtitling, because they can not grasp the dialogue of Norwegian films at the cinema without them, they are

overruled by people who say that the average cinema-goer does not want subtitling (see section 3.2.3), a fact not supported by any research. If the assumptions will be discussed revealed in the research chapter 5.

The second aim is to investigate whether or not the subtitling preferences between the two groups, the hard of hearing and normal hearing, are substantially different. If they are not, one might consider colouring the language with for instance additional punctuation, capital letters, direct transcription or audio in brackets to make them more representative for the dialogue. This might help the hard of hearing grasp the audio aspect of a film in a more representative way, without being distracting for the visual experience of the normal hearing audience.

This dissertation is the largest quantitative study ever performed on how to represent the audio aspect in the best way possible for both a hearing and a hard of hearing audience, and reveal the attitudes towards subtitling of Norwegian films at the cinema. The research is based on an online quantitative questionnaire that gathered 1131 unique respondents, of which 186 were hard of hearing. The research chapter provides answers to questions that should have been asked a long time ago.

1.2 Outline of thesis

Chapter 2 is a background chapter and consists of three sections; subtitling, general subtitling theory and relevant research. The subtitling section contains basic information about subtitling; history, subtitling versus dubbing, the challenges of subtitling, and how subtitles are the most widely read texts in Scandinavia. It also discusses the difference between subtitling at the cinema and subtitling for television, and how reading speed and exposure time is different in the two mediums. The general subtitling theory section presents the most prominent Scandinavian scholars in the subtitling field, and also introduces some important linguistic aspects such as the difference between oral and written language, and the influence the Internet has had on the written language. The Eye-tracking section contains three important studies of eye-movement patterns when watching subtitled television; all relevant for

understanding the way we perceive subtitles. It also includes the discussion of whether or not reading subtitles is in fact an automatic process.

Chapter 3 discusses the ongoing political fight of the hard of hearing for subtitling of Norwegian films. This chapter includes presentation of the number of people that are hard of hearing, and why they rely heavily on subtitling. The chapter also discusses the report from the Norwegian Culture and Church (carried out in 2003) on subtitling of Norwegian films, the attitudes in the film industry, and the subtitling of Norwegian films from 2004 until today. This chapter also outlines attitudes among the normal hearing audience.

Chapter 4, the methodology chapter, contains a thorough explanation of the research process; from of making the questionnaire to distributing it to a specific target group. It also includes a thorough outlining of the film clip from the short film *Piken*, which was an essential part of the questionnaire.

Chapter 5, the research chapter, discusses the results from the questionnaire. It contains a description of the 1131 respondents, who they are, and how they divide into two groups, one normal hearing and one hard of hearing. The research chapter is divided into four sections. The first contains information about whether or not the respondents noticed the subtitling in the film clip *Piken*, and the different linguistic features of the subtitling. The second section aims at charting the subtitling preferences in the two groups, using the respondents' answers to what kind of subtitling they preferred in four different situations. The third section aims to uncover whether or not the respondents are positive to subtitling Norwegian films at the cinema, and the fourth section aims to find out why the respondents are positive or negative. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis.

2. Background

2.1 Introduction

I have personally experienced how difficult it is for the hard of hearing to grasp what is being said when there is no written material available to represent the dialogue. While studying I have been working part-time as a *skrivetolk*, a simultaneous interpreter who puts spoken language into written language for people with a hearing impairment. A typical work situation is set in an auditorium, where I type what the lecturer says and questions from the audience, while the hard of hearing person reads it off a screen connected to my pc or Mac. This makes it possible for the hard of hearing to participate in lectures, because the dialogue is represented in writing. It has always been my goal to represent the spoken language in writing in the best way possible, using additional punctuation, capital letters, audio in brackets and direct transcription of speech to colour the language.

When working I tend to attract attention from for example fellow students, and normal hearing people think it is both interesting and fascinating that for example hesitation can be represented using extensive punctuation and direct transcription¹. They also find it useful to sit close by, so that they too have the dialogue represented in writing, in case they "miss something". Through this thesis I wanted to find out if colouring the language the same way I do when simultaneously interpreting could be applied to subtitling in order to represent the spoken language in a better way for the hard of hearing, without distracting the normal hearing audience.

Through my job I have become aware of the fact that the hard of hearing struggle enormously to grasp dialogue when it is not represented in writing. Suffering from a hearing loss is what we call an "invisible handicap", we cannot look at a person and say that he or she is hard of hearing. This means that this handicap is not as visible in society as for example people in wheelchairs, even though the hard of hearing represent a substantially larger group.

¹ An example: "eeeeh... I dunno – what... If – what was the question again?"

The Norwegian government are currently working on a new Anti-Discrimination and Accessibility Act, and in this act they use the term Universal Design, defined as "designing buildings, the surroundings and products in such a way that they can be used by all people, to as great an extent as possible, without the need for adaptation and special design²". When we talk about accessibility for all we tend to think about access for the blind, or for people with physical disabilities. We rarely hear about the extremely large group of people who are excluded from both meetings and cultural events where it is essential to hear the dialogue. The idea of a person in a wheelchair being denied access to the cinema is horrendous, so ramps and elevators are built in to make them accessible. However, applying subtitles to Norwegian films to make them accessible for the 600 000 hard of hearing seems to be a problem.

The hard of hearing's struggle for subtitling has been ongoing since 2004, but their efforts to explain that they simply cannot hear the dialogue and therefore cannot take part in watching Norwegian films at the cinema have been continually dismissed with the argument "the hearing population do not want subtitling, it is intrusive on the visual image". This is, as said before, an assumption not based on research or opinion polls, and one of the aims of this thesis is to find out if these assumptions are true. If they are not, if the normal hearing audience either do not care whether the subtitles are there or not, or – even better – prefer it when they are present, this might change the way we view subtitles altogether.

To understand what subtitles are and how we perceive them, it is important to know what kind of relationship Norwegians have to subtitles. Historically, subtitles have not been used as an aid for the hard of hearing, but for translating dialogue. Ever since the invention of talking films it has been a challenge to represent the original dialogue to an audience that speaks a different language. There are two familiar solutions to this problem, subtitling and dubbing. Dubbing is defined as "providing (a film) with a soundtrack in a different language from the original³". This is a well-known phenomenon in countries like for instance France and Germany, where one prefers

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publications/Circulars/1999/T-599E-Accessibility-for-all.html?id=108439

² T-5/99E Accessibility for all http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/md/Documents-and-

³ New Oxford American Dictionary

replacing the original dialogue with a translated version in their own language, instead of subtitling.

Norway, as well as the other Scandinavian countries, has no tradition for dubbing. Our language is small, the target group smaller, and the cost of dubbing compared to subtitling is substantial. The Norwegian norm is therefore that when television programs, series or documentaries are imported, they are subtitled and then broadcasted. In the case of movies; international films with Norwegian subtitles are distributed to cinemas across the country. According to Sylfest Lomheim, philologists, director of the Norwegian Language Council and the author of *Skrifta på skjermen – korleis skjer teksting audiovisual fjernsynsfilm?*⁴, subtitles are the most widely read texts in Scandinavia, after newspaper articles (Lomheim 1998:1). He calculates that one hour of subtitled television adds up to about 30 pages of text, and reckons that an adult watches one hour of subtitled television a week for ten months a year. This adds up to about 1200 pages (40 hours of televison times 30 pages). The numbers used are very modest, but it still adds up to three or four novels a year, which is a lot more than the average person reads.

Lomheim's numbers show that in Norway we are used to reading subtitles. We do it every day, consciously or not. As I will show in my research chapter (section 5.6.2), if one asks the question "do you read subtitles automatically?" one will generally get a confirming answer. Since the Norwegian population is so used to reading subtitles it can be discussed if we have come to a point where, hard of hearing or not, people use subtitling as support for comprehension. Even though one might not be dependent on the subtitles to grasp what is being said, people use them as a form of crutches "in case we miss something". Here we touch upon one of the major issues in this dissertation – whether or not subtitles are preferred in situations where they are not needed for language comprehension.

Subtitling from one language to another is called *interlingual* subtitling. The terms inter- and intralingual was first used by Roman Jakobson in his article "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation" from 1959. Here he discussed three different aspects of

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⁴ *The Writing on the Screen – Subtitling of television films* (Lomheim's Translation)

translation, and classified them as follows: Intralingual (or *rewording*), interlingual (or *translation proper*) and intersemiotic (or *transmutation*) which means translating from one kind of symbol to another, for example from language to music

The most common interlingual subtitling in Norway is where the source language is English and the target language Norwegian. As a general consensus all foreign languages are subtitled. If for instance a Swede speaks in a Norwegian film, even if it is just a single line, this line is subtitled even though the Swedish language is similar to Norwegian. When the source language is the same as the target language the subtitles are referred to as *intralingual*. This type of subtitling is in focus in this thesis, providing Norwegian films with Norwegian subtitles.

The number of admissions to the cinemas across Norway shows that going to see a film is a regular cultural activity among Norwegians. A little over 12 million tickets were sold in 2006, a five percent increase from 2005⁵. Even though the home cinema concept is growing larger, the number of visits to the cinema is not decreasing. The well-known expression "film er best på kino" (movies are best viewed at the cinema) is almost recognized as a fact. Due to the quality of both picture and sound at a cinema viewing, it is a common opinion that the cinema is the best forum in which to watch films. Of the approximately 12 million tickets sold in 2006, 1 928 000 tickets were to Norwegian films. One can assume that the 600 000 hard of hearing in Norway did not account for many of these tickets, since only three of the total twenty-two Norwegian movies were subtitled, and the hard of hearing generally avoid movies not subtitled because they have trouble hearing the dialogue (see research section 5.6.7). The Norwegian Film Institute published a report on subtitling of Norwegian movies in 2003, which estimated the potential ticket sales among the hard of hearing to be about 4 million NOK (see section 3.2.1). Back then the number of film tickets sold was lower, and the average price of a ticket was 60 NOK compared to today's 80 NOK, which means we can assume that this number would be even higher today.

How then, do we decide whether or not Norwegian movies should be subtitled? If the case were – as it is for example in England, or Germany for that matter– that we were not used to the subtitling conventions; that we did not unconsciously rely on the

⁵ Film&Kino Årbok 2006

subtitling as a "crutch" or that we did not feel that the subtitling reading process was automatic, it might be understandable that subtitles would not be tolerated. The fact is that we do not know if the Norwegian population unconsciously rely on subtitling for understanding, or if reading them is an automatic process. There is little or no research on the field. We have to trust surveys on attitudes towards subtitling, and results from studies performed on the subtitling phenomenon, and the problem is that there are few or none of the kind.

As Jan Ivarsson says in his book *Subtitling for the Media – a handbook of an art*, "it is extraordinary that an activity involving such large volumes has attracted so little attention and is regarded with such disdain" (Ivarsson 1992:9). Studies have been done on the impact subtitling has on foreign language learners, and how subtitling makes it easier for them to both learn and later understand the language. Several studies have also been done on the benefits of subtitling for the hearing impaired. There is no doubt that the benefits for this group are many; not only the obvious benefit of being able to follow the dialogue, but for language acquisition, especially for the deaf. The problem is not that there is a lack in studies done on the hard of hearing. The problem is that very few studies have been done on how the normal hearing population perceives subtitles, or what the subtitles should look like to make them less intrusive on the visual image. This dissertation will hopefully scratch the surface of this topic, as well as on the general attitude towards subtitling of Norwegian movies both among a hearing and a hard of hearing audience.

2.2. Subtitling

2.2.1 The first subtitles

Lars Thomas Braaten, Stig Kulset and Ola Solum state in their book *Introduction to Film – History, theory and analysis* that the film as a medium was introduced in the late 1800s (2000:37). From the very beginning producers and inventors tried to provide the image with synchronous sound. However, no practical method of doing this was devised until the late 1920s. This means that during the first thirty years of film history, films were more or less in silent, and the dialogue had to be communicated without using the audio channel.

The solution to communicating without the audio channel became using what is called *intertitles* or *title cards*, first seen in 1903 in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Ivarsson 1998:9). Intertitles are written or painted cards that are filmed, and then placed between sequences of film. In a clip from the silent movie *the Freshman* produced in 1925, intertitles were efficiently used to convey dialogue. The silent film clip shows a scene where a man and a woman meet on the train, and the dialogue is represented with intertitles as shown below.



When the film industry was using intertitles, distributing films to other countries and across language boarders was not a problem; the intertitles were simply translated and

re-inserted. In 1927 with the invention of sound films, or so-called talkies, this way of translating dialogue and in that way making films available in multiple languages disappeared. The dialogue had to be translated, and the alternatives became dubbing or subtitling.

According to Henrik Gottlieb and his article "Titles on Subtitling 1929 – 1999", the best solution in small countries was subtitling, used since 1929 when the first American talkies reached Europe (Gottlieb 2001:2). Subtitling was used because of the relatively low cost, about a tenth or a twentieth of dubbing. The first country to experiment with subtitling was France, closely followed by Italy and Denmark. *The Singing Fool* opened in Copenhagen fitted with Danish subtitles the 17th of August 1929 (Gottlieb 2002:2), and according to Gottlieb's source the following day the major Danish daily Berlingske Tidende wrote:

It is most annoying to have unsatisfactory Danish subtitles presented in the picture while the characters speak their lines in English [...] but, of course, we are only at the beginning.

(Gottlieb 2002:2 translated from N.J. Dinnesen & E. Kau (1983: 44): Filmen i Danmark. Akademisk Forlag: Copenhagen)

The subtitling process underwent different stages; from the manual projection of subtitles, using a kind of slide projector to project them onto the screen, to methods of copying the subtitles on to the film itself. Projecting slides of subtitles onto the film was a cumbersome process, as one had to keep the film negative and the print strip in focus at the same time to have the subtitles exposed correctly. In 1930 the Norwegian inventor Leiv Eriksen took out a patent for stamping titles directly onto the images of the filmstrip, using emulsion. This process was difficult to control, as the emulsion used often came out of control and made the letters blurry and hard to read. This method for subtitling, although later slightly improved, was used for the next 60 years. Subtitling was manual and work intensive, and the quality of the results varied considerably.

In 1988 Denis Auboyer in Paris developed a laser subtitling technique where a computer controlled a very narrow laser beam to write the text onto the film. The

sharpness of the letters is excellent, because of the light shading that occurs around the edges of the letters as the heat burns the image away. Laser subtitling techniques are still the preferred method of subtitling today⁶.

2.2.2. Subtitling versus dubbing

According to the New Oxford American Dictionary the definition of dubbing is to "provide (a film) with a soundtrack in a different language from the original". In Norway and other subtitling nations there is practically no tradition for dubbing fiction films, the exception being animated films that usually have two versions, one with the original soundtrack and Norwegian subtitles, and another dubbed to Norwegian. In addition to this a tradition for dubbing all children's programs and even films shown at the cinema have developed during the later years.

In his book *Subtitling* from 1998 Jan Ivarsson states that dubbing of films have been performed since 1929 when the American production companies had established fully equipped dubbing studios in Europe (Ivarsson 1998:10). Back then the fact that the original dialogue was changed was not all that important to the average cinema goer, since they had not heard the original dialogue anyway. The film scripts were altered to make the labial consonants and vowel openings correspond as closely as possible with the original, and the results were fairly good. Dubbing was especially favoured in some nationalistic countries, as Ivarsson explains;

"with the rise of Fascism in Italy and Spain and once the Nazis took power in Germany, legislation was introduced in these countries sanctioning dubbing and forbidding or limiting subtitling"

(Ivarsson, Subtitling, 1998:10).

Even though the dubbing conventions are so unfamiliar to us, lots of countries like Spain, Germany and the UK and USA dub films and even TV series frequently.

Many people are probably familiar with the funny feeling one gets when one turns on the TV in a foreign country, only to find that the actors who usually speak English

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⁶ This paragraph is based on Ivarsson and Carrols very thorough history chapter in the book *Subtitling* (1998:9-26).

suddenly have German voices. This is what Jan Emil Tveit calls a question of authenticity in *Translating for Television: a Handbook in Screen translation* (2004:16). He points to the *Seinfeld* sitcom as a perfect example. This series has become much more successful in subtitling countries where the actors keep their Manhattan accents, than in dubbing countries where the voices are altered. A character loses an important part of his authenticity when his voice suddenly speaks a European language. As Tveit states:

"A character's speech is an important part of his personality, closely linked to facial expression, gestures and body language. Authenticity is undeniably sacrificed when words are laid over such visual elements. From the point of view of authenticity, subtitling is definitely a far better option than lip synchronisation".

(Jan Emil Tveit, *Translating for Televison* 2004:16)

There are specific reasons for choosing to subtitle instead of dubbing films, the most important one being that it is cost-efficient. Dubbing not only requires technicians and equipment, it also requires actors and translators. In addition to this the cumbersome process of translating the dialogue in such a manner that it fits with the original picture is extremely time consuming.

2.2.3 Subtitling in Norway.

The subtitling convention and familiarity with subtitles we have in Norway and the other Scandinavian countries are the exception rather than the norm. In other countries, like France and Germany, the subtitling convention is not a "natural part of the visual picture" as it is i Norway; hence one would notice subtitling in a different way than the Norwegian audience. Sylfest Lomheim states in *Den Usynlige Teksten* that 80 % of television programs broadcasted in Norway are subtitled. We are surprised or even annoyed when the subtitles are not there in foreign programs, not because we do not understand the language spoken, but because the subtitling convention is so familiar to us that we miss it when it is not present.

The subtitling we are exposed to on an everyday basis is almost solely interlingual, translation from a foreign language to Norwegian. The intralingual subtitling, in this case translation from oral to written Norwegian, is a form of subtitling that is directed

towards the hard of hearing part of the population. As Blystad and Maasøe state in their report about Norwegian subtitling:

"one does not need to be hard of hearing to draw use from interlingual subtitling. If many people are gathered in front of the TV the normal hearing audience can also be aided by the subtitles to keep track of what is being said".

(Blystad and Maasøe. *Den usynlige teksten*. 2004:8. My translation.)

In Norway there are two types of subtitling, the so called 'open' subtitling, which is subtitling of foreign programs which you cannot turn off, and 'closed' subtitling, which has to be extracted from Text-TV. Open subtitles are typically interlingual, and present whether one wants them there or not. One cannot choose to turn off the subtitling of an episode of the British comic series *Black Books* – the subtitles are open, which means they cannot be switched off⁷. Open interlingual subtitling is the most common subtitling type on Norwegian television. In the report *Den usynlige teksten* about subtitling on Norwegian television Espen Seip Blystad and Arnt Maasø state that in 2003 the national channels NRK1 and NRK2 subtitled 50,1 percent of their broadcasted programs, of these 28,3 percent were open subtitling (2004:11. Further information on this report will be provided in section 2.3.4 – report on subtitling in Norway).

Closed subtitling is usually intralingual, Norwegian subtitling of Norwegian programs. Closed subtitling is usually referred to as Teletext or here in Norway simply "777" ⁸. Teletext has to be actively turned on, and is mainly targeted at a hard of hearing audience. Closed subtitling usually includes important elements in the story in addition to the dialogue, to make it easier to follow the action. It may also make use of audio in brackets to represent important sounds outside the dialogue, like a telephone ringing or a dog barking. In situations where it is hard to determine who is the speaker, closed subtitles can include the name of the speaker before representing the dialogue. Blystad and Maasø's report shows that closed subtitles count for 21,8 percent of the 50,1 percent of subtitled television on NRK and NRK2 (2004:11).

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⁷ One can, obviously, turn off the subtitles on a DVD version.

⁸ In Norway the teletext can be turned on by pressing 777 in text-tv on NRK. This is a well-known phenomenon, since NRK has made an effort to promote Teletext. The Teletext number on TV2 is 222.

When watching television the hard of hearing group both has the advantage of having the interlingual subtitling of foreign programs, and the closed intralingual subtitling of Norwegian programs (also including simultaneous translation of live television).

2.2.4 Subtitling and language acquisition

The educational value of reading subtitles can be substantial. As Ivarsson & Carroll (1998) explain in *Subtitling* the time spent watching subtitles in connection with the original dialogue can help familiarising the language, both inter and intralingually. In Europe where children start learning foreign languages early, especially English, "watching television makes a substantial contribution to their understanding of spoken English and to improving their pronunciation" (Ivarsson & Carroll 1998:35). This fact was also recognized by Tveit in 2004 where he states that after having researched children's knowledge of foreign languages for quite some time he found that children from subtitling countries have a better vocabulary and pronunciation than children from dubbing countries (2004:4). According to research carried out by d'Ydewalle in 1996 subtitling "proved to be the main means by which Dutch children learn their early reading skills" (Ivarsson 1998:71 citing d'Ydewalle 1996), which means that subtitling promotes competence in both foreign and mother tongue languages. Jens Raahauge, the president of Dansklærerforeningen (The Teacher's Union in Denmark), reported at a subtitling seminar that when 75 first-graders were asked why they wanted to learn how to read, 72 of them said they wanted to be able to read the subtitles on TV. Books were not a motivational factor (Boen and Kure 2000 cited in Orero 2004:88).

2.2.5 Difference between film and television subtitling

One of the most noticeable differences between subtitling for television and subtitling for film is that at the cinema the subtitles are centred, whilst on television they are aligned to the left. This has been the norm for over 70 years. The reason for centring the subtitles was simple, because of the rather low quality projectors and the flat screen the films were projected on, the edges of the picture was always slightly blurred. The centre was where the picture was sharpest, and therefore where subtitles were most easily read. As time went by better projectors were developed and curved screens came into use, which ensured that the whole picture was focused. Still the

centred film subtitles remain, probably because of the growing size of the movie theatres (Tveit 2004:98). If the subtitles were aligned to the left the audience seated at the right-hand side of the theatre might have trouble reading them.

Another difference between subtitling for television and subtitling of films is the use of a background. Using a background, a so-called black box, makes it easier to distinguish the background from the letters. This makes it more readable, and is commonly used when subtitling for television. Films display subtitling on a transparent background, which means that the letters are displayed directly on the film. This might make them harder to read in certain situations, for instance when white letters are displayed in a snowy landscape. Therefore it is extremely important that the letters used when subtitling for film have sharp contours.

The reason for not having a black box background on films is the different type of subtitling, the subtitling being imprinted on the actual film when projected at the cinema, and the subtitling being digitalized onto the screen on television.

2.2.6 Reading subtitles at the cinema

Subtitles can be displayed for a much shorter time at the cinema than on television. According to Ivarsson people need 30% less time to read subtitles on the big cinema screens than they do on television. Many people's subjective experience is that when film subtitles are projected on television they are always much to fast. The reason why the amount of time needed for reading film subtitles is faster than reading television subtitles is supposedly because of the superior definition of the letters at the cinema, and also their size. According to O'Reagan 1986 and 1991 cited in Ivarsson (1998:66) "it is easier to read large letters at a distance than 8-point on a book page, even if the angle of vision is the same". According to Ivarsson the decisive factor is probably the definition of the television screen. The quality of the picture being so much poorer than that of the cinema makes the subtitles lack sharp contours, and this has a negative impact on reading.

2.2.7 Reading speed and exposure time

According to Leyken et al (1991) in *Overcoming Language Barriers in Television:* Dubbing and Subtitling for the European Audience the normal hearing person can read from 150 to 180 words per minute. This is subject to variation, hence the automatic reading process discussed in section 2.4 where Samuels and Leberge explain that if the material is well known and has no lexical difficulties one can retain a high reading speed for a substantial amount of time. According to Minchinton 1993 (cited in Tveit 2004) the genre of a film itself may affect readability. Minchinton assumes that in the case of love stories;

"... viewers need not read many of the titles; they know the story, they guess the dialogue, they blink down at the subtitles for information, they photograph them rather than read them"

(Minchinton 1993 cited in Tveit 2004:105).

As stated earlier there is an enormous lack of research on this field, the way the eye actually perceives subtitles. When it comes to reading speed and exposure time Ivarsson explains that our eyes are not the limiting factor and quotes Bror Zachrissons *Study in the Legibility of Printed Text*:

"Our eyes are equipped to travel over the page about ten times as fast as they generally do. (...) Under normal circumstances, a reader is limited in speed only by his rate of comprehension. The reader reads in order to comprehend and the demand on quality here will set the speed. The nature of the text is as important a factor as the ability of the reader to comprehend it."

(Zachrisson 1965:23 quoted in Ivarsson 1992:37).

Tests have shown that 90% of television viewers read a two-line title in less than four seconds, and some only need half that time (Hansson 1974:20 in Ivarsson 1992:37)⁹. Considering these two facts – that the eye is not the limiting factor when it comes to understanding and that the time actually spent on reading a two-liner is less than 4 seconds it might seem surprising that the recommended time span a two-liner should remain on the screen is between 5 and 7 seconds.

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⁹ Hansson, Göte. 1974. *Reading Text on Television*, SR/PUB 102/72. Stockholm: Sveriges Radio.

The subtitlers at Norsk Rikskringkasting (The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation), from now on referred to as NRK, work with specific subtitling conventions. A full line consists of 37-40 characters, and a full two-liner is exposed on the screen for six seconds ¹⁰. The number of seconds a two-liner is exposed on the screen varies within Scandinavia. According to Blystad and Maasø's report on subtitling on Norwegian television, Denmark operates with five seconds and Sweden with seven seconds exposure time of a two-liner (Blystad and Maasø 2004:8). Jan Emil Tveit conducted a research project where he sought out to establish how long the exposure time of a two-liner ought to be in order for the audience to be able to read them – and at the same time focus on the visual information on the screen (2004:2). Tveit's interesting results were that a reduction in exposure time, from six to five seconds, resulted in a insignificant decrease in obtaining textual information, and a substantial increase in the retention of visual information (2004:64). This means that a reduction in the exposure time will not make the viewer lose important written information in the subtitles, and the viewer will gain more information from the picture. As Tveit states; "cutting the exposure time by one second is more of an advantage than a disadvantage" (2004:62). Even though these results are interesting Tveit recognises the fact that the reading abilities in his test group, 508 respondents between 13 and 20 years of age, might not be representative for the population as a whole.

Blystad and Maasøe state in their report from 2002 that a full two-liner usually consists of 60 characters. In *Skrifta på Skjermen* Lomheim states that one of the most surprising aspects of exposure time is that there seems to be no rules connected to it.

"The tendency is naturally that longer lines are exposed for a longer amount of time, and shorter lines for a shorter amount of time; that one-liners are exposed fewer seconds than two-liners. We can also agree that a substantial majority of subtitles are exposed from three to eight seconds"

(Sylfest Lomheim – Skrifta p på skjermen 1998:124¹¹).

According to Tveit (2204:58) both NRK and TV 2, the two biggest Norwegian television companies, have found that six seconds is the appropriate exposure time for a full double liner. One might argue that if one could have reduced the exposure time

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¹⁰ Numbers collected from an information article published 19.05.2006. www.nrk.no

¹¹ My translation

to five seconds, in accordance with Tveit's research and the standard in Denmark, one might be able to display more subtitles, and therefore fit in more textual information.

2.2.8. Reading speeds vary with the audience

Ivarsson explains that the generation who visits the cinema frequently has been raised on "computers, zapping and MTV" (Ivarsson 1998:66), hence they are used to watching rapid image changes and can therefore absorb information fast. Historically, the subtitles we use today are exposed for a much smaller amount of time than they were 30 to 40 years ago (Ivarsson 1998:66). According to Jensema's studies from 2000, increasing the speed of the subtitles results in the subjects spending more time on reading them (Jensema 2000:248-249).

Numbers from Norsk Mediebarometer shows that people with higher education and income visit the cinema more frequently than others. When the audience is well acquainted with the source language of a film, the subtitling becomes merely a crutch for understanding the dialogue, or as Ivarsson puts it; "subtitles merely aid their understanding of the dialogue" (1998:67). The audience only consciously look at the subtitles if they feel they missed something.

According to Ivarsson (1998:67) there is a general consensus that subtitles that remain on the screen long enough for the audience to read them twice are just as annoying as subtitles that disappear before they finished reading them. Subtitlers have to decide who they are subtitling for, who the target group for the film or program is. If the target group is young people who probably have good knowledge of the source language it is possible to have a relatively high rate of words per minute, without worrying about "the reading habits of aged, hearing-impraired migrant viewers trying to learn their new country's official language" (Ivarsson 1998:70).

2.2.9. Problems with subtitling

Even though there are many pro subtitling arguments there are of course obvious disadvantages, and as Ivarsson states; "cineastes of various school never tire of pointing them out" (1998:34). Firstly there is the distracting and disturbing element of subtitles that divert the viewer's attention away from the picture, and secondly the complaint that subtitles are inaccurate and do not represent the audio in a sufficient manner. Subtitling is certainly not an easy task. As Baker, Lambourne & Rowston, the editors of *Handbook for Television Subtitlers* state;

"The attempt to achieve perfect subtitling has some affinity to the search for the Holy Grail. The differing design features of written and spoken languages dictate that a perfect correspondence between the two cannot obtain [sic]. For example, conventional spelling cannot convey the nuances of voice quality, timing and intonation"

(Baker, Lambourne & Rowston cited in Ivarsson 1992:5).

Language is so much more than speech. When different intonation, pauses and words are to represent the actor's dialogue in a film, the result is often bizarre (Ivarsson 1998:35). According to Tveit "even people who understand practically all that is said can find it extremely difficult not to read the subtitles" (2004:20). Even though he states that not reading the subtitles is extremely difficult he recognises that this problem can be partly solved by "condensing the subtitles as much as possible, and whenever possible using one-liners instead of two-liners".

In connection with subtitles being a disturbing element Tveit refers to an eye-tracking study carried out in Great Britain, which he claims proved that "subtitles that overrun shot changes can cause considerable perceptual confusion" (Tveit 2004:20). He describes the eye-tracking study from Great Britain as follows:

"The monitoring of eye-movements has revealed that when a shot change occurs in the middle of a dialogue, viewers return to the beginning of a partially read subtitle and start re-reading it. This is, indeed, interesting research which would seem to challenge the traditional Scandinavian practice of combining two exchanges of dialogue within a double-line subtitle whenever possible."

(Tveit 2004:20 referring to de Linde, 1995, "'Read my Lips' – Subtitling principles, practices and problems".)

The article Tveit refers to is from 1995, the author is Zoe de Linde and the name of the article is "'Read my Lips' – Subtitling principles, practices and problems". It turns out, no eye-tracking has been performed in this article; in fact the article is concerned with what kinds of reductions occur in subtitling in different countries. However, the idea of the eye re-reading subtitles if they remain on the screen during a shot change is interesting and logical, a topic that encourages further research.

The subtitling situation where the most trouble occurs is when there are culture specific concepts in the original dialogue (Tveit 2004:4). As he explains we do not have the same baseball terminology in Norway as they do in America, and therefore subtitling a baseball rally is virtually impossible.

Another problem with subtitles is the fact that one cannot transcribe the dialogue in full, one has to cut parts of the dialogue and sometimes re-write it to get the meaning across within the space and character limitations. As Lomheim quotes in his introduction;

Packing all the ideas and their finest nuances into two lines is damn diffic

(Ivarsson:1992 cited in Lomheim 1998:preface)

A subtitler not only has to translate the dialogue but also get the meaning across within the limits of a two-liner, and each line can only consist of 37 to 40 characters ¹². A fill two-liner then needs to be exposed for 6 seconds. Needless to say parts of the dialogue has to be omitted, and points might not come across quite in the same way as they do in the original language. One of the subtitlers most important tasks is prioritizing what part of the dialogue has to be represented, and what parts can be omitted.

The biggest challenge in subtitling is that the audience is very familiar with the foreign language spoken. This means that the audience are able to connect the subtitles directly to the dialogue and therefore criticise if they think that the translations are not up to standards, which they will probably never be because of the

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¹² Numbers from NRK http://www.nrk.no/informasjon/1.4867359

space limitations. This is one of the features that separate translating subtitles from translation in general. When reading a translated book, one does not have immediate access to the original. When watching a play in Norwegian at the theatre, one does not have the original script available. Translating for television and film is therefore unique, in the sense that the audience are immediate critics of the work performed by the subtitler. A subtitler is put under a different kind of pressure than other translators, not only because of the fact that the audience have immediate access to the source language, but because the amount of people who watch a subtitled television program an average Wednesday night is substantially larger than the number of people who read translated novels.

2.3 General subtitling

As mentioned earlier there is surprisingly little research on the subtitling field in Norway. The books and articles on the subject usually have two things in common; they all mention the small amount of previous research, and they focus on subtitling for television. This is perfectly understandable since the amount of subtitling for television is substantial compared to subtitling for the cinema. Even though the literature is focused on subtitling for television the theory behind the books is still relevant for subtitling at the cinema, since the two branches of subtitling are very similar. The differences between subtitling a film and subtitling television will be discussed in section 3.5. Books written about subtitling theory focus on the subtitling techniques, not on how people perceive subtitles or the linguistic features of subtitling. Subtitling theory discusses the design of subtitles, subtitling norms, what font and background to use in what setting and in some cases also the amount of time the subtitles should be displayed on the screen (see section 2.2.7 on reading speed and exposure time). These books are largely a description of the subtitling norms of today, used as "instruction manuals" for educational purposes and the especially interested. Available subtitling theory is usually based on the authors experience and observations, not on actual research in the field.

When the amount of research in a field is limited, one becomes well acquainted with the available literature. The researchers and theoreticians I have chosen to focus on in this dissertation are largely Scandinavians, because the subtitling norms and attitudes are similar in all the Scandinavian countries since we are all subtitling nations, and our languages are fairly similar. Research done in particular countries, like Rosemary Brant's article *The History and Practice of French Subtitling*, are not focused on in this dissertation. This is not because the subtitling situation in France is not interesting, on the contrary the article is very informative and gives a very thorough introduction to the history and practise of subtitling in a country that has used this mode of translating films since the 1920s, but even though articles on subtitling norms in different countries are extremely interesting they have been left out, as they are not relevant for a Norwegian context.

There is no doubt that both the Swedes and the Danes are a step ahead when it comes to focusing on subtitles. The Danish researcher and theorist Henrik Gottlieb is prominent in the research and theory field of subtitling, and so is the Swede Jan Ivarsson. Another Swedish scholar, Jan Pedersen, defended his doctoral thesis on subtitling norms in Sweden and Denmark in December 2007. All of these will be discussed after I have given a brief introduction to the most important Norwegian contribution to the subtitling field.

2.3.1 "Skrifta på Skjermen"

There are a few articles and reports written on subtitling in Norway, and two books on the subject. Skrifta på Skjermen is beyond doubt the most influential one, written by Sylfest Lomheim in 1992. This book does not discuss subtitling in general, advantages and challenges of subtitling, or how people perceive them. Instead it focuses on the quality of subtitling, as it compares three films subtitled from a foreign language into Norwegian, and looks for conventions the three have in common. Lomheim focuses on subjects like spacing, amount of words, characters on a line and the discrepancy between words spoken and words subtitled. The book gives a thorough explanation on how subtitling can be done and provides some brilliant examples, like the one shown below. Features like exposure time, subtitling rhythm, synchronization and the difference between one-liners and two-liners are introduced in this book. It also provides a whole lot of examples on how a problem with translation and subtitling can be solved. As an example Lomheim shows how an experienced subtitler creatively represents the lines of a linguistically confused police officer in the sitcom Allo' Allo' in the closest way possible. The dialogue is represented below;

- Good "meerning"
- Good morning
- I have "splonded" news. The "Brotish" and the "Yonkees" are heading this "woo". I have a "mop". Would you like to take a "leek"?
- Oh, a map!

This dialogue translated in to Norwegian as follows

- God merra.
- Eg har strulande snytt
- Brettane og jonkiane

kjem denne vågen.

- Eg har eit kort.
- Vil de kukke på det?

(Lomheim 1992:83-84)

As readers fluent in both Norwegian and English can see, the obvious language mistakes made by the speaker were reproduced in the Norwegian subtitles. This is an example of how creative subtitling, even though the dialogue has been altered, can get the punch line across brilliantly. In fact it is essential that this passage like this is not attempted to be directly translated, as an accurate translation would be impossible.

Sylfest Lomheim emphasizes that in *Skrifta på skjermen* he is not out to criticize subtitling. On the contrary, Lomheim finds that the three films he analyzed are supreme works of translation, or what he calls "excellent craftsmanship¹³" (Lomheim 1992:121). Lomheim aims for this book to collect material on how subtitling is done in Norwegian television today, and provides valuable information on this topic. In addition to counting pauses, the amount of characters and the frequency of one and two-liners, Lomheim also counts specific linguistic translation features; reduction, translation and expansion, to see how frequently they are used in Norwegian subtitling.

Lomheim draws use from J. Svennevik, M. Sandvik and W. Vagle's article on different approaches to different kinds of texts (1995:17 quoted in Lomheim 1998:51). Their research has shown a connection between the channel of communication and the language used. There is no doubt that the oral language is quite different from the written. As the oral language is considered spontaneous, informal and non-permanent, the written is usually considered the opposite; well planned, formal and permanent. The oral genre accepts a much more informal language than the written one, and this can turn into a problem when subtitling. Using Svennevik, Sandvik and Vagle's theory, that there is a connection between the channel of communication and the language connected to it, one might say that these two collide when subtitling because the channel of communication is spoken, and the language written. The informality of oral language has to be represented by a the more formal written language, and seeing the oral language in writing can make quite

¹³ All translations from Lomheim are mine.

a different impact than hearing it. As an example one might meet a friend in the hallway and ask how he or she is doing, and one would not react if the person answered in a way that might look offensive in writing, but is quite all right orally; "Oh, I'm OK, but I have this bloody headache". Swearing in writing is much more powerful than in an oral context, one would not reach negatively to this statement if it was said in a conversation, but in writing it looks very distasteful. Lomheim quotes the executive proofreader for the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* who states that "Conversational words (and to an even higher degree slang and swearing words) also makes a much stronger impression in writing than in speech, "she didn't give a damn what he thought" looks worse than it sounds ¹⁴" (Lomheim 1998:52).

Another interesting chapter included in *Skrifta på skjermen*, which many of the other theorists on the field of subtitling have left out, is the relationship between oral and written language. Lomheim points out that it is in this link the subtitling translation differs from other translation. Whilst ordinary translations put one form of writing into another form of writing, or one spoken language into another for that matter, when subtitling the oral language has to be put into written language. This is quite a different kind of translation. The norm is that "a translator reads, and then translates. A subtitler listens, then writes" (Lomheim 1998:51). When talking about the difference between oral and written language Lomheim refers to classical theorists on the subject. He states "translation is but one of the language disciplines one has to focus on in subtitling theory and education. The other is the linguistic theory on the difference between speech and writing ¹⁵" (Lomheim 1998:51).

2.3.2 Difference between spoken and written language

One of the very first and most influential researchers on the difference between speech and writing is Walter J Ong. His book *Orality and Literacy – the technologizing of the word* from 1982 has become a classic in this field. The book is concerned with the differences between oral and literacy cultures, focusing on the observation that speech and writing are two separate systems, and that 'oral literature'

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¹⁴ "Vardagsord (och I ännu högre grad slang och fula ord) gör också ett mycket starkare intryck I skrift än I tal. 'Hon sket fullständig I vad han tyckte' ser värre ut än det läter". (Lomheim 1998:52)

¹⁵ My translation.

is a contradiction in terms. Other scholars in this field are David Barton, author of Literacy: an Introduction to the Ecology of Written Language (Blackwell 1994); Rebecca Hughes, author of English in Speech and Writing (Routledge 1996); and W.L Chafe who has written numerous articles on the subject. Among Chafes articles we find "Linguistic difference produced by differences between speaking and writing" from 1985, "Properties of Spoken and Written Language" written in cooperation with J Danielewicz in 1987, and "The Relation between Written and Spoken Language" written in cooperation with Deborah Tannen in 1987. Chafe's articles emphasize how the oral and the written language are fundamentally different. Still he recognizes the fact that with the introduction of the Internet a more informal way of using the written language has become widespread. E-mailing has become one of the genres that can contain both formal and informal language, and the informal written language is becoming more and more oral (see section 2.1.3). Chafe also focuses on the difference between formal and informal oral language; how sentences tend to be longer and contain more lexical words in formal oral setting, for example a lecture, than in informal language around the kitchen table. This is all woven into his theory that shows that the informal oral and the formal written language have subdivisions; formal oral and informal written language.

One of the latest additions to the literature on the difference between spoken and written language is Rebecca Hughes' *English in Speech and Writing*. This book illustrates both the grammatical and lexical differences between the oral and the written language, and also discusses discourse. Her book includes a substantial amount of understandable every day situations, illustrated to show how written and oral language differs from each other. In the example referred to below two friends are catching up and Hughes states that it "gives a typical example of how speakers cooperate together in a beer-garden outside a pub" (Hughes 1996:39). There are two people in this conversation, illustrated by <S1> and <S2>.

<S1> Are you still playing er

<S2> Gui-tar

<S1> Irish music, yeah

<S1> No I don't play very much now, no, not at all.

(CPU/Nottingham corpus cited in Hughes 1996:39)

She goes on to state that "the basic exchange of ideas could be seen as a straightforward question and answer: Question: Are you still playing Irish music? Answer: No." (Hughes 1996:39). Here one might ask, if this situation were to be subtitled, what would the subtitles look like? If they were subtitled as a straightforward question and answer, as quoted above, they would not be very representative for the situation as a whole, but very correct in transferring the actual message. What one chooses to convey in a message when subtitling has to be very well thought through, as one is actually "giving the character a voice" in the subtitling. The people who do not understand the source language trust the subtitles to represent what the actor is saying, and if the message is muddled the reader might miss the actors characteristics ¹⁶.

Hughes provides a summary in the form of a list, with the grammatical, lexical and discourse features of oral and written language (Hughes 1996:33). A detailed discussion on this list will not be included here, but I will comment on the features most relevant for subtitling. Listed first among the grammatical features of spoken language is the tendency to ellipsis, which means removing words from a sentence. An example of this is the sentence "I don't mind" where in speech the "I" can be removed. This kind of ellipsis is experimented with in subtitles, where the subject is excluded from the sentence to make space for meaning bearing words¹⁷. She mentions abbreviation, which is a shortened form of a word or a phrase, and as an example she uses abbreviation of a verb; "he is" becomes "he's" in English. Another example might be situations where "should not" becomes "shouldn't", the equivalent example in Norwegian being "skulle ikke" becomes "sku'kke" or "sko'kje". Hughes goes on to say that the spoken language has a lower lexical density, which means that it consists of more colloquial words. There is also a tendency to use what she calls "empty prefabricated fillers", such as "you know" (the equivalent Norwegian expression to the English "you know" might be "ikke sant"). These features are not often seen in subtitles.

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¹⁶ A good example of this is the earlier quoted scene from Allo Allo, where an ordinary translation would have failed to convey the humoristic essence.

¹⁷ There are discussions on whether or not removing the subject from a sentence is a good idea. There is a general consensus that people are so used to reading full sentences that when the subject is removed it might compromise readability.

In the discourse section Hughes states that oral speech is full of "reformulation and refinement of utterance, sometimes by co-operation between speakers" and "a tendency to hedge ideas" (1996:33). The expression "to hedge ideas" is equal to what WL Chafe calls "hedging". He explains that hedging occurs when there is no time to find the correct word and a person uses a "sort of / kind of" function to signalize the meaning in the sentence. The equivalent in Norwegian might be the term "liksom" or "på en måte", terms mostly used to finish a sentence and wait for feedback from the respondent on whether or not he or she has understood the senders message. Hedging is not frequently included in subtitling, even though it might be a characterizing feature, especially among some characters. If people use hedging on numerous occasions one might consider it a person's characteristic, hence "he is one of those people who never finishes a sentence".

Grammatically the written mode has full phrases, and it has little abbreviations and ellipsis, the exact opposite of the characteristics of the spoken mode. This very basic difference between oral and written language, the use of full sentences, is a grey area when it comes to subtitling. The tendency is that one should use full sentences in subtitles, because they prove to be easier to read. Subtitles should also be grammatically correct, which spoken language is often not. This brings up the discussion if subtitles are there to represent the actual speech, or to be an aid for the audience. The preferences among a normal hearing and a hard of hearing audience will be discussed in the research section 6.4.

When Hughes discusses the features of the written mode further, she emphasizes the high lexical density, complex vocabulary and tendency to use longer sentences. These are all features of the academic written mode, not the written language one has grown accustomed to through e-mails, chatting on the Internet and sending short messages via the telephone.

2.3.3 Language and the Internet

In connection with this thesis it is important to bear in mind that the influence the internet has had on the written language is enormous. This issue is discussed in the book *Language and the Internet* written by David Crystal, one of the world's

foremost authorities on language. As Crystal writes in his *Language and the Internet* "the use of Internet, mainly emailing and instant messaging is radically changing the way we use language" with emphasis on how it is encouraging a "dramatic expansion in the variety and creativity of language" (Crystal 2006:preface)¹⁸. The most interesting feature of this new way of using language is that it is an informal written mode, previously mentioned by Chafe (section 2.3.2). This means that it allows incomplete sentences, stops, additional punctuation and use of capital letters. When describing emailing Crystal states that "the usual range of punctuation expressiveness may be seriously extended" (2006:129), and includes the examples "Yes!!!!!!!" and "WHAT?????". This last example also shows how capital letters can be used either for shouting, as in the next example, "W H Y N O T". These conventions, capital letters and excessive punctuation, are used by people of all ages to colour the silent written language, a language that tries to be written in an oral manner. This is demonstrated in the example provided below;

Emma says:

taxi? to register office? yes? no?

Emma says:

unless you'd rather walk

Jane says:

if it's nice weather it's no problem to walk.. its throught he park so that's even nice

Jane says:

if raining then yeah, a taxi

Emma says:

excellent

Emma says:

anything else you need for The day that we could bring?

Joe says:

me

Jane says:

nooo

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¹⁸ There is some confusion about the two terms chatting and instant messaging. According to Crystal (2006:14) instant messaging differs from chatting because instant messaging "allows electronic conversations between people who know each other to take place in real time". Chatgroups usually have many participants, many unknown to each other.

In this example from Crystal's *Language and the Internet* (2006:251) the oral features displayed in a written conversation by instant messaging closely resemblances the oral conversation transcribed by Hughes in section 2.3.2. As we can see from this example, the features of oral language are clearly represented in this written conversation, with the absence of capital letters, the incomplete sentences, and the use of oral features such as emphasis on the "o", in "nooo". The influence the informal written language has had on the way we perceive subtitles is discussed in the research chapter (chapter 5).

2.3.4. Report on subtitling in Norway

Among the Norwegian material on subtitling we have the earlier mentioned report written by Espen Seip Blystand and Arnt Maasø. This report is called *den usynlige teksten – om teksting på norsk fjernsyn*, and was published in 2002 as the first quantitative study on the amount of daily exposure to subtitling in Norway. The two researchers have used existing statistics on people's use of different media (like newspapers, books, television and the Internet) to calculate the role subtitling plays in the media as a whole. In addition to this they performed a quantitative analysis of the amount of subtitling on the largest TV-channels in Norway. They looked at both the amount of subtitling, open and closed, and the amount of viewers, to chart how much subtitling the average person is exposed to during a day.

Seip and Maasø's report touches very briefly upon the subjects of dubbing versus subtitling, subtitling techniques, reading speed, and what it actually means to read a text. These are not main topics in their report though; they focus mainly on how much subtitling there is on the largest Norwegian TV-channels. In their conclusion they state that the average television viewer is exposed to subtitles 33 minutes a day, and that this calculation has to be modified if one is to say how much one actually *reads* of the subtitles. They estimate that if people only read about half of the subtitles they are exposed to daily, the amount of read pages in a year will still exceed the average amount of pages read in books (see Lomheim, section 2.1 and 2.3.1). The report also shows that reading subtitles is a more regular activity among both a broader age group and the different sexes, than both book reading and reading text on the Internet. They go on to state that watching television has become one of the most important sources

of written text, and demographically speaking subtitling reaches a wider range of the population compared to books and the Internet (Seip and Maasø 2005:30).

Seip and Maasø also encourage others to do further research on children's and teenager's relationship to subtitling. As they state, programs for this target group tends to be mechanically translated and therefore the quality of the subtitles are not up to standards, and how this affects children and their literacy level is unknown.

The report also brings up one of the questions most asked in the subtitling field, whether one actually *reads* the subtitles or if this is an automated process. (Eyetracking research performed in this field will be presented in section 2.4.) The questionnaire later in this dissertation contains questions on whether people believe that reading subtitles is an automated process, and whether or not they believe they spend too much time reading subtitles compared to watching the picture (sections 5.6.2 and 5.6.3). These questions will of course not give an answer to if reading subtitles is in fact an automated process, but it will hopefully reveal what people believe.

2.3.5 Jan Ivarsson – Subtitling for the media

Jan Ivarssons extremely interesting and useful book *Subtitling for the Media – A Handbook of an Art* from 1992 (revised in collaboration with Mary Carrol in 1998) is one of the earliest and most influential books in the field of subtitling. The publisher's website states that this was "the first book ever to look systematically at the art and techniques of subtitling and/or captioning" and this fact is also recognized in Henrik Gottlieb in "Subtitling People: Nine Pedagogical Pillars" where he states that *Subtitling for the Media* was the first book to deal with diagonal subtitling in an international context (Gottlieb 2001:1). Ivarsson writes in his introduction that the motivation for the book came at a Conference on Dubbing and Subtitling in 1987, where he was asked if it was possible to translate the Swedish public service broadcaster (Sveriges Television) hand book for subtitlers into other languages. Ivarsson did not believe that to be a good idea, because subtitling principles and problems in one country are usually not directly transferable across borders. Instead

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¹⁹ www.transedit.se

he decided to "deal with general principles and discuss why certain methods are preferable to others" (Ivarsson 1992:6). Ivarsson differs from other scholars in the subtitling field (excluding Henrik Gottlieb who will be presented in section 2.3.6) because he includes discussions of subtitling in general, not only the theoretical framework.

Subtitling for the Media has, according to Ivarsson (1992), two target groups. One is "Prospective subtitlers who wish to acquire a better understanding of what subtitling is about and to get some advice on how it's done" (Ivarsson 1992:12). The second is what Ivarsson calls "decision-makers" – the people responsible for subtitling. This group includes broadcasters and film distributors, "who need a more thorough understanding of subtitling before making decisions on language policy" (1998:3), and filmmakers, producers, buyers and distributors "needing to assess the quality of the subtitles they commission" (1998:3). The group also includes those who are responsible for the technical procedure "who are not normally expected to give much thought to the psychological or aesthetic aspects of subtitling, such as legibility, text backgrounds etc." (Ivarsson 1992:13 and 1998:3). In this latest edition Ivarsson and Carroll also acknowledge that they have a fair amount of readers among "university teachers and others seeking information on how to go about training subtitlers" (1998:3). The fact that Ivarsson does not target his work only at people who work with subtitles on a daily basis means that the language and discussions he brings forth are of the kind most people can relate to.

Having stated that these are the target group, Ivarsson and Carrol include a passage on the people they suspect will also show interest in the book.

"Then of course there are the many others who do not fall into any of the above categories, such as members of the viewing public, who simply want to know how it is done, or cineastes, cinema and TV historians, glad for an opportunity to learn more about this subject they have so sorely neglected in the past".

(Ivarsson and Carrol 1998:3)

The people Ivarsson and Carrol do not mention among the people they believe to be their readers are the people who are totally dependent on subtitles: the hard of hearing. This group is particularly curious of both technical limitations, the theoretical aspect of subtitling and of course how subtitling is performed. This group, who uses subtitling as an important tool for understanding, probably draws enormous benefits from having knowledge on why subtitling is performed the way it is.

Ivarsson emphasizes the fact that subtitles were originally meant for films. In his opinion subtitling started at the cinema, and he includes the important differences between subtitling for the cinema and subtitling for television (discussed in section 2.2.5). Ivarsson also has a thorough chapter on subtitling history, used as a base for the history of subtitling, section 3.1.

In 1998 Ivarsson rewrote his original book *Subtitling for the Media – a Handbook of an Art* together with Mary Carroll, one of Europe's most experienced subtitlers and subtitling teachers. In this edition a chapter on subtitling as a growing market is included, as well as an overview of the subtitling situation in different countries with different subtitling and dubbing traditions. It also recognizes the importance of the DVD and home movie concept, and its subtitling possibilities. Apart from the fact that the 1998 book includes the latest technical aspects it does not differ much from the 1992 edition, the theoretical concepts of subtitling remain the same.

2.3.6 Henrik Gottlieb

One of the most important scholars in the subtitling field in Scandinavia is Henrik Gottlieb. He has written numerous articles and books on subtitling, focusing both on subtitling in general, and the subtitling situation in Denmark specifically. In his article "Language-political implications of subtitling" Gottlieb has named the first section 'the different subtexts of subtitling', and gives a very thorough outlining of what status subtitling has in different nations, both the ones who subtitle and the ones who dub. He states, "[i]n pro-subtitling speech communities – e.g. Scandinavia and the Dutch-speaking countries – subtitling has established itself as one of the dominant written text types in public life" (Gottlieb in Orero 2004: 84). This statement is backed up by his article "Tekstning – synkron billedmedieoversettelse" from 1994 that showed that as early as in 1993, the average Dane spent more than three and a half hours a week reading TV and video subtitles.

In his article "Subtitles, Translation & Idioms" Gottlieb charts subtitles from a linguistic and technical perspective. He divides the linguistic perspective of subtitling into Intralingual subtitling, within the same language, and interlingual, between two languages $(1997:72)^{20}$. "Subtitling People: Nine Pedagogical Pillars" was published in 2001 and provided subtitlers with some basic guidelines. Gottlieb starts by asking "What – and who – am I going to subtitle?" (2001:1), and moves on to questions like whether or not one can trust the manuscript to be identical with the soundtrack²¹.

In "Subtitling – a New University Discipline" (1992) Gottlieb describes how subtitling is a unique form of translation; it can be defined as written, additive, immediate, synchronous and polymedial translation

"Being of a written – as opposed to a spoken – nature, subtitling differs from all other types of screen translation. The label additive indicates that in subtitling, verbal material is added to the original, maintaining the source language discourse. The label immediate refers to the fact that in filmic media all discourse is presented in a flowing manner, beyond the control of the listener-viewer-reader. The label synchronous refers to the fact that the original film (at least its non-verbal part) and the translated dialogue are presented simultaneously – unlike "simultaneous" interpreting. The term polymedial states the fact that at least two parallel channels are used to convey the total message of the original."

(Gottlieb 1992:162)

The additive feature corresponds with Hughes (1996:33) differencing between the spoken and written language, and the fact that the language has to be altered when written because of the linguistic features of the written compared to the spoken language. For instance the hedging disappears in written language, and full sentences are used to increase readability.

In addition to the selection of literature previously presented, three research articles on eye-tracking have been used extensively, and will be discussed in the chapter "previous research". "These are Subtitling or Dubbing? An investigation of the effects from reading subtitles on understanding audiovisual material" by Jonas Borell (2000), "Watching Subtitled Television – Automatic reading behaviour" by Géry d'Ydewalle,

²¹ Often the subtitles are based on the manuscript of a movie, not the movie itself. If the actors for example improvise on the dialogue, the subtitles will be faulty.

Caroline Praet, Karl Verfaille and Johan Van Rensbergen (1991), and "Eye Movement Patterns of Captioned Television Viewers" by Carl J. Jensema (2000).

2.3.7 Other Scandinavian Research

Jan Emil Tvedt, associate professor of English at the Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration (NHH) wrote one of the most recent Norwegian additions to the theory field of subtitling in 2004. Tveit is an authorized translator and former first Director of Translation and Subtitling at TV 2, Norway's biggest commercial television company. His book *Translating for Television – A Handbook in Screen Translation* claims to be the first book written on the subject, a fact only valid if the words "in Norway" is included in this statement, because Ivarssons book (discussed in section 2.3.5) was published in 1992. Tveit has ten years' experience as a news subtitler, and his book is a guide to subtitling on Norwegian television. Having worked with subtitling for many years gives Tveit first-hand knowledge of the problems connected with subtitling (discussed in section 2.2.9). Tveit's book explains the terms and conditions around different types of subtitling, from film subtitling to subtitling of news.

One of the latest contributions to the subtitling corpus is Ingrid Sahlin's 700 page thesis on intralingual subtitling called *Speech and intralingual subtitling in Swedish TV programmes. Problems examined and a suggested model for analysis* in 2001, where she analyzed 60 hours of TV programs to "explore the potential and conditions of intralingual subtitling from a linguistic point of view" (Sahlin 2001:abstract). Another recent publication is *A Comparative Study of Subtitling Norms in Sweden and Denmark with a Focus on Extralinguistic Cultural References*, a doctoral thesis published by Jan Pedersen at the University of Stockholm December 2007. The study compares Danish and Swedish subtitles "with the object of uncovering Scandinavian norms for television subtitling". Chapter three on screen translation is especially relevant for understanding subtitles. Here he outlines language transfer on screen, intralingual subtitling and audio description, and also discusses the nature of subtitles, the subtitling process and the constraints of subtitling. The most important finding in Pedersen's doctoral thesis was that Scandinavian subtitling norms are converging, becoming more similar.

2.3.8 Further research

The research field this dissertation moves into is largely unexplored. The only research done on how the eye moves when reading subtitles will be discussed in the next chapter. There is a substantial amount of articles on how subtitling is done, subtitling techniques and the linguistic features of subtitles, for example in Jan Pedersen's and Ingrid Sahilin's doctoral theses. There is no doubt that these kinds of theses, Norwegian and Swedish, French, or American for that matter, are extremely interesting. The question is, when are we going to take a closer look at the people who actually read the subtitles? Do they notice that the languages in Scandinavia are becoming increasingly similar because of subtitling? Do they notice a difference between ordinary subtitling, and subtitling for the hard of hearing? Do the readers notice that the subtitles they read every day might not be up to the linguistic standards one would wish, considering that subtitles is the written material most read in Norway today? Because of the natural limitations of a master thesis all these questions cannot be answered in this dissertation, but at least one of them, if the readers notice the difference between ordinary subtitling and subtitling for the hard of hearing, will be discussed in the research chapter (sections 5.3). Before this some of the most relevant eye-tracking research on subtitling will be presented thoroughly.

2.4 Eye-tracking research

Eye tracking is a process of measuring eye-movements. With eye-tracking technology one is able to chart what a person is looking at, both what a person fixates on and where the eye "rests", or gazes. Eye tracking is performed by using a video camera to film the eye movements during for example reading or watching a particular object or screen. The camera videotaping the eye presents the result on a screen, in the form of picture that consists of dots and lines. The dots represent when the eye fixates on a specific position, for instance the beginning of a word. The lines represent when the eye moves from one fixation to another, a movement called a saccade.

When reading, the eye performs hundreds and thousands of fixations and saccades, without us noticing. When one reads a sentence the numbers of fixation can be much lower than the number of words, depending on the written material. If there is a large

number of lexical words the eye might have to fixate on them a higher number of times than if one reads colloquial writing. As LaBerge and Samuels say it in their article on the automatic reading process;

"When reading is flowing at its best, for example in reading a mystery novel in which the vocabulary is very familiar, we can go along for many minutes imagining ourselves with the detective walking the streets of London, and apparently we have not given a bit of attention to any of the decoding processes that have been transforming marks on the page into the deeper systems of comprehension"

(LaBerge and Samuels 1974:314).

This is due to the automatic recognition of words, or the automatic reading behaviour one can accumulate after having read for quite some time.

When an eye-tracking device has drawn up an eye-movement pattern it is possible to see where the fixations and saccades are centred. In addition to this it is possible to measure the amount of time spent on saccades, fixation and gazing in the different parts of for example a screen or a sheet of paper. The results are then processed and can tell us what a particular person is looking at in a specific situation.

Per Henning Uppstad, associate professor at the Center for Reading Research at the University of Stavanger states that the subjects of study are often very surprised by the results they receive when having their eyes-movements videotaped. "They don't always believe what they see. Some of them even deny that our film shows their actual reading pattern. We're fairly unconscious about how we read text, graphs and pictures"²²

Eye tracking research on reading behaviour has been performed for quite some time, but it has not been frequently used for other kinds of research, for example on how the eye moves when reading cartoons, surfing on the Internet, or reading subtitles. When the Center for Reading Research in Stavanger was contacted and asked for studies on eyetracking when watching subtitled television in connection with this thesis, they referred to Lund University in Sweden, that has an advanced eye-tracking laboratory

²² From the article "Believing Your Own Eyes" published by the Centre of Reading Research at the University of Stavanger 02.12.2006 http://lesesenteret.uis.no/forskning/article1751-514.html

and have been using this kind of technology since 2004. Their response was that two studies have been performed on eye-movement when reading subtitles, one at their University and one at the University of Leuven in Belgium. These two will be discussed here, together with an article on captioned television published in *American Annals of the Deaf*. Even though this research is aimed at subtitling on television the results are interesting in connection with subtitling at the cinema because of the close relation of the two genres. Research on how the eye moves when watching a movie at the cinema has yet to be done.

2.4.1 Automatic reading behaviour

In the article "Watching Subtitled Televison – Automatic reading behaviour" Géry d'Ydewalle, Caroline Praet, Karl Verfaille and Johan Van Rensbergen's main research question is "how a person is able to divide and shift his or her attention in such a complex situation" (d'Ydewalle 1991:651). By "complex situation" d'Ydewalle refers to watching subtitled television, where information is presented visually, textually and in an auditive manner at the same time. The research question is based on a previous article by d'Ydewalle, Van Rensbergen and Polet from 1987, which showed that "Dutch-speaking subjects are able to switch effortlessly between the visual image and the subtitle" (d'Ydewalle 1991:652).

In order to explain how the Dutch-speaking subjects can shift effortlessly between the picture and the subtitling, they formulated two hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that reading a subtitle is more efficient than listening. This means that the subject reads the subtitle because this is a more efficient way of processing the message. This hypothesis is called the *efficiency* hypothesis. The other hypothesis is that the Dutch-speaking subjects are so familiar with the subtitling concept that they read the subtitles as a force of habit even though they understand both the source and target language. This is called the *familiarity* hypotheses. The article states that these two hypotheses, familiarity and efficiency, do not necessarily rule out one another.

One of the most interesting features of this study with regards to my thesis, is that it is performed intralingually, the language in the subtitles and the soundtrack is the same. This aspect is extremely interesting because intralingual translation is the main focus

in the subtitling discussion in Norway, providing Norwegian films with Norwegian subtitles. This means that the element of reading subtitles for understanding a foreign language disappears. d'Ydewalle states that "the present study will provide a better picture of the spontaneous preference for one of the two sensory modalities: sound from speech or printed text" (1991:653).

To test the two hypotheses, familiarity and efficiency, the researcher found it necessary to chart how the subjects shift and divide their attention. To do this the eyemovement patterns between image and the subtitles were measured. In the first experiment an American movie subtitled in English was presented to American subjects. d'Ydewalle states that "if familiarity is critical, one might expect them to look less at the subtitles" (d'Ydewalle 1991:652), which means that d'Ydewalle thinks the Americans will spend less time looking at the subtitles because they are not familiar with reading them. d'Ydewalle states in correspondence with his efficiency hypothesis that "if processing efficiency is more important, considerable reading of the subtitles should be apparent" (1991:652), meaning that even though the spoken language and target language is the same, the American subjects might prefer reading the subtitles.

In the second part of the experiment the Dutch-speaking subjects, people who are very familiar with the subtitling conventions, received a Dutch-speaking movie with subtitles in the same language. This means that linguistically they were put in the same situation as the Americans, since the spoken language and the subtitling language were the same. If the efficiency hypothesis were to be correct, the subjects would "still prefer to follow the subtitles at the expense of looking at the visual image" (d'Ydewalle 1991:652), whilst if the familiarity hypothesis were to be correct the Dutch speaking subjects would focus on the subtitling even though they are familiar with the language. In this situation the two hypotheses do not necessarily rule each other out, as d'Ydewalle stated earlier; the extensive reading of subtitles might be both an efficiency and a familiarity process.

The American subjects spent a considerable amount of time reading the subtitles, even though they had not developed the habit of reading subtitles automatically. The Americans spent more time in the subtitling field than the Dutch; the percentages

were respectively 27,08% for the Americans and 22.14% for the Dutch (d'Ydewalle 1991:660)²³. From these numbers d'Ydewalle concludes that reading subtitles is not due to habit formation, the Dutch do not spend more time in the subtitling field because they are used to reading subtitles. People read subtitles whether they are used to doing it or not.

In connection with d'Ydewalles statement that "if familiarity is critical, one might expect them to look less at the subtitles" (d'Ydewalle 1991:652), one has to note that having an "unfamiliar object" appearing on the screen might cause the subjects to focus more on the subtitling. Since Americans are not used to reading subtitles, they might be increasingly curious about them, and therefore spend more time reading them than they would if they were familiar with subtitling. This means that the familiarity hypothesis might fail to measure what it is set out to. It actually supports an opposite hypothesis; that familiarity with subtitles causes the subjects to look *less* at the subtitles, hence the lower amount of time spent reading subtitles among the Dutch subjects.

The Dutch subjects read the subtitles even though they were perfectly familiar with the spoken language. This supports the efficiency hypothesis. One might think that the unnatural situation of having something subtitled in your own language might cause more focus on the subtitles, but the subjects "reported no surprise at all at the nature of the situation" (1991:661). If the unnatural situation was a factor, then the focus on the subtitles should be greater at the beginning of the movie, and then decrease since the subjects would grow used to the presence of the subtitles. The movie was divided into three parts and the time used focusing on the subtitles were measured in the first and the third part. It showed that in the first part the subject looked less at the subtitles than in the last. Ergo, the subtitles are read automatically, even though they are intralingual.

²³ These numbers are particularly high, a feature which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The scholars Brij Kothari, Avinash Pandey and Amita Chudgar sum up the results of y'Dewalles study in their "Same-Language subtitling on Televison in India" as follows:

"The simple but powerful conclusion they arrived at (...) is that reading subtitles is automatic and this automatic reading does not require prior experience or habit formation with subtitles. (...) If subtitles are there, they will be read and simultaneously processed with the audio in a complementary manner."

(Kothari, Pandey and Chudgar 2004)

d'Ydwalle's article emphasizes the actual *reading* of the subtitles, and recognizes the fact that reading subtitles can be an automated process.

David LaBerge's and S. Jay Samuels' article "Toward a Theory of Automatic Information Processing in Reading" explains attention mechanisms in information processing. They state that the criteria for calling a skill automatic is that "it can complete its processing while attention is directed elsewhere" (La Berge and Samuels 1974:295). This is particularly logical in the case of subtitling, where one gazes briefly at the subtitles and the brain processes the information whilst the attention is directed at the visual image and the audiovisual information. As La Berge and Samuels goes on; "On many occasions, people appear to be giving attention to two or more things at the same time, when, in fact, they are shifting attention rapidly between the tasks" (1974:295). This fact corresponds with d'Ydewalles statement that the Dutch seem to shift effortlessly between the subtitles and the visual image. This means that even though the Dutch focus on the subtitles, they do it without strain and active concentration, which means that it is not disturbing for the visual experience. This fact is supported by Jonas Borrells study discussed in section 2.4.3.

2.4.2. Eye movement Patterns of Captioned Television Viewers

Carl J. Jensema's "Eye Movement Patterns of Captioned Television Viewers" published in 2000 set out to find if the eye-movement patterns of deaf viewers were different from normal hearing. Jensema operates with the term *captioned* television rather than subtitles, as the two terms captions and subtitles are often used as synonyms. Captioned television the way it is performed in this context would usually

be referred to as intralingual subtitling²⁴. When discussing this particular article the term used by the author, captioned television, will be used.

Jensema's research methods are similar to y'Dewalles', using the same type of eyetracking technology. Instead of differing between subjects familiar or unfamiliar with subtitling, Jensema differs between deaf and hearing subjects. He let three deaf and three hearing subjects watch a total of eight video segments with different situations. The first three segments were non-captioned videos. The next three segments were similar to the three first, but they had captioning. As an example segments 2 had a man presenting the ABC evening news, and segment 5 a policewoman talking about injuries; both typical "talking head" situations.

There are four essential questions in Jensema's article, three of which are interesting in this context. The first question is if captioning changes the way a television program is viewed (Jensema 2000:275). The results from his eye-tracking study show that there is a substantial difference between the captioned and uncaptioned videos; all the subjects turn to the subtitles when they are present. Jensema concludes that "the addition of captions to a video results in a major change in eye movement patterns, and the viewing process becomes much more of a reading process" (2000:284). Kothari (2005:23) rephrases and says

"Jensema (is) essentially confirming d'Ydewalle's important conclusion, if stated somewhat differently, that the addition of captioning turns television engagement from a dominantly picture-viewing activity to a dominantly reading activity".

(Kothari 2005:23)

To this one has to add that the subjects in this research are "familiar with captioned television, but only the deaf subjects watched it regularly" (Jensema 2000:277). This means that the hearing group of subjects, who are Americans, are not nearly as familiar with subtitling as for example the Dutch. This unfamiliarity with subtitles

programme" (Ivarsson 1992:14).

²⁴Ivarsson defines the two as follows: "I use "subtitles" for the texts which represent what is being *said* (whether they are visible, "open" subtitles or teletext which can be added to the picture when the viewer so wishes). The term "caption" is used for the texts that have been inserted in the original picture by the maker of the film or

might cause a larger focus on the subtitling, as shown in y'Dewalles research. It must also be added that the quality of the captions used in this research was not up to the standards used in Norwegian television today. The captions were in white capital letters, presented in what is referred to as a "black box", which means the bottom of the screen is totally hidden behind the subtitles. This might have caused a larger focus on the subtitling, because they were more intrusive than ordinary subtitles.

The second question Jensema asks is if all people view captioning the same way, or if there are individual viewing strategies (2000:275). To this one might say that there are as many ways of reading captions as there are people reading them. In this study this fact is illustrated by the results of one of the deaf subjects, who depends heavily on lip-reading for his personal communication, and in the video segment with the talking police officer ("talking head") he focused almost solely on the actors' lips and actually spent little time reading the captions. One can expect that the hard of hearing will try to lip-read to a larger extent than the normal hearing audience, and watch the captions in addition. This is because many hard of hearing or deaf have become hard of hearing over time, and are used to combining the hearing they have left with lip-reading. The small but noticeable differences within the deaf group of subjects still support a theory of individual viewing strategies.

Jensema poses the question if having seen a video before influences how the subtitles are viewed the second time around. He draws the following conclusion after having had the subjects watch the video segments a second time, some time after the first viewing:

"Under conditions in which a viewer has some idea of what to expect, such as when the video segment has been seen some time in the past, the eye movement patterns of different subjects seem to be more alike, as if these different patterns were converging on a single general pattern for viewing of that video segment".

(Jensema 2000:284)

By this Jensema seems to indicate that watching a film a second time around will change the way people perceive the subtitles slightly. The focus of Jensema's study was to find differences in the viewing pattern of the deaf and hearing subjects, and

Jensema concludes; "In general, people who view a particular video segment have similar eye movement patterns" (2001:284).

2.4.3 Subtitling or Dubbing?

In 2000 Jonas Borell at Lund University, the Department of Cognitive Science, wrote an article named "Subtitling or Dubbing? An investigation of the effects from reading subtitles on understanding audiovisual material". His main research question was "if subtitling in stead of dubbing could be assumed to exercise negative influence on the actual understanding/perception of coherence of audiovisual material such as movies and TV programs"(2000:3). To find the answer to this question Borell makes use of eye-tracking technology.

The eye-tracking device videotapes the eye movement and registers when the eye "rests" on a certain focal point. One tends to believe that the eye focuses on the screen as a whole, but in fact the eye shifts focus almost constantly. When the eye focuses on something, it only rests on its fixation for about 120ms before it moves to a new fixation. This rapid and constant movement is called saccades, as mentioned in section 2.2. The purpose of moving the eye in saccades is concentrating the centre of the visual field to the centre of attention. Even though sharp vision is concentrated only in a small area this does not mean that we do not register what is happening in the area around the focal point. In his study Borell chooses to focus on the fixations on the subtitling part of the screen, instead of on the time spent gazing in that area.

Borell had 17 subjects, all students between 20 and 25 years of age, watch the intial 28 minutes of the French movie *Asterix and Obelix vs Caesar*. Nine of the subjects watched the French version with Swedish subtitles (a standard situation for subtitling in Scandinavia) and eight saw a version dubbed with Swedish speech. The calculated data found using eye-gaze measurements showed the amount of time spent on reading subtitles. The group who saw the French version with Swedish subtitles were subdivided into two groups, one with moderate or no knowledge of French and one with good knowledge of French. The movie lasted for 28 minutes. The first group consisted of eight subjects who watched a dubbed version of the film, ergo with Swedish speech and no subtitles. This group spent an average 24,6 seconds fixated in

the subtitling area, even though there were no subtitles present. This number was used as a measurement for how much time one naturally spends in the subtitling field at the bottom of the screen when there are no subtitles present.

The second group consisted of five people with moderate to no knowledge of French, who watched the original French version with subtitles in Swedish. This group spent an average 78 seconds of the 28 minutes, or 4,6% of the time, fixating in the subtitling field. The third group consisted of people who had good knowledge of French, and watched the French version with Swedish subtitles. This group only spent 47,5 seconds of the 28-minute film fixated in the subtitling field, a number substantially lower than the second group. Borell concludes; "a greater linguistic competence decreases the need for reading subtitles"(2000:14). Borell sums up his results as follows:

"The result 5 per cent [of time spent reading subtitles] is based on measurements of fixation and a rough (exaggerated) approximation of saccades. It ought to provide a realistic (but high) value for how much time was spent on reading subtitles. [...] [T]he use of subtitles does not exercise negative influence on the actual understanding/perception of coherence of audio-visual material such as movies and TV programs"

(Borell 2000:15-16).

When looking at Borell's results it is important to note that he measures the percentage of time the eye fixates in the subtitling area, not the percentage of time the gaze was directed towards the text area. This means that Borell differentiates fixation and gazing, and fixation is what he uses for measurement of the actual reading process. If one looks at the results in his appendix, one finds that the portion of time the gaze was directed towards the text area was 21,5%. There is a severe discrepancy between Borell's approximate 5% fixation in the subtitling area (what he classifies as reading) and the 21,5% of gazing in that area. The reason why Borell operates with fixations instead of time spent in the subtitling area is that "reading consists of a mix of fixations and saccades" (2000:14), which means that there is a difference between moving the eye in an area and actually reading the text. This fact is supported by J. Theeuwes, in his article "Visual selective attention: a theoretical analysis" where he explains that visual attention consists of two levels, a pre-attentive and an attentive.

Borell explains Theeuwes theory as follows:

"The pre-attentive is not controlled by conscious awareness, and operates over the entire visual field. Thus it can handle several simultaneous stimuli, and search for those who need to be investigated closer. The other, attentive, is controlled by conscious awareness and is limited to one or a few objects at the time. The normal function is that stimuli chosen by the primary, pre-attentive level are transferred to the secondary, attentive level, and that the gaze is moved so that the centre of the visual field is pointed towards them".

(Borell 2000:9 on Theeuwes 1993)

There is no doubt that the time both the fixations and the gaze were in the subtitling field decreases when the knowledge of the language spoken increases. The subjects with good knowledge of French spent an average 17,25% of the time with their gaze in the subtitling field, compared to 25% in the group with moderate or no knowledge of French.

The most important finding in Borell's article is that Swedish TV viewers, who are very similar to the Norwegian ones both in language and familiarity with subtitles, spend very little time actually focusing in the subtitling field of the screen. As Borell states, subtitling does not have a negative impact on the visual experience. The discussion on whether or not people think subtitling has an impact on the aesthetic experience, the visual image of the movie, will be discussed in the chapter on attitudes towards subtitling, and in the research chapter (section 3.2 and chapter 5).

3. Subtitling of Norwegian films

3.1 Introduction

In 2007 Megafon, a Norwegian television program directed at young teenagers, did a report on subtitling of Norwegian movies. Megafon's reporter interviewed Henrik, a deaf student who attended Skårdalen School for the hard of hearing in Oslo. He had been with his friends to see the Norwegian film *Switch*, and was asked questions in connection with the film. The film was not subtitled. When he was asked if he liked the movie, he answered that it was good, he liked the snowboarding and the visual images, but it was hard to grasp the dialogue, especially names. When asked why lip reading was not sufficient to grasp the dialogue, his answer was "if all I see is a person who stands with his back to the camera I can't really lip read him, can I'. He also explained that there are many Norwegian films he would like to see, but he stays at home. "It's boring to watch when everyone laughs and I don't understand what they are laughing about". To the question on what it would take for him to understand the dialogue and start watching Norwegian films he has a concrete and simple answer: "I need subtitles." ²⁵

Henrik's story is not unique. In an article from www.ung.no²⁶ the former president of the Norwegian Youth Association for the Hard of Hearing (HLFU) Inger Marie Jakobsen Sylte says

"I don't benefit much from watching Norwegian films without subtitling. Because of mumbling, difficult dialects and background noise it's very difficult for us hard of hearing to understand what is being said. There is little to be gained from sitting with pricked ears during a whole film when you still understand so little of what people are saying. Subtitling is imperative for us to be able to take part in the cultural life on an equal level with the normal hearing population²⁷".

²⁵ Megafon broadcasted 13.12.2005, all quotes translation by author. The program is available at http://www1.nrk.no/nett-tv/klipp/320208

²⁶ Ung.no is a site for governmental information on the rights, possibilities, and obligations of young people.

²⁷ My translation. Original article at http://www.ung.no/nyheter/1037_Teksting_av_norske_filmer.html

3.1.1. Cinema habits in Norway

There were 241 film premieres in cinemas across Norway in 2006²⁸. The total number of tickets sold, both to international and national films, was approximately 12 million²⁹. 22 of the 241 film premieres were Norwegian and had Norwegian as the primary language. 1 928 000 of the cinema tickets sold in 2006 were to Norwegian films – a 16,1% market share. Of the 22 Norwegian films only 3 were subtitled.

The average Norwegian visited the cinema 3,7 times in 2006. This is the number that one gets when the total number of tickets sold is divided on the entire population, but in fact a third of the population did not visit the cinema at all in 2006. This means that the rest of the population, referred to as cinema-goers, have a much higher frequency of visits than the "average Norwegian". In fact, the average cinema-goer bought 5,4 tickets in 2006. The most active visitors to the cinema are the young adults, the age group from 16 to 24 years of age.

3.2 The official 2003 report on subtitling of Norwegian films

In April 2003 the Norwegian Film Institute finished a report on intralingual subtitling of Norwegian films, requested by the Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs. The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs recognised subtitling of Norwegian film to be a complicated matter where many considerations had to be made. They therefore asked the Norwegian Film Institute to write a report on the subject, and present the solution they thought would be the most constructive in this matter.

The Norwegian Association for the Hard of Hearing (HLF) formally started the political discussion in 2001 when they sent a letter to the Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs demanding that all copies of films that receive government subsidy must be subtitled. HLF is a special interest organisation with 53 000 members, and they work for the interests of the 600 000 hard of hearing people in Norway³⁰. According to HLF the number of hard of hearing in Norway is increasing, and it is

²⁸ All numbers from Statistics Norway (SSB)

²⁹ 1 928 000, according to Film&Kino Årbok 2006

³⁰ www.hlf.no

assumed that more than 1 million Norwegians will be hard of hearing in 2020³¹. Norwegian film production has had a growing success over the last few years; from 2005 to 2006 there was a 40% increase in the amount of tickets sold to Norwegian films³². HLF states that the hard of hearing are not being granted the possibility to access these films, because they are not subtitled. They are basically being excluded from watching Norwegian films at the cinema. In addition to the 600 000 hard of hearing in Norway the approximately 4000 deaf people in Norway³³ are, just like the hard of hearing, have to wait for a subtitled version on DVD. Norges Døveforbund, the special interest organisation for the deaf in Norway, and their 2300 members support HLF in the fight for subtitling.

3.2.1 The economic aspect

The report from the Norwegian Film Institute sought to give an estimate of how many tickets could be sold to the hard of hearing audience if they were made accessible for this group of people. To do this one had to estimate the number of hard of hearing in the different age groups and the average number of visits to Norwegian films from the different age groups. To find the total number of hard of hearing among the different age groups they used figures from the Norwegian Health Institute's report on hearing. The numbers are presented below.

Age	>20	20-	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85<
	year	24	years	years	years	years	years	years	years
		years							
Number	4000	7000	39000	54000	96000	129000	123000	163000	36000
of people									
with									
substantial									
hearing									
loss									

This table shows that in 2003 there were approximately 104 000 people were hard of hearing in the youngest age groups, from under 20 years of age to 44 years of age. Not surprisingly, the number of people who were hard of hearing increased with age.

³¹ www.hlf.no Notat Tema: Teksting audiovisual norske kinofilmer, kap. 0334 Filmog Medieformål, post 78. 3.November 2003

³² Norsk Mediebarometer utarbeidet av SSB.

³³ Number from Norwegian Board of Health Supervision

The number of cinema-goers and average visits to the cinema decreases with age, the younger age groups visit the cinema much more frequently than the older age groups. To find a number of tickets that could be sold to the hard of hearing audience if they were subtitled, it was important to find the percentage of people in the different age groups who are so called cinema-goers, and their frequency of visits. The percentage of people from the different age groups who are cinema-goers, and how many visits they had in average in 2001 is presented below.

Age group	Percentage who visited the	Number of average visits		
	cinema in 2001	among the cinema-goers		
9 to 15 years of age	90	5,7		
16 to 24 years of age	95	10		
25 to 44 years of age	76	4,8		
45 to 66 years of age	54	2,3		
67 to 79 years of age	32	1,3		

(Source Norsk mediebarometer / Statistics Norway (SSB))

It is easy to assume that subtitling Norwegian movies would not be economically profitable because the elderly generation, who have the highest frequency of hard of hearing, do not visit the cinema that often anyway. However, the report from the Norwegian Health Institute from 2003 states that 16,8 percent of the population under 40 suffered from a small or substantial hearing loss. Among the people from 40 to 59 the number was even higher; 28,5 percent. There is no reason to believe that the number is smaller today. These hard of hearing people would probably rely heavily on the subtitling if present, and it is possible to assume that they might avoid movies not subtitled because of the lack of comprehension (see section 5.6.7).

The Norwegian Film institute calculated the average number of visits to Norwegian films with the number of hard of hearing in each age group, and ended up with a possible profit from ticket sold to a hard of hearing group if Norwegian films were subtitled. The calculations were based on the average price of a cinema ticket in 2002 (approximately 60 NOK) and the Norwegian films market share, which was 9% at the

time³⁴. Using these figures the Norwegian Film Institute calculated that if the hard of hearing audience started visiting Norwegian films with the same frequency as the average population, the profit generated from the increased ticket sales would amount to approximately 4 million NOK a year. This means that subtitling would in fact be profitable for Norwegian productions.

3.2.2. Alternative solutions

In their report The Norwegian Film Institute also looked at alternative solutions for the hard of hearing, the most obvious one being using an induction loop. An induction loop produces an electromagnetic signal received directly by the hearing aids used by approximately 200 000 hard of hearing³⁵. Induction loops are mostly used in setting where there is only one speaker, and this person uses or speaks into a microphone. Using an induction loop in a larger setting requires a clear soundtrack with perfect dialogue. This is very seldom the case in soundtracks for film, and therefore using an induction loop is not a sufficient alternative for the hard of hearing. There are also many hard of hearing who do not use hearing aids, because they feel that their natural hearing, although reduced, is better than the mechanical sound one often gets when using a hearing aid.

A possible argument for why subtitling is unnecessary that is not stated in the report from the Norwegian Film Institute is that the hard of hearing might be able to grasp a sufficient amount of dialogue by lip reading the actors. However, lip-reading requires an enormous amount of effort, and in addition to this it is absolutely crucial that the person one is lip-reading is actually facing the camera. This is not the situation in fictional movies, as the actors move around, speak with their back to the camera, and have lots of different dialects. This makes lip reading at the cinema practically impossible.

³⁴ As shown in the section 4.1.1 this number was 16,1% in 2006. The average price of a film ticket in 2006 was 71 NOK, numbers from Film&Kino 2006.

³⁵ Number from consultative statement written 2003

3.2.3. The industry's opinion

When conducting the report on intralingual subtitling the Norwegian Film Institute contacted the different branches of the film industry to gather their opinions on subtitling of Norwegian films. They did not find any negative opinions, however the trend was that the film industry questioned the use of subtitling. Some implied that subtitling might exercise a negative influence on the visual experience, and that the hearing audience would be distracted by the subtitles. The general consensus in the film industry was that they were neutral on the issue of subtitling Norwegian movies, but they emphasized that if subtitling was to be added it must be of no cost to the producer.

The Norwegian Film Institute came to the conclusion that it would be best for everyone involved to subtitle all films that receive government subsidy, and to lay this responsibility on the producers. They suggested tagging 2 million NOK for subtitling and information the first year. The reason for choosing to subtitle all films and all copies was to ensure the hard of hearing the same access to Norwegian films as they have to foreign films, without any limitations as to when and where. Another reason for choosing to subtitle all the copies of the films instead of having separate viewings, some subtitled and some not, was severe trouble organizing two different copies when this solution was tried in Denmark in 2000.

One might be tempted to say "so far, so good". In connection with the report the Ministry of Cultural and Church affairs arranged a hearing among the involved branches of the subtitling industry, and of course HLF. All statements and opinions throughout this section are from the consultative statements written by the different branches of the film industry in connection with the hearing (references in bibliography).

HLF was of course extremely happy with the Norwegian Film institute report. As stated in their written submission, "HLF thinks it is positive that hard of hearing are treated as cinema goers in this rapport". They emphasize that the normal hearing population also benefit form subtitling.

FILM&KINO, the main organisation for the cinema and video industries in Norway, were also positive to the solution presented. In their consultative statement they stated; "as far as we can see this is the only solution that gives the hard of hearing the same possibility to see Norwegian films. It is also the easiest solution to organize and carry out."

When it comes to the film industry the attitude was not quite as positive, or even neutral, as the report from the Norwegian Film Institute initially suggested. Norske Filmbyråers Forening, that mainly distributes international films in Norway but occasionally distribute Norwegian films, wrote they are not involved in the subtitling process. However, their consultative statement also said: "it is our organisation's general opinion that films should not be subtitled more than necessary because it to some degree diminishes the visual experience".

The Norwegian Film and TV Producers' Association (Produsentforeningen) were most concerned with the additional work and cost connected to subtitling their films. They fully agreed that the hard of hearing should have the same access to their films as the rest of the population, as long as they are not responsible of fitting subtitling into their "already crammed budgets".

Norsk Filmfond (Public support for film production in Norway³⁶) was also concerned about the cost of subtitling. In addition to the economical concern they state that they leave it to the producers and makers of film to consider the aesthetic aspects of subtitling. As they say at the end of their consultative written statement: "we just want to point out that subtitling is a disturbing element on the screen for the ones who do not need them"³⁷.

³⁶ www.filmfondet.no. Their translation.

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³⁷ All consultative statements in the form of written submissions accessible at www.kdep.no

3.2.4. The subsidy as of today

Norwegian films could, as of 2004, receive government subsidy for subtitling.

According to the current regulations, to receive subtitling subsidy every copy has to be subtitled, the film has to be targeted at a large audience (mainly at films distributed in more than 30 copies), and if possible the marketing material should reflect that the film is subtitled. The subsidy can cover 100 percent of the costs of subtitling, and in addition it can cover up to 20 percent of the marketing costs, up to 40 000 NOK if the subtitling is presented in adds or on posters³⁸.

3.3. Movies subtitled in Norway 2004-2007

The first film subtitled with subsidy from the Norwegian Government was *Monstertorsdag*, which premiered in October 2004. With the subtitling of this fictional film HLF thought this was a turning point in the discussion on subtitling Norwegian films. Even though *Monstertorsdag* was subtitled for the hearing impaired, it is worth mentioning that two of the actors in the film were Danish, and these two had to be subtitled for the rest of the audience anyway. The other film subtitled in 2004 was *Ungdommens Råskap*, a documentary by Margreth Olin. Margreth Olin is one of the Norwegian filmmakers who has chosen to subtitle all her films. In 2007 the documentary *Jenter* was also subtitled for the hard of hearing audience. Margreth Olin has subtitled her films as a political statement, in an interview with www.ung.no she says that she makes films to communicate with the audience. She also states that discriminating the hard of hearing by excluding them from having the same film experiences as the rest of the Norwegian population is outrageous and should be unheard of.

With *Monstertorsdag* having been subtitled in 2004 without viewer storms from the normal hearing audience, one would think that 2005 should have been a good year for subtitling Norwegian films at the cinema. It was not. Of the 22 Norwegian films that premiered at the Norwegian cinemas only *Vinterkyss* and *Import eksport* were

 $^{^{38}\} http://www.lovdata.no/cgi-wift/ldles?doc=/sf/sf/sf-20071123-1284.html$

subtitled³⁹. In *Vinterkyss* one of the main characters is Swedish, and in *Import Eksport* a substantial part of the dialogue is in Punjabi.

In 2006 subtitling only a few copies were tried out, both for *Slipp Jimmy Fri (Free Jimmy)* and *Fritt Vilt*. When *Free Jimmy* was released for Norwegian cinemas the producer Lars Hellebust said that it was perfectly fine that they subtitled one or two of the copies, but he thought subtitling would ruin the visual experience to such a degree that he did not want subtitling on all of them. In addition to the subtitled copies of *Slipp Jimmy Fri* and *Fritt Vilt* all the copies of yet another documentary, *It's Hard to Be a Rock'n Roller* was subtitled.

The situation was no different in 2007, when three out of twenty Norwegian films were subtitled. One was Margreth Olin's previously mentioned documentary *Jenter*. Another subtitled documentary was *Pornostjerne?*. When Corianderfilm, the production company responsible for the movie, was contacted and asked what their motivation for subtitling was they answered that there were two reasons for subtitling the film. One was to give the hard of hearing a possibility to watch a Norwegian movie, and the other was that parts of the dialogue was so muddled that subtitling was necessary anyway⁴⁰.

The third subtitled film from 2007 was *Blodsbånd*, the only fictional film with subtitles. The dialogue in *Blodsbånd* is in Albanian most of the time, and when the producer was asked about the motivation for subtitling the movie she answered:

"Since we had to subtitle parts of the film anyway, we chose to subtitle the Norwegian dialogue to make it available for the hard of hearing. After earlier criticisms I have become aware of the problem. Apart from that the Ministry of Cultural affairs have a good subsidy arrangement so it was not of any extra expense to us."

(Gudny Hummelvoll – Producer of *Blodsbånd* in a personal e-mail 06.01.2008. My translation.)

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³⁹ Film&Kino

⁴⁰ Personal e-email 15.01.2008

After the low number of subtitled Norwegian films presented from in period 2004 to 2007, Film&Kino evaluated of the subtitling project, and came to the following conclusion:

"Norwegian producers only wish to subtitle their films if it benefits the normal hearing part of the population as well as the hard of hearing.⁴¹" (Stortingsmelding nr 22 § 6.12 2006-2007)

This fact is reflected in the fact that most of the subtitled films in this period are documentaries, where the sound is not always as good as in fictional movies. In the period from 15.10.04 until 29.02.08 only 11 of 70 films subsidised by the Norwegian government were subtitled. Of these 5 were documentaries.

According to Film&Kino producers reluctance to subtitle Norwegian films are manifold, the most important one being that one thinks that the audiences eyes are automatically drawn to the subtitles, and that they end up having an insufficient film experience.

3.4. The situation 2008

It seems that 2008 will be the year where the number of subtitled films will reach an all time high. The 18th of January *Kautokeino-opprøret* was subtitled in full, both the Sami and the Norwegian dialogue. The 29th of February subtitled versions of *Ulvenatten* started rolling across the country. These are both fictional movies, and having them subtitled is a step in the right direction for the hard of hearing audience.

Neither Kautokeino-opprøret nor Ulvenatten received much press on the fact that they were subtitled for a hard of hearing audience, maybe because substantial parts of the dialogue had to be subtitled for a hearing audience anyway. This was not the case for Harald Zwart, one of Norways most important film producers, and his movie Lange $Flate\ Ballær\ 2-i\ kongens\ klær$. The first film, $Lange\ flate\ ballær$, was the best selling film in 2006, with 260 000 tickets sold. When the follow up is now subtitled a

⁴¹ "Norske produsenter ønsker kun å tekste sine kinofilmer dersom det medfører at også det hørende publikummet får et større utbytte av filmen" my translation.

huge audience are exposed to subtitling of a Norwegian fictional film⁴². In an interview with Dagbladet Zwart says that he does not see subtitling of Norwegian films as a problem, since Norwegians are used to watching international films with subtitles (Harald Zwart in interview with Dagbladet 28.02.2008).

In an interview with HLF Zwart explaines that he became aware of the need for subtitling for the hard of hearing at an early stage because his grandfather was hard of hearing and struggled with watching television without subtitles⁴³. In the interview Zwart once again states that he cannot see a problem with subtitling Norwegian films, since Norwegians are so used to watching subtitles. He recognizes that subtitling might be seen as a problem in a dubbing country like Germany or the USA, but states:

"In Norway we have no problems watching both foreign comedies and fictional movies with subtitles, it has never ruined the cinematic experience; I don't understand why it should with Norwegian movies. (...) If I do more Norwegian productions later it would be natural for me to subtitle them as well."

(Harald Zwart in an interview with HLF 25.02.2008, my translation)

When asked if he feels that the visual artistic experience is compromised by the subtitles he answer is no;

"We Norwegians watch Italian and Polish film productions quite often. I have not heard anyone say that they feel that the art form is being compromised when watching those films..."

(Harald Zwart in an interview with HLF 25.02.2008, my translation)

With such an influential film director stating that subtitling is not a problem, this might get other film producers and directors going. If the cinemas, the movie industry and the hard of hearing are on the same page, the only party that has not been heard is the normal hearing audience.

⁴³ Går i bresjen for teksting av Norske filmer by Jørn Hinkley 25.02.2008

⁴² According to the official number of admissions presented at www.filmweb.no *Lange Flate Ballær 2* had as of 20.04.2008 been seen by 269 719 people.

3.5. The hearing audience

The Norwegian film documentary "Oljeberget" was one of the subtitled movies of 2006. In connection with this documentary MMI (the Marketing and Media institute) did a survey among the audience about the subtitling. They asked a total of 153 people directly after viewing *Oljeberget* what they thought about the subtitling. 76 percent partly or completely agreed with the statement that subtitling made it easier to grasp what was being said. Only ten per cent answered that the subtitling brought down the overall experience, and thirteen per cent that the subtitling was disturbing. When the respondents were asked if they were positive, indifferent or negative to subtitling of Norwegian films 71 percent were positive, 22 percent were neutral and only 11 percent were negative. The tendency was that people under 30 years of age were slightly more negative to subtitling than the rest of the population 44.

One has to take into consideration that the target group is slightly different from a documentary to a feature film. This does not mean that the result of the survey would necessarily be different if performed on an audience who had watched a feature film – the contrary might be possible. Even though the sound quality itself might be better in a feature film, a documentary would probably have a clearer dialogue and more interview situations making lip-reading easier. A feature film has more background noise and rapid camera changes, which makes both the dialogue harder to hear, and the lip reading more difficult.

3.5.1. The normal hearing also benefit

An example of how the normal hearing audience also benefit from subtitles was when the Norwegian crime series *Torpedo* was broadcasted on TV2 spring 2007. This series had a particularly unclear dialogue, and the rapid camera changes made it extremely hard to lip-read. It is important to note that even though lip reading is considered a tool for the deaf or hard of hearing, people with normal hearing will automatically try to lip read in noisy environments even though they have never consciously practiced it. As Rezen and Hausman state in their book *Coping with Hearing Loss: A guide for*

⁴⁴ The complete report from MMI was retrieved directly from Anders Hegre in HLF in a personal email 14.01.2008.

Adults and Their Families, "everyone lip-reads to a small extent when listening conditions are difficult. Mouth movements are helpful in figuring out what's being said; so are facial expressions and body movements" (1985:126).

After TV2 had broadcasted a few episodes of *Torpedo* they received multiple complaints from both the hard of hearing and the rest of the population because the series was not subtitled. The viewers said that they could not understand the conversations, not only because of the dialects, but also because of the extensive background noise. The same thing was reported in the Danish Broadcasting Corporation's summary of enquiries where the Danish voiced their complaints about the lack of subtitling in the Danish crime series *Forbrydelsen*. The complaints criticised the unclear dialogue and background music that made the dialogue hard to make out⁴⁵. In an interview with NRK concerning subtitling, the Norwegian moviemaker and former president of Norwegian film directors Nina Grünfelt stated that:

"Personally I too experience that I sometimes can not grasp what is being said, either on TV or at the cinema. I do not think it is a distinctively Norwegian phenomenon, but when we make films more realistic, with actors who speak with dialect, accent and slang, this topic comes into focus" ⁴⁶.

(Nina Grünfelt in interview with NRK. My translation)

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⁴⁵ Mollerup, Jacob. 2007. *Henvendelser til DR om programvirksomheden 1. Halvår 2007*. Mollerup is the viewers and listeners editor at DR.

 $http://www.dr.dk/OmDR/Lytternes_og_seernes_redaktoer/henvendelserapport/20070831155205.htm$

⁴⁶ Solbakken and Hagen. 2007. "Nekter å tekste norsk film"

http://www.nrk.no/nyheter/kultur/1.3777561

[&]quot;Personlig opplever også jeg at jeg I blant ikke får med meg hva som blir sagt både på tv og på kino. Jeg tror ikke det er noe særnorsk fenomen, men når vi lager mer realistisk film, med skuespillere som snakker med dialekt, aksent og slang, er dette blitt mer aktualisert, sier Nina Grünfelt."

3.7. Subtitling situation in the other Scandinavian countries

In connection with the Norwegian Film Institutes report on subtitling of Norwegian films they charted the situation in the other Scandinavian countries. In Denmark the Danish Film Institute financed subtitling of three movies, each in five copies, in 2000. These copies were distributed in the largest cities in Denmark. There was no official evaluation of this project, but according to the report there were problems with organizing the two types of copies (subtitled and non-subtitled). According to Lotte Davidsen at Høreforeningen (the Danish equivalent of the Norwegian HLF) there were additional attempts to subtitle at three individual cinemas "a couple of years ago", but the attempts came to nothing and as of September 2007 there was no subtitling of Danish films at the cinema⁴⁷.

In Finland subtitling of Finnish DVDs have been subsidised, but there have been no attempts at doing the same at the cinema. The Swedish film Institute has given funds to subtitling of 27 films, a total of 47 copies. They report that the main problem with this project has been that it has been expensive, and one has had no possibility to control the distribution and marketing of the subtitled copies. This means that there has been no way of knowing whether or not the subtitled films hit the target group – the hard of hearing. The Norwegian Film institute was also informed that the reason why more Swedish films are not subtitled was that the film companies fear that the audience choose to buy tickets to the non-subtitled versions, and the subtitled versions will not be as profitable.

If the subtitling of Norwegian films continues to develop at the same pace as it has in the beginning of 2008 Norway might become a pioneering country for intralingual subtitling at the cinema.

⁴⁷ according to E-mail from Lotte Davidsen 27 september 2007.

4.0 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter outlines the research performed in this study. The research question in this dissertation aims at gaining a better understanding of how the hard of hearing perceive and prefer subtitling compared to the normal hearing population. This aspect of study is interesting because among the normal hearing population in Norway intralingual subtitling is mainly perceived as an aid for the hearing impaired. The goal was to see if the hard of hearing have different preferences for subtitling than the normal hearing population, or if the two groups prefer the same type of subtitling conventions. If subtitling in a specific way for the hard of hearing will not constitute any difference for the hearing population, one might consider altering the existing conventions. The research also aimed to uncover attitudes towards subtitling in general and specifically at the cinema.

4.1.1 Target group

The research was targeted at the average viewer of films; a person between 16 and 24 year of age. This group visits the cinema approximately 7,1 times a year, a high number considering that the average number of visits is 3,7 a year for the population as a whole 48. For my questionnaire it was essential to get a fairly high number of respondents from a hard of hearing group of people, to ensure that the results separating the hard of hearing group from the normal hearing group would be representative.

⁴⁸ All numbers from Norsk Mediebarometer 2006 published by SSB (Statistics Norway). The age group between 16 and 24 are in addition to being the most frequent users of the cinema the most frequent users of DVDs; 93% of this group watch DVD on a daily basis.

4.2 Method

It would be extremely hard for the respondents to say what kind of subtitling they would or would not prefer unless they had an easy accessible example, so this had to be provided for the respondents to the questionnaire. The solution became asking the respondents to view a subtitled film clip from the short film *Piken*, and having them answer a questionnaire.

4.2.1 Piken

Piken is a short film about a girl who loses her father at a very young age, and as an adult she still struggles with finding people she can trust. The short film was produced and filmed in Oslo from May to September 2007. Both the producer Knut Bjotveit and writer Bendik Stalheim Møller were acquaintances of the author and this ensured access to the material at an early stage. The short film was in Norwegian, with actors who spoke Oslo dialect.

There were many reasons for choosing scenes from *Piken*. The intralingual aspect of the research was preserved since the actors were Norwegian, and the movie was subtitled in Norwegian. The respondents were not supposed to be familiar with the setting or situation beforehand. This was because there were a risk of them perceiving and focusing differently on the subtitling the second time around (see Jensema 2000, section 2.4.2). By choosing *Piken* there was no risk of the respondents having seen the film clip before. Working closely with the producer it was possible to choose specific scenes to include in the film clip. The initial scenes were used, even though the first two minutes of the clip did not contain any dialogue and therefore no subtitles. This was a deliberate decision, to make the respondents focus on the film instead of the subtitling. The next three scenes all contained a fair amount of dialogue, and very different settings, so it was possible to try out different modes of subtitling. The total viewing time for the film clip distributed in connection with the research was 7 minutes 44 seconds.

Being familiar with the technical solutions from having subtitled an earlier production, I performed the subtitling of *Piken* myself. This was also the best solution

considering the insertion of different types of subtitling outside the ordinary conventions I chose to include. There were four different types of subtitling:

- Standard subtitling
- Subtitling for the hearing impaired (with additional auditive information included in brackets)
- Standard subtitling with additional punctuation
- Direct transcription of the dialogue

The font used was Helvetica, the letters were white on a transparent background and the text was centred. These are the standard conventions for subtitling films for the cinema.

The first 90 seconds of the film clip were without dialogue. This was as mentioned a deliberate decision to draw the focus away from the subtitling. The first scene containing dialogue is set in a park. The main character finds a little girl who has hurt her knee. The dialogue between the two is subtitled with standard punctuation and no unusual conventions. An example is provided below.

Hvis jeg bare holdt rundt det – - så skulle alt gå bra.

After a short while the girl's mother comes running and she is very upset about the fact that her child has run away, and that the child's knee is now hurt. She blames the main character, and she is yelling in a very frustrated manner. This situation is subtitled with excessive punctuation and the shouting is represented by capital letters. An example is provided below.

- Jeg har ikke gjort noe...
- DUH!! HALLOOO!!!

The reason for choosing this type of subtitling in this specific situation was that yelling is often represented by capital letters when writing for example emails or chatting on the internet (see section 2.3.3). The excessive use of punctuation and exclamation marks are also well known ways of expressing surprise in this kind of

writing. In standard subtitling these linguistic features are not usually included. The use of capital letters and extensive punctuation was set to emphasize on the mothers frustration, through the subtitling. If the hard of hearing do not hear the frustrated voice of the mother, it might be an aid for this group to have the written subtitles reflect the dialogue through these linguistic features. The girl's voice is not in capital letters, but has additional punctuation at the end of the sentence to represent hesitance. This represents how the two different actors are in different moods, which might be helpful for the hard of hearing who cannot hear the frustration or hesitance in the actors voices.

In the next scene the main character remembers her childhood, and a conversation she had with her father. This scene has standard punctuation, but in the end when a thunder roars this auditive information is subtitled in brackets. This serves as an aid to the hard of hearing who cannot hear the thunder roar, and serves as a mood setter. The extra auditive information in brackets continues in the next scene where a young man comes into a park at night, where the main character is looking for her mobile phone. When the young man puts down his plastic bag the contents are revealed as bottles because of the noise they make when they clink together. This is subtitled in brackets - "bottles clink".

(flasker klirrer) trenger du hjelp?

This information is included because the sound of the bottles clinking together implies that he might be on his way to a party, since he is bringing bottles. The hard of hearing might have trouble picking up this frequency of sound, and they might miss this subtle auditive information.

The rest of this scene contains lots of dialogue. It begins with ordinary subtitles with audio in brackets, and then changes to subtitles with extensive punctuation. In this context there is a lot of hesitance in the actors, which opens for excessive use of punctuation marks, full stops. People tend to use full stops, often three in a row, to

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⁴⁹ This happens again later in the scene when his phone rings, represented by "phone rings" added in brackets (telefonen ringer).

display hesitance in chatting and short messages by phone, but this convention differs from person to person. This way of punctuating was included to see how people would respond to having three full stops displaying hesitance in a subtitling situation. Towards the end of the scene there were pure transcription of the dialogue, as shown below.

ja, eh, det høres sikkert helt dust ut, men...

This was included to see whether or not people notice that they are reading sentences written in an oral manner. In another subtitle the Norwegian expression "skal ikke" becomes "skakke" (see Hughes section 2.3.2). Rewriting words in this manner often occurs when chatting on the Internet and in informal emailing.

The clip was put on an accessible channel, Google Video. The Google Video Index is "the most comprehensive on the Web, containing millions of videos indexed and available for viewing"⁵⁰, and it allows people to upload videos and distribute them online. (Google Video functions the exact same way as the maybe more familiar YouTube.) After uploading the film-clip from *Piken* a link to the video was published on the second page of the questionnaire. The video opened in a new window when the respondents clicked on the provided link.

4.2.2 Choice of Method

The only way of gathering information on what people perceive or prefer is by asking them, and then processing the results. Two standard methods for collecting research data from respondents are interviews, which are usually qualitative, and questionnaires, which are usually quantitative (Borg and Gall 1989:385-387 and 397).

Initially the considered research method for the dissertation was performing paperbased qualitative semi-structured interviews with twelve people, six hard of hearing and six normal hearing persons. After having considered this qualitative alternative of

⁵⁰ From "about Google Video" accessed the 26 February 2008 http://video.google.com/support/bin/answer.py?answer=66485&ctx=sibling

gathering research material, it became apparent that the questions would be easier for the respondents to answer using an electronic questionnaire. The questionnaire gave comparable, specific, countable results, which could be analyzed. Since questionnaires are easier to distribute and less time consuming for the respondents it was possible to generate a large amount of answers. One might argue that a drawback of having used a questionnaire as opposed to semi-structured interviews would be the lack of elaborate answers. A questionnaire was still preferred because there are strong opinions on subtitling, both among the hearing and hard of hearing group, and using semi-structured interviews one might have ended up with a series of elaborative answers that would not be easily comparable.

This questionnaire was performed online. There were numerous advantages to this online solution. The largest advantage of doing the questionnaire online was beyond doubt the practical distribution. Since all that was needed to access the questionnaire was the link to it, it could be distributed through a wide range of channels, the respondents were only required to have access to the Internet. This meant that the geographical limitations of this survey were wiped out. Instead of handing out a paper survey to a limited amount of people at a certain location, this online survey reached the distant parts of Norway, and in some also countries abroad⁵¹. There were also great practical advantages; the questionnaires were not answered by paper and pen; they were answered by checking boxes in a questionnaire on the Internet. The practical part of doing a paper-based questionnaire (copying them, handing them out, having the respondents answer them and then collecting them) disappeared. When this survey was conducted the respondent needed only to click the link to the questionnaire and it opened in a new window.

In 2007 Statistics Norway (SSB) stated that 78 percent of the Norwegian population had access to the Internet at home. In a report from 2006 numbers show that 80 percent of the age group from 16 to 34 uses the Internet daily. If one includes the people who use the Internet one or more times a week, the numbers increase to 90 percent. In fact in the age group 45 to 54 the number of people who use the Internet

⁵¹ This assumption is made on the basis of having received e-mails from students and scholars abroad, for example from the University in Stockholm and the University of Cambridge.

one or several times a week is still over 80 percent⁵². The fact that the people in the target group are such frequent users of the Internet ensures that the percentage of people excluded from the survey because of lack of access to the Internet is insignificant.

After having checked the technical advantages and disadvantages of running the questionnaire online compared with conducting interviews, the choice fell on an Internet based questionnaire. This was largely because of an ambition to generate a more representative amount of answers.

4.2.3 Piloting

Before distributing the questionnaire it was essential to run pre-tests, especially because online questionnaires might be more prone to technical difficulties than paper-based questionnaires. The pre-test was performed using the survey tool included in It's Learning. It's Learning is a web based virtual learning environment used for distributing information to the students at the University of Stavanger. After having spent a substantial amount of time plotting the questions into the questionnaire, it was sent to the pre-test respondents.

After having collected answers from the 12 pilot respondents it turned out that the distribution of the link to the film-clip from *Piken* was very cumbersome. The respondents had to physically cut and paste the link from the questionnaire, and including links to pictures from scenes was practically impossible. It was only possible to include one question on each page, which made the questionnaire look and feel unorganized. In addition to this the reporting tool was not nearly as thorough and advanced as needed for this survey. It was not possible to compare one group to another, or even one answer to another. It simply added up a percentage of answers to each alternative. The results were not viewable in any other format than percentages. After having run into these serious drawbacks of the It's Learning Survey Tool, the

⁵² All numbers from Norsk Mediebarometer 2006 published by SSB (Statistics Norway)

department of strategies and communication at the University of Stavanger was contacted to retrieve a license to the advanced Internet survey tool Questback.

Using Questback it was possible to include links in the questionnaire, which made it much easier for the respondent to locate the film-clip and access the pictures if needed. It was also possible to have more questions on one page, which made the layout of the questionnaire tidier. After conducting yet another pre-test of the questionnaire the respondents were satisfied and had no further questions or comments. The reporting tool used in Questback proved to have more than enough opportunities for comparing groups and answers, which helped enormously when analyzing the results. When publishing a questionnaire on Questback one can choose an Internet address for the questionnaire. The Internet address for this questionnaire was www.questback.com/universitetetistavanger/norskfilm. Through this link the respondents accessed the questionnaire. When the respondents clicked the link to the questionnaire they were automatically sent to the questionnaires first page.

The questionnaire was approved and ready for publishing the 6^{th} of February.

4.2.4 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of 25 questions, four of them asking the respondent to what degree he or she agreed with a number of statements⁵³. The first page was an information part. The heading was "Norsk film" ("Norwegian film"). The information part stated my name and that I am working on a masters thesis on the accessibility of Norwegian movies. It did not state that this questionnaire was about *subtitling* Norwegian films. This information was left out to ensure that the respondents were as unbiased as possible to the questionnaire. The information text stated that this was an anonymous questionnaire and that it would contain a 7-minute film-clip followed by questions. Finishing the questionnaire would take approximately 12-15 minutes. The second part of the information bit expressed gratitude to the respondents for agreeing to conduct the survey, as the material on this subject in Norway was very limited. It also states that the number of respondents was crucial, as it had to be representative to support the thesis.

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⁵³ The full questionnaire is available in the appendix.

The questionnaire consisted of different sections. The background questions included age, gender, occupational status and nationality. The age brackets were divided 14 years and younger, 15-19, 20-25, 26-35, and 36 years old or older. The reason for choosing these age brackets was because the survey was targeting the most frequent users of the cinema, people between 16 and 24 years of age. However the age groups closest to the target group also visit the cinema more frequently than the average population, and this is why the age groups are divided in this manner⁵⁴. The occupational status had 4 categories; pupil, student, employed and other.

The next question was on the respondent's mother tongue. This question was included to see whether or not the respondents would react differently to subtitling depending on their first language⁵⁵. The alternatives to Norwegian were "other Scandinavian language" and "Other". These two were separated because Scandinavians generally have the same subtitling culture as Norwegians (see section 2.2 on subtitling), and that the subtitling phenomenon is not as widespread with other nationalities. After having answered these background questions the respondents were asked to click "next".

When the respondents clicked next they were informed that they were now to watch a 7 minute film clip from Piken. They were also informed that it would open in a new window when they clicked the link below the information text, and after having watched the film clip they could close the window and click next in the questionnaire. This opened a section of questions connected to how they perceived the subtitling in this particular film-clip. They were asked whether or not they noticed the different linguistic features of the subtitling, like capital letters and additional punctuation. They were then asked to answer what kind of subtitling they would choose in four different situations, and presented with different alternatives to subtitling the spoken sentence. If the respondents could not remember the scenes a link to a picture from the scene was available at the end of the question ⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ See chapter 3.1.1 – cinema habits in Norway

⁵⁵ This would be in accordance to d'Ydewalles research from 1991 which proved that the Dutch – a subtitling nation – reacted differently to subtitling than the Americans – a dubbing nation.

⁵⁶ For more information about these questions, see appendix.

The next section contained questions about frequency of visits and attitudes towards subtitling of Norwegian movies at the cinema. There was a substantial amount of statements where the respondents were asked to what degree they agreed or disagreed. The different degrees were strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, and strongly disagree. The statements varied from "I do not like subtitling of Norwegian films" to "I read the subtitling automatically".

The last section of questions aimed at charting the respondent's subtitling habits when watching a DVD. The aim was to see whether or not the respondents used subtitles differently at home compared to at the cinema. The respondents were then asked to state how much time they thought they spent on reading subtitling when watching an English-speaking and a Norwegian movie.

The questionnaire closed with two questions on level of hearing impairment, to determine whether or not the respondents considered themselves hard of hearing. The first question was how the respondent would classify their hearing, and the alternative answers were good hearing, normal hearing, small hearing loss and substantial hearing loss. The second question was to what degree the respondent was *bothered by* a hearing loss. The reason for distinguishing between having a hearing loss and being bothered by a hearing loss was that people could feel bothered by a hearing loss, even though they do not have a diagnosis.

Open-ended questions were deliberately avoided in this questionnaire because these kinds of answers and comments are hard to process, and the answers one was looking for in this dissertation were answered in the questionnaire. Instead of including a possibility for feedback in the questionnaire, an e-mail address was included with the thank you note that appeared when completing the survey, stating "if you have any questions and comments, please send them to this address". Many of the respondents seized this opportunity, and provided valuable insights.

4.2.5 Distribution

Since the hard of hearing are a smaller group of the population than the normal hearing group they were contacted directly through the Norwegian Youth Association of the Hard of Hearing (Hørselshemmedes Landsforbunds Ungdom – HLFU). HLFU has approximately 1200 members up to 35 years of age, all hard of hearing. HLFU used their mailing list to distribute the questionnaire, and in addition to this the information and link to the questionnaire were posted on their website, www.hlfu.no. The link to the questionnaire was also published on the websites of Trondheim, Oslo, Bergen and Telemark associations for the deaf, and a few personal blogs.

As a part of collecting answers the administration and IT department at the University of Stavanger distributed the questionnaire to all the students via e-mail on the 11th of February, which generated an enormous amount of answers on the 11th and 12th of February. The e-mail that went out to the students in connection with the questionnaire had a deliberately colloquial language. The informal language was chosen to make the questionnaire seem interesting to the respondents. They were also informed about how long it would take them to finish the questionnaire, and how important their contribution was to this field of research⁵⁷.

The questionnaire was also distributed using Facebook, a digital networking device that has become widespread in Norway⁵⁸. When distributing the questionnaire through Facebook, a so-called group was created. The group's name was informal, namely "Trenger 15 min av din tid til masteroppgaven min!" which translates into "Need 15 minutes of your time for my mater thesis!". The reason for choosing this name was that the informal tone might lower the threshold for people joining the group, and responding to the survey. If the respondents are lead to believe that they need some sort of special competence in a field to answer a questionnaire they might

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⁵⁷ The email is included in the appendix.

The 30th of October 2007 the Norwegian newspaper Dagbladet reported that 940.000 Norwegians are members of this Internet network. Facebook was first developed as a social networking website for students at the Harvard University. Since 11th of September 2006 Facebook opened for anyone who wished to join, the target group being people over 13 years of age and mainly students. The facts of the Facebook phenomenon can be easily accessed from the utility website (www.facebook.com), so further details will not be discussed here.

be reluctant to take part in it. Creating a group allows the creator to invite up to 100 friends from his or her friend list to join the group. The invitation to join the group informed briefly about the questionnaire, the group, and a link to the questionnaire. This meant that the people who received the invitation could respond to the questionnaire without joining the group. There is no way of knowing how many people heard about the questionnaire because of the distribution on Facebook. After two days the group had 80 members from all over the country. This was because the people who became members of the group initially started inviting their friends to join in; the classic snowball effect.

In addition to Facebook, distribution to the students and to the associations for the deaf and hard of hearing one has to consider the possibility that personal distribution took place over the two weeks the questionnaire was available online. Considering that the questionnaire was so easy to distribute, in connection with the large amount of respondents, there is no doubt that some of the respondents must have distributed the survey to their friends. One has no way of knowing who distributed the questionnaire to whom on their own initiative, especially since sending an email to multiple respondents is such an easy task.

The questionnaire was available from the 6^{th} to the 24^{th} of February 2008 and gathered a total of 1131 responses. Of these 16% answered that they have a small or substantial hearing $loss^{59}$. The results of the questionnaire will be presented thoroughly in chapter 5.

⁵⁹ This number corresponds with a report published in 2004 by the Norwegian Institute of Public Health. It stated that 16,8% of the population under 40 years of age suffer from a small or substantial hearing loss.

5. Research

5.1. Description of Respondents

There were 1131 unique respondents to the questionnaire. The vast majority, 84,4 percent, of the respondents were between 20-35 years of age.

60,3 percent of the respondents were women, 39,7 percent men. 1066 respondents reported Norwegian as their mother tongue, 10 respondents reported one of the other Scandinavian languages, and 48 respondents answered "other". Since the 58 respondents with another first language all had sufficient knowledge of Norwegian to want to take part in the survey, their answers are not separated from the rest of the group. 60,7 percent of the respondents were students, 33,2 percent employees. Initially this question was asked to chart if there were differences between countries, but due to the page limitations of a masters thesis this will not be discussed.

The aim of this section is to chart subtitling preferences among the normal hearing and hard of hearing respondents. The two groups were separated based on their response to question number 27 in the questionnaire: "How would you classify your hearing?" (See appendix). 943 of the respondents answered they had good or normal hearing, and these constituted the group referred to as "normal hearing". The 186 respondents who answered that they had either a small or a substantial hearing loss constituted the hard of hearing group. This group consisted of 78 respondents with a small hearing loss, and 108 respondents with a substantial hearing loss. Even though the percentages of respondents who are hard of hearing (16,5 percent of total) could be representative for the population as a whole 60, it was important to make this distinction in the results to show the difference in preferences between the two groups.

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⁶⁰ Since According to the Norwegian Health Institute approximately 16,8% of the population under 40 years of age suffer from a small or substantial hearing loss.

5.2.1 Awareness of subtitles

After the respondents had watched the subtitled film clip from *Piken* the first question was whether or not they noticed the film clip had been subtitled. The results from this question are presented in table 1.1.

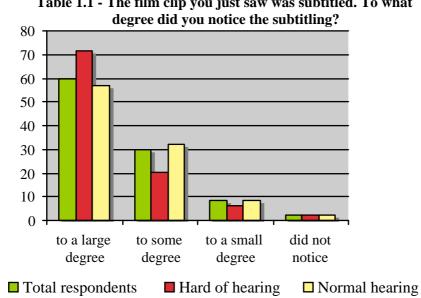


Table 1.1 - The film clip you just saw was subtitled. To what

As we can read from the table the total number of respondents who noticed the subtitling to a large degree was 59,8 percent, or almost six in ten respondents. The groups who noticed the subtitling to a small degree or not at all only adds up to approximately 10 percent of the respondents. It is important to note that in this question one might have originated a larger number of respondents who noticed the subtitles to a large degree because of the limited sound quality some of the respondents might have had when watching film clip on the Internet. This means that the result from in section 6.6.2 (table 1.2), whether or not the respondents noticed the different types of subtitles, becomes increasingly important. The results from this question are presented later, in table 1.2.

In the questionnaire there were three follow up questions to the question presented in table 1.1. These questions asked the respondents to agree or disagree with three statements about the subtitling of the film clip. The general tendencies were as follows: The vast majority, 78,8 of the total number of respondents, answered that they somewhat or totally agreed with the statement "subtitling of the film clip made it easier to grasp what was being said". In the two following statements, that the subtitling was disturbing and that the subtitling reduced the experience as a whole, about one third of the normal hearing audience somewhat or totally agreed. This indicates that a third of the normal hearing respondents did not appreciate subtitling of this film clip. The attitudes towards subtitling of Norwegian films in general will be thoroughly discussed later in this chapter.

5.2.2. Different types of subtitling

As we can see there is a substantial difference between the results in table 1.1 and table 1.2. In table 1.1 the majority of respondents noticed the subtitles to some or to a large degree. When the respondents are asked if they noticed the different types of subtitles, a majority answered that they noticed to a small degree or not at all.

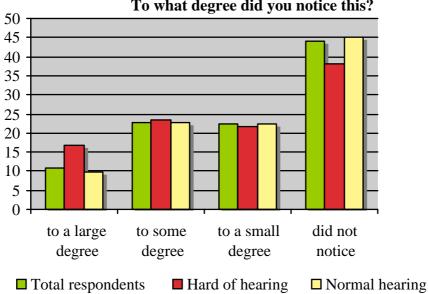


Table 1.2 - The film clip you just saw had different types of subtitling.

To what degree did you notice this?

As we can read from table 1.2 a large percentage did not notice the use of different types of subtitles. There were no substantial differences in the two respondent groups. What is particularly interesting in this table is that a large amount of the total respondents, 44 percent to be exact, stated that they did not notice the different types of subtitles. This means that 482 people did not notice the use of audio in brackets, direct transcription, capital letters or extensive use of punctuation in this film clip.

This number is higher among the normal hearing than the hard of hearing respondents, which might be caused by the fact that the normal hearing group is not as dependent on the subtitling and therefore do not notice the different linguistic features. This statement is supported by the fact that in the other end of the scale 16,8 percent of the hard of hearing respondents as opposed to only 9,7 percent of the normal hearing answer that they noticed the different types of subtitling to a large degree.

It is interesting that one can include several very unfamiliar types of subtitling in a 7 minute film clip, and two minutes after having seen the film clip the respondents do not remember having seen anything extraordinary about the subtitling. This clearly indicates that subtitles do not enter our conscious minds unless we are made aware of what we have just seen. This statement is supported by the next series of questions, which asks the respondents if they noticed specific different linguistic features of the subtitles, and a large percentage suddenly remember that they might have noticed that there was something different about the subtitles.

5.3 Specific subtitling variations

The respondents were asked whether or not they noticed the four specific features of the subtitles: capital letters, additional punctuation, audio in brackets and direct transcription. The results are presented in table 1.3 (the complete results can be found in the appendix).

Capital letters - Hard of Hearing Capital Letters - Normal hearing Additional punctuation - Hard of Hearing **Additional Punctuation - Normal Hearing** Audio in brackets - Hard of Hearing Audio in brackets - Normal hearing **Direct transcription - Hard of hearing Direct transcription - normal hearing** 0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100% **■**large degree **■** some degree **□** small degree ■ no degree

Table 1.3 - To what degree did you notice use of

5.3.1 Capital letters

As we can read from the chart a large number of respondents, both from the hard of hearing and normal hearing group, answered that they did not notice the use of capital letters in the film clip. A total 71,4 percent answer they notice the capital letter to a small degree, or not at all. Such a large number shows that using capital letters in subtitling does not draw attention to the subtitling to a very large manner. As we can see, the respondents from the normal hearing group noticed the use of capital letters in an even smaller degree than the hard of hearing group. This again might be because of the increased focus the hard of hearing group has on the subtitling, because they are dependent on it.

5.3.2 Additional punctuation

When it comes to additional punctuation we can read from the chart that the results are not much different than that of capital letters, 69,6 percent of the respondents noticed the subtitles to a small or to no degree. Again the number of people from the normal hearing group noticed the subtitles to an even smaller degree than the hard of hearing.

There might be several reasons why the respondents do not notice the extensive use of punctuation, or the use of capital letters. One reason may well be that both

conventions have been known to sporadically occur in subtitling. In Ivarsson & Carrol (1998:111-116) they outline the possibilities of using punctuation, for example suspension dots, to indicate omission, pause or interruptions. In coherence with the way the suspension dots were used in the film clip, Ivarsson & Carroll explain that they are most frequently used to indicate hesitation. Suspension dots are occasionally used in Norwegian subtitling, so this concept may not be unfamiliar for the respondents. Capital letters have also been known to occur from time to time, most often to indicate shouting from a crowd. This means that the respondents might be familiar with both capital letters and additional punctuation, and therefore do not notice them to a large degree.

The two next conventions differ from the first in that they are not in any way standardised in subtitling. As we can read in table 1.3 the degree to which people noticed these features was substantially different from the first two alternatives, the columns on the left, representing "to a large degree" and "to some degree" were reversed compared to the previous two questions.

5.3.3 Auditive information in brackets

To the question if the respondents noticed the use of auditive information in brackets, the majority of the respondents, 61,6 percent, answered to some or to a large degree. Among the hard of hearing 42,4 percent of the respondents answered that they noticed the audio in brackets "to a large degree", and a marginally smaller percentage of the normal hearing respondents, 42 percent, answered the same. This is not peculiar considering that brackets themselves are unfamiliar objects in subtitles. What is more surprising than the fact that the majority of the respondents noticed the audio in brackets is that 24,5 percent did not.

5.3.4 Direct transcription of speech

The last linguistic feature the respondents were exposed to was direct transcription of speech. This was by far the most noticed form for subtitling; 69,2 percent of the respondents answered they noticed it to some or to a large degree. As we can see from the table more than 50 percent of the hard of hearing and 40,5 percent of the normal hearing report that they noticed the direct transcription to a large degree. This might

be caused by the use of an apostrophe when words are pulled together or because of the fact that the eye stops to re-read the words that are unfamiliar.

5.3.5 Sum up and results

The results from the questions on what kind of subtitling the respondents noticed indicates that one can insert both capital letters and additional punctuation without people noticing to a great extent. When inserting audio in brackets and direct transcription respondents from both groups start noticing the subtitles to a larger degree. It is important to note that these questions were asked in order to find out if the respondents noticed the different types of subtitles, not if the different types of subtitles were distracting. This means that even though the respondents' answer that they notice the subtitles to for example a large degree, this does not necessarily mean they felt the subtitles were intrusive.

5.4. Subtitle preferences in different settings

In the next section of questions the respondents were asked to state what kind of subtitling they preferred in four different settings. Each situation had four alternative subtitles, each with certain linguistic features. The alternative subtitles were in different order in each question, to ensure that the respondents could not choose a preference without reading the alternatives. The features are represented in the following tables as follows: Standard subtitling (S), subtitling with additional punctuation (P), subtitling with audio in brackets (B) and direct transcription in subtitles (T).

5.4.1 Setting 1

The first situation the respondents were asked to subtitle was set in the girl's bedroom. Lightning and thunder roared, and the father came into the room and told the girl not to be afraid. His voice was both comforting and encouraging. The respondents chose subtitles as presented in table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Alternatives	Hard of Hearing	Normal	hearing
S. Ikke vær redd da jenta mi	32,3%	63,6%	
B. (torden) ikke vær redd da jenta mi	52,7%	19,5%	
P. Ikke vær redd da jenta mi!	10,2%	9,7%	
T. Ikke vær redd'a jenta mi	4,8%	7,2%	

As we can read from the tables there are some clear differences in preference between the normal hearing and the hard of hearing respondents. Among the normal hearing respondents a vast majority, 63,3 percent, prefer the standard subtitling (S) alternative. This is not surprising considering that one tends to prefer the most familiar alternative when presented with many. Standard subtitling is also preferred by almost one in three hard of hearing, indicating that this group as well as the majority of the normal hearing respondents think that the standard format is one of the better ways of representing the dialogue. Standard subtitling was preferred by 58,3 percent of the total number of respondents, both normal hearing and hard of hearing, in this situation.

Even though one in three respondents from the hard of hearing group preferred standard subtitling in this situation, they were outnumbered by the 52 percent who prefer subtitling with audio in brackets. This result is not unexpected considering that 58 percent of the hard of hearing respondents have a substantial hearing loss and would probably not hear the thunder roar. Including this audio information in the subtitles function as a mood setter, a feature this group might have missed if it was excluded.

What is more surprising than the response from the hard of hearing in this question, is that almost one in five respondents with normal hearing actually chose the alternative with audio in brackets (B) for this situation. In this clip the audio in brackets are referring to the thunder roaring, an audio effect with no direct connection to the actor. This alternative it is not only tolerated, but also actually preferred by 19,5 percent of

the normal hearing respondents. As we will see later in this chapter this number is reduced in the other situations, which indicates that the normal hearing audience react according to what kind of information is included in the audio in brackets, not to the audio in brackets themselves.

Very few respondents chose the additional punctuation (P) or direct transcription (T) alternative in this situation. In the case of punctuation the reason might have been that including an exclamation mark in this setting might have been seen as an exaggeration of the tone in the actor's voice, even though it was set after two punctuation marks (..!). An exclamation mark is per definition used to indicate "a sudden cry or remark⁶¹", and in this situation this might be seen as expressing the actors' voice and tone too strongly. A reason why the transcription alternative was not favoured might have been that the dialect in the direct transcription "redd'a" was unfamiliar to a part of the respondents. Pulling the two words "redd" and "da" together is an oral dialect feature from the east of Norway, and not necessarily used in the rest of the country. In addition to this the use of an apostrophe might function as a disturbing element, which would draw the respondents eye towards the subtitling. Another explanation is connected to the theory from Sandvik and Vagle who state that there are different language features in different discourses. The spoken informal mode allows for half sentences, dialect, and words being pulled together. The written mode favours full sentences and correct punctuation. In subtitling, who are in fact written, the written version of the oral utterance might look too informal, even though it is correct (see section 2.3.2).

5.4.2 Setting 2

The respondents' subtitle preferences change slightly in the next question. The setting is in a park, and the young woman is looking for her necklace in the grass. There is no obtrusive background noise. When the boy comes into the picture and put down his plastic bag, bottles clink against each other. He askes, "do you need any help?" in a straightforward manner, with standard question intonation, which rises towards the end of the sentence. The respondents' subtitling preferences are presented in table 2.2.

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⁶¹ Definition from New Oxford American Dictionary.

Table 2.2

Alternatives	Hard of Hearing	Normal hearing
S. trenger du hjelp?	35,1%	64,3%
B. (flasker klirrer) trenger du hjelp?	51,9%	17,3%
P. trenger du hjelp?	9,7%	15,4%
T. trenger'u hjelp?	3,2%	3,0%

As we can see from this table the numbers of respondents who preferred standard punctuation (S) did not change substantially in either of the two groups, only a slightly bigger percentage preferred the standard punctuation (S). When it comes to the audio in brackets (B) the majority of respondents from the hard of hearing group still preferred this alternative. In this particular situation the audio in brackets referred to the bottles clinking together, which is a clear indication that the young man was heading for a party before he stopped to help the girl. Once again the hard of hearing audience might miss this information if this audio feature was not inserted in brackets. The number of respondents from the normal hearing group who prefer the audio in brackets alternative is slightly smaller than in the last situation. This might be because the audio in brackets was longer this time, since it contained two words instead of one. Still, 17,3 percent answer that they prefer this alternative. The fact that this relatively large group of normal hearing respondents chose this alternative supports a belief that as long as the audio in brackets is referring to audio surrounding the actors they are not seen as especially intrusive.

There was a substantial increase in the percentage of respondents in the normal hearing group who preferred additional punctuation (P) in this second situation. The reason for this might be that the respondents thought additional punctuation (P) in this situation more fitting than the additional punctuation in the first situation. The use of several full stops to indicate hesitation (..?) is a known convention sometimes used in subtitling (Ivarsson and Carrol 1998:111-116), and often used in uncertain or hesitant questions in informal emails, short messages or chatting (see section 2.3.3).

The number of respondents who chose the transcription (T) alternative was extremely small for this situation. In fact only 34 of the 1126 respondents chose this alternative. The reason for this probably has roots in the basic difference in discourse between oral and written language, discussed in section 2.3.2. The written convention of the spoken sentence is unfamiliar territory for the respondents. The spoken "trenger'u" would have been, if written correctly "trenger du". This difference, in addition to the use of an apostrophe, might have caused the respondents to choose one of the other alternatives instead.

5.4.3 Setting 3

In situation number three the distribution of answers spread out significantly. The setting is still in a park, the young man is encouragingly asking the young woman if she wants to come to the party he is attending – and lets out a nervous laughter. The subtitling alternatives and respondent's answers are included in table 2.3.

Table 2.3

Alternatives	Hard of Hearing	Normal hearing
S. Du skulle ikke bare blitt med?	15,7%	28,6%
B. ja, du skukke bare vært med? (ler nerve	øst) 33,5%	10,4%
P. Ja – du skulle ikke bare vært med da?!	32,4%	52,3%
T. ja, du skukke bare vært med da? Theh -	18,4%	8,8%

As we can read from table 2.3 there has been a substantial change in the preferences of subtitles. The numbers have evened out among the hard of hearing group, and the majority of respondents from the normal hearing group have shifted from preferring standard subtitling (S) to subtitling with additional punctuation (P). The respondents in the normal hearing group who preferred additional punctuation went from 15,4 percent in table 2.2 up to an astonishing 52,3 percent in table 2.3. The hard of hearing group went from the negligible approximate one in ten in the first two situations, to roughly one in three in this third question. This shift in preference in the two groups might be caused by the fact that in this situation additional punctuation was used to emphasize on the optimism in the young man's voice. The young man's intonation

peaks at the end, just as it would in a question, but the utterance is close to being a statement or a request. The use of an exclamation mark and a question mark combined is a quite usual way of punctuating this kind of utterance in for example informal emails or short messages (section 2.3.3)⁶². In addition to this the standard subtitling had an omission of the opening word "ja", which functions as an introduction to the subsequent invitation. One might conclude that in this situation the subtitling with additional punctuation (P) is a more correct sound reproduction than standard subtitling (S).

What is most interesting in table 2.3 is beyond doubt the fact that a large number of respondents, both hard of hearing and normal hearing, who chose the subtitling with audio in brackets in the previous situations, have answered differently in this situation. Not only is there a decrease from the two first situations among the normal hearing audience⁶³, there is also a substantial decrease in the amount of hard of hearing respondents who prefer this alternative. In fact, from having over 50 percent of the hard of hearing preferring audio in brackets in the first two situations, the number decreases to 33,5 in table 2.3.

There is one important difference between the subtitling with audio in brackets presented in this situation (table 2.3) and in the two previous situations. The audio in brackets in the previous situations contained information from the audio picture outside the actors. The audio in brackets from this situation represented a feature in the voice of the actor, as "laughs nervously" was inserted in brackets. It was perfectly possible to read from the actors' face that he was a bit nervous about the girl's response and that he utters a small laughter, so this information is not nearly as necessary as the audio in brackets was in the former two situations. In fact, the number of respondents who preferred the subtitling with audio in brackets decreased substantially, in both groups, when they stopped referring to specific sounds in the audiovisual environment, and started referring to the actor (see also section 5.4.4, table 2.4).

⁶² An example of this is the standard: "why don't you come along?!"

Where respectively 19,5 and 17,3 percent of the normal hearing respondents preferred the subtitling with audio in brackets, se table 2.1 and 2.2.

There is also an interesting increase in the amount of respondents who prefer the direct transcription in table 2.3. Even though the total number of respondents who prefer this alternative is relatively low, it is worth mentioning that it does not seem that the merger of the words "skulle" and "ikke" into "skukke" makes the respondents react the same way the use of an oral dialect word and apostrophe did in the former two situations. The use of the word "skukke" is more common in larger parts of Norway than the previous dialect words. Among the hard of hearing respondents the percentage of respondents who prefers this alternative has increased to 18,4 percent, which makes the transcribed alternative (T) more preferred than standard subtitling (S). The increase might also have something to do with the sound image "theh-" which was included at the end of the subtitle. This written version of an audio utterance might help the hard of hearing grasp the mood in this situation, without pre-interpreting the actor's mood the way the audio in brackets might would.

5.4.4 Setting 4

The last situation where the respondents were asked to choose a subtitling alternative was a hesitant approach from the young man to the young woman. The subtitling alternatives and the preferences from the respondents are presented in table 2.4.

Table 2.4

Alternatives	Hard of Hearing	Normal hearing
T. Ja, eh, det høres sikkert helt dust ut, me	en 42,2%	35,7%
S. Det høres sikkert helt dust ut.	4,9%	15,1%
B. (nøler) det høres sikkert helt dust ut, m	en 26,5%	10,5%
P. ja det høres sikkert helt dust ut, men	26,5%	38,6%

As we can see from the table the two subtitling alternatives that gathered the highest number of respondents were direct transcription and additional punctuation. The fact that direct transcription gathers such a large number of respondents in this setting might have several reasons. Firstly there are no word combinations in this sentence to draw special attention to the subtitles. As we have seen in tables 2.1 and 2.2 the respondents react when there are apostrophes in the subtitling, and choose other subtitling alternatives. Secondly the written version of the sound "eh" which is uttered as a hesitating feature is a known convention from written language, it is even listed in the New Oxford American Dictionary as: "exclamation - used to represent a sound made in a variety of situations". The majority of hard of hearing respondents, 42,2 percent, also chose this alternative. This might be because the nervous "eh" gives the sentence a different pitch than the use of additional punctuation, even though 26,5 percent chose this alternative. A high number of normal hearing respondents also chose the punctuated version in this situation, indicating that this way of punctuating a subtitle is good for demonstrating hesitance.

The number of respondents who chose the subtitling with audio in brackets decrease further in this last situation, where they once again steer the actor's mood in a certain direction. The respondents are able to see the speakers face, and therefore interpret his voice and mood even though they cannot necessarily hear it. The hesitation inserted in bracket is not preferred when the alternatives is representing it either by transcription (eh) or with additional punctuation (...). This corresponds with the results from the same type of audio in brackets in table 2.3.

5.4.5 Sum up and results

This section of questions set out to gather information about what kind of subtitling is preferred by a normal hearing and a hard of hearing audience. The focus was on what kind of linguistic features are preferred in different situations, not on whether or not films should be subtitled, or in what way.

A tendency throughout this section of questions was that the normal hearing group preferred the standard subtitling alternative in situations where the dialogue was uncomplicated and straightforward (see tables: 2.1, 2.2). In the same situations the hard of hearing preferred the subtitles with the audio in brackets.

The subtitling preferences changed when the dialogue became more nuanced (see tables: 2.3, 2.4). The numbers evened out, and colouring the subtitles with additional punctuation and even the use of sound words was preferred by a large number of respondents.

As we can read from the results of the questionnaire the use of transcription as a concept should be avoided in subtitles. In situations where utterances are uncomplicated and straightforward one should not make use of slang or combine words, and the apostrophe is not favoured. This result is not surprising according to theory of difference between oral and written language, and how representing oral language in written language and visa versa causes difficulties (see section 2.3.2). However, the use of the interjection "eh" in table 2.4 was clearly appreciated by both the normal hearing and the hard of hearing audience. The only difference between the two subtitling alternatives in table 2.4 was that in the transcription the small stop was presented by "eh" and in the additional punctuation it was represented by "...". In the normal hearing group only a relatively small percentage (38,6 versus 35,7) preferred the additional punctuation to the direct transcription. In the hard of hearing group there is no doubt that the preference was the transcription (42,2 versus 26,5). Since there is no substantial difference in preference among the normal hearing respondents, one might start considering using the sound word "eh" instead of the hesitant "..." in similar situations in the future.

When using additional punctuation it is of utmost importance that the punctuation does not alter the message in any way. However, it is interesting to see that in table 2.3 the normal hearing audience favours the use of additional punctuation. The hyphen represents a small stop, and the use of both an exclamation and a question mark indicates encouragement. This use of punctuation is quite common in e-mailing and chatting so it is of no great surprise that this alternative is preferred in subtitling as well.

The most controversial subtitling alternative was beyond doubt the subtitling with auditive information in brackets. In the first two situations the majority of the hard of hearing preferred this alternative. The surprising result was that in situations one and two (tables: 2.1, 2.2) respectively 19,5 and 17,3 percent of the normal hearing

audience chose the alternative with audio in brackets. Even though this is a relatively small percentage, it says something about the attitudes towards the audio in brackets; when they refer to a specific sound in the audiovisual picture inserting this information in brackets is not only tolerated, but preferred by close to one in five respondents from the normal hearing group. This means that the resistance towards audio in brackets might not be as large as assumed.

What we see in the next to tables, tables 2.3 and 2.4, is that the number of respondents from both the hard of hearing and the normal hearing group who prefer subtitling with audio in brackets decrease substantially. The reason for the sudden decrease in the amount of respondents who chose the subtitling with audio in brackets is that the situations are fundamentally different. In the first two alternatives the audio in brackets refer to specific sounds outside of the actors. In the two latter situations the audio in brackets refer to the actors, as they state respectively "nervous" and "laughs nervously". These audio in brackets do not leave room for the readers of the subtitling to interpret the actors tone of voice. They simply give the sentence a voice of its own, what some might interpret as a "small hesitation" is suddenly stapled with a "nervous" tag. Neither the normal hearing nor the hard of hearing audience appreciate this, as they in these situations prefer the additional punctuation and also the direct transcription, which leaves the reader to interpret the situation herself.

It is important to note that by stating these facts I am not suggesting that we use audio in brackets on a regular basis, even though it would be the preferred alternative for the hard of hearing. I simply conclude that the attitudes towards audio in brackets are based on how they are used. The fact that as many people from the normal hearing group prefer this alternative shows that the resistance against the use of audio in brackets is not as big as people might assume. It also opens for a more extensive use of audio in brackets in closed captions, since this is by far the most favoured alternative among the hard of hearing.

5.5. Attitudes towards subtitles

The majority of the respondents are frequent visitors to the cinema. When asked how many times they visited the cinema in 2007 only 4,5 percent of the total number of respondents answered that they had not visited the cinema at all. This number is much lower than the average for the Norwegian population, where about 15 percent of the people in the age group from 16 to 44 are not cinema goers (Norsk mediebarometer 2006). The part of the respondents who are cinema-goers divide into two groups, the 42,7 percent who visited the cinema occasionally (1-5 times in 2007) and the group who visited the cinema 6 times or more; 53,8 percent. In the last group one in five visit the cinema more than 11 times a year. The total number of visits in a year is not substantially different from the hard of hearing to the normal hearing group. The hard of hearing group have a higher number of people who do not visit the cinema at all, but the part of the group who are cinema goers visit the cinema almost as frequently as the normal hearing audience.

When it comes to how many visits the respondents make to Norwegian films the numbers of course decrease. What is interesting to see is that the two groups, the hard of hearing and the normal hearing, have different habits when it comes to Norwegian films. 72,4 percent of the hard of hearing did not see Norwegian films at the cinema in 2007, as opposed to 43,7 percent of the normal hearing audience. The percentage of respondents who saw one or two Norwegian films was 40,7 among the normal hearing, but only 22,7 in the hard of hearing group. This might indicate that the hard of hearing do in fact watch a substantially lower number of Norwegian films than the normal hearing population. The next section of questions will reveal if this has to do with the fact that the Norwegian films, as opposed to the international films, are not subtitled.

5.5.1 General attitudes

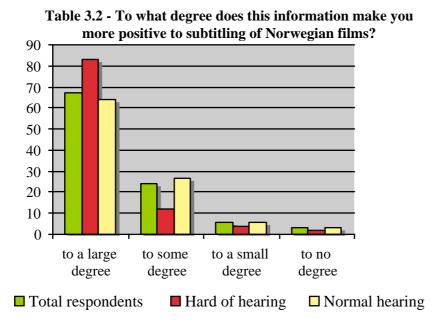
As we see in table 3.1 there is a natural discrepancy between the hard of hearing and the normal hearing group. The hard of hearing, being reliant on the subtitling, are of course positive to subtitling. A further look at the normal hearing group reveals that 28,5 percent are to a large degree positive to subtitling, and another 41,8 percent are

somewhat positive. This means that among the normal hearing group 70,3 percent are positive to subtitling. It also means that less than one in three are not.

Norwegian films? 90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0 to a large to some to a small to no degree degree degree degree ■ Total respondents ■ Hard of hearing □ Normal hearing

Table 3.1 - To what degree are you positive to subtitling of

The respondents were informed that there are 600 000 hard of hearing in Norway, and that these group of people cannot visit Norwegian films at the cinema because they cannot grasp the dialogue. They were then asked to answer to what degree this information made them more positive to subtitling of Norwegian films. The results from this question are presented in table 3.2.



As we can read from the scale the normal hearing group has grown substantially from table 3.1 to 3.2. Only an insignificant 3,4 percent of the normal hearing respondents answer that this information does not make them more positive. A vast majority of the normal hearing respondents, 90,6 percent, answer that the information makes them more positive towards subtitling of Norwegian films to some or to a large degree.

70 percent of the normal hearing respondents were positive to the subtitling of Norwegian films prior to the information about the hard of hearing audience, and it is natural to ask why. They do not "need" the subtitling like the hard of hearing do, none the less they prefer to have subtitling if they can choose. Still, as many as one in three normal hearing respondents answer that they are positive to subtitling to a small degree or not at all. In the next section the reasons for being both negative and positive to subtitling will be discussed.

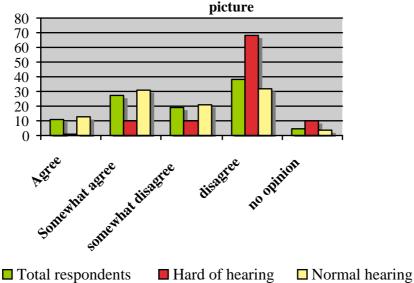
5.6. The respondents' attitude towards subtitles

The next section of questions asked the respondents to what degree they were positive or negative to 7 statements about subtitling. All statements were asked in an "I" form, to make the respondent answer the questions in correlation with their personal opinion, not what they thought would be the "politically correct answer".

5.6.1 "I think subtitles draws attention away from the picture"

The first question was set to find out if the respondents feel that subtitling is distracting in the visual image of a film. As we have seen it is a common opinion amongst people and especially cineasts that films should not be subtitled if it is not absolutely necessary. (see chapter on politics and attitudes towards subtitling). The results are presented in table 3.3.

Table 3.3 - I think subtitles draws attention away from the

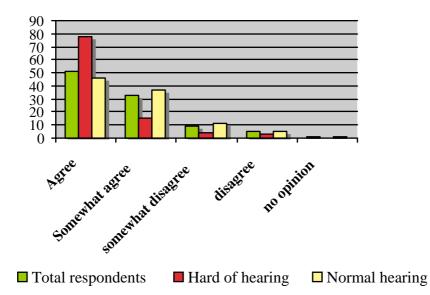


As we can read from table the normal hearing respondents are divided in this question. 12,3 percent agree with the statement, 31,1 somewhat agree. This means that a total of 43,4 percent of the normal hearing respondents do find the subtitles distracts the picture to some degree. This is probably one of the reasons why one in three (see table 3.1) are negative to subtitling of Norwegian films, they simply find the subtitles distracting. Still the majority of normal hearing respondents, 53 percent, somewhat or totally disagree with this statement. This brings up the question if subtitles are actually read, or if reading subtitles is an automated process.

5.6.2 "I read subtitles automatically"

It is important to note that in this question the respondents' answers is based solely on how they think they read or perceive subtitles. The respondents have not been given any theoretical background on the issue beforehand. The question was asked in order to find out whether or not people believe reading subtitles is, to them, an automated process. The results of the question are presented in table 3.4.

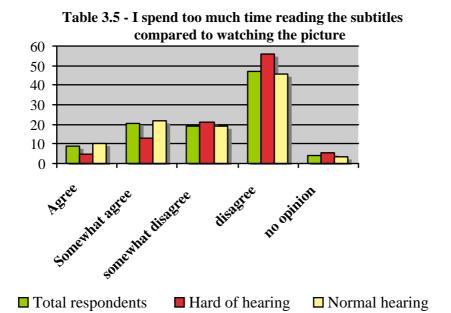
Table 3.4 - I read subtitles automatically



As we can see from the chart the vast majority of the respondents believe they read the subtitles automatically, and this number is higher among the hard of hearing than the normal hearing respondents. Only 16,2 percent of the normal hearing respondents somewhat or totally disagree with the statement that subtitles are read automatically. There might, however, be a margin of error in this question, based on how people interpret the word automatically. The definition for the word automatically is an action "done or occurring spontaneously, without conscious thought or intension". An email from an anonymous respondent made me aware of the possibility of interpreting the question as "I read the subtitles when they are present". Another wrote "I can't help it, if the subtitles are there – I read them". Whether or not this means that these respondents feel they spend too much time reading the subtitles compared to actually watching the picture might be revealed by the next question.

5.6.3 "Subtitles steal focus"

Since the respondents report that they feel the subtitles are distracting even though they read them automatically this led to the question on whether or not they felt they spent too much time reading the subtitles compared to watching the visual image. The results from this question are presented in table 3.5.



As we can see from this chart the majority of respondents, an average 47,3 percent, state that they totally disagree with this statement. At the other end of the scale 10 percent of the normal hearing respondents totally agree with the statement, and another 21,6 percent somewhat agree. This points towards another possible explanation for why one in three normal hearing people are negative to subtitling of Norwegian films, they think they spend too much time reading the subtitles, so they miss out on the visual experience of the film. This corresponds with statement 3.3 (table 3.5).

So far we have established that the reason why the respondents who were initially negative to subtitling in table 3.1 are so because they think of the subtitling functions as a disturbing element in the visual picture, and that they spend too much time reading the subtitles compared to watching the visual picture. However, the majority of respondents from both groups somewhat or totally disagree with these statements.

The next section of statements were, instead of initially "negative" as the previous questions, initially positive. The response to these questions aims to chart why people are positive to subtitling, even though they are not reliant on them for grasping the dialogue.

5.6.4 "I find it easier to follow the action when there are subtitles"

The first question in this section was aimed at charting how the hard of hearing compared to the normal hearing viewers make us of subtitles. The results from the question are presented in table 3.6.

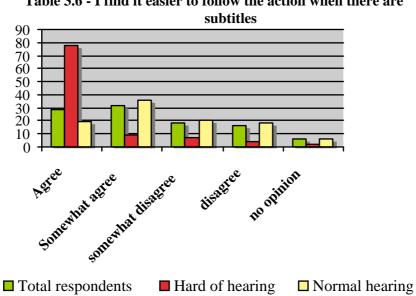


Table 3.6 - I find it easier to follow the action when there are

Naturally the vast majority of the hard of hearing audience agree to this statement, as they are more dependent on the subtitling than the normal hearing audience. The numbers are a great deal more even when it comes to the normal hearing respondents. 54,8 percent of the normal hearing respondents reply that they agree or somewhat agree to the fact that subtitling does make it easier for them to follow the action. 38,7 reply that they do not feel that they are helped by the subtitles. This probably means that this group of respondents are amongst those who can do with or without subtitles - if they are present they read them, if they are not they do not miss them. The fact that over half of the normal hearing respondents feel helped by the subtitles to some or to a large degree indicates that the statement in the introduction to subtitles is true, that Norwegians who are used to subtitles use them as a crutch for understanding⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ This fact was explained nicely by one of the normal hearing respondents, who emailed me saying, "Subtitling is great. After many years of watching subtitling I have become addicted to them. Because of the subtitling I can chew bacon crisps, rattle the bag and still take in 97% of the dialogue".

5.6.5 "I think Norwegian films shown at the cinema should have subtitles"

The next question was very direct and straightforward, as it asked the respondents to consider whether or not they think Norwegian films should be subtitled at the cinema. This question differs from table 3.1 as it does not ask the respondents whether or not they are positive towards subtitling, it asks whether or not the respondents think Norwegian films should actually be subtitled. The results are presented in table 3.7.

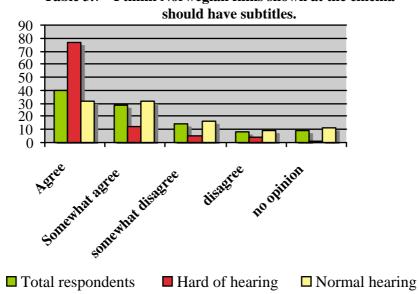


Table 3.7 - I think Norwegian films shown at the cinema

As we can see from the table the normal hearing group is still somewhat divided on this question. What is new however, is that the statement has gathered a group of people who are indifferent, who are neither pro nor con subtitling. This group adds up to 11,1 percent of the normal hearing respondents. What is also interesting is that 63,8 percent totally or somewhat agree that Norwegian films should be subtitled. This is in fact more than 6 in 10 normal hearing people. If we add the number of people who do not care one way or another, a total 74,9 percent of the hearing respondents think that we should subtitle Norwegian films. Only one in four normal hearing respondents disagreed with the statement to some or a large degree.

5.6.6 Subtitle because of dialects and background noise?

Section 4.5.1 mentioned the viewer storm that originated from both the hard of hearing and normal hearing audience in connection with a non-subtitled TV-series on TV2. This led to the question whether or not background noise and difficult dialects were specific reasons for the respondents to choose subtitling. The results are presented in table 3.8.

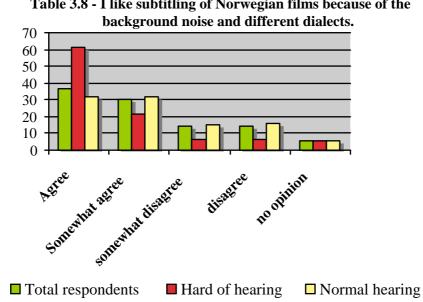


Table 3.8 - I like subtitling of Norwegian films because of the

A surprisingly large number of the respondents in the normal hearing group answer that they do appreciate subtitling because of background noise and difficult dialects. 63,3 percent, or approximately two in three normal hearing respondents, answer that they somewhat or fully agree with this statement. This supports the statement that it is not only the hard of hearing that benefit from subtitling. As director Harald Zwart put it in an interview with Dagbladet:

"Norwegians are used to watching subtitled films. We have an enormous amount of hard of hearing in Norway, and even more who do not understand the Fredrikstad dialect. Besides, you receive subsidy for subtitling Norwegian movies".

(Harald Zwart in an interview with Dagbladet 28.02.2008)

In addition to the one in three normal hearing who use subtitling as a crutch for

understanding, one can only assume that people who do not have sufficient knowledge and overview of Norwegian dialects will also benefit enormously from having subtitles present.

5.6.7 Exclusion of hard of hearing audience

The last statement in this section of the questionnaire was directly aimed at the hard of hearing respondents. The aim of the question was to find out whether or not subtitling is the determining factor for the hard of hearing audience not visiting the cinema to see Norwegian films. The results are presented in table 3.9.

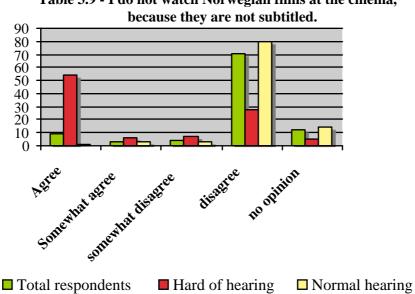


Table 3.9 - I do not watch Norwegian films at the cinema,

As we can read from the chart over 50 percent, or 53,8 to be exact, of the hard of hearing respondents totally agree with the statement that they do not watch Norwegian films at the cinema because they are not subtitled. Another 6,5 percent somewhat agree, which in this survey alone adds up to 111 people. If this statement is true for the hard of hearing population under 44 years of age as a whole (see chapter 3) 60,5 percent of the hard of hearing people do not visit the cinema to see Norwegian films because of the lack of subtitling. If we use the numbers of hard of hearing from the 2001 report, close to 63 000 people do not visit Norwegian films because of lack of subtitling. These are in fact excluded from this cultural experience.

6. Conclusion

This dissertation is unique in the sense that it is the first to ask Norwegian cinemagoers, both hearing and hard of hearing to answer to major questions: How can we subtitle in the best way possible for both a hearing and a hard of hearing audience, and what attitudes exist towards subtitling of Norwegian films at the cinema.

My research shows that the subtitle preferences between the two groups are necessarily different in the sense that the hard of hearing prefer audio in brackets to represent *specific sounds*, an alternative not preferred by the normal hearing audience. The fact that such a large number of hard of hearing prefer audio in brackets suggests that these could be used to a larger extent in closed subtitling, mainly targeted at a hard of hearing audience.

In situations where the subtitles are open, such as when subtitling of Norwegian films at the cinema, both the hard of hearing and normal hearing audience tend to favour using extensive punctuation to represent positive statements, and including exclamations like "eh", to colour the language and make them more representative for the dialogue.

When it comes to attitudes towards subtitling at the cinema the normal hearing respondents are divided into two categories; one in favour of and one against subtitling. The group not in favour of subtitling are so primarily for two reasons, they feel that the subtitling is distracting, and that they spend too much time reading the subtitling compared to watching the visual image. This group thinks that subtitling is intrusive, and would rather have Norwegian films "clean", the picture without subtitling. This group, previously thought to be the majority of the normal hearing, only consists of somewhere between 25 and 30 percent of the normal hearing respondents.

The rest of the respondents, the vast majority, are positive to subtitling of Norwegian films at the cinema. They are so primarily because they find subtitles makes it easier to grasp what is being said, to understand the dialogue through the background noise and to grasp the different dialects. This group does not feel that subtitles disturb the

visual picture. The group positive to subtitling consists of somewhere between 60 and 70 percent of the normal hearing respondents, depending on the wording in the questions asked (see table 3.1 and 3.7).

Dag Alveberget, a producent for Maipo Film-og TV-Produksjon stated in an interview with Aftenposten "I think it would be a shame to subtitle every single Norwegian movie for the sake of some hard of hearing people. We have to think about the rest of the audience, they are the largest part"⁶⁵. What Dag Alveberget and his peers are not aware of is the fact that the "rest of the audience", the largest part, actually prefer subtitling. The majority of normal hearing respondents to the questionnaire, cinema-goers who have a higher frequency of visits than the average population, state that they think Norwegian films at the cinema should be subtitled.

The only reason why Norwegian films at the cinema have not been subtitled has been the assumption that the normal hearing audience do not want subtitling. They do. The research in this thesis has established that the vast majority of the normal hearing audience do want subtitling, not for the sake of the hard of hearing, but because they benefit from the subtitling. This fact should make producers and filmmakers across the country want to subtitle, not only for the sake of the hard of hearing, but for the majority of the audience. They are the largest part.

⁶⁵ Ditlev Hansen, Lars. 2006. "Bare hver fjerde norske film tekstes".www.aftenposten.no/kul_und/film/article1239150.ece

[&]quot;Jeg synes det vil være trist å tekste alle norske filmer for noen hørselshemmedes skyld. Vi må også tenke på resten av publikumet, som er størstedelen, sier Alveberg." Aftenposten March 2006. My translation.

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FILM&KINO

Hørselshemmedes Landsforbund (HLF)

Norsk filmfond

Norsk Filminstitutt

Norske Filmbyråers Forening

Produsentforeningen

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8. Appendix

Appendix 1 - Questionnaire

Norsk Film

Publisert fra 06.02.2008 til 24.02.2008 1131 respondenter (1131 unike)

Sammenligning: (Hørende versus hørselshemmede)

3. Hvor gammel er du?

	Denne undersøkelsen		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 14 eller yngre	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	0
2 15-19	5,3 %	60	5,4 %	10	5,3 %	50
3 20-25	51,5 %	582	28,0 %	52	56,1 %	528
4 26-35	29,9 %	338	36,6 %	68	28,7 %	270
5 36 eller eldre	13,3 %	150	30,1 %	56	10,0 %	94
Total		1130		186		942

4. Er du

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearir	ng	Normal hearing	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 Mann	39,7 %	447	48,4 %	90	38,0 %	356
2 Kvinne	60,3 %	679	51,6 %	96	62,0 %	582
Total		1126		186		938

5. Hva er ditt morsmål?

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearir	ng	Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	i Prosent	Verdi
1 Norsk	94,8 %	1066	90,9 %	169	95,6 %	895
2 Annet skandinavisk språk	0,9 %	10	2,7 %	5	0,5 %	5
3 Annet	4,3 %	48	6,5 %	12	3,8 %	36
Total		1124		186		936

6. Er du

	Denne undersøkelsen		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 Elev	1,6 %	18	3,2 %	6	1,3 %	12
2 Student	60,7 %	685	30,1 %	56	66,8 %	628
3 Yrkesaktiv	33,2 %	374	52,2 %	97	29,4 %	276
4 Annet	4,5 %	51	14,5 %	27	2,6 %	24
Total		1128		186		940

8. Filmklippet du nettopp så, var tekstet. I hvor stor grad la du merke til tekstingen?

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearir	ng	Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 I stor grad	59,8 %	673	71,7 %	132	57,6 %	541
2 I noen grad	29,9 %	337	20,1 %	37	31,9 %	300
3 I liten grad	8,3 %	93	6,0 %	11	8,5 %	80
4 Ikke i det hele tatt	2,0 %	23	2,2 %	4	2,0 %	19
Total		1126		184		940

9. Ta stilling til følgende utsagn

Alt	ernativer	N
1	Teksting av filmklippet gjorde at jeg lettere fikk med meg hva som ble sagt	1115
2	Tekstingen av filmklippet virket forstyrrende	1104
3	Tekstingen av filmklippet reduserte opplevelsen av filmen	1095

9.1 Ta stilling til følgende utsagn - Teksting av filmklippet gjorde at jeg lettere fikk med meg hva som ble sagt

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearir	ng	Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verdi
1 Helt enig	45,5 %	507	76,6 %	141	39,3 %	365
2 Delvis enig	33,3 %	371	13,6 %	25	37,2 %	346
3 Ingen formening	9,6 %	107	6,5 %	12	10,1 %	94
4 Delvis uenig	7,6 %	85	2,7 %	5	8,6 %	80
5 Helt uenig	4,0 %	45	0,5 %	1	4,7 %	44
Total		1115		184		929

9.2 Ta stilling til følgende utsagn - Tekstingen av filmklippet virket forstyrrende

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearir	ng	Normal hearing	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 Helt enig	7,8 %	86	1,7 %	3	9,0 %	83
2 Delvis enig	27,2 %	300	11,9 %	21	30,1 %	278
3 Ingen formening	11,4 %	126	9,6 %	17	11,8 %	109
4 Delvis uenig	21,8 %	241	10,7 %	19	24,0 %	222
5 Helt uenig	31,8 %	351	66,1 %	117	25,2 %	233
Total		1104		177		925

9.3 Ta stilling til følgende utsagn - Tekstingen av filmklippet reduserte opplevelsen av filmen

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearin	ng	Normal hearing	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 Helt enig	6,9 %	76	2,3 %	4	7,9 %	72
2 Delvis enig	21,6 %	237	9,0 %	16	24,1 %	221
3 Ingen formening	14,2 %	156	9,6 %	17	15,1 %	138
4 Delvis uenig	19,6 %	215	9,0 %	16	21,7 %	199

5 Helt uenig	37,5 %	411	70,1 %	124	31,2 %	286
Total		1095		177		916

10. Filmklippet du nettopp så, hadde forskjellig typer teksting. I hvor stor grad la du merke til dette?

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearir	ng	Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi
1 I stor grad	10,9 %	119	16,8 %	30	9,7 %	89
2 I noen grad	22,8 %	250	23,5 %	42	22,7 %	208
3 I liten grad	22,4 %	245	21,8 %	39	22,4 %	205
4 Ikke i det hele tatt	44,0 %	482	38,0 %	68	45,1 %	413
Total		1096		179		915

11. I hvor stor grad la du merke til bruken av

Alt	ernativer	N
1	store bokstaver	1103
2	ekstra tegsetting	1098
3	informasjon for hørselshemmede	1110
4	direkte avskrift av tale ('jeg skakke ta det')	1111

11.1 I hvor stor grad la du merke til bruken av - store bokstaver

	Denne undersøkelsen H		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verdi
1 I stor grad	10,7 %	118	13,6 %	24	10,2 %	94
2 I noen grad	17,9 %	197	24,3 %	43	16,7 %	154
3 I liten grad	24,9 %	275	22,0 %	39	25,4 %	235
4 Ikke i det hele tatt	46,5 %	513	40,1 %	71	47,7 %	441
Total		1103		177		924

11.2 I hvor stor grad la du merke til bruken av - ekstra tegsetting

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearir	ng	Normal hearing	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 I stor grad	11,0 %	121	11,4 %	20	11,0 %	101
2 I noen grad	19,4 %	213	23,9 %	42	18,5 %	170
3 I liten grad	25,5 %	280	22,7 %	40	26,1 %	240
4 Ikke i det hele tatt	44,1 %	484	42,0 %	74	44,5 %	409
Total		1098		176		920

11.3 I hvor stor grad la du merke til bruken av - informasjon for hørselshemmede

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearin	ıg	Normal hearing	
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 I stor grad	42,0 %	466	40,2 %	72	42,4 %	394
2 I noen grad	19,6 %	218	23,5 %	42	18,9 %	176
3 I liten grad	14,0 %	155	17,3 %	31	13,2 %	123

4 Ikke i det hele tatt	24,4 %	271	19,0 %	34	25,4 %	236
Total		1110		179		929

11.4 I hvor stor grad la du merke til bruken av - direkte avskrift av tale ('jeg skakke ta det')

	Denne undersøkelsen H		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 I stor grad	42,6 %	473	54,0 %	95	40,5 %	378
2 I noen grad	26,6 %	295	20,5 %	36	27,5 %	257
3 I liten grad	14,3 %	159	11,4 %	20	14,9 %	139
4 Ikke i det hele tatt	16,6 %	184	14,2 %	25	17,0 %	159
Total		1111		176		933

12. Dersom du måtte sette undertekst til denne situasjonen, hvilken type ville du foretrukket?

		Denne unders	Denne undersøkelsen H		Hard of Hearing		g
Alt	ernativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1	Ikke vær redd da jenta mi	58,3 %	657	32,3 %	60	63,6 %	597
2	Ikke vær redd da jenta mi!	9,8 %	110	10,2 %	19	9,7 %	91
3	(torden) ikke vær redd da jenta mi	25,0 %	281	52,7 %	98	19,5 %	183
4	Ikke vær redd'a, jenta mi	6,9 %	78	4,8 %	9	7,2 %	68
То	tal		1126		186		939

13. Dersom du måtte sette undertekst til denne situasjonen, hvilken type ville du foretrukket?

	Denne undersøkelsen		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 (flasker klirrer) trenger du hjelp?	23,1 %	260	51,9 %	96	17,3 %	163
2 trenger du hjelp?	59,4 %	669	35,1 %	65	64,3 %	604
3 trenger du hjelp?	14,5 %	163	9,7 %	18	15,4 %	145
4 trenger 'u hjelp?	3,0 %	34	3,2 %	6	3,0 %	28
Total		1126		185		940

14. Dersom du måtte sette undertekst til denne situasjonen, hvilken type ville du foretrukket?

		Denne undersøkelsen H		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	
Alt	ernativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1	Ja, eh, det høres sikkert helt dust ut, men	36,9 %	415	42,2 %	78	35,7 %	336
2	Det høres sikkert helt dust ut.	13,4 %	151	4,9 %	9	15,1 %	142
3	(nøler) det høres sikkert helt dust ut, men	13,1 %	148	26,5 %	49	10,5 %	99
4	ja det høres sikkert helt dust ut, men	36,6 %	412	26,5 %	49	38,6 %	363
То	tal		1126		185		940

15. Dersom du måtte sette undertekst til denne situasjonen, hvilken type ville du foretrukket?

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearin	ng	Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verdi
1 ja, du skukke bare vært med da? Theh-	10,4 %	117	18,4 %	34	8,8 %	82

2 Du skulle ikke bare blitt med?	26,4 %	297	15,7 %	29	28,6 %	268
3 Ja - du skulle ikke bare vært med da?!	49,0 %	550	32,4 %	60	52,3 %	490
4 Ja, du skukke bare vært med? (ler nervøst)	14,2 %	159	33,5 %	62	10,4 %	97
Total		1123		185		937

16. Hvor mange ganger gikk du på kino i 2007?

	Denne undersøkelsen H		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verdi
1 Ingen	4,5 %	51	13,6 %	25	2,8 %	26
2 1-5 ganger	41,7 %	469	43,5 %	80	41,2 %	388
3 6-10 ganger	32,6 %	367	27,2 %	50	33,7 %	317
4 11-15 ganger	11,8 %	133	7,6 %	14	12,6 %	119
5 Mer en 15 ganger	9,4 %	106	8,2 %	15	9,7 %	91
Total		1126	3	184		941

17. Hvor mange norske filmer så du på kino i løpet av 2007?

	Denne undersøkelsen		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi
1 Ingen	48,5 %	547	72,4 %	134	43,7 %	412
2 1-2	37,7 %	425	22,7 %	42	40,7 %	383
3 3-4	11,8 %	133	3,8 %	7	13,4 %	126
4 5-6	1,5 %	17	0,5 %	1	1,7 %	16
5 7 eller mer	0,5 %	6	0,5 %	1	0,5 %	5
Total		1128		185		942

18. I hvilken grad er du positiv til teksting av norsk film?

	Denne unders	Denne undersøkelsen Ha		Hard of Hearing		g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 I stor grad	36,3 %	410	76,8 %	142	28,5 %	268
2 I noen grad	37,5 %	423	15,1 %	28	41,8 %	394
3 I liten grad	19,4 %	219	7,6 %	14	21,8 %	205
4 Ikke i det hele tatt	6,7 %	76	0,5 %	1	8,0 %	75
Total		1128		185		942

19. I hvilken grad gjør denne informasjonen deg mer positiv til teksting av norsk film på kino?

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearir	ng	Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 I stor grad	67,1 %	756	82,8 %	154	63,9 %	601
2 I noen grad	24,2 %	273	11,8 %	22	26,7 %	251
3 I liten grad	5,6 %	63	3,8 %	7	6,0 %	56
4 Ikke i det hele tatt	3,1 %	35	1,6 %	3	3,4 %	32
Total		1127		186		940

20. Ta stilling til følgende utsagn om å tekste norske filmer på kino

Alt	ernativer	N
1	Jeg synes teksting er forstyrrende for bildet	1125
2	Jeg leser tekstingen automatisk	1126
3	Jeg bruker for mye tid på å lese tekstingen i forhold til å se på bildet	1122
4	Jeg har lettere for å følge med i filmer hvis de er tekstet	1126
5	Jeg synes man skal tekste norske filmer på kino	1123
6	Jeg liker når norske filmer er tekstet pga dialekter og bakgrunnsstøy	1125
7	Jeg ser ikke norske filmer på kino, fordi de ikke er tekstet	1125

20.1 Ta stilling til følgende utsagn om å tekste norske filmer på kino - Jeg synes teksting er forstyrrende for bildet

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearir	ng	Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 helt enig	10,5 %	118	1,1 %	2	12,3 %	116
2 delvis enig	27,7 %	312	10,4 %	19	31,1 %	293
3 delvis uenig	19,2 %	216	9,8 %	18	21,0 %	198
4 helt uenig	37,9 %	426	68,3 %	125	32,0 %	301
5 ingen formening	4,7 %	53	10,4 %	19	3,5 %	33
Total		1125		183		941

20.2 Ta stilling til følgende utsagn om $\mbox{\sc a}$ tekste norske filmer p $\mbox{\sc a}$ kino - Jeg leser tekstingen automatisk

	Denne undersøkelsen Ha		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 helt enig	50,9 %	573	77,6 %	142	45,8 %	431
2 delvis enig	33,2 %	374	15,3 %	28	36,7 %	346
3 delvis uenig	9,7 %	109	3,8 %	7	10,8 %	102
4 helt uenig	5,0 %	56	2,7 %	5	5,4 %	51
5 ingen formening	1,2 %	14	0,5 %	1	1,3 %	12
Total		1126		183		942

20.3 Ta stilling til følgende utsagn om å tekste norske filmer på kino - Jeg bruker for mye tid på å lese tekstingen i forhold til å se på bildet

	Denne undersøkelsen H		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verdi
1 helt enig	9,2 %	103	4,9 %	g	10,0 %	94
2 delvis enig	20,2 %	227	13,1 %	24	21,6 %	203
3 delvis uenig	19,4 %	218	20,8 %	38	19,2 %	180
4 helt uenig	47,3 %	531	55,7 %	102	2 45,7 %	429
5 ingen formening	3,8 %	43	5,5 %	10	3,4 %	32
Total		1122		183	3	938

20.4 Ta stilling til følgende utsagn om $\mbox{$\mathring{a}$}$ tekste norske filmer p $\mbox{$\mathring{a}$}$ kino - Jeg har lettere for $\mbox{$\mathring{a}$}$ følge med i filmer hvis de er tekstet

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearir	ng	Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verdi
1 helt enig	28,9 %	325	77,7 %	143	19,3 %	182
2 delvis enig	31,2 %	351	9,2 %	17	35,5 %	334
3 delvis uenig	18,2 %	205	7,1 %	13	20,4 %	192
4 helt uenig	16,0 %	180	4,3 %	8	18,3 %	172
5 ingen formening	5,8 %	65	1,6 %	3	6,5 %	61
Total		1126		184		941

20.5 Ta stilling til følgende utsagn om å tekste norske filmer på kino - Jeg synes man skal tekste norske filmer på kino

	Denne undersøkelsen Ha		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verdi
1 helt enig	39,4 %	443	77,0 %	141	32,2 %	302
2 delvis enig	28,5 %	320	12,6 %	23	31,6 %	297
3 delvis uenig	14,3 %	161	5,5 %	10	16,1 %	151
4 helt uenig	8,2 %	92	3,8 %	7	9,1 %	85
5 ingen formening	9,5 %	107	1,1 %	2	11,1 %	104
Total		1123		183		939

20.6 Ta stilling til følgende utsagn om å tekste norske filmer på kino - Jeg liker når norske filmer er tekstet pga dialekter og bakgrunnsstøy

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearin	ng	Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 helt enig	36,5 %	411	61,4 %	113	31,7 %	298
2 delvis enig	29,9 %	336	21,2 %	39	31,6 %	297
3 delvis uenig	14,0 %	157	6,0 %	11	15,5 %	146
4 helt uenig	14,1 %	159	6,0 %	11	15,7 %	148
5 ingen formening	5,5 %	62	5,4 %	10	5,4 %	51
Total		1125		184		940

20.7 Ta stilling til følgende utsagn om å tekste norske filmer på kino - Jeg ser ikke norske filmer på kino, fordi de ikke er tekstet

	Denne unders	økelsen	Hard of Hearin	ıg	Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verdi
1 helt enig	9,5 %	107	53,8 %	99	0,9 %	8
2 delvis enig	3,3 %	37	6,5 %	12	2,7 %	25
3 delvis uenig	3,7 %	42	7,1 %	13	3,1 %	29
4 helt uenig	70,8 %	796	27,2 %	50	79,4 %	746
5 ingen formening	12,7 %	143	5,4 %	10	14,0 %	132
Total		1125		184		940

21. Hvor mange DVD-filmer vil du anslå at du så i 2007?

	Denne undersøkelsen Ha		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	i Prosent	Verdi
1 Ingen	0,5 %	6	2,2 %	4	0,2 %	2
2 1-5	4,9 %	55	7,1 %	13	4,5 %	42
3 6-10	11,4 %	129	13,6 %	25	11,0 %	104
4 11-15	12,9 %	145	10,9 %	20	13,3 %	125
5 mer enn 15	70,3 %	792	66,3 %	122	71,0 %	669
Total		1127		184		942

22. Hvor mange norske DVD-filmer vil du anslå at du så i 2007?

	Denne undersøkelsen Ha		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verdi
1 Ingen	7,2 %	81	16,3 %	30	5,4 %	51
2 1-5	65,1 %	733	54,9 %	101	67,1 %	631
3 6-10	20,7 %	233	19,6 %	36	20,9 %	197
4 11-15	4,1 %	46	3,3 %	6	4,3 %	40
5 mer enn 15	2,9 %	33	6,0 %	11	2,3 %	22
Total		1126		184		941

23. Dersom du ser DVD-filmer hjemme, hvilke alternativer bruker du norske undertekster på?

Alt	ernativer	N
1	Engelskspråklige filmer	1122
2	Ikke engelskspråklige filmer	1092
3	Norske filmer	1095

23.1 Dersom du ser DVD-filmer hjemme, hvilke alternativer bruker du norske undertekster på? - Engelskspråklige filmer

	Denne undersøkelsen		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 alltid	42,7 %	479	67,4 %	124	37,8 %	354
2 stort sett	36,4 %	408	19,6 %	36	39,7 %	372
3 sjelden	12,4 %	139	9,2 %	17	13,0 %	122
4 aldri	8,6 %	96	3,8 %	7	9,5 %	89
Total		1122		184		937

23.2 Dersom du ser DVD-filmer hjemme, hvilke alternativer bruker du norske undertekster på? - Ikke engelskspråklige filmer

	Denne unders	Denne undersøkelsen		Hard of Hearing		9
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 alltid	71,5 %	781	78,8 %	141	70,1 %	639
2 stort sett	17,9 %	196	10,6 %	19	19,4 %	177
3 sjelden	7,0 %	76	6,7 %	12	7,0 %	64
4 aldri	3,6 %	39	3,9 %	7	3,5 %	32
Total		1092		179		912

23.3 Dersom du ser DVD-filmer hjemme, hvilke alternativer bruker du norske undertekster på? - Norske filmer

	Denne undersøkelsen		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 alltid	17,2 %	188	59,3 %	108	8,8 %	80
2 stort sett	15,5 %	170	9,9 %	18	16,7 %	152
3 sjelden	30,2 %	331	22,0 %	40	31,8 %	290
4 aldri	37,1 %	406	8,8 %	16	42,8 %	390
Total		1095		182		912

24. Dersom du ser engelskspråklige filmer, bruker du

	Denne undersøkelsen		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearing	
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verd	i Prosent	Verdi
1 norsk tekst	71,3 %	805	76,9 %	143	70,3 %	662
2 engelsk tekst	18,9 %	213	12,9 %	24	20,0 %	188
3 engelsk for hørselshemmede	1,7 %	19	5,9 %	11	0,8 %	8
4 bruker ikke tekst	8,1 %	92	4,3 %	8	8,9 %	84
Total		1129		186		942

27. Hvordan vil du klassifisere din hørsel?

	Denne undersøkelsen		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 God hørsel	40,8 %	461	0,0 %	0	48,9 %	461
2 Normal hørsel	42,7 %	482	0,0 %	0	51,1 %	482
3 Mildt hørseltap	6,9 %	78	41,9 %	78	0,0 %	0
4 Betydelig hørseltap	9,6 %	108	58,1 %	108	0,0 %	0
Total		1129		186		943

28. I hvilken grad er du plaget av et hørseltap?

	Denne undersøkelsen		Hard of Hearing		Normal hearin	g
Alternativer	Prosent	Verd	Prosent	Verdi	Prosent	Verdi
1 I stor grad	4,0 %	45	21,5 %	40	0,5 %	5
2 I noen grad	10,8 %	122	49,5 %	92	3,2 %	30
3 I liten grad	24,6 %	277	17,7 %	33	25,9 %	244
4 Ikke i det hele tatt	60,6 %	684	11,3 %	21	70,4 %	662
Total		1128		186		941