

Chapter 9

Identity, hybridity and power discourse in AVT: Nollywood and the Nigerian film industry

Angela Zottola

1 Subtitling vs. dubbing: what is AVT?

For a long time translation has been seen as a mere aesthetic act, but recently translation studies have suggested the need for a much deeper understanding of the matter; the act of translation does not only include a language transfer, but a cultural, social and historical transposition (Bassnett, Trivedi, 1999), as well as an instrument to exercise power over the reader if well used. According to Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (1999), translation

is not an isolated act, it is part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer [...] it is a highly manipulative activity that involves all kinds of stages in that process of transfer across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Translation is not an innocent, transparent activity but it is highly charged with significance at every stage; it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems (Bassnett, Trivedi, 1999:2) .

In recent years, research in translation studies has been directed towards the theorization of translation as an act of creativity, due to the continuous encounter/clash with other cultures, with the constant attempts to include and exclude new elements and the endless practice of assimilation or conservation of the differences (Russo, 2012:10).

As underlined by M. Teresa Caneda Cabrera (2008), translation is unstable; it reproduces the original text but at the same time it shows the inconsistency of the text itself, that always loses or gains something in translation, becoming “a site of conflict which defers an end or a definitive interpretation” (Caneda Cabrera, 2008:57).

“Translation studies have indeed recognized that in every act of translation the source text is inevitably transformed” (Balirano, 2008:88). The main instruments used to perpetuate this kind of transformation, in these productions, are a series of linguistic strategies such as code-switching, code-mixing, and alternative forms of semantic collocations (Balirano, 2008).

Audio-visual products have become, over the years, an important medium for the representation of personal and national identity, being also a mean to carry ideological, political and cultural messages and at the same time both an effective and disguised environment where specific power structures can be displayed (Fairclough, 1989).

Due to the increasing usage of this medium, a new field of study has developed, known as audiovisual translation which is a “dynamic view of translation [that] forces us to consider the multi-semiotic dimension of multinational communication and [...] take into consideration the various parameters and constraints which determine the (multi)media productions” (Gambier, Gottlieb, 2001:xix).

As suggested by Patrick Zabalbeascoa (2008) audiovisual text can be described as a communicative act involving sounds and images, in other words a well-balanced blending of verbal, nonverbal, audio, and visual elements. Any text transmitted by means of cinema, theater, TV, and on any other type of screen can be considered an audiovisual text (Zabalbeascoa, 2008:21). Audiovisual translation becomes necessary, in order to make this content available to a wider audience.

Even though this area of interest has existed as a professional practice for many years and, since the 1990s, it has reached a well-deserved visibility (Diaz Cintas, 2008a:1), as underlined by Gambier (2008) it can still be defined as “work in progress” research due to the fact that there are still doubts concerning the labeling of the domain. In this regard, some of the suggestions put forward are: film translation, language transfer, audiovisual versioning, screen translation, media translation. Undeniably though, as stated by Gambier, this field is lately coming forth as a successful academic specialty affecting not only teaching but research as well (Gambier, 2008). This field has grown considerably and the different forms of audiovisual

translation have multiplied, along with the most common such as subtitling and dubbing we now also have voice-over, narration, interpreting, surtitling (subtitles for Opera) (Diaz Cintas, 2008b).

Each of these products needs to be translated according to the requirements of the target culture receiver, and for each product a specific translating method has to be employed, as underlined by Heiss:

Ogni prodotto multimediale comporta una o più forme di traduzione. Nel caso dei film e dei telefilm si privilegia, a seconda del paese di destinazione, o la soluzione del doppiaggio o quella dei sottotitoli. Per le proiezioni nei festival, ma anche in certi cinema, ci si serve spesso della traduzione simultanea, mentre per i documentari si usa frequentemente la voice over (Heiss, 1996:15)¹.

Generally speaking two main approaches to the translation of spoken language in audiovisual products can be identified: the first one aims at preserving the spoken dialogue, the other at transforming it into written text.

In the first case the original interpretation is replaced by a completely new soundtrack in the target language in a process known as re-voicing. The replacement can be of different types. Total replacement occurs when the viewer does not hear the original soundtrack, lip synchronization, dubbing and narration are mainly used in the translation of films, TV series and sitcoms. In other cases the replacement can be partial, in a way that allows the original soundtrack to still be heard in the background, as occurs with voice-over or interpreting, for example in documentaries, interviews and cultural programs.

When the translator decides to switch the soundtrack from spoken to written, the technique is known as subtitling, which mainly consists in adding text to the screen. This technique has recently be-

¹ Each multimedia product can be translated in more than one way. In the cases of film and TV series, depending on the country where the product is directed, dubbing or subtitling is privileged. For festival showings, but also in certain cinemas, simultaneous translation is used, while voice over is preferred in documentaries. (Personal translation).

come the most widely used when translating media products (Diaz Cintas, Andermann, 2009).

Following the process of the audiovisual translation step by step, Aline Remael suggests that a comparison between the script and the original soundtrack should be carried out primarily: during production it could happen that scenes may have been shifted or deleted, the character's names, toponyms and other cultural references may be wrongly spelt and above all a general overview must be given to the text before starting to work on the translation, to make sure everything is clear (Remael, 2008:59).

In the long run, we can agree with Maria Pavesi, when she says that the audiovisual text is a very complex construction where different channels and different codes interact simultaneously producing something that the audience can only perceive and understand if looked at as a whole (Pavesi, 2006).

More specifically, the use of subtitling became widespread around the 1930s; initially meant as short texts inserted directly into the film, its use increased in the 1980s, thanks to the advances in computer technology advances specific subtitling programs. It is possible to date the birth of this technique to the first mute films, where to compensate the mutism directors started to insert intertitles (which were sometimes read by an outside voice); indeed, intertitles can be considered the ancestors of subtitles (Diaz Cintas, 2008a). As underlined by Jan Ivarsson and Mary Carroll (1998), subtitling basically is working with a script or a dialogue list, provided to the subtitler in the source language, who then translates the latter into his own language, observing a specific number of rules (Ivarsson, Carroll, 1998).

One downside of subtitles, emerges from Irena Kovacic's research (1996). She notes that subtitles, as a written medium, cannot claim to represent all aspects of the original dialogue, simply because it would be impossible to capture in written form all the communicative features of the non-verbal components of speech. While when dealing with speech, the translation must only be consistent with the picture, in translating the subtitles, the adapter must be consistent both with the picture (scene, events and non-linguistic communication) and the non-verbal communication (tone of voice, emphasis, etc) (Kovacic, 1996:297). Specific rules must be followed to produce successful subtitles. The main features to take into consideration are:

space, time and presentation. As far as space is concerned, two lines of text are usually the norm². The number of characters per line depends on a number of factors: generally an ideal subtitle consists in a single sentence, with no room for any extra explanation allowed. When considering the time aspect, the translator must keep in mind that the length of the subtitle is directly related to its on-air time, the text should always be in balance with the appropriate reading time setting. According to Fotios Karamitroglou (2000), the optimum time for a subtitle to remain on the screen is about 3.5 seconds, in and out timing of the subtitle must be very accurate. The last feature deals with the way the subtitle is presented on the screen, words can take up to 20% of screen space. The size of the character and the position on the screen, as well as the technology used for projection are of fundamental importance. The subtitles can be placed on the screen in various ways, they can be centered or can appear at the left margin of the screen, usually at the bottom of the screen, unless something important is being shown in that part of the screen, in which case subtitles can be put on the top of the screen. An additional aspect that should be taken into consideration by the translator is the timing between the action on the screen and the translation of the dialogue. Specific rules have been determined to calculate perfectly these two factors: when the visual dimension is crucial for the comprehension of the scene, subtitlers should only offer the most basic linguistic information, on the contrary when important information is in the soundtrack and not in the image the subtitler should produce the fullest subtitle possible, moreover the way the subtitle is presented can enhance the readability (Diaz Cintas, Andermann, 2009).

When subtitling TV programs and films, subtitlers might come across what is known as “*Translation Crisis Points*”, such as puns, songs or slang, in these cases the translator must inevitably decide on how to render the item in a way that makes it accessible to the viewers; giving priority to those aspects of the translation s/he considers of most relevance: information content, stylistic, humor, etc. (Pedersen, 2008:102).

² According to Ivarsson and Carroll (1998) there can be at most two lines per frame with a maximum of 35 - 40 characters per line.

Gottlieb elaborated in 1992 a set of ten strategies to facilitate the work of the subtitler. **Expansion**, used when additional elements are added to the text for the purpose of comprehension; **paraphrase**, the original text is modified and adapted in order to make it possible for the target audience to understand the line; **transfer**, consists of a word by word translation according to the original text's syntactic structure; **imitation**, the subtitler chooses to leave parts of the original text untranslated; **transcription**, a creative strategy used to translate expressions which have a sociolinguistic relevance for example sayings or proverbs; **dislocation**, a specific expression in the source text is translated with a different expression in the target text; **deletion**, consists in cutting the source text from the point of view of meaning and style, generally done when the explanation of that specific concept would take too long and the synchronization would be at risk; **condensation**, the message is conveyed in a summarized way; **decimation**, total omission of elements from the source text, for example entire irrelevant sentences or turns in talking, this strategy could however generate inconsistencies with the images; and **resignation**, the original meaning is not taken into consideration when subtitling, generally the case of untranslatable elements (Perego, 2005).

The amount of subtitling required in the field of AVT is progressively increasing in volume. Countries where dubbing has traditionally been used for both cinema and VHS releases as well as television broadcasting are now also requiring a subtitled version for distribution of all digital products (Diaz Cintas, Andemann, 2009).

The other widely diffused audiovisual translation technique is dubbing. This technique consists of a multiple step as well as a team work process. The first step is assigned to the translator who produces a word-for-word translation of the script, this work then passes onto the adapter which makes sure that the source text and its translation have the exact same length and all the utterances start and end simultaneously with the original dialogue, focusing on phonetic, semantic and dramatic synchronization (Luyken, 1991). Synchronization is one of the most important aspects in dubbing, since there should be a perfect correspondence between the acoustic structure and the gestures connected to the oral production that conveys the message being transmitted (Pavesi, 2006). Once all these aspects are

fixed, the dialogue is ready to be recorded while being performed by professional actors (Luyken, 1991).

Notably, Italian dubbing tends to grant more importance to a communicative translation rather than a word-for-word translation, in other words translators tend to prefer to recreate the effect of the line rather than give literal translation of it (Pavesi, 2006).

Less emphasis is given to an additional techniques for film translation known as voice-over. This method, quite simple and cheap, consists in creating a new, translated, soundtrack which is played over the original one (Luyken, 1991).

When translating an audiovisual text translators may come across Extralinguistic Cultural References (ECR) which can become great obstacles for the translation. As Pedersen (2008) underlines, the translator is actively involved in an effort to create a bridge between two cultures, helping the target text audience make sense of the message being conveyed in that text. An ECR is a reference reproduced by means of any cultural-bound linguistic expression, referring to an

extralinguistic entity or process, and which is assumed to have a discourse referent that is identifiable to a relevant audience, as this referent is within the encyclopedic knowledge of this audience. In other words, ECRs are expressions that refer to entities outside language, such as names of people, places, institutions, food and customs, which a person may not know, even if s/he knows the language in question (Pedersen, 2008:102).

Different translation strategies have been elaborated by scholars across the years to face and overcome this problem in translation: *Minimum Change* and *Interventional Strategy* are two of them. The former is used when the translator chooses to leave the ECR as it is. There are two different approaches for this strategy: sometimes there can be an **Official Equivalent** in the target language, in this case the best thing to do is use the equivalent, in other cases the technique used is **Retention**, this happens when the ECR is left unchanged or slightly adapted to meet the target language requirements.

In the techniques described above the contribution of the translator is limited, whereas in the case of *Interventional strategy* the subtitler intervenes to help the target text audience understand the cultural reference. This technique can be carried out through the use of two different approaches: **Specification** and **Generalization**, in the first case some information is added to the line by completing a name or an acronym or by adding more semantic content; in the latter the subtitle is made less specific through the use of a hypernym, a holonym or a paraphrase.

Other techniques are **direct translation**, in this case no semantic alteration is made, the only aspect that is modified is the language in which the line is performed, this is the case of proper nouns which are rarely translated; **substitution**, when this technique is used the source text ECR is replaced by another ECR either from the source culture, or the target culture, or with something totally different that fits the situation. As successfully shown by Toury (1995), **omission** can also be considered a legitimate translation strategy. (Pedersen, 2008:103)

Although differently named, these same strategies are acknowledged by many scholars, and as Zoe Pettit (2009) stresses, more than one strategy can occur concurrently (Pettit, 2009:46).

In addition to ECRs, other problems can challenge the translator, such as grammar and word order. **Reduction** is the most commonly employed strategy in subtitling when such problems arise. In order to decide what can be reduced Kovacic (1996) divides the elements of the discourse into 3 groups: 1) indispensable elements (plot-carrying elements), 2) partly dispensable elements (elements that can be condensed), 3) dispensable elements (elements that can be completely omitted like repetitions, names in appellative constructions, words such as 'yes', 'no', 'ah', 'wow', expressions like 'of course', 'you know', 'naturally', and numerous other connectors) (Kovacic, 1996).

After having deeply investigated audiovisual translation in the light of the many cross-cultural difficulties in translation mentioned, and considering that cinema as well as other audiovisual products, is a powerful mean of communication useful to entertain, teach and, above all, to persuade (Ekwuazi/Nasidi, 1992), my focus now switches to the following question: in a production that can be de-

defined as both post-colonial and diasporic, like many or possibly most of the audiovisual products distributed nowadays, is it possible to identify a new kind of AVT, a technique that could be known as post-colonial AVT?

Many scholars, among whom Katherine Russo (2012), seem to agree that post-colonial translation constitutes «a reordering of the social, ethical and political world of the colonized». Post-colonial translation does not only move across languages, but it builds up through the representation of hybridity, alterity and the fight for decolonization (Russo, 2012:38).

Translation, therefore, becomes an act of political and cultural transformation as well as the exertion of power conducted through creativity. It is therefore a powerful instrument through which real acts of identity can be portrayed. This representation is carried out by specific discursive practices and linguistic devices, and for this reason, as pointed out by Giuseppe Balirano (2008): “cultural products of diasporic creativity, by recrafting a sense of community and cultural identity, seem to demand new kinds of linguistic and semiotic analyses which imply an unambiguous model of postcolonial linguistics” (Balirano, 2008:88).

Films become a helpful medium for the spread of the post-colonial discourse. This discourse appeals to the imagination of the colonized/decolonized viewers, as it is able to mirror the world in which they live, the spirit of their culture, the cry for recognition of alterity and subjectivity as positive traits, therefore, the foundational aspects of translation discussed above, must necessarily be transferred to audiovisual translation as well.

Compared to traditional AVT, the translator working in post-colonial contexts has to face even harder challenges, Panayota Georgakopoulou stresses for example the “characteristics of spontaneous speech, such as slips of tongue, pauses, false starts, unfinished sentences, ungrammatical constructions, etc., are difficult to reproduce in writing”, as well as dialects, cultural bound references and idiomatic expressions, that not only need translation from one language to another but also from one culture to another (Georgakopoulou, 2009:26). Keeping all this in mind, as underlined in the study conducted by Giovanna Santanera and Paul Ugor (2012), the mass circulation of different people in different countries and massive spread of

new images and imageries together with new forms of media technologies has led to the

indigenization of global culture. Different cultural entities now mobilize, appropriate, and adopt/adapt global media resources for local ends and aspirations, thus creating a powerful hinge between politics and poetics. In other words, global postmodern encounters via the field of mass media mediation have not only led to cultural transformation; these changes have also activated 'new media cultures' (Santanera/ Ugor, 2012:335).

Filmmaking, or Third World Cinema becomes a way of translating the struggle which migrants undergo affecting not only language issues but of power and meaning as well (Ponzanesi/Waller, 2012).

2 Translating Nollywood. *The Figurine: Araromire*, a case study

Postcolonial cinema is today a wide spread phenomenon. The case that will be taken into consideration in this analysis is that of Nigeria, and of its cinematic industry known as Nollywood.

Since the independence of Nigeria, many Nigerians have left the homeland and traveled abroad to study, seek asylum or find what they believed were greener pastures. This phenomenon of migration has led to the formation of a great transnational community (Ugochukwo, 2011).

Nigerian filmmakers have managed to create a product that satisfies the needs and desires of their audience and at the same time avoids the problems of a national reality in which resources are scarce and filmmaking training practically non-existent (Hoffman, 2012:218).

“According to a UNESCO Institute of Statistics' survey, released in April 2009, the Nigerian video industry has become the second largest film industry in the world, overtaking Hollywood's position but remaining behind the Indian film industry, Bollywood” (Jedlowski, 2010: 1).

The industry is nowadays very fragmented, as it develops along three patterns, as three are the main cultural groups that inhabit

Nigeria: Igbo (which is also the main group interested in producing videos translated into English language), Yoruba and Hausa.³

The first time a Nollywood film was broadcast on National TV was in 1998 by a private new television channel called AIT. Soon after that, many local channels started screening Nollywood films.

The phenomenon of Nollywood in Italy, for example, has become, very consistent and also of major importance for Nigerian immigrants, as Santanera shows through her research:

Watching Nigeria through Nollywood in Turin encourages reflections and comparison of the home culture with the host culture rather than a nostalgic idealization of the native country. In light of the comparison with the Italian customs, the immigrants ponder the values and habits of their own tradition that they would like to keep in the new juncture. (Santanera, 2013).

The unique distribution strategies in Nigeria, such as home video and pirated videos have guaranteed the circulation of Nigerian production beyond the borders of Nigeria since the mid-nineties, granting the industry an early transnational dimension and ensuring recognition to it even outside Africa and in the global cinema arena (Jedlowski, 2013).

Young Nigerian adults consider Nigerian films as a means that can provide them with a fairly accurate account of the state of things in Nigeria, as emerged in a survey conducted in Britain by Ugochukwu in 2011, which defines the Nollywood production as to be mirroring “real Nigeria”.

The production taken into consideration for the case study presented in this work is the award-winning hit *The Figurine: Araromire*, released in Lagos, in 2009, directed and produced by Kunle

³ Since the boundaries of the former Nigeria were drawn by the Colonial power to serve commercial interests, the result is that now about three hundred ethnic groups form the population of Nigeria. Among these only three groups have attained “ethnic majority” status in their respective regions: the Hausa-Fulani (which will be referred in the text as Hausa) in the north, the Igbo in the southeast, and the Yoruba in the southwest. These three groups include only the fifty-seven percent of the population (Rakov, 1990).

Afolayan. The film is classified as a thriller but it is characterized by a strong spiritual/religious theme and by a bit of romance (Wolabi, 2012). It opens with a very traditional setting dating 1908: a village, a priest singing some traditional songs while the folktale about the goddess Araromire is being told. The legend narrates that the goddess Araromire⁴ bestows seven years of good fortune to anyone who touches her statue, but soon after follow seven year of bad luck and destruction. The setting then changes to present day life in Lagos and the plot develops narrating the life of the three protagonists: Femi, Sola and Mona.

This film suits not only the Nigerian taste but that of film lovers across the world as testified by the winning of five awards at the African Movie Academy Awards, including Best Picture and Best Actor for one of its main actors. The film has also participated in international festivals of post-colonial cinema like the London African Film Festival, the New York African Film Festival, the Tokyo African Film Festival and the Rotterdam International Film Festival.

My research analyzes a corpus extracted from the dialogue of the film. The text is characterized by parts in English and parts in Yoruba language and an example of Urhobo language as well.

The main intention of this analysis is to show examples of the techniques used for the translation of such a multicultural text, where the difficulties were not only observed at a language level, but also at a cultural one, and to underline the linguistic strategies through which an act of appropriation was carried out toward the English language.

The analysis will be divided into three parts. The first part will focus on the sociolinguistic choices made by the director while writing the script, using it as an example of multiculturalism and as the director himself states in an interview, creating a depiction not only of Nigeria but of Africa and its unique multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural character. The second part of the analysis focuses on the numerous Extralinguistic Cultural References (ECR) used to represent the multiculturalism of the text, their occurrences in text and the use of Pedersen's (2008) strategies for the translation. The last

⁴ Both the legend and the village of Araromire are fictional.

part of the study focuses on the subtitles and the use of Gottlieb's (1992, 2009) strategies.

The following grid represents all the symbols used for the analysis, each acronym stands for a chosen strategy.

Legend	
Sit. Cs.	Situational code-switching
Met. Cs.	Metaphorical Code-switching
S Cs.	Single Code-switching
Cm Alt	Code-mixing: Alteration
Cm Ins	Code-mixing: Insertion
Cm CL	Code-mixing: Congruent lexicalization
LC	Language crossing
LT	Loan Translation
Dig	Diglossia
DT	Direct Translation
Sub	Substitution
R	Retention
Spe	Specification
O	Omission
G	Generalization
Para	Paraphrase
I	Imitation
T	Transfer
D	Decimation
Con	Condensation
E	Expansion
Dis	Dislocation
Tra	Transcription

Table 9.1- Legend

The tables in the following paragraphs show an English and an Italian⁵ version of subtitles. The parts that are not underlined correspond to the transcription of the English dialogues, while the lines underlined are, in the original version of the film, in Yoruba and its translation was retrieved from a subtitled version of the film. It was a decision of the director, in fact, to make a translated version of the Yo-

⁵ The translation is provided by the author.

ruba dialogues available, in order to render the meaning available to a wider audience, transforming the speech acts into simple representations of reality and not a real act of identity.

Linguistic appropriation strategies

Multilingualism is, so far, the most relevant consequence of language contact⁶ which produces sociolinguistic variations (Bleichenbacher, 2008). Language choice is a key concept in a text such as a film script. Starting from the title of the film *The Figurine: Araromire* the first cultural bound reference is found, the name Araromire, which in the film represents a village, and a goddess, but is actually a fictional name used to recall the folklore of Nigeria.

One of the sociolinguistic strategies most present in the text is code-switching: when speakers change from one language to another within the same conversation or utterance. The switch from one language to another could be mechanical or unconscious, used to obviate to the lack of a specific word or could be used for stylistic or for identity claiming matters. It is generally divided in tag-switching: when elements like idioms or intensifiers of language B are included in a sentence in language A; intrasentential code-switching, affects the whole statement; and word switching, in this case the shift occurs in between the word itself (Diadori, 2003). For this analysis, the study conducted by Jan Peter Blom and John Gumpez (1966) will be taken into consideration, the two academics claim that there are two different variants of code-switching: situational and metaphorical.

Situational code-switching, as shown in the examples below, occurs when the shift from language A to language B “reflects a change in the communicative situation, such as a new speaker arriving, a new surrounding, or a change in topic” (Bleichenbacher, 2008). Some examples are shown in the table below:

	English subtitle	Italian subtitle	Analysis
Ex.	Femi: I'll be leaving for the	Femi: Presto partirò per il	Sit. Cs.

⁶ “Language contact occurs when speakers of other languages interact” (Bleichenbacher, 2008:8).

1	<u>National Youth Service Camp soon. I pray I'm granted a job after that.</u> Lara: <u>Where have you been posted?</u> Femi: Araromire	Servizio Civile Giovanile Nazionale. Spero che mi sia concesso un lavoro dopo. Lara: Dove sei stato assegnato? Femi: Araromire.	D T Dig
Ex. 2	Soldier: <u>Is that not your girlfriend down there? Well your problem.</u>	Soldato: Ma quella non è la tua ragazza laggiù? Problemi tuoi.	Sit. Cs. Dig
Ex. 3	Sola: Hey Lara, how are you? Lara: I'm fine. Sola: <u>Did you give Femi the invite?</u> Lara: <u>Yes, he'll soon be here.</u> Sola: Ok, alright!	Sola: Ciao Lara, come stai? Lara: Sto bene. Sola: Hai dato l'invito a Femi? Lara: Sì, sarà qui a breve. Sola: Ok va bene!	Sit. Cs. Cm Alt
Ex. 4	Sola: <u>Oh, let's go and discuss, leave the women alone.</u> Mona: Don't be long I have someone to introduce to you. Okay?	Sola: Andiamo di là così parliamo un po', lascia stare le donne! Mona: Non metteteci troppo, devo presentarti una persona, ok?	Sit. Cs. Dig
Ex. 5	Lara: <u>Welcome my brother.</u> Femi: <u>How are you?</u> Lara: <u>I'm fine.</u> Femi: <u>You should be home working on your thesis.</u> Lara: <u>I cannot, I'll be a workaholic.</u>	Lara: Ben arrivato fratello. Femi: Come stai? Lara: Bene. Femi: Dovresti essere a casa a lavorare alla tesi. Lara: Non posso, sto diventando una stacanovista.	Sit. Cs. Sub
Ex. 6	Priest: <u>Truly, there are evil forces in this house. It's so obvious. We have a lot to do we cannot afford to rest. The devil is here we need to overcome his power.</u>	Sacerdote: È vero, ci sono delle forze diaboliche in questa casa. È ovvio. Abbiamo molte cose da fare non possiamo fermarci. Il diavolo è qui e dobbiamo sconfiggere il suo potere.	Sit. Cs. Dig

Table 9.2 - Situational Code-switching

As shown in [1 and 5] the speakers switch from English to Yoruba. In these cases the scene is carried out in the indigenous language,

used by the characters as a sort of household code: all instances are conversations between Femi's family members. The switch also indicates a change in the communicative situation: in fact, we can observe that whenever Femi's father intervenes in the conversation between Linda and Femi, he speaks Yoruba even if Linda answers in English. Yoruba is used as a domestic language also in the conversations between Femi and Sola, which occurs in Yoruba most of the times as in [4]. The use of Yoruba as a domestic language appears as a real act of identity, in which the director, as creator of the story, is positioning himself as representative of his indigenous roots, whereas the characters give to the Yoruba language a sort of higher status using it in personal contexts. Another switch in communicative situations is displayed in [2] and in [6]. In the first case, the speaker is a soldier of the National Youth Camp. The choice of the language spoken by this character reveals another important aspect of Nigerian culture, that is nationalism; once again code-switching is used to tie a bond, in this case between the audience of the film and the nation. In the second case, the speaker is a priest, a figure strictly related to the Nigerian folklore, the language use could not be other than indigenous, once again folklore becomes a fundamental part of the film, underlining the fact that Nigeria is a country that lays its foundation on traditions that are still strongly alive despite globalization and the 20th century.

On the other hand, metaphorical code-switching, as will be shown in the examples below, takes place when speakers switch to another language to add a special meaning, for example to make a statement sound more authoritative (Bleichenbacher, 2008).

These speech acts occur when an action is performed. According to the Speech Act Theory, elaborated by Austin (1962) a speech act is "the action performed in saying something" (Cutting, 2008:13). Speech acts can be divided in five macro-classes: **declarations** are words and expressions that change something in the context when uttered, like the matrimonial formula that turns two singles into a married couple; **representatives** are speech acts through which a speaker states what he believes is the case (describing, claiming, predicting); in **commissive** speech acts, the words uttered commit the speaker to future actions (promising, offering, threatening); **directive** speech acts aim at making the recipient of the message do something (com-

manding, requesting, forbidding); **expressive**, include those utterances where the speaker expresses his/her feelings (Cutting, 2008). It seems, in the case of this analysis, that particular speech acts are carried out through a code-switch into Yoruba.

	English subtitles	Italian subtitles	Analysis
Ex. 7	Mr. Fidelis: What did you say? Sola: I said rubbish! <u>Oh it's because it is compulsory to have done the National Youth Service Camp that is why you are rejecting me!</u> Mr. Fidelis: Out! Get out of my office now!	Sig. Fidelis: Cosa ha detto? Sola: Ho detto sciocchezze! Quindi è perché non fatto il servizio di leva, è per questo che mi sta rifiutando? Sig. Fidelis: Fuori! Fuori dal mio ufficio ora!	Met. Cs. Sub Para
Ex. 8	Officer: For the next three weeks I'll be teaching you that to serve your father land is the best and only thing. <u>Understand.</u> Left, left, left right, left right, left right, raise your legs, raise your legs, raise your legs!	Ufficiale: Per le prossime tre settimane vi insegnerò che servire la vostra madrepatria è l'unica e la migliore cosa da fare. Ci siamo capiti! Sinistra, sinistra, sinistra destra, sinistra destra, su quelle gambe, su quelle gambe, su quelle gambe!	Met. Cs. Cm Ins Dig
Ex. 9	Mona: Is that how a Nigerian man shows respect? Junior: E karu (Yoruba language).	Mona: È così che un bravo ometto nigeriano dimostra rispetto per i suoi genitori? Junior: E karu (Lingua Yoruba).	Met. Cs. LC I
Ex. 10	Femi: Just calm down. Take it easy. <u>Do you hear me.</u>	Femi: Calmati. Stai calma. Ci siamo capiti.	Met. Cs.

Table 9.3 - Metaphorical Code-switching

As can be observed in [7], Sola switches to Yoruba after being rejected at a job interview, he wants to express anger and most of all wants to intimidate Mr. Fidelis hoping to make him change his mind. He seems more confident speaking in his indigenous language while asking for an explanation, instead of using English. Another example of intimidation through a code-switch is [8], in this case it is the ser-

geant at the Youth Camp speaking, actually giving orders, trying to sound as authoritative as possible. Femi also expresses authority in [10], he is threatening Lara into doing something against her will, and the use of Yoruba gives the utterance an imposing tone. In all the examples above, Yoruba is used to perform commissives and directives speech acts. According to Cutting (2008), the way a speech act is realized, and its relation to the social dimensions are strongly related to the cultural dimension (Cutting, 2008). What emerges from my analysis is that in the culture represented in this film, the “ways of expressing speech act” is by using Yoruba.

As for [9], this example is strongly related to a cultural instance. The director seems to aim at giving a general depiction of the Nigerian culture and he does so through the words of a child, underlining how important it is to teach, from a young age, the roots and the traditions.

Another type of code-switching examined in the text is single code-switching. Although the shift occurs only once in the text, it has a strong cultural significance.

	English subtitles	Italian subtitles	Analysis
Ex. 11	Junior: <i>Udaru! Goodnight!</i>	Junior: Udaru! (Buonanotte!)	S Cs. R I
Ex. 12	Mona: After you say it in mommy’s language Junior: Mi guno (Urhobo language)	Mona: Ora dillo nella lingua della mamma. Junior: Mi guno (Lingua Urhobo).	S Cs. I LC
Ex. 13	Linda: <u>Please, it’s not that!</u> I watched him he only had interest for that girl in your house, the one with the short dress.	Linda: Non è per quello! L’ho osservato, aveva occhi solo per quella ragazza che sta a casa tua, quella col vestitino corto.	S Cs.
Ex. 14	Mona: <u>Please throw this away.</u>	Mona: Per favore buttala.	S Cs.

Table 9.4 - Single Code-switching

My analysis presents four cases of single code-switching, as shown in the table above. In example [11 and 12] the speaker is Junior, the seven years old son of Sola and Mona. In the first case he speaks Yoruba, and it represents the first instance in the film of the child speaking an indigenous language. The result appears as a very strong claim

for identity, that aims at underlining the importance of acknowledging indigenous roots from childhood. An even stronger act of identity is the second example, where Junior speaks Urhobo, in the first and only case in the script where an indigenous language different from Yoruba occurs. The two utterances are peculiar for the film and above all they represent a politically correct choice on the part of the director, who is able to attach a double value to this choice. On the one hand, due to the varieties of cultures that coexist in Nigeria, by using two different dialects he hints at a multiethnic social identity, while on the other hand he reestablishes a sort of balance between male and female characters. In fact, Junior is obliged by his parents to greet them in his father's native language but also in his mother's. In [13 and 14] a gender positioning is shown: during the entire film the two main female characters, Mona and Linda never speak any language other than English, except for these two lines, in both instances they are expressing anger and a shift in code is needed to underline their feelings.

Hand in hand with code-switching goes code-mixing, another linguistic phenomenon observed numerous times in the text. When speaking of code-mixing, we refer to the mixture of different linguistic codes. Pierangela Diadori (2003) recognizes three different types of code-mixing: **insertion**, when elements of language B are inserted in a sentence of a language A; **alternation**, when elements of language A and of language B follow one another so that the sentence cannot be identified as belonging to language A or B; and **congruent lexicalization**, when elements from both language A and B are used in a structure that can be equally considered part of both languages (Diadori, 2003).

	English subtitles	Italian subtitles	Analysis
Ex. 15	Femi: <u>Go on. I'll catch up with you later.</u> Sola: Take your time. <u>Sorry!</u> Femi: <u>Sola, you still sneak in that non-sense. You don't take any advice. You don't take any advice, you know!</u>	Femi: Vai, ti raggiungo tra un po'. Sola: Fai con calma. Scusami! Femi: Sola, ancora continui a nascondere quella roba. Non segui mai un consiglio! Mai una volta!	Cm Ins
Ex. 16	Femi: Well, if you're not comfortable with it, then throw it	Femi: Se non ti senti a tuo agio con	Cm Ins Sub

	away. Case closed, c'est fini!	quell'oggetto in casa allora buttalo via. Fine della storia, c'est fini!	I
Ex. 17	<p>Sola: Femi! How are you? You never told me you were being posted here. What's going on? Doesn't look bad from the backside.</p> <p>Femi: Mona is here, you know.</p> <p>Sola: <u>That doesn't stop my thirst.</u></p> <p>Femi: She's at the clinic.</p> <p>Sola: <u>What's wrong with her? Let me settle down I'll catch up later with you. Alright men see ya!</u></p>	<p>Sola: Femi! Come stai? Non mi avevi detto che eri stato assegnato qui. Che si dice in giro? Da questo punto di vista sembra tutto perfetto!</p> <p>Femi: Sai, anche Mona è qui.</p> <p>Sola: Questo non cambia nulla.</p> <p>Femi: È nell'infermeria.</p> <p>Sola: Cosa le è successo? Fammi sistemare, ci acchiappiamo più tardi. Ok, a dopo!</p>	Cm CL

Table 9.5 – Code-mixing

The type of code-mixing used in [15 and 16] as well as in [Ex. 8, Tab. 9.2] is identified as insertion. In example [8], the sergeant inserts a word in Yoruba while speaking English, probably a way to catch the attention of the soldiers and to intimidate them. Example [15] is a peculiar one, as in this case the code-mixing seems inverted: the intruder is no longer the Yoruba language but the English language, included in a conversation held mainly in Yoruba.

As far as alternation code-mixing is concerned, only one example has been found [Ex. 3, Tab. 9.1]. In this case the conversation is made up of the same number of utterances in English and in Yoruba, making it hard to determine to which of the two languages the conversation belongs.

One example of congruent lexicalization code-mixing was also found, example [17]. Here the conversation occurs between Femi and Sola who speak respectively English and Yoruba.

According to Bleichenbacher (2008) language crossing is another phenomenon that could occur in multilingual texts. Language crossing is defined as the use of a language which generally does not belong to the speaker, in this case the switching is generally “illegitimate either because the speakers do not actually know the lan-

guages they code-switch into, or because the choice of the language appears particularly ill suited to the context” (Bleichenbacher, 2008).

In [Ex. 9 and Ex. 12, Tab. 9.3], Junior speaks first Yoruba then Urhobo, after being asked to do so by his parents. Interestingly, in both cases the utterances are a translation of what he had already said in the language he naturally speaks, English.

Borrowing or loan translation are elements also frequently found in multilingual texts. In this case the speakers uses expressions from other languages to socially impress within one’s linguistic territory and to claim certain aspects of his/her culture (Bleichenbacher, 2008).

	English subtitles	Italian subtitles	Analysis
Ex. 18	Mr. Fidelis: And your NYSC certificate doesn’t appear to be included.	Sig. Fidelis: E il suo certificato NYSC non sembra essere allegato.	LT R I
Ex. 19	Mona: There’s something I’ve been meaning to ask you, I mean, did your luck suddenly change after our NYSC, have things suddenly just run in your favor even when you don’t deserve it?	Mona: Devo chiederti una cosa, voglio dire, dal servizio civile, ti sembra che la tua fortuna sia cambiata, che le cose improvvisamente siano cominciate ad andare come volevi anche quando non te lo sei meritato?	LT I
Ex. 20	Professor: Oh I agree, very ugly. Araromire, goddess of fortune and luck, according to folklore legend anyone touched by Araromire will be rewarded with seven years of prosperity, abundance of rain rivers and streams will be filled with fish, women will bear only sons, palm wine will flow, crops will flourish...	Professore: Ah si sono d’accordo, orribile! È Araromire, la dea della fortuna e della prosperità, la leggenda narra che chiunque venga toccato da Araromire sia premiato con sette anni di prosperità, ci sarà abbondanza di piogge, fiumi e ruscelli saranno pieni di pesci, le donne partoriranno solo figli maschi, il vino di palma scorrerà, i raccolti prospereranno...	LT Dig T

Table 9.6 – Loan Translation

Examples [18 and 19] both refer to the loan translation NYCS an acronym for National Youth Camp Service, which refers to a Youth Camp, compulsory for all Nigerian young adults. In this case, the borrowing is imposed, as this camp only exists in Nigeria.

The last example of loan translation is the word “palm wine”, in [20], which is a traditional Nigerian alcoholic drink.

Various cases of diglossia are ultimately discussed, this is a phenomenon that consists in the use of two languages in the same conversation or text, giving to each language a specific function, for example as a way to define boundaries (Bleichenbacher, 2008). The analysis led to the emerging of several kinds of diglossia.

The script presents a gender oriented diglossia, as shown in [Ex. 4, Tab. 9.1], as for example Sola never speaks Yoruba to his wife, throughout the film, and the female characters, except for Lara, never speak Yoruba among themselves. There is a class oriented diglossia [Ex. 20, Tab. 9.5], the professor as a symbol of educated Nigeria never speaks Yoruba, while Femi’s family members who interact with an elder [Ex. 1, Tab. 9.1], never speak English among themselves, underlining a stronger relation with indigenous languages and traditions. There is also a religious diglossia [Ex.6, Tab. 9.1], as all the scenes regarding religious matters are in Yoruba. Finally, what seems to be a patriotic diglossia is expressed in [Ex. 2, Tab. 9.1], in this case the soldier of the national army, who can be considered the closest example to the perfect representative of the country, speaks Yoruba and English giving the audience the image of Nigeria as nation at the same time open to globalization and new habits but also strongly attached to tradition and folklore.

ECR translation techniques

From the point of view of extralinguistic cultural references, the text is rich in examples. Pedersen’s (2008) techniques for the translation of cultural-bound expression, have been very useful for this work.

The technique of retention was used in two different utterances to translate the same ECR [Ex.18 and 19 Tab. 9.5]. This techniques consists of leaving the ECR unchanged, as clarified extensively ear-

lier in this work, in this case the acronym of the camp is left untranslated.

	English subtitles	Italian subtitles	Analysis
Ex. 21	Boss: The management is looking at sending young men like you abroad for training, do I have to spell it out for you?	Capo: L'amministrazione sta cercando giovani dipendenti da mandare all'estero per un corso di formazione.	O
Ex. 22	Mona: Good morning husband! Sola: Hey woman, morning.	Mona: Buongiorno amore! Sola: Buongiorno!	O G D

Table 9.7 - Omission

In examples [21 and 22] the use of the technique known as omission is showed. In [22] the nicknames “husband” and “woman” have been deleted in order to avoid misunderstanding for the target audience, as it could sound disrespectful for a man to call his wife “donna” in the Italian culture. In [21] part of the conversation is omitted to make the communication sound more fluent.

	English subtitles	Italian subtitles	Analysis
Ex. 23	Araromire	Araromire	DT
Ex. 24	Mona: I have someone I need you to meet. Ok, Linda this is Femi Bachmusi Kalejaye, Sola's best friend and a very dear friend of mine. Femi this is Linda Chukmu, my very very best friend.	Mona: Devo presentarti una persona. Ok, Linda lui è Femi Bachmusi Kalejaye, il miglior amico di Sola e un carissimo amico mio. Femi lei è Linda Chukmu, la mia migliore amica.	DT I

Table 9.8 – Direct Translation

Examples of direct translation can be seen in [23 and 24] as well as in [Ex. 1, Tab 9.1]. In the examples from Tab. 8 the source text was left untranslated since the subject of the translation are proper names. In [1] I decided to give a translation of the loan word NYCS, discussed above, in order to clarify to the target audience the meaning of the acronym at least one time.

	English subtitles	Italian subtitles	Analysis
Ex. 25	Sola: You and your match-making moves.	Sola: Tu e la tua smania di accoppiare la gente.	Spe E

Table 9.9 – Specification

An example of Specification is shown in [25]. A corresponding satisfactory translation was not found so I decided to add some elements for the purpose of comprehension.

	English subtitles	Italian subtitles	Analysis
Ex. 26	<u>Sola: Why are you so concerned. When Mona and I get to the bench I'll deal with it, okay?</u>	Sola: Perché sei così preoccupato. Quando arriverà il momento io e Mona sapremo cosa fare, okay?	G Sub Para
Ex. 27	Mona: So you and Femi are quite an item. Linda: Quite an item. He's my uhuhuh, I even met his father!	Mona: Quindi tu e Femi siete una coppia. Linda: Proprio così. Lui è il mio mmmm, ho anche conosciuto il padre!	G Tra

Table 9.10 – Generalization

Generalization was used in examples [26 and 27], as well as in [Ex. 22, Tab. 9.7] to create a dialogue much easier to understand for the target audience. Some idiomatic expressions were lost in the process but the meaning does not appear to have been altered.

	English subtitles	Italian subtitles	Analysis
Ex. 28	Officer: I've marked you, it is your eyes, eyeglasses, I've marked you! (They sing in indigenous language) Attention!	Ufficiale: Ti tengo d'occhio, sono i tuoi occhi, gli occhiali, ti tengo d'occhio! (Cantano in lingua indigena) Attenti!	Sub Tra
Ex. 29	Sir: I don't know how you got everybody wrapped around your finger, but I'm not easily fooled, you remember the proverb? What a boy sees way up from the tree-top an elder already sees sitting down.	Capo: Non lo so, hai tutti che pendono dalle tue labbra, ma io non mi lascio abbindolare facilmente, ricordi il proverbio? Quello che un ragazzo vede dall'alto di un albero un anziano vede da seduto.	Sub Dis T

Ex. 30	Sola: I'm just going to stay home...and probably hook up with Femi later in the club.	Sola: Io resterò a casa oggi...magari mi becco con Femi al circolo più tardi.	Sub Tra
Ex. 31	Linda: Girl it's all thanks to you. Just when I thought luck had run out.	Linda: È solo grazie a te. Proprio quando pensavo che la fortuna mi avesse voltato le spalle.	Sub Tra
Ex. 32	Lara: Hello, hello Rapid Response Squad please come, come quick, my brother has gone crazy, he's killing people, yes please, address 237 Beach Road Island, please come quick!	Lara: Pronto, pronto Polizia, dovete venire, presto, mio fratello è impazzito, sta uccidendo delle persone, si per favore, l'indirizzo è 237 Beach Road Island, per favore, veloci!	Sub Para I
Ex. 33	Femi: You know I really wish I could say that this whole thing was orchestrated by me, but...the truth is it's all coincidence, you know, what they say...shit happens!	Femi: Sai, vorrei dirti che è stato tutto orchestrato da me, ma la verità è che sono state tutte coincidenze, sai come si dice...così va la vita!	Sub Dis

Table 9.11 – Substitution

Several examples of the translating technique known as substitution are found in the text. The peculiarity of this kind of text is that both ECR from Nigerian and English culture can be found. In [28, Tab. 9.11] the expression “I’ve marked you” is replaced by the Italian similar expression “Ti tengo d’occhio”. In [29, Tab. 9.11], substitution occurs twice the expression “got everybody wrapped around your fingers” is translated with “tutti che pendono dalle tue labbra” while the proverb is translated with a word-for-word translation. In [30] the word “club” is translated with “circolo”, an Italian term which identifies a place where people can hang out and play sports like Femi and Sola who play golf. In [31] the expression “luck had run out” was translated with an Italian idiomatic expression: “quando pensavo che la fortuna mi avesse voltato le spalle”, in this case the English version sounds more informal, though the register changes slightly the meaning is preserved. In [32] the name “Rapid Response Squad”, the Nigerian police called in case of emergencies, is replaced

by “polizia” which is of easier and quicker understanding for the target audience since there is no equivalent to an emergency squad in Italy. In [33], the idiomatic expression “shit happens” is translated with “così va la vita”. In this case I decided to change register. The original dialogue uses a swear word replaced in Italian by an idiomatic expression of a less informal register; the idiomatic expression could have been left untranslated since it is now of common use around the world and the audience would have probably understood anyway, but a different expression was used therefore the swear word was removed. In the tables above, there are also some other relevant examples of the use of this technique. For example, in [Ex. 5, Tab. 9.1] the term “workaholic” is translated with “stacanovista”. In [Ex. 7, Tab. 9.2] the ECR “NYSC”, that stands for National Youth Service Camp, as mentioned earlier, is replaced with an Italian equivalent such as “servizio di leva”. In [Ex. 16, Tab. 9.4] the expression “case closed” is translated with “fine della storia”, a very similar expression exists, “il caso è chiuso”, but I decided to use the former because it seemed to reproduce more accurately the register used in the original dialogue. At last, in [Ex. 26, Tab. 9.10] the idiomatic expression “to get to the bench” meaning “when the problems will come, we will face them”, is translated with “quando arriverà il momento sapremo cosa fare”. In this case a direct translation was not possible since there isn’t a correspondent idiomatic expression in Italian, while a more specific explanation would have sounded redundant.

Subtitling techniques

The last part of this analysis will take into consideration the techniques elaborated by Gottlieb (1992) and vastly discussed earlier in the chapter, regarding subtitling a multicultural text. The scholar developed ten techniques located on a continuum from expansion, when additional text is added, to resignation, when parts of the text are completely deleted. The reader must not forget that these techniques were meant to be used for the subtitling of texts in the same language, while in this case an extra value is added since the subtitling was of a dialogue that had to be translated first.

The technique of expansion was used once for the subtitling process, in [Ex. 25, Tab. 9.9], the expression “match-making moves” does not have a direct equivalent in Italian, and therefore some elements were added in order to ensure understanding for the target audience.

Paraphrase is used more often: in these cases, the source text was adapted for the target audience. In [Ex. 7, Tab. 9.2], some explanations were added in order to clarify the ECR; in [Ex. 26, Tab. 9.10] the idiomatic expression had no equivalence, therefore an explanation was needed to convey the same meaning, at last in [Ex. 32, Tab. 9.11], “Rapid Response Squad” is replaced with “polizia”.

The technique of transfer is used in [Ex. 20, Tab. 9.5; Ex. 31, Tab. 9.9] where a word-for-word translation is the best choice for the purpose of comprehension. It was also used in the example below [35], where the nickname “Auntie” is translated with the word “zia”, even if the speakers had no actual blood relationship.

	English subtitles	Italian subtitles	Analysis
Ex. 34	Sola: Look at you. Femo, <u>how are you?</u> Femi: <u>Not bad.</u>	Sola: Guarda un pò! Femo, come stai? Femi: Non male.	I
Ex. 35	Lara: Auntie Linda	Lara: Zia Linda	T

Table 9.12 - Imitation

The technique of imitation was used in the following examples: [Ex. 9, Tab. 9.2; Ex. 11-12, Tab. 9.3; Ex. 16, Tab. 9.4; Ex. 18 and 19, Tab. 9.5; Ex. 24, Tab. 9.8]. In these cases the ECR was left untranslated. In the example above, [34] the technique of imitation was used for the translation of a nickname.

Transcription was used in the subtitling of the examples: [Ex. 27, Tab. 9.10; Ex. 28-30-31, Tab. 9.11].

The technique of dislocation is used once in the translation: in [Ex. 29, Tab. 9.11], replacing an English idiomatic expression with an Italian one.

The use of condensation for the purpose of the subtitling was needed only once. In [Ex. 21, Tab. 9.7], the original discourse was too long and too articulated to reproduce in Italian.

Lastly, decimation was also used once in [Ex. 22, Tab. 9.7]: in this case the omission of part of the line did not compromise the meaning of the dialogue.

By making a comparison between the last two analyses I have made, I believe, it appears obvious that Pedersen's and Gottlieb's techniques are strictly related, and in most cases they occur at the same time.

The translation of a script is not always an easy task. Due to the strong Nigerian accent of the actors, the hardest part of the work was the transcription of the dialogues. In many occasions I had to listen to the dialogues several times before being able to understand the conversation, and a few times I had to refer to the subtitles to understand. Due to the continuous code-switching, it was, at times, hard to understand when the dialogue was being held in English and when it was in Yoruba.

In the translating process, I had to recur frequently to online research in order to understand the cultural-bound references, as in the case of the acronym NYSC. Some idiomatic expressions were new to me and I had to investigate the meaning before I could find a satisfying translation.

Conclusion

The peculiar use of Nigerian English in an audiovisual text may be seen as an act of identity and as a claim for cultural alterity, which has been widely analyzed throughout my work.

The text was analyzed after a broad study of AVT, its various aspects, and the different techniques that can be applied in translation

The results of my exploration into the insights of the language used in *The Figurine: Araromire* winded up with the evidence, for example, of several varieties of diglossia, according to the type of code used for communication that aims to express concepts such as nationalism, or to represent domestic settings. My analysis also

brings to the fore the many decisions a translator must make while translating a multilingual text, and the necessary choices in order to produce a comprehensible text for the target audience. From my point of view, what was most interesting, was the ability of the director to create a modern production despite the continuous link with ancient folklore and traditions, even more so because the legend which narrates of the goddess Araromire was fictional as well as the statue that represents it.

Language in post-colonial texts is used as a real act of identity, as a mediator between the encounter of different cultures, as a tool to define alterity and as a way to represent hybridity. As such, it should never be enclosed within specific, Western-centric categories.

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