

An Inter-Reflexive Corpus-Based Approach to Georgian and American Film Translations

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1. Introduction

The application of corpus linguistic methodology, whether in corpus-based or corpus-driven studies, means a meta-description of the targeted subjects of analysis. While “meta” is a metaphor of translation, parallel corpus linguistic methodology shall be considered as a “meta plus” approach, with the reciprocity of benefits that each intertwined discipline enriches itself with.

In the present investigation, the methods and strategies of subtitle translation in the Georgian film *Repentance* are compared to the voice-over translation methods and strategies employed in the Georgian translation of the American film *Silver Lining Playbook*. I use data from politically different situations and contexts for a comparative analysis of translational and non-translational language variation based on the translation methods and strategies. I observe their interrelation, divergence or similitude against the linguistic variation corresponding to the political situations and cultural contexts.

The paper closely examines the contexts of translation, drawing on linguistic, descriptive, postcolonial and Audiovisual translation studies, sociolinguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis approaches, political situations and politics of translation reflected in Soviet film studies and historical overviews. It compares reasons for **omissions and paraphrases**, tracing their interrelation to the variation of translational and non-translational language in liberal and non-liberal political and cultural contexts through analyses of the subsumed data. Extrapolating from the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data the study identifies translational omissions and paraphrases, and language standardization as markers of translational and non-translational Georgian, reflecting postcolonial and decolonization periods. The paper is organized in two main sections, with several subsections each exploring the object of analysis.

2. Approaches

2.1 The Postcolonial approach to film translation

The “Postcolonial” approach was enlisted in the methodologies of film translation studies. To quote Chaume (2018: 55–56), “Case studies seem to be ideal in cultural studies. The latter tend to be particular studies focused on the big issues of the Cultural Turn: the concepts of ideology, otherness, post-colonialism, power, resistance, patronage, censorship, genetic analysis”.¹

¹ Chaume disagrees with Saldanha and O’Brien (2013) who consider case studies as a distinct methodological paradigm.

As we closely tie Postcolonial (Translation) Studies with the paradigm of “Post-Soviet” Studies, we refer to Bassnett and Trivedi (1999: 2) who described translation as a process that “does not happen in a vacuum”. The authors emphasized the process as intercultural transfer and questioned its innocence and transparency, as well as “a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems”.

Tymoczko (2000: 152) draws a comparison between translation and postcolonial writing, finding formal similarities between them:

*My earlier work on the formal similarities between postcolonial writing and translation suggests that for reasons as diverse as particularities of semantic fields, allusions, intertextuality and the semiotics of traditional metaphors, the meaning of a literary passage often needs to be considered **in light of all the languages** of a postcolonial author’s culture (emphasis Kh. B.).*

The same author explores bilingual postcolonial writing on the example of Joyce’s double language which hid Irish meanings from monolingual English readers, bringing also examples of similar textual phenomena found earlier by S. Mehrez in Assia Djebar and Tahar Ben Jelloun’s French-language texts (2000: 152). She quotes Mehrez that “postcolonial works often only reveal their full meanings when translated into the other language(s) of their cultural context” (2000: 148).

Even though Bassnett and Tymoczko dwell upon literary texts in their analyses, I follow T. Nannicelli arguing “against the idea that screenplays are all of a putative ontological kind that precludes them from being literature” (2013: 140).

Another note to make is that I distinguish between the conceptual framework of the postcolonial bilingual authorship, theorized by Tymoczko (2000: 152–155), and the case of the analyzed screenplay in the Georgian language. The scope of the paper does not permit for a thorough analysis of the peculiar use of Lev Loseff’s “Aesopian language”, which emerged as a result of the ideological censorship in Georgian literature. Being part of the bicultural environment under the hegemonic power, Georgian Tsarist and Soviet period postcolonial authors encoded cultural and political messages in their native tongue for the purpose of covert communication (Beridze 2018b: 305).

The analyzed Georgian film script features a hybrid text with its genre, the allegorical criticism of the regime, and inscribed meta-cultural elements.

2.2 The corpus-based approach to film translation (CDA)

Beyond their versatile and pluridisciplinary purposes, to date, corpora are a very valuable, verifiable source for the description and analysis of translational strategies. The corpus linguistic approach to translation is instrumental for the assessment of the translation quality. As F. Zannetin remarks (2002: 11), “Parallel corpora are repertoires of strategies deployed by past translators, as well as repertoires of translation equivalents”. M. Baker and M. Olohan (2000: 142) shaped the difference between pre-corpus-based studies of translation, assessing the latter as limited to equivalence theory-based practices, while corpus-based studies approach

the translated text “as a valid object of study in its own right”. Based on previous studies, the scholars see the “strength of the approach in providing insights into translational behaviour. Corpus-based analyses can reveal common features of translated text and thus provide insight into the translation process”.

Inasmuch as I compare corpus-based data of bidirectional translations, with the focus on present-day translational Georgian and Soviet-period Georgian, I assume that the examination of the sociolinguistic variation of language should also look closely into political contexts, as far as they direct the processes of translation and language use.

The properties of the films under concern such as, e. g., genre, year of release, languages, modes and dates of translation differ. The films and their translations come from different times, 1984 and 2012, with a time span of 28 years. The translations were performed in different political contexts. We take into account these factors as impinging on both the translational processes and the sociolinguistic variation of the language. The role that context takes in the exploration of sociolinguistic data in corpus-based research is emphasized by P. Baker (2010: 152):

Within different strands of sociolinguistic research there are different perspectives on the role that context outside the data itself takes. For most approaches in critical discourse analysis, considering a text within its historical, social, political and cultural context is essential.

Subsequently, insights into the processes through the contexts can play an explanatory role concerning the strategies taken by the translators. I presume that the intentionality of linguistic choices and extralinguistic processes are concurrent, creating the national context (whether political, cultural, social etc.) of a situation. As for the translations, they convey linguistic implications that have extralinguistic reasons, motifs and interpretations.

Since the films selected for the analysis come from Soviet and post-Soviet times, the censorship processes of the regime and their aftershocks that influenced and governed the translational choices, strategies and translation directions are also considerable within the CDA framework.

2.3 Audiovisual Translation and corpus studies

F. Chaume (2018: 43), in his overview of the origins of audiovisual translation (AVT) accounts for the scholars who pioneered in the field, stating that “the first work to be considered as proper research was Fodor’s (1976) contribution to the field of dubbing, followed by some previously mentioned seminal articles in the seventies (e. g., Vöge 1977) and eighties”.

The interest towards the development of audio-visual translation studies was definitely triggered by the article “Translation and mass-communication: film and T.V. translation as evidence of cultural dynamics” by D. Delabastita published in the journal *Babel* in 1989, with the memorable designation of translation studies as the “Cinderella of linguistic and literary studies” (Delabastita 1989: 194).

Further volumes, *Topics in Audiovisual Translation* edited by Pilar Orero in 2004 and *The Didactics of Audiovisual Translation* edited by Jorge Díaz-Cintas in 2008, were followed by studies that contributed to corpus-based approaches to translation, such as the edited volume *Audiovisual Translation, Language Transfer on Screen* by Jorge Díaz Cintas and Gunilla Anderman in 2009. However, despite the decades spanned since Fodor's work of 1976, Cintas noted that there was still a gap in this field of study (2004: 50): "A clear paradox exists which emphasises the surprising imbalance between the little research on audiovisual translation and its enormous impact on society. In numerical terms, the translation carried out in the audiovisual realm is the most important translational activity of our time."

In his paper "An overview of audiovisual translation: Four methodological turns in a mature discipline", F. Chaume explores how AVT draws on the descriptive, cultural, sociological and cognitive approaches of translation studies and admits a deficiency of studies on large AVT corpora in the digital era (2018: 42–45). However, the first approach, i. e. Descriptive Translation Studies, is criticized as a "sanitized" one against the background of the increasing debates over translational choices: "descriptive approaches are now substituted by burning discussions and fiery appeals for or against certain translation solutions that are no longer considered to be innocent strategies, but rather as intentional and deliberate choices, many times indicating a hidden agenda stashed throughout the text intended to indoctrinate audiences, to perpetuate – or inoculate – some values, and to shape their will" (Chaume 2018: 56).

3. Overview of "Soviet" film translation case studies

The development of the corpus-based paradigm for film translation studies certainly opened new possibilities for the advancement of the field. Nonetheless, the field itself is fecundative to Interdescriptive Translation research cross-fertilizing Translation Studies, Literary Studies, Sociolinguistics, Cultural Studies etc.

Corpus-based Soviet and post-Soviet film translation studies are rare if any, and particularly, the translation of Georgian films into English stands as a rather uninvestigated area. However, it might expose a panoramic new view on translational manipulations. To quote Alexandra Palmer, who studied the translation of Soviet period films, "subtitler's inaccurate lexical choices range from weakening the original pragmatic effect and creating a confusing mismatch between the moving image and the subtitling to such serious consequences as misinterpretation of the original message and transformation of the original politeness strategy" (Palmer 2005: 46).

The USSR's political decision-makers used to label the films by Georgian (as well as and other Soviet national) directors with the rather sterile term "Soviet", obscuring their nationality for the global audience. Directors of non-Russian origin working in Russia produced films in Russian; that practice also stripped off the nationality of the films and "Sovietized" their identity. Another problem was the Iron Curtain, due to which the domain of turnout of Soviet films was the local market; therefore, the translation of films into English remained neglected. Thus, for instance, Alexandra Palmer wrote in her master's thesis (2005: 2) that a film in English with Russian subtitles was unavailable on the market. She had no other choice but to analyze a Russian film with English subtitles instead. Her choice fell on *Autumn Marathon*, "a

beautifully crafted film” directed by Georgiy Danelia.² The latter was a Georgian film director, living in Moscow, whose identity as “Soviet” continues to remain muted even in the post Soviet period.

4. Overview of the films under parallel corpus research

In the following, I compare data of two bidirectional corpus-based film translation studies³ conducted under my supervision. One of the studies deals with the Georgian to English translated subtitles from Soviet times, and the second deals with the American film with a Georgian translated voice-over from post-Soviet times. The first is referred as Study I and the second is referred as Study II below. Looking into the strategies of translation, I try to triangulate reasons for omissions and paraphrases in both cases. The properties of the films such as, e. g., genre, year of release, languages, modes of translation and dates of translation differ.

4.1 *Repentance*

The Georgian film მონანიება (*monanieba*) was translated into the English language as “Repentance.” The film was produced in 1984;⁴ in the same year, it was banned by the Soviet censorship⁵ to be released only in 1986.

The film is a strong postcolonial criticism of the Soviet empire. Close to magical realism in its genre, it allegorically conveys vices of the regime. It is noteworthy to mention that “Repentance” is composed of multiple scenes imbued with grotesque, symbolizations, and allegories. The film “speaks” its own very expressive semiotic “language”, and together with its masterful performance, its ultimate effect may reach out to the audience even without translation.

Donald Rayfield mentions in an interview (Karenyk 2014: 5) that Georgians excelled in cinematography and their films were particularly free from censorship, what explained the “Christian symbolism of *Invocation* and the startling political radicalism of *Repentance* (even though it had to be re-shot because Shevardnadze had the boy-actor shot for attempting a hijack)”.

The acclaimed director of the film, Tengiz Abuladze, referred to the genre as “tragic phantasmagoria”. The film was kind of a harbinger of the Perestroika.⁶ It first premiered at the 1987 Cannes Film Festival, winning the FIPRESCI Prize, the Grand Prize of the Jury, and the

² The film was released in 1979 and distributed after 1999 by RUSCICO.

³ The studies were used in the master’s theses by S. Meskhi (2017) and M. Davitadze (2018) at Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University.

⁴ See the NY Times article by Barringer (1986).

⁵ See Christensen (1991).

⁶ The Russian term *perestroika* (reorganization) entered popular parlance in the 1980s from Gorbachev’s effort to reorganize the Soviet industry around the principle of market economics. His reform program represented the first steps toward undoing the continuing legacy of the first sustained *perestroika* of Soviet history in the late 1920s and early 1930s. That was the period of Stalin’s First Five-Year Plan (FYP, 1928–1932), in which the state restructured agriculture and industry and installed the command economy that would reshape the whole Soviet system. The first FYP also coincided with the period of the Cultural Revolution, during which the Party leadership imposed tight controls on cultural affairs, including artistic expression (Kepley 1996: 31).

Prize of the Ecumenical Jury. It was shown again at the 2021 Cannes Film Festival (Cannes Classics section).

4.2 *Silver Linings Playbook*

The second film is “Silver Linings Playbook”, produced in 2012 by David O. Russell, which represents an American drama with flavours of a romantic comedy. The film was translated into Georgian as ოქედის სხივთა კრებულო (*Imedis skhivta k'rebuli*),⁷ which can be back translated as “A collection of rays of hope”. The voice-over of the film was provided by the Georgian “Studia Bravo Records”.⁸ It was aired on Georgian broadcasters in 2014.

The rubrics in Table I sum up the linguistic and non-linguistic properties of the two films:

<i>Film title</i>	<i>Repentance</i>	<i>Silver Lining Playbook</i>
Film genre	Soviet type Magical realism phantasmagoria, Allegorical criticism	produced in the US
translation language direction: outward SL to TL	Georgian to English (with pivot Russian, arguably)	English to Georgian
Audio-visual Translation Mode	Subtitle	Voice-over
Political setting / context	Censorship	Uncensored
Translator Training: Theoretical Level of development of translation studies	Soviet Linguistic theories of translation	No formal education available in AVT
Language use level: Sociolinguistic features of the original film	Sporadically idiomatic language, normalized language use. In-between formal and informal	US slang

Table I: Rubrics

Hence, the films differ in genres, periods and countries of their production. The language directions of translation are also different. The asymmetries that make these two films less comparable for translation analysis are political situations, ideological approaches, the social and cultural transformations between 1987 and 2014, and the dates and modes of translation. However, they are instrumental for the corpus-based comparative diachronic analysis of the language use. They are **especially significant to throw light on policies and strategies of translation and their comparability.**

5. Description of the scopes and aims of the corpus-based analyses

The parallel corpus-based study of the film “Repentance“ undertaken by S. Meskhi (2017) focused on the analysis of the translation strategies applied in the English subtitles, as well as on translational omissions, in order to determine whether they were related to specific constraints of subtitle translation. The tasks were set out as follows:

- a. comparative analysis of the Georgian film script and the English subtitles using corpus research methods

⁷ For the Georgian national transliteration system used here see <https://www.transliteration.com/transliteration/en/georgian/national/>.

⁸ The film is available in Georgian at <https://www.adjaranet.com/movies/3073/Silver-Linings-Playbook?lang=ENG&quality=HD> (restricted access) or <https://www.imovies.cc/ka/movies/37677/Silver-Linings-Playbook/GEO/HIGH> (restricted access).

- b. statistical analysis of pre-determined linguo-stylistic units in the L1 and L2 texts
- c. study of the translation strategies applied in the subtitles based on the statistical output
- d. assessment of the quality of subtitle translation based on the statistical output to determine its effect on the international audience.

Maia Davitadze’s study (2018) aimed at the equivalence analysis of the American English movie language and its Georgian dubbed version. The tasks were set out as follows:

- a. comparative analysis of the English and Georgian scripts using corpus research methods
- b. statistical analysis of the pre-determined linguistic units in the L1, defined as “untranslatable” in theories, and their equivalents in the L2 texts
- c. study of the translation quality based on the statistical output
- e. assessment of the quality of the translation to determine its effect on the Georgian audience.

Both studies used the same software⁹ aimed to determine the film translation quality based on an automatically obtained statistical data analysis, to triangulate the social effect the films could produce.

5.1 Methodologies applied for the analyses

5.1.1 Methodology I

Methodology I was applied for the study of the Georgian film *Repentance* and its English subtitles:

- a. the script of the film in Georgian language was digitized through the audio medium
- b. English subtitles were digitized from the video recording of the film
- c. the digitized scripts were aligned and matched so that the L1 voice and the L2 subtitles coincided at the appropriate time
- d. the obtained parallel texts were divided into syntagms and each syntagm was sorted with a special numbering tag (manually) for ease of identification
- e. linguistic units that normally are defined as “less likely translatable” and/or “untranslatable” were determined in the L1 and L2 texts
- f. for the purposes of the research, tags were selected from a custom-developed TagSet (see Table 2), remodelled to distinguish between Georgian and English, and applied to the pre-determined linguistic units.

{sc n=**}...{/sc}	Subtitle number tag
{Gsoc_idm}...{/soc_idm}	Georgian idioms tag
{Esoc_idm}...{/soc_idm}	English idiom tag
{Gsoc_rel n=**}...{/soc_rel}	Georgian realia tag

⁹ Developed in 2017, in collaboration with the Department of Computer Science of the Faculty of Physics, Mathematics and Computer Science at Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University

{Esoc_rel n=**}...{/soc_rel}	tag of the Georgian realia translation into English
{omis}...{/omis}	tag for omissions in translation
{Gpn}...{/pn}	Georgian proper names tag
{Epn}...{/pn}	English proper name tag

Table 2: TagSet for Methodology 1

5.1.2 Research outcomes

Study I: As the corpus-based study revealed, the overall number of translational omissions in the translation of *Repentance* into English is 87. A large number of overall 60 omissions fall on proper names. 9 proper names were replaced by pronouns. As we know, English pronouns, unlike Georgian, have a gender distinction, so English allowed for the replacement. Out of the remaining 51 proper names five were replaced by descriptors or vocatives: *deceased*, *young girl*, *grandfather*, *old chap*, *our son*. 46 proper names were just omitted in the English subtitles.

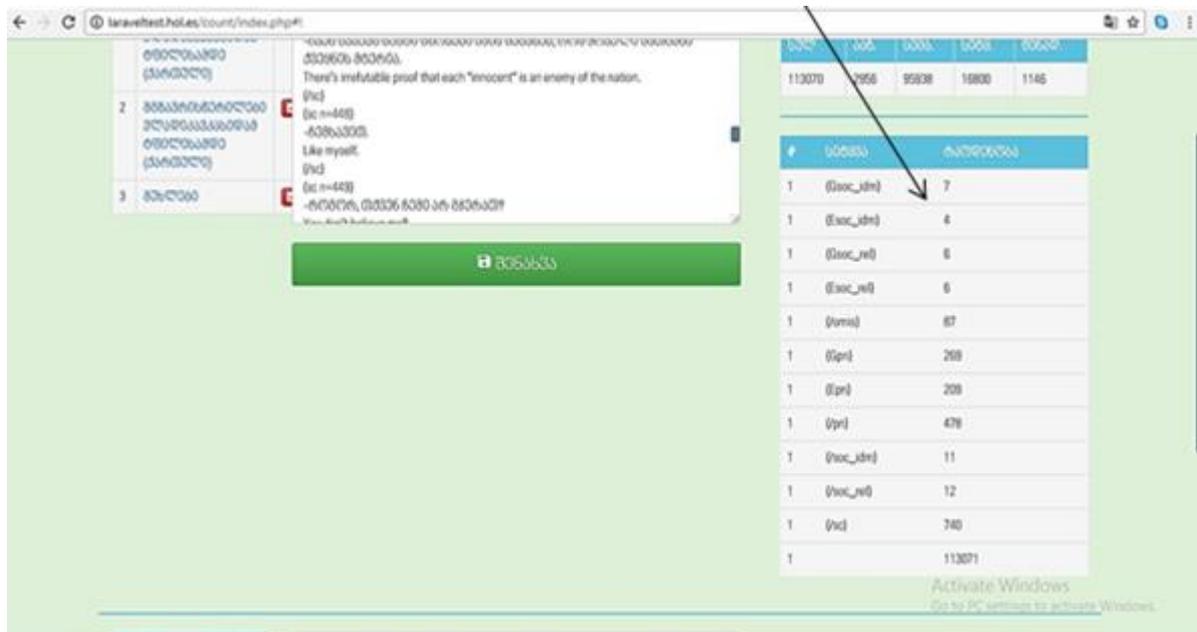


Figure 1: The corpus-based output retrieved by the software for Study I, Methodology I, showing parallel data for the Georgian film script and the English translation of the film *Repentance*; total number of words: 16800, total number of sentences: 1146.

Total number of words: 16800 Tagged linguistic units	Source Language (SL)	Tagged linguistic units	Target Text (TT)
{Gsoc_idm} Georgian idioms	11	{Esoc_idm} English translation	5
{Gsoc_rel} Georgian realia	6	{Esoc_rel} English translation	6
{Gpn} Georgian proper names	269	{Epn} English translation	209
		{/omis}-	87

Table 3: Study I research outcomes

I have to note that more than 5 English idioms are not translations of Georgian idioms. They appear sporadically in the Target Text (TT) and their function seems to be compensative against the paraphrased idioms. However, the present study shows that their function was foreignization of the TT. Besides, their examination also gave clues about the translator's identity and the translation process, which will be discussed below.

5.1.3 Discussion

The corpus-based analysis yielded the following translation strategies as applied in Study I: modulation/circumlocution, compensation, antonymous translation, omission, paraphrases. H. Gottlieb (2001: 11) mentions that “in most subtitling countries, TV translators perform all subtitling functions, including the time-cueing of each title, securing optimal linguistic and esthetic results”. However, in the USSR, Glavfilm¹⁰ would hardly allow even a trusted TV translator to play as an unsupervised sole-actor.

Assuming that a direct, unsupervised translation from Georgian into English in the times of Soviet censorship would not stand a chance, I focused on the omissions to identify translational manipulations, in the light of multiple instances demonstrating indirect translation as manipulative in general. As an example, the research on multilingual films by Ávila Cabrera (2013: 99) revealed that an indirect translation of subtitles caused linguistic manipulations, due to which the Source Language (SL) and the TT subtitles differed significantly. Ávila Cabrera's study “proved quantitatively and corroborated qualitatively” that the pivot English translation influenced the Spanish TT.

Since there is no official information available about the translator(s) and the process of translation, the questions that remained open for the research were as the following: a) translator's identity (Georgian or Russian); b) translation mode (from Georgian into Russian: did a Russian translator use cribs for the Russian subtitles, supplied by the Georgian translator, given that the ethnic Russian translators did not have a command of the lesser-purposed languages within the USSR?). Finally, we c) did not have any information about the translation mode from Russian to English, or about the translator's identity.

Alexandra Palmer mentions that the Soviet RUSCICO's¹¹ direct obligations included the worldwide distribution of the best products of the Soviet/Russian cinema (Palmer 2005: 2). Based on this premise, being a higher bureaucratic body in the politico-cultural hierarchy, RUSCICO's indirect obligation presumably expanded to procuring a safe, i. e. censored translation.

The Moscow-based headquarters of Glavfilm controlled the local branches in each republic. Therefore, the English translation of the Georgian language film would have had the following avenue ahead: it would have to be translated into Russian first, and approved by the Glavfilm

¹⁰ Main Directorate for Film Production of the USSR Ministry of Culture (Главное управление по производству фильмов Министерства культуры СССР), 1953–1991.

¹¹ Founded in 1999, RUSCICO (the RUSsian CINema COuncil) is a commercial association of Russian and foreign companies set up to implement a comprehensive program for the restoration, remastering, replication and worldwide distribution of a collection of the best Soviet, Russian and foreign art, documentary, and animated films on DVD; see <https://www.ruscico.com/>.

censors. Then, an eligible translator with the language pair of Russian-English would have translated it into English.

5.1.4 Omissions in the Georgian-to-English translations, other than proper names

AVT scholars point out that the reason for omissions in subtitling is to enhance readability. Translators delete wordy formulations or complex structures and redundant linguistic features (Tveit 2009: 86). In Greece, subtitling norms allow translators to omit what can be recovered from the utterance or from other elements of the AVT text (Sokoli 2009: 47). However, the reasons for omissions discussed in the example below are other than that. The omitted Georgian sentences are transliterated and a literal translation is provided for this paper. The digitized L1 and L2 texts of *Repentance* were tagged with a special subtitle number tag: {sc n=**}...{/sc} to proceed with the numbered sentences in the aligned texts.

5.1.4.1 Examples of omission, Study I

{sc n=230}

L1 ბატონო ვარლამ, ჩვენი ეკლესიის ერთ-ერთი რეგალიაა {omis} სამსკვალო
{/omis}.

[Bat'ono varlam, chveni ek'lesiis ert-erti regaliaa samsch'vali].

L2 “Our church used to have some unique relics.”

{sc n=231}

L1 {omis} ლურსმანი, რომლითაც ჯვართ აცვეს მაცხოვარი. {/omis}

[Lursmani, romlitats jvart atsves matskhovari].

Literal translation of the omitted sentence: “The (Holy) Nail with which the Savior was crucified.”

The English translation omits the information about the Holy Nail that was kept in Georgia since the 4th century.¹² To note, Varlam personifies both Stalin and Beria (despite his resemblance to Beria, “Stalin’s architect of terror”, in his habitus). The scene where the protagonist Sandro Barateli mentions the Holy Nail represents reminiscence of the forbidden religions in the USSR, and allegorically warns that rejection of piety ushered in the evil of the Red terror. The scene is also a reminiscence of the victimized Christ, as a symbol of the victimized peoples in the Soviet Union during the purges. The fact that the Georgian Church kept the sacred relics against all odds should have reminded Varlam of the chances of catharsis. Therefore, the neutral translation of the subtitle as “Our church used to have some unique relics” is not only a linguistic loss but also a loss of the symbolic charge in the allegorized narration, and a loss of cultural, religious and historical information. Tveit (2009: 86) remarks that “sometimes even slight omissions may bring about significant changes in meaning”. We can only suspect that the Soviet censors, who banned religious markers, should have erased the sense of the sentence due to its religious meaning, thus manipulating the translation.

¹² According to the Georgian historical chronicles, compiled by the 11th-c. Georgian bishop Leonti Mroveli, the Byzantine emperor Constantine sent to the newly Christianized king Mirian III of Kartli in the 4th c. (approx. 328 CE) two nails with which Jesus Christ was crucified, together with a piece of the footboard; see Qaukhchishvili (1955: 117 and 227–228).

To test the hypothesis that Russian was the pivot language of the translation into English, I compared the same phrase to its Russian voice-over translation¹³ with the Georgian soundtrack clearly heard. As pointed out by Cintas and Anderman (2009: 11), “revoicing can be carried out in two different ways, by completely erasing the voices of the source programme (dubbing) or by juxtaposing a new soundtrack to the original one”. As a result, I found that the English subtitle is an absolute semantic equivalent of the Russian voice-over at 28:24 /2:34:34: *в нашем храме имелись уникальные реликвии* [*v nashem xrame imelis unikal'nie relikvii*] is rendered in English as: “Our church used to have some unique relics”.

In another occasion, an omission makes the censor’s engagement apparent. A pro-Soviet officer produces a sentence containing the derogatory marker “hypocrite” and the zoomorphism “fox” to describe a generic enemy of the Soviet Union:

{sc n=469}

L1 {omis} *ძნელია, თვალთმაქცი და მელაკუდა მტრის გამოცნობა, მაგრამ ეს აუცილებელია.* {/omis}

[*Dznelia, tvaltmaktsi da melak'uda mt'ris gamotsnoba, magram es autsilebelia.*]

Literal translation: “Of course it is difficult to identify the enemy, because they are hypocritical foxes.”

Most probably, the deletion was a political maneuver before the film was exported to the Western World, i. e. the implicated adversary.

The next three examples deal with the scene where Abel, Varlam’s son, mourns his son who committed suicide after he had learned about the evils of his family. The subtitle omits several linguistic units, thus losing the expressiveness of the L1 text:

{sc n=727}

L1 *წყეულიმც იყოს სახელი შენი, აბელ არავიძე. ეს რა ჩაიდიხე, შე არაკაცო, არაადამიანო!* {omis} *წყეულიმც იყოს სული შენი და ხორცი შენი, საქმე შენი, სიცოცხლე შენი, აბელ არავიძე!* {/omis}

[*Ts'q'eulimts iq'os sakheli sheni, Abel Aravidze. Es ra chaidine, she arak'atso, araadamiano!* {omis} *Ts'q'eulimts iq'os suli sheni da khortsi sheni, sakme sheni, sitsotskhle sheni, Abel Aravidze!* {/omis}

L2 “May your name be cursed... as your life and deeds, Abel Aravidze! What have you done! Monster!”

The omitted phrase “may your soul and your flesh be cursed!” is a reminiscence of the Holy Communion and the divinity of the soul.

{sc n=728}

L1 *წყალი სისხლად გექცეს და პური მიწად, {omis} ეშმაკის ნაშიერო {/omis}! ჯოჯოხეთის ცეცხლში დაიდაგოს გვამი შენი და მამაშენივით არ გელირსოს მიწაში დამარხვა!*

[*Ts'q'ali siskhlad gektses da p'uri mits'ad, eshmak'is nashiero! Jojokhetis tsetskhlshi daidagos gvami sheni da mamashenivit ar geghirsos mits'ashi damarkhva!*]

¹³ *Repentance* with Russian voice-over translation: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GqPEKR1ZLEs>.

L2 “May your blood... turn to water... and your bread... to dust! May your flesh... burn in the fire of hell... and not be honored... like your father... with an earthly burial!”

The omitted phrase is *ეშმაკის ნაშიერო!* [*eshmak'is nashiero!*] which translates as a “devil’s descendant!”. Besides the omission, while the L1 text says “may water turn into blood for you”, the translation inverts the order of the linguistic units “water” and “blood” with no good reason.

The final phrase of Abel’s monologue is altogether omitted:

{sc n=729}

L1 {omis} რა დააშავე, ჩემო ბიჭო! რისთვის დაგსაჯა გამჩენმა ასე? ნუთუ რომ გაჩნდი ამ ქვეყანაზე, ესაა შენი დანაშაული? დამნაშავე ვარ, შვილო, ყველანი დამნაშავენი ვართ შენს წინაშე, მთელი ქვეყანა დამნაშავეა. {/omis}

[*Ra daashave, chemo bich'o! Ristvis dagsaja gamchenma ase? Nutu rom gachndi am kveq'anaze, esaa sheni danashauli? Damnashave var, shvilo, q'velani damnashaveni vart shens ts'inashe, mteli kveq'ana damnashavea.*]

Literal translation of the omitted phrase: “What have you done wrong, my boy! Why did our Lord punish you like that? Is it your fault that you came into this world? I’m guilty, son, we’re all guilty before you, the whole country is guilty.”

It is clear that the “whole country” implicated the Soviet Union, which definitely made it next targeted to an omission by the censors, notwithstanding the fact that the period of translation coincided with *Glasnost*.

Tveit writes (2009: 88) that lexical density in the subtitles constrains accessibility to the information, which might demand additional screen time. Omission in this situation is definitely not a biased decision. However, as S. Meskhi argues in Study I (2017: 47), Abel’s entire monologue could have been comprised within the 7-second subtitle time limit. She also points out that the subtitle “and not be honored...” does not match in time with Abel’s speech production at 1105 (02:18:34,720 → 02:18:41,001).

5.1.4.2 Translation of idioms

Palmer mentions (2005: 2) that another reason why she chose the film for the analysis was that “the quality of RUSCICO’s English subtitles for ‘Autumn marathon’ met the high standards set by the quality conscious association”. However, Palmer’s analysis demonstrates the formality in RUSCICO’s approach. The analysis observed that the subtitler’s linguistic inaccuracies affected interpersonal pragmatics and politeness strategies of the original, lexical choices were inaccurate, punctuation patterns were neutralized, the translation lost some information and omitted slang (Palmer 2005: 41).

Inasmuch as the ST does not contain slang, the study turned to the idioms and their translation methods. The data output accounts for 11 idioms, of which only two were translated with equivalent idioms. Further analysis proved that the ST idioms were translated with paraphrases. There are several linguistic theories devoted to language idiomaticity and the issues of translation. M. K. Halliday (1964) classifies idioms as ideational, interpersonal and relational /

textual,¹⁴ and Fernando (1996: 35–36) suggests setting them as pure, semi-, and literal idioms. The first categories in both classifications are typologically comparable (Beridze 2018a: 106). Theoreticians suggest various strategies for the translation of idioms; e. g., Nida and Taber (2003: 106, quoted in Beridze 2018a: 110) suggest three such strategies: translation of an idiom with a non-idiom, translating an idiom with an idiom, and translation of a non-idiom by an idiom. M. Baker (2011: 75–77) suggests further strategies: using idioms with a similar meaning and form, using an idiom with a similar meaning but dissimilar form, borrowing the source language idiom, translation by paraphrase, translation by omission, and compensation. Regarding translation by paraphrases Baker points out that translators resort to this strategy when there is either no match in the Target Language (TL) or the match is not suitable from the stylistic point of view (2011: 80). While idioms are characterized by the established meaning, imagery, definition, connotation and stylistic register (Baker, 2011:80), many of them have been shared and adopted cross-culturally through translational calques or borrowings. Subsequently, the translation of idioms with idioms would be possible, at least with a similar meaning but dissimilar form that would also fit the stylistic register of the ST idioms. In search of English and Russian idioms in academic sources, six idioms were found, reflected in Table 4, along with the transliterated ST idioms, English subtitles, translation strategies and Semantic translation.

No.	Georgian idiom with transliteration	English subtitle Translation	Translation strategy	Semantic and idiomatic ¹⁵ translations
1.	იმისათვის, რომ ყალბი ჩვენება დამტყულოთ, უზნეობაა, ჩირქი მოცხობთ პატიოსან ხალხს. [Imisatvis, rom q'albi chveneba damt'q'uot, uzneobaa, chirki motskhot p'at'iosan khalkhs.]	It's immoral to slander an honest man in order to extract false evidence.	Paraphrase	To smudge with pus Idiom translation by Donald Rayfield: ჩირქს მოცხებებს – will smear sb. Облить грязью
2.	ჩვენც გვიცხოვრია ამ ქვეყანაზე და ჩვენც გაგვიკეთებია რაცხა, ჩალით კი არაა დახურული ეს ქვეყანა. [Chvents gvitskhovria am kveq'anaze da chvents gagvik'etebia ratskha, chalit k'i araa dakhuruli es kveq'ana.]	We haven't come here from the moon, either. We're not idiots!	Paraphrase	The world is not roofed over with thatch = used to assert that justice exists. Truth will break out. Правда в огне не горит и на воде не тонет.
3.	ვარლამ ბატონო, ნუთუ ამდენ შრომას წყალში ჩამიყრიოთ. [Varlam bat'ono, nutu amden shromas ts'q'alshi chamiq'rit.]	Esteemed Varlam! Have I done all that work in vain?	Paraphrase	To throw one's efforts into the water. My labours went down the plughole. Всё пошло насмарку.

¹⁴ Cf. also Halliday (2007: 93 and 361): “Furthermore what we mean here by society, or social reality, or the social system, is not some ready-made object but a meaning potential made up of a complex of semiotic systems, having ideational and interpersonal components – that is, a domain of understanding and a domain of action”. – “There is then also (3) a third component, that of constructing the discourse as itself another kind or aspect of reality: language is used to construct reality, but it is itself also part of reality, and has to be constructed in its own right. These three components are present in the grammar of every language; we refer to them as ideational, interpersonal and textual. In fact this tripartite structure is the basic principle around which language is organized, as a potential or resource for meaning – something that a deep analysis of the plane of content will reveal”.

¹⁵ All idioms are selected from the academic source <https://idioms.tsu.ge/> of Tbilisi State University except for the idiom translated by Donald Rayfield (2006: 1556).

4.	ასეა, ზოგის ბამბაც ჩხრიალებს [Asea, zogis bambats chkhrialebs.]	Why are some people so lucky?!	Paraphrase	Some people rattle even with cotton. Some get the buns and pies and some the bumps and black eyes; Одному солнце светит, а другому и месяц не заблестит.
5.	უბედურ ვარლამს საჯაროდ თავს ლაფი დაასხა [Ubedur Varlams sajarod tavs lapi daaskha.]	she desecrated poor Varlam.	Paraphrase	Pour slush on one's head To drag through the mire. Поливать грязью
6.	ასი ყური გამოიბით და ასი თვალი გამოისხით! [Asi q'uri gamoibit da asi tvali gamoiskhit!]	Keep your eyes and ears open!	Paraphrase	Tie on one hundred ears and grow one hundred eyes. To keep (one's) eye on the ball. Глядеть в оба.

Table 4: Georgian idioms with English and Russian translations.

Table 4 demonstrates that each of the idioms could have been translated into Russian and English instead of paraphrases. The logical assumption regarding the process of translation is that since the Georgian-to-Russian translator was not a native or near-native speaker, s/he paraphrased idioms in Russian. Hence, the pivot language lowered the frequency of the translated idioms in English, too. Extrapolating it can be assumed that the English translation with the Russian pivot must have been done by a Russian translator with no command of the primary language to check the translation for its idiomatic comparability. The other way, the Russian and English translations were done by a Georgian translator with no idiomatic fluency in any of the target languages. However, this hypothesis is less plausible because of the fact that the English subtitler of *Repentance* sporadically provides typically English idioms in the non-idiomatic wording of Georgian sentences, resorting to the foreignization strategy.

Table 5 represents three corpus-retrieved examples of idioms in the TT, with transliterations and literal translations of the SL sentences for comparison with the TT:

	ST	Transliteration	Literal translation	TT
1.	ნუ ღელავთ, ქალბატონო, ერთ საათში ბატონ ვარლამს უკანვე მოგართმევთ.	Nu ghelavt, kalbat'ono, ert saatshi bat'on varlams uk'anve mogartmevt.	Do not worry, madam, I'll bring Mr. Varlam back to you in one hour.	In an hour you'll have your dear Varlam back safe and sound.
2.	ჩემი ნათესავი ცხოვრობს იქ. გაგიჟდა, როგორ? აბელ არავიძე, ბატონი იპოლიტე, შენ, მთელი ღამის გათევას აპირებთ და აქ, ჩემთან, არ ამოხვალთ?	Chemi natesavi tskhovrobs ik. Gagizhda, rogor? Abel aravidze, bat'oni ip'olit'e, shen, mteli ghamis gatevas ap'irebt da ak, chemtan, ar amokhvalto?	My relative lives there. Going crazy, how? You, Abel Aravidze, Mr. Ipolite, are you going to spend the whole night and not come up here to call on me?	My relative lives there. When he learned that we'd be at a stone's throw from his house....
3.	პატივცემულო მოსამართლე, ბრალდებული აღელვებულია. ეს ბუნებრივია. გთხოვთ, მომცეთ სიტყვა.	P'at'itsemulo mosamartlev, braldebuli aghelvebulia. Es bunebrivitsaa. Gtkhovt, momtset sit'q'va.	Honorable Judge, The accused is excited. It's natural too. Please give me a word.	Your Honour, the defendant is agitated, it's only natural. May I have the floor?

Table 5: Three idioms translated

Next, the practice of neglecting the less-resourced SL seems rather common among film translators who translate from the major pivot languages. For instance, Ávila Cabrera's study

“The Case of Inglorious Basterds” includes an interview with the translator who “asserted his linguistic competence in English and Spanish, but not in the other SLs” (2013: 12). Chaume underlines the same problem (2018: 16): “The dearth of translators translating from Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Russian, Turkish, etc., forces commissioners to rely on the TT in English, which is the pivot language. This practice cannot be sanctioned if it is accepted in the target culture as normal AVT practice.”

Hence, translators via pivot languages usually have no command of the primary SL. Therefore, the argument that the English subtitles were not translated by a Georgian translator has more credible ground.

A corpus-based examination of the data gained about the omissions and paraphrases of the idioms raised questions that bifurcated the research and led to further explorations, eventually getting across the most reasonable answers. The process of translation seems to pass through three procedures: a) L1 to L2 by a native L1 translator, b) L2 to L3 by a native L2 translator, with the probability of c) engaging a native L3 translator.

5.2 Methodology II for corpus II

Methodology II was applied for the corpus-based study of the film *Silver Linings Playbook* and its Georgian version. It comprised the following steps:

- a. the script of the film in Georgian language was digitized through the audio medium
- b. the downloadable English script was aligned with the Georgian version
- c. linguistic units in the L1 and L2 texts that are normally defined as “less likely translatable” and / or “untranslatable” were selected for the purposes of the research
- d. tags from the custom-developed TagSet¹⁶ were manually applied to distinguish between English and Georgian to the pre-determined linguistic units.

Table 6 represents part of the tags used within the focus of the study II.

{soc_slg}	slang
{soc_idm}	idiom
{soc_phr}	phrase
{soc_vph}	phrasal verb
{lng_adv}	adverb
{lng_nwn}	noun
{mis}...{/mis}	tag for omissions

Table 7: TagSet used in Study II

In this study, I searched the total number of words and sentences in L1 and L2 separately to calculate the ratio of the TT against the ST. Fig. 2 shows the corpus-based output retrieved by the analysis software for Study II with methodology II, showing L1 data for the English script of the film *Silver Linings Playbook*. The number of words is 12947, and the number of sentences in L1 is 1567.

¹⁶ The same TagSet was used for both studies.

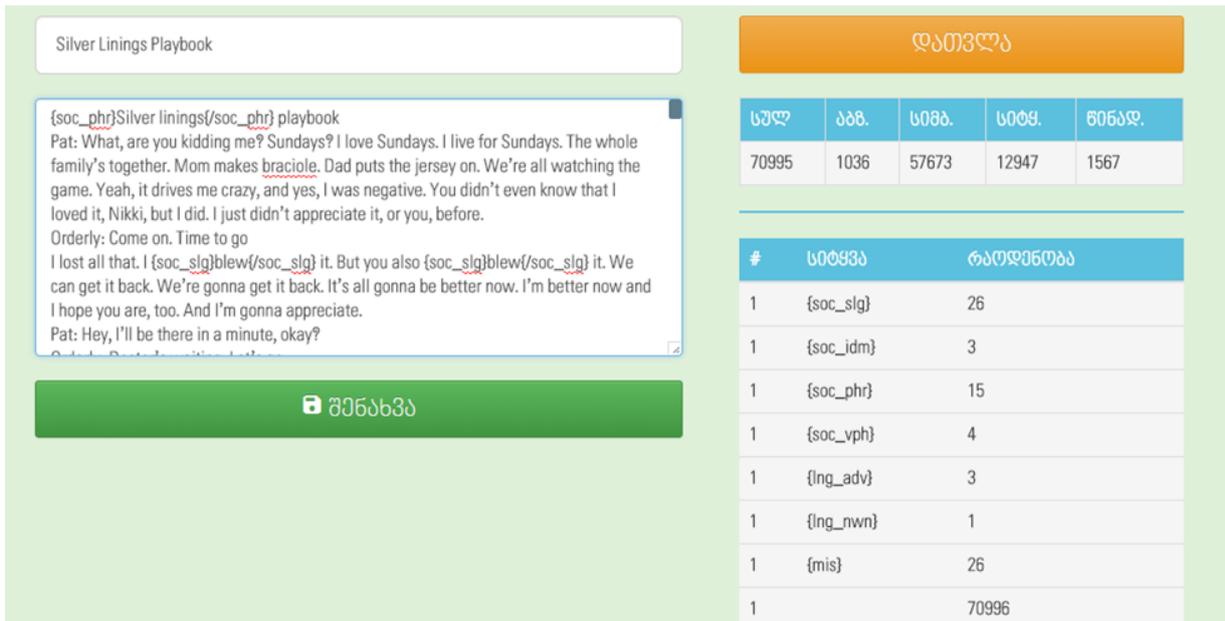


Figure 2: Output of L1 data for Study II, Methodology II.

Fig. 3 shows the corpus-based output retrieved by the analysis software for Study II with Methodology II, showing the L2 data for the Georgian script of the film *Silver Linings Playbook*: the number of words in L2 is 6257, the number of sentences, 870.

The text reduction ratio proved to be high in the TT. The L2 ratio of word reduction is approximately 290, while the ratio of sentence reduction is approximately 333.

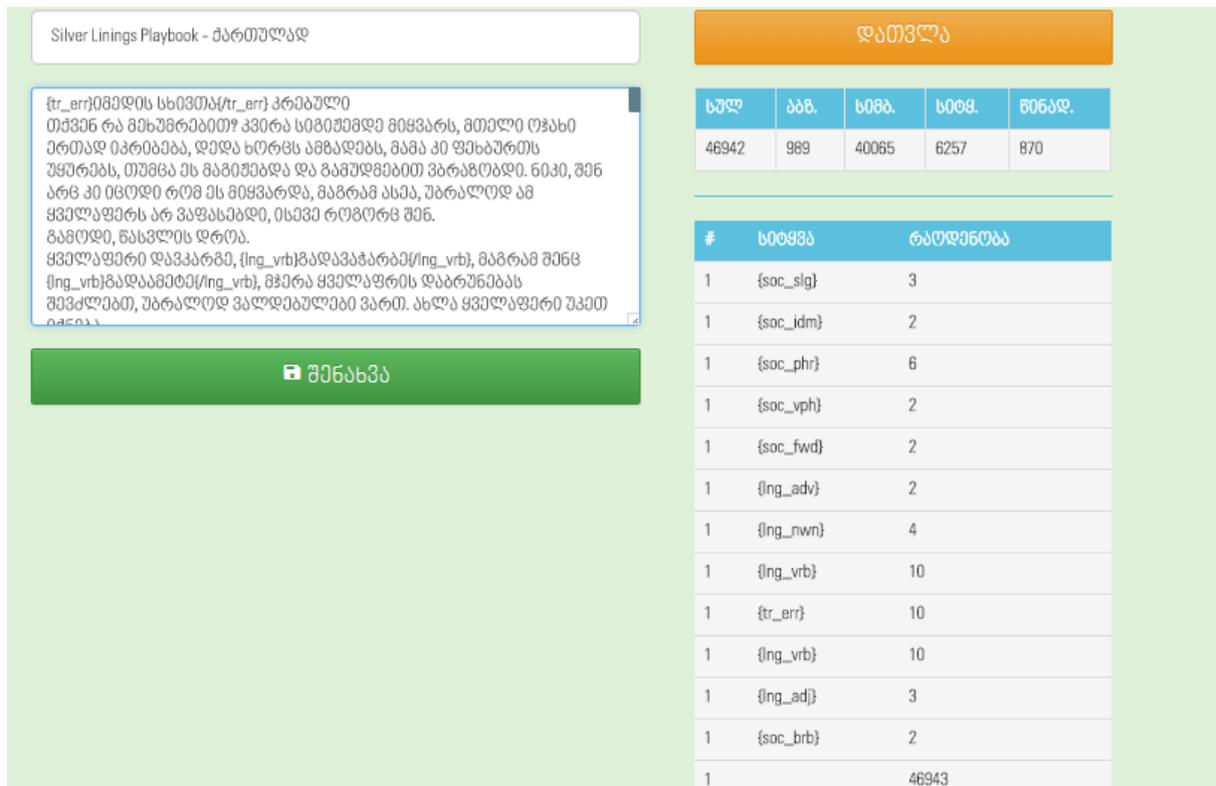


Figure 3: Output of L2 data for Study II, Methodology II.

5.2.1 Corpus-based research output for Study II

The statistical output of the corpus showed a very low turnout of slang translation in the case of *Silver Linings Playbook*. Table 7 shows that slang omissions constitute the highest portion of the overall TT language variation, followed by phrasal expressions and idioms.

Total number of words: 12947	ST	Number of words L2: 6257	TT
{soc_slg} slang	26	{soc_slg} slang	3
{soc_phr} phrasal expressions	15	{soc_phr} phrasal expressions	6
{soc_idm} idioms	4	{soc_idm}	2

Table 7: Study II research outcomes

5.2.2 Translation of slang

I extracted several samples of the ST and TT data of slang, transliterated the TT, determined the translation strategy and back-translated into English.

No.	American English idioms	Translation with transliteration	Translation strategy: neutralization	Back translation
1	I lost all that. I {soc_slg} blew {/soc_slg} it. But you also {soc_slg} blew {/soc_slg} it. We can get it back. We're gonna get it back. It's all gonna be better now. I'm better now and I hope you are, too. And I'm gonna appreciate.	ყველაფერი დავკარგე. გადავაჭარბე მაგრამ შენც გადაამეტე მეჯერა ყველაფრის დაბრუნებას შევძლებთ, უბრალოდ ვალდებულები ვართ. ახლა ყველაფერი უკეთ იქნება. [Q`velaperi davk'arge, gadavach'arbe, magram shents gadaamet'e, mjera q`velapris dabrunebas shevdzlebt, ubralod valdebulebi vart. Akhla q`velaperi uk'et ikneba.]	Less expressive / neutral word	I exceeded
2	You need to {soc_slg} pipe down {/soc_slg}	დამშვიდდი [Damshviddi]	Less expressive / neutral word	Calm down
3	I'm not {soc_slg} breaking your balls {/soc_slg}	რა იყო? [Raiq'o?]	Less expressive / neutral word	What happened?
4	Yeah, from the {soc_slg} loony bin {/soc_slg}	ჰო, კლინიკიდან! [Ho, k'linik'idan!]	Less expressive / neutral word	From the clinic
5	You are not a {soc_slg} standup guy {/soc_slg} right now	როგორ იქცევი? [Rogor iktsevi?]	Less expressive / neutral word	How do you behave?
6	You mean {soc_slg} rookie {/soc_slg} of the year?	წლევიანდელი ახალწვეული? [Ts'levandeli akhalts'veuli?]	Less expressive / neutral word	Recruit

Table 8: English slang with Georgian translations

The strategy of neutralization as shown in the above-provided samples points out that the Georgian translation avoids the substitution of slang with corresponding Georgian slang, or even colloquialisms. The translation shows that the sociolect of the characters is standardized, which changes the situational variation of language in the TT and misrepresents the lively, effortless informal speech manner of the American middle class. In Georgian the dialogues turn into over-smoothed, unnatural and inert communication.

Fawcett (1997: 119–120) agrees with Hesse-Quack (1969: 114) that there is a tendency among film translators to translate slang with a neutral equivalent. According to Fawcett, there are two reasons for expunging or weakening slang: first, based on Hesse-Quack, it is the deficiency in the target language vocabulary to replace it, and the second is an act of censorship. Georgakopoulou (2009: 31) brings as a third reason mis-hearings of slang and colloquialisms in the English SL soundtrack by a subtitler (I generalize “subtitler” for the voice-over translators for the purpose of this research) whose mother tongue is not English.

As far as the TL translation follows the ST slang without omissions, and just converts slang into standard forms of the language, mis-hearing cannot be accepted as a reason. In the course of the research, however, I decided to test the compatibility of the PSTG corpus output to the first reason for the non-rendering of slang, and searched online sources for definitions of a couple of the American ST slang expressions. I set the gained meanings in the ST contexts to probe their contextual relevance. Then I pinpointed slang and colloquial equivalents in contemporary Georgian; e. g., *pipe down*, which means “to stop talking or making inappropriate noise”, could have been translated into Georgian with the colloquial phrase *გაეშვი ყველაფერს* [*gaeshvi q'velapers*] which implicates “calming down”. The connotation of the slang expression *standup guy*¹⁷ extends its meaning from “a reliable, supportive friend” to a person who abides by the rules of criminal gangs. It could easily have been translated with a very close equivalent, *კაი ბიჭი* [*k'ai bich'i*], which comes from the Georgian cant¹⁸ and is still in circulation. The slang expression *loony bin*, defined in the Webster Dictionary as a “psychiatric hospital”, could have been translated with the colloquial correspondence *საგოგე* [*sagizhe*]. The strategy of replacement of American slang with Georgian non-standard forms seems to be unacceptable for the translators.

5.2.3 Locating language variation reasons in Soviet Georgian (SG) and post-Soviet Georgian (PSG): a comparative overview of SG and contemporary language stratification parameters

At first glance, the TT translation strategy closely follows the conventional Soviet strategy of language normalization. However, as the film was translated in a different political context, i. e., in the censor-free liberal post-Soviet period, we assumed that the common tendency of evading substandard and colloquial vocabulary in the contemporary Georgian TT voice-over might have a different reason. The present-day Georgian language struggles on the one hand with the remnants of Russian barbarisms, and the influx of new loanwords from English during the past thirty years on the other hand. The empiric findings of extensive fieldwork within a language documentation (DigiArchive) project verify that speech patterns are socio-linguistically marked and contain Russian barbarisms. Nevertheless, the standardized PSG film

¹⁷ *Stand-up guy* is most commonly used by mobsters or mafia members to describe a man who would rather go to prison and *do time* than *rat* (“inform” or “tattle”) on a fellow criminal. In the movie “Friends of Eddie Coyle”, Robert Mitchum is described as a *stand-up guy* because he chooses to go to prison rather than inform on other criminals. See <https://www.definitions.net/definition/stand-up-guy>.

¹⁸ Wilde (1889: 301) defined *cant* as the language of the thieves, originating “from the Latin *cantare*, which signifies to enchant as well as to sing... Thieving without secrecy could hardly exist. Thief talk was invented to secure this.”

script contains only a single marker in form of a Russifying diminutive suffix added to a proper noun, a substandard form that was omitted in the TT.

The social variation of the Georgian language during the Soviet period was influenced by the Russian language on both the lexical and the prosodic levels. The Georgian intelligentsia, bilingual or near-bilingual, switched codes between Georgian and Russian, injected Russian vocabulary and phraseology into Georgian speech, and used Russian pronunciation as a sociolinguistic marker of high class identification (Tabidze 2011). This process started as early as the 19th century, however, when the speech manners of the Russia-educated Georgian nobility was mimicked by the marginalized lower social strata. Both processes ushered Russian barbarisms and calques into the language. Russian barbarisms and slang (Tabidze 1999: 8)¹⁹ raised protest among Georgians of both social strata. The scholars deplored the past practice and called for language purity: “These words will never become a part of the standard language and will always be associated to the speech of uneducated, low class speech” (Margalitadze 2017, quoted in Kobaidze 2021: 62). Switching from Russian to English in Georgia was not a casually reshuffled approach to language use, or just another sociolinguistic marker of social identification. As Kobaidze writes, the change of language policy since the 1990s became a marker of the Western political orientation of all social strata. Today, the index of the English language influx is much higher than that of Russian had ever had: “No educated person would dare to mix Russian words into their public speech to same extent that, nowadays, journalists and politicians mix English loanwords into their speech and even into their written language” (Kobaidze 2021: 62). This, however, has a political explanation: “The Russian language was associated with political pressure and even threat, since the declared language policy in the Soviet Union was to ‘merge nations and languages’, while the English language is not the language of an oppressor” (Kobaidze 2021: 63). Contemporary Georgian embeds both markers of the postcolonial and decolonization variation in its substandard layer.

The hybrid *GeoRusGlish* language stratification sustains both at the social and situational levels, the substandard language consumes combined forms and doublets of two languages, making up motley layers of etymologically varied forms. We shall suppose this symptomatic marker to be one of the reasons why translators opt for the standard language as a safe harbour. In their pursuit, post-Soviet Georgian film translators have turned into a category of censors, who impose standard forms on the SL slang. Another reason might be recent protests among the language purists who see no logic in giving a privilege to any of the substandard forms of non-Georgian origin. To sum up, in the PSG case the translational language variation in the TT of *Silver Lining Playbook* unfolds a different reason from the SG case, which was impinged by the *modus operandi* of a totalitarian regime. The translators try to find culture-specific norms that would camouflage the markers of the postcolonial language stratification. However, the standardization affects the overall quality of film translation.

¹⁹ “In everyday speech and slang, Russian vocabulary was abundant. The Georgian literary language faced a difficult situation.”

5.2.4 Translation of idioms

The strategy of the translation of idioms from American English into Georgian was domestication. Idioms were transposed into neutral phrases, a cultural substitute, an expressive colloquial verb, or a neutral verb.

No.	American English idiom	Translation with transliteration	Translation strategy	Back translation
1	I am out on a limb for you with the courts right now.	<i>შენს გამო სასამართლოს წინაშე რისკზე მივდივარ, ხვდები მაინც?</i> [Shens gamo sasamartlos ts'inashe risk'ze mivdivar, khvdebi maints?]	Shift into a neutral phrase; complete lexical and grammatical transformation.	I have to take a risk because of you
2	Oh, it flattens you out ²⁰ . I mean, you are done. It takes the light right out of your eyes.	<i>ბოლოს გიღებს, საქმე ცუდად გაქვს. თვალთ გიბნელდება.</i> [Bolos gighebs, sakme tsudad gakvs. Tvalt gibneldeba.]	Shift into a Georgian idiom, i.e. a cultural substitute that causes complete lexical and grammatical transformation.	(Takes your) end(s) you
3	I just can't believe Nikki's teaching that book to the ids. I mean the whole time, let me just break it down for you , the whole time you're rooting or this Hemingway uy to survive the war and to be with the woman that he loves, Catherine Barkley...	<i>როგორ შეუძლია ნიკის ამ წიგნით ბავშვებს ასწავლოს. გამუდმებით, ნება მომეცით ავიხსნათ, გამუდმებით ჩაგჩიჩინებენ, რომ ეს ბიჭი ჰემინგუეი ომში უნდა გადარჩეს, და თავის საყვარელ ქალთან კეტრინ ბერკლისთან ერთად იყოს...</i> [Rogor sheudzlia nik'is am ts'ignit bavshvebs asts'avlos. Gamudmebit, neba mometsit agikhsnat, gamudmebit chagchichineben, rom es bich'i heminguei omshi unda gadarches, da tavis saq'varel kaltan ketrin berk'listan ertad iq'os...]	Translation with an expressive colloquial verb	Hammer away = to be constantly talking about something.
4	He's...he's my friend, so he was rootin' for me.	<i>ის ჩემი მეგობარია და დამიჯერა.</i> [Is chemi megobaria da damijera.]	Shift into a neutral verb; complete lexical and grammatical transformation.	He believed me

Table 9: Translation of English idioms in Study II

In the case of translation from American English into Georgian, expressive phrasal units were shifted into idiomatic Georgian expressions.

²⁰ Meaning: “to strike someone and knock them down”; cf. Farlex (2017: 1526): “flat out like a lizard drinking 1. adjective Very busy; preoccupied with many different things at once. Primarily heard in Australia. *Sorry I couldn't make it to lunch today, I've been flat out like a lizard drinking all day. I've been flat out like a lizard drinking at work lately—I barely have time to see my kids anymore.* 2. adverb At the greatest possible speed, efficiency, or power. Primarily heard in Australia. *We drove that car through town flat out like a lizard drinking. The whole team is working flat out like a lizard drinking to get this project finished on time*”. Cf. also Spears (2005: 217): “**flatten** someone or something **out**† to make someone or something flat. *If you fall under the steamroller, it will flatten you out. Flatten out that dough a little more. Please flatten it out*”.

American English idioms	Translation transliterated	Translation strategy	Back translation
Look, sometimes it's okay with girls like this, they wanna have fun and sometimes it's not because they got a broken wing, and they're hurt, and they're an easy target . And in this case, this particular case, I think that wing is being fixed, my friend.	<i>მისმინე, ზოგჯერ ასეთ გოგონებთან ყოფნა კარგია, რადგან მხიარულები არიან, ზოგჯერ არა, რადგან ფრთა მოსწყდათ და იოლი ლუკმა გახდნენ მაგრამ ამ კონკრეტულ შემთხვევაში ვფიქრობ რომ ფრთა განიკურნა მეგობარო [Mismine, zogjer aset gogonebtan q'opna k'argia, radgan mkhiarulebi arian, zogjer ara, radgan prta mosts 'q'dat da ioli luk'ma gakhden, magram am k'onk'ret'ul shemtkhvevashi vpikrob rom prta ganik'urna megobaro.]</i>	Shift of the phrase into an idiom	Became an easy bite
What are you talking about? You seem like you're a tough girl to me.	<i>რას ამბობ? ჩემთან კერკეტი კაკალი ჩანხარ. [Ras ambob? Chemtan k'erk'et'i k'ak'ali chankhar.]</i>	Shift of the phrase into an idiom which has a direct equivalent in English	A hard nut to crack

Table 10: English expressive phrasal units shifted

6. Conclusion

As Study I has shown, a corpus-based research analysis of the translation procedures and situational analysis of the context of translation can give answers to the translator's identity that are not retrievable otherwise.

Summing up the findings of the research, we can assess (1) translational language variations between Georgian-to-English subtitle translation in the Soviet period, and English-to-Georgian voice-over translation in the post-Soviet period. The conducted comparative analysis of Study I revealed that in Georgian-to-English translation, most of the idioms were translated by paraphrases and thus neutralized. Several idioms were added to the subtitles rather as embellishments than in an attempt of compensation. This argument is based on the fact that Russian was used for a pivot translation, and the English subtitles were translated by a Russian translator with no command of the SL. Considerably, it was a strategy of foreignization. The research found politically motivated omissions, including a religious marker, and a pejorative address marker towards the hypothetical adversary: the Western World. Other omissions included a Russifying suffix added to a surname, and proper nouns which were shifted to the gender-specific pronouns in English, as well as descriptors and vocatives. (2) In Study II, the translation strategy of idioms from American English into Georgian was domestication. Idioms were transposed into neutral phrases, cultural substitutes, expressive colloquial verbs, or neutral verbs. Language variation was manifested in the translation of slang expressions as substandard forms that were neutralized by the standard language.

As for the variation between translated and non-translated languages, the translated Georgian of the post-Soviet period was juxtaposed to the non-translated Georgian of the Soviet period. The ST of SG does not contain slang, the language is standard and idiomatic. The SG language allegorically conveys political messages that can be assessed as a political subterfuge. It embeds semiotic anti-regime images. Numerous implications are marked with peripheral criticism. The Russian language influence is represented as a single case. The analysis of post-Soviet translational Georgian showed that the translators resort to the strategy of language

neutralization and evade the use of slang. However, they try to compensate the loss with idioms. Although their translation strategy closely follows the conventional Soviet strategy of language neutralization and normalization, we relate it to the contemporary language stratification tendency. As much as substandard forms in contemporary Georgian vary from Russian to English, the translators act as “self-censors” and impose standard forms in the TT on the non-standard ST. Hence, the major finding of the paper is that language standardization in the translated and non-translated texts of the postcolonial and decolonized periods show remarkable similarities.

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ქართული და ამერიკული ფილმების თარგმანის ინტერ-რეფლექსიური კორპუსული ანალიზი

ხათუნა ბერიძე (ბათუმი)

თანამედროვე მთარგმნელობითი კვლევები თითქმის წარმოდგენილია კორპუსლინგვისტური, მულტიდისციპლინური და მულტილინგვური მიდგომების გარეშე, რაც დარგის სამეცნიერო-გამოყენებითი განვითარებისთვის უდავოდ მნიშვნელოვანია. იმავდროულად, ნაკლებად გავრცელებულ ენებზე, ან ამ ენებიდან შესრულებულ თარგმანებს იშვიათად იკვლევენ კორპუსლინგვისტური მეთოდებით. წინამდებარე კვლევის მიზანია ენის ვარიაციის მიზეზებსა და თარგმანის მეთოდებსა და სტრატეგიებს შორის ურთიერთმიმართებების დადგენა პარალელურ კორპუსზე დაფუძნებული მონაცემების შედარების საფუძველზე. კვლევის ამოცანაა არათარგმნილ საბჭოთა და თარგმნილ პოსტსაბჭოთა ქართულს შორის სოციოლინგვისტიკური ვარიანტულობის მიზეზების დადგენა. კვლევის მიზნისა და ამოცანის შესაბამისად, წინამდებარე ნაშრომში გაანალიზებულია საბჭოთა ეპოქის ქართულიდან ინგლისურად თარგმნილ სუბტიტრებსა და პოსტიმპერიულ ეპოქაში ამერიკული ფილმის ქართულ თარგმანებში ენის ვარიაციისა და არანორმატიული ენის თარგმნის პრობლემები.

როგორც პ. ბეიკერი აღნიშნავს, „ენობრივი ცვალებადობის კორპუსზე დაფუძნებული დიაქრონიული ანალიზი გვიქმნის მნიშვნელოვან ხედვას იმ დინამიკური გზების შესახებ, რომლითაც საზოგადოებები ითავისებენ ან უგულვებელყოფენ ენობრივ ფორმებს. ხშირ შემთხვევაში, მკვლევარს ნარატივის შექმნის მცდელობის სურვილი უჩნდება იმ ენობრივი ნიმუშების საფუძველზე, რომლებიც შეიმჩნევა სხვადასხვა დროის სხვადასხვა კორპუსების შედარებისას“ (პ. ბეიკერი, 2010:80). ნაშრომში შედარებულია მთარგმნელობითი მეთოდები ქართული ფილმის, "მონანიების" სუბტიტრებისა და ქართულად გახმოვანებული ამერიკულ ფილმის „Silver Lining Playbook“-ის კორპუსლინგვისტური ანალიზის საფუძველზე. გაანალიზებულია მთარგმნელობითი მეთოდების გამოყენების შესაძლო მიზეზები. ფილმების თვისობრივი მონაცემები, მაგ. ჟანრი, გამოშვების წელი, ენები, თარგმანის მოდუსები და თარგმნის თარიღები განსხვავდება. ორივე შემთხვევაში ტექსტების ანოტაცია POS თეგირება / TEI ფორმატში მანუალურად შესრულდა. გასწორებული ტექსტები დამუშავდა სპეციალურად შექმნილ პროგრამულ ანალიზატორში. თარგმანის მეთოდების რაოდენობრივი და ხარისხობრივი შესწავლისას საყურადღებოდ მივიჩნით გამოტოვებებისა და პერიფრაზების კვლევა.

კვლევამ გვიჩვენა, რომ საბჭოთა პერიოდის ინგლისურ ენაზე სუბტიტრების თარგმნის პროცესში გამოყენებული იყო შუალედური (რუსული) ენა, რაც მიგვანიშნებს ცენზურის ჩარევაზე. საბჭოთა მთარგმნელობითი მეთოდებიდან ქართულიდან ინგლისურად შესრულებულ თარგმანში გამოვლენილია გაუცხოურების სტრატეგია, რაც გამიზნული იყო ინგლისურენოვანი აუდიტორიისთვის ბუნებრივ, იდიომატურ ენაზე სუბტიტრების ამეტყველებისთვის. პოსტსაბჭოთა პერიოდში შესრულებული ამერიკული ფილმის ქართული გახმოვანება ავლენს მოშინაურების სტრატეგიას იდიომების თარგმნისას და სტანდარტიზაციის მეთოდს ჟარგონის თარგმნისას. ანალიზის შედეგების განზოგადებამ

გვიჩვენა, რომ პოსტსაბჭოთა პერიოდის ნათარგმნ ქართულ ენასა და საბჭოთა პერიოდის (უთარგმნელ) ქართულს შორის ვლინდება სანახევრო ჰომოლოგია. იგი განპირობებულია ნათარგმნ ქართულში ამერიკული ინგლისურის ე. წ. „უთარგმნელი“, არანორმატიული ლექსიკური ფორმების ნორმატიული ლექსიკით ჩანაცვლებით. პოსტსაბჭოთა ნათარგმნი ქართული ენა (PSG) არანორმატიულ ამერიკულ ჟარგონს სტანდარტული ფორმებით ანაცვლებს, როგორც საბჭოთა რეჟიმის პერიოდის ქართული ენა ცენზურის ზეგავლენით, სამეტყველო ნორმების ზედმიწევნით დაცვა შედეგია. სტანდარტული ფორმების შერჩევა და გამოყენება ორივე შემთხვევაში პოსტკოლონიური მარკერია. კიდევ ერთი პოსტკოლონიური მარკერია ალეგორიული ენით გაფორმებული რეჟიმის საწინააღმდეგო დისკურსი საბჭოთა პერიოდის ქართული ტექსტში. კორპუსული მონაცემების რაოდენობრივი და ხარისხობრივი მაჩვენებლები მიუთითებს, რომ ქართული ენის სტრატეგიკაციული ვარიანტულობების ჰომოლოგიას თარგმნილ პოსტსაბჭოთა და უთარგმნელ საბჭოთა ტექსტების დონეზე განაპირობებს პოსტსაბჭოთა ქართულ ენაზე ამერიკული კოლოკვიალური და არასტანდარტული ენობრივი ფორმების სტანდარტული ფორმებით გადმოტანა.

კვლევის შედეგად მივდივართ დასკვნამდე, რომ მთარგმნელები სტანდარტულ ფორმებს ანიჭებენ უპირატესობას კოლოკვიალურ-არაოფიციალური და არასტანდარტული ფორმების თარგმნისას. ვფიქრობთ, ასეთი არჩევანის ძირითადი მიზეზია პოსტსაბჭოთა ქართულის არანორმატიული რეგისტრის ორმაგი ვარიანტულობა: ერთი მხრივ, ენაში სლენგის სუბსტრატად შენარჩუნებულია რუსული ბარბარიზმები, მეორე მხრივ, ინგლისური ენიდან ჭარბად შემოდინებული ნასესხობების წილი არასტანდარტული ფორმების ვარიაციაა.