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LEGAL DRAMA AND AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION: THE ROLE OF LEGAL ENGLISH IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF STEREOTYPED REPRESENTATIONS

Abstract. Considering the overwhelming amount of media products that we are subjected to in the 21st century and the way in which those inevitably influence our perception of reality, this research pays specific attention to the role of the media in the construction and enhancement of stereotypes in everyday life, via the language or, more specifically, specialized languages. In particular, this paper aims to investigate an American legal TV series in order to analyze the way in which legal English is used in dialogues. The major research questions are: to what extent such a kind of specialized discourse may be really understood by the greater audience? How does legal drama participate in the shaping of stereotypes relating to the legal environment in the country where it is produced, and cross-culturally, bearing in mind the prominence of “made in the USA” products in the television programming across the world? Ultimately, in the light of the previous questions, should the growing field of research in audiovisual translation extend its investigation into the area of legal English? Taking into consideration the seminal work of Pedersen (2008) and Diaz Cintas (2008) in the field of Audiovisual Translation (AVT), the study will examine the subtitling techniques employed for this atypical genre. Through the analysis of a corpus comprising several dialogues from a collection of episodes of the legal show *Reckless*, the paper will mostly focus on gender representations and their most common linguistically enhanced stereotypes.

Keywords: Audiovisual translation, gender stereotypes, legal drama, legal English.

Introduction

A survey conducted by A. C. Nielsen Co. (an American holding that focuses its attention on global information measurements by monitoring consumers and consumers’ behavior across the world), through the *Statistic Brain Research Institute* (<http://www.statisticbrain.com/television-watching-statistics/>). Last accessed 20/05/2015), on March 27th 2015, points out

that an average U.S. adult citizen spends over 5 hours watching television. If we look at the other side of the world, and specifically Italy, percentages do not change too much. These figures can easily lead to the conclusion that the input sent daily by television inevitably influences our perception of reality, and the way human beings interact in society. For this reason, this study focuses on the role of the media in constructing and enhancing, via the language or, more specifically, specialized languages, gender stereotypes in everyday life

In 1988 Judith Butler suggested that “gender reality is performative” meaning

that it is real only to the extent that it is performed. It seems fair to say that certain kinds of acts are usually interpreted as expressive of a gender core or identity, and that these acts either conform to an expected gender identity or contest that expectation in some way (Butler, 1988: 527–528).

Against this theoretical backdrop the corpus under scrutiny was selected drawing from television series. In TV or Cinema productions a representation of real life is very often enacted; a performance of what is believed to be the truth in the social imaginary, therefore a perfect example of how stereotypes are created, represented and perpetuated. “The success of a TV series is linked to the possibility of reading the narratives in different ways. Even if the readings are contradictory, the text permits viewers to find within it an ideology to which they can adhere” (Villez, 2010: 65).

Female protagonists were not common in legal dramas. In the Seventies the character of a woman lawyer was introduced for the first time, in two different shows, both lasted barely a couple of months. The first successful TV series featuring a female lawyer as the protagonist of a legal drama was aired in 1975 and titled *Kate McShane*. In this case, Kate had two male characters, her father and her brother, to back her up when her emotions would get the best of her. Since the beginning female characters in legal dramas, have been depicted as weak and in need of male support (Villez, 2010: 19). One of the main depiction of the female characters, when playing the role of lawyer or similar to it, was that of reminding male colleagues of the moral code, or taking care of others, conforming to the stereotyped image of the nurturing mother. The other depiction of the female characters was the complete opposite: a heartless businesswoman willing to do anything in order to achieve her goal, usually looking like a sexy model in fancy suits and fashionable hairstyles (Villez, 2010: 38).

The purpose of this study is to analyze how legal dramas participate in the shaping of stereotypes relating to the legal environment in the country

where they are produced, and cross-culturally, bearing in mind the prominence of “made in the USA” products across the world.

The first step is to investigate American legal TV series, intended as fictional representations where “a legal question is examined in the scenario” (Villez, 2010: 2). The analysis of the way in which legal English is used in dialogues and the way the legal environment is represented from a gendered point of view will be discussed using examples of the linguistic choices in the legal drama *Reckless*.

Moreover, a second step will be to clarify the extent to which such a kind of specialized discourse may be really understood by the greater audience and the effects produced on the public. As underlined by Villez (2010), legal drama follows the evolution of the legal system “through continuously complex narratives incorporating current legal issues”; therefore the viewers are inevitably encouraged to “contemplate this evolution, to notice references to real events while enjoying quality entertainment” (Villez, 2010: 62).

Ultimately, this study tries to link the growing field of research in audiovisual translation to the area of legal English. As pointed out by Williams (2008), in fact,

the language of the law [...] tends to be very conservative and resistant to change. It accumulates more easily than most other genres of language fossilized terms and expressions, archaic or rarely used words and is often written in a style that is extremely hard for the non-expert to understand (Williams, 2008: 2).

This preciseness might reveal a doubled-edged sword: on the one side, translation nowadays should be easy, because all formulaic expressions have already a standard translation. At the same time it could be of great difficulty for an audiovisual translator who has precise rules to follow when doing his/her job as a subtitler or a translator.

Taking into account the seminal works of Pedersen (2008) and Diaz Cintas (2008) in the field of Audiovisual Translation (AVT), and through the analysis of a corpus comprising several episodes of *Reckless* (2014), the study will mostly focus on gender representations and their most common linguistically-enhanced stereotypes in an era where media productions are an important medium for the representation of personal and national identity, and also a means to carry ideological, political and cultural messages.

Summing up, the main focus of the study will be on the role of legal English in American Legal Drama and the way it is used in the representation of the legal environment. Secondly, it will analyze the extent to which legal drama participates in shaping stereotypes relating to the legal envi-

ronment in the country where it is produced (USA), and cross-culturally, mainly Italy. Finally, it will explore the current tools of AVT to determine if they can be effectively applied to the translation of English legal drama.

Theoretical framework

This research spaces inside the framework of translation and Discourse Analysis, more specifically AVT (Audiovisual Translation) and CBDA (Corpus Based Discourse Analysis). In the first case, being the corpus under scrutiny an audiovisual text, the techniques of audiovisual translation were considered, focusing first on subtitling and then on specific translation techniques in order to analyze the Italian translation of the script. The tools taken from the second methodology were then used to analyze the script and its translation. Thus, the first aspect that must be pointed out is that the analysis does not take into account everyday language but a specialized type of discourse: Legal English.

Analyzing Legal English

Legal English is a specialized language used in the legal environment, it falls under the category of ESP: English for Specific Purposed and it is also defined as a specialized discourse (Williams, 2007). Nowadays, as the media keeps on gaining a central role in everyday life, portraying all different kinds of topics and issues, this type of language as become also very common in TV series, film or television in general.

As Gotti (2003) points out, when speaking of Specialized Discourse we intend

an actual language enclosing a mixture of combined more or less specific features coexisting in a quantitatively different degree as compared to general language. The most striking and marked trait of SD is the lexicon with all its specific features – which for this reason it is very difficult when it comes to translating it adequately (Gotti, 2003: 351).

More specifically, legal language, as suggested by Bhatia (2013), can be seen as a mix of different genres, according to the communicative aim, the contexts in which they are used, the social or professional relationship between the participants who are using such language and many other factors (Bhatia, 2013: 187).

Legal English is therefore the language used in all environments dealing with law, such as courtrooms, lawyers' offices and legal dramas, which

“are set in the legal world and stage life and professional activities of the personnel implicated in the administration of justice and deal with issues directly related to law and justice” (Villez, 2010: 3).

We can distinguish among four different types of legal English. These “can range from the language of legal documents to the law reports published in newspapers to certain forms of oral language”: a) judicial discourse; b) language of legal documents; c) courtroom discourse; d) discourse of legal consultation (Williams, 2007: 23–25). The last two varieties will be taken into account for the purposes of this research.

The main features that enable Legal English to be considered a specialized language are several and highly specific. The use of archaic expressions is one of the distinctive elements of legal English, which consists in the presence, throughout legal documents of words that were once considered part of the vocabulary but nowadays appear obsolete. The presence of peculiar terminology not understandable by laypeople, together with the peculiar use of verbs, sentence structure and punctuation give specificity to this type of discourse. Other characteristics of legal language are the use of doublets and triplets (two or three words which are synonyms and are found together in the text), or formal and impersonal register (Bhatia, 1993).

Nowadays legal series cover a wide variety of legal areas such as “criminal law, labor law, contract law, marriage and divorce, fraud and tort law” (Villez, 2010: 72). Each legal series is possibly used to initially expose the audience to legal terminology. According to Villez (2010), at least twenty legal terms can be found in each episode. When the terms are too technical to be understood by the greater audience the technique used is to repeat the same word in different moments of the episode in order to give the viewers more than one chance to figure out the meaning (Villez, 2010).

Most of terms are hard to understand, also because they are not English, but archaisms or Latinisms or derive from French. Something that could be helpful as well is to use subtitles while watching, since a word can be easier to understand if read. The peculiar features of Legal English, although, can put to the test even the best translator or subtitler.

AVT: Subtitling Legal Drama

When it comes to translating these texts and moreover adapting the dialogues into subtitles, the translator/adaptor faces great difficulties. Despite the availability of a translated version of specific terminology, the translation needs to be adapted to the rules of AVT as well. This necessity could make it hard to remain faithful to the original meaning of the text.

Translation studies have recently suggested the need for a much deeper understanding of the matter; translation does not only include a language transfer, but a cultural, social and historical transposition (Bassnett & Trivedi, 1999).

When it comes to audiovisual translation things are slightly different. First of all let us clear out what we mean by audiovisual text. According to Zabalbeascoa (2008), an audiovisual text is a harmonic combination of verbal, nonverbal, audio, and visual elements broadcasted through a screen.

Generally speaking, there are two main approaches to audiovisual translation: dubbing and subtitling. In dubbing the tendency is to maintain the dialogue as spoken interaction; in subtitling, instead, the tendency is to transform the dialogue into written text. In dubbing, the original performance is replaced by a completely new soundtrack recorded in the target language, replaced through a technique known as re-voicing. In subtitling, the soundtrack is adapted from spoken to written, this technique mainly consists in adding text to the screen (Diaz Cintas & Andermann, 2008).

Since this research focuses on the method of subtitling, it might be useful to scrutinize this approach.

As mentioned above, the process of subtitling consists in, as also stated by Ivarsson and Carroll (1998), transforming the spoken dialogues into written text. This might also need translation and then adaption, in both cases a certain number of rules concerning the subtitle must be followed.

In subtitling, the adaptor must be consistent both with visual (scene, events and non-linguistic communication) and non-verbal communication (tone of voice, emphasis, etc.) (Kovacic, 1996). Time, space and presentation are the three main aspects that must be never underestimated in order to produce a valuable subtitle. When speaking about time we refer to the fact that the text should appear on the screen for the appropriate reading time – that is 3,5 seconds according to Karamitroglou (1998) – and also in and out timing must be very accurate (Diaz Cintas & Andermann, 2008). The feature of space refers to the length of the subtitle, which should not exceed two lines, or a maximum of 35–40 characters per line. Subtitles can appear at the center or at the left margin of the screen (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998). A new technique, used in the TV series analyzed, consists in having a dynamic text, positioned on the screen next to the character speaking (Karamitroglou, 1998), which is also the technique used for the TV series analyzed in this study. And last, when speaking of presentation, we consider the space taken by the subtitle on the screen, which should not exceed 20% of the screen. The size of the characters and the positioning on the screen must be taken into account, as well as the timing between the action on the

screen and the appearance of the subtitle (Diaz Cintas & Andermann, 2008).

As pointed out by Balirano and Hughes (2012), when translating audiovisual texts, both in dubbing and subtitling, even if many parts of the text stay unaltered,

the linguistic exchanges, and therefore the social relationships they contribute to build, inevitably mutate. Such mutations can, in turn, bring about changes in the identity makeup of the characters, often leading to 'gain' for the target viewers who, apart from the clearly acquired textual comprehension, are also able to observe, through the agency of the communicative exchanges, a number of behavioral or identity traits which concur with and fit into the target setting. Such translated communicative exchanges can, however, modify or mask the original traits which mark the character in the source version of the audio-visual production, thus bringing about a 'loss' in terms of original character identity-building (Balirano & Hughes, 2012: 27).

As a matter of fact, among the problematic aspects of AVT are Extralinguistic Cultural References (ECR): expressions or words strictly related to the culture where the text is being produced. In many cases, the receiver of the text may not understand the meaning, even if he/she knows the language in which the text is produced (Pedersen, 2008).

Some new strategies have been purposefully elaborated so that the translation can be a viable one. We will refer here to Pedersen's, who divided the strategies into two major groups: Minimum Change strategies and Interventional strategies.

In the first case the contribution of the translator is limited as he/she chooses to stay as close as possible to the original text. The approaches to this strategy are several: in some cases an Official Equivalent can be found, in other cases a technique known as Retention can be used, consisting in leaving the reference untranslated. An additional strategy in this category is Direct Translation, where no semantic alteration is made. Interventional strategies, on the other hand, are divided into Specification, Generalization and Substitution. In this case the translator is asked to commit to the text by adding, changing or fixing the cultural reference in order to render the line in the most comprehensible way.

Two more strategies can be added to this list, which are also relevant for this study: Omission and Reduction. In the former case the reference is completely omitted, in the latter it is summarized in order to convey the meaning (Pedersen, 2008).

Both the subtitled version of the script and its translation were analyzed using discourse analysis to support the hypothesis expressed through the research questions.

CBDA: Corpus Based Discourse Analysis

For the purpose of this study text and translation were analyzed through an approach introduced in 2008 by Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery: Corpus Based Discourse Analysis (CBDA). This method combines Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis.

McEnery and Wilson (1996) explain Corpus Linguistics as an approach for exploring language use through the analysis of a corpus and the use of software program that is able to perform immediate and precise calculation of the data collected. The analysis is then carried out on keywords; frequency of occurrences and other criteria, which allow the linguist to have a general, overlook of the text and identify linguistic patterns (Baker, Gabrielatos & McEnery, 2013). The advantages of using corpus linguistics are found in the fact that very large corpora can be analyzed at once through this method, which enables the scholar to produce highly representative results.

On the other hand, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to the study of language as a social practice, that lies particular interest both in the way in which ideology and power influence the use of language and the way language is used in society to determine specific power relations. It also explores specific linguistic phenomena to determine the way they express specific viewpoints (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Due to the multiplicity of factors, which come together in the production of a text, another factor taken into account by CDA is interdiscursivity, defined by Fairclough (1995, 2011) as the way in which texts are made of diverse discourses and genres that come together as a whole. CDA is a kind of linguistic analysis, which highlights the relations between language, context, society, history and politics. Critical discourse analysts are particularly interested in investigating the way specific linguistic phenomena such as metaphors, implicature, or sentence structure produce and are used to represent specific stances. In order to have a deeper understanding of the dialogues the instruments of multimodal analysis (Jewitt, 2009) were also taken into consideration, keeping in mind the interdisciplinary tools of CDA.

The two methods combined together are particularly relevant for the kind of analysis being conducted in this study. As a matter of fact, this combination allows to easily move from qualitative to quantitative analysis and vice versa. The computerized analysis helps to highlight important elements of the text, which then need a deeper examination facilitating the creation of further hypothesis and a better and wider investigation of the text (Baker, Gabrielatos & McEnery, 2013). CDA historically focuses mainly on single texts or small collections of texts, predominantly carrying

out a qualitative analysis. With the introduction of Corpus Linguistic, that is using a corpus-based approach to conduct discourse analysis, it is able to produce quantitative evidence through the identification of language patterns or the analysis of collocations, which unveil hidden meanings of lexical items. The main focus of CDA, to identify ideological patterns and power relations expressed through language in a text, is facilitated by the contemporaneous investigation of a plurality of texts and of large corpora, bringing an added value to current research.

Corpus and methodology

For the purpose of this study a corpus of thirteen episodes from the famous television series *Reckless* was collected. The definition of corpus provided by Gries and Stefanowitsch (2006) is of “a machine-readable representative collection of naturally occurring language assembled for the purpose of linguistic analysis” (Stefanowitsch, 2006: 4). The corpus used for this study is a script, that is dialogues that were written by someone and enacted by someone else in a film or TV series, or any other kind of enacted representation. The choice of non-naturally occurring language has specific reasons. One of the aims of the research is to identify a possible reinforcement of stereotypes through the vision of TV series, compelled by language choice. As far as the use of corpus linguistic is concerned, one of the features useful for this study is the possibility given by this method to analyze the data as a whole, making the investigation “systematic and exhaustive” (Gries & Stefanowitsch, 2006: 4). As suggested by Stubbs (2004), a corpus underlines what is “central and typical, normal and expected”; as a result it proves that the patterns that constitute language are motivated and not accidental. Another aspect that according to Bhatia, Langton and Lung (2004) can be successfully investigated through the use of Corpus Linguistics is interdiscursivity (embedding of one genre into another).

The corpus collected is composed of the full subtitle scripts of the first season of the television series *Reckless*. It is made of thirteen episodes, for a total of approximately 9h20m runtime. The TV series was released in 2014; written by Dana Stevens and directed by Catherine Hardwicke, and set in Charleston, South Carolina. Anna Wood (playing Miss Jamie Sawyer) and Cam Gigandet (playing Mr. Roy Rayder) acted in the leading roles.

The corpus is made of 19950 tokens in total and it was divided into two sub-corpora: English subtitles (64409 tokens) and Italian subtitles (55541 to-

kens). The subtitles were taken from two online sources, www.springfield.co.uk for the English version and www.subspedia.weebly.com for the Italian ones.

The show narrates the story of Jamie Sawyer, a young female lawyer from New York who moves to Charleston. Jamie is presented as an ingenuous young lady, always fighting to do the right thing even if it could cost her a lot; full of resources, beautiful and attractive but at the same time fighting to demonstrate what she is worth in a masculine and corrupted society. The problems she has to deal with in order to be accepted in an environment mostly made up of men are narrated through the episodes, as well as the discriminations she encounters not only being a woman but also coming from a different part of the country. Her rival in court is usually Roy Raider. The first season concludes with a happy ending: Jamie wins her biggest lawsuit and becomes a couple with Roy.

The corpus was analyzed with a free concordances software program developed for corpus linguistic analysis: AntConc 3.4.3m (Laurence, 2014).

The analysis of the corpus has been conducted from two points of view in order to answer the research questions outlined in the introduction section. The first step of the analysis consisted in looking at language choices concerning the description and the dialogues of the characters, perpetrating a comparison between the words referred to the female and the male characters, on gender stereotypes. The investigation then, concentrated on the translation of the subtitles from English into Italian, giving particular relevance to those linguistic structures emerging from the first step. In the following sections the analysis and its results is presented.

Gender Stereotypes

Starting from the assumption that gender, as the noun referring to the traits that men and women are assigned not biologically, at birth, but within the different classes, cultures and societies, it is possible to claim, according to Wodak (1997), that these traits are not immutable but socially determined and learned, therefore not beyond change. Accordingly, gender is a social category and a social construct. Gender ideologies have cemented in the minds of people stereotyped views of men and women, that is to say that what a women should be in contrast to a men is determined by society. These stereotypes have affected the representation of the world as well. This section of the study focuses on those stereotypes and how their representation is enacted and carried out in legal drama.

As Van Leeuwen points out (1996),

a given culture (or a given context within a culture) has not only its own, specific array of ways of representing the social world, but also specific ways of mapping the different semiotics on to this array, of prescribing, with greater or lesser strictness, what can be realized verbally as well as visually (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 34).

Following this statement, it seemed necessary to begin the analysis of the script by looking at social actors and the way they are represented in the series; in order to establish if they fall or not into the stereotyped binary representation of male vs. female characters. As reported by Van Leeuwen (1996), social actors can be defined according to different factors, depending on the specific context they are in, as part of a group or class, or as individuals, or as part of a category. Social actors can be defined as well in terms of the activity they are involved in or by the category of Identification, the definition of a social actor “in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are” (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 54). Taking into account the two main characters of the TV series, Jamie Sawyer and Roy Rayder, the first step was to collect quantitative data to analyze through the use of the software program AntConc in order to look at the way the female and male characters were addressed to and at the frequency of the words used to refer to them:

Table 1

Social Actors frequency

WORD	Frequency		WORD	Frequency
Jamie	123	vs.	Roy	132
Miss Sawyer	41	vs.	Mr. Rayder	17

As pointed out by the data summarized in Table 1, the characters were addressed by their first name more frequently than they were called by their last name, which could suggest that the text was written in a less formal register. Nonetheless, a great number of scenes were set in a very formal context: a courtroom.

Thirteen times out of 123 Jamie is called by her first name in court, while for Roy the numbers are 22 out of 132. The use of the last name is also relevant, Jamie is addressed by her last name, Miss Sawyer, 24 times more than Roy, who is most frequently addressed by his first name, both in and out of the courtroom, by judges and fellow lawyers, as we can see in the examples reported in Table 2. For matters of space only four examples per

character were chosen, among the others, to display as evidence to support this hypothesis, using a subjective criterion based on relevance to the topic discussed. Starting from Table 2 and in some of the following table as well bold was added to highlight the most salient words on which the analysis focused.

Table 2 **Social Actors in text**

	JAMIE	ROY
1	Roy: Well, you know, I watch you, too, Jamie. And you know what I see? I see a Yankee lawyer in expensive shoes who doesn't know how to work a Southern jury or a Southern DA .	Judge: Hmm. Roy kind of looks like she's got you bent over a stump with your pants down, son .
2	Roy: So, what's with the ring, Jamie? You trying out for the home shopping network?	Dec: There he is! Where you been, Roy? (In a room with other lawyers)
3	Judge: Ms. Sawyer! Order! (Gavel bangs) Ms. Sawyer, Mr. Rayder, please approach	Judge: Roy , you may have every jurist south of Charlotte wrapped around your finger...
4	Judge Kress: I am inclined to agree with Ms. Sawyer here.	Lawyer: Heard a lot about you, Roy!

Both these sets of data prove that Jamie's social status is less recognized in the work context since the interlocutors create a distance among them by using a less familiar way of addressing her: the last name. In example 3 Table 2, for instance, both lines are taken from the same scene, Jamie is called by her last name, while Roy is addressed by his first name, which points out the different approaches the Judge has towards the two lawyers in the same context.

Another analytical category introduced by Van Leeuwen (1996), useful to describe the way in which social actors are described is called Functionalization: "when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do, for instance an occupation or role". Functionalization can be accomplished in different ways: nouns can be formed by adding a suffix to a verb, from another noun, by compounding two nouns which indicate a place or a tool associated to a specific activity. In this corpus three words had these characteristics: the denominal noun 'lawyer' (from noun aw) and the deverbal nouns 'counsel' and 'counselor' (from verb to council). As shown by Table 3, these words occur throughout the text a high number of times.

Table 3

Functionalization

WORD	FREQUENCY
Counsel	20
Counselor	12
Lawyer	33

Due to the similarity of the first two words shown in Table 3, the investigation moved to researching the reason why the language choice shifted in the text from one noun to the other. From the definition given by two different on-line English dictionaries, *Cambridge* and *Merriam-Webster*, the word ‘counselor’ seems to have a more general meaning while ‘counsel’ seems more related to law:

Table 4

Vocabulary

	Cambridge on-line dictionary (BE) http://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/	Merriam Webster on-line dictionary (AE) http://www.merriam-webster.com/
Counsel	a lawyer who speaks for someone in court	a lawyer who represents a person or group in a court of law
Counselor	someone whose job is to provide help or advice	a person who provides advice as a job; a person who counsels people

While the word ‘counsel’ remains neutral, the word ‘counselor’ takes on a whole different role in the dialogues as is shown in the examples below.

In word formation the act of transforming a verb into a noun is known as linguistic nominalization. According to Billig (2008), this process can have different functions. Two of them are **deleting of agency**: a process which transforms the statements that identify agents of actions into agent-less statements that convey less information; and **maintaining unequal power relations**: when linguistic nominalization is used to absolve this function, a social context of inequality is created through the use of language, as displayed in the example of Table 5.

From the data collected in Table 5, the most relevant examples taken from the script we can see that the use of counselor adheres to the two functions of linguistic nominalization described above. The noun undergoes a semantic enrichment: it now carries a message.

Table 5

Nominalization

	COUNSELOR	COUNSEL
1	Roy: Counselor . You look lovely, as usual.	Roy: As my opposing counsel will point out...
2	Roy: Well done Counselor! Must feel good!	Roy: Opposing counsel can't seem to provide viable evidence to support this lawsuit.
3	Roy: Congratulations, counselor! (Ironic)	Judge: Mr. Rayder, if your opposing counsel wants to drop...
4	Roy: After you, counselor! (opens door)	Judge: Counsel approach.

As shown in Table 3, the noun ‘counsel’ was found to occur 20 times, while the noun ‘counselor’ only 12. Out of those 12 times, 7 refer to Jamie and only 3 address Roy. The four examples, displayed in Table 5, show an improper use of the noun ‘counselor’. The meaning given to the noun goes beyond that of neutrally explaining the work role, as it is used almost like a nickname and is charged in some cases, like examples 2 and 3, with a negative meaning by adding irony or mockery. In examples 1 and 4, the noun ‘counselor’ is used by Roy to address Jamie, this conversation may sound friendly, but, the fact that he adds compliments related to her physical appearance in the first case and the action performed while uttering the line in the second, explain his actual intentions of emphasizing his role as dominant male character. While the noun ‘counsel’ is always used in official contexts or as a plural form to address both lawyers, the noun ‘counselor’, is used to downplay the role of Jamie by addressing her in contexts where there is no need to use it, but it is just a way to put an accent on her role in the social context.

The substantive used to address Jamie is not the only dialogic aspect used to downplay her role. As shown in example 1 Table 2, she is described, by the judge and in front of her colleagues, as a “Yankee lawyer in expensive shoes that does not know how to work a jury”, depicting the image of the spoiled, pretentious girl from the North who is incapable of doing her job and only cares about irrelevant matters. The choice of the word, Yankee, implies a whole background of negative meaning and attributes it to Jamie. In example 2 Table 2 Roy implies once again that she is incapable of doing her job, and these are just two of the examples available throughout the script.

Jamie is not the only female character who is depicted following stereotypes and whose role is downplayed. The most relevant examples of female

representation, in addition to the ones related to the character of Jamie, were selected and included in the table below.

Table 6

Female representation

Examples of female representation	
1	Knox: Close the door. Lee Anne, you're a good officer , and I am more than happy to write glowing recommendations to any department you ever apply to. But I think it's time for you to move on.
2	Knox: I had to fire an officer, a female officer , and she's complaining to the equal employment commission.
3	Dec: Thank you, honeybunch . I apologize for creating a hostile work environment.
4	Roy: You're a woman , and you all think you got the market cornered on parenthood. Judge Kress: (Sighs) Are you suggesting that my gender makes me incapable of the impartiality that is my duty, my responsibility as a jurist?
5	Knox: I'm giving you an opportunity to walk away with a clean record. I'll need your badge. And your gun.

As shown in Table 6, other female characters undergo the same discrimination. In examples 1, 2 and 5 a female officer is being fired. In 1 she is intimidated to leave, in 2 a premodifier is inserted to underline the fact that she is a woman and in 5 the chief is describing firing as an opportunity. In example 3 an older lawyer treats his secretary with disrespect by calling her with a nickname: which is far from being professional. And last, in example 4 Roy explicitly accuses the judge of being incapable of doing her job because of her gender.

On the whole, the TV series *Reckless* gives plenty of examples of how easy it is to display and represent gender stereotypes and depict the female characters in a negative light.

Subtitling *Reckless*

What happens in translation is not very far from what happens in the source text. The first step in the analysis of the translation was to look once again at the way the two lawyers were addressed to.

From the data collected and included in Table 7 it is possible to see that examples 1 through 4, the use of first names and last names is similar in the source and target languages, both in frequency and usage. In example 5,

Table 7

Italian labeling

	ITALIAN		vs.	ENGLISH	
	WORD	FREQUENCY		WORD	FREQUENCY
1	Jamie	123		Jamie	123
2	Roy	134		Roy	132
3	Signorina Sawyer	41		Miss Sawyer	41
4	Signor Rayder	14		Mister Rayder	17
5	Avvocato	73		Counselor	12
6	Avvocati	13		Counsel	20
7	Legale	13		Lawyer	33
8	Avvocatessa	2		—	—

the word *avvocato*, which in Italian is the singular, masculine word used to translate both the words ‘counselor’ and ‘lawyer’, occurs a strikingly high number of times. This very high frequency is probably due to the fact that although *avvocato* is masculine, it is commonly used for both genders. As a matter of fact, even though starting from the eighties, thanks to the feminist movements, a feminine noun exists, *avvocatessa*, the word is mostly used in the masculine declination. In example 6, the Italian section presents the plural form of the noun, which was compared, in its usage, with the English word *counsel* since, in the source text it is used also when indicating the plural.

Example 8 is particularly interesting. In the Italian script there are two occurrences of the word *avvocatessa*, as mentioned above the feminine form of “counselor”. The masculine noun undergoes a bending by adding the feminine suffix – *essa*:

Table 8 shows the only two occurrences of the word *avvocatessa* and its English translation. In both examples we can see that the word has a negative connotation. In example 1, an officer is mocking Jamie. In the source text the line has a very negative meaning, the phrase ‘Lady Lawyer’ is used in an ironic and invalidating way and the translator chooses to use the feminine noun to translate it. The choice made by the translator, not once, but twice, reinforces the general idea that women are not fit for the job since a word that identifies them as lawyers does not even exist. As a matter of fact, it had to be created by a linguistic intervention on the masculine form. In example 2, Table 8, the use of *avvocatessa* has

Table 8

Avvocatessa

	ENGLISH	ITALIAN
1	<p>Jamie: Mr. McCandless.</p> <p>Mr. McCandless: Jamie Sawyer Lady lawyer.</p> <p>Jamie: I have a couple more questions on the Carlyle case.</p>	<p>Jamie: Signor McCandless.</p> <p>Sig. McCandless: Jamie Sawyer... L'avvocatessa.</p> <p>Jamie: Ho qualche altra domanda sul caso Carlyle.</p>
2	<p>Judge Moss: [...] And you, I've heard of you, Yankee Jane. No short dresses in my courtroom, no leaning on the bench, no dry-ink pen tricks and no last-minute theatrics, understand?</p>	<p>Giudice Moss: [...] E lei... ho sentito parlare di lei, sexy avvocatessa del nord. Niente abito corto nella mia aula, non ci si appoggia al banco, nessun trucchetto con la penna, e nessuna teatralità dell'ultimo minuto, chiaro?</p>

an even worse connotation. The scene is set in court, where the female judge is scolding both Roy and Jamie for their unique behavior therein. In the source text Jamie is addressed with the nick name Yankee Jane, which implies, as explained in section 4.1, an unfavorable description of the lawyer. The source text is rendered into Italian with the expression *sexy avvocatessa*. The unfavorable description is overtly expressed, as the choice here is to recur to the gender stereotype par excellence: physical appearance. By adding *del nord*, which means from the North, the translator reinforces even more the conflicting connotation. In fact Italy is, as well, a country where the contrast north vs. south is very strong and creates a very functional metaphor in the target culture as well.

The translation from the source culture to the target culture, though, is not always as easy as for the example above. As a matter of facts, Table 9, below, shows some examples, chosen as resulting the most relevant, in which the translation of the extra-linguistic cultural references (ECR, see section above) were for the translator not an easy task to accomplish.

In example 1, a reference is made to the restaurant *Hooters*; the translator chooses to use the translation strategy of Direct Translation by leaving the name and reference completely unchanged. The problem is that the restaurant *Hooters* is very well known in the USA, but not in Italy, for its young and attractive waitresses: Roy is not simply saying that she could work somewhere else, but that she will end up being a waitress that needs to use her body and looks to work, a concept that Italian audience can not immediately associate to *Hooters*.

Table 9

ECR

	ENGLISH	ITALIAN
1	Roy: Don't be dissing Hooters . You might be working there some day.	Roy: Non mancare di rispetto all' Hooters , potresti lavorarci un giorno.
2	Lee Ann: You wanted to see me, Deputy Knox?	Lee Ann: Voleva vedermi, vice sceriffo Knox? Chiudi la porta.
3	Knox: Listen, when you're city attorney , there's something coming down the pike you might need to deal with.	Knox: Ascolta... Da procuratore distrettuale dovrai affrontare delle cose.

In example 2 the technique used by the translator is Official Equivalent, since there is a translation for the word 'deputy'. The role of 'deputy', translated with *vice sceriffo*, does not exist in the Italian cultural and legal system, just as the role of 'city attorney', translated as *procuratore distrettuale*, mentioned in example 3. It is through TV series that the Italian audience is enabled to familiarize with these terms; therefore they cannot be always easy to understand.

In example 3 the translator had to face ECRs twice. In the second case the choice was to use the strategy called Generalization. As a matter of fact, the metaphor "something coming down the pike" is translated into Italian with "*dovrai affrontare delle cose*" which means "you will have to face some problems". The metaphor was not translated with its equivalent but with a sentence which explains its meaning but reduces the value of the message.

Finally, as the last aspect of the analysis, Table 10 below, illustrates some examples of the use of legal English in this TV series:

Table 10

Legal English

	ENGLISH	ITALIAN
1	Jamie: And it is my hope that you will choose to recognize The Protection of Persons and Property Act here in your courtroom today and grant him immunity from prosecution.	Jamie: Ed io spero... Che lei decida di applicare la Legge di Difesa delle Persone e delle Proprietà oggi, qui nella sua aula, e di concedergli l'immunità dall'accusa.
2	Jamie: Assistant DA	Jamie: Assistente procuratore
3	Jamie: After those claims were also dismissed without merit, the sixth circuit court in Tennessee deemed you to be a vexatious litigant.	Jamie: Dopo che anche quei reclami sono stati respinti per mancanza di prove, il sesto tribunale del Tennessee ha giudicato la sua una lite temeraria.

When translating Legal English, some terms or sentences specifically related to legal environment, the translator experiences some of the same problems explained above, as shown by the choices made by the translator, when rendering legal English in the examples above. In example 2, Table 10, the translator faces the same obstacle explained for example 2 Table 9, and decides to use the strategy of Official Equivalent. In examples 1 and 3 Table 10, there is a Direct Translation of a law and legal apparatus that does not exist in Italy and are therefore probably incomprehensible for the wider audience, who will understand that those words are related to the American legal system but will not have a full comprehension of the dialogue. In particular, in example 3, the translator uses the technique of Generalization by rendering ‘vexatious litigant’ with *lite temeraria*. This choice can be quite disputable since the noun ‘litigant’ is translated with the Italian *lite*, a noun that sounds similar but means ‘fight’ instead of ‘plaintiff’, it is a noun which belongs to the same semantic field but is used to denote the action of a verb rather than a legal role. In addition, the adjective ‘vexatious’, which has a legal connotation referring to a litigation, meaning irritating or annoying is rendered with *temeraria* an adjective that is referred specifically to the fight, meaning it was fearless. Obviously, if the subject of the sentence is not translated correctly neither can be the adjective. This example underlines once again the obstacles that can be found in translating legal English.

Conclusion

Concerning the role of Legal English in TV series and the representation of the legal environment, an answer can be found in the concept of popularization. As underlined by Gotti (2014), popularizing specialized languages is seminal to extend the comprehension of specialized topics to a wider audience by rendering the vocabulary closer to everyday language. Legal Language, as well as all types of specialized discourse, needs to undergo a process of popularization otherwise the comprehension will always be a hurdle. As shown in section called “Subtitling *Reckless*”, in just few examples the problem was made very clear. Most of the terminology is not comprehensible to the wider audience. The difficulties in understanding can cause problem not only to the comprehension of the plot but also to the economic aspect for the producers. An audience facing an incomprehensible text is an audience not willing to consume the product. Television series, due to their popularity, could serve as a means to popularize legal language, offering it in a less complicated format. Another aspect that could be useful

for the comprehension of Legal English is interdiscursivity: mixing different discourses might facilitate the engagement to the storyline and encourage the audience to consume TV series or media products in general. As a matter of fact, in *Reckless* the legal story is accompanied by the story of the personal life of the main characters, love affairs and family matters, in order to facilitate an engagement with the storyline on part of the audience.

The concept of the participation of legal drama in the shaping of gender stereotypes is widely addressed throughout the analysis. Thus, it is possible to claim that the TV series *Reckless* strongly reinforces gender stereotypes by representing the female character by her weakest links. Once again, few of the many examples given by the text analyzed were enough to prove the point, in the source text as well in the target text. The peculiar use of terms like *avvocatessa* in the Italian version, or the use of the noun “counselor” for the original version, are important expressions of stances, which prove that the use of language must not be taken for granted as it may serve specific functions. Even though things have changed a lot in the legal environment since 1872 when a female lawyer was not admitted into the United States Supreme Court because of her gender (English, 2003), the representation of women as less adequate for the legal setting, as it is depicted by TV series, does not help the deletion of stereotypes and discrimination.

At last, as far as the effectiveness of audiovisual translation is concerned, Legal English in films and television series will probably remain an obstacle to go beyond. The current techniques of AVT are useful tools but, due to the many legal systems existing, the audience will predictably not have a full understanding of the topic unless it is part of that specific legal system that is being represented. The strategies elaborated by Pedersen (2008) should undergo further investigation towards the formulation of new translating strategies for Legal English and specialized discourses.

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