

NEUTRALITY IN AUDIO DESCRIPTIONS OF PAINTINGS: AN APPRAISAL SYSTEM-BASED STUDY OF CORPORA IN ENGLISH AND PORTUGUESE

A NEUTRALIDADE EM AUDIODESCRIÇÕES DE PINTURAS: UM ESTUDO DE CORPORA DO INGLÊS E PORTUGUÊS BASEADO NO SISTEMA DA VALORAÇÃO

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ABSTRACT: Appraisal analysis in translation focuses on ‘critical points’ of translators’ decision-making that indicate their subjectivity and/or ideology in the translation of specific genres. Following suit, this article investigates the audio descriptions of paintings using appraisal analysis. It analyses, from the viewpoint of neutrality (defined as the absence of subjectivity due to a lack of evaluation/interpretation) as a professional expectation, two small corpora of audio description scripts of paintings (one with six scripts in English, and the other with six scripts in Portuguese). The aim is to investigate the similarity/difference of the scripts in each language as far as the presence/absence of evaluation/interpretation. The paper focuses on the feelings elicited by the paintings; the audio describers’ values regarding what they say in the audio descriptions and in dialog with other texts; the amplification/reduction of the degree of their evaluations/interpretations, if any. The analysis is carried out from a systemic-functional perspective through Appraisal systems: ATTITUDE (emotive/ethical/aesthetic feelings), ENGAGEMENT (monoglossic/heteroglossic stances), and GRADUATION (‘force’/‘focus’ evaluations). The results show that all appraisal subtypes are present in the scripts regardless of language. Tentatively, we may say that the evaluative style of the corpora seems to be marked by a tendency for attitudinal appraisals of aesthetic appreciation and by graduation of the force of those appreciations. Appraisal system seems

to be capable of offering audiovisual translation, and audio description within it, the means to demonstrate that neutrality is not a given parameter of the mode (American Audio Description Coalition, 2007-2008).

KEYWORDS: Audio descriptions of paintings; Evaluation; Subjectivity; Neutrality; Appraisal analysis

RESUMO: A análise da valoração em tradução enfoca os “pontos críticos” da tomada de decisão dos tradutores, indicativos de sua subjetividade e/ou ideologia na tradução de gêneros específicos. A partir desta perspectiva, este artigo investiga as audiodescrições de pinturas tendo como base a análise da valoração. Analisam-se, do ponto de vista da neutralidade (definida como a ausência de subjetividade devido à falta de avaliação/interpretação) como expectativa profissional, dois *corpora*, de pequeno tamanho, de roteiros de audiodescrições de pinturas (um com seis roteiros em inglês e o outro com seis roteiros em português). O objetivo é investigar a semelhança/diferença dos roteiros em cada língua, com enfoque na presença/ausência da avaliação/interpretação em termos dos sentimentos elicitados pelas pinturas; do posicionamento dos audiodescritores em relação ao que dizem nos roteiros e em diálogo com outros textos; da amplificação/redução do grau de suas avaliações/interpretações, se houver. A análise é realizada com base na teoria linguística sistêmico-funcional usando os sistemas da rede de sistemas da valoração: ATITUDE (sentimentos emotivos/éticos/estéticos), COMPROMETIMENTO (perspectivas monoglóssicas/heteroglóssicas) e GRADAÇÃO (avaliações de força/foco). Os resultados mostram que todos os tipos de valoração estão presentes nos roteiros escritos nas duas línguas. Provisoriamente, pode-se dizer que o estilo avaliativo dos *corpora* parece ser marcado por uma tendência para valorações atitudinais de apreciação estética e pela gradação da força dessas apreciações. O sistema de valoração parece ser capaz de oferecer à tradução audiovisual e à audiodescrição, especificamente, o meio para demonstrar que a neutralidade não é um parâmetro dado do gênero (American Audio Description Coalition, 2007-2008).

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Audiodescrições de pinturas; Avaliação; Subjetividade; neutralidade; Análise da valoração

INTRODUCTION

The use of Appraisal analysis in translation and interpreting can be attributed to Munday (2004, 2010, 2012a, 2012b). The focus of these studies is on ‘critical points’ of translators’ decision-making that indicate their subjectivity and/or ideology, i.e., their intervention in the translation of specific genres. Munday (2012a, p. 41) argues that ‘[w]hat seems ... a more pervasive question, more pressing for the understanding of the micro-level process of translation or interpreting, is the uncovering of values inserted into the text by the translator, perhaps surreptitiously and not consciously.’

Following these studies, this article investigates audio descriptions (ADs) of paintings using appraisal analysis. Within audiovisual translation, we analyse, using the parameter of neutrality (defined as the absence of subjectivity due to a lack of evaluation/interpretation), ADs of paintings produced in English and Portuguese.

The practice of AD started in the USA in the early eighties, followed almost immediately in the UK. France, Spain, Germany, Belgium, Canada, Australia and Argentina followed suit (Franco & Silva, 2010). In the USA, the American organisation Audio Description Coalition regulates this long-term practice. Its latest edition of *Standards for Audio Description and Code of Professional Conduct for Describers* states positions such as:

This [‘describe what you see’] is the first rule of description: *what you see* is what you describe. One *sees* physical appearances and actions; one *does not see* motivations or intentions. Never describe what you *think* you see. [...] Allow listeners to form their own opinions and draw their own conclusions. Don’t editorialize, interpret, explain, analyze or ‘help’ listeners in any other way. ... If the conclusion is that a character is angry, describe what led to that conclusion – the gestures/facial expressions of the character. Character’s [sic] moods, motives or reasoning are not visible and, thus, not subject to description. ... Use only those adjectives and adverbs that do not offer value judgments and that are not ... subject to interpretation. ... ‘Beautiful’ says only that something is not ugly. But what exactly makes it beautiful? Instead of saying the person, clothing, object, etc. is beautiful, describe the things observed that caused your conclusion – so listeners may draw their own conclusion. ... It is more interesting to name the items in the clutter if time permits than to say, ‘The attic is cluttered’. ... Don’t add ‘about’ or ‘approximately’ to qualify ... estimated dimensions. (Audio Description Coalition, 2007-2008, p. 1-3, emphases as in the original)

In Brazil, the practice of AD started only in 2003 in the aftermath of governmental legislation on the rights of the visually impaired to access all types of visual arts and entertainment performed mainly on TV. Brazilian practitioners imported the American Standards quoted above (Silva et al., 2010). This can be confirmed with the publishing of *Nota Técnica* (Technical Note) No. 21, which reads: ‘Image description is translation in words, the construction of a verbal portrait of people, landscape, objects, scenery and environment without expressing judgement or personal opinion’ (Brasil, 2012, p. 2, our translation).

Given that the neutrality prescription is still a consensus among most practitioners involved with ADs, few works have been published to counter such prescription from a descriptive viewpoint, though exceptions are Jiménez-Hurtado (2007) and Holland (2009). These articles and two others will be reviewed in the present study, the relevance of which lies in the fact that it is the first to have investigated, empirically, the actual presence of neutrality in ADs of paintings from the perspective of a comprehensive theoretical framework: Appraisal System (AS). It also expands Munday (2004, 2010, 2012a, 2012b) in that it allows the comparison of results in those studies with the ones in this article, this time using AT to analyse a different translation type, which is a kind of intersemiotic translation, and a different text type, AD.

The aim of this article is to analyse, from the viewpoint of neutrality as a professional expectation, AD scripts of 12 different paintings written by American and Brazilian audio describers under the lack-of-interpretation/evaluation prescription. More specifically, the aim is to describe the two corpora of scripts, according to the presence/absence of interpretation/evaluation in the following: (1) the emotive, ethical, and aesthetic feelings elicited by the paintings, (2) the audio describers' values relative to what they say in the ADs and to what others say in the widespread realm of intertextuality, and (3) the amplification-reduction of the degree of the elicited feelings (if any) and the positionings taken (if any).

The research question which guided the study was: how far do the two corpora of scripts differ in the presence/absence of interpretation/evaluation regarding the three aspects above-mentioned? An investigation seems timely into the extent to which the texts in the corpora might be evaluative despite the neutrality their writers were expected to follow, having had the "Standards" and the "Technical Note" as contextual variables.

The article is organized into four sections. In the first section, a review is provided of the literature on the use of AT in translation and interpreting studies, and on descriptive studies of AD scripts. A review of AT is also provided, with a focus on the categories used in the study. Secondly, the corpora and methodology used are described. Next, the results of the analysis are discussed. Lastly, final remarks are made concerning limitations and contributions of the study.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

AS IN TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING STUDIES

Munday (2004, 2010, 2012a, 2012b) takes AS as a possible model to analyse linguistic resources realised in translated texts as signals of translators' value insertion and intervention. Munday (2012a, p. 41) also refers to his interest in shifts in the texts that are most revealing of the translator's stance, critical points that 'generate the most interpretive and value potential'.

Munday (2004), apparently in his first experiment with AS, provides a focused analysis of two news reports on the 2002 World Cup, published in *El País* and *The Guardian*, well-known quality newspapers in Spain and Great Britain, respectively. The study shows similarities, with frequent features of ‘appreciation’ in both papers, but also differences such as ‘attitude’ realised through verbs in the English newspaper, and through metaphors and augmentative suffixes in the Spanish newspaper. It also interestingly shows there is attitudinally marked intertextuality in these papers that map the present onto a past based upon the assumption that readers are knowledgeable about a footballing culture and have an ethical understanding of what football should be.

Munday (2010) builds on Hatim and Mason’s (1997) ‘static-dynamic’ continuum in the use of language in texts, the authors’ contention that the dynamic use poses more problems in translation and their further argument for a tenor analysis of texts. Munday notes that other aspects of the reader-writer relationship should be taken into account. He then introduces an AS-based analysis of extracts of advertising and political texts to show its potential to tackle ‘critical’ or ‘value-rich’ points in texts to be dealt with by translators. The author also notes that translation could be a tactical, resistant or compliant reading (based upon Martin & White, 2005, p. 206).

Munday (2012a) discusses results of analyses of text types such as multiple simultaneous interpretations of President Barack Obama’s Inaugural Speech in 2009, the revision of drafts by literary translators, and multiple translations by trainee translators. Furthermore, Munday (2012b) reports results from a case study of simultaneous interpretation into Spanish of a speech at the European Parliament by the right-wing United Kingdom Independence Party. The findings raise hypotheses on the use of different resources of evaluation in different modes of translation and in different stages of translated text production.

Overall, Munday’s studies confirm appraisal analysis as crucial in the investigation of how value is construed in translation. Their findings do not show major shifts in ‘key attitudinal markers’ (Munday, 2012a, p. 159), but these may happen in appellative text types such as advertisements. The differences found in these specific text types are attributed to stronger conventions in the target language.

AUDIO DESCRIPTION AS INTERPRETIVE TEXT PRODUCTION

Díaz-Cintas (2007) goes back to Jakobson’s taxonomy of translation text types to argue that AD is an example of intersemiotic translation. Jakobson has defined this type of translation as ‘an interpretation of verbal signs by means of nonverbal sign systems’ (Jakobson, 1959/2000, p. 114). In Díaz-Cintas’s (2007, p. 16) reformulation, AD would be the inverse definition of Jakobson’s concept: an interpretation of nonverbal signs (images) by means of verbal sign systems (words) as a means of accessibility for the blind and the visually impaired to visual cultural products.

The neutrality parameter mentioned in the Introduction is still a consensus among most researchers and practitioners involved with ADs, and few descriptive works have been published on the topic of audio describers' subjectivity. Jiménez-Hurtado (2007) is a report on a study that aimed at describing the new 'filmic AD' genre from the viewpoint, among others, of the presence/absence of interpretation/evaluation, but solely in the light of emotive feelings, which she found to be present. Holland (2009) is an essay, based upon his experience as an audio describer, about the impossibility of neutrality in ADs for the theatre and the visual arts in general. Moreover, he reports briefly on a reception-type of case study in which 'a group of visually impaired users' was exposed both to an AD of Ben Nicholson's *Ramparts* that was 'as much as possible "un-interpretative"' (p. 180) and to an AD of the same piece that 'allowed for a level of interpretation' (p. 181), with the latter having been preferred by the group.

Other research focusing on ADs of works of art is concerned with a method for describing them so as to provide the blind and the visually impaired with resources for their interpretation. De Coster & Mülheis (2007), in an essay on intersensorial translation of two and three-dimensional works of art, argue that a distinction between 'clear signs' and 'ambivalent signs' (p. 191) in two-dimensional works of art is crucial for their verbal description. Clear signs 'can be directly identified, [...] give clear pieces of information [...] and are perfectly translatable into words' (p. 192), whereas ambivalent signs 'communicate different levels of meaning [...] can also be put into words, but not always without difficulty' (ibid.).

Magalhães & Araújo introduce multimodal analysis of paintings as an element in a reading/writing method of ADs for this kind of cultural product. They build on De Coster & Mülheis's (2007) notions of clear and ambivalent signs, as well as on the methods created by O'Toole (2011), and Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) for the reading of works of art and static images, respectively. Magalhães & Araújo follow more closely O'Toole's (2011) functional perspective on paintings, adapted and modified from Halliday's (1994) metafunctions and grammatical rank scale. They develop part of a reading/writing method for ADs, giving as an example a reading of Velázquez's *Las Meninas* based upon the method and providing an AD script as its result.

As much as the aforementioned research represents innovation in translation and interpreting studies, none of the studies have tackled an analysis of ADs of paintings from the perspective of audio describers' interpretation/subjectivity using AS. Hence, as mentioned in the Introduction, the relevance of the present study lies in the fact that it is the first to investigate empirically the actual presence or absence of neutrality in ADs of paintings produced according to prescriptive norms, using a comprehensive theoretical framework: AS.

APPRAISAL SYSTEM (AS)

AS – as proposed by Martin & White (2005) – has as its basis Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1994), within the more general area of social semiotics, and expands it. However, the proposal was made for the purpose of analysing only texts in English. Inasmuch as the description of Brazilian Portuguese from the same theoretical perspective is concerned, there is the contribution of Vian Jr., Souza, & Almeida (2010), among others.

Because SFL is a functionalist theory, it goes beyond the only type of meaning taken into account by formalist semantics – representational meaning, or ideational in systemic terms – and considers two other types: interpersonal and textual meanings. It is the interpersonal metafunction that is of relevance to the current study.

Through the interpersonal metafunction, in addition to exchanging information and goods and services with others (interpersonal-negotiation), individuals are able to construe most of their identities as they express their evaluations/interpretations, without being exempt from projecting likely identities upon the interlocutor, which is aimed at the construal, or not, of solidarity (interpersonal-appraisal). The interpersonal-appraisal meanings are realised by modality and other appraisal lexicogrammatical resources.

The appraisal system contains up to six delicacy levels. However, the systems and terms up to the second level suffice for the methodological needs of the present study, following Munday (2010, 2012a). The first delicacy-level system is called APPRAISAL TYPES. The second delicacy-level systems are: ATTITUDE TYPES, ENGAGEMENT TYPES, and GRADUATION TYPES.

The terms in the system APPRAISAL TYPES cover the following interpersonal meanings:

- ‘attitude’ – the meaning area through which the speakers evaluate their feelings and those of others positively or negatively. Attitudinal evaluations may be realised in an ‘inscribed’ (explicit) manner or in an ‘invoked’ (implicit) way through the experiential content in clauses, lexical metaphors etc.
- ‘engagement’ – the meaning area through which the speakers evaluate the positions taken by themselves in the text and by others in the wider realm of intertextuality, projecting a given identity onto their interlocutors and establishing with them, or not, a solidarity link.
- ‘graduation’ – the meaning area through which the speakers evaluate by means of amplifying or reducing the degree of their attitudinal evaluations and of their evaluations of the intra- and intersubjective ‘engagement’ positionings.

As for the terms in the systems ATTITUDE TYPES, ENGAGEMENT TYPES, and GRADUATION TYPES, they convey the following interpersonal meanings:

- ATTITUDE TYPES:
 - ‘affect’ – the emotive area of feelings: evaluations of people’s emotions (a *happy/sad man*);
 - ‘judgment’ – the ethical area of feelings: evaluations of people’s behaviour (an *honest/corrupt man*);
 - ‘appreciation’ – the aesthetic area of feelings: evaluations of the aesthetic aspect of things, people, as well as semiotic and natural phenomena (a *harmonious/confusing painting*).
- ENGAGEMENT TYPES:
 - ‘monoglossia’ – categorical assertions that do not give way to questionings or dialogism (*He’s honest*);
 - ‘heteroglossia’ – the acknowledgement, on the part of the speakers, that there exist other voices or viewpoints about the subject matter they are dealing with (*He might be honest*).
- GRADUATION TYPES:
 - ‘force’ – the speakers adjust their evaluations as regards their quantity (*a few books*) or intensity (*slightly beautiful*);
 - ‘focus’ – the speakers adjust their evaluations as regards their prototypicality (*a true friend*) or ‘the preciseness by which category boundaries are drawn’ (Martin & White, 2005, p. 137) (*at five o-clock-ish*).

METHODOLOGY

CORPUS COMPILATION

Two corpora were described, named Corpus1 and Corpus2. Corpus1 is made up of six AD scripts of paintings written in Brazilian Portuguese. They were published in 2010 and 2011 in the online journal *Revista Brasileira de Tradução Visual* (<http://audiodescriptionworldwide.com/rbtv>) and produced under the neutrality prescription in accordance with information provided by the journal. The paintings, chosen randomly, are:

- (1) *A Refeição do Homem Cego (The Blind Man’s Meal)* by Pablo Picasso;
- (2) *Favela (Brazilian Favela)* by Orlando Teruz;

- (3) *Sem Título (Without a Title)*, a piece in the series *Olhos que não Querem Ver (Eyes Unwilling to See)* by Alexandre Silva dos Santos Filho;
- (4) An untitled painting by Esref Armagan;
- (5) *O Violeiro (The Violist)* by José Ferraz de Almeida Júnior;
- (6) *Duas Mulheres Correndo na Praia (Two Women Running on the Beach)* by Pablo Picasso.

All scripts in Portuguese were accessed on 16 October 2011 and contain 1,389 words in total.

Corpus2 is composed of six AD scripts of paintings written in American English. They are found on the webpage Online Accessibility Training of the American website Art Beyond Sight/Handbook (<http://www.artbeyondsight.org/mei/verbal-description-training/samples-of-verbal-description/#paintings>) and were elaborated under the neutrality parameter as indicated on the website. The paintings, also chosen randomly, are:

- (1) *The Bather* by Paul Cézanne;
- (2) *Convergence* by Jackson Pollock;
- (3) *Girl with a Mandolin* by Pablo Picasso;
- (4) *View of Cadaques with Shadow of Mount Pani* by Salvador Dalí;
- (5) *The Adoration of the Magi* by Andrea Mantegna;
- (6) *Woman I* by Willem de Kooning.

All scripts in English were accessed on 16 October 2011 and amount to 2,186 words.

DATA CATEGORISATION PROCEDURES AND ANALYSIS CRITERIA

Each script of each corpus was categorized separately and manually. The categorisation was carried out at word rank ('Are there evaluative words?') as well as at group-phrase rank and clause rank ('Are there evaluative structures?'). It transcended clause rank into clause complexes and even bigger stretches of text ('Are there evaluative text chunks?').

The following analytical categories corresponded to the three perspectives of Appraisal analysis:

- (1) the first term in the system APPRAISAL TYPES ('attitude'), and the three terms in the system ATTITUDE TYPES ('affect', 'judgment', and 'appreciation');
- (2) the second term at the speakers' disposal within the system APPRAISAL TYPES ('engagement'), and the two terms in the system ENGAGEMENT TYPES ('monoglossia', and 'heteroglossia');
- (3) the third term that belongs to APPRAISAL TYPES ('graduation'), along with the terms in the system GRADUATION TYPES, 'force', and 'focus'.

At first, no categorical assertions were classified as 'monoglossia' to avoid an analysis that would be biased towards absence of neutrality/presence of evaluation. Since all texts have modalized propositions (statements and questions) and/or modulated proposals (offers and commands) – and all texts also contain non-modalized propositions and/or non-modulated proposals – if every single categorical assertion were considered as 'monoglossia', all scripts would inevitably be, from the start, evaluative/interpretive. In addition, assigning the term 'monoglossia' to any categorical assertion means denying the Bakhtinian proposal whereby language is intrinsically dialogic, a presupposition which underpins the AS evaluative meaning area of 'engagement' (Bakhtin, 1997).

For the scripts in each corpus to be considered neutral, it is necessary that there is neutrality from the 'attitude', 'engagement', and 'graduation' perspectives simultaneously. For the scripts to be considered evaluative/interpretive, it suffices that neutrality is absent from the perspective of only one of the terms within the system APPRAISAL TYPES: 'attitude', 'engagement', or 'graduation'.

The occurrences of the categories were counted in absolute numbers, which was done per delicacy level and per corpus. Each absolute number was transformed into a Simple Frequency Index (SFI)⁸⁷ and then into a percentage. SFI medians were computed for statistical testing.

The non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test was used to accept or reject the null hypothesis that Corpus1 and Corpus2 are equal in realisations of Appraisal up to the system's second delicacy level. Significance was set at $p < 0.05$ one-tailed. All statistics were performed using SPSS for Windows, version 17.0.

⁸⁷. An SFI is the number of occurrences of a given linguistic feature per 1,000 words of text, which is the number of occurrences of the feature divided by the total number of words in each corpus; the result is multiplied by 1,000. This is a statistical resource aimed at overcoming the problem that the corpora have different numbers of running words, as the longer a text is, the higher the occurrence probability of a given feature and vice versa.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As stated in the Introduction, the research question of this article is: how far do the two corpora of scripts differ in the presence/absence of interpretation/evaluation? It must be said in advance that the analysis showed that both corpora are characterized by the presence, rather than the absence, of ‘attitude’, ‘engagement’, and ‘graduation’.

Table 1 shows the quantitative results relative to the first delicacy-level (**total**, in boldface) and second delicacy-level categories.

1st-delicacy level	2nd-delicacy level	SFI		Median		Percentage	
		Corpus1	Corpus2	Corpus1	Corpus2	Corpus1	Corpus2
ATTITUDE	‘affect’	3.6	6.9	6.1	5.2	2.7	4.7
	‘judgement’	2.2	5.5	0.0	4.2	1.7	3.7
	‘appreciation’	22.3	32.9	24.7	28.9	17.0	22.3
	Total	28.1	45.3	32.3	38.7	21.4	30.7
ENGAGEMENT	‘monoglossia’	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0
	‘heteroglossia’	7.2	21.5	0.0	8.0	5.5	14.6
	Total	11.5	21.5	7.1	23.4	8.8	14.6
GRADUATION	‘force’	79.9	67.7	89.3	67.4	61.0	46.0
	‘focus’	11.5	12.8	12.2	10.0	8.8	8.7
	Total	91.4	80.5	98.7	73.0	69.8	54.7

Note: SFI=Simple Frequency Index; median=value separating the higher half of the corpus from the lower half.

Table 1. SFI, median and percentage of appraisal categories in Corpus1 (Portuguese) and Corpus2 (English). **Fonte:** Designed by the authors for this article.

The SFI is 61.2% larger for ‘attitude’ in Corpus2 than in Corpus1 and 13.5% larger for ‘graduation’ in Corpus1 than in Corpus2, but it is 87.0% larger for ‘engagement’ in Corpus2 than in Corpus1, which is also apparent in the SFI medians (7.1 in Corpus1 vs. 23.4 in Corpus2, a difference of 3.3 times). Therefore, it is in the evaluations/interpretations related to the dialogic positionings between the authorial voice and others that Corpus1 moves further away from Corpus2, the latter being more dialogic.

Before commenting on second-level categories, a note is necessary regarding a methodological decision taken during data categorisation. Upon firstly categorising the American English scripts (Corpus2), surprisingly no stretch of text was found that would unequivocally fit the term ‘monoglossia’ as a category, taking into account the initial decision not to categorise any categorical assertions as monoglossic. When categorising the Brazilian Portuguese scripts (Corpus1), categorical assertions occurred in the following situations (not found in any of the scripts in English): (1) non-modalised description of some aspect of a painting in disagreement with such an aspect as it was portrayed in the painting (categorical descriptive deviation), and (2) non-modalised description of a given aspect of a painting by extrapolating the portrayal of such an aspect as it was actually construed by the painter (categorical descriptive inference). Then a final

decision was made whereby, whenever the text under analysis is an instance of the more general register ‘AD script’, the ‘monoglossia’ category would only be used when there is either a categorical descriptive deviation or a categorical descriptive inference (the audio describer realises the deviant and inferential descriptions lexicogrammatically as absolute certainties, allowing no space for argument from any external voices).

As already anticipated, it is within the scope of ENGAGEMENT TYPES that the corpora diverge from each other: while the SFI for ‘monoglossia’ is 4.3 in Corpus1 and 0.0 in Corpus2 (both with SFI medians of 0.0, meaning most scripts had no occurrences of such type), the SFI for ‘heteroglossia’ in Corpus2 (SFI median of 8.0) is 2.99 times as high as in Corpus1 (SFI median of 0.0, also meaning most scripts had no occurrences of such type). However, it is within the scope of GRADUATION TYPES that the corpora are closest to each other: whereas the SFI is 18% larger for ‘force’ in Corpus1 compared to Corpus2, it is 11.3 % larger for ‘focus’ in Corpus2 than in Corpus1 (SFI medians of 12.2 and 10.0 in Corpus1 and Corpus2, respectively). In contrast, within the scope of ATTITUDE TYPES, all SFIs are greater in Corpus2 (Brazilian) than in Corpus1 (American): from 150% for ‘judgment’, to 91.7% for ‘affect’, down to 47.5% for ‘appreciation’.

Insofar as the second delicacy level is concerned, the findings also show similar trends in evaluative/interpretive patterns. Evaluation/interpretation is present in both corpora in a similar way to the terms in the systems: ‘appreciation’ > ‘affect’ > ‘judgment’ (ATTITUDE TYPES), ‘heteroglossia’ > ‘monoglossia’ (no occurrence in Corpus2) (ENGAGEMENT TYPES), and ‘force’ > ‘focus’ (GRADUATION TYPES).

Figures 1 through 3 contain excerpts of the scripts for the purpose of illustrating the evaluative/interpretive occurrences in both corpora.

PAINTING	SCRIPT EXCERPT	CATEGORY
<i>Favela</i> (Brazilian Favela)	Ao centro da tela uma porção de casas, onde incide luz suave . (At the centre of the canvas (there are) some houses, where a soft light glows.)	‘attitude’ – ‘affect’-invoked
<i>Sem Título</i> (Without a Title)	Alix ... demonstra uma poética visual ... (Alix ... shows a visual poetics ...)	‘attitude’ – ‘judgment’- inscribed
<i>O Violino</i> (The Violist)	Sentado no batente de uma janela de uma casa de sapê um homem branco toca viola. (Sitting on the windowsill of a window of a thatched house a white man plays the guitar.)	‘attitude’ – ‘appreciation’- inscribed
<i>The Adoration of the Magi</i>	He [The black Moor] is open-mouthed, with his upper teeth and tongue showing, as if astonished ...	‘attitude’ – ‘affect’-inscribed
<i>Convergence</i>	But the controlled frenzy of his [Jackson Pollock’s] artwork defined the gestural branch of Abstract Expressionism.	‘attitude’ – ‘judgment’- invoked
<i>The Bather</i>	They [clearly visible brushstrokes] give the whole scene an indistinct, dappled effect .	‘attitude’ – ‘appreciation’- inscribed

Figure 1. Examples of ‘attitude’ in scripts in Corpus1 and Corpus2 (**boldfaced** items are lexicogrammatical realisations of the categories). **Fonte:** Designed by the authors for this article.

All examples in Figure 1 from both corpora show similarity in the more or less explicit (inscribed or invoked) realisations of ‘attitude’ regarding ATTITUDE TYPES.

PAINTING	SCRIPT EXCERPT	CATEGORY
<i>O Violheiro</i> (<i>The Violist</i>)	Sentado no batente de uma janela de uma casa de sapê um homem branco toca viola. (Sitting on the windowsill of a window of a thatched house a white man plays the guitar.)	‘engagement’ – ‘monoglossia’ (categorical descriptive inference – the painter did not portray the roof of the house, which makes it impossible to say anything about it)
<i>Duas Mulheres Correndo na Praia</i> (<i>Two Women Running on the Beach</i>)	Elas usam vestido claro, na altura do joelho. (They wear light dresses, knee-length.)	‘engagement’ – ‘monoglossia’ (categorical descriptive deviation – they wear skirt and blouse)
<i>Sem Titulo</i> (<i>Without a Title</i>)	<i>O homem tem a pele do corpo na tonalidade marrom, enquanto a cor de sua face é de tom amarelo.</i> (<i>The man’s body skin is in brown hue whereas his face is in yellow tone.</i>)	‘engagement’ – ‘heteroglossia’
<i>Woman 1</i>	<i>She seems to be sitting perched on a green step or footstool.</i>	‘engagement’ – ‘heteroglossia’

Figure 2. Examples of ‘engagement’ in scripts in Corpus1 and Corpus2 (**boldfaced** items are lexicogrammatical realisations of the categories). **Fonte:** Designed by the authors for this article.

Figure 2 illustrates both similarity and difference in the realisations of ‘engagement’ (which are mainly heteroglossic), with categorical descriptive inference and deviation as subtypes of ‘monoglossia’ realised in Corpus1 but not in Corpus2. In the clause ‘O homem tem a pele do corpo na tonalidade marrom, **enquanto** a cor de sua face é de tom amarelo’ (The man’s body skin is in brown hue **whereas** his face is in yellow tone.), the word *enquanto* (whereas/while) was categorised as realising ‘engagement’ – ‘heteroglossia’. From a dialogistic perspective, a potential response to the authorial voice would be ‘Por que a face do homem não tem a mesma cor do seu corpo?’ (Why isn’t the man’s face the same colour as his body?). As there would not be much more to be said in response, *enquanto* (whereas/while) functions to restrict the number of alternative voices (‘contract’), conveying the meaning of rejection of the authorial voice’s positioning (‘disclaim’) from a concession/counter-expectation viewpoint (‘counter’). In Martin & White’s (2005, p. 253) words, the text [**While** that grief is deeply understood, the problem with tragedies like this one is that they become a heyday for the overly-sincere, maudlin, righteous indignation crowd] uses conjunctions (*while, though, in fact, as if, anyway, but, at least*) ... to adjust reader expectations, countering predictions they might be making about the way in which the discourse will unfold. (emphases as in the original)

PAINTING	SCRIPT EXCERPT	CATEGORY
<i>A Refeição do Homem Cego (The Blind Man's Meal)</i>	Um homem branco, magro, alto, com cabelos lisos e curtos, usando uma boina, e vestindo camisa de mangas compridas em tons azul... (A white, thin and tall man with straight, short hair wearing a beret and a long-sleeved shirt in blue tones ...)	'graduation' – 'focus'
<i>Girl with a Mandolin</i>	<i>Girl with a Mandolin</i> is an early example of an Analytic Cubist painting.	'graduation' – 'focus'
<i>Woman I</i>	<i>Woman I</i> is a tall , rectangular painting...	'graduation' – 'force'

Figure 3. Examples of 'graduation' in scripts in Corpus1 and Corpus2 (**boldfaced** items are lexicogrammatical realisations of the categories). **Fonte:** Designed by the authors for this article.

Figure 3 shows some examples of the patterns of 'graduation' in Corpus1 and Corpus2, which, as previously mentioned, were the least different in the two corpora. In the clause 'Woman I is a **tall**, rectangular painting...', the word *tall* was categorised as realizing 'graduation' – 'force' because the meaning it conveys relative to the entity 'painting Woman I' is that of 'imprecise measuring ["quantification"] of the presence or mass of entities ["volume"] according to such features as their **size**, weight ... (e.g., *small amount*, *large amount*...)' (bold added, italics as in the original) (Martin & White, 2005, p. 141).

Table 2 contributes to supporting the answer, to the research question.

Corpus	Script #	# occurrences	SFI
Corpus1	Script 1	18	125.9
	Script 2	28	307.7
	Script 3	45	89.6
	Script 4	23	129.9
	Script 5	24	123.7
	Script 6	44	156.1
	Subtotal	182	131.0
Corpus2	Script 7	59	192
	Script 8	58	134.2
	Script 9	50	109.6
	Script 10	21	73.1
	Script 11	76	171.2
	Script 12	58	223.1
	Subtotal	322	147.3
TOTAL		504	278.3

Note: SFI=Simple Frequency Index.

Table 2. Total absolute and SFI occurrences of Appraisal per script in Corpus1 (Portuguese) and Corpus2 (English). **Fonte:** Designed by the authors for this article.

Evaluation/interpretation is present both in the corpus of Brazilian Portuguese and in the corpus of American English, with a slightly higher occurrence of evaluative resources in the latter. These numbers confirm the similarity between the corpora regarding the presence of evaluation/interpretation. It is worth noticing that all scripts had appraisal occurrences.

Considering all instances of Appraisal, the non-parametric showed the corpora are similar (Mann-Whitney $U=16.000$, $n_1=n_2=6$, $p=0.375$), with a median of 127.9 for Corpus1 and 152.7 for Corpus2. However, considering the terms in the system APPRAISAL TYPES separately, the statistical test showed that results were significant for 'engagement' (Mann-Whitney $U=7.000$, $n_1=n_2=6$, $p=0.038$), with a median of 7.1 for Corpus1 and 23.4 for Corpus2. 'Heteroglossia' accounted for this result (Mann-Whitney $U=3.000$, $n_1=n_2=6$, $p=0.007$). The corpora proved to be similar as to the other terms: 'attitude', with a median of 35.3 for Corpus1 and 38.7 for Corpus2 (Mann-Whitney $U=7.000$, $n_1=n_2=6$, $p=0.038$), and 'graduation', with a median of 98.7 for Corpus1 and 73.0 for Corpus2 (Mann-Whitney $U=13.000$, $n_1=n_2=6$, $p=0.212$).

In general terms, the corpus in American English (Corpus2) is 12.0% more evaluative/interpretive and, in more specific terms, Table 1 above shows that its occurrence percentages of evaluation/interpretation are 43.0% greater for 'attitude' and 65.0% greater for 'engagement'. Within the first delicacy level, the occurrence percentages of evaluation/interpretation in Corpus2 are lower, by 21.6%, only for 'graduation'. Within the second delicacy level, the occurrence percentage in Corpus2 is 0.0% for 'monoglossia' (in the corpus in Brazilian Portuguese, 'monoglossia' amounted to 3.3%), and it is 24.6% lower for 'force' in the same corpus. For 'focus', the corpora may be assumed to be similar, because the difference from the corpus in Brazilian Portuguese (Corpus1) is around 1.0%.

The results seem to corroborate Holland's (2009) intuition according to which there is no possibility of absolute neutrality in AD scripts for the theatre and the visual arts in general. As with Jiménez-Hurtado (2007), it is not solely emotive feelings that are present in the AD scripts of the paintings in both corpora; there are also ethical and aesthetic feelings.

The results also confirm some of Munday's (2004, 2010, 2012a, 2012b) findings. As to ADs, the present findings show both American English and Brazilian Portuguese texts tend to upgrade or downgrade the 'attitude' and 'engagement' resources used. They are attitudinally marked for the appreciation of paintings, with a slight difference favouring the American corpus. The corpora show a slight distinction in the relationship audio describers establish with their listeners, the American ADs being more heteroglossic and thus more overtly establishing a 'community of shared values' (Martin & White, 2005, p. 97) with the visually impaired.

However, an issue that now imposes itself pertains to the question as to why the scripts in American English were more evaluative/interpretive as compared to the scripts in Brazilian Portuguese despite the fact that it was American AD professionals that proposed the neutrality parameter in the first place. Given that the corpus compilation procedure prevented us from having

access to the audio describers, all we can do is raise the following hypotheses to be tested in future research when access to informants would allow interviewing them about their strategies. The first hypothesis is that American audio describers, as time passed, have become, subconsciously, less attentive to and worried about the neutrality parameter and its application, since it was the USA that exported AD and its standards to the rest of the world and since it seems it is impossible to implement complete neutrality, as demonstrated in this research (cf. minimum of 18 APPRAISAL occurrences in Table 2). The second is that Brazilian audio describers – due to a lack of self-confidence as they were merely reproducing an imported *modus faciendi* and due to their keenness to be accepted into the AD international market – have taken all efforts to follow rigorously the prescriptions as regards the central parameter, that of neutrality.

It is relevant to comment that one of the authors, after having read all the scripts, was of the opinion that the ones in English seemed more interesting and livelier than those in Portuguese, on which the other author completely agreed. Upon completion of the analysis and with the results in hand, the authors ended up understanding that such a mutual *a priori* perception was motivated by: (1) the corpus in American English (Corpus2) is more evaluative/interpretive in general; (2) it bears, more specifically, greater occurrence of attitudinal values (i.e., it contains more feelings) and greater occurrence of positionings relative to heteroglossic ‘engagement’ (i.e., it is more dialogic). Moreover, the perception of being more interesting and livelier as a result of being more evaluative/interpretive also echoes Holland (2009) inasmuch as his reception research is concerned.

Although the ‘engagement’ type of evaluation/interpretation occurred in greater percentage in the corpus in American English (Corpus2), why did monoglossic positionings, as here defined, occur only in the corpus in Brazilian Portuguese (Corpus1)? On the one hand, such a result seems to contradict the hypothesis whereby the Brazilian audio describers continue being more faithful to the neutrality parameter. The likely contradiction might be explained as follows: due to their having inferred and deviated categorically, i.e., without any modalisation, they did not describe only what they could see in the paintings and, hence, disobeyed the ‘Number 1’ rule provided by the American Description Coalition (2007-2008, p. 1), which underlies the neutrality parameter. On the other hand, the contradiction would not exist if it were the case that the audio describers who inferred and deviated were still novice, because they arguably would have committed mere lapses caused by a likely brief suspension of the ‘Number 1’ rule due to their relative lack of accumulated experience.

One way or another, Martin & White (2005, p. 94) claim that monoglossic assertions are also dialogically interpretive; however, it is the heteroglossic assertions that make up the prototype of human verbal interaction as it is dialogue, according to Bakhtin (1997, p. 295), that ‘is the classical form of verbal communication’ (our translation). In addition to this, ‘monoglossia’, as defined in this article, gets even closer to ‘heteroglossia’ since it demands even more interpretation on the part of the audio describer: when inferring or deviating from what is in the painting, one says what one thinks one sees. Therefore, the two

corpora do not differ regarding the occurrence vs. non-occurrence of 'monoglossia'; it is as if only 'heteroglossia' had occurred in the corpus in Brazilian Portuguese.

'Graduation'-'force' was another evaluative aspect with greater occurrence percentage in the corpus in Brazilian Portuguese (Corpus1). The explanation might have to do with the fact that the lexicogrammatical realisations of the 'force'-related meanings are not the same as the lexical resources prohibited by the American document: 'adjectives and adverbs that ... offer value judgments and that are ... subject to interpretation' (Audio Description Coalition, 2007-2008, p. 2). Resources like indefinite numeratives, intensifiers, lexical items that carry fused 'force', repetitions of words and suffixes (*espiralado - tortile*) are less transparent in the evaluative meaning they realise, making it harder for them to be considered as interpretive by the audio describers. The present results regarding 'graduation', especially of 'force', could add to Munday's (2012a) suggestion regarding the contribution of translation studies to AS. There should be more research into the present suggestion that realisations of 'graduation' may have not been consciously perceived by audio describers of the Portuguese AD scripts. It might be that these realisations tend to occur more often in suffixes in Portuguese than in English, which may explain the upscaling of graduation resources.

Equally important is the issue that differences in the audio describers' conscious or unconscious interpretation of clear and ambivalent signs (De Coster & Mühleis, 2007) in paintings are likely to have influenced their AD productions. Or better still, their training in reading images (Magalhães & Araújo) might as well be different, which, again, would favour a more strategic description. Considering Martin & White's (2005, p. 206) 'types of reading', AD being a special kind of intersemiotic translation that does not have a verbal source text but signs of a visual system to base upon, there would be a continuum between two poles, compliant and resistant readings, with tactical reading in between based upon the neutrality norm. Audio describers' readings of it could be interpreted as going along a path between tactical and resistant reading, with American audio describers tending slightly more towards resisting the norm.

A question remains as to whether it is possible to claim the existence of a preferred evaluative style related to the register 'AD scripts of paintings' per language. The quantitative results indicate that, for both corpora, there seems to be an evaluative pattern featuring the predominance of attitudinal evaluations/interpretations in terms of aesthetic appreciations and 'graduation' evaluations/interpretations in terms of the force with which these appreciations are conveyed. Needless to say, this preferred style is not surprising because it was works of art that were audio described, and, by and large, they are 'appreciated'; moreover, the appreciations are normally graduated. In sum, this claim is one more argument to confirm that the answer to the research question must be that, in fact, the two corpora of scripts share evaluative/interpretive features more than they differ in them.

FINAL REMARKS

In spite of the corpus size, it is reasonable to state that the objective was attained adequately and the research question was answered satisfactorily. Therefore, we can legitimately claim that this study managed to demonstrate empirically the existence of evaluation/interpretation in AD scripts of paintings in the two languages even when the audio describers write them under the prescription of neutrality. However, due to the very fact that the corpora are small, the generalisation level should remain restricted to the 12 scripts that comprise them.

Such a successful outcome is a consequence of having carried out the research theoretically from the perspective of SFL and methodologically from the viewpoint of the categories proposed within the scope of AS, following a path in discourse analysis and translation proposed in Munday (2012a, among others). Hence, AS proved to be capable of establishing an interface with AD for the purpose of, among other alternatives still to be explored, demonstrating the impossibility of neutrality in texts that instantiate the register 'AD script'.

Another research agenda seems to be impending on advances towards a more consolidated model for the analysis of ADs as a translation type. A description from a multimodal analysis perspective of the visual language of paintings, more specifically of the modal (interpersonal) function (O'Toole, 2011), is likely to add up to an explanation of the audio describers' evaluative choices from the perspective of product analysis. Triangulated with results from Appraisal analysis of the verbal signs in ADs, and interviews with audio describers on their motivation for these choices, it would also be a relevant step towards a model able to uncover subjectivity and intervention of audio describers in ADs.

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