

Translating cultural references – a *Friend* or a foe?

Master's thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää millaisia strategioita kulttuurispesifien ilmaisujen kääntämiseen ja tekstittämiseen on käytetty amerikkalaisen televisiosarjan <i>Frendit</i> (engl. <i>Friends</i>) suomalaisessa ja saksalaisessa versiossa. Tutkielma pyrkii vastaamaan seuraaviin kysymyksiin: 1. Mitä strategioita kulttuurispesifien ilmaisujen kääntämisessä on käytetty? 2. Onko strategioiden käytössä havaittavissa selkeitä kaavoja, esimerkiksi ilmaisun tyyppiluokituksen mukaan? ja 3. Onko havaittavissa selkeitä eroja strategioiden käytössä suomen- ja saksankielisten käännösten välillä?</p> <p>Tutkimuksen teoriapohja perustuu Reissin ja Vermeerin (1986) skopos-teoriaan sekä muihin kommunikatiivisiin käännösteorioihin. Audiovisuaalista kääntämistä käsitellään ruutukääntämisen, dubbauksen ja tekstityksen rajoitteiden muodossa, jonka lisäksi tarkastellaan audiovisuaalisen kääntämisen perinteitä Suomessa ja Saksassa. Kyseessä on komediasarja, jonka vuoksi myös huumorin kääntäminen on mukana tutkimuksessa. Analyysini kannalta olennaisin on Pedersenin (2011) kulttuuristen viittausten kääntämisen malli, joka toimi pohjana käännösstrategioita sekä kulttuuristen ilmaisujen tyyppiluokituksia tutkiessani.</p> <p>Tuloksista käy ilmi, ettei suuria eroja suomen- ja saksankielisten tekstitysten välillä ollut, huolimatta maiden erilaisista käännösperinteistä. Lähes kaikkia Pedersenin mallissa mainittuja käännösstrategioita käytettiin molemmissa käännöksissä ja tyyppiluokituksen vaikutus käännösstrategioiden käyttöön oli havaittavissa. Osa tyyppiluokituksista vaati kääntäjältä tietyn strategian käyttöä, kun taas osa tyyppiluokituksista antoi kääntäjälle enemmän vapauksia käännöksen suhteen. On kuitenkin selvää, että osa strategioista sopii toisia paremmin kulttuuristen ilmaisujen kääntämiseen ja näin ollen strategian valinnalla on merkitystä tekstin tarkoituksen välittämisessä.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

The world we live in is full of translations, whether we notice them or not. If the translation is good, the chances are we do not pay much attention to it – it is the bad ones that get spotted and it is safe to say that nearly everyone has encountered a strange choice of translation at least once in their lives. This might be, for example, on the Finnish menu of a restaurant in Spain, after the owner has understood the value of Finnish customers and intends to make their visit more comfortable with his insufficient language skills. Perhaps the most common context, however, where the peculiar choices of a translator cause irritation and curiosity, is that of television entertainment. Translators of audiovisual material work under strict deadlines and otherwise problematic conditions, wherefore it is only understandable that errors sometimes find their way into the final version. The aim of this study is to understand the logic behind the translator's choices, i.e. which strategies he has used and why.

I decided to examine the translation of cultural references, since these are often restricted to a certain culture and cannot be understood by outsiders unless they possess the required information about the culture in question. In the beginning, I wanted to bring translation of humour into the picture as well, but finally decided to focus on culture alone. Due to the nature of my data, humour is inevitably present in parts of this research, which serves as a reminder of the additional difficulties it brings along.

I chose the popular television series and situational comedy *Friends* as the target of research for the study for multiple reasons. Firstly, the series was the first one that made me wonder about the quality of translations all those years ago and being able to provide an explanation now completes this circle. Secondly, *Friends* ran for ten seasons and is therefore guaranteed to have sufficient amount of material to go through. The collected data in this paper consists of the entire season five with 24 episodes, each lasting 23 minutes on average. For the purposes of this study, content analysis seemed the most appropriate method of analysis and was thus used to render the data. Finally, *Friends* is extremely popular all around the world and since my goal was to compare the translations between two countries, it fit my research perfectly.

I chose to compare the translations of cultural references between the Finnish and German versions. This brought yet another aspect into the play as Finland has strong traditions in subtitling whereas most of foreign films and TV series in Germany are dubbed. To maintain a higher level of comparability, I chose to compare the subtitles on the official, released DVD versions in both languages. The choice of the television series had some significance here as well, since not all foreign films and series have German subtitles besides the subtitled version for the hearing-impaired. The popularity of *Friends* guaranteed that the DVD version would feature regular German subtitles as well.

There are many audiovisual and screen translation studies that have used *Friends* or other similar shows as the source of data. A number of these studies has, however, concentrated on wordplay, translation of humour or lexicology, to name a few, and the aspect of culture in translation has not necessarily received the attention it deserves. Other studies on the topic of translating culture have, of course, been conducted as well. Pedersen (2007, 2011), for example, discusses the translation of cultural references in his studies and even makes comparisons between a variety of TV series. Even though the main focus of Leppihalme's (1999) study is on allusions, the topic cannot be discussed in complete isolation from culture. However, a study which compares the used translations strategies between two countries with different translation traditions, has not been conducted yet.

I will begin by representing the chosen TV series, *Friends*, and discuss the way it represents the genre of situational comedy. This will be followed by a literature review which is divided into three parts. Firstly, I will introduce some of the most influential and, for the scope of this paper, the most relevant translation theories. Secondly, audiovisual and screen translation practices will be reviewed, including a look at the translation practices in the selected target cultures as well as an overview of dubbing and subtitling. This section also includes more detailed information on subtitling for television purposes, as subtitling is the main focus of this paper. Finally, the most important points in the translation of humour and culture are examined and the strategies to render culture-specific references introduced. After this, the aim, data and methods of analysis will be further explained. The analysis section is divided into eleven (11) chapters according to the type of references they feature. In each chapter, examples, followed by a discussion, will be given. Finally, the paper is summed up with a general discussion and conclusions derived from the analysis.

2 *FRIENDS* REPRESENTING SITCOMS

2.1 Sitcom

The term sitcom is short for situational comedy. The original term, according to Dalton and Linder (2005: 16), was established around the 1950s in relation to radio broadcasts representing this type of humour. The history of the, nowadays more popular, abbreviated form is even shorter as it can be found in print only in 1964. Even though the idea of sitcom is said to have its roots in the radio, by the time the term had become common, these types of shows had already disappeared from the American radio entirely. Neal and Krutnik (1990: 227) mention radio as an important factor in the creation of the sitcom, but they also disagree with the claims that sitcom was born in radio. They point out that the characteristics of a sitcom can be detected already in the print media of the late 19th century. Newspapers of that time introduced sketches to the audience, which Neal and Krutnik consider to be the predecessors of the modern sitcom due to the typical features such sketches included. These sketches appeared on a regular basis, through a medium available for the majority of people. They were generally quite short and each sketch, often full of conflicts and action, was complete in itself. The plots were uncomplicated, focussed around the same characters and often taking place inside the home or in other familiar surroundings. (ibid.) The more straightforward definition of a sitcom by Neal and Krutnik (1990: 233) is that it is a short narrative-series comedy, normally between twenty-four and thirty minutes long with regular characters and setting. It is easy to find a connection between these characteristics and the modern-day sitcoms, such as *Modern Family* or *How I Met Your Mother*, whose popularity is largely based on the situations with which the average viewer can relate to, but which most of the time are presented with a comical twist. Hartley (2001: 96) notes that American and British sitcoms have achieved such popularity partly due to their transparency and relatability, which has led to their successful exportation all around the world.

As any form of art would, the sitcom has also gone through some changes throughout its existence. The earliest sitcoms took place within the home and the nuclear family, but Feuer (1992: 113) mentions that since the 1970s sitcoms have moved away from this direction. This is not exactly surprising considering that television series need to stay relevant and current by following the changes happening in the society. The traditional concept of a nuclear family

has gone through major changes and does not necessarily even exist as such anymore, which is why sitcoms have also shifted towards describing the kind of families that people create and choose for themselves: groups of friends. Hartley (2001: 97) suggests that originally there were only two types of sitcoms: family sitcoms and workplace sitcoms, the first dealing with domestic themes and the latter touching on topics like sexual exploration. Family sitcoms dealt with the nuclear family roles: parents, children and siblings, but the genre often mixed with that of soap opera, bringing the neighbourhood and community into the picture. Hartley (2001: 97) agrees with Feuer in the notion that families need not necessarily be blood families, but instead they were often more of the metaphorical type. However, all these different types of families depict the more or less functional domestic life, which the audience could easily identify with even if the setting was sometimes out of the ordinary.

Austerlitz (2014: 260) continues with the same thought and notes that a sitcom needs to create a high level of familiarity between the characters of the show and the viewer. The person sitting in front of the television must feel like he knows the characters well, can even perhaps consider them friends and relate to them in some way, or else the sitcom will not attract a returning audience. This is only natural, considering that when watching a sitcom, a person spends a considerable amount of time with these characters on a regular basis – if he does not connect with them, he does not have any reason to continue giving up his time for them. Even though the viewers need the characters and the plotline to be relatable, Mills (2009: 25) brings up the contradiction between a sitcom's effort to represent reality and its need to create comedy and make the audience laugh. Some definitions of a sitcom are based on the sole idea of them being just a series of jokes, with no real importance being placed on the narrative or the development of the characters. According to Mills, both these elements (narrative and the intent to amuse an audience) are important factors when attempting to define the genre.

2.2 *Friends* as a representative of the sitcom genre

Friends is a wildly popular American sitcom, which ran on NBC for ten years, from 1994 until 2004. During its long run the show received an overwhelming number of nominations and awards, which led to the show becoming the most popular television series of the time in the USA and around the world (Quaglio 2009: 17). *Friends* has been broadcasted in nearly every continent and became especially popular in many countries of Europe as well as in

Australia. The show received 211 award nominations in a variety of categories ranging from the actors' performances to cinematography and the production as a whole. Out of these 211 nominations, *Friends* won a staggering 69, according to IMDb (2018). As the name suggests, the show depicts the life of a group of friends, six single twentysomethings living in New York, to be more exact. The main characters include Joey Tribbiani (portrayed by Matt LeBlanc), a simple-minded aspiring actor; Phoebe Buffay (Lisa Kudrow), an eccentric and bohemian masseuse; Chandler Bing (Matthew Perry), the sarcastic and awkward roommate of Joey; Ross Geller (David Schwimmer), a nerdy palaeontologist; his sister, a control-freak Monica Geller (Courteney Cox); and the spoiled, but goodhearted Rachel Green (Jennifer Aniston). Ross, Monica and Rachel have known each other since childhood and the girls become roommates in the beginning of the series. Ross and Chandler were roommates in college and now Chandler shares an apartment with Joey. Phoebe used to live together with Monica, sometime before Rachel joined the group.

The show ran for ten seasons, containing 238 episodes with each episode lasting twenty-two – twenty-four minutes on average, as Austerlitz reports (2014). Earlier in this paper, I mentioned that according to Neal and Krutnik (1990: 233), one sitcom episode should last between twenty-four and thirty minutes, which means that, strictly speaking, *Friends* does not fit this category. However, taking commercial breaks into consideration, *Friends* occupied a 30-minute time slot on television and can, therefore, be considered a match for the definition.

Referring to Mills' (2009: 25) earlier ideas regarding the combination of comedy and evolving narrative in a sitcom, *Friends* is an excellent example of how this could be executed. In addition to the comical side of the show, it also featured some very soap opera-like characteristics, which are perhaps best realized in the love drama between two of the main characters, Ross and Rachel. This particular narrative began already in the first episode and did not reach a conclusion until the very end of the very last episode, putting comedy in the background and concentrating on the drama instead. Quaglio (2009: 17) supports this idea of *Friends* successfully combining humour with real and current social issues of the 1990s and 2000s: same-sex marriage, surrogacy and age difference in relationships, to mention a few. Alongside these issues, the show managed to capture personal fears and worries of the average viewer, thus accurately reflecting the American society.

Friends is a great example of representing the changed idea of family that Feuer (1992: 113) described and it is quite possibly the best series to answer Austerlitz's (2014: 60) call for

creating a surrogate family for the viewer. *Friends* was one of the last exceedingly popular sitcoms before the wave of reality television shows took over and the basic idea of the show has been recreated over and over again, with slightly different contexts. *Will & Grace*, *The Big Bang Theory* and *How I Met Your Mother* are all examples of shows featuring a group of friends sitting in a living room, bar or a coffee shop discussing their lives and solving their issues, just like the original *Friends* did (ibid.).

Having now introduced the data, the TV series *Friends*, and having discussed its importance to the development of the sitcom genre, I will move on to discuss the theoretical approaches to translation. I will represent the most relevant theories from the perspective of this study, which will give insight into the basics of translating.

3 TRANSLATION THEORIES AND APPROACHES

Translations are all around us, we encounter multiple ones each day, even if the majority goes unnoticed. The general understanding of *translation* is to translate verbal or written material from one language into another language, but it is not exactly as simple as that. Jakobson (2004, as quoted by Boase-Beier 2011: 4) questions the idea that *translation* should always take place between two different languages and, in addition to this understanding of interlingual translation, he introduces ideas of intralingual and intersemiotic translations. Intralingual translation refers to the translation process that takes place between, for example, a regional dialect and the standard dialect of a language whereas intersemiotic translation is based on the idea of non-linguistic items becoming linguistic or vice versa (ibid.). This could involve, for example, a novel being turned into a film or any other type of transfer process between a non-linguistic and a linguistic representation. Two of these categories are relevant to this paper as they are present in the process of creating a televised situational comedy. On one hand, the interlingual approach, as the TV series is translated from the original source language into the target language and, on the other hand, also the intersemiotic approach, since a manuscript or a script is first translated into a verbal form and finally, in the subtitling process it reaches again a written form. In this paper, however, the emphasis is on the interlingual translation as the study concentrates on the relationship between the source language and the two target languages.

Dizdar (2012: 52) points out that translation studies did not become its own discipline until the late 1960s - early 1970s as it was mainly seen to have a supportive role in the field of linguistics and philosophy of language. After the concepts of language and the concepts of science started to undergo changes, it became clear that translation studies should be considered its own discipline as it could not adapt to the demands of exactitude and regularity which science increasingly required from linguistics. As we know today, and as this paper will further emphasize, especially interlingual translation could hardly follow strict rules or general laws of language and therefore there was a need for translation studies to define its own theories and terminology.

In the following subchapters, I shall discuss the most significant theories and approaches to translating. I will begin with the more scientific approach relying on Karl Popper's theory of science, after which I will progress to the more modern communicative theories. From these theories, I will examine the dynamic and functional equivalence theories and the skopos theory more closely. The emphasis is on adequacy instead of equivalence as this serves the needs of culture-related translations better, for adequate translations are more functional from the point of view of the target community.

3.1 Translating – problem solving?

As discussed above, science attempted to apply the already existing theories and concepts to the field of translation studies and the following is a prime example of that. Chesterman (2003: 342) presents Karl Popper's theory of problem solving, which was thought to be the foundation of all scientific problems, and links it to translating. Popper's theory can be summarized as follows:

P1 (problem 1) → TT (tentative theory) → EE (error elimination) → P2 (problem 2).

All scientific research has the same starting point: a problem or a question that needs a solution. According to Chesterman (2003: 343) the *PI* in the case of translation is always basically the same: how should this text be translated? The original question or problem does, of course, include several other, smaller questions which the translator needs to find an answer to during the process, but having determination and desire to answer the main question is essential for this theory. When a translator starts translating a text (solving a

problem), he most often starts by writing an initial draft which gives him a rough idea of how the final solution will perhaps look like. This is a translator's *tentative theory*. This is the stage when the translator makes decisions between alternative options to translate a certain word or weighs the best strategies to maintain the humorous tone of the text, even if these decisions are not final yet. The following step is often ignored by beginners, which causes their final products to be of a somewhat lower quality than those of professionals. *Error elimination* in the case of translating refers to checking and proofreading the produced text, comparing it to other, similar texts and evaluating it with the help of general criteria. In order to successfully do this, the translator should be aware of linguistics, stylistics, the norms of the target language and sociolinguistic factors, for example.

The final stage in Popper's theory is *P2*, another problem. Based on this Chesterman (2003: 347) suggests that a text is never ready, but instead the problem-solving theory is a never-ending circle. He believes that a seasoned translator would find something to eliminate or improve every time he goes through the error elimination stage, thus never being able to create a flawless final product. This strongly relates to the basic understanding of language and translation, namely to the fact that there is never just one correct way to say something, but instead language is flexible, and an expression can be reconstructed in countless different ways to convey the same underlying idea.

According to Chesterman (2003: 345), even though some linguistic norms can and, in occasion, should be broken in the process of translating, there are a few that a translator should always compare their product to before finalizing it. These norms are called process norms; they are general principles that a translator should follow during the translation process. Firstly, the relation norm expects the translator to maintain a relation between the original and the target text. Secondly, the translator is expected to deliver the original message as accurately as possible. Finally, the translator should work in an ethically acceptable way. The fundamental message of the process norms is that the translator should remain loyal to the source text, not adding or omitting any parts that he deems either necessary or unnecessary. A translator is dealing with the intellectual property of another person, which demands a certain level of moral and consideration from the translator.

The following subchapters will provide different examples of the degree to which the process norms mentioned by Chesterman should be taken into consideration in the translating process, and if they should be taken into consideration in the first place.

3.2 Communicative translation theories

Communicative translation theories were chosen since this paper concentrates on the translation of utterances which appear in social interaction. Vehmas-Lehto (1999: 59) explains that communicative translation theories consider translations as a form of communication and, thus, the different operators of communication have great significance in the theory. These theories include a sender, a recipient and a message that is mediated between these two. The message itself is made up of a signal, a combination of the form of the message and its content, which is the more important of the two. For the message to reach its destination, a communication channel is required as well. In the case of translations, the communication is bilingual, which is why there is need for yet another operator, the translator. Communicative translation theories are based on general communication theories, with the exception that they are mostly monolingual. All the other components, however, are present in all communication-based theories.

The need for a more functional, communicative way of translating stemmed from the process of translating the Bible for different cultural needs. Vehmas-Lehto (1999: 59) notes that the first versions strove for formal equivalence, meaning that each word in the source language is always replaced by its equivalent word in the target language and that also the syntax of the source text is copied into the translation. This way of translating, however, did not serve the fundamental idea of the Bible, which was to spread the gospel around the world. This strategy was replaced by the concept of dynamic equivalence, which is described by its creator, Eugene Nida (1989: 95), as a process of choosing the closest natural equivalence of the message in the target language, emphasising firstly the meaning and secondly the style. In his theory, Nida prioritised the reactions of those receiving, reading and using the translation and stated that if those reactions were similar to the reactions of those receiving the original text, the translation could be considered equivalent. The concept of “choosing the closest natural equivalent”, which the dynamic equivalence theory is based on, does not differ much from the principles of free translating, which translators had already been using for years. Vehmas-Lehto (1999: 56) considers Nida’s ideas revolutionary because not only does the form change, but also the meaning can be changed, if necessary, to bring the translation closer to the recipients’ culture.

The theory on dynamic equivalence is communicative by its nature, perhaps even more so than others as, according to Nida (1989), the main function of the translation is to be understandable to the recipient, within the recipient's own culture. To achieve this, the translator must go through a complicated process of analysing and restructuring, which Nida depicts as follows:

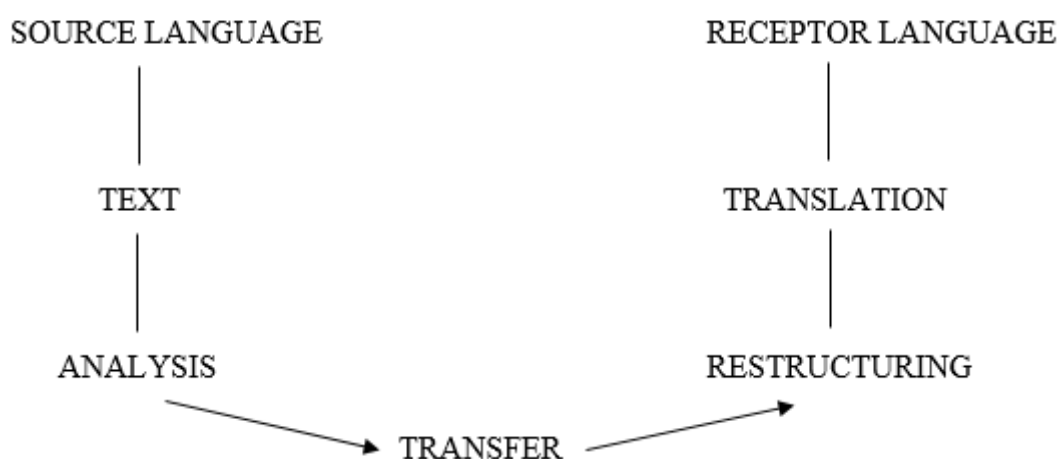


Figure 1. Nida's understanding of the translation process. (Nida 1989: 82)

Due to the different structures in grammar and semantics, the translator cannot translate directly, but instead he needs to analyse the source language thoroughly before transferring it into the target language. After the transfer is complete, the translator must reconstruct the language to create a form in which the recipient will finally consume and, hopefully, react to it similarly as the source language recipient did (ibid.).

The next step for translation theories, according to Vehmas-Lehto (1999: 70), was to the direction of the functional equivalence theories, including the skopos theory, which will be examined in closer detail in the next subchapter. Functional equivalence theories are similar to their dynamic cousins, but instead of focusing on the recipients' reactions, these theories focus on the function(s) of the translation and the source text. Functional equivalency means that the functions of both the source and of the target text are similar and the linguistic tools are chosen to reflect that.

Reiss (1989) developed the already existing theory on the functions of language further by attaching the functions to different text types. She discerns that for the functional equivalence to be fulfilled, the function and, thus, the text type needs to remain the same. The original functions of the language were: informative, expressive and operative. Originally, Reiss's theory considered it possible for one text type to have only one function, which rarely is the case in practise as a text can have numerous functions. She realised this later on as the following figure exemplifies:

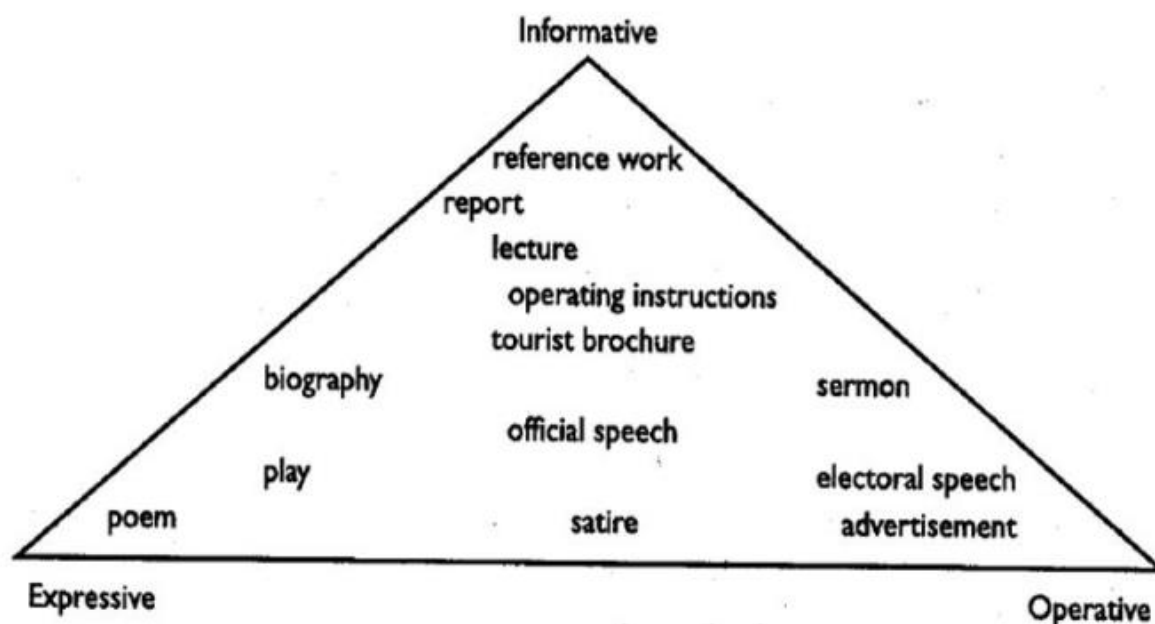


Figure 2. Reiss's theory on text types and their functions. (Reiss 1989: 105)

Another functional equivalency theory that has gained popularity is that of situational dimensions, by Juliane House. House (1977) states that the function of a text is always dependent on the context of a certain situation and that situation is unique in each case. House was able to determine eight situational dimensions, from which three are related to the user of the language and five to the use of the language. House (1977) names geographical origin, social class, time and the way these are reflected in the text as decisive factors regarding the user of the language. This means that the translator should consider the place and time in history the text was written as this can have a significant effect on how the text is understood by the reader and what meanings it holds for him. The dimension of *place* can manifest itself also in

the form of a regional dialect, which should be taken into account when translating so the text retains its original function even when transferred to another culture. The same goes for the use of sociolects tied to a certain social class as their use can be vital in guaranteeing that the author's intentions do not get lost in translation. The factors related to the use of language, as listed by House (1977) are the medium, if the text was meant to be read or to be spoken; participation, whether the text is a dialogue or mainly a monologue; social role relationship, if they are on the same level and the social attitude, if it is neutral, formal, intimate or perhaps even frozen. These factors are analysed first in the source text and then in the translation. If the translator has been able to maintain these elements in the translation, functional equivalency can be achieved.

3.3 Skopos theory

The name of the skopos theory stems from the Greek word *skopos* that can be translated as “aim”, “goal” or “objective”, but from here on out I shall be referring to it as *function*.

Vehmas-Lehto (1999: 92) summarizes the basic idea of the theory as follows: this theory suggests that the most important factor for the translator to consider is the function of the translation and what it intends to achieve among the target audience. Two German scholars, Katharina Reiss and Hans Vermeer (1986: 55-58), created the theory and formulated the following rules for it:

1. action is defined by its function
2. skopos is dependent on the target audience.

The first rule summarizes the basic idea of the skopos theory by stating that the decisive factor in all translating is the function of the *translation*. The function of it dictates whether the source text needs to be modified and if yes, which parts and how. When it comes to translating, Reiss and Vermeer add that the end justifies the means and producing a functional translation for the target audience is often more important than producing an equivalent to the original one.

Vehmas-Lehto (1999: 91) points out that even though the skopos theory has been influenced by the theories discussed above; there are significant differences in what they emphasize. While equivalence is a core concept in other theories, skopos theory focuses more on

adequacy. Adequacy refers to the relationship the translation has with the target language and audience, and how well it works within that community. After a text has been translated, the original version remains the property of the source language community, but the translation belongs to the target language community, which is why it is of uttermost importance that it serves them in the best way possible.

Vermeer (1989) explains that the skopos of the translation can differ significantly from that of the source text, but it does not necessarily need to. Emphasizing adequacy as skopos and the importance of functionality in the target culture does not mean that the text must be adapted in some way, but instead of this, skopos enables it. If a translator had chosen “translating as accurately and literally as possible” as their skopos, domesticating the text would become very difficult. Vehmas-Lehto (1999: 92) adds that if a translator has, however, chosen this as his skopos, the quality of the translation can be evaluated based on the level on which the skopos was achieved, even if the translation would not be considered a high quality one based on other criteria.

Reiss and Vermeer (1986: 58) specify that it is more important to reach the given (or chosen) function than to execute the translation process in a certain way. The following exemplifies this from the perspective of this paper: in *Friends*, Phoebe jokes about “the Louisiana purchase”, which refers to the Americans’ unconstitutional purchase of a large territory from France, which doubled the size of the United States back then. Assuming that the target viewer does not know what “Louisiana purchase” refers to, the translator can choose to translate the joke in a few different ways, informatively or functionally, for example. If the translator chooses the informative skopos, in his translation he will briefly explain what “Louisiana purchase” is and why it is funny in this context. If the translator chooses the functional skopos, he might use the region of “Karelia” as the punchline of the joke in the Finnish version. This proves that there is no one, absolute correct way of translating, but instead the translation depends on the skopos it has been given (ibid.).

The skopos theory has encountered a fair amount of criticism due to the fact that Reiss and Vermeer seem to overlook the importance of loyalty altogether. Nord (1991, as quoted by Vehmas-Lehto 1999: 96) has, therefore, clarified this part of the theory by attaching the concept of loyalty more closely to it. With loyalty, Nord is referring to the twofold commitment that a translator demonstrates throughout the translation process: loyalty to the original author and to the receiver of the translation. This means that the translator cannot

give a false image of the intentions of the original text, but he also cannot deliver a message that the target audience is not able to understand. The translator must try to balance between these two skopos, remaining loyal to the original whilst producing a functional translation for the new audience, in order to fill the skopos regarding loyalty.

The skopos theory applies effectively to the translation of culture-specific references as a word-for-word type of translation would simply not be recognized by majority of the target audience due to restricted knowledge of the source culture. The contents of culture-specific references need to be, in one way or another, domesticated if the translator wishes to preserve the, for example, humorous mood of the original. As this paper demonstrates, this is by far not the only skopos a translator must or can obey, but here the degree of functionality appears to be the highest.

All in all, it can be concluded that when translating culture, adequate translation with emphasis on the target language community is perhaps the more successful method. In the case of this paper, translating culture is often combined with translating humour as well, which complicates the matters even further. A translation might be equivalent with the original text, but as it is practically impossible to measure the way the translation works within the target language community, equivalence is somewhat of a flexible concept. For this reason, adequacy and functionality are considered to be of greater importance in the translation of culture-specific references.

4 AUDIOVISUAL/SCREEN TRANSLATION

The following section will concentrate on the various aspects of screen translation, although audiovisual translation also has its place in this paper. I will begin by clarifying the terminology, after which I will touch on the topic of audiovisual translation to give an idea of its main dimensions. Then I will go on to explain the different tools and most used translation methods in screen translation: dubbing and subtitling. The subchapters cover their advantages and disadvantages and how their use affects the way a TV series or a movie can be translated.

I will also provide information on the different translation practises in place in the two countries that are central for this research, Germany and Finland.

The fast development of different technologies has left its mark on the field of translation as well. Gambier (2007: 76) introduces the changes in terminology and begins from the time when television and movies had not yet reached the popularity they enjoy today and therefore translators would simply talk about *translating movies*. After some time, professionals started to use the term *language transfer*, which described the linguistic process quite aptly, but ignored all other aspects completely. Some professional translators also use the term *versioning* as translating from word to word is considered unideal and this term gives the concept a different tone. Slowly, *audiovisual translation* became the norm as it covers movies, television and radio while emphasizing the multidimensional extent of the process. Lately, *screen translation* has become a popular term to describe all translatable material appearing on the screen of a television, computer, mobile device or at the cinema, which differentiates it from the very comprehensive audiovisual translation.

Kerkkä (2011: 183) brings up the most essential difference between translating texts and translating audiovisual material: meanings are created, not only with words, but also with movements, gestures, background music and different aspects of a character's voice, such as intonation. All these together create a multimodal entity, in which the different channels cannot be ignored as they often play a crucial part in what is actually meant instead of just what is being said. Holopainen (2015: 83) continues from this notion by emphasizing contextuality which, she says, is of even greater importance in the work of an audiovisual translator due to the many types of semiotic codes contributing to meaning. Picture, talk, singing, writing, music and special effects are all part of audiovisual "texts", which is why they are often referred to as polysemiotic texts. Holopainen (2015: 83) also points out that subtitling is not just a summary of what is spoken, despite the fact that literature on the topic often claims so. The translator needs to take into account everything that is happening on the screen in order to create an adequate, fitting subtitle for that specific scene. The translator needs to keep the numerous spatial and temporal constraints in mind, which will be discussed later on in this paper.

Holopainen (2015: 84) admits that the main tool of a translator is, of course, the language, but she explains that the visual and auditive aids create a very specific context for a certain word, thus leaving the translator with fewer options in the target language to translate it with. A

translator working with an audiovisual text does not need to imagine the context in the same way other translators might, since the context is already very clearly laid out in front of him. This means that the producers of the audiovisual text (in this case the video) have already interpreted the original script in the way they see it and this interpretation is the material that an audiovisual translator *actually* translates, instead of the manuscript.

4.1 Dubbing and subtitling

Even though this paper concerns itself with the translation of subtitles, it is important to consider dubbing and the advantages or disadvantages subtitling has in comparison to it, because Germany is a country with long dubbing traditions. This fact may have an effect on the German translations. For this reason, dubbing will be briefly explained and discussed in this chapter, but later on in the paper the main focus will be on subtitling.

As Koolstra (2002: 326) points out, when an exported film or television series needs to be translated to another language, the current technology offers five different ways of realizing this, from which two are commonly in use: dubbing and subtitling. The discussion regarding the superiority of one over the other is passionate as both have long traditions in different parts of the world and the viewers have grown accustomed and even faithful to “their” method.

Battarbee (1986: 145) explains what dubbing means: when dubbing a film, the original voices are removed and replaced by a soundtrack in the target language, which is produced by a group of professional translators and actors. The original version includes two different soundtracks, from which one includes the dialogue and the other contains other sound effects, which are left intact. The **process** of dubbing is fairly expensive and time-consuming, and it often fails to achieve its ultimate goal: a soundtrack so convincing and accurate that the viewer forgets he is indeed watching a lip-synced version.

Unlike dubbing, the process of subtitling does not need to concern itself with much else but correctly delivering the message encoded in the original lexical material within a given number of characters as Battarbee (1986: 145-146) notes. Subtitling has been defined by Gottlieb (2001: 15) according to six principles, which can be identified in the following sentence: Subtitling is *prepared* communication using written language acting as an *additive*

and *synchronous* semiotic channel, and as a part of a *transient* and *polysemiotic* text. This means that subtitling is not spontaneous translating nor is it in spoken form; it adds to the original instead of replacing something; it appears simultaneously with the start of an utterance and it also disappears with the end of that utterance and, finally, it involves more than just one semiotic channel.

In the following section I will be introducing the various advantages and disadvantages that the methods have when compared with each other. These differences include factors as simple as costs, speed of production and educational value, but attention must also be paid to the way authenticity, loss of information and interference manifest themselves in both subtitling and dubbing.

The most obvious and most straightforward difference between the subtitling and dubbing is the **price**. According to Tveit (2004: 12) this has to do with supply and demand, for example, the number of trained voice actors in smaller countries is lower, which makes hiring them quite costly. This puts dubbing at a disadvantage as the price tag on it is significantly higher: according to the research summarized by Pedersen (2010: 8), dubbing can be even 10 to 15 times more expensive as subtitling. This is due to the fact that in addition to all the translators and editors, the production still needs a whole group of actors to voice out the script. Tveit (2004: 12) points out, however, that if a well-executed production can attract bigger audience and thus bigger revenues, the difference in the costs between these two methods decreases significantly.

Another advantage subtitling has is that subtitles are much **faster** to produce than lip synchronization, as Tveit (2004: 13) mentions. In the modern, fast-paced world where season finales and premiers are available online after mere hours of having been broadcast live abroad, it is very important for channels to be able to provide their viewers with an already translated version as soon as possible. Whereas subtitles can be produced basically by one person, dubbing takes a whole crew of people: there needs to be someone translating the manuscript, actors rehearsing their parts and group recording needs to take place, which is something that cannot be carried out on a moment's notice (*ibid.*).

A great number of studies have been concluded on the topic of subtitles and **language learning** and the results have been quite positive. Tveit (2004: 14) cites his own study in which listening comprehension caused much more difficulties to those from countries with

dubbing traditions and students from subtitling countries also outperformed their peers in vocabulary knowledge. These results are partly why it is difficult to believe that these differences are simply a result of differences in educational standards.

Authenticity is another aspect that needs to be taken into consideration when comparing dubbing and subtitling. Regarding the perspective of character building and development, subtitling clearly has the upper hand. When an actor is chosen for a role, everything about him must fit the image the producers have of the character, including his voice. A very common complaint amongst viewers of dubbed cinema and television is that the voice and the character do not fit together. As Tveit (2004: 16) notes, in the subtitled version the characters still get to keep their accents and indulge in their own cultural environment, which is something that creates discrepancies when the TV show is “moved” to a new country and culture. Adamou (2011: 13) also points out that the voice actors are often well known within their target audiences as the pool of voice actors is limited and they have portrayed or currently portray multiple roles. Due to this, it might be difficult for the audience to find the voice authentic. If a TV show runs for multiple seasons, the same character might even be portrayed by numerous different voice actors over the years, adding to the fabricated image. These issues combined with the sometimes poor lip-syncing work are the major reasons why many viewers opt for the subtitled version instead.

Battarbee (1986: 145) summarizes the main reason why the dubbed version might fail in delivering a flawless soundtrack to the audience: it is extremely difficult to create a dialogue, which matches the lip movements of an actor speaking an entirely different language. The rhythm, intonation and pitch of speech can vary significantly between the source and the target language and successfully adapting all these in the translation often proves to be an impossible task. Pedersen (2010: 8) adds to this with the mention of kinetic synchrony, which refers to the voices matching the body movements, and isochrony, which is the match between the length of an utterance in the source and in the target language. Finnish, for example, is a fairly monotonous language with little variation in intonation and volume, especially when compared with a lively language such as Spanish, for example. A dubbed translation between these two would be a challenging task as, first of all, actors' lip movements, facial expressions and body language would drastically differ from what the target language audience is expecting to see. The dubbed translation might also need to be condensed on the bases of isochrony, because the line might take less time to deliver in the

source language as it would in the target language, or the other way around. Thus, loss of information cannot be avoided completely in dubbing either. When either the translator or the voice actor fails in this aspect, it causes the video and audio to not go hand in hand, which might distract the viewer and thus take away from the experienced enjoyment (Koolstra 2002: 326).

Authenticity does not seem to be a decisive issue, however, based on dubbing's popularity and it can even work in its favour. Koolstra (2002: 336) mentions the factor of familiarity and the way hearing one's own language brings the depicted situations and characters closer. This makes them seem more relatable – a characteristic that a subtitled version often fails to achieve. Viewers might find it difficult to identify with a character who is speaking a language completely unfamiliar and incomprehensible to them and, as mentioned earlier, familiarity is one of the most important factors in determining a TV series' success.

The topic of **information loss** will be explored in more detail later in this paper, but it cannot be ignored when discussing the differences of subtitling and dubbing. As I mentioned above, loss of information also happens when dubbing, but the amount of loss is considerably higher in subtitling. This is due to temporal, spatial and other constraints that affect the length and content of the subtitles. Gottlieb (1994, as cited in Tveit 2004: 19) states that in genres such as satire and comedy, the need to condense the text is very high as it is the language, not the events themselves, that is in the spotlight. In situational comedies the humour is quick and often based on wordplay, which creates two different challenges for the translator: how to condense the amount of dialogue and how to condense it in a way that the message still gets delivered.

Dubbing seems to be the preferred method in avoiding **interference** as it is argued that watching a subtitled film or a television programme requires a greater mental effort than watching the dubbed equivalent since the process of reading subtitles is not voluntary. As d'Ydewalle (2007) discovered while researching the eye movements of both children and adults, the participants were able to ignore only a small portion of the subtitles presented to them in a film with an unfamiliar source language. The time the viewers' eyes were fixated on the subtitles varied, but the results are straightforward in suggesting that reading subtitles is not a voluntary process and therefore does indeed require more mental effort. However, it should be mentioned, that these results might be different if the viewer is familiar with the source language and, consequently, his understanding is not solely dependent on the subtitles.

This would likely allow the viewer to ignore more of the written text and concentrate on the visual and auditory inputs.

For this reason, in many countries subtitling is considered unpleasant for the viewers as it requires more cognitive effort from them. Koolstra (2002: 331) discusses the issues related to limited view caused by subtitles and the way they distract attention away from the visual itself. Even though subtitles mostly appear at the bottom of the screen, in some cases they do impede the visual processing of the video and alternating between reading the text at the bottom and grasping the events depicted in pictures above at the same time can exhaust the viewer. Dubbing allows the viewer to focus his attention to only two sources of information (video and audio) instead of three (video, audio and text). The advantage of subtitling in this matter lies in the possibility of rereading the lines as long as they are on the screen, which strengthens comprehension. Kerkkä (2011: 189), however, emphasizes that it is of uttermost importance that the lines are designed in a way that the viewer understands them after having read them just once. Kerkkä points out that when the subtitles are well done, reading them is an automatic process, but that the audience can easily spot a poorly executed subtitling job.

Koolstra (2002: 331) bases his argument regarding interference on the possible untranslatability of, for example, a joke, which through dubbing can be substituted with an entirely new one without the audience getting distracted. In a subtitled version, the original audio remains and a viewer with some understanding of the source language may notice this discrepancy in the script, which can cause confusion and make the viewer miss what happens next.

The process of subtitling does indeed face a number of problems as Assis Rosa (2001: 214) points out. Firstly, it can be challenging to find a corresponding version of the historical, regional, socio-cultural and situational varieties of the spoken source language in the target language, because in some cases, it might not even exist and in others, it can be practically impossible to identify. The second issue arises from the audiovisual nature of subtitling: gestures and prosody, when left untranslated, can acquire the exact opposite meaning in the target language. Thus, a translator must somehow incorporate the meaning of these in the lexical translation. Finally, a translator is faced with the change of medium, whereby he must use the features of the target language's written register to match those of the source language's spoken register, leaving him with a limited number of possibilities to work with.

Assis Rosa (ibid.) summarizes the different changes an audiovisual text must go through in the hands of a translator:

1. a change of medium – from speech and gestures to writing
2. a change of channel – from vocal-auditive to visual
3. a change of the form of signals – from phonic substance to graphic
4. a change of code – from spoken to written

As the previous chapters demonstrate, there is no correct answer as to which one of the presented two methods is better. Gottlieb (2004: 87) summarizes the differences between these two as follows:

1. written vs spoken language mode
2. supplementary (subtitling) vs substitutional (dubbing) mode
3. subtitling must condense the dialogue due to technical and perceptual reasons
4. subtitling must comply with the norms of the written language

These changes are challenging for translators as they cause a significant shift in many areas. Considering the translation of a television series, especially a sitcom, these challenges become even greater. As mentioned earlier, the dialogue of a sitcom is often very fast-paced, which requires a greater amount of condensing when put in a written form. While dubbing allows the translators to drastically change humorous instances, which are among the most demanding cases to translate, subtitlers do not have such liberties. Humour, the core of a sitcom, needs to be condensed, but still kept understandable and in line with the original soundtrack. These are some of the difficulties subtitlers face when translating and the constraints of subtitling will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.3 *Subtitling for television purposes*. Both methods have their advantages and their disadvantages, and, in the end, it comes down to the method that a person has grown accustomed to in the past. This is mostly predefined by the practises in place in the country, which will be more closely explored in the following chapter.

4.2 Translation practices in Finland and in Germany

Subtitling is mostly the primary choice for smaller countries, such as the Nordic countries in the European context, where the majority of the films and television productions are imported. According to Vertanen (2002: 131), subtitling has been a common practice in Finland already for more than forty years and the Finns are used to having on-screen translations run at the bottom of the screen throughout the programme. From the four major television channels in Finland, two stated that more than 80 % of their foreign programmes are subtitled and the remaining two estimated that even a higher number of their programmes use subtitles as well (*ibid.*). Luova (2010) explains the not-so-surprising reason behind production and broadcasting companies' decision to opt for subtitling: money. From the perspective of technology, subtitling was much cheaper and also much easier to produce than dubbing or voiceovers, which is why the method was chosen in the end of the 1950s, when television was just getting started in Finland.

According to Battarbee (1986: 146-147) dubbing is an extremely rare method of screen translation in Finland and is almost exclusively used in small children's programmes and movies due to children's inability to read. Another exception to the rule are documentary programmes, where a single reader provides a voice-over commentary track for the video in the parts where the presenter is not visible on the screen. In the past, children's programmes were also dubbed with a single actor representing all characters, but today dubbing with multiple actors is the most common method.

The case is practically the opposite in Germany, but although Germany is now a country with a very high-quality dubbing culture, this method of screen translation did not receive a very warm welcome in its early days as viewers did not enjoy the presence of unfamiliar voices in the dialogues. According to Bräutigam (*n.d.*), in addition to subtitling and dubbing, there was also a third option: remaking the film in the target language so that it resembled the original as much as possible. Translation producers needed to decide between the expensive remakes, the viewer-exhausting subtitling and the controversial dubbing in order to standardize the way of translating in Germany.

The first attempts at dubbing were not as successful as one might have hoped as translators attempted to match the lines to the precise lip movements of the actors, which led to a very

unnatural-sounding German. As dubbing moved away from the obsession with lip-synching, it started to gain popularity. But, as Bräutigam (n.d.) points out, dubbing did not reach a turning point until after the Second World War as all films in cinemas back then were either British, American, French or Russian and their intent was to educate the German population on democratic values. The Germans did not, however, respond well to this element of foreignness being forced upon them and the Allies realized that they would need to introduce dubbing in the local language if they were to accomplish cultural transfer.

Thus, the roots of dubbing lie at the post-war era when it was used to reduce tension between the “foreign” and the “familiar”. Foreign films did not only include foreign language, but also introduced foreign social concepts to the public, which combined would have alienated the German audience. Presenting unfamiliar concepts through the local, familiar language made it considerably easier for the Germans to understand and accept the new ideas seen on screen. Consequently, dubbing has been the method of screen translation in Germany since approximately 1949-50, after which original versions of movies were a very rare sight and this is the case still today (ibid.).

As Battarbee (1986: 146) notes, subtitling is less expensive and faster than dubbing and therefore it makes sense not to spend a huge amount of money to create an audio soundtrack that only serves a small number of viewers. Vertanen (2002: 132) points out that in countries, such as Germany, the population is much bigger, with millions or dozens of millions of viewers per programme and the costs of dubbing (per person) remain reasonable even though its total costs are multifold compared to subtitling.

The choice of screen translation method is mostly dictated by people’s habits and what they are used to. It is a never-ending cycle as people prefer the method they are used to, and the TV and film industry tend to use the method that receives the best reception from the viewers. This is also reflected in the studies conducted on Europeans and their languages, the Eurobarometers (2006, 2012). According to the Eurobarometer (2006), only 19 % of Germans prefer watching foreign films and programmes with subtitles, rather than dubbed, whereas this number in the case of Finland was as high as 93 %. In the more recent Eurobarometer (2012) the respondents were asked whether they totally agree, tend to agree, tend to disagree or totally disagree with the statement “You prefer to watch foreign films and programmes with subtitles, rather than dubbed”. The total of negative responses to this statement in Germany was 77 %, with 57 % totally disagreeing and 20 % tending to disagree with it. In Finland, the

case was completely the opposite as 80 % of the respondents answered that they totally agree with the statement and only 1 % totally disagreed with it.

It is now clear that the two countries chosen for this study are at the very opposite sides of the spectrum when it comes to the debate on subtitling versus dubbing. It seems that both the industry as well as the viewership are so accustomed to “their” method at this point that it would be quite challenging to start revolutionizing these traditions already in place. Having lived in both of these countries, my experiences are in line with what is presented here, both industry- and audience-wise. German cinemas do feature movies in the original languages and with subtitles, but they are few in number compared to the dubbed ones and would perhaps not exist if not for the increasing demand from immigrants and expats in the country. In light of the information presented here, differences in the data can be expected as one country has long traditions in subtitling and the other does not.

4.3 Subtitling for television purposes

4.3.1 Constraining factors of subtitling

As this paper concerns itself with the translation of subtitles, in this chapter I will be focusing on the different constraints on subtitling. I shall take a look at six types of constraints that a translator must deal with when subtitling for television purposes, namely: temporal, spatial, visual, decoding, stylistic and practical.

The first, and perhaps one of the most obvious, constrain that a translator must work with is that of time. Firstly, as Tveit (2004: 105) points out, the speed with which a person is able to read a text is undoubtedly slower than the talking speed he is used to in his everyday life. Therefore, it is also clear that there are some significant differences between the amount of information that can be transmitted through subtitles and through dubbing. The aspect of time is perhaps of even greater importance in this paper as it deals with sitcoms, where the nature of the dialogue is mostly very fast-paced and a lot is said in very little time. This causes issues regarding loss of information and strategies to deal with this are discussed later on in this chapter.

When it comes to written on-screen translations (subtitles), their length is limited by both time and space, the first one being the more dominant definer. Gambier (2006: 259) reminds us that a person's reading speed can vary significantly depending on multiple factors: viewer's education, age, reading habits and attitudes towards the topic in hand. The linguistic and factual elements of the subtitles, such as lexical density and complexity, can also have an effect on how fast the viewer is able to process the text. If the viewer does not have any previous knowledge about the political system of Ethiopia and he is watching a documentary on the topic, it is likely that he needs more time to read, process and understand the subtitles than he would, say, watching a romantic comedy. Tveit (2004: 105) agrees with Gambier, pointing out that if the lexical density of the subtitles is high, the slower the viewers are able to process it and thus the exposure time should be lengthened.

Referring back to the temporal relation between spoken and written text, Koolstra (2002: 328) claims that when spoken at an average speech rate, a person can speak just over two words per second, whereas the average presentation time for subtitles on screen is 10 characters per second. In English, 10 characters is approximately the equivalent of two words, meaning that the text does not necessarily need to be condensed dramatically, but problems occur when translating between languages. Finnish words are often much longer than their English counterparts due to the number of suffixes and, therefore, 10 characters is not enough to cover two Finnish words in most cases. Often this means that the translator has much less time to deliver the same message that the original did without much difficulty. This excludes cases where the English line includes a lot of articles as these do not exist in Finnish and in such cases the number of characters is likely to resemble the original. Tveit (2004: 106) continues on the thought by mentioning the fact that complex formulations that would help convey stress, rhythm and intonation often need to be left out for the sake of brevity and ensuring understanding.

Translator's freedom is limited by time in other ways, too. Vertanen (2002: 133-134) goes over the general guidelines explaining that a spoken line which needs two full lines of text on screen, must stay visible for four to five seconds, whereas a spoken line the length of a one full line of text only needs two to three seconds. The maximum duration a line can stay on screen has been set at 30 seconds, but it is rare to see a line hanging on the screen even for 10 seconds. Gottlieb (2001: 20) disagrees with this view slightly as he believes the limit goes at 12 characters per second (12 cps rule), which means that a full two-liner with 72 characters

should stay on screen for six seconds for the majority of the viewers to be able to read it. Gambier (2006: 259) sheds more light on the complexity of subtitling by revealing that the number of subtitles that fit in a movie on the cinema screen and on the television screen differ from one another. This is due to frame rate, i.e. how many images are displayed per second, which at the cinema is generally 24 fps and 25 fps on television. Consequently, movies appear shorter on the television screen, hence not as many subtitles fit in the movie.

Next issue that translators should bear in mind is that of space, which was briefly touched upon in the previous paragraph. Obviously, not everything that is said fits into the subtitles and the translator needs to make decisions as to what to leave out, while still keeping the core message intact. According to Vertanen (2002: 135) names, titles, attributes and reporting clauses can be left out if they are not absolutely essential to the viewer. Subtitles should in no way interfere with the balance and construction of the image, which raises the question about the number and length of lines that can be inserted onto the screen. The size of the text needs to be big enough for the viewers to read and, according to Vertanen (2002: 133), at least in Finland the same font has been used by all operators already for decades as a compromise to facilitate the work of translators and create consistency for the audience. One full line of text in the Finnish television fits 30-32 characters, depending on the channel and whether it provides Teletext or not, as this poses its own constraints on the subtitles. Pedersen (2010: 16) cites different researchers around the world, all of whom give a different number of characters that fit in one line. One given range is between 30-40, another goes as low as 28-38, one study sets a Scandinavian maximum at 38 and, in one corpus, lines with as much as 42 characters were found. Even though these numbers differ from each other, it gives an idea of the average. Tveit (2004: 107) says that the main limiting factor is the size of the television screen, which is somewhat of a double-edged sword. With the development of modern technology, bigger television screens become more common, less expensive and therefore more accessible to everyone, which could mean that soon translators might have more space for subtitles. On the other hand, people are increasingly watching television from their mobile devices, which causes yet another challenge to subtitlers. Unfortunately, the producers of television entertainment cannot discriminate those with smaller screens by approving subtitles that do not fit on everyone's screen, so it might still be some time before the standard number of characters per line undergoes any changes.

Third factor to take into account is that of visual constraints. Subtitles may interfere with the picture, causing distraction and possible loss of information on the viewers' part. Vertanen (2002: 136) points out that the translator needs to be aware of the best way to divide the text into coherent lines, which do not cover too much of the picture and distract the viewer. This also creates challenges, as the translator cannot necessarily use the best possible translation for a certain word, as it might be too long and therefore unsuitable for that specific situation. Tveit (2004: 108) explains that subtitlers have tried to avoid impeding the viewers' visual pleasure by aligning the text to the left instead of the centre in some cases or by using two one-liners instead of one two-liner, although this reduces the readability of the text. Using one-liners is also an effective technique to use together with shot changes. Subtitles should not overrun shot changes as this can cause significant perceptual confusion.

According to Tveit (2004: 109) another common problem for subtitlers is the decoding of the spoken word, since, unlike other translators, subtitlers do not have the opportunity to follow up on the unclear parts. Some subtitlers might even work without a script, which leaves them completely dependent on the spoken words and with very limited time to familiarize themselves with the context, decoding can prove to be an extremely challenging task.

Gambier (2006: 259) points out that a translator must also take different translation policies and conventions into account. This means that swearwords or taboos might need to be omitted or danced around or that dialects and slang words should be dealt in a certain way. This is all heavily dependent on the TV channel and the role it has in the society. Tveit (2004: 112) comments that in Norway, for instance, curse words have traditionally been dealt with with considerable caution and neutralising strategies are commonly used. The puritan traditions, as Tveit calls them, have changed and translators have slightly more freedom in the matter, but discretion is advised. A commercial channel might not be very gracious towards their programmes containing cursing or slang, whereas YLE's (Finland's national broadcasting company) aim is to portray realistic and versatile image of the world, which might include some controversial issues and use of language as well. Tveit (2004: 114) also mentions that dialectal and sociolectal features of speech are much easier to produce in dubbing than in subtitling, as they tend to draw much more attention to themselves in written form and syncing them to the rhyme and rhythm of the original is never a simple task. Vertanen (2002: 134) adds that the subtitles must remain visible for the same length of time that the

character on-screen takes to deliver the same message orally, further complicating the issue regarding rhythm.

Finally, Tveit (2004: 115) brings up the fact that subtitlers also face practical constraints, such as poor salaries, absurd deadlines, insufficient training and the low quality of the original versions. This is not something that the translators themselves can have an effect on, but simultaneously it will show in their work and very probably be blamed on their lack of professionalism.

Overcoming these issues demands a great deal of competence from the translator and even so the result might not be of as high of a quality as the viewers, producers or the translator himself would prefer. The following subchapter examines the strategies that translators use in the process of creating subtitles.

4.3.2 Subtitling strategies

Gambier (2006: 260), lists the most common strategies subtitlers have at their disposal when constructing appropriate subtitles for the target audience in terms of the spatial and temporal constraints. The translator can *condense* or *compress* the material by leaving out unnecessary features or paraphrasing parts of it. This can be done by, for example, using letters that are smaller in size (“i” takes less space than “k”) or presenting numbers using the figure instead of the word. *Elimination* is recommendable in situations where there is a lot of fast speech and audiovisual elements support the speech in such a way that it is not necessary to adapt all spoken material into text. As mentioned above by Vertanen (2002: 134-136), *omitting* tag questions, greetings and other redundant elements is also a very effective strategy to create shorter subtitles. More often than not, these strategies are intertwined and using one means using another. For example, if a translator condenses a part of the speech, simultaneously he is omitting parts of it as well. Gambier (2006: 260) suggests that translators may *simplify the syntax or the vocabulary* by using active voice instead of passive, substituting a proper name by a pronoun or using hyperonyms, just to name a few different methods. The material can also be *summarized* or *expanded*, as a way to add information and help viewers understand the dialogue more comprehensively. All of the described strategies are related and can barely

be differentiated from each other – the fundamental task of the translator is, all things considered, to choose the relevant and necessary content to be passed on to the viewers.

Tveit (2004: 54-57) looks at the issue from a slightly different angle and names strategies that help the translator find equivalent translators at the word level, especially in situations when it seems as such does not exist. According to Tveit (ibid.), the following are among the most commonly used strategies: using a more general word, a more neutral word, a cultural substitution, a loanword or descriptive phrases or, simply, omitting the words. Using a more *general* word works in situations, where the original word is very specific. The more specific language is used in the source text, the less likely it is for it to have an equivalent in the target language. In such cases the word might be replaced with a word that refers to the same idea, but with a slightly more general scope. *Neutral* words can be useful when dealing with topics such as religion or politics and the translator is struggling to find an exact translation for a word. Even if the expressiveness of the words gets lost in the process, it is a much better alternative to committing a mistake, especially in such sensitive issues. *Cultural substitutions* can be used to replace names of institutions, public places or newspapers, for example, in the case that the target audience will not be able to understand what the original concept is referring to. This strategy is especially relevant to this study as cultural substitutions are sometimes used as a way to convey the original humorous intent to the target audience. This is, however, more common in dubbing due to the fact that the viewer does not have the original soundtrack to compare the translation to. Tveit (ibid.) considers *loanwords* especially useful when the translation is aimed at specialists with previous knowledge on the topic or when the loanword is somehow explained or described in the text. Loanwords are, however, often used in mediums aimed at much larger, heterogeneous audiences as the translator has not been able to find a suitable equivalent, but has also not given much thought to the readability of the end result in the eyes of the viewers. *Descriptive phrases* are perhaps the most practical way to go when dealing with a concept that is not familiar to the target culture. Paraphrasing assists the audience in comprehending the subtitles, but also takes away from the already limited number of characters at the translator's disposal. *Omitting*, as already mentioned in the previous subchapter, is a strategy known to all translators, but one that should be approached with caution. Words and concepts causing difficulties may be left out only in the case that they do not carry central meaning in the text.

Shuttling between all the above-mentioned strategies, rules and constraining elements of subtitling, it can sometimes prove nearly impossible to find a suitable translation that would work in the context in hand. The reality of subtitling often does not allow the translator to follow the guidelines and ideals put forward by translation theorists, which is reflected in the translators' own dissatisfaction with their work. In the next chapter, I will discuss the translation of humour and the translation of cultural elements in more detail, examining the challenges and strategies translators deal with in this aspect.

5 TRANSLATING HUMOUR AND CULTURE

In this chapter I will discuss two of the most problematic issues that translators face in their work: humour and culture. Chiaro (2006: 198) cites a survey in Italy, in which companies of the dubbing industry agreed that the most challenging issue in screen translations is verbally expressed humour (VEH). This creates even more challenges when VEH needs to be translated for screen purposes, due to the various constraints of subtitling and dubbing discussed earlier in this paper. Pedersen (2011: 41) brings up the issues related to translating culture, as in addition to being aware of strategies, the translator must have bilingual as well as bicultural abilities to be able to successfully translate cultural references. Pedersen (*ibid.*) admits that these two are among the problems that require extra attention and active use of subtitling strategies. This does not mean, however, that no strategies are used with less demanding material, but the use of strategies in these cases is more or less automated and does not require as active of an approach.

Even though the focus of this paper is on the translation of culture-specific references, it is still relevant to discuss humour as the material derives from a situational comedy where humour is strongly present. First, I will discuss whether translating humour is at all possible and, if yes, what it requires from the translator. Next, I will introduce a few common categories of jokes and some strategies that are designed to help deal with the translation of verbal humour. Then I will move on to go over the issues of translating cultural items and will explore a selection of strategies commonly used to tackle culture-specific items in translations. These strategies will work as a basis for analysing the data.

5.1 Translating humour

The first question regarding the translation of humour is whether it can be done at all. Popa (2005: 49), much like many respected scholars before her, believe it is possible, but there are a few principles that the translator should keep in mind, namely:

- translating humour is a complex phenomenon and requires the translator to accurately transfer the situational, cultural and linguistic content of the original text into the target text
- simultaneously, the translator should not lose sight of the intended skopos of the translation
- successfully transferring all situational, cultural and linguistic features of the joke does not necessarily make the translation itself successful.

This description is quite accurate in suggesting that, unlike in many other fields, translating “by the book” and doing everything technically correct, does not equal a successful end result. This rings even more true in the case of humour and jokes, which are often profoundly attached to a specific language and/or culture. Zabalbeascoa (2005: 189) provides a list of the most common types of jokes and humour that translators may come across in their line of work. From this list, I have chosen the most relevant ones for this paper and will explain my choices next.

Unrestricted or *inter-/binational* jokes do not cause much trouble for the translator as the object of the joke is familiar to both cultures involved. This means that the object of the joke has the same referential and connotative values and can therefore be translated to match the original joke. As Zabalbeascoa (2005: 190) notes, some jokes are *restricted by the profile traits the audience* possesses. From the point of view of this paper, this is the most significant joke type as the aforementioned ‘profile traits’ mostly refer to (in this case) the viewers’ linguistic and encyclopaedic knowledge and to their familiarity with certain themes and genres. The main problem areas include the quite obvious semiotic and linguistic differences as well as knowledge of social and cultural institutions. Much of the problems regarding the translation of humour have to do with *wordplay, puns, idioms, metaphors* and so on, which are not the main focus of this paper, but deserve to be mentioned because they are likely to appear together with cultural references in the data. When dealing with humour, these two

categories, *unrestricted* and *restricted by audience's profile traits*, mark the choice a translator makes between editing or not editing the joke as this strongly correlates with whether the viewers will understand the joke or not. This overlaps with the translator evaluating the cultural familiarity of an object, which does not necessarily need to be the target of a joke and will be discussed further in chapter 5.2 *Translating culture*.

Having discussed the different types of jokes, it is only logical to follow with strategies that explain how these can or should be translated, especially for audiovisual purposes. Chiaro (2006: 200) presents three different translational strategies that are likely to be used in the case of translating verbally expressed humour (VEH) on screen:

1. substituting the source language VEH with an example of target language VEH
2. replacing the source language VEH with an idiomatic expression in the target language
3. replacing the source language VEH with an example of compensatory VEH elsewhere in the target language text

These strategies can be further divided into more detailed strategies: the first one (1) of the strategies, *substituting the source language humour with similar target language humour*, is the most difficult one to achieve as it is very unlikely to find an equivalent expression in two different languages, which both can be used for humorous purposes. This is why Chiaro (ibid.) introduces three ways of partially accomplishing this goal: *preserving partial meaning of the VEH*, *preserving the source language form* or *preserving (partial) meaning of source language VEH and form*. This often has to do with wordplay and an acceptable solution can be achieved by changing the original wording, even if it does not necessarily always match the visual element exactly. The second (2) strategy suggests that VEH can be replaced by an idiomatic expression, especially in cases where the instance of VEH is clearly visible and relevant in the context. Ignoring the original reference and substituting it by something completely unrelated would likely cause confusion among the target audience. The last (3) one of Chiaro's strategies is a compensatory one, in which the challenging part of the VEH is not necessarily translated at all, but instead it is substituted with another humorous device placed somewhere else in the text.

It is important to understand that not only does the audience's profile affect the translation, but also the translator's linguistic or cultural knowledge may be limited. Consequently, he

does not recognize or is not capable of translating the joke in the way that was intended by the original author. It should also be remembered that the issues related to the possible differences between the original soundtrack and the subtitles are not as eminent in both target cultures in this case, Finland and Germany. It can be expected that the Finnish viewers, who are very used to the presence of subtitles and have thus improved their listening comprehension in English, are more likely to spot the discrepancies between the original and the translation. Thus, the above hypothesized “confusion” originating from these discrepancies might not become an issue within the German target audience.

5.2 Translating culture

Leppihalme (1999) aptly summarizes the main factors contributing to the translatability of a text. The translatability is heavily dependent on the level of embeddedness that the source text has in the source culture and on the temporal and spatial distance between the source and the target cultures. Regarding this paper, the distance between the original (US) and the target cultures (Finland and Germany) should not cause great difficulties considering that all are industrialized Western nations and the target audiences are, at least partly, exposed to the Anglo-American culture and can therefore be expected to have some knowledge of it. To be able to choose the correct translation strategies, Davies (2003) emphasizes the importance of determining the goal of the translation and whether the translator attempts to foreignize or domesticate the text. In the process of domestication, the translator attempts to adapt the text in a way that the final product seems normal and familiar to the target audience, whereas foreignization intends to keep all the characteristics of the source text, even if this results in an exotic or even a strange effect on the target audience’s side.

According to Leppihalme (1997: 2), the fact that even if the cultures are fairly similar to each other, translating culture-bound concepts from one language into another one can be more problematic than translating the semantic or syntactic features of a text. She continues by distinguishing between *extralinguistic* and *intralinguistic* cultural issues: intralinguistic refers to problems that take place within the language, such as puns, idioms and wordplay, which are deeply embedded in the language itself. My focus in this paper, however, is on the extralinguistic culture-bound matters, which shall be explained in more detail next.

The concept of an item which requires cultural knowledge to be understood has been called a number of different names throughout the years. Aixelá (1996), for example, refers to it as *culture-specific item (CSI)* and claims it is an intuitively recognized item in any given text. According to Aixelá's (ibid.) definition, CSIs are items whose function and connotation in a source text can cause problems when transferred into the target text, often due to the non-existence of the item in case or its different intertextual status in the target culture. Although there is nothing wrong with this definition, in this paper I have decided to use Pedersen's (2011: 43) term *Extralinguistic Cultural Reference (ECR)* which he defines as follows:

...is defined as reference that is attempted by means of any cultural linguistic expression, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process. The referent of the said expression may prototypically be assumed to be identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopaedic knowledge of this audience.

Thus, an ECR may refer to a place, person, institution, custom, food or some other item that a person, despite knowing the language in question, might not be familiar with. *Extralinguistic* refers to matters outside of language, but that still are expressed verbally. The term *cultural* is quite straightforward, meaning something that is related to a certain culture. Culture has been defined in countless different ways, but can be summarized, as Davies (2003) does, as the beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours shared by a certain group. These criteria would not be especially useful if appearing separate from each other and therefore this particular paper is interested in references that fit both the criteria, thus they are extralinguistic and cultural. Pedersen (2007: 31) notes that it is important to make a distinction between monocultural and transcultural ECRs as this is one of the most decisive factors when attempting to render it in the target text. A monocultural ECR is well-known among the original, source language audience, but practically unheard of in the target culture. This type of an ECR cannot be left as such, untranslated, in the target text, if the translator intends to maintain the original message intact.

Pedersen (2011: 59-60) lists various domains which ECRs can be divided into with the name of the domain serving as the top hypernym for the ECRs in that category. The following domains are the most common, according to Pedersen:

1. Weights and measures
2. Proper names
 - a. Personal names

- b. Geographical names
 - c. Institutional names
 - d. Brand names
3. Professional titles
 4. Food and beverages
 5. Literature
 6. Government
 7. Entertainment
 8. Education
 9. Sports
 10. Currency
 11. Technical material
 12. Other

The list is not exhaustive, as demonstrated by the last domain on the list, and some items can belong to multiple domains at the same time. Pedersen (ibid.) gives *Nancy Drew* (in Finnish: *Neiti Etsivä*) as an example of a multifunctional ECR as it is a proper name and a literary character and could perhaps on some level also be considered entertainment. I will be using this categorization as a tool when attempting to find regularities in the strategies used to translate ECRs into Finnish and into German in the case of *Friends*.

Schröter (2003: 119) points out that some choices the translator makes are not because the line includes an ECR, but instead because the target language system clashes with the solutions the translator uses. Schröter categorizes these issues as *anglicisms* and *Translationese*. Anglicisms include English forms of addressing someone (*Mr* and *Mrs*) and the translation of the English use of the word *you*, which can cause issues in the target language if the language uses different words for plural and singular *you*. These categories also cover English loanwords, some of which have already become a part of the everyday language in the target culture and might have even been adapted to better fit the language rules, like the Swedish variant “shoppar” from the English “to shop”. Schröter (ibid.) says that problems occur when the translator attempts to pass an unfamiliar loanword as familiar or when the translation, even if the content is accurately translated, does not match the target language structures.

Pedersen (2011: 61-65) also discusses where and why ECRs can most commonly be found. Firstly, he mentions the relation between the frequency of ECRs and verbosity, i.e. the amount and speed of dialogue in a given context. The more dialogue there is, even though this is often balanced out with the condensed subtitles, the more likely it is for ECRs to appear. Secondly, Pedersen discusses genre as a contributing factor and makes a division between introvert and extrovert genres. With this he is referring to the fact that some genres, such as horror or adventure, create their own universe in which cultural artefacts from the real world do not exist. Comedy, drama and romance, for instance, are considered more extrovert due to being rooted in more familiar surroundings. However, Pedersen (ibid.) points out that there is a lot of variation especially in the category of comedy when it comes to TV series and, therefore, verbosity and genre can only be seen as suggestive factors.

The title of this chapter might be somewhat misleading since, as Pedersen (2011: 69) notes, tackling all ECRs does not necessarily involve translation, but this shall become evident in the following chapter, in which I will introduce some of the most commonly used and agreed upon strategies for rendering extralinguistic cultural references.

5.3 Strategies used in rendering culture-specific items

There are probably as many taxonomies on the strategies used in translating culture-specific items as there are names used to refer to the concept itself, if not more. In this chapter I will present a few of these taxonomies and these will serve as a basis for the categorization I will use in analysing the data.

Due to being one of the most recent and perhaps one of the most accomplished taxonomies on the field of rendering ECRs, I shall be using the model created by Pedersen (2011: 75) in the analysis section of this paper. During the process of creating this model, Pedersen analysed 14 previous taxonomies ranging from general translation taxonomies and general subtitling taxonomies to taxonomies used to render cultural items, which allowed him to create a quite sophisticated and extensive categorization. As Pedersen (2011: 74) says, the model's weakness lies in its inconsistency over time and that in the past he has presented three different versions of it before finally arriving to the one explained here. Pedersen has also given up the term "translating ECRs" and replaced it with "rendering ECRs" because, as

mentioned earlier, not all ECRs require translating and using the word “translation” would therefore be misleading.

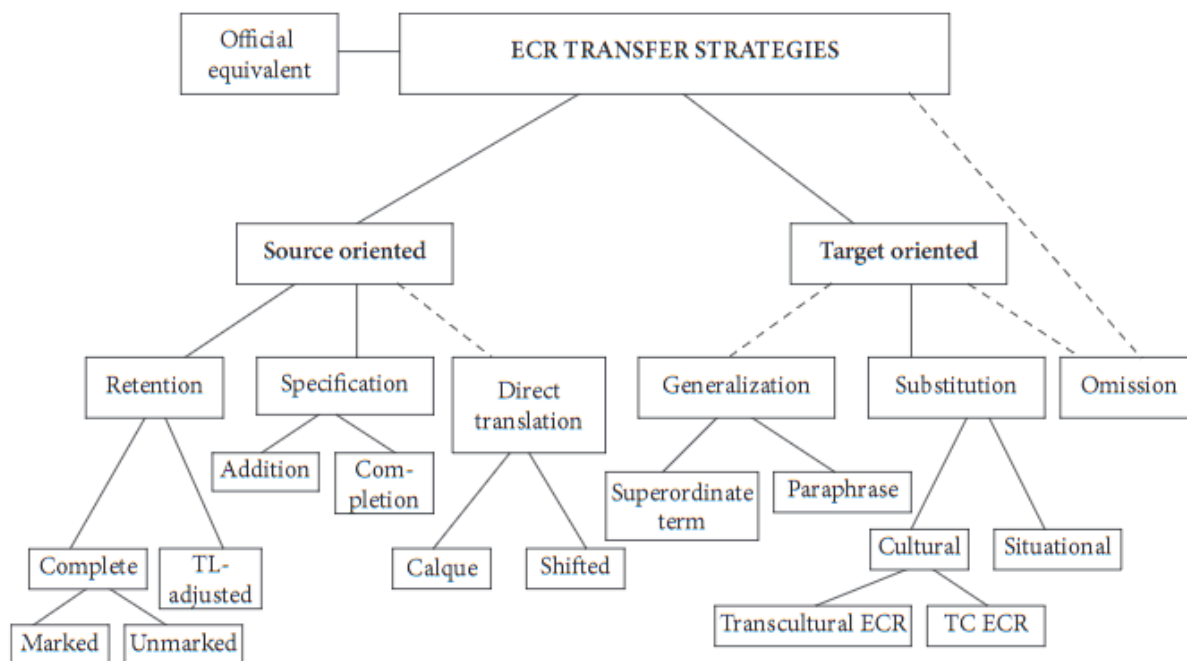


Figure 3. Pedersen’s ECR transfer strategies for subtitling. (Pedersen 2011)

What most of the taxonomies on the topic have in common is that the majority of them divide the strategies into two groups and Pedersen is no different; he first (2007: 31) labelled these categories *minimum change* and *intervention*, but later (2011: 75) used the terms *source oriented* and *target oriented* strategies. The earliest taxonomy of the ones presented here is that of Aixelá (1996: 60-65) and in his theory he uses the names *conservation* and *substitution* to refer to these groups. Strategies placed under minimum change/source oriented/conservation intent to transfer as many ECRs as possible from the source text into the target text without drastically editing them, whereas intervention/target oriented/substitution strategies replace the original reference with an item more suitable and neutral in the eyes of the target audience. I will begin by explaining the source-oriented strategies first and then go on to the target-oriented category.

5.3.1 Source-oriented strategies

Retention, according to Pedersen (2011: 77), is the most source-oriented of all the strategies as it a source culture ECR is transferred into the target text either as such, *complete*, or *adjusted to the target language* by, for example, changing the spelling of the word. The translator may choose to italicize the word or place quotes around it as a way of communicating the foreignness to the audience; this is called *marked retention*. Retention is one of the most used strategies, but simultaneously one of the most confusing ones to the target viewer as this strategy does not offer any help to decipher the unfamiliar reference. Aixelá (1996: 60), on the other hand, uses the term *repetition*, when referring to this type of rendering. Due to the unfamiliar linguistic form and cultural distance, this strategy may end up alienating its audience, which in most cases is not the intention. Place names, such as ‘New York’, and brand names, ‘Cadillac’, are among the ECRs, which this strategy is often used for.

Pedersen’s (2011: 79) *retention adjusted to the target language* as a strategy is very similar to Aixelás (1996) *linguistic translation (non-cultural)* strategy, which refers to the way a translator may choose a target language version of a word, but in a way that the word can still be recognized as belonging to the source culture. ‘Inch’ is not a unit of measure commonly used in Europe, but it does have an equivalent word in, for example, Finnish: ‘tuuma’. By using this word, the translator manages to maintain the original idea, but simultaneously brings the concept closer to the target audience.

Next strategy in Pedersen’s (2011: 79) category is *specification*, in which the translator retains the original source language form but adds information to guide the viewer. *Addition* means adding information that is not exactly part of the name or word being explained. This might involve, for example, adding the profession of an actor who might be a well-known in the source culture, but unfamiliar in the target culture. Pedersen (2011: 82) notes that specification strategies are not used very often as it can add to the cognitive load of the target audience viewer. If the translator decides to use *completion*, material is added in an implicit way by spelling out acronyms or completing an official name. Such is the case in, for example, when referring to ‘Brown’ or ‘Harvard’ and adding the word ‘university’ thereafter to further explain the concept. This strategy is almost identical to Aixelás (1996: 61) *intratextual gloss*, in which the translator “hides” the explanation in the text instead of

spelling it out in an obvious way. Aixelá (ibid.) also uses the term *extratextual gloss*, which Pedersen has chosen to leave out of his taxonomy, perhaps due to it being slightly outdated. Extratextual gloss refers to an explanation given explicitly outside of the text, as a footnote or similar, and it can be combined with any of the other source-oriented strategies.

Direct translation is, as the name suggests, a strategy where the ECR is directly translated. In most cases, this strategy is not, as Pedersen (2011: 83) points out, appropriate for translating proper names, as this would most probably create a credibility gap. It might be difficult for the Finnish audience to see a ‘Sakari Piippo’ (possible translation for Chandler Bing) strolling on the streets of New York or sitting down for a coffee in ‘Keskuspaisto’ (Central Perk).

Calque refers to a rendering technique in which all elements of a word or expression are translated into the target language, such as Chandler’s profession in *Friends*: ‘data configuration analyst’ becomes ‘datakonfiguraatioanalyttikko’ in Finnish. This, however, would probably sound very odd as such a word does not really exist in the target language. If the expression is still somewhat directly translated, but there is a change in the word order, the technique belongs under the *shifted direct translation* label.

Aixelás (1996) categorization includes one more source-oriented strategy not mentioned by Pedersen (2011): *orthographic adaptation* is used when the alphabets of the source and the target languages differ from each other and include letters the other is not familiar with. Nowadays, there is a tendency to respect the original form, if possible, but some orthographic adaptation still finds its way onto the screen, as Aixelá (1996) points out. An example of this in the context of *Friends* is the name of Ross’s ex-girlfriend, Julie, which in the Russian version of the show might be translated into ‘Yulia’ due to the fact that *j* does not exist in the Russian alphabet.

5.3.2 Target-oriented strategies

In the target-oriented category, Pedersen (2011: 85) first addresses *generalization*. In this strategy, one solution is to *paraphrase* the reference, albeit this often takes up much more space in the subtitles in comparison to the original. An example of this might be describing *Friends* as ‘a popular American sitcom’ for those who have not heard of it before. A very specific word can be replaced by a *superordinate term*, thus opening up the ECR and making it more accessible. Joey, known for snacking, nibbles on a ‘Three Musketeers’ bar, which

could simply be described as ‘a candy bar’ for those unfamiliar with the brand, thus generalizing the concept. Aixelá (1996) calls this *absolute universalization*, in which the reference has been stripped from all foreign connotations, as the previous example shows. His categorization also includes *limited universalization*, in which the reference in the target text can usually still be traced back to the source culture (‘worth three hundred dollars’) but is more comprehensible than the original (‘worth three Benjamins’).

Next Pedersen (2011: 89) discusses *substitution* and how an ECR can possibly be replaced by another *cultural* or a *situational* item. Situational substitutions do not necessarily have any connection to the original ECR and might not be considered ECRs in the target culture either. This can be a good option in the case that the original reference is not very relevant in the context and the target culture does not have an equivalent for it, which could create a similar effect in the viewer. Davies’ (2003) taxonomy also acknowledges this strategy but calls it *transformation*. Davies (ibid.) herself admits that the distinction between this strategy and some others is not clear, but as the examples in this category do not entirely fit in the categories in Aixelá’s (1996) taxonomy, which is very similar with Davies’, there was a need for a new label. The translator might think that the original reference does not accurately describe the item and therefore decides to change it. According to Davies, (ibid.) this is often the case with book and film titles as can be seen in, for example, the Finnish translation of the popular TV show *How I Met Your Mother*: ‘Ensisilmäyksellä’ (‘At First Sight’). The translation does not universalize nor generalize the title, but still manages to create a different effect on the viewer than the original did.

The case of cultural substitutions is a multifaceted and much more complex issue. Pedersen (2011: 89) gives the following options to do this: the original ECR can be replaced by (1) another ECR from the source culture or by one from a third, separate culture, which both cultures are familiar with or (2) one from the target culture. The least noticeable strategy is to replace the monocultural ECR with a transcultural ECR from the source culture. In the case of the ‘Three Musketeers’ example, the translator might choose to substitute it with a ‘Mars’ bar, thus creating a reference that is still originally from the source culture but can be understood in the target culture as well. Another option is to replace the ECR with a cultural item from the target culture, which Aixelá (1996) calls *naturalization*. This could mean that in the Finnish version of the show, the *Friends* did not take the ‘SATs’, but instead participated in the ‘ylioppilaskirjoitukset’, which is the Finnish equivalent of the final examination in high

school. Pedersen (2011: 94) does, however, point out that the danger of creating too big of a credibility gap is quite likely here and urges translators to use caution with the strategy.

Finally, Pedersen (2011: 96) discusses *omission* and *official equivalent*. The first one of these refers to deleting the ECR altogether, which can be very target audience-friendly, but it should not be chosen on the grounds of laziness. The translator should test alternative strategies before arriving at the decision to leave a reference out completely. Using an official equivalent requires a decision that has been made for the translator by some type of authority. This might mean always having to convert miles into kilometres or using names like ‘Nalle Puh’ for ‘Winnie the Pooh’ that have been established in the language already a long time ago and there is no other way of translating them in that particular language.

Aixelá (1996) does present a few strategies, which do not appear in Pedersen’s taxonomy. The first one, namely *synonymy*, is often chosen to avoid repeating a word over and over again. In the context of *Friends* this might mean referring to Ross as ‘the palaeontologist’, ‘Ben’s father’, ‘Monica’s brother’ etc. instead of repeatedly using his first name. It can be debated whether this is actually a strategy for rendering ECRs or simply a stylistic choice. The final category that Aixelá (ibid.) introduces is *autonomous recreation* which, according to his own words, is not very common. In this strategy the translator places a cultural reference into the text that does not exist in the original version. Davies (2003: 88-89), whose taxonomy is very similar to that of Aixelá, exemplifies this in the context of Harry Potter, where proper names have often been translated in a very different way than what the original suggested. A character in the book series, ‘Madam Pomfrey’, is known to the Italian audience as ‘Madame Chips’ since the Italian translator took the original name to be a reference to *pommes frites* but wanting to avoid the credibility gap and to maintain the “Englishness” of the name, he came up with this, very unique translation.

Even though there is a high number of different taxonomies out there, it has become quite clear that the basics are similar in all of them and they only differ in their extensiveness and in the terminology used. In the following chapter I will introduce my study in more detail, including the taxonomy I chose to use as my method of analysis, and also give reasons for my decisions.

6 PRESENT STUDY

6.1 Aim and research questions

The aim of my study is to explore the way culture-specific references are translated from the original source language into target language(s) in the case of the popular American sitcom *Friends*. In this paper, I have chosen to use Pedersen's (2011: 43) term *ECR*, *extralingual cultural reference*, which requires encyclopaedic knowledge of that particular culture in order to be understood and, often in the context of situational comedy, considered humorous. The source language in this case is English, the source culture is American and the selected target languages/cultures are Finnish and German. In addition to exploring the strategies used, having two target languages/cultures allows me to make comparisons between these two target languages and discover whether differences occur. I have formulated the following research questions in order to provide answers to the issues discussed above:

1. Which strategies are used to render ECRs?
2. Is there a detectable pattern to the used of these strategies based on, e.g. domains?
3. Does the use of strategies differ between EN-FI and EN-DE translations and if so, how?

Answering these questions is likely to clarify the decision-making process of a translator when subtitling audiovisual material and examining the possible patterns in the use of strategies will give insight into the relative level of difficulty of ECRs in each domain. The comparisons between the two target languages may reveal differences in the use of strategies that could derive from linguistic differences such as the number of characters in a given combination of words, which either allows or denies its use due to the spatial constraints. The differences in the chosen strategies also serve as an important reminder of the infinite possibilities that a translator works with and must choose from under a very limited amount of time.

6.2 Data

Pedersen (2011: 64-65) studied the number of ECRs in a variety of films and TV series and noticed significant variation in the category of TV comedy. He also examined *Friends* in his study and found out that the average number of ECRs per episode was eight (8), which would mean approximately 21 ECRs per hour. However, he noted that the number of ECRs was heavily dependent on the subplot of the episode, which might require a significantly higher use of ECRs than suggested by the average. For this reason, I decided not to determine a set number of episodes or seasons to examine beforehand, but instead keep viewing the data until I would have a sufficient number of ECRs to draw conclusions from. Finally, my data consisted of entire season five with 24 episodes, which included a total of 174 instances of ECRs. Considering that the average length of an episode was 23 minutes, this leads to an average of 17.1 ECRs per hour, which is quite close to the estimation by Pedersen. My decision to terminate the collection of data was based on the idea of saturation, which, according to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 87-88), means that the data starts to repeat itself and does not offer any new information from the perspective of the research question(s). I could have, of course, continued on with my study, but the patterns in my data were already so clear at this stage that it is very unlikely that any drastic changes would have taken place no matter how much more material I would have gone through.

Even though movies and television series in Germany are mostly dubbed, in this study I decided to analyse the translated subtitles instead, for both languages. This would allow me to make more accurate comparisons between the Finnish and the German translations.

The DVD version of the series was chosen over an online version (e.g. Netflix or similar) in order to avoid amateur translations as the translations on a DVD are produced by hired professionals and can therefore be considered to be trustworthy and, having been approved by the production company, of higher quality. Similarly, it was important to maintain the highest possible level of comparability between the Finnish and German translations and using the DVD version was the most secure way of doing that. According to Schröter (2003: 110), there is a difference in the quantity of subtitled content between the televised and the DVD version. The subtitles designed for television overlook more of the original dialogue as they are targeted at the “slower” average viewer, whereas the DVD subtitles’ intent is to maintain as

much of the original dialogue as possible. This serves the purpose of this paper quite well as it indicates lesser loss of information.

I chose to begin my data collection with season five for two reasons. Firstly, in the beginning I was not sure how much material I would need to go through to get sufficient amount of data and starting roughly from the middle meant that even if there was not enough material even in a few seasons, I could continue on for six seasons in total to get the required number of ECRs. Secondly, I believe that by season five the nature of the characters, the type of humour and other factors that make *Friends* the show it is had somewhat stabilized. At this point there would not be any major shifts in the dynamics of the series, which could have affected my study.

Before starting to collect the data, I searched online for various scripts available for *Friends*. This was effective as it meant that I would not have to transcribe the entire English material from a scratch, but a simple proofreading would suffice. I took advantage of multiple scripts to guarantee that there were not mistakes in the English transcriptions and since some of the scripts were annotated, they were a great help in understanding some of the cultural references, which I was not aware of myself. I also prepared a Word document, in which I placed the domains Pedersen (2011: 59-60) deemed necessary, discussed in chapter 5.2 *Translating culture*. Whenever a dialogue including an ECR occurred, I would place it under the corresponding domain, which was an essential part of the organization of my data.

I began by first watching season five with Finnish subtitles. When a dialogue including an ECR occurred, I selected the domain which in my opinion best matched the ECR and wrote down the following information for it: episode number, the time when the dialogue began, English transcription and Finnish translation. Episode number and time of the scene would later help me with gathering the German data as it would not be necessary to sit through all the episodes again, but instead I could simply fast forward to each ECR. In the beginning, as I was working with the list from Pedersen (2011), I had some difficulties in determining the most suitable domain for each ECR, which led to my decision to modify the names and number of the domains, thus eliminating the problem. I decided to include the dialogue surrounding the ECR as well to give the reference more context. I used colour-coding with the material and highlighted all extracts from the same episode with the same colour to guarantee that I would not miss any of them when collecting the material in German.

An important point to note here is that some ECRs were repeated a number of times throughout the season, especially certain geographical names, but I jotted each one down as their own instance. The reason for this lies in the fact that different strategies were sometimes still used and not recording them would have distorted the end results.

6.3 Methods of analysis

As Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 85) point out, qualitative research does not intend to create statistical generalizations based on the collected data, but instead the aim is to generate a sensible interpretation of a certain phenomenon, in this case my goal was to try and understand the choices translators have made in the process of translating *Friends* to their respective target audiences. However, some elements of quantitative research are present, which takes form in the total number of ECRs collected as well as in the popularity of the translation strategies used in rendering them.

Content analysis was the best choice for this study as it is used for various purposes in a variety of way, which gives the researcher fairly free hands. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 92) present their understanding of what the outline of the content analysis process should be:

1. Make a decision on what is the focus of interest in the data
- 2a. Go through the data, distinguish and mark the items that are of interest
- 2b. Leave everything else out of the study
- 2c. Collect the items you have chosen and separate them from the rest of the data
3. Classify, thematise or type the data
4. Write a summary of the data.

In the scope of this paper, I started out with a clear focus on the ECRs and did not have much trouble in deciding which items to include and which were to be left out. Some such cases did emerge, but in the process of analysing they were left out since I determined they did not match the rest of the material. As mentioned in the description of data, I used colour-coding and Pedersen's (2011: 59-60) list of domains as a tool when collecting the items that were of interest to me. I chose to type the data instead of classifying or thematising as my goal was to

find similarities and differences between items belonging to the same type, which in this case was the domain, and to establish the logic behind the translations under each type/domain.

On the report of Eskola (2007: 162), there are three possible forms of analysis in qualitative research: data-oriented, theory bound and theory-oriented. My method of analysis in this paper was theory-oriented, since the theory base consists of multiple theories which function as framework for my study and help me examine my data through them. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009: 97) add that when using this method, the analysis rests on the presented theories and the data is defined according to these already existing models. With theory-oriented method, the categories, with which the data is linked with, are predetermined in comparison to being derived from the data. The theories that I considered most relevant and which I chose to use as the basis of my analysis will be discussed next.

There were various factors and theories used in the analysis of the translation of an ECR. The first thing to analyse, which was already done in the phase of data collection, is the domain/category under which each cultural reference belongs. As mentioned above, I used Pedersen's (2011: 59-60) listing, although it did go through some changes according to the data that was collected here. I have no doubt that his list of domains could work as such in the case of perhaps another season or another series, but for the purpose of this paper it had to be slightly edited.

The second factor to consider in the analysis was the nature of the ECR. Pedersen's (2011: 43) definition of an ECR includes the following term: *encyclopaedic knowledge of audience*, which is connected to his ideas of monocultural and transcultural references. In order to be able to discuss the relative successfulness of a specific translation, it is crucial to determine whether the cultural reference belongs solely to the source culture or if it is universal and can therefore be understood by members of the target cultures as well. These concepts do not deviate too much from Zabalbeascoa's (2005: 190) theory on different joke types, where he mentions the existence of unrestricted and restricted jokes. As a significant part of the recorded ECRs have a humorous side to them, this theory should not be overlooked. Zabalbeascoa's terms *unrestricted jokes* and *jokes restricted by audience's profile traits* are technically the equivalents of Pedersen's mono- and transcultural references, but Zabalbeascoa's approach is humour theory while Pedersen looks at things through the lens of translating culture. Zabalbeascoa, quite aptly, suggests that a joke cannot be understood if the

object of the joke is, in Pedersen's terms, monocultural. These definitions were used as a tool to establish the nature of the reference.

Having analysed the type of ECR, it was time to take a look at the strategies used in rendering them. In chapter 5.2 *Translating culture*, I referenced Davies' (2003) ideas regarding the goal of the translation, which can be either foreignizing or domesticating the cultural reference. In Pedersen's theory (2011: 75) this differentiation resembles the use of either source-oriented or target-oriented strategies. In other words, I analysed whether the translator intended to make the reference more familiar to the target audience by using cultural substitutions from the local culture, for example, or whether he wanted to maintain the authenticity of the show by retaining the foreign references in the translation as well.

The final stage of my analysis discusses the successfulness of the chosen translation strategy and the alternatives that might have yielded better results from the perspective of the skopos. Reiss and Vermeer's (1986: 55-58) skopos theory was an especially useful tool for my analysis when the dialogue was intended to be humorous. My goal was to establish if the translator succeeded in conserving the funniness of the dialogue.

All the aforementioned theories and approaches were used as tools in analysing each of the examples presented in the following chapter. The results of my analysis will be discussed next.

7 ANALYSIS

This chapter is divided into eleven subchapters, each of them comprising those ECRs and their translation strategies relevant to its title. The subchapters are named after Pedersen's (2011: 59-60) list of domains and the order of these chapters mirrors the one in his theory. Some of the original domains are not included here as only a few or no ECRs in the data matched them and it would not have been sensible from the point of view of the analysis. Similarly, some new domains were added, which is the result of a very high number of ECRs occurring in a certain domain whereupon it made more sense to divide them up.

The table below summarizes the total number of ECRs found in each category and the number of times a certain translation strategy was used to render them. The total number of

ECRs in the table refers to the number of references found in the original English material, which means that since there were two target languages, this number needs to be doubled to attain the number of times a strategy was used in both the Finnish and the German versions together. This table features the total number of times a strategy was used within a certain domain and the language-specific statistics will be presented as their own table in the beginning of each subchapter. Some of the translation strategies named in the table include “substrategies”, which will be discussed in more detail in the following subchapters.

	Retention	Specification	Direct translation	Generalization	Substitution	Omission	Official equivalent	Total
Weights	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	3
Personal names	28	3	-	-	3	-	2	18
Geographical names	20	-	-	-	4	12	54	44
Brand names	18	2	1	4	4	1	-	15
(Professional) titles	4	-	-	-	-	1	11	8
Food and beverages	-	-	5	4	3	-	-	6
Entertainment - television	30	-	1	4	2	3	12	26
Entertainment – other	9	-	7	3	6	1	8	17
Education	2	-	-	-	7	2	1	6
Currency	-	-	29	8	2	4	3	23
Other	-	-	7	-	9	-	-	8
TOTAL	115	5	52	23	40	24	91	174

Table 1. Number of times a strategy was used per domain.

Next, I will present each domain with the respective ECRs and their analysis. Each chapter begins with a summary of the strategies used in each language.

7.1 Weights and measures

	Finnish	German
Retention (adjusted)	3	1
Direct translation	-	2

Table 2. Strategies in domain *Weights and measures*

The translation strategies used for ECRs in the *weights and measures* category were quite straightforward, which was expected considering the nature of the domain. However, differences between the German and the Finnish translations did emerge. Three instances of culture-specific references belonging to this category were recorded, two referring to weight and one to capacity. The source-oriented categories *direct translation* and *retention adjusted to the target language* were used in rendering the ECRs. Regarding units of weight, both the Finnish and the German translator remained consistent in the strategy they had chosen, but the strategies were different. In Finnish, *retention adjusted to the target language* was used two times whereas in German the two instances were *directly translated*. However, one ECR including a capacity measure was recorded and, in that case, both translators had chosen to adjust the reference to the target language.

The first example includes a reference to weight and it comes from a situation where siblings Ross and Monica are discussing how they used to wrestle each other as children.

Example 1:

Monica: All the time. In fact, I was undefeated. (Koko ajan. Ross ei pärjännyt minulle.) [Na klar, und wie! Tja, und ich habe auch immer gewonnen.]

Ross: Uh, you weighed 200 pounds. (Painoit lähemmäs sata kiloa.) [Du hat ja auch 200 Pfund gewogen.]

Monica: Still, I was quick as a cat. (Mutta olin ketterä kuin kissa.) [Trotzdem war ich flink wie eine Katze.]

Here, the translator has opted to translate the American, monocultural weight unit *pound* into *kilo(gramma)*, as this is the standard unit to be used when referring to weight in Finland, thus domesticating the reference. This also required the translator to convert the number of pounds into the corresponding number of kilogrammes. Due to the high number of television series,

films and other cultural products of the United States available in Finland, the translator could have chosen to use the word *pauna* instead, a direct translation from the original, which very likely would have been understood by many viewers but would have required more mental effort. This foreignization strategy was, however, chosen by the German translator in the same context. This choice can be considered somewhat unusual as the standard unit of weight in Germany is the same as in elsewhere Europe, i.e. a kilogramme. The choice could perhaps be explained by the two countries' different translation practices: as the original soundtrack remains available to the Finnish audience with subtitles, they are probably already familiar with the English unit and may have created a connection between the words "pound" and "kilo". In Germany, the original soundtrack is replaced with a German dubbing and the audience might not be as familiar with "pound". Since I was researching the subtitled German version instead of the dubbed one and, consequently, the original soundtrack is available, the translator may have thought it is simpler to translate the reference directly in order to reduce the amount of mental effort the audience would have to go through to decipher the conversion. The skopos in this case was to create a humorous situation based on the fact that a young girl weighing 200 pounds is quite heavy and thus more likely to win in a wrestling match against her older brother. The choice of strategy does not affect the skopos as it is still possible for the audience to understand that *200 Pfund* is more than what a child should weigh.

The same reasoning cannot, however, explain the German translator's choice in the following example, where the friends are organizing a surprise birthday party for Rachel and Phoebe needs a place to hide the plastic cups she was responsible for and is carrying two large garbage bags with her.

Example 2:

Phoebe: Is it okay if I leave this stuff here 'til Rachel's birthday party? (Voinko jättää nämä tänne Rachelin juhliin saakka?) [Kann ich die Sachen für Rachels Party hier lassen?]

Chandler: Ah sure. What's in 'em? (Toki. Mitä ne ovat?) [Klar, was ist da drin?]

Phoebe: Umm, cups. (Mukeja.) [Becher.]

Chandler: Oh good, because uh we got Rachel 800 gallons of water. (Hyvä, koska hankimme lahjaksi satoja litroja vettä.) [Gut, wir haben für Rachel heute 3.000 Liter Wasser besorgt.]

In this case the German translator decided to use the European unit for measuring liquid capacity, “litre”, which has required him to complete the conversion as well. He has, therefore, adjusted the ECR to the target language by domesticating it. Unlike with the somewhat more common unit “pound”, it can be assumed that the German audience is very unlikely to know how much a gallon of water is exactly, which is why it is important for the translator to clear it up for them. In this example, the joke is based on understanding that Phoebe has apparently bought enough cups to fit 800 gallons of water, which is a very large amount and can in no way be necessary for one party. If the viewer does not know, even approximately, the meaning of a gallon, the joke and the skopos discussed earlier by Reiss and Vermeer (1989: 55-58) is lost completely. The Finnish translator has used the same translation strategy but opted for a vaguer expression as the translator did not consider the exact number of litres to be of great significance and chose to express the reference in a more natural-sounding way, while still adjusting it to the target culture.

7.2 Personal names

	Finnish	German
Retention (complete)	13	14
Official equivalent	2	-
Retention (adjusted)	1	-
Spetication (addition)	1	2
Substitution (cultural from source)	-	1
Substitution (cultural from target)	1	1

Table 3. Strategies in domain *Personal names*.

Altogether 18 ECRs belonging to this category and six different strategies to translate them were recorded. Majority of the ECRs under this domain refer to celebrities and other famous characters of the source culture, but a few other examples were found as well. The most common translation strategy was *complete retention*, which was used quite unanimously for

both languages. Altogether 13 ECRs were translated in Finnish and 14 in German using this strategy. *Official equivalent* was used twice and *adjusted retention* once by the Finnish translator only. *Specification-addition* was used once by the Finnish and twice by the German translator. *Cultural substitution from source culture* was only used by the German translator and only one time, whereas *cultural substitution from target culture* was used once in each language.

The main reason for using complete retention seems to be the fact that the person referred to is considered to be transcultural, i.e. that he/she is known also in the target culture. In the following example Chandler has just returned from a secret, disappointing weekend getaway with Monica and is discussing it with Joey.

Example 3:

Joey: Oh, so your weekend was a total bust? (Se oli siis surkea reissu.) [Dein Wochenende war ein Reinfall?]

Chandler: Uh, no, I got to see Donald Trump waiting for an elevator. (Näin kun Donald Trump odotti hissiä.) [Nein, ich habe Donald Trump vorm Fahrstuhl gesehen.]

There are two possibilities for the translators' decision to not adapt the ECR in any way, as can be deducted from Pedersen's (2007: 31) theory: either the translators saw Donald Trump as a transcultural reference whose name and character would be recognized in Finland and in Germany already back in 2000, when the DVD version was first released in Europe or they did not consider the celebrity used in this reference to make a difference. From the perspective of skopos, the reference to Trump is not particularly significant as the humorous value is based on the fact that Chandler saw a celebrity waiting for an elevator, which made his weekend not seem like such a failure. In this case it is irrelevant to the skopos whether it was Donald Trump or another celebrity waiting for the elevator – the joke works as long as the viewer can recognize that the person referred to is thought to be famous.

Sometimes the name of the person being referred to, however, is essential to maintain the humour and the skopos. This can be because of his/her occupation, physical appearance, character or certain identifiable traits. Such is the case in the following example, where Phoebe has received a fur coat in the mail, which is against her vegetarian and animal-loving values. She wants to get rid of it, but the group thinks it might look good on Joey, so he drapes it around his shoulders.

Example 4:

Joey: Ooh-ooh-ooh, yeah! All right, what do you think? (No, mitä sanotte?) [Ich sehe doch Klasse aus.]

Chandler: You're on in five, Ms. Minnelli. (Lava kutsuu, neiti Minnelli.) [Ja, ganz toll, Ms. Minelli.]

The skopos of Chandler's comment is to be funny and the funniness of it is based on the viewers' encyclopaedic knowledge of Ms. Liza Minnelli, how she looks and what she is often seen wearing. Liza Minnelli, a style icon, is known for her glamorous outfits and a fur coat was one of her trademark items. In the example above, the translators are trusting viewers' ability to make the connection between Ms. Minnelli and the fur on Joey's shoulders, they consider the reference to Ms. Minnelli and her style to be transcultural. The translators' choice of not editing this reference (except for the typo in the German version) is justified considering that Ms. Minnelli was, and to some extent still is, a household name back when this season aired.

In some cases, the translator's choice of not translating a celebrity's name might have crucial consequences for the maintenance of skopos, if the translator has misjudged the audience's familiarity with the person as this example demonstrates. In this situation, Rachel has just discovered Monica in a compromising position on her bed, where she was really waiting for Chandler to arrive. As their relationship should still remain a secret, Monica is desperately trying to come up with an explanation.

Example 5:

Rachel: Oh God Monica, tell me you were waiting for a guy! Please tell me you were waiting for a guy! (Sano minulle, että odotit jotain miestä.)

Monica: Yes. Yes, I was. A guy. From work. I'm seeing a guy from work! Ha! (Niin odotin. Töistä. Tapailen yhtä miestä töistä.)

Rachel: That cute waiter guy from your restaurant, the one that looks like a non-threatening Ray Liotta? (Sitä söpöä tarjoilijaako joka näyttää ei-uhkaavalta Ray Liottalta?)

To be able to find this exchange humorous, one should be familiar with Ray Liotta's look as well as with his work, as he is known for playing various psychotic, "bad guy" roles during his career and thus the unusual connection between "non-threatening" and "Ray Liotta" creates an absurd combination. Ray Liotta is not, however, quite as well-known in Finland as

the other examples given above and the Finnish viewers perhaps cannot image Ray Liotta in their heads, which is why this ECR loses its significance in translation due to foreignization.

The German translator chose another strategy to render the same cultural reference, namely *cultural substitution from source culture*.

Example 6:

Rachel: Oh God Monica, tell me you were waiting for a guy! Please tell me you were waiting for a guy! [Bitte sag, dass du auf einen Mann gewartet hast, bitte sag es!]

Monica: Yes. Yes, I was. A guy. From work. I'm seeing a guy from work! Ha! [Ja, genau, das habe ich. Das ist richtig! Einer von der Arbeit. Ich bin mit einem Kollegen verabredet!]

Rachel: That cute waiter guy from your restaurant, the one that looks like a non-threatening Ray Liotta? [Ist das dieser niedliche Kellner? Der wie Jerry Lewis aussieht?]

Here the translator has recognized that translating the name *Ray Liotta* as such might create an issue for the audience and has opted to substitute the reference with another one. The translator clearly believes that *Jerry Lewis* is a better-known American actor amongst his audience and therefore a more suitable option in this context. In this case, I would say the strategy is something between foreignization and domestication, referring back to Davies' (2003) theory. The reference remains foreign as Jerry Lewis does belong to the source culture, but at the same time the translator seems to have brought the original ECR closer to the German target audience, which could be considered a lower level of domestication. The translator had other options to substitute the reference with which would have completely domesticated it: he could have, for example, chosen a German celebrity similar to Ray Liotta to better maintain the skopos, but has decided not to. This suggests that the translator values the authenticity of the translation more than maintaining the skopos, because Rachel uttering the name of a German celebrity in this context would seem unnatural even though it might retain the humorous value. In this case, the translator was unable to preserve the skopos as no paradox between Jerry Lewis' look and the adjectives used to describe him (*niedlich*, cute) is created, unlike in the original version referencing Ray Liotta. This decision is fatal from the perspective of retaining the humour.

Other substitution strategies were also used for the ECRs under this domain. Both translators used *cultural substitution from target culture* as a strategy when tackling a pet's name. In this

extract, Rachel has bought herself a hairless cat and is defending the name that she chose for it.

Example 7:

Rachel: Ugh! Look you guys, I'm really excited about this! Okay? I don't care what you think! I'm gonna go set up a little litter box for Mrs. Whiskerson. Well, what am I gonna call her? Fluffy?! (Olen aivan innoissani tästä. Ajatelkaa, mitä haluatte. Laitan Rouva Viiksiselle hiekkalaatikon. Miksi minun pitäisi kutsua sitä? Misseksikö?) [Ich freue mich, und es ist mir egal, wie ihr sie findet. Ich werde eine Katzentoilette für Mrs. Whiskerson besorgen. Wie soll ich sie sonst nennen? Flauschi?]

Rachel has named her cat *Mrs. Whiskerson*, referring to its most dominant trait, which is a method often used for naming one's pets. The name causes her friends to raise their eyebrows and she defends herself by saying that she cannot name the cat *Fluffy*, a common American pet name, because the cat is not fluffy at all as it does not have any hair. This leaves the translator with two options: he can either focus on the "common pet name" characteristic of *Fluffy* or he can focus on translating the adjective itself. The latter is more useful for maintaining the skopos, whereas the first one would perhaps be a better cultural match, but both would be considered a domestication strategy. The German translator managed to achieve both as *Flauschi* is an adaptation of the word *flauschig*, which is a direct translation for "fluffy", and it is also used as a pet name in Germany. The Finnish translator, on the other hand, chose a very common Finnish pet's name, *Misse*, which unfortunately does not create any contradiction with the features of a bald cat and therefore fails to make the instance as funny.

The strategy, which was used to render the following ECR, would best be described as *specification-addition*. Both the German and the Finnish translators had made the exact same decision in translating the reference. In this example, the group is discussing Rachel's bad habit to gossip.

Example 8:

Rachel: Well, maybe sometimes I find out things or I hear something, and I pass that information on, you know, kind of like a public service, it doesn't mean I'm a gossip. I mean, would you call Ted Kopel a gossip? (Ehkä saan joskus tietää asioista ja välitän tiedon eteenpäin. Sehän on yleisöpalvelua. Ei se tee minusta juoruilijaa. Ei uutisankkurikaan juoruile.) [Ich gebe zu, dass ich manchmal etwas in Erfahrung bringe oder etwas höre und diese Information weitergebe. Das ist eine Art Informationsservice. Würdet ihr einen Nachrichtensprecher als Tratsche bezeichnen?]

Monica: Well if Ted Kopel talked about his co-workers botched boob jobs, I would. (Paitsi jos hän kertoo kansalle työkaverin rintaleikkauksesta.) [Wenn er über die Brustoperationen sprechen würde, dann schon.]

Both translators have come to the conclusion that the news anchor Ted Kopel is not well-known enough in the target culture to be able to leave the ECR as such, thus determining that the ECR is monocultural in Pedersen's (2007: 31) terms. Instead they have used his occupation as a reference in order not to deviate too far away from the original skopos. The specification-addition strategy seems acceptable in describing this strategy, albeit it is often used together with the personal name, in this case: "the news anchor Ted Kopel". Considering the constraining factors of subtitling, however, it is understandable that the name is left out as it does not add extra value for the target culture viewers. A cultural substitution from the target culture would also have been a good choice in domesticating the ECR, i.e. replacing the name with "Arvi Lind" in the case of Finland, for example, but choosing specification-addition guarantees that every viewer will be able to understand the reference. Referring to Vermeer's (1989) explanation of skopos, we understand that it is dependent on the target audience and here the skopos could be "informative", for example, as both translators have chosen to inform their audiences about Ted Kopel being a news anchor.

Retention adjusted to the target language was used on two occasions by the Finnish translator, for two different reasons. In the first extract, Phoebe is pretending to be a policeman and when coming in contact with a real policeman, she tries to convince him by expressing she knows other policemen too.

Example 9:

Phoebe: Umm, do you know, umm Sipowicz? (No tunnetko Sipowitzin?)

Police: Sipowicz? No, I don't think so. (En taida tuntea.)

As discussed in chapter 5.3.1 *Source-oriented strategies*, changing the spelling of a word is one of the ways in which retention can be executed. In this case, the foreign name contains letter clusters not present in the Finnish language, which would make it difficult for the Finnish viewers to read the name. Due to this, the translator deemed it necessary to alter the name and so it would better fit the phonology of Finnish. In this case, however, the choice is questionable as *Sipowicz* is a reference to a character in a TV series and in the Finnish version

of that series, the name has not been altered. Another, perhaps even more probable, reason for this alteration was discussed by Tveit (2004: 109) back in chapter 4.3.1 *Constraining factors of subtitling*, namely the issues related to decoding. It is possible that the Finnish translator was working without a script and with very little time to get familiar with the context and being unable to rewind and rewatch the sequence, he was not able to decode this cultural reference.

The final strategy that was used, somewhat surprisingly, only by the Finnish translator was *official equivalent*. In this example, Joey and Phoebe are discussing the existence of good deeds and they end up on the topic of Santa Claus.

Example 10:

Phoebe: Hey, Joey, when you said the deal with Santa Claus, you meant? (Mitä tarkoittit, kun sanoit Joulupukista?) [Was hast du eigentlich vorhin mit Santa Claus gemeint?]

Joey: That he doesn't exist. (Että häntä ei ole olemassa.) [Dass er nicht existiert.]

Santa Claus is one of those characters Pedersen (2011: 96) refers to when discussing the reasons behind using the official equivalent strategy: the name has been predefined by someone else but the translator. In the cultures that *Santa Claus* exists in, his name can mostly only be translated in one way, as the Finnish example above demonstrates. For some reason, the German translator had chosen to foreignize the name by not translating it at all, which could be an attempt to shorten the name in order to fit all necessary information in the two lines available for subtitles. In German the corresponding translation would be either “Weihnachtsmann” or “Sankt Nikolaus”, which would both require more characters than the English name. Considering that the name *Santa Claus* as such is very likely familiar to the German viewers, the translator’s choice to retain it is reasonable.

7.3 Geographical names

	Finnish	German
Official equivalent	27	27
Retention (complete)	11	9
Omission	6	6
Substitution (situational)	-	2

Table 4. Strategies in domain *Geographical name*.

This domain, *geographical names*, was expectedly the most common one with 44 recorded ECRs, but simultaneously it was one of the most monotonous ones when it came to the use of translation strategies. This was not exactly surprising, considering that the place names that appear in the series are mostly very well-known around the world and either have a corresponding translation in every language or are used as such. This became evident in the results as *official equivalent* strategy was used 27 times in both languages and *complete retention* 11 times in Finnish and nine times in German. In addition to these two, *omission* was used six times in Finnish and six times in German. Moreover, *situational substitution* occurred two times in the German version. The line between when a strategy was deemed official equivalent and when complete retention was hazy in the case of, for example, “New York” as its official equivalent in both languages equals complete retention. I decided to place all ECRs, which are well-known and therefore likely to have an official equivalent, under that category and lesser known places unlikely to have a local, adapted name under complete retention.

The following example takes place in an airport where Rachel is trying to catch a plane to New York and Ross is waiting for her new wife to appear, so they can head to their honeymoon after a disastrous wedding.

Example 11:

Rachel: So umm, what time are you supposed to leave? (Mihin aikaan kone lähtee?) [Wann geht euer Flug?]

Gate Agent: This is the last call for Flight 1066 to Athens. The last call. (Tämä on viimeinen kuulutus lennolle 1066 Ateenaan.) [Letzter Aufruf für den Flug 1066 nach Athen. Letzter Aufruf.]

Ross: Pretty soon I guess. (Aika pian.) [Ziemlich bald, würde ich sagen.]

The decision here is quite straightforward for both translators as “Athens“ only has one possible translation in each target language and therefore official equivalent must be used.

Similarly to the previous category, the decision behind complete retentions in most cases was quite self-explanatory. There was, however, one instance in which the Finnish translator could have selected another translation strategy. In this extract the group is trying to come up with something nice they could all do together as Phoebe was unable to attend the wedding in London and was feeling left out.

Example 12:

Monica: Well, we thought we would all go to a picnic ... in Central Park! (Ajattelimme mennä piknikille... Central Parkiin!)

Unlike in German, *Central Park* does have a corresponding translation in Finnish:

Keskuspuisto. The reason why the translator chose not to domesticate the reference might lie in the fact that *Keskuspuisto* is a fairly general term and there are many parks in Finland alone that also carry the name. Consequently, *Keskuspuisto* is not solely attached to the huge, leafy park in the middle of New York unlike *Central Park* and the intention of the translator was probably to secure the setting in the viewers’ minds as being in New York.

Omission was also a very popular category under this domain, for very understandable reasons. As discussed earlier by Vertanen (2002: 135), names of certain geographical places can be left out if they are not absolutely essential or if they can be deducted from the context and there is no need to separately specify it in the subtitles. In example 15, Chandler and Monica are finally alone again and discuss the future of their relationship after returning home from London. In example 16, Chandler and Joey started their road trip to Las Vegas, but Chandler returns shortly after they took off.

Example 13:

Monica: Well, we certainly are alone. (Olemme ainakin kaksin.)

Chandler: Yes! Good thing we have that ‘Not-in-New York’ rule. (Onneksi meillä on ei täällä -sääntö.)

Example 14:

Monica: Chandler! What are you doing here? (Mitä teet täällä, Chandler?) [Was machst du hier?]

Chandler: Joey kicked me out of the car on the George Washington Bridge! (Joey heitti minut ulos autosta.) [Joey hat mich rausgeschmissen.]

In example 15, the audience can see Monica and Chandler standing in Monica's apartment, which they know to be located in New York. Thus, replacing *New York* with *täällä* (here) is a valid choice as it does not require repeating information that the viewers already know. Additionally, it is presumably faster for the viewers to read and internalize this line in their own mother tongue as opposed to the foreign *New York* present in the text. In example 16, both the Finnish as well as the German translator have omitted the irrelevant information regarding the exact place where Chandler got kicked out of the car.

The final translation strategy used within the domain of geographical was *situational substitution*, which was used twice by the German translator. In this situation, an ex-girlfriend of Chandler's, with whom Chandler broke up by convincing her that he had to move to Yemen, has been out with Ross and gets confronted by the rest of the group.

Example 15:

Janice: Uh-oh-okay. Uh-oh-okay. I know what you all are thinking. But Chandler is in Yemen! I'm a young woman! I have needs! I can't wait forever! [Ich weiss, was ihr denkt, aber Chandler ist doch nicht mehr aktuell! Ich bin eine junge Frau. Ich kann nicht ewig warten.]

According to Pedersen's theory (2011:89), situational substitutions are mostly used when the target language does not have an appropriate translation that would create an effect similar to the original one. Based on this notion, the German translator's decision to not simply translate *Yemen* into German is peculiar. Instead, he has decided to use *ist nich mehr aktuell*, which roughly translates into "is not relevant anymore". The joke about Yemen is a continuation from the previous season and an important part of the storyline between Chandler and Janice, which is why it would have made sense to translate it as such. The chosen translation works in this situation as it is not the focus of the joke, which is the situation itself, but it does make one wonder whether this is a result of the working conditions of a translator. It is possible, and even likely, that the translator has not been translating the show since the beginning and

is not familiar with the show's storyline or perhaps he did not have a script available and had to work solely based on the original soundtrack, which caused a misunderstanding.

7.4 Brand names

	Finnish	German
Retention (complete)	10	8
Specification (addition)	1	-
Specification (completion)	-	1
Substitution (situational)	1	2
Substitution (cultural from target)	-	1
Generalization (superordinate term)	2	2
Omission	-	1
Direct translation	1	-

Table 5. Strategies in domain *Brand names*.

This domain, *brand names*, includes all references with an established brand name, such as *Coca-Cola*. Altogether 15 such references were recorded together with eight different translation strategies to render them. *Complete retention* was once again the most popular choice of strategy and was used eight times in the German and 10 times in the Finnish version. One *cultural substitution from the target culture*, one case of *omission* and one case of *specification-completion* were present in the German translation, whereas the Finnish translator had opted once for *direct translation* and once for *specification-addition*. In addition to these, *situational substitutions* were found twice in the German and once in the Finnish version. This was also the first domain in which both translators had decided to use the strategy *generalization-superordinate term*, two times each.

Majority of the references translated with complete retention were culture-specific items, which are not necessarily familiar to European viewers, such as the retail company specializing in kitchen utensils and home furnishing *Williams-Sonoma* or the high-end

department store *Saks Fifth Avenue*. The choice of leaving these references untranslated is quite sensible since substituting them with local equivalents would be questionable from the point of view of authenticity and leaving the ECRs untouched is in accordance of Tveit's (2004: 16) notion that authenticity derives from the characters being able to indulge in their own cultural environment. Additionally, in these cases, the context itself helps the viewer to roughly understand what type of a reference is in question and therefore there is no need for a translation. There were, however, cases in which another translation strategy would have been easier for the viewers to decode, as the following example demonstrates. Chandler and Monica have just arrived at their hotel for their weekend getaway and are taking a look around their hotel room.

Example 16:

Monica: Ooh, chocolates on the pillows! I love that! (Suklaata tyynyllä. Ihanaa!)
[Schokolade auf dem Kopfkissen, das ist nett!]

Chandler: Oh, you should live with Joey, Rolos everywhere. (Asuisit Joeyn kanssa. Roloja kaikkialla.) [Überall Rolos, das hätte Joey gefallen.]

A *Rolo* is a caramel-filled chocolate candy, which is not on the market in Finland, but incidently is nowadays sold in Germany under the same brand name. Thus, the German translator's decision to use the name *Rolo* is understandable as the reference for them is transcultural and the German audience will likely immediately picture chocolate candy in their heads. The same does not apply for the Finnish audience to whom this ECR is monocultural and they have to use the context to reach a conclusion on what a *Rolo* is. In order to retain the skopos of this instance, being humorous, it is essential that the audience understands the connection between having chocolate on the pillow in a hotel and Joey's untidiness which results in pieces of candy being left all around the apartment. The Finnish audience might not get the joke as they are spending time on trying to deduce the nature of a *Rolo*. In this light, a cultural substitution strategy, where the reference is substituted with a similar one from the target culture, or even a generalization strategy might have made more sense as the main point is that the audience understands that *Rolo* refers to a piece of chocolate candy.

The following sequence includes two ECRs, which required different translation strategies. The first one was translated by using a same strategy in both languages, but the strategies

used on the second one differed. Here, Joey asks Chandler if he would like him to bring home some food from a restaurant he is going to. Chandler makes his order and is ordering a regular drink when Monica violently grabs him, making him change his order.

Example 17:

Chandler: Yeah, can I get a 3-piece, some coleslaw, some beans, and a Coke ... Diet Coke. (Ottaisin kanaa, kaalisalaattia, papuja ja kokiksen. Kevytkokiksen.) [Könntest du mir zwei Hänchen mitbringen mit Bohnen und einer Cola? Cola light.]

The first ECR in this case is *a 3-piece*, which will be discussed in chapter 7.6. The second ECR in this case is found at the end: *Coke ... Diet Coke*. The Finnish translator has chosen to translate the reference somewhat directly instead of using the brand variants known in Finland: *Coca-Cola* and *Coca-Cola Light*. The number of characters in this option is significantly higher than in the chosen translation, which could have caused problems in terms of space. The German translator has selected a cultural substitution of sorts, using the local brand names for the same drink: *Cola* and *Cola light*. None of the translations affect the skopos since they all create an obvious link to the popular fizzy drink.

Specification is a target-oriented translation strategy in rendering ECRs and has two substrategies: *addition* and *completion*. The first one of these two was selected by the Finnish translator in a situation where the group is going through a box to see what is inside. The German translator went another way, using a *situational substitution*.

Example 18:

Monica: Oh, candy bars, crossword puzzles... (Suklaapatukoita, ristikoita...) [Schokolade, Kreuzworträtsel...]

Phoebe: Oh, Mad Libs, mine! (Mad Libs -kirja!) [Und das verrückte Spiel! Meins!]

Mad Libs is a word game, where one player has a story with blank spaces in it, which are randomly filled by the other players who are not aware of what the story is about. This is a common party game as the result is often comical. Similar games are played all around the world, but, unlike in the United States, they are not referred to with a specific brand name, which makes the ECR monocultural. In this extract, *Mad Libs* was not the base of a joke and therefore was not in the focus of skopos, which makes the translation adequate as the viewer understands that *Mad Libs* is something in a book form. The translation does not give any

extra information, which would help the audience understand the concept of *Mad Libs*, but considering the spatial constraints in subtitling, this might be an impossible task to begin with. In the German version, the translator decided to emphasize the whimsical nature of the game instead of the form it takes, which might be due to visual cues conveying that already.

The briefly mentioned strategy *specification-completion* is used to complete names or terms, which are often used in a shorter, edited form. Here, Phoebe's boyfriend is asking her whether she checked the apartment listing in a specific newspaper.

Example 19:

Gary: So, you checked the paper for listings in Brooklyn Heights, right? You-you checked the Post? [Und hast du auch die Immobilienanzeigen durchgelesen? New York Post?]

The newspaper *New York Post* is a well-known brand, even outside of New York and the US and is often simply referred to as *the Post*. Even if the German viewers might have heard of the *New York Post*, it is unlikely that they would be able to make the connection between the newspaper and name *the Post*. Albeit being able to conclude the meaning from the context, this simple change already leads the viewers to the right direction. This example shows that the use of a foreignization strategy, in Davies' (2003) terms, might sometimes actually help the viewers.

The final sequence under this domain is a complicated one as it includes multiple ECRs, for which different translation strategies have been used. Ross's ex-wife Carol is auditioning their son for a television commercial together with Joey, when they see a familiar-looking face in the waiting hall.

Example 20:

Carol: Hey, that kid looks familiar. (Tutun näköinen lapsi.) [Er kommt mir bekannt vor.]

Joey: Oh yeah, yeah! He's done tons of commercials. I've seen him in like Sugar Smacks, Playstation, and that one for the phone company. In fact, he was so good in that one, he actually convinced me to switch phone companies. Chandler was mad... (Ollut monissa mainoksissa. Muromainos, Playstation ja puhelinlaitoksen mainos. Hän oli niin hyvä, että vaihdoin puhelinlaitokseen. Chandler oli vihainen.) [Klar, der hat jede Menge Werbespots gemacht, für Spielzeug und für diese neue Telefonfirma. Da war er so gut, dass ich die Telefonfirma gewechselt habe. Chandler war vielleicht böse!]

The first ECR in this sequence is the monocultural *Sugar Smacks*, name of a specific type of cereal, which does not exist under that name in Finland or in Germany and therefore requires the use of a translation strategy to be understood. The second ECR, *Playstation*, is a household name in both target cultures and due to its transcultural nature can be left as such. This is exactly what the Finnish translator does: he uses a generalizing *superordinate term* in reference to *Sugar Smacks*, saying that the child has done a “cereal commercial” and a commercial for *Playstation*. The German translator, on the other hand, used the superordinate term *Spielzeug* (toy) to refer to *Playstation* and completely omitted the reference to the cereal commercial. What makes this choice even stranger is the fact that he has used *Spielzeug* without an accompanying article, which it in this case requires. This makes me wonder whether his intention was to merge both *Sugar Smacks* and *Playstation* under the “toy” category and made a typographical error in missing the last “-e” in the plural form *Spielzeuge*. The choice of placing the two under the same category suggests that the translator did not know what *Sugar Smacks* are exactly, but this would not have been an issue in this case as none of the ECRs here were irreplaceable. However, the end result is sure to cause confusion among the viewers.

7.5 (Professional) titles

	Finnish	German
Retention (complete)	-	4
Omission	-	1
Official equivalent	8	3

Table 6. Strategies in domain (*Professional*) titles.

This domain, as the title (*professional*) titles suggests, included professional titles and titles such as *Mr.* and *Mrs.* Eight cases of various titles were recorded and, as could be expected, the translation strategies used were fairly monotonous. *Official equivalent* was used in all eight occasions in Finnish whereas in German the strategies varied slightly more. *Omission* was used once, *complete retention* four times and *official equivalent* three times in the German version.

Omission is an understandable strategy here as discussed in 4.3 *Subtitling for television purposes*. Vertanen (2002: 135) mentions titles explicitly and states that omitting is a very efficient subtitling strategy in the case that the translator is dealing with unreasonable spatial constraints.

Four professional titles were recorded and were translated by using the *official equivalent* strategy, except for one in the German version. In the following example, Ross, Chandler and Joey got to go on a ride along with Phoebe's new boyfriend who is a police officer. Ross was smugly sitting in the front seat until he accidentally turned on the light signal and, as a punishment, was sent to sit in the backseat with the others.

Example 21:

Chandler: Look at Officer Ross riding back here with the visitors. [Ist das nicht lausig? Officer Ross sitzt nun hinten.]

Here the translator has chosen *complete retention* of the original, which does seem curious considering that the word *officer* could surely be translated by a seemingly equivalent term in German. The reasons behind the translator's choice can only be hypothesized as the foreignization tactic here seems unnecessary. It is possible that the translator wanted to maintain the authenticity and, therefore, chose to retain the reference.

All personal titles or English honorifics, as they are sometimes called, were translated with the proper target language equivalent in Finnish. An interesting point to note here is the fact that German translations are not as one might expect. In example 22, Rachel has returned from Greece, which was supposed to be Ross and Emily's honeymoon trip, but where Ross and Rachel decided to head together since Emily did not show up. Finally, Rachel got abandoned alone on the trip as Emily arrived at the airport and Ross went after her. In example 23, Rachel addresses the fact that Chandler has been kissing the girls in the group without any apparent reason.

Example 22:

Monica: Rach, that's great! It's so good that you had a good time in Greece! (Sinulla tuntui olevan mukava matka.) [Das ist klasse, dass du dich in Griechenland so amüsiert hast.]

Rachel: What?! I didn't have a good time in Greece! Ross abandoned me! Okay, I couldn't get a plane out, so I had to stay in their honeymoon suite with people coming up to me all

the time going, "Oh, Mrs. Geller, why are you crying?" I mean, it was sooo humiliating. I felt like such an idiot! I mean, it's all my fault! And you know why, because I make very bad decisions. (Mitä? Ei minulla mitään mukavaa ollut. Ross hylkäsi minut, enkä saanut lentoa takaisin, joten minun oli pakko asua hääsviitissä. Ihmiset kysyivät jatkuvasti: "Miksi itkee, rouva Geller?" Se oli nöyryyttävää, tunsin itseni idiootiksi. Kaikki on täysin minun syytäni, koska teen erittäin huonoja päätöksiä.) [Was? Es war einfach grauenvoll. Ross hat mich hängen lassen. Es ging keinen Flug zurück, und ich wohnte in der Flitterwochen-Suite! Dauernd kam jemand rein und fragte: „Mrs. Geller, wieso weinen Sie denn? Ihr glaubt nicht, wie erniedrigend das für mich war! Ich fühlte mich wie die letzte Idiotin! Ich bin selbst schuld. Wisst ihr, wieso? Weil ich immer die falschen Entscheidungen treffe.]

Example 23:

Rachel: Hey, whoa! Ho-ho-hold on a sec there, Mr. Kissey! (Hetkinen nyt, Herra Suukko.)
[Eine Sekunde noch, Mr. Kissi.]

In the Finnish subtitles, the titles have been replaced with their official equivalents, but instead of using the German equivalents, the German translator has chosen to retain the original English forms. This does not exactly impede the understanding as the forms are quite well known all around the world, but there does not seem to be any real reason for why the titles could not be translated. The official equivalents in these cases would be "Herr" for *Mr.* and "Frau" for *Mrs.*, which use nearly the exact number of characters as the English versions so spatial constraints cannot be to blame here. Perhaps the translator thought that the English last name *Geller* would better fit together with an English title or perhaps he tried to retain as much of the show's authenticity as possible without complicating the viewers' reading process.

7.6 Food and beverages

	Finnish	German
Direct translation	2	3
Generalization (superordinate term)	3	1
Substitution (situational)	1	1
Substitution (cultural from target)	-	1

Table 7. Strategies in domain *Food and beverages*.

The domain *food and beverages* consists of ECRs, which include a name of a food or beverage based in the American culture and which might be unknown outside of the United States. Six cases of ECRs belonging under this domain were found in season five. From these, two were translated using the *direct translation* strategy in Finnish and three in German. One instance in each language was translated with a *situational substitution* strategy. Additionally, *generalization-superordinate term* was used three times in Finnish and once in German and *cultural substitution from target culture* once in German.

The following example is of a *direct translation* in both languages. Ross has brought Chandler home for Thanksgiving dinner and Monica finds out that Chandler does not eat any Thanksgiving food.

Example 24:

Monica: Umm, Chandler, if you want I can make you some macaroni and cheese for dinner. (Voisin tehdä sinulle juustomakaronia.) [Wenn du willst, mache ich Makkaroni mit Käse.]

Macaroni and cheese is a very common American dish, which is not necessarily a very usual choice of dinner in Finland or in Germany. The chosen translation strategy in this case has both advantages and disadvantages: the translation gives the viewers an exact idea of the type of dish that Monica will prepare, but the cultural significance of it does not carry over to the translation. Explaining its status within the American society is also not an option since this would take time, space and impede the authentic experience of the viewers. The translators

could have used a cultural substitution from the target culture, which would have a similar status as macaroni and cheese in the American culture, but this raises again the question of authenticity: would it be believable for Monica to cook “makaronilaatikko” or “Bratwurst mit Sauerkraut” for Thanksgiving dinner? Since the skopos in this case is not affected by the translators’ choice, it can be considered acceptable.

Generalization-superordinate term was used on two occasions. Example 25 is the scene that was already discussed back in chapter 7.4, but this time the focus is on another ECR.

Example 25:

Chandler: Yeah, can I get a 3-piece, some coleslaw, some beans, and a Coke ... Diet Coke. (Ottaisin kanaa, kaalisalaattia, papuja ja kokiksen. Kevytkokiksen.) [Könntest du mir zwei Händchen mitbringen mit Bohnen und einer Cola? Cola light.]

A *3-piece* is a reference to a chicken dinner, which includes one leg and two thighs. This item can be found on the menu of various fast food restaurants in the US and is therefore a commonly known term within that culture, but not outside of it. Fried chicken has not gained the same level of popularity in Finland and Germany, which is why this term is monocultural and cannot be used in a similar manner in the target language versions. Both translators have recognized that *3-piece* refers to chicken and have thus translated it using the *generalization-superordinate term* strategy by simply using “chicken” in the reference.

The same strategy was used in the Finnish translation in the following sequence, where Phoebe and Joey placed bets on which bird, the duck or the chicken, would first find the hidden snack in the apartment.

Example 26:

Joey: And the duck gets the Nutter-Butter! (Ankka löysi raksun!) [Die Ente hat die Erdnussbutter gefunden!]

Phoebe: No! Hey-hey that's not a Nutter-Butter, that's just an old wonton! (Tuo on vanha karkki.) [Das ist übrig gebliebener Käse! Das gilt nicht.]

Joey: Judge rules, Nutter-Butter. (Tuomarin päätös: raksu.) [Das Kampfgericht entscheidet für die Erdnussbutter.]

A *Nutter-Butter* is a fairly small cookie and a snack, but is not known outside of the United States, which makes it monocultural. Instead of trying to come up with a direct translation or an equivalent for it, the Finnish translator found it more appropriate to replace it with a *superordinate term* “*raksu*”, which works perfectly fine in this case. The funniness of the situation lies in the absurdness of the situation itself and not on the exact wording of the line and therefore *skopos* will not be affected by this choice of strategy. The German translator, however, has chosen to translate the ECR more literally and the end result does not make a lot of sense in this context as *Erdnussbutter* is a *direct translation* of “peanut butter” and it would be difficult to hide that in the apartment in a form that the birds would be able to smell, find and eat it. Another peculiar choice of translation can be found in this example, namely the translations of *wonton*. *Wonton* is a type of dumpling, a part of many Asian cuisines, but in this example, it is not translated as such. In the Finnish translation it has been, somewhat erroneously, translated as *karkki* (candy), which suggests that the translator intended to use the superordinate term strategy here as well. The German translator used *Käse* (cheese) in his translation, which could be considered a *situational substitution*. I do not believe that these choices were due to not understanding what a *wonton* is, but the translators considered that the translation of it would not be a good match for *raksu* (cracker) or *Erdnussbutter*, respectively. In this case, for example, *raksu* and *karkki* belong to a similar category of food unlike *raksu* and *myky* (dumpling), which makes the sequence more sensible. Same reasoning seems to fit the German translator’s choice as well.

The final ECR under this domain has two meanings in the English language and was therefore translated differently by the two translators. In this example, the group is on the plane coming back from London and Chandler and Monica had agreed to secretly meet in the toilet, but Chandler got interrupted by Joey, which left Monica waiting for quite some time.

Example 27:

Joey: Hey, Monica, wow you’ve been in the bathroom for like a half-hour. (Sinähän olit vessassa ainakin puoli tuntia.) [Du warst bestimmt eine halbe Stunde auf der Toilette.]

Monica: I know! (Aivan.) [Ja, das ist wahr.]

Joey: Had the beef tips, huh? (Ruuansulatusvaivoja...) [Das war der Tafelspitz, was?]

Now, as mentioned above, the word *beef tips* can be understood in one of the following two ways: a dish made of beef or diarrhoea. The humour in this extract stems from Joey's choice of words in the second line, which suggests that eating the dish, beef tips, has caused some problems for Monica's digestion, when in reality she was in the toilet for an entirely different reason. The Finnish translator is fairly explicit in his translation and uses a *situational substitution* to make a point-blank statement about Monica's stomach issues, which partly affects the humour due to the lack of ambiguity. In comparison, the German translator's choice to use the strategy *cultural substitution from target culture* by inserting the word *Tafelspitz*, an Austrian meat dish, is more implicit and does not carry the same double entendre as the English word. This strategy better maintains the humour and thus is more successful from the point of view of the skopos, as it causes a similar reaction in both the source and the target culture audiences, which was emphasized as an important factor by Nida (1989: 95).

7.7 Entertainment - television

	Finnish	German
Retention (complete)	15	15
Direct translation	1	-
Generalization (paraphrase)	-	2
Generalization (superordinate term)	1	1
Substitution (situational)	1	1
Omission	2	1
Official equivalent	6	6

Table 8. Strategies in domain *Entertainment – television*.

Pedersen's (2011: 59-60) original list of domains included a general category for all entertainment. After having gathered the data I discovered that this domain would have included a very high number of ECRs, which is why I saw it necessary to group the ECRs in a

different manner. Because of this change, I was able to group approximately half of the ECRs under the domain “entertainment – television” and the other half under “entertainment – other”. Even so, this domain included 26 television-related ECRs.

Seven different translation strategies were used to render these references and some variation between the two target languages could be detected. The most popular strategies were *complete retention*, which was used 15 times in each language, and *official equivalent*, which appeared six times in both translations. *Direct translation* was used once by the Finnish translator only and *generalization-paraphrase* twice by the German translator only. *Omission* had been resorted to three times, twice in the Finnish and once in the German version. *Situational substitution* and *generalization-superordinate term* was used once in each of the target languages.

Complete retention was mostly used in the case of ECRs that are, or at least are expected to be transcultural; familiar and well-known in nearly all of the Western world, such as *Baywatch* or in cases in which the, for example, TV series does not have a local name, like in the following example. This is a continuation to Example 11 in chapter 7.2, in which Phoebe gets caught using the police officer’s badge and tries to talk herself out of the situation.

Example 28:

Phoebe: Umm, do you know, umm Sipowicz? (No tunnetko Sipowitzin?) [Ach, kennen Sie... Sipowicz?]

Police: Sipowicz? No, I don't think so. (En taida tuntea.) [Sipowicz? Nicht dass ich wüsste.]

Phoebe: Yeah, big guy, kinda bald. (Iso, kalju mies.) [Sipowicz. Ziemlich grosser Kerl und ziemlich kahl.]

Police: No, I don't know him. (En tunne häntä.) [Kenne ich nicht.]

Phoebe: Don't try to call him or anything, 'cause he's not there, he's out. His umm, his partner just died. (Ei kannata soittaa, hän ei ole siellä. Hänen parinsa kuoli juuri.) [Sie brauchen ihn nicht anzurufen, er ist unterwegs. Sein Partner ist gerade gestorben.]

Police: Wow, tell Sipowicz I'm real sorry for his loss. (Sano, että olen pahoillani.) [Richten Sie Sipowicz aus, dass es mir Leid tut.]

Phoebe: I-I sure will, take care. (Minä sanon. Hyvää jatkoa.) [Ja, das werde ich machen. Alles Gute.]

Police: Hey by the way, I'm sure Sipowicz is gonna be all right. I heard that kid from Silver Spoons is really good. (Sipowitz selviää kyllä. Se kaveri Silver Spoonsista on kuulemma hyvä.) [Ich glaube, Sipowicz wird darüber hinwegkommen. Dieses Revier ist für seine

harten Burschen bekannt.]

Unfortunately for Phoebe in this situation the only name that she can think of, *Sipowicz*, is actually the name of the protagonist in the popular police series *NYPD Blue*. The police officer's last line reveals that he has caught on to this connection by making a reference to an American sitcom, *Silver Spoons*, whose main character continued their acting career in *NYPD Blue*. The average viewer in Finland and in Germany is likely not familiar enough with either *NYPD Blue* or *Silver Spoons* and is thus unable to make the connection between these two. Neither the Finnish translator's complete retention strategy nor the German translator's situational substitution strategy is able to retain the skopos of this scene, which is to be funny. This ECR is a difficult one to render in a way that it would make sense in the target culture as the translator would need to not only find a reference to a local or a better-known foreign character in a police series but also come up with a reference to that television series, which would be used to replace *Silver Spoons*. The German translator seems to have tried to make the ECR more comprehensible for his viewers, but unfortunately the cultural load of the reference and, consequently, the joke does not come across.

The *generalization-paraphrase* strategy was used quite successfully by the German translator in a scene where the Finnish translator had to fall back on the much simpler *direct translation*. Here, Phoebe is about to give birth to his brother's triplets and her doctor seems to be quite infatuated with a character from the *Happy Days* – TV series, *Fonzie*.

Example 29:

Chandler: This-this Fonzie person you keep referring to, is that uh, is that another doctor? (Onko mainitsemanne Fonzie joku toinen lääkäri?) [Dieser Fonzie, von dem Sie da immer sprechen, ist dieser Mann ein Kollege?]

Dr. Harad: Oh no-no-no. Fonzie is the nickname of Arthur Fonzerelli. The Fonz. (Fonzie on Arthur Fonzerellin lempinimi. The Fonz.) [Oh, nein, nein. Fonzie ist nur der Spitzname von Arthur Fonzerelli. „Der Fonz“.]

Chandler: Alright. (Selvä.) [Ah, ja.]

Frank: It's not that weird, is it? (Eihän tuo nyt niin outoa ole.) [Der ist doch nicht verrückt, oder?]

Phoebe: It's very weird! I don't want some guy down there telling me, I'm y'know, dilatedamundo! (Tuo on todella outoa! En halua, että lääkäri sanoo: "Olet laajentunut amundo".) [Und ob der verrückt ist! Ich will keinen Arzt, der so tut wie die Hauptrolle in einer Serie!]

Fonzie coined some catchphrases for himself throughout the run of the show *Happy Days*. One of his most used phrases included the use of the intensifying suffix *-amundo* together with adjectives and other words, such as *perfectamundo* or *exactamundo*. This, of course, cannot be understood by viewers not familiar with the show and considering that the show ran in the 1970's and 1980's, it is likely that a person watching this season of *Friends*, back in 1999 when it premiered, is at a loss here. The humour in this situation is lost entirely in the Finnish version and the translator's choice quite probably leaves the audience confused. The German translator, on the other hand, has chosen to paraphrase the meaning of *-amundo*, stating that Phoebe does not want to have a doctor who is imitating and acting like Fonzie. Although the funniness of the scenario takes a slight hit, this way the audience is perhaps better able to follow the plot here.

In this category, *official equivalent* is an understandable choice in many cases as numerous television series (along with their characters) have been broadcasted in Finland and in Germany with target language names and the ECRs are therefore, according to Pedersen (2007: 31), transcultural. The following example demonstrates yet again the different approaches taken by the two translators. In this scene, the group is discussing the television channel PBS and Phoebe's attitude towards it.

Example 30:

Phoebe: Ugh, PBS! (PBS!) [Ach, PBS!]

Monica: What's wrong with PBS? (Mikä siinä on vikana?) [Was stört dich an PBS?]

Phoebe: Ugh, what's right with them? (No mikä ei?) [Wieso muss ich diesen Sender mögen?]

Joey: Why don't you like PBS, Pheeb? (Mikset pidä PBS:stä?) [Wieso magst du den PBS nicht?]

Phoebe: Okay, 'cause right after my mom killed herself, I was just in this really bad place, you know, personally. So, I just thought that it'd make me feel better if I wrote to Sesame Street, 'cause they were so nice when I was a little kid! No one ever wrote back. (Äitini itsemurhan jälkeen olin todella alamaissa. Kirjoitin Sesame Streetille, koska se oli mukava ohjelma. Minulle ei vastattu.) [Als sich meine Mutter umgebracht hat, da war ich in einer blöden Position. Ich dachte, es würde mir helfen, an die Sesamstrasse zu schreiben, weil ich die so nett fand, als ich klein war. Ich habe nie eine Antwort bekommen.]

Chandler: Well you know a lot of those Muppets don't have thumbs. (Monilla muppeteilla ei ole peukaloita.) [Die meisten Puppen haben keine Daumen.]

The first ECR in this extract is *Sesame Street*, which does have official equivalents in both target languages. The German translator has taken advantage of this, but, curiously, the Finnish one has not used the official *Seesamtie*-name. *Sesame Street* would, however, probably be recognized by many as such in Finland and thus its use does not create any major gaps in understanding. The second ECR, and also the ECR on which the joke in this scene is based on, is *Muppets*. *Muppets* is the name used to collectively refer to the characters of *Sesame Street* and it also has a corresponding translation in both target languages, i.e. it is transcultural. The humour here derives from Chandler pointing out that it would be difficult for the Muppets to answer Phoebe's letter as they do not have thumbs and cannot, therefore, hold a pen and write. The official equivalent for *Muppets* is used in the Finnish version, but the German translator has opted for the superordinate term *Puppen* (dolls, puppets). *Muppets* was also its own show in the 1970s, which was internationally perhaps better known as such, while *Sesame Street* never quite made it in Europe the way it did in the United States. In this case it is, however, clear that the word is referring to the *Muppets*, as they are indeed puppets, and thus both of the translations manage to successfully contribute to the original skopos.

Omission was used by both translators in the following sequence, where Chandler and Monica have arrived at their hotel, but Monica is not satisfied with the room that they are given. They end up changing rooms quite a few times and Monica takes Chandler to the side to have a serious conversation with him.

Example 31:

Monica: Look, these clowns are trying to take us for a ride and I'm not gonna let 'em! And we're not a couple of suckers! (Nuo pellet yrittävät vedättää meitä. Me emme ole tuperyksii.) [Dieser Clown will uns verkohlen. Das lasse ich mir nicht bieten. Wir 2 sind doch nicht blöd.]

Chandler: I hear ya, Mugsy! But look, all these rooms are fine okay? Can you just pick one so I can watch... have a perfect, magical weekend together with you. (Totta puhut, mutta huoneet ovat hyviä. Valitse yksi, jotta voin... viettää taianomaisen viikonlopun kanssasi.) [Natürlich nicht, ich finde die Zimmer in Ordnung. Suchst du dir bitte eins aus, damit ich mir ein romantisches Wochenende mit dir machen kann?]

In this case, unfortunately, the omission drastically affects the skopos and Chandler's line loses its humorous character. The joke is based on the connection between Monica's behaviour, which is very suspicious and detective-like, and the cartoon character *Mugsy*, who is known for being the other part of a thug pairing in multiple Warner Bros cartoons. Omitting

this reference strips the scene of the humour and the original skopos of the line, which is to be funny, suffers a loss. An interesting point to note here is the German translator's use of the subtitling strategy *condensation/compression*, as presented by Gambier (2006: 260) back in chapter 4.3.2 *Subtitling strategies*. Gambier mentions that in order to get around the spatial constraints, the translator might use numbers instead of spelling the number out with letters. This is exactly what the German translator has done with the “*Wir 2 sind doch nicht blöd*”, which unfortunately does affect the visual and stylistic aspect of the line.

7.8 Entertainment - other

	Finnish	German
Retention (complete)	4	4
Retention (adjusted)	-	1
Direct translation	6	-
Generalization (superordinate term)	1	2
Substitution (situational)	-	4
Substitution (cultural from target)	1	1
Substitution (cultural from third)	-	1
Omission	1	-
Official equivalent	4	4

Table 9. Strategies in domain *Entertainment -other*.

This entertainment category includes ECRs referring to films, literature, music and other cultural products that can be considered “entertainment”. Seventeen (17) appropriate ECRs were found and the most common strategies used to render them were: *official equivalent* (four for German and four for Finnish), *complete retention* (four for both), *direct translation* (six for Finnish) and *situational substitution* (four for German). Also, *omission* (once for Finnish), *generalization-superordinate term* (twice for German and once for Finnish),

retention adjusted to target language (once for German) and *cultural substitution from target culture* (once for both) emerged as strategies used for the ECRs under this domain. In addition, a rarer strategy was used once by the German translator, namely *cultural substitution from a third culture*.

Official equivalent and *complete retention* appear to be the most popular choices of strategy for similar reasons as in the previous domain. There are cases, however, where the original ECR could have been substituted by a cultural reference from the target culture, for example. In example 32, Phoebe is trying to teach Joey to play guitar, but he gets frustrated with her methods and threatens to go to guitar classes given by a qualified teacher.

Example 32:

Phoebe: Fine! You go learn from your qualified instructor! But don't come crying to me when everyone's sick and tired of hearing you play *Bad, Bad Leroy Brown*! (Mene sitten oikean opettajan luo, mutta älä tule itkemään, kun kyllästyvät kaikki ”Bad, Bad Leroy Brownilla”). [Na, schon. Geh zu deinem hoch qualifizierten Lehrer. Aber jammer mir später nicht die Ohren voll, weil keiner mehr dein „Bad, Bad Leroy Brown“ hören kann!]

Rachel: (singing) "Baddest man in the whole damn town." (-) [-]

Phoebe: Oh, fine! Take his side! (Mene vaan Joeyn puolelle!) [Ja, du bist natürlich auf seiner Seite!]

On the surface, it might appear that the ECR here does not carry any significant cultural values. However, *Bad, Bad Leroy Brown* appears to be among the first songs that traditionally are taught to guitar beginners. This is a tricky ECR since the original soundtrack remains available for the viewers and the melody Rachel is singing to is that of *Bad, Bad Leroy Brown*, which makes it difficult for the translator to replace the name of the song with a local variant as this would create a mismatch between the melody and the text. As can be seen from the extract above, the part of Rachel singing has not been transcribed in neither of the target languages, which makes one wonder whether the song could have been substituted after all. In the case of Finnish, for example, the choice could have been “*Ostakaa makkaraa*”, which carries cultural meanings in that it is a song that practically everybody has learned to play on an instrument during their time in school. Had the translator chosen this option, it would have been easier for the viewers to conclude that Phoebe is referring to Joey making people tired of his playing by playing a song that no one can stand hearing. For the Finnish and German

viewers *Bad, Bad Leroy Brown* could be any song in the world as it is monocultural in this sense and its cultural significance does not translate.

Generalization-superordinate term was used on the same ECR by both translators, but the translations still turned out to be different from one another. Here, the group is discussing Ross's stolen sandwich, which someone took from him at work. He is considering writing a threatening note on top of his lunch to prevent people from touching it and is asking Phoebe for advice as she has survived living on the streets.

Example 33:

Phoebe: Okay, look you wanna hold onto your food? You gotta scare people off. I learned that living on the street. (Jos haluat pitää ruokasi, ole pelottava. Opin sen kadulla.) [Du musst die Leute einfach abschrecken. Das war das 1., was ich auf der Strasse gelernt habe.]

Ross: Really?! So, what would you say Pheebs? Stuff like, "Keep your mitts off my grub?" (Mitä sinä sanoisit? "Hampaat irti murkinastani"?) [Wirklich? Was soll ich sagen, Phoebe? Vielleicht etwa: "Nehmt sofort die Pfoten von meinem Futter weg?"]

Chandler: Say Ross, when you picture Phoebe living on the street, is she surrounded by the entire cast of *Annie*? (Kun mietit Phoebea kadulla, onko siellä paljon elokuvahahmoja?) [Das schreckt die Leute nicht ab, höchstens die Waisenkinder.]

To be able to understand the humour in this scene, one should be familiar with the musical film *Annie*. The movie is about an orphan girl living in an orphanage, who eventually gets taken in by a billionaire. The movie features many children and this is what Chandler is referring to with his comment: only children would be expected to use language like Ross's when trying to scare off potential aggressors. Both translators have used a superordinate term here, but unfortunately both fail to retain the effects of the original reference. The Finnish *elokuvahahmo* (movie character) nor the German *Waisenkinder* (orphan children) carry the characteristics *Annie* does. The Finnish translator's choice is simply too general as a movie character could be a small, innocent child or a tough old gangster. Similarly, the German translation fails as there is no specific way that orphan children in general speak.

Retention adjusted to target language was used once in the German translation. In this example, Ross is trying to decide whether he should try to save his marriage with Emily and lose Rachel as a friend or lose Emily but remain close to Rachel. He has decided to make the decision using an assisting tool.

Example 34:

Ross: Okay, that's it. I cannot make this decision! It is too difficult, so I'm just gonna leave it entirely to the gods of fate. (En pysy päättämään tätä. Liian vaikeaa. Aion siis antaa kohtalon jumalten ratkaista asian.) [Also, Leute, ich kann nicht so eine Entscheidung treffen. Zu kompliziert. Ich werde den Göttern mein Schicksal in die Hand geben.]

Monica: A Magic Eight ball?! You can't be serious, you can't make this decision with a toy! (Maaginen käsipallo? Et kai ratkaise tätä lelulla?) [Die Magic-Kugel? Du machst das doch nicht von einem Spielzeug abhängig?]

The Magic Eight Ball is a big version of the black ball with a number eight on it, which belongs to the sport of pool. The Magic Eight Ball has a screen on which random “answers” pop up on when one shakes it and asks a question. Thus, the person shaking it can imagine that some greater powers are in charge of the situation and making the decision when he cannot make it himself. Both the German and the Finnish translators’ choices are somewhat questionable. The German translator has attempted to domesticate the reference, by adding the German word *Kugel*, which tells the viewer that the toy is in the shape of a ball but has also kept the English word *Magic* in it. The Finnish translator, however, has used *direct translation*, but with an unfortunate typographical error, I suppose. The *Magic Eight Ball* would be *maaginen käsipallo*, when translated directly, but the version that ended up on the DVD version is suggesting that Ross is holding a “magical handball” in his hands. Such a toy is not a familiar concept in Europe and explaining its functions would require more space than subtitlers have at their disposal. It seems as if the translators have accepted the fact that they are unable to produce a translation that would retain the effect of the original and have simply chosen to translate it with words that somehow define the toy. The context and visual cues help the audience decipher the idea of the Magic Eight Ball and therefore the translation in this case suffices.

Many of the ECRs under this domain were translated directly in the Finnish version while the German translator had opted for another strategy. In this sequence, Monica and Chandler are referring to a flashback, in which Chandler first calls Monica fat, she gets upset and loses all the extra weight. The next time Chandler sees Monica, he thinks she is gorgeous and Monica decides to seduce him and embarrass him as revenge for what he had said a few years earlier. Her attempt is not exactly successful and leads to Chandler ending up in a hospital with a severed toe.

Example 35:

Chandler: That's why I lost my toe?! Because I called you fat?! (Menetin varpaan, koska sanoin sinua läskiksi?) [Dafür habe ich einen Zeh verloren? Weil ich gesagt habe, du bist fett?]

Monica: I didn't mean to cut it off. It was an accident. (En tehnyt sitä tahallani. Se oli vahinko.) [Das war doch aber ein Unfall!]

Chandler: That's why for an entire year people called me Sir Limps-A-Lot?! (Siksikö minua kutsuttiin vuoden ajan Sir Linkkulotiksi?) [Deswegen haben die Leute Engelbert Humpelding zu mir gesagt!]

The ECR here is *Sir Limps-A-Lot*, which is an edited reference to the American rap artist *Sir Mix-a-Lot*. *Sir Mix-a-Lot* is a transcultural reference and is likely to be recognised outside of the United States as well. The skopos of this ECR is to be funny and the joke is based on the variation of *Sir Mix-a-Lot*'s name and the act of Chandler limping because of his defective set of toes and the combination these two make together. The Finnish translator has chosen to direct the reference more or less directly, *linkku* being the translation for a limp, but maintaining elements that would make it possible for the audience to understand the reference to *Sir Mix-a-Lot*. The German translator, on the other hand, has chosen to foreignize the reference even further by using a *cultural substitution from a third culture*. Although the end result has technically identical features to the original reference, the choice could be described as risky and unusual because it is referring to an English singer *Engelbert Humperdinck*. *Humperdinck* became popular in Germany, but his golden days date back to the 1980s and considering that season five of *Friends* aired in 1999-2000, it is possible that a part of the target audience does not know who he is. The German translation, however, is very successful in that it manages to combine the name of a famous musician with the German word *humpeln* (limp), exactly like in the original ECR. Both the Finnish and the German translation manage to maintain the skopos since the reference to a cultural figure and the reference to limping can likely be detected in each of them.

In the following example, the Finnish version was again somewhat directly translated, whereas the German translation featured a *situational substitution*. Here, the group had agreed to go to the cinema, but Ross seems to have forgotten all about it.

Example 36:

Rachel: Hi! Are you ready? We're gonna be late! (Me myöhästymme kohta.) [Können wir? Wieso bist du nicht fertig?]

Ross: For what? (Mistä?) [Wofür?]

Rachel: For Stella! Remember? She's getting her groove back in like 20 minutes. (Stellalla alkaa svengata noin 20 minuutin päästä.) [Hast du es vergessen? Wir wollten ins Kino und jetzt verpassen wir die Werbung.]

The ECR here is the movie *How Stella Got Her Groove Back*, although the name of it is not used explicitly. The name of the movie has been translated to both of the target languages when it was released in Finland and Germany, which makes it a transcultural ECR. In Finnish, the film has two translations: *Stella vaihtaa vapaalle* and *Taas svengaa*, from which the first one was the title in the cinemas and the second one was used for television purposes. Knowing this, it is possible that the Finnish translator intended to domesticate the reference by using cultural substitution from target culture, which in this case would be the film's Finnish television name but considering the similarity here between the English and the Finnish lines, direct translation seems like a more probable possibility. A full domestication of the line would have been “Stella vaihtaa vapaalle noin 20 minuutin päästä”, which would have probably resonated more among the target audience. The German translator decided not to use the name *Stella's Groove: Männer sind die halbe Miete* or any other reference to the movie at all and instead replaced with Rachel warning Ross that they were going to miss the commercials in the beginning of the film. The skopos of Rachel's statement was to make a reference to the film they were going to see, which did not come across in the German translation and only possibly in the Finnish translation.

The final example in this domain is very similar to the previous one since it is also a reference to a movie. On this ECR, the Finnish translator has again chosen a *direct translation* whereas the German translator has selected a *cultural substitution from the target culture*. Again, the group is going to the cinema and Joey is trying to convince a reluctant Ross to join them.

Example 38:

Joey: Alright! Everybody ready to go to the movies? (Joko mennään leffaan?) [Seid ihr soweit? Das Kino fängt gleich an.]

Ross: Uh, actually, I think I'm gonna skip it. (Taidan jättää väliin.) [Ich werde nicht mitkommen.]

Joey: Really? (-) [Wieso nicht?]

Ross: Yeah, I'm gonna stay and read my book. I just wanna be alone right now. (Luen vähän kirjaani. Haluan olla yksin.) [Ich werde mein Buch lesen. Ich wäre gern mal allein.]

Joey: Oh. Are you sure you don't want to come? Tom Hanks, Meg Ryan, they get mail and stuff. (Oletko varma? Tom Hanks ja Meg Ryan saavat postia.) [Vielleicht würdest du das bereuen. Tom Hanks, Meg Ryan, die schicken E-Mails und sowas.]

The German translator has chosen to domesticate the ECR as the German name for the movie is *e-m@il für Dich* and in his translation he has incorporated the fact that the mail is electronic. This demonstrates his familiarity with the film and even though the original ECR could quite possibly be understood as such by the German audience as well, this brings it closer to home, so to say. The Finnish translator has translated the ECR directly, but here it is not problematic as the direct translation conveys similar ideas as the Finnish name *Sinulle on postia* does. The presence of the famous actors' names in the dialogue, *Tom Hanks* and *Meg Ryan*, guarantees that every viewer familiar with the movie should understand the reference.

7.9 Education

	Finnish	German
Retention (complete)	-	2
Substitution (situational)	4	3
Omission	1	1
Official equivalent	1	-

Table 10. Strategies in the domain *Education*.

The domain *education* featured a total of six ECRs, referring to a type of school or other concepts that are strongly connected to school and education. *Situational substitution* appeared to be the most popular choice of strategy in this domain as it was used four times by the Finnish and three times by the German translator. *Complete retention* was used two times

in the German translation and the Finnish translator had opted for using *official equivalent* once. *Omission* was used one time by both translators.

The following example features the *omission* strategy in both languages. Ross is battling with his decision to cut her friendship with Rachel in order to make her wife happy and is asking for advice from his friends.

Example 38:

Phoebe: Yeah, but you've known Rachel since high school and you cannot just cut her out of your life. (Olet tuntenut Rachelin vuosia. Et voi lopettaa ystävyttäni.) [Du kannst nicht so tun, als wäre sie nicht vorhanden.]

High school as a reference is transcultural and every audience member with some knowledge of American culture should be familiar with it. The Finnish translator has simply chosen to omit the reference to *high school* and has replaced it with *tuntenut vuosia*, which translates into “knowing her for years”. The case is not considered a situational substitution since, according to Pedersen (2011: 89), situational substitutions are used mostly in cases where the target culture does not have a similar reference which could be used instead. This is not the case here, as will be demonstrated in another example in this category where the same English reference was translated differently into Finnish. The German translator has chosen to ignore the first phrase of the sentence and has concentrated on the latter part, emphasizing the fact that Ross cannot simply ignore Rachel’s existence.

Situational substitutions were used either when the official equivalent of the reference would have seemed stiff or when the reference did not have a corresponding phenomenon in the target culture. In this example, Rachel is sure that Danny has a crush on her and has sent his friend Tom to find out more about her.

Example 39:

Rachel: Yeah, okay, at ease soldier! (Selvä. Lepo, sotamies!) [Alles klar. Und nun rühren, Soldat!]

Tom: I'm sorry? (Kuinka?) [Was?]

Rachel: No, it's all right, you can just drop the act Tommy. I know what's going on here. Your Danny's wingman right? You guys are best buds. Frat bros! (Voit lopettaa pelleilyn, tajusin juonen. Olet Dannyn puhemies. Te olette opiskelukavereita.) [Du kannst dir das Theater sparen. Ich weiss, was hier läuft. Du bist Dannys Vorbereiter, habe ich recht? Ihr

seid die besten Freunde. Ihr seid wie Brüder, oder?]

The ECR in this case, *frat bros*, is monocultural since the type of fraternities present in the US colleges do not exist as such in Finland or in Germany. Fraternities, or *Studentenverbindung*, have a long history in Germany, but its practices differ from the ones seen in, for example, American films and television produce. The Finnish translator acknowledges the fact that *frat bros* refers to male friends who have went to college/university together and has translated the ECR as *opiskelukaverit* (friends from college). Perhaps it is because of the history of fraternities in Germany that the German translator has chosen to emphasize the brotherly quality in them, since people belonging to the same fraternity often refer to each other as “brothers”. The skopos in this extract was to make the viewer understand that Danny and Tom are very good friends with each other and therefore Danny has been able to confide in him about his feelings for Rachel. Both translations succeed in maintaining the skopos. This is an example of how Nida’s (1989: 95) theory works in practise: the translators should always prioritize meaning in delivering the message, which has been successfully executed here.

The following example features an *official equivalent* and a *complete retention* in a way that raises some questions. Phoebe has managed to persuade Rachel to join her in a book club. For the first meeting they were supposed to read the *Wuthering Heights*, but Rachel comes unprepared.

Example 40:

Rachel: So Pheeb, what is the book about? (Phoebe, mistä kirja kertoo?) [Worum geht es in dem Buch denn?]

Phoebe: I thought you said you read it in high school. (Sinähän luit sen lukiossa.) [Ich denke, du hast es auf der Highschool gelesen.]

The Finnish translation is the official equivalent of *high school* in the Finnish education system and, thus, a logical choice, but the German translator did not do the same. *Die Highschool* is an acknowledged word in the German dictionary, but it is only used to refer to the American concept and has nothing to do with higher education in the German education system. Using it significantly foreignizes the reference and the foreign loanword appears strange in the middle of otherwise perfectly German text. The most literal translation for the type of school *high school* refers to in German would be *gymnasiale Oberstufe*, but, as

discussed in chapter 4.3.1 *Constraining factors of subtitling*, this does not seem to be a feasible option due to spatial constraints. The important factor here, however, is the fact that Rachel said that she has read the book and that she read it in school. It is not necessarily relevant to specify which school she was in back when she read it. This would have allowed the German translator to domesticate the text a bit more by using a situational substitution, for example.

7.10 Currency

	Finnish	German
Direct translation	13	16
Generalization (superordinate term)	5	3
Substitution (situational)	2	-
Omission	2	2
Official equivalent	1	2

Table 11. Strategies in the domain *Currency*.

Currency was in a way one of the most surprising categories as the 23 ECRs fitting under this domain were translated using five different strategies, which I was not expecting based on currency's straightforward nature. The most common strategy was *direct translation*, which emerged 13 times in the Finnish and 16 times in the German translation. *Generalization-superordinate term* was also a common choice and was used five times by the Finnish and three times by the German translator. Other strategies that were present in the data were *official equivalent* (once in Finnish and twice in German), *omission* (twice in both) and *situational substitution* (twice in the Finnish version).

The biggest difference in the data between Finnish and German was the way direct translation was used. The following extract exemplifies the way these two strategies were mostly used to create the contrast.

Example 41:

Monica: Okay, I'd like to know how much the room was because I'd like to pay my half. (Paljonko huone maksoi? Maksan osani.) [Wie viel hast du für das Zimmer bezahlt?]

Chandler: Okay, fine, \$300. (300 dollaria.) [\$300.]

Monica: 300 dollars?! (300 dollaria?!) [\$300?]

Chandler: Yeah, just think of it as \$25 per room! (Sanotaan vaikka 25 dollaria per huone.) [Du musst das so rechnen: \$25 pro Zimmer.]

Neither of the translators wanted to domesticate the name of the currency, which is a smart decision considering that *dollar* is very well known in both target cultures and domesticating the reference would create a major credibility gap in terms of authenticity. For some reason, the Finnish translator has made a decision here, which goes against all the advice given in relation to subtitling in chapter 4.3 *Subtitling for television purposes*. He has chosen to write the name of the currency in letters instead of using the official sign of dollar, \$, which the German translator has done. In the collected data, the word *dollar* seems to only appear in relatively short lines, which allows the Finnish translator to keep writing it out. It would have been interesting to see whether his strategy would have changed, if the other option were to omit more of the surrounding dialogue.

Situational substitutions appeared twice in the Finnish translation. Here the translator's choice was quite interesting, considering that he had both the space and the target culture equivalent for the ECR at his disposal. This example is a continuation to example 6 in chapter 7.2 *Personal names*, in which Phoebe's mother has send her a fur coat, which is against everything she believes in.

Example 42:

Phoebe: Yeah! Why would my mother send me a fur? Doesn't she know me but at all! Plus, I have a perfectly fine coat that no innocent animal suffered to make! (Miksi äiti lähetti minulle turkin? Eikö hän tunne minua lainkaan? Minun takkini takia eivät eläimet kärsi.) [Wieso schenkt mir meine Mutter den eine Pelzmantel? Ich habe doch einen Mantel, für den kein Tier sein Leben lassen musste.]

Chandler: Yeah, just some 9-year-old Filipino kids who worked their fingers bloody for 12 cents an hour. (Vain alipalkatut filippiinolapset.) [Für den haben sich Philippino-Kinder die Finger blutig gearbeitet.]

The translator had two other choices of strategy here, which would have allowed him to keep the original reference in the target language version: cultural substitution from target culture and direct translation. The use of either one of these strategies would have resulted in “12 sentiä”, an exact translation of the English ECR and any confusion regarding the choice of strategy could have been avoided. The translation he chose refers to “underpaid Filipino kids”, which suggests that the translator was not necessarily sure if the viewers would consider 12 cents to be little and wanted to emphasize this. It is, however, unlikely that the fairly well-off people of Finland would not understand the insufficiency of 12 cents an hour and for this reason the explanation is inadequate. The German version, on the other hand, features the use of an *omission* strategy. It seems that the translator considered the phrase “worked their fingers bloody” to be sufficient in explaining the horrendous conditions the makers of the coat had to work under.

Generalization-superordinate term was used surprisingly often in relation to currency. In the following example, Rachel runs to her room to grab a big bag of laundry to give to Monica as she always claims to be doing laundry when she is secretly meeting up with Chandler. Rachel and Phoebe have figured things out and want to test her.

Example 43:

Rachel: Okay great, hold on a sec! Oh, here you go! You don't mind do ya? That would really help me out a lot! Thanks! (Hienoa. Odottakaa hetki. Tässä. Kai se käy? Siitä olisi tosi paljon apua.) [Oh, eine gute Idee. Wartet, ja? So, hier. Es macht euch doch nichts aus, oder? Es wäre mir eine grosse Hilfe.]

Monica: I mean I-I don't think I have enough quarters. (Minulla ei taida olla tarpeeksi kolikoita.) [Ich weiss nicht, ob ich so viele Münzen habe.]

Phoebe: I have quarters! (Minulla on!) [Ich habe Münzen!]

The ECR in this case is somewhat monocultural and can be understood only by a person with some encyclopaedic knowledge on the value of different coins in the United States. A *quarter* refers to a coin worth 25 cents and it is the most commonly used coin in laundromats and slot machines, for example. There is not necessarily a specific coin which is used for same purposes in Finland and in Germany and since the value of the coin is not the main focus here, both translators have decided to replace the ECR with the simple translation for “coins”, which is a perfectly acceptable alternative from the perspective of skopos as well.

7.11 Other

	Finnish	German
Direct translation	4	3
Substitution (situational)	3	3
Substitution (cultural from target)	1	2

Table 12. Strategies in domain *Other*.

This category, *Other*, includes references that did not fit any of the domains above, for example references to history and sports. “Sports” was a separate domain in Pedersen’s (2011: 59-60) original listing, but due to the small number of sport-related ECRs it was more sensible to place them under this miscellaneous category. Three different translation strategies were used to render the eight ECRs placed in this category. *Cultural substitution from target culture* was used once in the Finnish and twice in the German version. *Direct translation* occurred seven times, four ECRs in the Finnish and three ECRs in the German translation were rendered utilizing this strategy. Finally, *situational substitution* was used thrice by each translator.

The most interesting case of cultural substitution emerged in a situation, where Chandler accidentally kisses Monica and is forced to kiss all the other girls in the room as well to hide the fact that he and Monica are in a relationship.

Example 44:

Joey: What the hell was that? (Mitä hittoa tuo oli?) [Was ist denn nur mit ihm los?]

Monica: Probably some, you know, European good-bye thing he picked up in London. (Joku eurooppalainen tapa, joka tarttui kai Lontoossa.) [Das ist vielleicht die europäische Art, sich zu verabschieden.]

Rachel: That's not European! (Ei tuo ole eurooppalaista.) [Das hat mit europäisch nichts zu tun.]

Phoebe: Well, it felt French. (Eikö? Tuntuu ranskalaiselta.) [Mir kommt das Spanisch vor.]

French kissing is a term generally used to refer to a kiss that includes the tongue and therefore

the ECR in this case is considered to be of transcultural nature. Even though the Finnish translator's choice could be seen as direct translation, in this case I have chosen to place it under the category of cultural substitution as "ranskalainen suudelma" (French kiss) is a part of the Finnish culture as well. The term "französischer Kuss" (French kiss) exists also in German, but is also referred to with other names and perhaps more often so. For this reason, the translator has decided not to use this term and has translated the ECR as "seeming Spanish". As a concept "Spanish kiss" does not exist in German, which is why it can be assumed that the translator is referring to the way Spanish people conduct themselves, greeting and saying goodbye to one another often includes a kiss on each cheek. The skopos of this sequence is to be funny and the funniness is mostly based on Phoebe's last comment about the level of intimacy the kiss, in her opinion, introduced. It is possible that the German translator's skopos was different than the original, which is possible according to Vermeer's (1989) statements in chapter 3.3 *Skopos theory*, and in that case the successfulness of the translation cannot be evaluated. However, the humorous aspect of the sequence does suffer as interpreting the meaning of *Mir kommt das Spanisch vor* might take the viewers too much time.

The ECR in the following example is entirely transcultural and therefore it could be translated directly without difficulties. In this scene, something has been bothering Joey and Chandler is trying to get to the bottom of his troubles.

Example 45:

Joey: Alright! There is something. I kind of had a dream... but I don't want to talk about it. (No on yksi juttu. Näin tavallaan unen, mutta en halua puhua siitä.) [Ja, ich habe auch wirklich was, ok. Ich hatte einen Traum, Leute. Doch ich will nicht darüber sprechen.]

Chandler: Whoa-whoa-whoa-whoa-whoa-what-what if Martin Luther King had said that? "I kind of have a dream! I don't want to talk about it." (Mitä jos Martin Luther King olisi sanonut noin? Minulla on tavallaan unelma, mutta en halua puhua siitä?) [Was wäre, wenn Martin Luther King das gesagt hätte? Ich hatte einen Traum. Doch ich will nicht darüber sprechen.]

Majority of the viewers have most likely heard about Martin Luther King and his famous speech *I Have a Dream*, which makes the translator's job a little easier. The name does not need a translation strategy to be understood and references to his speech can also be rendered with the *direct translation* strategy. The skopos here is, again, to be funny and the humour is based on the paradox between King's very powerful, revolutionary speech and the absurd idea

of him not wanting to talk about it. Both translations manage to transmit this message to the viewers, thus leaving the *skopos* intact.

The last strategy used in this domain was the *situational substitution* strategy. In this example, the friends have travelled to Vegas to meet Joey who, supposedly, is working on a movie there. When the group arrives, they find Joey working at the hotel Caesar's, dressed as a Roman soldier.

Example 46:

Chandler: Love your condoms my man. (Siistit kuteet.) [So gefälltst du mir besser als sonst.]

Chandler's comment refers to the Trojan soldier's helmet which Joey is wearing. The ECR here is implied in the word *condom*. The logo of a famous condom manufacturer *Trojan*, features a silhouette of the head of a soldier wearing the traditional crest-decorated helmet. The company is known outside of the US as well but does not enjoy similar popularity in Finland and in Germany as in its homeland, which would make the implicit reference to the company's logo difficult to decode. For these reasons this ECR can be considered somewhat monocultural. The Finnish translation is a sarcastic comment about the clothes Joey is wearing and, similarly, the German sarcastically compliments the look in comparison to Joey's normal attire. Both of the target language translations do maintain the humour to some extent, but completely fail to carry out the *skopos* of referring to a cultural item.

8 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

My research questions had to do with the type of strategies used to render ECRs, possible patterns that may emerge in the use of these strategies and any differences or similarities detected between the use of strategies in the Finnish and in the German translation. The following table illustrates the total number of times a certain strategy was used in each language, irrespective of the domain it was used in.

	Finnish	German
Retention (adjusted)	4	2
Retention (complete)	52	58
Specification (addition)	2	2
Specification (completion)	-	1
Direct translation	27	24
Generalization (paraphrase)	-	2
Generelization (superordinate term)	12	9
Substitution (situational)	12	16
Substitution (cultural from source)	-	1
Substitution (cultural from target)	3	6
Substitution (cultural from third)	-	1
Omission	13	12
Official equivalent	49	42

Table 13. Strategies used in Finnish and in German translations.

What this table proves is that no drastic differences between the two languages emerged. The German translator appears to have utilized a slightly greater variety of strategies as he has technically used strategies from every category of Pedersen's (2011: 75) original model,

altogether thirteen (13), whereas the Finnish translator seems to have made use of only nine (9) of them. However, the number of times the German translator used these “extra” strategies was so minimal that it was not enough to create any major discrepancies between the otherwise very similar use of strategies.

At first glance, one might criticise the translators for being lazy or incompetent since the most popular strategies used by both translators were *direct translation*, *complete retention* and *official equivalent*. The first two are source-oriented strategies, which require very little imagination in comparison to other strategies, and official equivalents are predefined for the translator. After taking a closer look, one can, however, see that the choice of strategy was often dictated by the material itself and had very little to do with the translator’s freedom of choice. Official equivalent strategy was used significantly more in the domain *geographical names* than in any other domain, which is understandable considering the nature of the domain. *Direct translation* was the most popular choice of strategy in the domain *currency*, which is also fairly self-explanatory as the currency used in the show is transcultural, but in order to maintain its authenticity, could not be substituted with a local variant. Complete retention was used most in the domains *personal names* and *entertainment – television*. This seems logical as a great deal of the ECRs in these domains are celebrities and characters from television shows, which are considered transcultural. Each of these domains did, however, also include ECRs on which another strategy could have been used and would have possibly been more successful as well.

I was expecting omission to be among the most popular strategies as it is the “easy choice” and often required due to the numerous constraints on subtitling. Moreover, it is even recommended to some extent by Gambier (2006) and Vertanen (2002) as it is an efficient way to save space. The translators proved that they had not chosen the easiest way out as there were cases where it would have been possible to omit the reference, but the translators had chosen not to do so. It might also be possible that the cultural references are relevant to the context more often than not and therefore omitting them would be questionable.

The focus here should not be only on the number of times a certain strategy was used, but also on the variety of strategies used for each domain. As could perhaps be expected, *weights and measures* and *titles* offered fairly little room for the translators to work with due to the nature of the ECRs. The more surprising domains in this aspect were perhaps *food and beverages* and *other*, on which only a few strategies were used. The scarceness or, on the other hand,

abundance of strategies seems to correlate strongly with the number of ECRs in each category as the domains with most variety regarding the use of strategies were those with a relatively high number of references. *Entertainment – television, entertainment – other* and *brand names* featured the most strategies and seem to have given the translators more freedom with their choices in comparison to the other domains discussed above.

Apropos of translators' freedom, one should pay attention to the, sometimes, liberal translations of certain sequences, which were not analysed in more detail as they did not include a reference to culture. This becomes evident in example 16, for instance:

Monica: Ooh, chocolates on the pillows! I love that! (Suklaata tyynyllä. Ihanaa!)
[Schokolade auf dem Kopfkissen, das ist nett!]

Chandler: Oh, you should live with Joey, Rolos everywhere. (Asuisit Joeyn kanssa. Roloja kaikkialla.) [Überall Rolos, das hätte Joey gefallen.]

Chandler's reference to living with Joey and to him dropping chocolates everywhere has been changed to "*Joey would have liked that.*" This is an example of Nida's (1989: 95) dynamic equivalence theory, discussed earlier in this paper, which emphasizes the fact that the form of the translation does not need to be equivalent to the original one, as long as the meaning is successfully carried over. Both translators featured in this paper have proven that they agree with Nida and other modern translation theorists in that translations should not be created on a word-for-word basis. This approach allows the translators to create natural-sounding texts, which are easy for the target audience to consume and enjoy.

Earlier in this paper, I hypothesized that there might be differences between the German and Finnish version due to the different backgrounds with translation practices. I assumed that this might show either in the use of strategies or in the relative quality of the translations. The results speak for themselves and prove my hypothesis wrong as neither the quality of the translations nor the use of strategies stood out. In fact, the German translator was slightly more versatile and imaginative in his use of strategies, which completely revokes any doubts I might have had about his work before.

This paper provides an overview of the possible reasons for the choice of strategy in rendering extralingual cultural references, but more work in this field could and should be done. The amount of data in this paper, although enough for my purposes, is too small to make any major generalizations about the way translators choose their strategies. It would

also be interesting to take the dubbed German version under examination and perhaps even compare it with the subtitles to see how big of an effect the constraining factors of subtitling really have on the translations, i.e. has the translator of the dubbed version made different choices in rendering the cultural references than the subtitler? Another intriguing continuation to this study would be an interview with translators of audiovisual material as this would give me the opportunity to test the hypotheses I have made about why they choose a certain strategy. The idea of a comparison study between a Western nation and a nation from the exact opposite end of the spectrum also sounds entertaining, considering that probably quite many of the references here would not be familiar to a target audience in, say, Thailand, for example.

To summarize, this research offers a glimpse into the decision-making process of an audiovisual translator and the way they deal with problematic reference, such as those of culture, in the context of a situational comedy. The results speak volumes about the unreasonable conditions which translators are forced to work under as this is, sometimes, mirrored in the quality of their work. The versatile use of strategies, however, indicates that the level of professionalism is very high and both target audiences get to enjoy high-quality subtitles, albeit they could be even better if more ideal working conditions became a reality.

This research proves that some translation strategies work better in domesticating a cultural reference and creating a comprehensible translation for the target audience, but no generalizations can be made about which strategy works best for which domain. Each case is unique, and alternatives should be tested out before deciding on a certain strategy. However, evidence shows that translator's decisions can have a significant effect on the target audience's understanding and, therefore, more attention should be paid to the use of translation strategies.

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