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"Tell that to the Dutch Hookbill"

Translation of Cultural References in the Finnish Subtitles of Television
Series *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*

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**ABSTRACT**

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan kulttuurisidonnaisuuksien kääntämistä *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* sarjan neljännen kauden 22 jakson tekstityksissä Netflix-suoratoistopalvelussa ja miten ne on selitetty suomalaiselle katsojalle. *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* sai ensiesityksensä vuonna 2013 Yhdysvalloissa. Sarja kertoo Brooklynin poliisipiirin 99. piirin etsivien kommelluksista poliisityön sekä henkilökohtaisten suhteidensa arjessa.

Kulttuurisidonnaisuudet luokiteltiin 13 kategoriaan ja yhteensä niitä löytyi 673 kappaletta. Kulttuurisidonnaisuuksia tutkittiin seitsemän paikallisen käännösstrategian kautta, koska niiden avulla pyrittiin selvittämään kumpaa yleistä käännösstrategiaa, kotouttamista tai vieraannuttamista oli käytetty enemmän. Hypoteesina oli aluksi, että vieraannuttaminen olisi käytetympi strategia, koska angloamerikkalaisen kulttuurin tuntemus on Suomessa hyvällä tasolla ja kääntämisen teknisten rajoitusten vuoksi kaikkea tietoa ei voida selventää riittävällä tarkkuudella kaikille katsojille.

Materiaalin analyysin jälkeen selvisi, että hypoteesi oli oikea, sillä jopa 88% kaikista kulttuuriviittauksista oli käännetty vieraannuttavasti. Suurin kategoria kulttuurisille viittauksille oli erisnimet. Vain kahden kategorian kohdalla oli käytetty enemmän kotouttavaa strategiaa, mittayksiköissä ja viittauksissa lomiin ja juhlallisuuksiin.

KEYWORDS: subtitling, local translation strategies, global translation strategies, cultural references, domestication, foreignization

1 INTRODUCTION

This study will focus on the cultural references in the dialogue and on their translation in the Finnish subtitles of the 22 episodes of season four of *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*, because the aim of this thesis is to find out which local translation strategies, and thus which one of the two global translation strategies, domestication or foreignization, has been used the most when translating the cultural references, and how the cultural references have been explained to the Finnish-speaking audience and those who live in the Finnish culture. The two global translation strategies, domestication and foreignization, determine the general style and way the source text has been translated into the target language. The local translation strategies are used in individual translational issues or problems, for example when transferring names of characters or place names into the target text. The global strategies can also be defined by local translations strategies used, as they are either domestication or foreignization in this study. My research question for this paper is: What local and thus global translation strategies are used in *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* season four Finnish subtitles on Netflix for cultural references?

The world is filled with translations. They are all around us, whether we notice them or not. News articles are translated, user guides are translated. If a translation is good, no one really pays much, if all, attention to it. But if the translation is bad or sub-par, everyone notices it immediately or at least sense that something is off. (Aaltonen, Siponkoski & Abdallah 2015: 7–12). This phenomenon can be seen, for example, in Greek restaurants, whose owners try to lure Finnish customers there by "translating" menus to Finnish, often with poor results. Nevertheless, even with poor translation the message is somehow received by the recipient. This study focuses on one particular method of translation, which is subtitling, and its results are subtitles. It is the norm in Finland, that television shows are subtitled. This has to do with that Finnish people are still at the top of the countries where literacy is high and studies, like e.g. PISA, back this up (Härkönen & Sandell 2019). However, in some countries, dubbing is the preferred method. Examples of these countries in Europe include Germany, Italy and Spain (Daudan & Juliane 2018).

Translating is not just translating individual words or sentences with the help of a dictionary. The text should be seen as a whole. The translator experiences demand from outer and inner world. Outer world is the assignment, its requirements and it must please the client. Inner world is translator's own view of a good translation and how it should be, so it pleases themselves too. Translations functions as a window to a given society at a given time. Translations are due to rewrites, and this is the result of the changing cultural practices that age rapidly. Translations also tell us about our attitude towards foreign cultures in different times. (Aaltonen et al. 2015: 7–12).

The hypothesis of this study is that the translation of the cultural references in the Finnish subtitles of *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*, foreignization is the main global translation strategy. This is because Finnish speaking audience today can understand English and Anglo-American culture better than ever before and this is because of social media, Internet and globalism, all of which brings people closer together, making the world smaller and more homogenous. According to Ritva Leppihalme (1994: 159–162), World War II was the turning point for translated literature. From that point on and still today, English is the most translated foreign language. This reflected also to audiovisual translation, as 57% of imported movies and 61% of imported TV programmes were from Britain and or America.

Subtitling is defined by Jorge Díaz Cintas and Aline Remael (2007: 8):

> a translation practice that consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image […], and the information that is contained on the soundtrack.

Cultural references in different series or publications have been studied before extensively. Reshmi Kataja has studied cultural references and their subtitles in Finland before, in her master's Thesis *What's With the Muumuu? Translation of Cultural References in the Finnish Subtitles of Television Series Gilmore Girls* (2016). As the title suggests, her study was about the appearance of cultural references in TV-show *Gilmore Girls* (2000-2007). This study resembles my study, since the cultural references are

studied from the same viewpoint. I could not find any previous studies that combined cultural references and *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*; hence the existence of this study is justified.

This study will proceed in the following way: In chapter 2, subtitling is discussed from a more general point of view to its technical side, since audiovisual subtitling in particular is a highly technical process, resulting in choices translators make. In chapter 3 culture and cultural references are defined and explained. Chapter 4 deals with global and local translation strategies, giving them the base which the analysis builds on. Chapter 5 is the analysis and discussion and it is divided into subcategories according to the different cultural references. Chapter 6 contains the conclusion, this paper's limitations and further study suggestions are made for future research.

1.1 Material

The material for this study consists of cultural references in 22 episodes of season 4 of *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* on Netflix, its soundtrack (dialogue in this case) and its Finnish subtitles. Cultural references were identified according to categorizations by Peter Newmark (1988) and Delia Chiaro (2009) and words I assumed posed some translation problems and were related to culture. I decided to take one season into closer examination and season 4 particularly, because it was the latest season of the show available in Finland at the time of writing this thesis. Another reason for choosing season 4 is because it was the most contemporary season, and it helps to be on the time of things, especially when my initial thought was, that the show addresses many contemporary issues, persons and popular culture items. I made my analysis by watching the episodes in chronological order and writing down every cultural reference I could find. If the same cultural reference occurred more than once, I left them out, because the amount would then be considerably higher. However, if the same reference was translated differently between two or more episodes, then I counted them as new references to demonstrate different translation strategies.

One episode of *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* is approximately 22 minutes in duration, and that is the reason why I chose the entire season in my study. If the episodes were longer, then I would have chosen perhaps only half of the season, because I did not want there to be too many cultural references, as it would have not served the purpose of this study, as it is not about how much there are, rather than what they are. The series is filled with cultural references as there were 673 altogether of them and most of them are related to proper names, books, movies, TV programmes, music, games and celebrities and personalities of different crafts. Cultural references are further discussed in chapter 3.

1.2 Method

The aim of this thesis was to find out which local translation strategy, and thus which one of the two global translation strategies, domestication or foreignization, has been used the most when translating the cultural references, and how the cultural references have been explained to the Finnish-speaking audience and those who live in the Finnish culture. I began the analysis by going through the episodes and making a list of all the cultural references and their corresponding Finnish translations. The cultural references and the translations were numbered in order to provide accurate examples in this thesis. This study used the qualitative method.

Scholars like Newmark (1988) and Chiaro (2009) have made their own categorizations for cultural references. I organized the cultural references according to a modified categorization based on their work. All categorizations will be presented later in chapter 3. I chose to do a modified categorization, because neither of the two existing categorizations was precise enough for this thesis and for the material, which focused mainly on popular culture. I left out references that occurred more than once in the material that were translated the same because otherwise the amount would have been too high for this thesis. However, if the same references were translated differently, then I included them and pointed them out to show how translator can choose between different translation strategies.

I chose to use Leppihalme's (2001: 139–145) categorization for local translation strategies, since it was the most concise and easy to understand compared to other categorizations. I made tables for each cultural reference type and counted the amount of cultural references there and divided them according to the local translation strategy that was used. Lawrence Venuti (1995) defined foreignization and globalization as global translation strategies and these are used in this study as well, since all the used local strategies fall under those two global ones.

1.3 *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*

*Brooklyn Nine-Nine* (2013-) is an ongoing comedic television show about the adventures of police precinct Nine-Nine's employees in Brooklyn, NY. The show is created by Dan Goor and Michael Schur. The show was originally shown at Fox Network, it being its longest running live-action comedy show behind *New Girl*. The show was cancelled after five seasons on May 10th, 2018, leaving the fans at disarray. (Snierson 2018). Studios and production companies include Universal Television, Fremulon, Dr. Goor Productions and 3 Arts Entertainment (NBC.com 2019).

After the show's cancellation on Fox, several networks were in talks to continue the show. The fans were active on social media, demanding their favorite show's renewal. After only one day after the cancellation, NBC came to the rescue and continued the show (Levin 2018). At the time of writing this thesis there are six seasons published and seventh premiering in 2020 (Otterson 2019).

The main character of the show is Detective Jake Peralta, played by Andy Samberg. He is accompanied by Captain Raymond Holt (Andre Braughner), Detective Rosa Diaz (Stephanie Beatriz), Detective Charles Boyle (Joe Lo Truglio), Detective Sergeant Terry Jeffords (Terry Crews), Detective Amy Santiago (Melissa Fumero), who is also Peralta's loved one as the series proceed and Gina Linetti (Chelsea Peretti), the group's non-police member, who works as an administrator. In addition to this main group, there are also Detectives Michael Hitchcock (Dirk Blocker) and Norm Scully (Joel McKinnon Miller)

who demonstrate police officers as they are often seen in the movies: overfed, stupid and unintentionally humorous. (ImDb 2019).

The show starts as Holt takes over the 99th precinct and poses a challenge especially to Peralta, who is a carefree soul and is used to doing things in his own, unique, but still effective way. As the story and seasons go on, the group becomes closer and starts to work as a unit, rather than group of individuals. (ImDb 2019.).

The show enjoys a cult status already. Before moving exclusively on Netflix, the series was shown in Finland in TV5. Series expresses diversity truthfully; its characters looks like how they look in real New York City. Colored people are in high places in the police department. Holt and Jeffords both are black men and Santiago and Diaz are Latin-American women. Hollywood is often accused of being sexist and misogynist, but both characteristics are in absence. Diaz is also bisexual, and Holt is homosexual and the way this series portray their sexuality is unique, because even though it is a comedy, no unwarranted humor is made on their account. (Linkoheimo 2019).

Even though Peretti's character Linetti is not a cop and acts almost as a "secretary" in the department, she still is a kind of a boss lady, often making things happen when the actual police officers can't see outside the often narrow box, presented to them by their job. The women are also portrayed in a way, that is rare in any show that includes women; they don't compete about men. Santiago and Peralta are an item, and Linetti and Boyle had an affair before, but other than that, the main characters don't have the same drama between their relationships as often is the case in similar shows. It is refreshing to see also platonic relationships between men and women, as it sometimes seems to be impossible for them to just remain friends. (Linkoheimo 2019).

"The angry black man"-stereotype is shattered especially in Jefford's case; he is laid back character, he loves yoghurt and he has unconditional love for his wife and his daughters, Gagney and Lacey, who are named after the TV-series *Gagney & Lacey* (1981-1988). (ImDb 2019). Its humor is clever and do not fall for easy, under the navel solutions. Its

men are often feminists and respect women. Jeffords even calls himself feminist. (Linkoheimo 2019).

The translators who worked on season four were Anu Uusitalo (episodes 1-3), Petri Hautala (4, 17, 19-20), Elina Land (5, 14-16), Maria Lohi (6), Kimmo Veikkanen (7-10, 13, 18, 21), Anna-Kaisa Viljanen (11-12) and Riikka Strandman (22). (Netflix 2020).

The next chapter is about audiovisual translation and subtitling and provides background and theory to this thesis.

## 2 AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION AND SUBTITLING

In Finland, the most common form of audiovisual translation is subtitling (or interlingual subtitling). Other modes of audiovisual translation are intralingual subtitling (when the source and target language are the same), live-subtitling, dubbing, voice-over, audio description (for the visually impaired) and subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing. The problems with subtitling are that when people who understand the source language compare the contents of the speech directly to the subtitles and expect total correlation with words and style. However, subtitling is primarily made for those who do not understand, hear or listen to the content of the speeches and utterances. Translations are usually made to not have direct equivalence, for them to function especially as subtitles and for the target language audience. (Holopainen 2015: 78–83).

Translating is not just translating language but conveying messages. Translations must adhere to their context. Their meanings are guided by the text's cultural, functional and communicational connection. The context depicts how certain linguistic elements should be translated. For example, a simple question of, *how are you*? can be translated more officially as *miten menee*? or if the character is some laid back, happy-go-lucky guy or gal, the question could be something like *miten roikkuu?* Audiovisual translating is translating not only text, but picture and sound also. Sound includes music and sound effects too. The word is thus not more important than the other two are, even though words usually seem to be the dominant element quantitatively speaking. The target language word on screen often deviates from the source language word, because spoken messages can be rendered quite liberally in order to better serve the target language viewer's watching experience. The birth of an audiovisual source text is guided by five different rhythms: the rhythm of a source language speech or song, the rhythm of the picture (cuts and camera-angles), the rhythm of background music and sound effects, the rhythm of source language and the rhythm of the recipient readers. An average person in Finland reads subtitles for the amount equivalent of some 30 novels, so in that sense translation must be made with grammatical correctness and idiomatic accuracy. (Holopainen 2015: 83–87). A good audiovisual translator is also a fan of that particular genre s/he is translating from.

Subtitles are somewhat peculiar, since when they function properly, no one notices them. But if they are rendered poorly, they sure are on the spotlight and not in a good way. Panayota Georgakopoulou (2009: 21) deepens the definition of subtitling by interlingual subtitling, which is language transfer, where target text (subtitles) do not replace the source text, but they both are present at the same time. Elements of speech that are often omitted or edited in subtitles are the indispensable elements, which must be translated, the partly dispensable elements which can be shortened and the dispensable elements that can be erased altogether. This is a three-level hierarchy of discourse elements in subtitling, according to Kovacic (1991: 409).

According to Chiaro (2009: 148) "Subtitling can be defined as the rendering in a different language of verbal messages in filmic media, in the shape of one or more lines of written text presented on the screen in sync with the original written message." Jorge Díaz Cintas (2009: 5) describes subtitling as such:

> Subtitling involves presenting a written text, usually along the bottom of the screen, which gives an account of the original dialogue exchanges of the speakers as well as other linguistic elements which form part of the visual image (inserts, letters, graffiti, banners and the like) or of the soundtrack (songs, voices off). (Díaz Cintas 2009: 5).

As can be seen from both definitions, subtitling is about translating not only verbal, but also other audiovisual elements, such as music and text on screen. The resulted subtitles can be shown everywhere on the screen, although normally on the south side of the screen. In some languages, however, the subtitles are shown on the right side of the screen. Example of these languages is Japanese. (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007). Elisa Perego gives an interesting duality between readers of normal texts and subtitles. Usually readers do not read text word by word, but rather in larger chunks, thus analyzing or parsing them automatically. Parsing means decoding a written source by accessing, identifying and combining letters to words, words to phrases and phrases to sentences. Subtitle readers, however, are in different position since the information comes from speech also, not just from text. It is a complex skill for a human to switch from the subtitles to image and back.

(Elisa Perego 2008: 213). Perego categorizes subtitle reading situations into five different categories, which are:

> 1) reading is not self-paced, 2) subtitles are automatically read by all viewers, including those who know the spoken language, 3) the average presentation time is not equally suitable for all viewers, 4) the presentation time and the spotting for each subtitle flash are occasionally not ideal and 5) a number of other constraints combine to make subtitle reading a challenging and stressful perceptual activity. (Perego 2008: 214).

According to Díaz Cintas, audiovisual translation (AVT) can be traced back as far as to the origins of the cinema. However, AVT has been studied only a little before the real takeoff just before the 20th century. It has been studied from the 1950's to this date and today, thanks to digitalization, it is a remarkable field of study. *Laks's Le sous-titrage de films*, from 1957, can be argued to be the first volume ever to have been written about subtitling. (Díaz Cintas 2009: 1).

In audiovisual translating, the work of the translator is guided by television channels, production companies, translation agencies and the limitations of the field. (Aaltonen et al. 2015: 8).

2.1 Audiovisual subtitling in Finland

Since Finland is officially a bilingual (Sami can be count as a third official language) country, subtitling can also be made using four lines, instead of traditional two. Finns, as opposed to Americans, tend to read a great deal. According to Leppihalme (1994) 50% of Finns use the services of free lending libraries while 60% of Americans have never read a book.

Marko Hartama argues that in movie translation, it is common to provide subtitles with both Finnish and Swedish text. It is a rare situation in Europe, but bilingual movie subtitling is also used in Belgium, where French and Flemish translations are shown similarly together. (Hartama 2007: 188–189).

2.2 History of audiovisual translation and subtitling

The history of audiovisual translation cannot be discussed without mentioning dubbing. Dubbing is replacing the original dialogue track with source language dialogue track. It originates from 1920-1930 when in USA the transfer from mute films to sound films was happening. When sound films took over the markets, they transformed the markets from international to national, because mute films were understood all over the world since they had no dialogue. Because filming the films several times with different languages proved to be expensive method, subtitling took over as preferred and cheaper method. However, this was a limiting factor to many illiterate members in target audiences. From the USA dubbing spread over to Europe, e.g. to Austria and Switzerland. The common nominator for all countries where dubbing is prevalent over subtitling is the vast amount of source language population. Because the high cost of dubbing, the majority of small language countries, like Finland, translate audiovisual programs by subtitling. Still dubbing is used even in Finland, because it still is a preferred method for children since they do not have to read and follow the story at the same time and illiterate and those just learning to read can follow them independently. (Heikkinen, 2007: 235–237).

Outi Paloposki argues that translations can also display separateness instead of togetherness. By emphasizing translation, a community can show that its language and culture are different compared to other communities' language and culture. (Paloposki 2015: 296). The history of translation in Finland goes a long way. Paloposki argues, that translation in Finland originates from 1735, when Swedish administration established Finnish translator's post in Stockholm, but at the time they were not a separate class of workers. In the beginning of the 19th century translators worked also as journalists, teachers and even priests. There were not many Finnish books at the time and great deal of them were religious. The vocabulary was scarce and as the translators translated foreign texts, they also had to invent new words into the Finnish vocabulary. The role of the translators at that time was huge because of this. There were no pre-existing models

to use as translation aid, so they had to create their own. Finnish language was structurally different from any other language. (Paloposki 2001: 171–177).

Paloposki argues that Culture-specific vocabulary also posed a challenge; the translators had to decide whether to use calques or loan words or invent neologisms or dismiss the whole thing altogether. There were no good grammars at the time. Kustaa Renwall's Suomalainen Sanakirja, published in two parts in 1823 and 1826 and Reinhold von Becker's Finnish grammar, 1824. The latter was recommended, as the former was already outdated when it was published. The translators asked advice from each other, thus creating vocabulary together. The material was scarce, and it was not easy to get one's hand on a book to translate. (Paloposki 2001: 171–177).

2.3 Technical side of audiovisual subtitling

Georgekapoulou argues that in order for the subtitle to be successful it needs to preserve the sequence of speech acts. When the imagery of the screen is vital in understanding a particular scene, subtitle should offer only the least amount of information to comprehend the scene. But when the information is not in the images, but on the soundtrack, then subtitles must offer as much information as possible, so that viewers are not left in the dark. (Georgekapoulou 2009: 23).

According to Diaz Cintas and Remael, audiovisual subtitling is usually done via some subtitling program, that is located on computer. The first subtitling program was on the market in the late 1970's. Internet is a valuable asset to modern translator; one can find help from other translators there and it provides many dictionaries, glossaries, encyclopedias, forums, scripts, websites, dialogue lists etc. Translator's also use memory tools, which saves previously translated sentences and words and are then later easily available to use again in a new translation task. A motion picture is measured using feet and frames. A film foot contains 16 frames and 24 frames are shown to viewer's, so they believe there is movement on the screen. A second of a film is one foot and eight frames, equaling to 1.5 feet. Comfortable reading speed is that 16 frames or one film foot, contains

10 characters, including letters, spaces and punctuation marks. Hence one frame may contain 0.625 characters. (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2010: 70–73).

Dialogue list presents a cornerstone for translator. A dialogue list contains all the dialogue exchanges said in the movie and it is usually provided by the film's distributor or producer. Other than just the dialogue, a good dialogue list also provides extra information, such as explanations of wordplays, precise spelling of names, clarifies explicit and implicit allusions and socio-cultural connotations. In some older movies, these kind of dialogue lists are not available, forcing the translators to translate directly from the soundtrack i.e. what is said on screen. This can be rather difficult and extra care and caution must be made. Subtitling is made using two lines, but the two lines are also limitations. These two lines occupy no more than two twelfths of the screen. The standard position for subtitles is horizontal at the bottom of the screens, since this position obscures the image less and this part of the screen is usually less important to the action. The positioning of a two-line subtitle offers no room for change, because both lines are in use. If using one-line subtitles, however, the decision whether to use the first or the second line can be made, but it is recommended to use the second, bottom line. (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2010: 74–84).

Digital video is made of individual dots known as pixels. Broadcast resolution is 720 pixels wide and 576 pixels high. All texts must be centrally positioned in the safe area. This safe area is normally 10% with each frame: 72 pixels in from the right and left and 57 pixels from bottom and top. Subtitles can be moved from their usual place, the bottom of the screen, to another position if necessary due to a few different circumstances. These circumstances are:

> 1. The background at the bottom of the screen is so light that the subtitles are illegible.
> 2. Some important action is taking place at the bottom of the screen.
> 3. Some essential data are displayed at the bottom of the screen while dialogue continues and must therefore be subtitled (examples are: other subtitles, inserts with dates or information about a speaker, or the broadcaster's logo). (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2010: 82–84).

If the position of the subtitles is moved, they are then usually placed at the top of the screen, which is the most common method, or in the middle. (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2010: 82–84).

Subtitles are usually white in color, but yellow can be used especially when subtitling black and white movies in order for the viewer to see the lines better. Fonts without serifs are preferred and these fonts include, for example, Arial and Times New Roman. The characters are shadowed or black contoured. If the subtitles appear against a very light background, they can be encased in a black or grey box. Subtitlers receive information about how many characters they can use per line. This number is increasing, because VHS accommodated 33 to 35 characters, while DVD and cinema's number can be 40. There is no rule set in stone to the minimum characters a subtitle must have, but less than four is rare. Any subtitle should be visible on screen at least one second, so that viewers can recognize their existence and read them. (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2010: 84–85). According to Georgakopoulou (2009: 22) subtitles can occupy no more than 20 per cent of the screen space.

Whether to use one or two lines of subtitles, a good rule of thumb is that if the subtitle fits in one line, two is not recommended. But if the one line is of maximum characters, for example, it could be a good idea to split that into two equally long subtitles, for it is aesthetically more pleasing to the eye, especially in cinema. Subtitles were often left-aligned before, but today they are mostly centered. This is due to the action on screen happening in the middle, so this way the eye does not have to travel long to see both the action and the subtitles. Another reason is that if the subtitles were still left-aligned, the eye would get accustomed to it and expect new lines always to start from the same place. By centering them, they appear in different places and thus different placings do not impale the readers. (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2010: 86–88).

Temporal dimension or spotting or timing or cueing means determining the ins and outs of the subtitles. Subtitles should mimic the rhythm of the film and actors's performances. They should start the moment an actor starts uttering and stop when they stop talking.

The timing must take into consideration the pauses and interruptions of the speech. If the sentence is long, it is good idea to split that in two or combine shorter sentences. Eight-digit timecode is used and thus cues can be accurately defined in hours, minutes, seconds and frames. Six seconds is the maximum duration for a two-liner, since longer time than that tend to lead to the viewers to read them again. Multiple voices heard at the same time can also possess difficulties for the translator, and they have to make choices what information from the source language gets through to target language and what will eventually be deleted. Subtitles should not last over a cut if possible. This is due to the fact that if the subtitle remains on screen during a shot change, the viewer believes there is a new subtitle present and starts re-reading it. The editing of the film also dictates the presence of the subtitle. Some subtitling programs automatically detect these shot changes, making it easier for the subtitlers to do their job properly. Word order of the subtitles need to be easy to read. (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2010: 88–92).

There must be some delay between subtitles, otherwise the viewer does not recognize there has been a change of written material on display. These gaps are measured by frames and minimum of two frames is recommended. Before timecodes, cueing was made using stopwatches. Hours, minutes, seconds and frames are the cornerstone of Time Code Reader or TCR. The first three are the same in every system, but frames vary. 24 is the total in cinema, 25 in video and television in PAL system and 30 for video and television in NTSC system. Timecodes are vital not only for subtitling, but dubbing, voice-overs and audio description as well. Two approaches are used: words per minute (wpm) and characters per minute (cpm). An average length of an English word is five letters. According to Georgakopoulou (2009: 22), when translating to children, wpm and or cpm must be lower. When factoring in the time of the subtitles, subtitler need to give viewers time to read the images so to speak, so they have time to see the action on the screen and not just only the subtitles. Reading speed for cinema and DVD is higher than for television. This is because it is believed that when someone buys a ticket to see a movie or buys a DVD, they are more focused on watching them and for the DVD, it is possible to rewind is something was left unnoticed. Television, however, conforms to heterogenous viewers, and not all of them follow the movie or show with such intensity. Six second rule, that was the cornerstone of the industry dictates that an average viewer

can read a text written on two full subtitle lines with ease, when each line contains a maximum of 37 characters, totaling of 74 characters. This was calculated from average reading speed of approximately 145 words per minute. But when DVD emerged, the average reading speed rose to some 180 words per minute. (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2010: 92–99).

The next chapter deals with cultural references and provides more background and theory to this thesis.

# 3 CULTURAL REFERENCES

Cultural references have been studied by many scholars and all use slightly different name and terminology for them. According to Leppihalme, realia (Latin for real things) are lexical elements (i.e. words and phrases), which represent the real world, that exists outside language. Even people who speak the same language but belong in different subcultures could have difficulties understanding each other. Example of such occurrence would be a dialogue between a British and an American since their language cultures are not uniform. Subclasses of realia include the physical world: its culture, geographical landscape, social and historical infrastructure and flora and fauna etc. (Leppihalme 2001: 139).

Leppihalme argues that in translation studies, realia are also called extralinguistic culture-bound translation problems and they were thought to be untranslatable. Cultural references are divided to key-phrase allusions and proper name allusions. The latter, as the name suggests, includes a proper name and can be translated directly, for example, Anna is the same in English and in Finnish. Key-phrase allusions, however, do not include proper name and they usually need alteration in translation. (Leppihalme 1994: 18–19).

It is important to discuss allusions in this thesis also. Allusions are a wider concept of cultural references and thus relevant. Leppihalme describes them being not only literary phenomenon, since they also appear in audiovisual work, such as films and therefore in series as well. Allusions can be lines of dialogue or cameo role of famous actor, both of which are expected from audience to understand. Allusions refer to something, and that reference can be human, event, art, history and the function of them is to compare something or someone to something or someone. (Leppihalme 1994: 6).

Leppihalme (1994: 94) suggests three different translation strategies for allusions and they are:
1) Retention of name, when translator can use the name as it is, add some guidance to it or use the name with explanation, e.g. footnote.

2) Replacement of name by another source language name or replacement of name by a target language name.

3) Omitting the name completely or transferring its sense by other means, like common noun.

Jan Pedersen (2005: 43) argues that cultural references are one of the most important translation problems that translators must deal with in their work. Translators must have bilingual capability and bi-cultural vision. This means that in addition to linguistic competence translators need to know and study the source culture from which they are translating from. Pedersen calls cultural references Extralinguistic Cultural References, or ECRs (extralinguistic meaning relating to matters outside language) and defines them as following:

[…] 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. (Pedersen 2005: 43).

ECRs refine realia and this refinement is important to this thesis. Pedersen argues that since realia only refers to non-fictional references and not fictional references, it leaves many references unnoticed as such. Fictional references might pose as much or as little translation problems as non-fictional references, for example Hercule Poirot vs. Napoleon Bonaparte. He also states that realia refer merely to facts, not references, giving another reason for his creation of ECR. On the other hand, he states that calling ECRs realia would not be so big a mistake to make. Pedersen gives notion to not just source and target cultures, but transculturality also. Transculturality happens when ECRs refer to third culture. Cultural literacy is important in understanding transculturality. Cultural literacy refers to a skill to manage amid different cultures, not just for example art but sports culture and science culture as well. It also does not confine itself just to one social class. (Pedersen 2005: 47).

Javier Franco Aixelá (2000: 54) argues that translation is a complex process of rewriting and it mixes two or more cultures. This is in line with Pedersen's view. Historical distance

and cultural diversity go hand in hand. Cultures create problems for translators, because each culture has its own set of ways, that might differ greatly from the other culture. Aixelá states that translator can either decide to be conservative and accept the difference between cultures and the otherness or naturalize by transforming the other to cultural replica. There has been a trend in the Western World to translate texts so they can be read as an original. This means that the text is domesticated, giving the reader the possibility to see the world through the lens of their own culture. This could lead to a very narcissistic and narrow view of the world. On the other hand, the spread of Anglo-Saxon culture is evident and this reflects to translation in a way that that culture becomes every other cultures "own", so the readers identify cultural items that are not from their own culture but they consider them as such. Aixelá gives cultural references, or as he calls them in his term, culture specific items (CSI) a definition:

> […] items especially linked to the most arbitrary area of each linguistic system - its local institutions, streets, historical figures, place names, personal names, periodicals, works of art, etc.— which will normally present a translation problem in other languages. (Aixelá, 2000: 56–57).

Another, more specific and abstract definition for culture-specific items by Aixelá is the following:

> Culture-specific items are usually expressed in a text by means of objects and of systems of classification and measurement whose use is restricted to the source culture, or by means of the transcription of opinions and the description of habits equally alien to the receiving culture. In either of these cases, they are usually manifestations of a surface nature, outside the structure of the text. (Aixelá, 2000: 56–57).

The next definition is by Chiaro (2009: 156). This category differs from the previous ones as it clearly states that cultural reference can be both visual and verbal. In audiovisual material the occurrence of cultural references often happens via both image and sound. The terminology she uses for cultural reference is culture-specific reference or CSR for short.

CSRs are entities that are typical of one particular culture, and that culture alone, and they can be either exclusively or predominantly visual (an image of a local or national figure, a local dance, pet funerals, baby showers), exclusively verbal or else both visual and verbal in nature. (Chiaro 2009: 156).

Chiaro says that translators can chunk CSRs up, down or sideways, and the decision depends on their translation strategy. By chunking a CSR upwards, a CSR is replaced by a more general example of the same object in the target language, while chunking downwards involves substitution with an example of an extremely culture-specific and completely different item, in the target language. (Chiaro 2009: 157–158). The following example (1) illustrates chunking a CSR upwards. A former football star Diaz admires says the line below, when he is questioned as a witness for an event in which several convicts escaped from their prison transportation. In this study's examples, E is short for episode and number+a is the source language utterance and number+b its Finnish translation. The bolded word/s are cultural references.

    (1a)   Man, they forgot my **pico de gallo**.
    (1b)   Tämä ei ole **salsaa**.
         (E11)

*Pico de gallo* is a type of salsa, which translates to Finnish as *kukkosalsa [cocksalsa]* and it is replaced by a more general example, just plain salsa. Chunking upwards is basically the same thing as using a superordinate term.

3.1 The functions of cultural references in *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*

Leppihalme (1994: 35–46) also lists several possible functions for allusions and thus cultural references. They can be used thematically, creatively, or stereotypically, or for humorous purposes, characterization, or as indicators of interpersonal relationships, as can be seen in the following list with examples for each of them.

1) Thematic use. Information about a situation or character in a new context that is important, and which may be of thematic importance for interpretation. The following

example (2) brings a new side of Diaz into play. She is normally very down to earth, "man-like" woman who shuns nerdy stuff, but now, in order to win the Halloween heist and work with Santiago, she has read all the material Santiago has given her and even makes her own references about them. She refers Santiago and herself as their own Baby-Sitters Club. This softens Diaz's character and gives her depth.

(2a) It's kind of like we're our own **baby-sitters club**.
(2b) Meillä on oma **lapsenvahtikerho**.
(E5)

In the translation, however, this cultural reference has been neglected, when it is translated just as it is, *lapsenvahtikerho [baby-sitters club]* without capitalization and it does not refer to the famous book series by Ann M. Martin (Rich, Motoko 2009).

2) Humorous use. Humor can be used parodically or ironically to detract from the importance of a situation or character. This example (3) depicts explicitly how Peralta is being pushed around in the office by others like a ball in the game of *pinball*, as several people all dressed up like pizza delivery workers storm the place. It was a scheme plotted by Santiago during the Halloween heist.

(3a) I'm getting bounced around like **a pinball**!
(3b) Pyörin ympäriinsä kuin **flipperin** kuula.
(E5)

**Picture 1.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 3 on Netflix with English subtitles



**Picture 2.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 3 on Netflix with Finnish subtitles

*Pinball* is a game in which a player tries to get points by operating one or more metallic balls inside a glass-covered cabinet. Its Finnish translation, and official equivalent, is *flipperi* and it is usually always used, meaning it is translated using domestication.

3) Characterization. Characters who allude are often smart and educated and their allusions reflect their interests. Ignorant characters fail to understand these allusions or use them themselves tritely. In the next example (4) Diaz says the following line to Santiago as a compliment and Santiago enjoys being praised like this. Especially when Diaz had actually read the novel, as suggested by bookworm Santiago.

    (4a)   You're such a **Mary-Anne**.
    (4b)   Olet oikea **Anne**.
          (E5)

According to The Baby-Sitters Club Wiki (2020) *Mary-Anne* is a character from The Baby-Sitters Club, and she has exceptional organization skills and very nice handwriting, thus resembling Santiago, who possesses those same characteristics. Usually they are being mocked, but now appreciated.

4) Interpersonal use. Relations between fictional characters can be defined by their intellectual superiority over one another or by better self-control or not being so emotionally involved as the other one. E.g. if one says: "to be or not to be" in a sentence, and the other one continues: "that is a question" and the first then replies: "what is?" implying that they didn't know where the sentence was originated from. In the following example (5) Holt shows his superior intelligence compared to others by bringing up his "mistake" when meeting with his boyfriend Kevin Cozner's parents for the first time. He accidentally called Johannes Brahm's *Funf Gesange opus 106*, when in reality it is *opus 104*.

    (5a)   I called Brahm's "**Funf Gesange**" **opus 106** when it is, obviously, opus 104.
    (5b)   Sanoin Brahmsin **Fünf Gesängea opus 106**:ksi.
          (E7)

*Opus 106* is the Piano Sonata by Ludwig Van Beethoven. *Funf Gesange* translates as five songs and as the name suggests, it is a song cycle of five part-songs. As the result, Kevin's parents have not spoken with Holt since. This is also humorous use.

5) Creative vs. stereotyped use. The frequent use of some allusions may lose all their original context and are presented in a new context completely. In the following example (6) Peralta refers the last escaped convict still on large as *the Golden Snitch*.

      **(6a)**   I guess you could say he's **the Golden Snitch**.
      **(6b)**   Hän taitaa olla **kultasieppi**.
           (E11)

*The Golden Snitch* reference was used creatively and in a new context different from the original. *The Golden Snitch* is from Harry Potter and refers to the third and smallest ball in the game of Quidditch. The team who catches *the Golden Snitch*, wins the game. (Harry Potter wiki 2020). The same goes for Peralta's and Santiago's teams. Whoever catches the convict, wins.

The understanding of English language in Finland has been in the top 8 since 2011. The following picture shows the 2017 stats compared to other non-English speaking countries. As the picture shows, Finland belongs to the 'very high' countries, which are quite few. (ef.fi 2020).

**Figure 1.** Ef Epi 2017 rankings of understanding English around the world

This information helps the translators, because they can use more foreignizing translation strategies if they choose, since the understanding of source text and language is very high.

3.2 Categorization of cultural references

The following categorizations were chosen based on their relevance to the purpose of this study as well as on how comprehensive and inclusive they are. The first categorization for cultural references is by Chiaro (2009) and they are as follows:

1) Institutions
2) Educational
3) Place names
4) Units of measurement
5) Monetary systems
6) National sports and pastimes

7) Food and drink
8) Holidays and festivities
9) Books, films and TV programmes, games and music
10) Celebrities and personalities

To further explain these categories, I am going to give general examples for each of them.

1. Institutions (including judiciary, police, military). This section is further divided to four subcategories, which are presented below.

a. Legal formulae: e.g. 'This court is now in session', 'All rise', 'Objection, your Honour', 'Objection overruled/sustained', 'You may be seated' etc.

b. Courtroom forms of address: e.g. 'Your Honour', 'My Lord', 'Members of the jury' etc.

c. Legal topography: Supreme Court, Grand Jury, Court, etc.

d. Agents: lawyers, solicitors, attorneys, barristers, etc.; hospital hierarchies such as consultants, interns, paramedics; military hierarchies, etc. These categories were surprisingly dominant in the series, especially in the last episodes.

2. Educational references: high school culture, tests, grading systems (A, B etc.), sororities (Alpha, Beta, Gamma etc.), cheer leaders, holidays (spring break) etc.

3. Place names: The District of New Jersey, Wall Street, New York etc. This section includes cities and street names.

4. Units of measurement: Four ounces of wheat, 200 pounds, forty yards, six inches etc.

5. Monetary systems: Dollars, soles, pounds, etc.

6. National sports and pastimes: (American) football, baseball, basketball, sports teams: Cincinnati Bengals, New York Yankees, New York Knicks etc.

7. Food and drink: Fried chicken, key lime pie, etc.

8. Holidays and festivities: Halloween, St Patrick's, July 4th, Thanksgiving, Bat Mitzvah, etc.

9. Books, films, TV programmes, games and music: The Lord of The Rings, Married With Children, The Terminator, Final Fantasy, The Shining, Aquarium (album by Aqua), etc.

10. Celebrities and personalities: Elvis Presley; Chris Evans; Elmo, etc. This section is somewhat overlapping with the previous one, so some examples could be in either one of these.

The second categorization of cultural references relevant to this study is by Newmark (1988):

(1) Ecology Flora, fauna, winds, plains, hills: 'honeysuckle', 'downs', 'sirocco', *rundra\ 'pampas', tabuleiros (low plateau), 'plateau', selva (tropical rain forest), 'savanna', 'paddy field'.

(2) Material culture (artefacts).

(a) Food: 'zabaglione', 'sake', Kaiserschmarren.

(b) Clothes: 'anorak', kanga (Africa), sarong (South Seas), dhoti (India).

(c) Houses and towns: kampong, bourg, bourgade7 'chalet', 'low-rise', 'tower'.

(d) Transport: 'bike*', 'rickshaw', 'Moulton', cabriolett 'tilbury', caliche.

(3) Social culture - work and leisure ajaki amah, condotttere, biwa, sithar, raga, 'reggae', 'rock'.

(4) Organisations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts.

(a) Political and administrative.

(b) Religious: dharma, karma? 'temple'.

 (c) Artistic.

(5) Gestures and habits 'Cock a snook','spitting.

Because neither of the before mentioned categorizations are adequate in themselves for this study, a combination of them is used in this thesis. The combined list is:

1) Institutions
2) Educational
3) Place names
4) Units of measurement
5) Monetary systems
6) National sports and pastimes

7) Food and drink
8) Holidays and festivities
9) Books, films and TV programmes, games and music
10) Celebrities and personalities
11) Proper names
12) Material culture
13) Social culture

One common category of cultural references is proper names. While Chiaro's list includes celebrities and personalities that are also proper names, this category includes all other proper names beside them. Newmark's towns are omitted from social culture section, because Chiaro's place names already includes them too. Because Chiaro's section number 9 (books, movies and TV programmes) did not include games or music, I added them to my modified list, because *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* has references to them also. I chose to omit flora and fauna and ecology from this modified categorization, because there were so few references about them, since the series do not deal with a lot of different environments other than urban city environment, as the events happen in New York City. The rest of the categories are left out of this thesis, because there would not be any or only a handful of them, like references to gestures and habits since the show is a modern day, contemporary show so there are really not much different, old gestures like, for example, in a show that happens in the past. If there were other cultural references which did not belong to my modified categorization, I ignored them.

The next chapter discusses global and local translation strategies and provides more background and theory for this study.

# 4 GLOBAL AND LOCAL TRANSLATION STRATEGIES

Andrew Chesterman argues that translation strategies guide the translator's work. They pave the way for the best possible translation, but it does not mean complete equivalence. They are ways of doing something. Any human activity has hierarchical structure: at the top is Activity and when it is reached it becomes the objective. After these are Actions and Operations, that are required in order to get to the objective. Strategies are directly observable from the textual product itself and the human side of actions is completely omitted from it. Translation strategies can be divided into two large, main groups: global and local translation strategies. (Chesterman 1997: 87–89). In this section these two are discussed.

## 4.1 Global translation strategies

Lawrence Venuti says that according to Friedrich Schleiermacher there are essentially two choices of translation. The first choice is to leave the writer in peace, bringing the reader closer to them or to leave the reader in peace, thus bringing the writer to them. Hence, the translator can choose either a domesticating method, which means reducing foreign text elements in favor of the target-language's cultural values or a foreignizing method, a non-ethnocentric way to highlight the linguistic and cultural differences in the foreign text. (Venuti 1995: 20).

The two global translation strategies are domestication and foreignization. In domestication, the text is brought close to the reader by replacing foreign elements of the source text with familiar elements from the target text, which readers know. Meanings are explained, thus giving readers more adhesive surface. In foreignization, unfamiliar elements are not faded away and replaced, but even emphasized. (Venuti 1995: 19–21; Kokkola 2007).

Venuti is often coined as the father of this categorization, even though other scholars before him have studied them. Venuti prefers foreignization and emphasizes cultures and

languages that are considered as lingua franca, like Anglo-American culture and English. (Kokkola 2007). According to Leppihalme (2001: 140), global translation strategies apply to the whole text, while local translation strategies focus on smaller units, such as sentences, words or realia (and thus cultural references).

In movie (or series) translation, domestication and foreignization are more complex than just in writing, because the translator must set text in proportion to picture and sound. The soundtrack and scenery tell a story about a different culture, giving visual and audial information to viewers, thus eliminating the choice of total domestication. (Kokkola 2007: 207–208).

## 4.2 Local translation strategies

For global translation strategies to function properly, the right local strategies must be applied to fulfill their purpose. Leppihalme (2001: 140) argues that when realia are the object of translation, there is less need for thorough classification as with other translation problems. Local translation strategies depend on the chosen global translation strategy or vice versa. In this study I decided to use local translation categorization by Leppihalme (2001: 141) and they are:

    1) Direct transfer
    2) Calque
    3) Cultural adaptation
    4) Superordinate term
    5) Explicitation
    6) Addition and
    7) Omission

Direct transfer means that the foreign word is implemented to the target text as it is, or with minor exchanges to spelling or pronunciation or indication to the words of foreign origin, like using italics as a visual device. In other words, English words are placed in Finnish target text. Direct transfer is a foreignizing global strategy. Names of the people and place names are usually translated using this strategy, but in some cases one can

deviate from this policy if there are conventionalized target language version of them, eg. Rome to Rooma or Paris to Pariisi etc. (Leppihalme 2001: 141).

Calque or loan translation means "a translation which renders each element of the source-text word or phrase into the target-language literally" (Leppihalme 2001: 141). Words are often translated from English language, due to its lingua franca-status. Loan translations that imitate English phrases are useful in news translation and those translations are usually quickly adapted to the target language, although the start can be a little rough. Calque is a foreignizing translation strategy. (Leppihalme 2001: 141–142).

Cultural adaptation means that unknown term is replaced by familiar term. It is a domesticating translation strategy. It transfers "connotations and associations of the realia element by using target-cultural functional "equivalents"" (Leppihalme 2001: 142). This strategy is frequently used by translators working on children's books and subtitlers working with child material. The reason is likely that when children read the subtitles, they can go by too quickly for them and thus replacing e.g. an unknown name with a more familiar one is a valid choice, hence eliminating possible wondering. (Leppihalme 2001: 142). This could mean something like changing the name of Conan O'Brien to Jari Sarasvuo or 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington DC, USA (the White House) to Mariankatu 2 in Helsinki, Finland (Presidential Palace).

When translating humor, this strategy is often favored as well, because in order to understand it properly, some familiarity is required to understand it. When readers' knowledge regarding the target language widens, the need to adapt cultural words reduces. (Leppihalme 2001: 142).

"In linguistics, a superordinate term means a higher-order unit" (Leppihalme 2001: 143), e.g. when in source text there is a word spitz, meaning a particular dog, the translator of the text uses only the word dog, because spitz is a dog, thus dog being a superordinate term. Or rose is translated to flower. This strategy can be used when the reader probably has no clue what the subordinate term is, and it streamlines and speeds up the reading process. It is a domesticating translation strategy.

To make things more understandable to target-text readers, explicitation can be used as one strategy. It means that some word is given more information than in the source-text. Example of this could be Victoria->Victorian asema (the station of Victoria). Similar strategy to explicitation is addition, which I discuss more below. Explicitation is reader-friendly by definition, because it tries to rid culture-related references by explaining them in the text. However, this can annoy some readers, who already are familiar with the source culture or are otherwise well-known about the world. But when the source culture is not familiar, this strategy is a viable option. The downside of explicitation is that it lengthens the text, and this can cause trouble in audiovisual subtitling, where there are even less room for translation due to technical constraints. However, it makes denotations clearer, but connotations could still be lost. Explicitation is domesticating translation strategy. (Leppihalme 2001: 143).

Addition is the only one of Leppihalme's categories that is left out of this thesis, because it is used mainly in literary translation, rather than in subtitling. Additions are placed outside of text, manifesting in e.g. glossary, preface and translator's notes, thus omitting their use on screen. Translator can use footnotes about additions, but this can cause significant lengthening of reading time, making it hard for a reader to follow the main text with ease. Addition is domesticating translation strategy. (Leppihalme 2001: 144).

Omission is often used, especially in Finland, as a last resort. Leppihalme argues that too detailed accuracy of cultural elements can be unnecessary, due to large cultural cap between source and target cultures. Omission is also used to get past difficult realia, that would need rendering. Omission is domesticating translation strategy. (Leppihalme 2001: 144–145). Omissions are, however, very common in subtitling, due to restraints of the media.

The next categorization is from Pedersen (2005: 75):
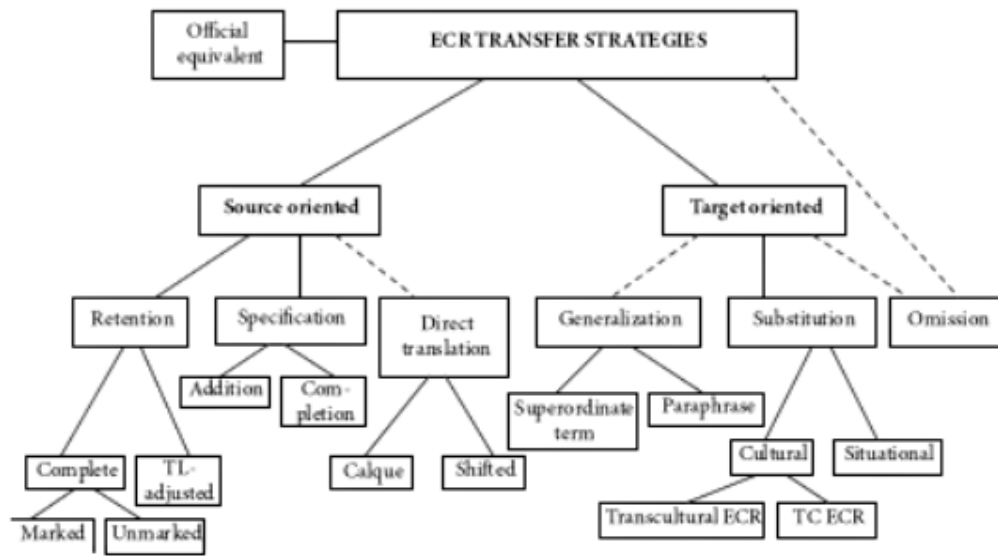
**Figure 2.** Translation strategies for ECR by Pedersen (2005: 75)

Source oriented transfer strategies and their explanations by Pedersen: 1) Retention means that the ECR remains either unaltered or slightly altered to meet target language's requirements. 2) Specification means that some information is added to the ECR. These additions could be done via completion, such as complementing a name or addition, which means adding, for example, occupation. 3) Direct translation means altering only the language, since no semantic changes are made. Pedersen adds that proper nouns are seldomly translated. This category has two subcategories: calque and shifted. Calque means loan translation and shifted is close to it, but basically there has been a shift in word order, like changing the head of a noun phrase (NP). (Pedersen 2005: 76–100).

Target oriented transfer strategies and their explanations by Pedersen: 1) Generalization means that the target text ECR is less specific than the source text ECR. Methods for generalization includes superordinate term and paraphrasing. Example of generalization is replacing a Hershey's bar by chocolate. 2) Substitution is replacing the source text ECR with ECR from target culture or trans culture. The ECR can also be replaced by something completely different. 3) Omission is widely used in subtitling due to constraints of the medium. The source text ECR is not reproduced at all in the target text. (Pedersen 2005: 76–100).

Third strategy that does not belong either of the above is official equivalent. Pedersen explains official equivalent as "either through common usage or by some administrative decision, a SC ECR may have a ready-made Official TL Equivalent" (Pedersen 2005: 76).

The final categorization for this thesis is the following, with addition of the official equivalent, which is mentioned if there is one:

1) Direct transfer
2) Calque
3) Cultural adaptation
4) Superordinate term
5) Explicitation
6) Omission

The next chapter is the analysis, where the findings of this study are shown and discussed through various examples.

5 ANALYSIS

The purpose of this study was to find out how the cultural references have been translated in the Finnish subtitles of TV series *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* and how they have been explained to the Finnish-speaking audience and those who live in the Finnish culture. I wanted to know what local, and thus global translation strategies have been used when translating the cultural references for the subtitles. The material for this thesis consisted of 22 episodes of season 4 of *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*.

In order to categorize cultural references, I decided to use modified categorization, combining Chiaro's (2009) and Newmark's (1988) categorizations with proper names, which is a common category. This modified categorization is: 1) institutions, 2) educational, 3) place names, 4) units of measurement, 5) monetary systems, 6) national sports and pastimes, 7) food and drink, 8) holidays and festivities, 9) books, films, TV programmes, music and games and 10) celebrities and personalities, 11) proper names, 12) material culture and 13) social culture.

The local translation strategies used to analyze the translations of cultural references were 1) direct transfer and 2) calque, which are foreignizing strategies and 3) cultural adaption, 4) superordinate term, 5) explicitation and 6) omission, which are domesticating strategies. Foreignization and domestication are global translation strategies and the relationship between their usage is displayed in this section and in the conclusions.

There were altogether 673 cultural references. The biggest group was proper names, with 211 references and this was expected, as there are several characters in the series and each episode introduces some new characters, who are often somehow related to cases the detectives are working on. The second biggest group was references to books, films, TV programmes, music and games with 101 references and this came as no surprise as the series revolves around popular culture and Anglo-American culture. Category of least hits was surprisingly units of measurement, with only six references. One could assume that a TV-show about police and their investigations involves many different

measurements, such as criminals' heights and the lengths of different, various things they have broken while committing crimes, such as windows, doors etc.

In the following sections (5.1–5.13) I am going to exhibit exact amounts of cultural references in each category and they are divided by the local translation strategy used to translate them.

## 5.1 References to institutions

**Table 1.** Translation of references to institutions

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 3 |
| Calque (for.) | 50 |
| Cultural adaption (dom.) | 2 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 2 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 2 |
| Omission (dom.) | 3 |
| **Total** | 62 |

The most used translation strategy by far was calque (50). The second most used strategies were omission (3) and direct transfer (3). The least used strategies were superordinate term (2), explicitation (2), superordinate term (2) and cultural adaption (2). All the strategies were used.

The most used strategy was calque. In the following example (7), Peralta and Jeffords are in pursuit of escaped prisoners, so they had a little help from *Homeland Security* in the form of a bus and a drone.

  (7a) We went to **Homeland Security**.
  (7b) Kävimme **kotimaan turvallisuusvirastossa**.
    (E11)

**Picture 3.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 11 on Netflix with English subtitles



**Picture 4.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 11 on Netflix with Finnish subtitles

In this scene, an institution, *Homeland Security*, is discussed which does not exist in Finland. The closest institution to it in Finland would be *Sisäministeriö*. The bus is

visually present in this scene, forcing the translator to take a stand for translating the cultural reference.

Direct transfer was used in the next example (8) for the cultural reference *NYPD*. Direct transfer was used twice altogether in this category. In this scene, Peralta and Holt are arrested and Peralta encourages them to keep their alibis intact, because they are in witness protection:

    (8a)  We're **NYPD** detectives.
    (8b)  Olemme **NYPD:n** etsiviä.
          (E2)

The same cultural reference *NYPD* was also translated later, but this time differently, using calque, as can be seen from the following example (9). Peralta and Diaz are performing an arrest:

    (9a)  **NYPD**! Freeze!
    (9b)  **New Yorkin poliisi**! Liikkumatta!
          (E20)

Both of these translation solutions are good for the Finnish viewer, since *NYPD* is so well-known institution, but the safer choice is the latter one, example (9), if there are some viewers who are not familiar with its meaning.

Omission was also the second most used category. In the following example (10) Marshal Haas is explaining the raid that was made in order to get crime boss Jimmy Figgis, who is the reason Peralta and Holt are in Florida, in witness protection. The raid, according to Haas, proved to be successful, even though Figgis was not and never were there.

    (10a) Acting on that lead, 50 **federal agents** and I raided a warehouse in Paramus.
    (10b)            50 **agenttia** ja minä ratsasimme varastorakennuksen Paramusissa.
          (E1)

The word *federal [liittovaltion]* has been omitted from the translation. Finland does not have states as in the USA, so in that sense omission is a valid choice, even though just the word *agents* is too vague, since it can mean other agencie's agents too.

Explicitation was used twice in this category. In the following example (11) *One Police Plaza* is the address to the HQ of police force. Santiago has drafted a letter to police chiefs, saying that captain Stentley is inadequate for his job as a new precinct captain in the absence of Holt.

> (11a) I drafted a letter to **One Police Plaza**.
> (11b) Luonnostelin kirjeen **Päämajaan**.
>      (E2)

The address in itself, if translated using foreignizing strategies would not necessarily tell anything for a Finnish viewer, but when it is explained this way it tells directly what it is: a headquarters *[päämaja]* of the NYPD in New York. This could also have been in section 3, place names, but is a police institution as well. The choice to use explicitation like this, with replacing the original word with other word and not giving the additional meaning with other word/s, is rare, but possible and the function is the same.

Superordinate term was used twice in this category. In the following example (12) a picture of *Brooklyn Memorial* is shown briefly at the start of a scene.

> (12a) **Brooklyn Memorial**.
> (12b) **Sairaala**.
>      (E12)
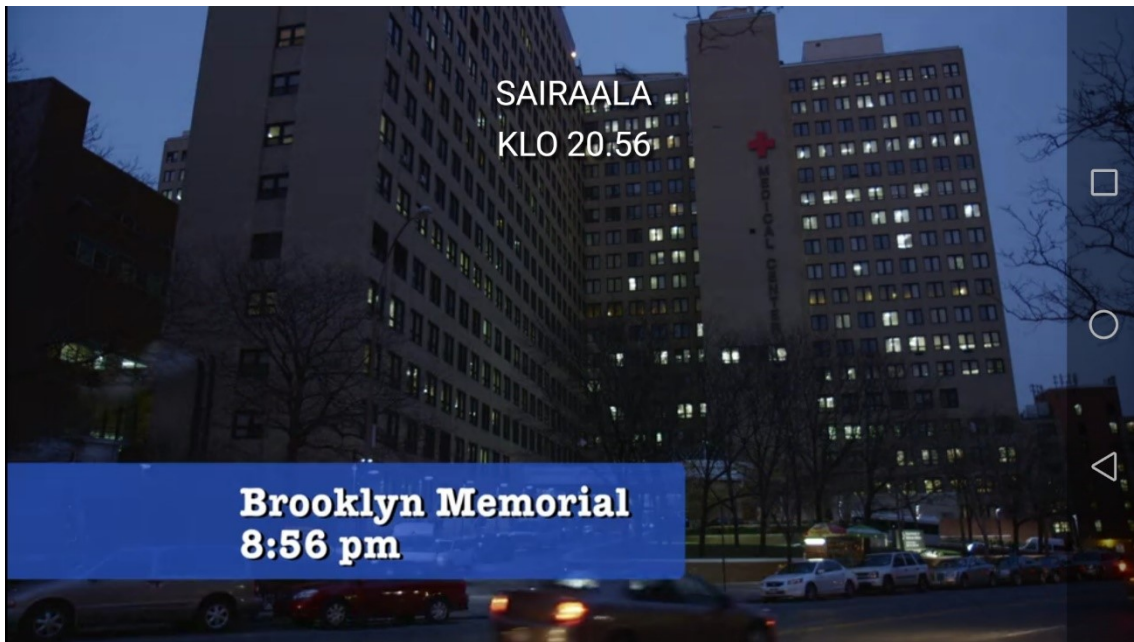
**Picture 5.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 12 on Netflix with Finnish subtitles

*Brooklyn Memorial*-hospital was translated only as *sairaala [hospital]*, but it does not matter in the scene's context, because the events happen in Brooklyn and the name of the hospital is not important for the plot. The subtitle here is placed in its alternative place, because otherwise it would have covered the original text shown in the image.

Cultural adaption was also used twice in this category. This scene happens at the end of episode 1, when Holt dismisses his alias, Greg and returns to being *captain* Raymond Holt, as he and Peralta decide to get them out of the witness protection in Florida as can be seen from the following example (13).

> (13a) **Captain** Raymond Holt.
> (13b) **Ylikomisario** Raymond Holt.
>    (E1)

In Finland the hierarchy in the police force goes differently than in America, so *ylikomisario* is roughly equivalent of *captain*. The Finnish hierarchy from top to bottom is ylikomisario, komisario, ylikonstaapeli, vanhempi konstaapeli and nuorempi

konstaapeli. The American hierarchy on the same level is captain, lieutenant, sergeant, corporal and officer.

5.2 Educational references

**Table 2.** Translation of educational references

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 6 |
| Calque (for.) | 6 |
| Cultural adaption (dom.) | 0 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 0 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 0 |
| Omission (dom.) | 0 |
| **Total** | 12 |

The most used translation strategies were direct transfer (6) and calque (6). Other strategies were not used at all. Since both direct transfer and calque are foreignizing strategies, it was the only global strategy used in this category.

Direct transfer was used in the following example (14). Marshal Haas gives a pop quiz to Peralta and Holt in the beginning of the episode, as they are summoned to her. They are living in witness protection in Florida at the time and Marshal Haas questions them about their made-up history, in order for them to function properly in their current societal networks.

> (14a) Greg, where did you go to **college**?
> (14b) Greg, mitä **collegea** kävit?
> (E1)

*College* does not have an equivalent in Finland, and it is often either left untranslated or translated using domestication like *lukio*.

Calque was used in the following example (15) as Linetti is explaining to Peralta why she is good on skates.

>
> (15a) Or are you forgetting Jenn Sutton's **fourth grade** birthday party?
> (15b) Unohdatko Jenn Suttonin **nelosluokan** synttärit?
>     (E5)

*Fourth grade* has been translated as it is, because both in the USA and in Finland the grades go logically from one to six (elementary school in the USA), but after that they differ from each other.

Another example of calque is the next example (16). Pimento and Holt are going to see Pimento's bookie in the college where he studies, and he is a freshman there.

>
> (16a) He's **a freshman**.
> (16b) Hän on **fuksi**.
>     (E7)

*A freshman* is someone who is studying in college for the first year. The same is in Finland's lukio, where first year student is called *fuksi*.

5.3 References to place names

**Table 3.** Translation of references to place names

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 52 |
| Calque (for.) | 19 |
| Cultural adaption (dom.) | 0 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 2 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 5 |
| Omission (dom.) | 2 |
| **Total** | 80 |

The most used translation strategy was direct transfer (52). The second most used strategy was calque (19) and third most used was explicitation (5). The least used were superordinate term (2) and omission (2). Cultural adaption was not used at all.

The most used strategy was direct transfer, as can be seen from the following example (17). Melanie Hawkins receives the following information from her employee.

> (17a) The manager of the Capitol Trust Bank in **Fort Greene** is here.
> (17b) **Fort Greenen** Capitol Trust-pankin johtaja on täällä.
>     (E21)

Cultural reference *Fort Greene* has been translated directly. It is a neighborhood in northwestern part of New York City borough of Brooklyn. If domesticated, the translator could have placed the bank in, for example, Kallio in Helsinki.

Calque was the second most used strategy here. In the following example (18) Boyle is acting like a thief from *Marseille*, when he and Peralta are trying to reconstruct a crime scene.

> (18a) **Marseille**.
> (18b) **Marseilles**.
>     (E4)

*Marseille* is *Marseilles* in Finland and it is its official equivalent.

Explicitation was also used as can be seen in the following example (19). In this scene Peralta is trying to figure out where he let Jeffords's children play with his car's windows, because they accidentally threw out their toy, Moomoo.

> (19a) Uh, on **Eight**.
> (19b) **8th Streetillä**.
>     (E16)

The word *street* has been added to clarify the meaning of the word $8^{th}$ as it could be unfamiliar to Finnish audiences what is meant by that. It is interesting though why the translator chose to foreignize the word, using *street* instead of its Finnish translation *katu*.

The following example (20) used explicitation as well. Jake is explaining why he got the deputy managers job instead of Holt. Jake is referring to Scully, who landed the plane he was flying to *the Hudson*, saving hundreds of lives.

> (20a) I straight up said I was that guy who landed the plane on **the Hudson**.
> (20b) Sanoin tehneeni pakkolaskun **Hudsonjokeen**.
>     (E1)

The word *joki [river]* was added to the translation, so that the viewers would better know the talk was about a river and not, for example, a city or such.

Omission was used twice in this category, in the following example (21). In this scene Holt is furious to Peralta because he put his faith on Doug Judy, even though it is later revealed that Peralta was right.

> (21a) You were too busy singing your songs and planning trips to **Niagara Falls**.
> (21b) Sinulla oli liian kiire lauleskella ja suunnitella **Niagaran**-lomaa.
>     (E12)

The word *putoukset [falls]* has been left out of the Finnish translation. Finnish people use the word Niagara to mean the *Niagara Falls*, even though it can also mean cities in Canada and in New York, USA.

Superordinate term was used in this example (22), where is no dialogue and would not necessarily even need translating. Peralta and Diaz are on trial here for robbing banks.

> (22a) **Kings county courthouse**.
> (22b) **Oikeustalo**.
>     (E22)

**Picture 6.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 22 on Netflix with Finnish subtitles

As can be seen from the picture, there are no utterances spoken, but the translator made a choice to nevertheless translate the text shown on screen. The subtitle is shown on the upper side of the image, because the original text is in its traditional place.

5.4 References to units of measurement

**Table 4.** Translation of references to units of measurement

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 0 |
| Calque (for.) | 2 |
| Cultural adaption (dom.) | 5 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 0 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 0 |
| Omission (dom.) | 0 |
| **Total** | 7 |

There were only seven references here and the most used strategy was cultural adaption (5). The second most used was calque (2). Other categories were not used at all.

Cultural adaption was used the most in this category. In this example (23) Teddy Wells is measuring the briefing room, just to show to others that the Nine-Nine is in danger to be shut down by him.


(23a) Standing in the briefing room – a space that is approximately **50 feet by 40 feet**.
(23b) Seison tehtävänjakohuoneessa, joka on noin **15 kertaa 12 metriä**.
(E13)


The measures are culturally adapted, since Finns measure distance by Metric system, not by Imperial system like in the US.


Calque was the second most used strategy. In this example (24) Peralta bought an inflatable Christmas tree, but it was too big, and it explodes right after this scene. The actual size of this thing is not *ten meters* yet, because it bursts before it reaches its full potential.


(24a) It says it's **10 meters** tall.
(24b) Tuossa lukee **10 metriä**.
(E10)

**Picture 7.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 10 on Netflix with English subtitles
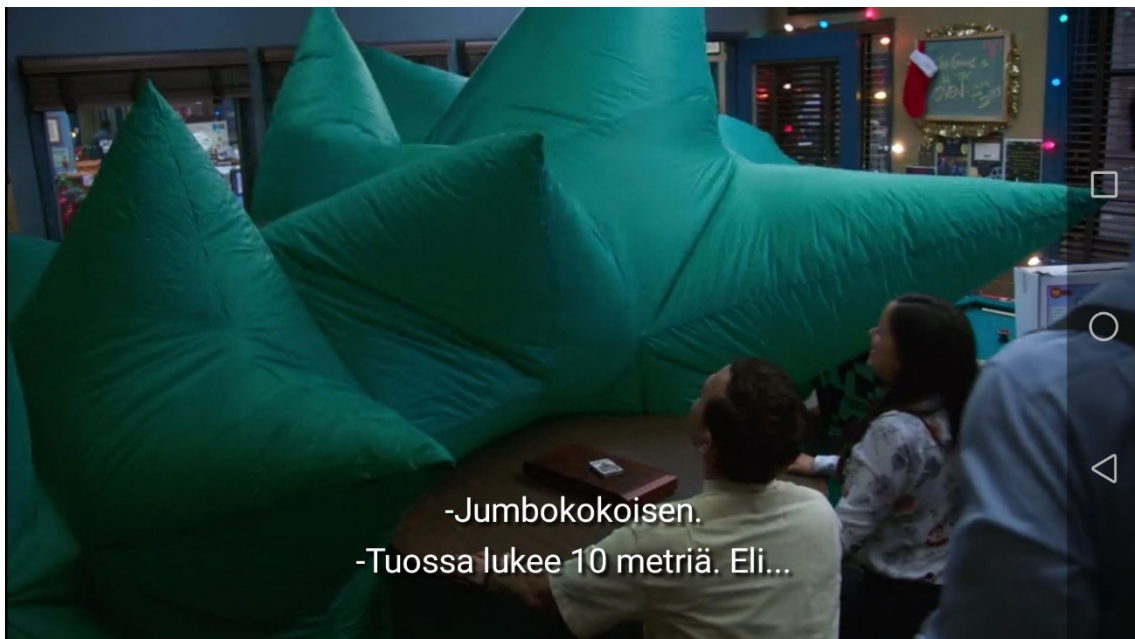


**Picture 8.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 10 on Netflix with Finnish subtitles

The Christmas tree is probably not of US origin, since its size is informed by meters, not by feet and thus leaving the translator an easy choice to use calque and leave the *meters* in the subtitle.

## 5.5 References to monetary systems

**Table 5.** Translation of references to monetary systems

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 12 |
| Calque (for.) | 5 |
| Cultural adaption (dom.) | 0 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 0 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 0 |
| Omission (dom.) | 2 |
| **Total** | 19 |

The most used translation strategy here was direct transfer (12). The second most used was calque (5). The least used was omission (2). Cultural adaption, superordinate term and explicitation were not used at all.

Direct transfer was clearly the most used strategy here. In the following example (25) Holt is holding a stack of money in his hands to show Peralta, when Peralta thinks they do not have any money.

> (25a) **3000 dollars**.
> (25b) **3000 dollaria**.
>    (E2)

**Picture 9.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 2 on Netflix with English subtitles



**Picture 10.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 2 on Netflix with Finnish subtitles

Calque was the second most used strategy here. In this example (26) Santiago gives money to a woman she lies to about being in a new prank show. The pictures show

Santiago counting the money, holding them briefly in her hands and trying to give them to the other character.

(26a) 27 dollars and **a dime**.
(26b) 27 dollaria ja **kymmenen senttiä**.
    (E19)



**Picture 11.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 19 on Netflix with English subtitles

**Picture 12.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 19 on Netflix with Finnish subtitles

The third most used strategy was omission. In this example (27) Holt explains what Doug Judy's brother George is probably going to steal and the trio is trying to stop it from happening.

(27a) **20 million dollars**.
(27b) **20 miljoonaa**.
　　(E12)

*Dollars [dollarit]* are left out of the translation, maybe because the translator thought that it is obvious that the characters are talking about American currency.

5.6 References to national sports and pastimes

**Table 6.** Translation of references to national sports and pastimes

| Translation strategy | Amount |
| --- | --- |
| Direct transfer (for.) | 7 |
| Calque (for.) | 4 |
| Cultural adaption (dom.) | 2 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 1 |

| Explicitation (dom.) | 0 |
|---|---|
| Omission (dom.) | 1 |
| **Total** | 15 |

The most used translation strategy was direct transfer (7). The second most used was calque (4). Cultural adaptation (2) was the third most used strategy. The least used was omission (1) and superordinate term (1). Explicitation was not used at all.

Direct transfer was used in this example (28). Jake is introducing himself to other detainees while attempting a jailbreak with Holt, because Figgis has found them and is coming to kill them. They are in custody because they bought guns and ammo for protection.

> (28a) I'm Jake and I like **baseball**.
> (28b) Olen Jake ja pidän **baseballista**.
>     (E2)

Using direct transfer is good for the Finnish audience, because it is not to be confused with *pesäpallo,* a traditional Finnish sports game having some similarities to *baseball. Pesäpallo* would most likely have been *baseball* if translated using domestication.

In the following example (29) the cultural reference is translated using calque. Holt and Peralta were just hit by two go-carts and Holt is asking about Peralta's wrist.

> (29a) No, I'm okay; it's been like this since I broke it playing **football** in high school.
> (29b) Se murtui high schoolissa, kun pelasin **jalkapalloa**.
>     (E1)

It could be argued that there should be used the term *amerikkalaista jalkapalloa*, as is meant in the text. *Football* means soccer to Finns, not American football.

In this example (30), the cultural reference is translated using cultural adaptation. In this scene Peralta is going to do a *full bullpen* from the elevators to Holt's office. The group

was assigned to night shift as a punishment for their rescue trip to Florida and as a result, they are bored to death on the job. That's why Peralta comes up with this idea.

> (30a) **The full bullpen**.
> (30b) **Täysi liuku**.
> (E8)

*The full bullpen* is a reference to BMX (bicycle motocross or bike motocross, a sport originated from the US) and it is one of its many tricks that one can perform in that sport.

The following example (31) was translated using omission, since the translated subtitle does not include the *360*.

> (31a) **Ice pick 360**.
> (31b) **Ice pick**.
> (E15)

*Ice pick* is a grind with rear peg only, front wheel and peg are balanced in the air (riders.com 2020). The *360* would not bring any additional meaning to the translation, since the whole reference is probably only known by those who participate or are interested in BMX.

Superordinate term was used once in this category. In the following example (32) Peralta is bragging to Boyle how he can still do tricks on a BMX-bike after many years.

> (32a) Point me to a quarter pipe and I'm gonna **tail-whip** for days, bro.
> (32b) Näytä minulle half-pipe, niin **temppuilen** päiväkaudet.
> (E15)

*Tail-whip* is one of the tricks one can perform with the BMX-bike (riders.com 2020), but since the sport is so marginal in Finland, it was a good choice to domesticate it.

5.7 References to food and drink

**Table 7.** Translation of references to food and drink

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 15 |
| Calque (for.) | 15 |
| Cultural adaption (dom.) | 0 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 6 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 0 |
| Omission (dom.) | 1 |
| **Total** | 37 |

The most used strategies here were calque (15) and direct transfer (15). Superordinate term was used most from the domestication strategies (6). The least used was omission (1). Explicitation and cultural adaptation were not used at all.

Calque was the most used strategy, as can be seen in the following example (33) where Santiago has ordered Peralta to drink a lot of water during the day to stay hydrated, but Peralta would rather drink something else as he clearly expresses to Diaz. In the pictures, Peralta is seen holding a bottle of water and it has an effect on the translation, because the element of translation, although the bottle contains only water, is visually seen.

(33a) I swear, I would rather drink **ginger ale**, Rosa.
(33b) Joisin mieluummin **inkiväärioluen**, Rosa.
    (E20)
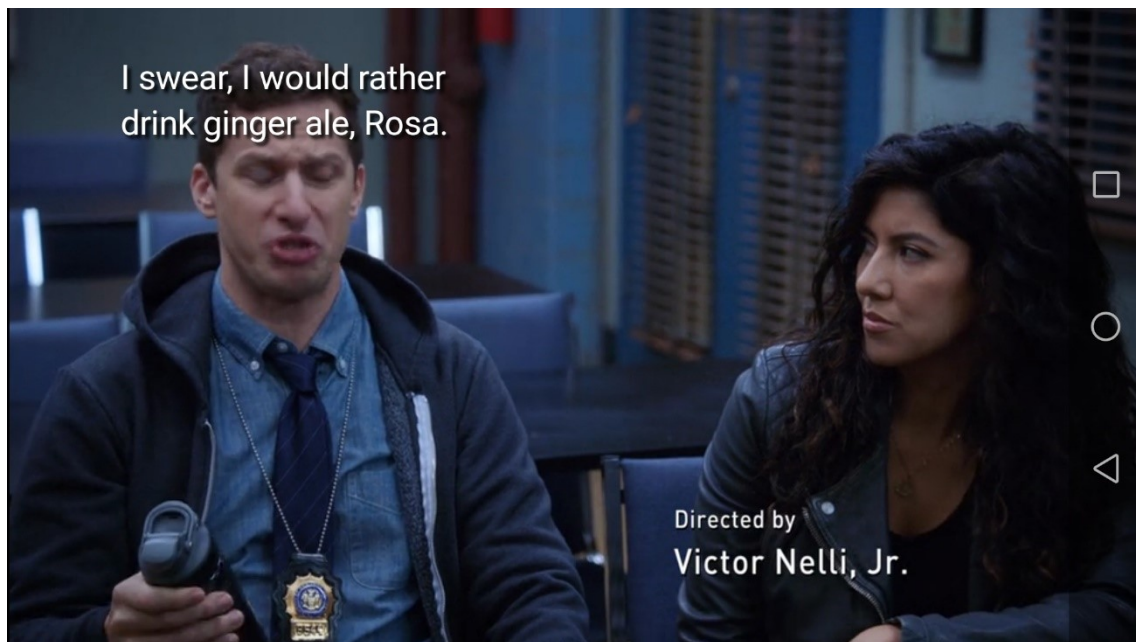
**Picture 13.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 20 on Netflix with English subtitles



**Picture 14.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 20 on Netflix with Finnish subtitles

*Ginger ale* is translated using foreignizing calque. The subtitles are on the upper corner of the image, because names of the people who worked on the episode are shown on the lower part of the screen.

Direct transfer was also the most used strategy here. In the following example (34) Peralta and Santiago are trying to be nice to Teddy Wells so that he does not shut down the Nine-Nine, so they offer him a *ginger ale*, because Santiago knows that he likes them. He is Santiago's ex.

> (34a) Diet **ginger ale** – that is my favorite.
> (34b) **Ginger ale** on kyllä suosikkijuomani.
> (E13)

Both calque and direct transfer are valid choices for the Finnish viewers as both terms are as familiar with them.

The following example (35) used superordinate term. Pimento is about to get married to Diaz after reemerging from his adventures. He talks about getting earrings to ensure their wedding luck and he gets distracted by Gina's collection of *jellybeans* on her desk.

> (35a) Gina's got **jellybeans**.
> (35b) Ginalla on **namuja**.
> (E6)

*Jellybeans* are not usually translated at all, i.e. direct transfer is used, and they are sold in Finland in stores as *jellybeans*, but here the translator made their choice to domesticate it. *Jellybeans* are small bean-shaped sugar candies.

Another example (36) of superordinate term. In this scene, Boyle and Jeffords are offered something to eat while they are visiting some hackers in a restaurant.

> (36a) Help yourselves to some **potstickers**.
> (36b) Ottakaa **pasteijoita**.
> (E22)

*Potstickers* are also known as Chinese Dumplings (The novice chef 2019). *Pasteija* is usually translated as *pastry*. The Finnish translation is a good choice, because Chinese Dumplings [*Kiinalaiset mykyt]* would not mean anything.

The following example (37) includes omission. In this scene Boyle is discussing with Hitchcock and Scully about their plans for the evening.

(37a) You get **ribs** and **white Russians** and watch Undercover Boss.
(37b) Juotte **valkovenäläisiä** ja katsotte Pomoa piilossa.
    (E20)

The word *ribs* is completely omitted from the translation and the drink, *white Russian*, is translated using calque. *White Russian* is a cocktail made with vodka, coffee liqueur and cream or milk with ice served in an old-fashioned glass. The omission was clearly made because of the media's restrictions and it has no effect on the understanding of the sentence or plot.

5.8 References to holidays and festivities

**Table 8.** Translation of references to holidays and festivities

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 1 |
| Calque (for.) | 0 |
| Cultural adaption (dom.) | 4 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 0 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 0 |
| Omission (dom.) | 0 |
| **Total** | 5 |

Cultural adaptation (4) was the most used translation strategy used in this category. The second most used were direct transfer (1). Calque, omission, superordinate term and explicitation were not used at all.

Cultural adaption was the most used strategy and the following example (38) demonstrates it. Amy says the line below to the group at the beginning of the episode in briefing room, as she is organizing a thanksgiving party at her place.

(38a) Okay, here's everyones's timevaries for **thanksgiving** at my place.
(38b) Tässä on jokaiselle suunnitelma **kiitospäivästä** minun luonani.
(E7)

In Finland there is no *thanksgiving*, as it is American tradition and there is no corresponding festivity in Finland.

The following example (39) is translated using direct transfer. Peralta is announcing the annual *Halloween* heist for the rest of the group. The same announcement is also made by Santiago and Holt, respectively, soon after him.

(39a) This year's **Halloween** Heist is a three-way tiebreaker.
(39b) Tämän vuoden **halloween**ryöstö on katkaisupeli.
(E5)

There is no direct relevance to *Halloween* in Finland, so that is why it is translated using foreignization. The closest resemblance would be *pyhäinpäivä/pyhämiestenpäivä* in Finland.

5.9 References to books, movies, TV programmes, music and games

**Table 9.** Translation of references to books, movies, TV programmes, music and games

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 62 |
| Calque (for.) | 14 |
| Cultural adaption (dom.) | 21 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 1 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 3 |
| Omission (dom.) | 0 |
| **Total** | 101 |

The most used translation strategy by far in this category was direct transfer (62). The second most used was cultural adaptation (21) and third most used was calque (14). The least used were explicitation (3) and superordinate term (1). Omission was not used at all.

Direct transfer was the most used strategy here. In this example (40), Marshal Haas asks Larry (Peralta in witness protection) what is his favorite movie.

> (40a) **Die Hard**.
> (40b) **Die Hard**.
>    (E1)

The name of the movie *Die Hard* (1988) is the same in Finland, but there is also a Finnish byname for it, *Vain kuolleen ruumiini yli*. This is, however, not used at all today and the movie is known just as *Die Hard*. (Lepola 2006).

The next example (41) used cultural adaptation. This scene is about the annual Halloween heist between main characters and this year Santiago and Diaz have teamed up against the others and contrary to her usual self, Diaz has agreed to Santiago's "nerdism" as she has come up with a codenames from the novel *Kristy's Big Day*.

> (41a) And I even did your suggested reading of "**Kristy's Big Day**".
> (41b) Niin kuin ehdotit, luin **Lisan suuren päivän**.
>    (E5)

*Kristy's Big Day* is *Lisan suuri päivä* in Finnish. Children's books are often translated using domestication.

The following example (42) used cultural adaptation as well, this time for a movie. Jeffords means that New York was a violent place in the 80's as he is explaining to Diaz why Hitchcock holds the record for most arrests in the precinct and Jeffords is only two arrests away from the first place.

> (42a) New York City in the 80's was basically **The Purge**.

(42b) New York oli 80-luvulla kuin **Puhdistuksen yö - leffasta**.
    (E15)

*The Purge* (2013) tells a fictional story about one particular day in a year, when nearly all crime is allowed. The movie has an established Finnish name of Puhdistuksen yö (ImDb 2020).

Calque was used in the following example (43). In this scene Santiago has organized a wedding for Diaz and Pimento, but they chose to postpone their marriage to the future. Diaz compliments Santiago for her efforts and Santiago compares her wedding to the wedding in *Sleepless in Seattle.*

(43a) Better than **Sleepless in Seattle**.
(43b) Paremmat kuin **Uneton Seattlessa**.
    (E6)

*Sleepless in Seattle* (1993) is a classic romantic comedy starring Tom Hanks and Meg Ryan. The movie is traditionally translated in Finland (ImDb 2020).

The following example (44) used explicitation. In this scene Peralta and Jeffords are in pursuit of an escaped felon down in the sewers and Peralta cannot help himself not talking about *the Turtles*.

(44a) We're in a sewer. I'm goin'st to talk about **the Turtles**.
(44b) Viemärissä saa puhua **Turtles-hahmoista**.
    (E11)

*The Turtles* is translated with added information, *hahmot [characters]* and this is maybe because the translator did not want viewers to mix them with the American rock band the Turtles (1965–present), because the question was about the Teenage mutant ninja turtles Michelangelo, Donatello, Raphael and Leonardo.

The next example (45) used superordinate term. Pimento says this to his bookie and Holt in his bookie's apartment as to explain why he does not like to use technology while placing bets.


> (45a) Ever since I died of dysentery on the **Oregon Trail**.
> (45b) Kuoltuani punatautiin **70-luvun pelissä**.
>    (E7)

*Oregon Trail* is a computer game, made by the Minnesota Educational Computing Consortium or MECC in 1985. The game is a follow-up to Oregon, which was released in 1971. It was designed to teach student about the pioneer-life in the 19th century on the Oregon Trail. (Garnjobst 2019). The translator quite possibly made an error regarding these two games, Oregon and *Oregon Trail*. Domestication is a valid choice here, since the game is not familiar to today's younger audiences.


5.10 References to celebrities and personalities


**Table 10.** Translation of references to celebrities and personalities

| Translation strategy | Amount |
| --- | --- |
| Direct transfer (for.) | 71 |
| Calque (for.) | 3 |
| Cultural adaption (dom.) | 3 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 0 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 0 |
| Omission (dom.) | 0 |
| **Total** | 77 |


The most used translation strategy was direct transfer (71). The least used were calque (3) and cultural adaptation (3). Superordinate term, explicitation and omission were not used at all.


The first example here (46) used direct transfer. Peralta is pondering to Santiago who is the second-best *Die Hard* villain after Alan Rickman.

(46a) But maybe it's **Timothy Olyphant**.
(46b) Tai ehkä **Timothy Olyphant**.
    (E13)

*Timothy Olyphant* is an American actor.

The following example (47) used calque. In this scene Peralta and Holt are being held in custody and Peralta explains why they are going to be okay and that is because they are NYPD.

(47a) We caught **the Son of Sam**.
(47b) Nappasimme **Samin pojan**.
    (E2)

*Son of Sam* refers to David Berkowitz, a notorious serial killer. Peralta refers 'we' to the NYPD, as they were the ones who eventually caught Berkowitz. *Son of Sam* is also known in Finland as *Samin poika* (Uotinen 2018).

The next example (48) used cultural adaptation. Peralta is explaining how the French are so passionate people and is using *Pepe Le Pew* as an example. Holt is acting as a Frenchman, interested in buying a stolen Shelby Cobra. Peralta acts as his American lawyer.

(48a) **Pepe Le Pew**.
(48b) **Henry Haisuli**.
    (E12)

*Pepe Le Pew* is famous cartoon character, a French skunk (Looney Tunes Wiki 2020). *Henry Haisuli* is *Pepe Le Pew*'s official equivalent, leaving the translator with easy choice.

5.11 References to proper names

**Table 11.** Translation of references to proper names

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 202 |
| Calque (for.) | 6 |
| Cultural adaptation (dom.) | 3 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 0 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 0 |
| Omission (dom.) | 0 |
| **Total** | 211 |

By far the most used strategy here was direct transfer (202). The second most used was calque (6). The least used was cultural adaptation (3). Superordinate term, explicitation and omission were not used at all. This was the biggest category of cultural references in this study.

The next example (49) used direct transfer. Peralta says *Doug Judy*'s name as he emerges dramatically form the shadows.

> (49a) **Doug Judy**. The Pontiac bandit.
> (49b) **Doug Judy**, Pontiac-rosvo.
>    (E12)

The next example (50) used calque. An employee of the bank Peralta and Diaz are accused of robbing is testifying in court.

> (50a) Now, **Miss Crunder**, you were in the bank at the time of the holdup.
> (50b) **Neiti Crunder**, olitte pankissa, kun ryöstö tapahtui.
>    (E22)

The next example (51) used cultural adaption. Diaz is telling that she is seeing fellow competitors for the Halloween heist and is talking about them in code names, which are found in the novel.

(51a) I have eyes on **Kristy, Stacey and Claudia**.
(51b) Näen **Lisan, Susanin ja Valerien**.
    (E5)

These references are from *Kristy's Big Day* too and that is why the names are culturally adapted since they are already translated as such. This section could also have been in categories 9 or 10.

5.12 References to material culture

**Table 12.** Translation of references to material culture

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 5 |
| Calque (for.) | 6 |
| Cultural adaptation (dom.) | 1 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 3 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 0 |
| Omission (dom.) | 0 |
| **Total** | 15 |

The most used strategy was calque (6). The second most used was direct transfer (5) and third most used was superordinate term (3). The least used was cultural adaptation (1). Explicitation and omission were not used at all.

Calque was the most used strategy. In this example (52), Santiago apologizes to Diaz for saying sad things about Pimento and Diaz says she is not thinking about it anymore and the woman seen crying was not her.

(52a) That was someone else with these same **boots**, but now she's gone.
(52b) Se oli joku muu, jolla oli samat **buutsit**.
    (E4)

*Buutsit* is a Finnish colloquial word for Cowboy *boots*. It can also be *bootsit*.

Direct transfer was the second most used strategy. In this example (53) Peralta explains to Diaz and Boyle why Santiago is so stressed out that she sings.

(53a) Creepily singing songs from **the Great American Songbook.**
(53b) Niin, mutta me myös laulamme **Great American Songbookista.**
  (E18)

*Great American Songbook* is the canon of the most important and influential American popular songs and jazz standards from the early 20th century (thesongbook.org 2020). The foreignization was used as it has no resemblance in Finland.

Superordinate term was the third most used strategy. In this example (54) Peralta and Jeffords set out to seek for the escaped prisoners from streets of New York. Jeffords usually talks about himself in third person, just like here. Jeffords wants his *Dramamine*, because Peralta is driving so fast. He wants to catch the perps before Santiago and Boyle does, in order to win a bet so he would not have to move to Santiago's place.

(54a) Terry forgot his **Dramamine**.
(54b) Terry unohti **matkapahoinvointilääkkeensä**.
  (E11)

*Dramamine* is not well-known in Finland and it is better known here as *dimenhydrinaatti*, so that is why if it were translated with foreignization, it would have left Finnish viewers in lack of awareness of its true meaning.

Cultural adaption was the least used strategy. In this example (55) the sheriff holds Peralta at gun point while Peralta is holding Figgis at gun point. The sheriff does not believe that Peralta is police officer and says the following line to him.

(55a) I've been everywhere, and I finally spotted your **minivan** with the New York plates parked around back.
(55b) Löysin **tila-autosi**, jossa on New Yorkin rekisterikilvet parkkeerattuna taakse.
  (E3)

*Minivan* is one of the possible translation choices for *tila-auto*. Other one is multi-purpose vehicle (MPV). Since the words are not directly translated or translated word-by-word the translator used domestication.

5.13 References to social culture

**Table 13.** Translation of references to social culture

| Translation strategy | Amount |
|---|---|
| Direct transfer (for.) | 15 |
| Calque (for.) | 12 |
| Cultural adaptation (dom.) | 2 |
| Superordinate term (dom.) | 1 |
| Explicitation (dom.) | 1 |
| Omission (dom.) | 1 |
| **Total** | 32 |

The most used strategy here was direct transfer (15). The second most used was calque (12). The third most used was cultural adaption (2). The least used were superordinate term (1), omission (1) and explicitation (1). All the strategies were thus used.

Direct transfer was used in the following example (56), where Linetti made a joke about Santiago and Linetti's assistant repeats that to Santiago.

> (56a) Did you just find out **American Girl** doesn't make clothes in adult sizes?
> (56b) Kuulitko ettei **American Girl** tee vaatteita aikuisille?
>        (E2)

*American Girl* is an American line of 18-inch (46 cm) dolls. The dolls portray eight- to twelve-year-old girls of various ethnicities, time periods, faiths and social classes.

The next example (57) used calque. In this scene Peralta and Holt are wondering about what makes Dan Marino High famous. Peralta and tattoo artist are discussing about the class ring that was in a photo, taken of a person who shot Peralta and Holt's accident with go-carts.

(57a) Nope, **pet detectives**.
(57b) Ei. **Lemmikkidekkarit**.
    (E1)

There are no *pet detectives* in Finland. However, there are some in Northern America (Greenwood 2014). This example also refers to Jim Carrey's comedy film *Ace Ventura – Pet Detective* (1994) where he plays the title role of this goofy, but good-hearted pet detective, working amidst of 'real' detectives.

The next example (58) used cultural adaptation. Victor Santiago, Amy's father, says this to his daughter when he arrives to meet Jake for the first time and when Jake brings him to Amy's place from the airport.

(58a) I did "the Times" **crossword**.
(58b) Tein Timesin **krypton**.
(E7)

*Crossword* is normally translated in Finnish as *(sana)ristikko*, or *ristisanatehtävä, not krypto*. The translator made a domesticating choice and did this maybe to show both Santiago's intelligence, as they are not doing just ordinary *ristikko*.

The next example (59) used explicitation. Peralta explains to Holt why NYPD gets the job always done.

(59a) We keep **the Tony's** safe.
(59b) Turvaamme **Tony-gaalan**.
    (E2)

The word *gaala [gala]* is added so that the Finnish viewers could understand to what *Tony's* is referring to and that is Tony Award, presented to theatre plays and agents on Broadway since 1947 (tonyawards.com 2020).

The next example (60) used omission. The three women dressed as characters from some popular culture item are shown in the background. Peralta and Jeffords are interviewing

writer D.C Parlov about a letter he received, but Parlov is hesitant to talk as he is otherwise engaged at the moment in his hotel room with three women.

(60a) Enjoy having sex with **three gorgeous women in cosplay**.
(60b) Hyvää seksiä **kolmen upean naisen kanssa**.
    (E8)
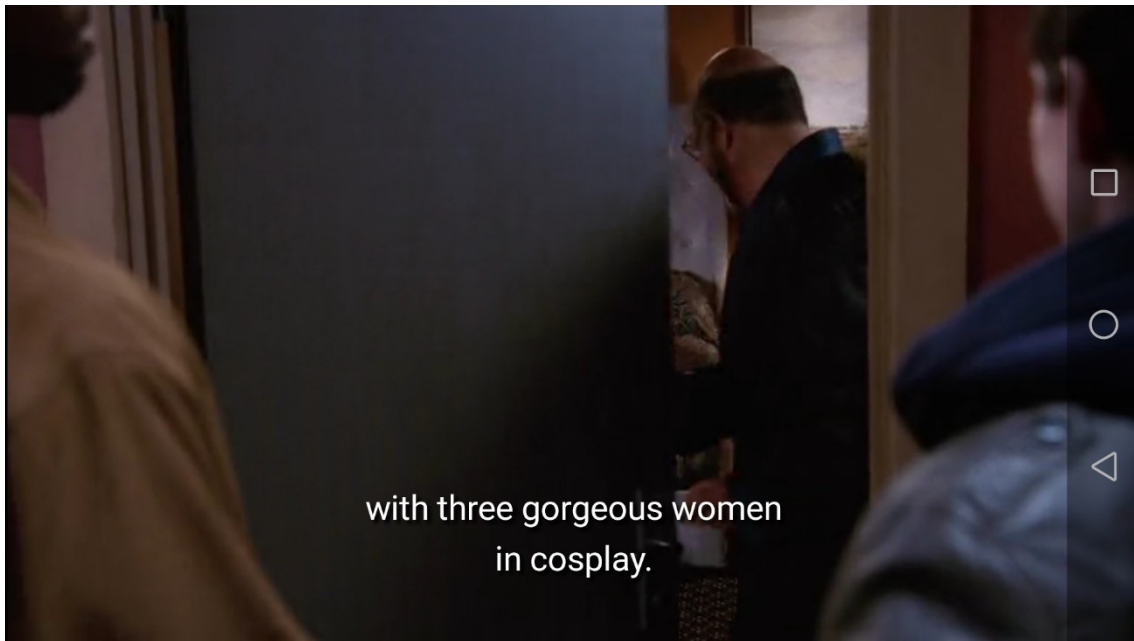


**Picture 15.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine episode 8 on Netflix with English subtitles

**Picture 16.** Brooklyn Nine-Nine on Netflix with Finnish subtitles

*Cosplay* is short for costume play. It means dressing as someone else, often as some fictional character from game, movie, comic book or TV-series (Pennanen 2016). The choice to omit the cultural reference is weird, as it renders the context away completely.

The following example (61) used superordinate term. Peralta tells Diaz he should talk about relationships and love, because he is so good with them.

> (61a) Should I do a **TED Talk** on it?
> (61b) Pitäisikö minun **esitelmöidä** asiasta?
>     (E18)

*TED Talks* are influential videos from expert speakers on various fields, such as education, business, science, technology and creative areas. They are not so familiar with the Finnish audience and that why the safe choice was to go with domestication.

5.14 Discussion

In this section, the results of this study are briefly discussed and analyzed. The purpose of this study was to find out which local and thus global translation strategies were used the most for the cultural references in the subtitles of *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*. In each subsection of the analysis, the number of references and the used translation strategies were calculated and illustrated in respective tables. The following table (14) demonstrates how many references in each category were domesticated and how many were foreignized. Foreignizing local translation strategies are direct transfer and calque. Domesticating local translation strategies are omission, superordinate term, explicitation and cultural adaptation.

**Table 14.** Domesticated and foreignized cultural references

| Category | Domesticated references (amount and %) | Foreignized references (amount and %) |
|---|---|---|
| References to institutions | 9 (14%) | 53 (86%) |
| References to education | 0 (0%) | 12 (100%) |
| References to place names | 10 (12%) | 70 (88%) |
| References to units of measurement | 5 (71%) | 2 (29%) |
| References to monetary systems | 2 (11%) | 17 (89%) |
| References to national sports and pastimes | 4 (27%) | 11 (73%) |
| References to food and drink | 7 (19%) | 30 (81%) |
| References to holidays and festivities | 4 (80%) | 1 (20%) |
| References to books, movies, TV programmes, music and games | 25 (25%) | 76 (75%) |
| References to celebrities and personalities | 3 (4%) | 74 (96%) |
| References to proper names | 3 (1%) | 208 (99%) |
| References to material culture | 4 (27%) | 11 (73%) |
| References to social culture | 5 (16%) | 27 (84%) |
| Total | 81 (12%) | 592 (88%) |

Most of the cultural references were translated using foreignization, with total of 592 references, which is 88% of the total. Only 81 references, 12% of the whole, were translated using domestication. The difference was overwhelmingly significant, even though the hypothesis was that foreignization is the most used strategy. The dominance of foreignization could suggest that the Finns are familiar with cultural references from the US culture.

The closest resemblance between domestication and foreignization was with references to books, movies, TV programmes, music and games with 75% foreignized and 25% domesticated. Still, the difference is whopping. The biggest differences were with education with 100% foreignized references and proper names with 99% foreignized. The only categories when domestication was the prevailing choice was with references to units of measurement and references to holidays and festivities. The first is probably because Finland uses the metric system and USA uses the imperial system with measurements. The latter is mainly because the majority of the holidays and festivities in the show are only bound to the US culture, such as thanksgiving and spring break, they are domesticated so that the Finnish viewers would have some adhesive surface to them.

The next chapter is the conclusions, where the results and findings are demonstrated, and further study ideas presented.

6 CONCLUSIONS

This study focused on the cultural references in the 22 episodes of season four of *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*, both in the original dialogue and in its translation in the Finnish subtitles. The aim of this thesis was to find out which local translation strategies, and thus which one of the two global translation strategies, domestication or foreignization, was used the most when translating the cultural references, and how the cultural references were explained to the Finnish-speaking audience and to those who live in the Finnish culture. My research question for this paper was: What local and thus global translation strategies are used in *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* season four Finnish subtitles for cultural references?

The cultural references were divided into 13 different categories: 1) institutions, 2) educational, 3) place names, 4) units of measurement, 5) monetary systems, 6) national sports and pastimes, 7) food and drink, 8) holidays and festivities, 9) books, films, TV programmes and games and 10) celebrities and personalities, 11) proper names, 12) material culture and 13) social culture.

The translations of the cultural references were analyzed according to the following categorization of local translation strategies: 1) direct transfer, 2) calque, 3) cultural adaptation, 4) superordinate term, 5) explicitation and 6) omission.

In the material of this study, the fourth season and its 22 episodes of *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* were altogether 673 cultural references. The hypothesis of this study was proven right, as foreignization was the prevailing global translation strategy with 591 cultural references, total of 88% of all cultural references. Most cultural references belonged to the categories of proper names (211), books, movies, TV programmes, music and games (101), place names (80) and celebrities and personalities (77). Based on this it could be said that the *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* mainly revolves around a lot of characters, places and popular culture. The cultural knowledge of the Finns and globalization through Internet and Anglo-American culture seems to render domestication to a minority and maybe soon there is no need for it at all.

Limitations to this study were the recognizable of the cultural references. I went through the episodes twice, but still some cultural references might have been left out, due to lack of understanding some as cultural references and the possible of some overlapping, especially with proper names, as there were so many.

Further studies could deal with realia in *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*, because it is a bigger concept than cultural references. Another idea for study is wordplays in the show, because I noticed there were several of them throughout the season. Third idea for further study is studying choices different translators make in one season if there are several translators working on different episodes.

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