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Is a Foul Word Said Like It Is?

Translation of Swearwords in *OZ*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| ABSTRACT | 5 |
| 1 INTRODUCTION | 7 |
| 1.1 Material | 10 |
| 1.2 Method | 17 |
| 2 SWEARING AND SWEARWORDS | 20 |
| 2.1 Defining Swearwords | 20 |
| 2.2 Classification of Swearwords | 22 |
| 2.3 Motivations for Swearing | 26 |
| 3 SUBTITLING AND TRANSLATION STRATEGIES | 29 |
| 3.1 Types of Subtitles | 30 |
| 3.2 Subtitling Constraints | 32 |
| 3.3 Translation Strategies and Interlingual Subtitling | 34 |
| 3.4 Fan Translation | 39 |
| 3.5 Quality of Subtitles | 43 |
| 4 TRANSLATION OF SWEARWORDS IN OZ | 46 |
| 4.1 Main Findings | 47 |
| 4.2 Paraphrase and Sub-categories | 54 |
| 4.2.1. Paraphrase: Equivalence | 54 |
| 4.2.2 Paraphrase: Harder | 60 |
| 4.2.3 Paraphrase: Softer | 64 |
| 4.2.4 Paraphrase: Neutralized | 68 |
| 4.3 Deletion | 73 |
| 4.4 Transfer | 78 |
| 4.5 Resignation | 83 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| 5 CONCLUSIONS | 87 |
| WORKS CITED | 90 |
| APPENDICES | |
| Appendix 1. Scene list | 95 |
| Appendix 2. Character list | 97 |
| Appendix 3. List of Swearwords | 100 |
| Appendix 4. Translation Critique on Finnish Discussion Forums | 101 |
| FIGURES | |
| Figure 1. Global and Local Strategies Illustrated | 19 |
| Figure 2. Variations of Swearing and Word Magic (Hughes 2006: xvi) | 23 |
| Figure 3. Topography of Bad Language (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 8) | 24 |
| Figure 4. Psychological Motives for Cursing (Jay 1999: 88) | 27 |
| Figure 5. Centripetal Effect in Translation (Henrik Gottlieb 2012: 52) | 35 |
| Figure 6. Distribution of Words into Different Swearword Categories | 48 |
| Figure 7. Translation Strategies by the Different Translators Compared | 53 |
| PICTURES | |
| Picture 1. Place of Subtitles on the Screen (<i>OZ: The Routine</i> 1997: Scene 5.) | 33 |
| Picture 2. HBO SUB Paraphrase: Stronger (<i>OZ: The Routine</i> 1997 Scene 4.) | 62 |
| Picture 3. Angry Inmates (<i>OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise</i> 1997 Scene 3.) | 86 |
| TABLES | |
| Table 1. Swearwords in the Material | 47 |
| Table 2. DIVX SUB: Translation strategies | 49 |
| Table 3. DVD SUB: Translation strategies | 50 |
| Table 4. HBO SUB: Translation strategies | 51 |
| Table 5. Swearwords Translated Using Paraphrase: Equivalence | 54 |
| Table 6. Swearwords Translated Using Paraphrase: Harder | 60 |
| Table 7. Swearwords Translated Using Paraphrase: Softer | 64 |

| | | |
|-----------|---|----|
| Table 8. | Swearwords Translated Using Paraphrase: Neutralized | 69 |
| Table 9. | Swearwords Translated Using Deletion | 73 |
| Table 10. | Swearwords Translated Using Transfer | 79 |
| Table 11. | Swearwords Translated Using Resignation | 84 |

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ABSTRACT

Kirosanat ovat aihe, joka herättää monenlaisia tunteita ihmisissä. Erityisesti televisiossa ja mediassa esiintyvä karkea kieli saa ihmiset reagoimaan, usein negatiivisesti. Suomalaiset televisionkatsojat sekä näkevät että kuulevat kirosanat, sillä suurin osa täällä esitettävistä ohjelmista on tuotettu ulkomailla ja käännetty suomeksi ruututekstien avulla. Ohjelmien tekstittämisellä on Suomessa pitkät perinteet ja tekstittäminen onkin eniten käytetty audiovisuaalisen kääntämisen muoto.

Internetin ja erilaisten P2P eli peer-to-peer -ohjelmien nousun myötä myös fanitekstitykset ovat tulleet suuren yleisön tietoisuuteen. Fanitekstitykset ovat tavallisten ihmisten, usein televisiosarjan tai elokuvan fanien, tekemiä ruututekstejä, joita voi ladata Internetistä. Fanitekstitykset poikkeavat kaupallista tekstityksistä muotonsa ja sisältönsä puolesta. Nämä tekstitykset rikkovat tarkoituksella ruututekstikonventioita ja saattavat sisältää sanoja ja termejä, jotka eivät ole tuttuja sarjasta tai elokuvasta tietämättömille.

Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa verrattiin kahta kaupallista, DVD:n ja HBO:n suoratoistopalvelun, ja yhtä fanien tekemää tekstitystä toisiinsa. Tavoitteena oli selvittää, kuinka kaupallisten kääntäjien ja fanikäntäjien kirosanakäännökset eroavat. Tutkimuksessa käytettiin apuna Henrik Gottliebin kehittämää käännösstrategioita, joista toinen pyrkii säilyttämään lähdetekstin puhkieliset elementit kuten kirosanat, kun taas toisessa näitä elementtejä pyritään häivyttämään. Materiaalina käytettiin kahta jaksoa sarjasta *Kylmä rinki* (alkuperäiseltä nimeltään *OZ*). Sarja valittiin tutkimuksen materiaaliksi, koska dialogissa esiintyy erittäin paljon kirosanoiksi luokiteltavia sanoja.

Alkuperäisen oletuksen mukaisesti fanikäntäjät olivat säilyttäneet enemmän kirosanoja käännöksessä kuin kumpikaan kaupallisista kääntäjistä. Kaupallisten kääntäjien käyttämistä strategioista kirosanojen poistaminen oli yleisin, kun taas fanikäntäjät käyttivät eniten strategiaa, jossa kirosanat käännettiin mahdollisimman suoraan käyttäen sopivaa suomenkielistä vastinetta. Sen sijaan alkuperäisen oletuksen vastaisesti fanikäntäjien ja kaupallisten kääntäjien kesken ei näyttänyt olevan juuri eroja kirosanojen neutralisoinnissa ja pehmentämisessä.

KEYWORDS: audiovisual translation, subtitling, fan translation, swearwords

1 INTRODUCTION

Swearwords have a special role in our culture. Even though using bad language is considered to be offensive and indecent, nevertheless, people often use these words in their communication. Interestingly, the restrictions and prohibitions connected to swearwords only seem to increase their popularity. (Hjort 2007: 70) This duality in attitudes can also be noticed when thinking about swearing in the media. In the beginning of the 2000's the ladies of *Sex and the City* shocked the audience with their blunt sex talk. Nowadays it seems that dialogue full of *fucks* and *cocks* does not upset anyone unless it happens during a live broadcast. In those cases, dropping an accidental f-bomb¹ has proven to be a serious reason for dismissal.

For Finnish television viewers' swearwords are a common sight. Often these swearwords can be both heard and seen since many programs shown in Finnish television are foreign produced and usually translated by using subtitles. Subtitling is arguably the most frequently used audiovisual translation method in Finland whereas dubbing is used mostly with audiovisual content aimed at children (Vertanen 2007: 149). In subtitling the original source language dialogue is retained while the translation is presented as captions positioned in the top or bottom of the screen (Gottlieb 1998: 244). Because the original audio track can be heard, viewers can compare the translation to the original if they understand even some parts of the source language dialogue. This of course has proven to be a popular hobby for language skilled viewers as there are many blog (e.g. see Paakkinen 2016) and internet posts dedicated to spotting translation errors, or in Finnish, *käännöskukkasia* [translation flowers]².

Translations of swearwords often receive criticism since it is common that translators do not include all swearwords in their translations. Translators might also translate swearwords using a word or an expression that according to viewers is not equally as strong as the original (see appendix 4). For example, the word *fuck* is often translated as

¹ “The word ‘fuck’ (or one of its derivatives), with reference to its taboo status and hence its potential to shock, esp. when used in a formal context.” Oxford English Dictionary (2017a)

² Henceforth back-translations by the author of the present study are presented in square brackets.

paska [shit] when closer Finnish equivalent for the word would be *vittu* [cunt] (Moore & Tuominen 2010: 213). There are multiple reasons why translators choose to omit some of the swearwords. The most important of them is the lack of space. Different broadcasting companies all have their own subtitling conventions but usually the allowed amount of characters per line is between 30 or 40 characters (Gottlieb 1998: 244). While it seems that the trend is to fit more and more characters in one line, audiovisual translators still need to omit things that are not necessary for understanding the plot (Diaz Cintas & Remael 2007: 84).

Another possible reason for deleting or softening swearwords are the guidelines set by different translation agencies. Some have advised their translators to avoid using certain words that are considered unnecessary severe (Hjort 2006a). According to a study conducted by Minna Hjort (2006a), 69.8% of the audiovisual translators who participated in her study had received instructions from their superiors (63.3%) or colleagues (46,7%) about translating swearwords. Translators were told to soften the swearwords or to omit them completely and most of the respondents told that they had followed these orders. (Hjort 2006a). Often this was not to censor these words but to keep the message of the original text unaltered: it is thought that swearwords have more power in written than in spoken form and leaving them all in the translation could emphasize them excessively (Hjort 2006a).

A group of translators that is not dependent on broadcasting companies or translation offices are fan translators or, in some sources, fansubtitlers. Fan translators are typically fans of a television series or a film franchise who create their own subtitles and send them to Internet for anyone to download (Díaz Cintas & Muñoz Sánchez 2006: 37–38). Fan translation has become popular and there are whole communities dedicated for creating subtitles, the most notable in Finland being Divx Finland. While some of these subtitling communities have guidelines for their translations, the guidelines are not nearly as strict as those given by the translation offices (Divx Finland 2010). In fact, the special quality of fan translations is that they often intentionally break common subtitling conventions (Díaz Cintas et. al. 2006: 46–47). In fan translators' point of view keeping the content as unaltered as possible is more important than the right form.

Scholars have taken different views in studying the complex phenomenon of swearing and swearwords. In Finland, afore-mentioned Minna Hjort has written several articles about translation of swearwords both in literature and in audiovisual environment. Her study (2006b) analyses why some swearwords are translated and some omitted from the target texts. In her work Hjort focuses only on commercial translations and the fan translation element is left untouched. Fan translation has attracted some academic attention as well. For example, Jorge Díaz Cintas and Pablo Muñoz Sánchez have discussed the special features of fan translation (2006). Most of the studies written about fan translation or fansubtitling focus on fan translations of the Japanese anime (see e.g. Ferrer Simó 2005, Hatcher 2005). The few studies that discuss fan translations of western television series often concentrate on the quality of fan translations instead of analyzing the translation strategies used (see e.g. Careen-Kauppi 2008). The purpose of this study is not to define right and wrong ways to translate swearwords but to see if the translation strategies for these words differ some ways in amateur and professional environment.

The underlying assumption in this thesis is that fan translators have preserved most of the swearwords in their translation whereas commercial translators have either omitted some of the swearwords or replaced them with milder counterparts. In the context of this study commercial translators are defined as translators who have published their work as a part of product that is sold to customers. Fan translators are those who offer their translations for free. It is assumed, in the first hand, that fan translators retain obscure elements of the source text because they want to stay close to the source text. Commercial translators, in the other hand, are more likely to delete them because they need to follow subtitling conventions. Thus, the hypothesis of this study is that fan translators tend to choose de-normalizing translation strategy whereas commercial translators favor a more normalizing strategy.

In the following section I will present the material and the method of the study in more detail. Chapter 2 discusses swearwords and foul language. General questions of audiovisual translation as well as the different translation strategies are discussed in Chapter 3. The findings are presented in Chapter 4, and conclusions are then drawn in Chapter 5.

1.1 Material

The material of this study consisted of two full length episodes of *OZ*, the length of one episode being 55 minutes. The original sound-track was used as the source text, and the subtitled Finnish translations as the target texts (referred from now on as ST and TT). Three different translations were compared: DVD subtitles, HBO Nordic subtitles and subtitles provided by fan translation site Divx Finland. Unfortunately, in the DVD and HBO Nordic translators' names were not mentioned and there was no information about the translation office either. The Divx Finland translations were by screen names NgZ, Snacks, jen187, Zeerios-, yonna78, cabbi for the first episode (DIVX SUB 2006) and Adebisi, konamies, bloblo and DeCa for the second episode (DIVX SUB 2007). The real names of the fan translators are unknown since most of them want to keep their identities hidden because of legal matters connected to fan translations. In the study, when presenting examples from the material, these different translations will be referred by the names DVD SUB, HBO SUB and DIVX SUB.

OZ is a television drama series that was created by HBO and it ran for six seasons from 1997 until 2003. In Finland, the series was broadcasted by television channel *Nelonen* from 1998 onwards under the name *Kylmä rinki* [Cold Ring]. The series features elements of coarse language, drug use, violence, frontal nudity, homosexuality, and male rape, as well as ethnic and religious conflicts. Because of its contents, it had rating K-18 and was broadcasted at late night. In the series, *OZ* is the nickname for the Oswald State Correctional Facility, a fictional level 4 maximum-security state prison. The plot revolves around the different inmates who inhabit an experimental cell block Emerald City. (Internet Movie Database 2017)

Every episode of *OZ* has a theme that follows the title of the episode. Episodes used in this study are from the season one and they are titled *The Routine* and *Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise*. These episodes were chosen because there were fan translations available for them. The first episode of the series *The Routine* introduces the main characters and Emerald City to the viewers. The episode follows three new inmates, former lawyer Tobias Beecher, Muslim leader Kareem Said and Irish Ryan O'Reily, as they are

committed to *OZ* and learn the prison routine. The episode also features the Italian tough guy Dino Ortolani whose only purpose after spending many years locked up seems to be breaking up the routine by picking fights with the other inmates. In the next episode, *Visits: Conjugal and Otherwise*, the murder of Dino Ortolani is investigated. Everybody, including the prison officers, are under suspicion since Ortolani was mutually hated by all. The inmates are outraged when they hear that the governor is planning to forbid conjugal visits that enable the inmates to meet their wives. Beecher has an unsuccessful meeting with his wife after which he results in tearing her photos and swearing never to meet her again. Another inmate, Miquel Alvarez, is set up by the prison priest to meet his father and grandfather whom he has never met since they have both spend most of their lives locked up in *OZ*.

OZ was chosen for this study because of the language and the setting of the series. The dialogue is full of swearwords (see 2.1 for a discussion on what swearwords are) and it provided plenty of material. It was also important to choose a series where racial slurs, as well as other swearwords, would be a natural part of the dialogue. While racial slurs are viewed as the ultimate taboo expressions (see Hughes 2006: 10), this kind of language can be expected from inmates (see. 2.3) and therefore omitting all these expressions from the translations would be an odd choice for the translator. Although, the purpose of this study is not to criticize the translation choices of the different translators, it can be stated that omitting most of the swearwords might distort the viewers' idea of the character (Vertanen 2007: 136).

The material of this study was collected by transcribing the original dialogue and all of the three subtitled Finnish translations. After transcribing the material swearwords were identified in it. This was done with a help of swearword categories that were introduced and rated according to their severity in a questionnaire *Delete Expletives?* (Milwood-Hargrave 2000) about viewers' attitudes towards swearing in television. The categories presented were racial abuse, abuse of minorities, directive abuse, adjectival, sexual references, expletives, blasphemy, slang, double entendre, puns and baby talk. Also, one extra category named fuck used as an expletive was created by the author of this thesis. The swearword categories will be now presented with examples from the material.

Abusive words were considered the most severe swearwords. These are words and expressions that can be used to attack other people. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7) Words classified as *racial abuse* were seen as the most unacceptable of all swearwords (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 15). The following example illustrates racially abusive words. In this scene, Neo Nazi leader Vern Schillinger discusses the murder of Dino Ortolani with the detective and blames the black inmates of the deed (swearwords in the examples marked in bold by the author of the thesis) :

(1) Schillinger: **The niggers** did Ortolani.

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 2.)

In the example 1. Schillinger uses the word *nigger* that is a racial slur for black people (Moore et.al. 2010: 348). Using this kind on words is seen as unacceptable because they show the speakers dismissive attitude towards people with different ethnicity. 32 words belonging to the category of racial abuse were found from the source text. Respectively, the translations had 22 (DIVX SUB), 15 (DVD SUB) and 19 (HBO SUB) instances of these.

The second most severe group of abusive words, were the words categorized as abuse of minorities (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7). In the following example a word from this group is presented. In this scene, Dino Ortolani gets furious with a gay man who winks an eye at him:

(2) Ortolani: Fucking **faggot!**

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

Faggot is a slur used for homosexual people (Moore et.al. 2010: 192). Slurs directed at minorities like sexual minorities or disabled people are not generally accepted because they suggest that people belonging to these special groups are somehow inferior to other people. There were 9 instances of these in the source text, while the translations had 9 (DIVX SUB), 9 (DVD SUB) and 7 (HBO SUB).

The last group of abusive words were the words categorized as *directive abuse*. These are generally abusive words used to dismiss other people. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7) In the following example, many abusive words are used as Dino Ortolani tells Vern Schillinger what he thinks of him:

(3) Ortolani: [...] you fucking **redneck scumbag**.

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 5.)

Ortolani calls Schillinger *redneck* which is an abusive word for poor uneducated people living in the countryside (Moore et. al. 2010: 409). *Scumbag* is a word for a generally unpleasant person (Moore et. al. 2010: 430). These words are seen as severe because they are used intentionally to hurt other people. There were 52 words that could be categorized as directive abuse in the source text and the translations had 32 (DIVX SUB), 25 (DVD SUB) and 20 (HBO SUB).

The second most severe swearwords are those that can be grouped under *foul language* or *obscenity*. These are words that are often thoughtlessly said when angered or used as a stylistic effect. Because they lack the intention to hurt someone, they were seen as less severe than the words in the first group. The most severe words in this group were *adjectival swearwords* which are illustrated in the next example. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7–8) In this scene, Augustus Hill talks about family ties and how hard it is to detach oneself from them:

(4) Hill: You gotta be a **fucking** Houdini.

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 5.)

When used as an adjective, *fuck* is added to sentences as a stylistic effect (Moore et. al. 2010: 223). Its purpose here is to underline the speaker's words. Adjectival swearwords are not accepted because they are foul. They also lack any informative purpose and are seen as meaningless additions used only for the sake of being crude. There were 38 adjectival swearwords in the source text, whereas translations had 11(DIVX SUB), 3 (DVD SUB) and 4 (HBO SUB) instances of these.

The next group in this category where words used as *sexual references* (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7–8). In the following example, Jefferson Keane mockingly responds to corrections officer Healy who has tried to offend Keane by asking if he is gay:

(5) Keane: Why don't you suck my **dick** and find out?

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

Here Keane uses the word *dick* that is a colloquial word for penis (Moore et. al. 2010: 162). Because sex is an issue that is by many considered *a taboo*, that is. a thing that cannot be discussed in public because it is considered forbidden, sex related words are often seen as improper to be used in casual conversation (Hughes 2006: 10). The source text had 32 instances of sexual references while the translations had 28 (DIVX SUB), 27 (DVD SUB) and 28 (HBO SUB).

The last word group in the second category were *expletives*. This group was problematic because it included words that ranged from very severe like *fuck* to less severe like *arse* (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7–8). Because of this, it was decided by the author of this thesis that the word *fuck* should be given its own category when used as an expletive. This was rationalized by the fact that *fuck* is also always a sexual reference and therefore more severe than many other expletives. The following example illustrates a situation where *fuck* is used as *expletive*. In this scene, Simon Adebisi sees Jefferson Keane's girlfriend who is standing in prison yard with her breasts exposed:

(6) Adebisi: Holy **fuck**.

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 4.)

Here *fuck* has no informative value. It is barely an indicator of Adebisi being amazed. Words categorized as *fuck* used as an expletive appeared in the source text 35 times, whereas the translations had 14 (DIVX SUB), 5 (DVD SUB) and 5 (HBO SUB) instances of these.

Other expletives besides *fuck* remained in the original category of expletives. The following example illustrates their use. In this scene, Miquel Alvarez gets frustrated to the priest Ray Mukada trying to get Alvarez to meet to take care of his pregnant girlfriend:

(7) Alvarez: So don't be giving me none of this **shit**.

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 5.)

Here the word *shit* is used to refer to nonspecific things (Moore et. al. 2010: 437). It also marks the fact that Alvarez is irritated. Like adjectival swearwords, expletives are also often used as only as stylistic effect or markers of irritation. There were 56 instances of expletives in the source text and 32 (DIVX SUB), 32 (DVD SUB), 23 (HBO SUB) instances found from the translations

The third most severe swearwords included words that could be categorized as *blasphemy* and *slang words*. Blasphemous words were seen less severe than abusive words and obscene expressions probably because taboos connected religion have lost their meaning during recent years. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7–8) In the following example, Nino Schibetta uses blasphemous expression. In this scene, Schibetta is horrified by the cannibalistic crime performed by one of the inmates in *OZ* and compares the deed to his own career as a member of the mafia:

(8) Schibetta: You killed someone, it was business.
You sure as **Christ** didn't eat them.

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

Here the word *Christ* is used as an interjection and it indicates the fact that Schibetta is deeply disturbed by the things he has heard (Moore et. al. 2010: 132). There were only 4 words belonging to the category of blasphemy in the ST and the translations had 1 (DIVX SUB), 2 (DVD SUB) and 0 (HBO SUB) instances of it.

Words considered as *slang*, and particularly black slang, were seen as less severe than the previous groups because it was thought that children could not understand the meaning of these words. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7–8) In the following example, Dino Ortolani uses slang expression. Here he makes threats at his enemy Ryan O'Reily:

(9) Ortolani: I'm gonna **cap** that motherfucker.

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

Cap is a slang expression for intimidating the enemy (Urban Dictionary 2004). It is not a very severe swearword but still, it cannot be considered polite language. There were 4 incidents slang words in the ST and 9 (DIVX SUB), 15 (DVD SUB) and 8 (HBO SUB) in the translations.

The fourth most severe swearwords had no common denominator except the fact that it was thought that children could not understand these words and therefore, they were not as severe as the words in the other groups. *Double entendres* were the first category of words belonging to the fourth group. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7–8) These are words that can be understood in two different ways like illustrated in the next example:

(10) Schillinger: Just trying to give you a little **jizz** here.

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 5.)

In example 10. Schillinger uses the word *jizz* that in this instance means cheering but can also refer to male sperm and ejaculation (Moore et. al. 2010: 297). The ST had 16 double entendres and the translations had 17 (DIVX SUB), 20 (DVD SUB) and 14 (HBO SUB).

According to the original definition, *puns* are modified swearwords that can be used instead of the more severe words. For example, pun *peace off* can replace the more severe *piss off*. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7–8) No words that were wordplays of more severe swearwords were found from the ST and the translations but translations had many words that are in Finnish can used instead of more severe words and they were categorized as puns in this thesis. In the following example, Tim McManus uses pun. In this scene. McManus gets angry at Dino Ortolani and throws him out of his office:

(11) McManus: Saatanan **hulttio!** Painu muualle toimistostani.
[Damn **hoodlum!** Get outta my office]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

Hulttio [hoodlum] in Finnish is a negative word for troublemaker. It is not very severe but also it is not a neutral expression. *Hulttio* was categorized as a pun because it can be used instead of more severe words. There were no words belonging to this category in the source text, but the translations had 3 (DIVX SUB), 3 (DVD SUB) and 4 (HBO SUB) instances.

The last and the least severe swearword category was **baby talk**. These are taboo expressions that have been softened so that they can be used when talking to children. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7–8) The following example illustrates the use of baby talk. In this scene, Dr. Gloria Nathan complains about Dino Ortolani's behavior to Tim McManus:

(12) Dr. Nathan: Not only can't he keep his hands off my **fanny** [...]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

Fanny is in American-English a rather mild word for buttocks (Moore & Tuominen 2010: 193). *Fanny* is not severe word but, again, it cannot be considered neutral either. There was only one instance of baby talk in the source text and that was illustrated in example 12. The translations had no incidents of baby talk.

The ST had altogether 279 incidents of words that could be categorized to the categories introduced above. The translations had 178 (DIVX SUB), 156 (DVD SUB) and 132 (HBO SUB) incidents that is clearly less than in the source text. The following section introduces the method of this study and the translation strategies that were chosen to investigate what had happened to these swearwords during the translation and subtitling process.

1.2 Method

The hypothesis of the study was that fan translators (DIVX SUB) would use de-normalizing translation strategy when translating the swearwords whereas commercial translators (DVD SUB and HBO SUB) would more likely choose normalizing strategy.

This was based on the fact that for fan translators retaining the translation as close as possible to the original dialogue is very important since their audience consists mostly of other fans (Díaz Cintas et. al. 2006: 46). Commercial translators are bound by the subtitling conventions and therefore more likely to omit ‘unnecessary’ parts of the dialogue. Also, their audience is broader than that of fan translators and there might be need to omit some of the swearwords to please the more sensitive viewers.

In order to analyze, what was done to the swearwords in these three different translations, the translation strategies were first divided into two broad main categories, that is, *global strategies* on the basis of how swearwords were transferred from the ST to the TT. These two categories were *de-normalizing* and *normalizing*. The method originates from Henrik Gottlieb (2012: 51) who differentiates the two strategies according their loyalty to the ST. The basic difference is that de-normalizing strategy tends to retain the colloquial elements and structures of the ST and source language whereas normalizing strategy aims to fade them (Gottlieb 2012: 51). In other words, in de-normalizing strategy colloquial elements like swearwords are preserved and in normalizing strategy they tend to be omitted.

These two global strategies were then divided into *local strategies*. Whereas global strategies are strategies that have to do with the whole translation, local strategies effect only single sentences or words. These local strategies were also originally from Henrik Gottlieb (1992: 166) and they are named *transfer, paraphrase, resignation and deletion*. Transfer refers to the strategy of translating the source text completely and accurately. Paraphrase is used when some changes to the original must be made due to the differences between source and target languages. Deletion is a strategy where some parts of the text are completely omitted. Resignation describes the strategy adopted when no translation solution can be found and meaning is inevitably lost. (Gottlieb 1992: 161–170). Paraphrase strategy was then divided into four sub-categories developed by the author of this study: *harder, equivalence, softer and neutral*. This was done to see whether those swearwords that had been translated with paraphrase had changed swearword category, that is, if words that were directive abuse in the original were still directive abuse.

The local strategies were divided under the formerly mentioned global strategies in the following way: transfer and paraphrase: equivalence were seen as purely de-normalizing strategies whereas resignation and deletion are normalizing strategies. If the translation was paraphrase harder, softer or neutral, it was classified as more normalizing. The following figure illustrates the division of global and local strategies:

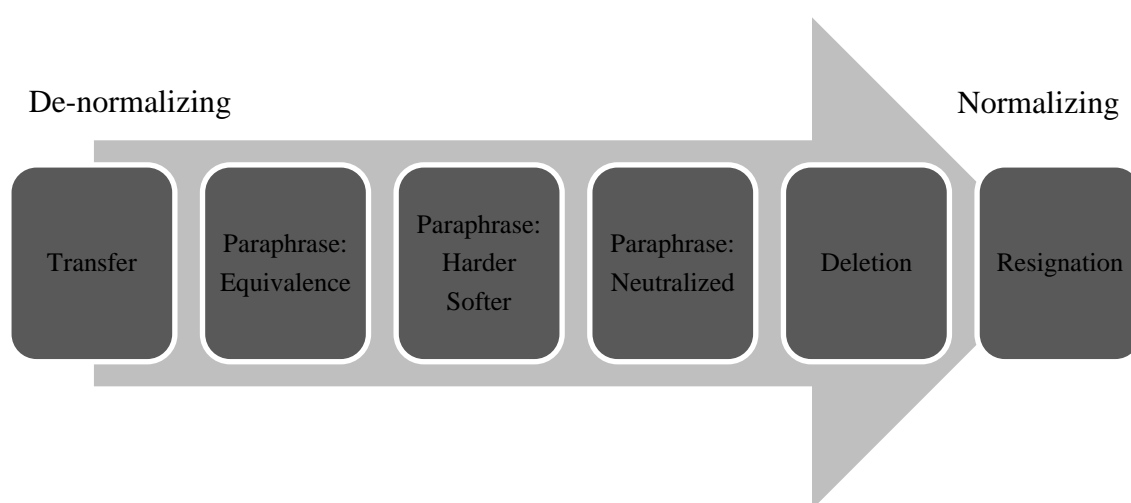


Figure 1. Global and Local Strategies Illustrated

In brief, the analysis was carried out on the instances of different types of swearwords by rating the translation strategies used in the translations as transfer, paraphrase, deletion and resignation. Those translations that were rated as paraphrase were also sub-categorized as harder, equivalence, softer or neutral to see if the swearwords were still present or if they had been softened or neutralized by using a weaker swearword or a non-swearword. Finally, all categorized translations were grouped and counted to see, which translators had used more strategies leaning towards de-normalizing strategy, and which had favored strategies classified as normalizing.

2 SWEARING AND SWEARWORDS

Swearing is a common phenomenon. Average speaker uses approximately 15.000–16.000 words per day and approximately 80–90 (0.5–0.7%) words of those are swearwords (Jay 2009: 11). The amount might seem small but when it is compared to other common non-swearwords, like personal pronouns that cover 1.0% of daily speech, we can safely say that swearwords are not low-frequency words (Jay 2009: 11). There are, of course, individual differences between different speakers but on average swearwords are common.

2.1 Defining Swearwords

Because we are discussing such a common phenomenon it could seem that defining swearwords is easy. The truth is that while most of us are able to list some words that are usually seen as swearwords, giving an exact definition for the term swearword is difficult. Most languages have “an archetype of swearword” (Hjort 2007: 63) but the definitions for the term differ greatly between them. For example, the English swearword and the Finnish *kirosana* [curse word] are not homonyms even though they are often used as such (more of this topic later in this thesis). The definitions given by dictionaries are vague³ and studies discussing swearwords often offer an indirect definition that can only be read between the lines. This, according to Minna Hjort (2007: 63), might be because defining swearwords is seen irrelevant or because scholars have made a conscious decision leave the definitions out of their work to avoid the problems connected it. However, in order to complete this study some kind of definitions have to be made.

Andersson and Trudgill (1990: 53) have described the act of swearing with three criteria. These criteria are used in this thesis to define swearwords. Swearing is an act of speech that:

³ The Oxford English Dictionary defines swearword as “a word used in profane swearing, a profane word” (Oxford English Dictionary 2017b)

1. refers to a cultural taboo
2. should not be interpreted literally
3. can be used to express strong feelings or attitudes

Taboos are issues that are unmentionable because uttering them might make something bad happen. The exact consequences of talking about taboo topics are often unclear. (Jay 2009: 4) In western countries taboos are connected, for example, to sex, religion, bodily functions, ethnical groups, food, dirt and death (ibid: 4). Even though taboo words often become swear words, not all taboos turn into one. The perceived severity of a taboo inside culture effects swearwords: nowadays taboos connected to sexuality and bodily secretions seem to be more powerful than religious taboos (Hjort 2007: 69). This can be illustrated by thinking about the words *Jesus* and *dick*. Using the word *Jesus* as a swearword is rather mild to the modern ears whereas saying *dick* in a wrong place will definitely upset some people. These differences between different classes of swearwords will be explained more accurately in section 2.2.

The second criteria states that swearwords should not be interpreted literally. This means that even though swear words have concrete meanings, people do not use these meanings when the word is used for expressing emotions. For example, the word *shit* means feces, but it can be also used to express disappointment or irritation. This is illustrated in the following example from *OZ*:

- (13) O'Reilly: Oh, man, you don't know. This ban against smoking.
Can you believe that **shit**?

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 7.)

In this example inmate Ryan O'Reilly is stating his opinion about the smoking ban in the prison. He does not mean that the smoking ban is actual feces but he expresses his frustration to the situation. When a word is used to channel irritation, it no longer has connection to its' concrete meaning.

Finally, as the third criteria suggests swearwords can be used to express strong feelings or attitudes but this does not mean that expressing aggression is their only purpose.

Swearwords can function as a source of humor or they can be used a stylistic effect (Hjort 2007: 68). The following example illustrates the latter use:

(14) Adebisi: Oh, **shit**. Jefferson, you the **shit**.

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 4)

In this example, Simon Adebisi expresses that he is surprised and impressed by his fellow inmate Jefferson Keane. Swearwords are used here to indicate that Adebisi's feelings are genuine. Also, when Adebisi calls Jefferson *the shit* it is not negative but it means that Adebisi appreciates Keane. The first and the second example also illustrate that the same swearword can have either a negative or a positive meaning depending of the context: in the first example *shit* was a negative word when in the second it is a praise.

2.2 Classification of Swearwords

In the previous chapter a definition for the term swearword was given. This definition did not, however, explain why some swearwords are more powerful than others. There are many words that can be used as swearwords but not all them have the same effect. As stated before taboos function as the source of many swearwords (Andersson et.al. 1990: 53). Because a swearword originates from a taboo it only possesses the same strength the taboo has. Hence, the more powerful the taboo, the stronger the swearword is.

Taboos have power as they refer to human experiences, words or deeds that are unmentionable because they are either sacred (like the name of God) or vile (like incest). It is the belief that words can change the world or 'word magic' that makes taboos unmentionable. This belief is the strongest in primitive stages of the society but traces of this belief can be seen even in our western culture too. (Hughes 2006: xv) The relationship of swearwords and taboos can be illustrated with the following graphic scale:

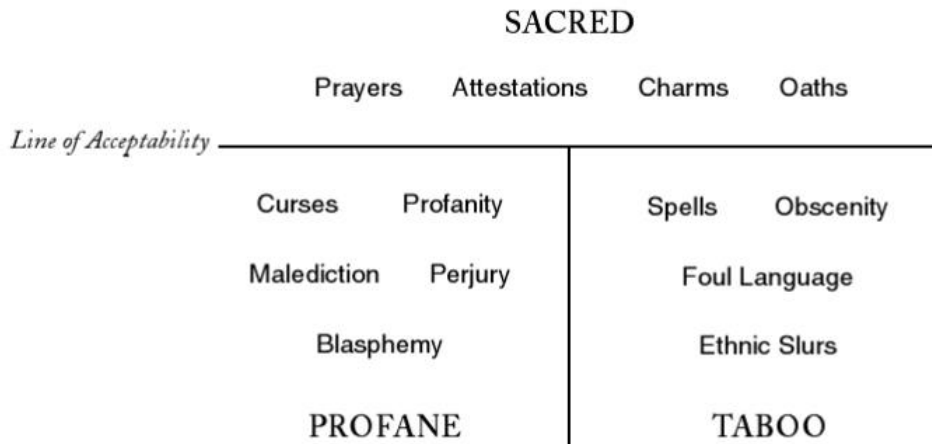


Figure 2. Variations of Swearing and Word Magic (Hughes 2006: xvi)

Here swearwords have been categorized under two classes: profane and taboo. Profane words are those that use sacred names or figures in unsanctioned way whereas taboo words are those that refer to vile things like copulation. On the top, there is the category of sacred words that are not considered swearwords. (Hughes 2006: xv–xvii). The “Line of Acceptability” indicates the separation of non-swearwords and swearwords: all words under the line are considered swearing. The closer the bottom the word is, the more severe of a swear it is. Profane words are curses, profanity, malediction, perjury and blasphemy listed here from the least offensive to the most severe. What makes a swearword severe is the intention it is used in. Profanities and curses are thoughtless expressions of one’s irritation whereas malediction, perjury and blasphemy are used with a serious intent of hurting someone. The same division can also be seen with taboo words where ethnic slurs are seen as the most severe, followed by foul language, spells and obscenity. (Hughes 2006: xv–xvii) This division of words that is illustrated in Figure 1. helps to understand why some words are seen as more severe than others.

It seems that there are two main factors that determine the severity of a swearword: the strength of a taboo it is connected to and the motivation to use the swearword. Words spoken with the intent of hurting another person are thought to be more severe than exclamations used to channel irritation. Results from a swearword survey *Delete Expletives?* (Milwood-Hargrave 2000) support this claim. The survey’s goal was to “test

people’s attitudes to swearing and offensive language” (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 1). Over one-thousand British adults were sent a questionnaire about different swearwords where they had to rate these words (see Appendix 3.) on the scale of “very severe”, “fairly severe”, “quite mild” and “not swearing” (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 1). The following figure was then drawn based on the answers:

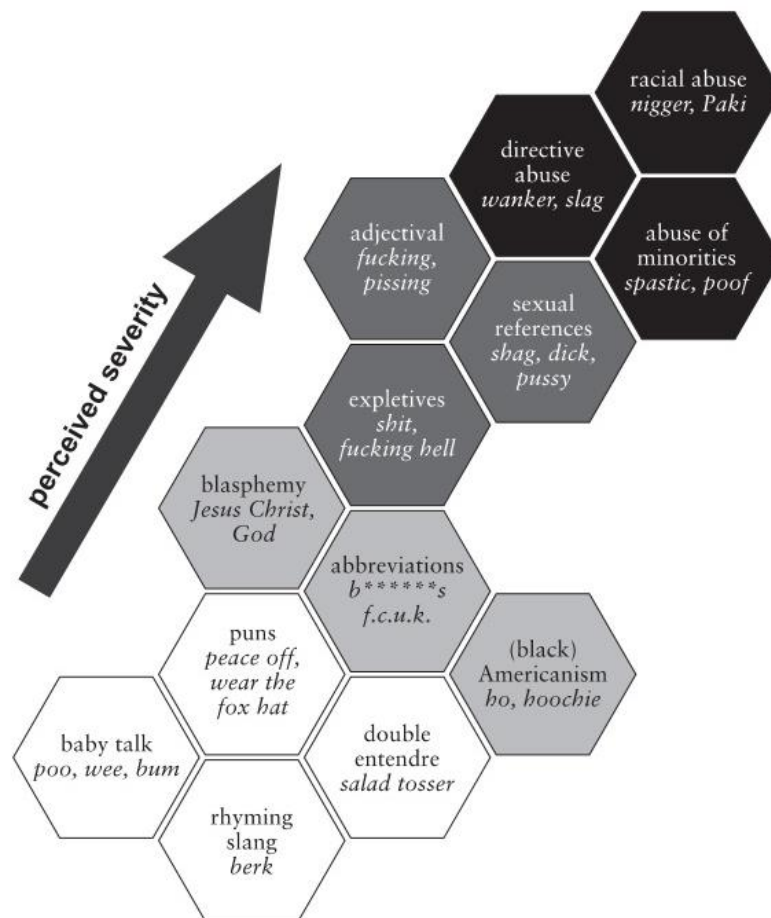


Figure 3. Topography of Bad Language (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 8)

According to the answers, the most severe swearwords are those that belong to the category of abusive words. This category can then be divided into three sub-categories: racial abuse, abuse of minorities and directive abuse. Words classified as racial abuse were the most severe. These are offensive names for different ethnic groups, for example,

nigger which is racial slur for black people. The second came words that abuse minorities like homosexuals (*poof, faggot*) or people with disabilities (*spastic*). The third were words that were generally abusive like *wanker* or *son of a bitch*. The respondents stated that the social conventions have changed in recent years and this has meant that many words referring to minority groups have become less acceptable (Milwood-Hargarve 2000: 14). When compared to the results of the same questionnaire on swearwords performed in 1998, it showed that people have become more sensitive towards other people, especially towards minority groups, and therefore abusive words were judged to be the most severe (Milwood-Hargarve 2000: 14).

The second most severe swearwords were those that could be grouped under foul language or obscenity. These were adjectival swearwords like *fucking* or *pissing*, sexual references like *dick* and *pussy* and expletives e.g. *shit* or *hell*. Words in this group are connected to the taboos that have to do with bodily functions or sex. What makes these less severe than the abusive terms is that these are not intended as insults but are used often thoughtlessly. This group of words was problematic because there was a very broad range of words from fairly mild words like *arse* to very severe words like *fuck*. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7)

The third group consisted of words that were categorized as blasphemy (*Jesus Christ*), abbreviations (*b*****t*) and slang/black Americanism (*hoochie*). What was common to these words was that respondents saw them less severe than the two previous groups because they thought children could not understand them. The desire to protect children from the foul language was often mentioned as one reason for limiting the number of swearwords. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7) As stated earlier in the thesis religious taboos seem to have lost their power compared to the secular ones. This is also illustrated by the fact that older respondents were more likely to rate blasphemous words as “very severe” than younger ones (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 17).

The final group of words was composed of words that were seen as rather mild. These were words like puns (*peace off*), double entendre (*salad tosser*), rhyming slang (*berk*) and baby talk (*poo*). Baby talk was viewed as almost normal speech in terms of

offensiveness. Other groups were seen as mild because, again, it was thought that children could not understand these words. (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 7)

The swearwords in the afore mentioned study were presented without context so the respondents analyzed only words (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 8). There are also other factors that affect the ultimate offensiveness of a word. These are such as speaker–listener relationship, social–physical setting and the tone voice that is used (Jay 2009: 7). For example, word *bitch* and *whore* are abusive words for women but close female friends may use them as terms of endearment. Similarly, offensive words for different minority groups are often re-claimed by these groups to be used in a positive way e.g. lesbians calling each other *dykes*. (Silverton 2009: 164)

An interesting difference between the English swearword and its Finnish counterpart, *kirosana* [curse word], is that abusive words are not seen as swearwords in Finnish. Abusive words like *neekeri* [nigger] or *paskapäätä* [shit head] are not accepted but linguistically they are not classified as swearwords (Hjort 2007: 73). In Hjort's (2006a) swearword survey, where the respondents were Finnish translators, sexual references and expletives like *kyrpä* [dick], *pillu* [pussy] and *vittu* [cunt] were voted as the most severe, whereas puns like *himputti* [darn] and *kehveli* [blimey] were seen as the least severe. It seems that the Finnish definition for swearword is narrower than the English one as it leaves out both abusive words but also words categorized as rhyming slang and baby talk. In this thesis, the English more broader definition is used to categorize swearwords.

2.3 Motivations for Swearing

Swearing is something that is learned in the childhood. Even though a person would avoid using taboo expressions in their speech, we all have some kind of knowledge of these words that persists until old age. (Jay 1999: 83) It depends of various social and personal factors how often a person swears, what kind of words he or she uses when swearing and in which situations swearing occurs.

There are statistical differences between different groups of people when considering swearing. For example, there are differences between the sexes and different age groups. Men swear more than women and they also choose more severe words than women (Jay 1999: 92–93). Similarly, teenagers swear more and use more severe words than old people. Teenagers are more likely to use expletives such as *fuck* whereas older people choose blasphemous words like *God* (Jay 1999: 96–97). Social status also affects swearing: according to studies those with lower social status swear more frequently than those with higher status (Jay 2009: 11). However, strict conclusions should not be drawn based at social class as swearing has been documented in various social groups ranging from police to prisoners and from college students to drug users (Jay 2009: 11).

Psychological motives can either encourage or dis-encourage swearing. These motives are illustrated in the following figure:

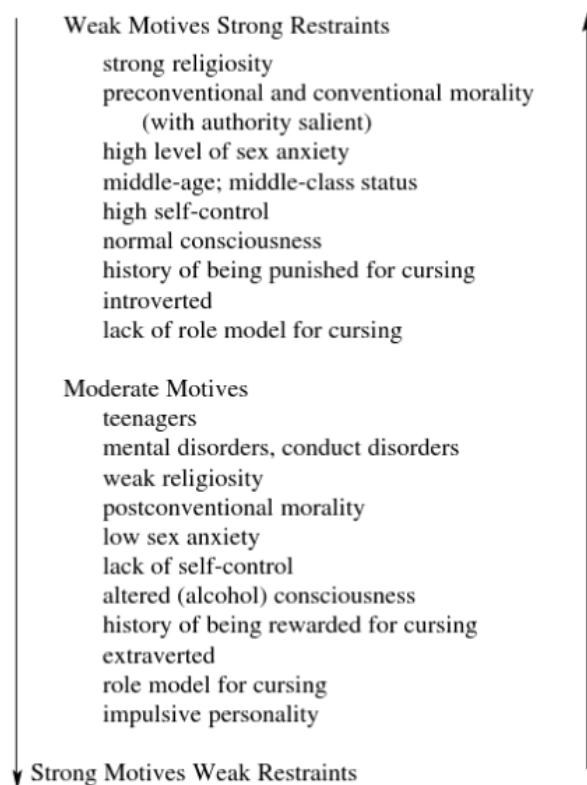


Figure 4. Psychological Motives for Cursing (Jay 1999: 88)

As illustrated by the figure 4. those who have more of the psychological motives written on the top of the list are more less likely to use swearwords than those who have the ones listed in the bottom (Jay 1999: 88). For example, very religious people with high level of sex anxiety are more less likely to swear than those who are not very religious and have low sex anxiety. These motives also predict the person's overall attitude towards the swearing of others and the tolerance towards swearwords in the media (Jay 1999: 88). This seems to match with the results of the swearword study presented in 2.2. where women, elder people and religious people were most likely to report that they were offended by the swearwords in television (Milwood-Hargrave 2000: 37–40). The personality type that is the most likely to swear is, according to studies, hostile, antisocial, emotional or impulsive, has more masculine than feminine traits and unconventional values (Jay 1999: 113–144). This does not mean that only hostile people use swearwords but that these are personality traits that encourage swearing.

Swearwords can be used in many ways. They can be used to channel irritation and to insult other people like pointed in 2.2 but there are also positive social outcomes that can be achieved when using them. These include “jokes and humor, social commentary, sex talk, storytelling, in-group slang, and self-deprecation or ironic sarcasm” (Jay 2009: 9). Using swearwords can function as a signal of trust and intimacy as foul language can be used in social situations when the speaker knows that others approve this kind of language. For example, it is common for lovers or friends to teasingly insult each-others. (Jay 1999: 120) Taboo language and slang is also often used when talking about sex with close friends or companions as anatomical terms like *vagina* or *penis* are seen too clinical and sterile for casual conversation (Jay 2009: 7). Swearwords are used in this context because we seem to lack neutral terms for these things.

It is unlikely that swearwords disappear from human communication. This is because they are very effective: “Taboo words persist because they can intensify emotional communication to a degree that nontaboo words cannot (Jay 2009: 9). Thus, even though some may wish that swearing becomes extinct, it is more probable that it continues to thrive and change form like the case has been before.

3 SUBTITLING AND TRANSLATION STRATEGIES

Subtitling is one of the most dominant modes of audio-visual translation. In subtitling, the original film or television dialogue is presented as captions placed usually at the bottom of the screen (Gottlieb 1998: 244). In dubbing, which is the competitor of subtitling, the original dialogue is erased and replaced with a new dialogue (Gottlieb 1998: 244). The main difference between these two modes is that subtitling is visual whereas dubbing is oral. The world can be divided into subtitling countries and dubbing countries according to their preferred mode of translation. Often the choice between methods is based more on economic considerations than cultural characteristics as dubbing is the more expensive option of these two. Usually small countries with smaller number of viewers favor subtitling whereas larger countries with potentially large audiences choose dubbing. (Linde & Kay 1999: 1) Finland is definitely a subtitling country since over 80 per cent of foreign programs are translated by using subtitles (Vertanen 2007: 131).

Subtitling differs notably from the other modes of translation because it is *diasemiotic* (Gottlieb 1998: 245). By diasemiotic it is meant that there are several channels of communication that have to be considered. The four channels of subtitling (Gottlieb 1998: 245) are:

1. the verbal auditory channel
2. the non-verbal auditory channel
3. the verbal visual channel
4. the non-verbal visual channel

The verbal auditory channel includes dialogue, background voices and sometimes song lyrics whereas the non-verbal auditory channel includes music, natural sounds and sound effects (Gottlieb 1998: 245). The verbal visual channel includes for example written signs on the screen whereas the non-verbal visual channel has to do with picture composition and flow (ibid: 245). Because of these four channels it can be stated that audio-visual translator does not only translate the words or dialogue but also the whole artwork that

combines verbal, visual and auditive information (Oittinen 2007: 46). None of these features should be forgotten when creating subtitles. Compared to *monosemiotic* translation, for example, translating an unillustrated book, where the translator can control the entire medium of expression, diasemiatic translation is more complex. In monosemiatic translation the ST is replaced by the TT and the illusion authenticity is complete: the person reading might not even notice they are reading a translation. (Gottlieb 1998: 245) With diasemiatic translation, or in this case with subtitles, creating this illusion is almost impossible. In fact, the viewer is particularly aware that they are reading a translation because of the added captions (Hartama 2007: 188).

3.1 Types of Subtitles

Subtitles can be divided into different groups based on language, audience and media. Language-wise there are two types of subtitling: *intralingual* and *interlingual* (Gottlieb 2012: 43). In intralingual subtitling, subtitles from spoken dialogue are created in the same language as the original version. Types of intralingual subtitles include subtitles for audiences such as advanced language learners and the deaf and hard-of-hearing. (ibid: 43) Subtitles for language learners work as an aid of understanding whereas subtitles for those of hard-of-hearing usually contain plot carrying sound effects in addition to dialogue (ibid: 43). These would include e.g. doorbell ringing or the sound of explosion in an action movie. Contrary to that in interlingual subtitling the language is also changed so that foreign speech is presented in domestic writing (ibid 2012: 43). The intended audience for these are primarily people who are not able to understand the source language.

From the point of view of media subtitles can be divided into six groups (Gottlieb 2012: 43–44):

1. Open subtitles for cinema screenings
2. Open TV subtitles broadcast as part of an analogue transmission signal
3. Closed TV subtitles transmitted via Teletext

4. Closed TV subtitles broadcasted digitally
5. Optional DVD subtitles selected via the screen menu
6. Subtitles used in online media accessed via streaming or downloading

By *open subtitles* and *closed subtitles*, it is indicated whether the subtitles are optional. Open subtitles are not optional since they are either a physical part of the film or broadcasted as a part of television picture. Closed subtitles in the other hand are optional as they can be chosen from the television menu with a remote control. (Gottlieb 1998: 247) DVD subtitles are often optional as they can be chosen from the DVD menu. The last group, which also includes fan translations and professional subtitles ripped from the media (Gottlieb 2012: 44), are streamed or downloaded from the internet by the users. All these mediums except variants 1. and 2. offer options for the different audiences. In the future, more subtitling options could be available. Some have suggested that for example the font size or color of the subtitles could be changed if viewers so please (Vertanen 2007: 312). For the time being viewers must settle for one version of subtitles that is designed for broad group of viewers.

Regardless of technical advancement there is one new problem connected to interlingual subtitles translated from English to minor languages. As stated earlier, their intended audience is usually those viewers who do not master the source language. However, there is a rapidly growing community of English speakers that understand most of the anglophone dialogue. For them subtitles are both an aid to understanding the dialogue but also endless target of criticism since they are able to compare the original and the translation to each other. (Gottlieb 2012: 47) This has led to translators, using English, as the source language, sometimes preferring unnatural-sounding constructions in the fear of being accused not giving the viewers accurate translations (ibid 47). Though translation professionals might find emulating the words and the syntax of the source text undesirable, it seems that the difference between translating from unknown language and better known language (usually English) in relation to the reactions of audience is acknowledged. The thing all parties seem to agree on is that the translation should be as faithful to original as the time and other constraints allow. (ibid 47)

3.2 Subtitling Constraints

The factors of time and space are the two major constraints for subtitles. The factor of time has an impact twice in subtitling. The first time is with the type of subtitling (Gottlieb 2012: 40):

1. subtitles created directly from the dialogue
2. subtitles based on existing pre-cued subtitles
3. semi-live subtitling
4. live subtitling

The first type of subtitles can be both intralingual and interlingual and they are found mostly in public service TV and cinema. It is the most substantial form of subtitling as with this type the translator has full control of the aesthetic and perspective aspects of subtitles. (Gottlieb 2012: 40) The second type, also known as pivot subtitling, is usually only interlingual and found in commercial TV and on DVD. The third and the fourth type are only interlingual and cued during transmission. (ibid 2012: 40)

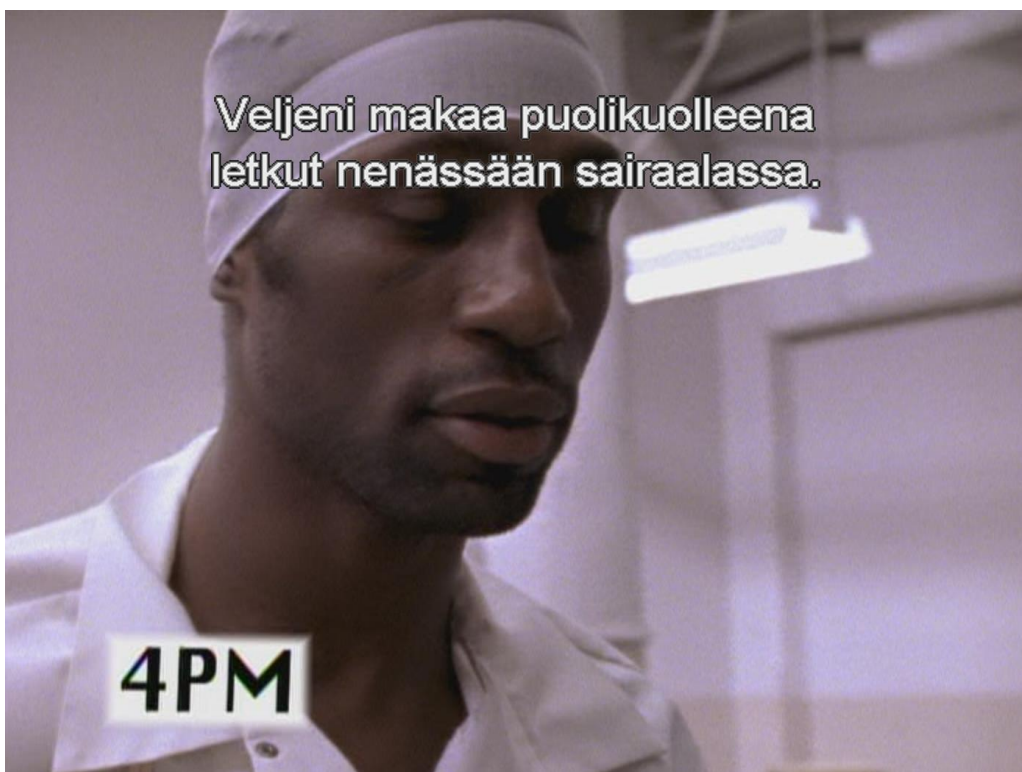
The second time is when the time slots and durations for subtitles are determined (Gottlieb 2012: 40):

1. The in and out cues for subtitles
2. How long the individual subtitle stays on screen

In and out cues mean the times when each subtitle appears and disappears. They are determined by the shot changes and the rhythm of the original dialogue. (Gottlieb 2012: 40). When subtitles are in-sync with the dialogue it provides a more pleasurable viewing experience. The duration of subtitles is determined by the human reading speech. On average, it takes two or three seconds to read one 35–40 -character line and four or five seconds to read two 35–40 -character lines (Vertanen 2007: 133–134). There are of course individual differences in reading speed but because subtitles are created for a broad

audience, including children and the elderly, these times have become the industry standard.

The factor of space affects the length and the position of the subtitles. As subtitles are presented together with a picture, it is crucial that they do not take too much space on the screen. Therefore, presenting the dialogue with one or two lines with the maximum of 30–40 characters is commonly used in the subtitling (Vertanen 2007: 133–134). The maximum amount of characters depends of the used font size and the medium. Usually subtitles broadcasted in TV are shorter whereas film translators have more characters in their use. (Hartama 2007: 192) As their name suggests, subtitles are often presented at the bottom of the screen. They can be centered or left aligned. Sometimes the place on the screen is changed because the subtitles would otherwise cover text written on the screen. The following picture illustrates a case like this:



Picture 1. Place of Subtitles on the Screen (*OZ: The Routine* 1997: Scene 5.)

The text *4 PM* is situated where the subtitles would regularly be. Therefore, the subtitles are temporarily moved to the top of the screen. In the next shot the subtitles have been returned to their own place at the bottom of the screen. Picture 1. also explains why the bottom part of the screen is usually chosen for the subtitles: if situated on the top of the screen subtitles would cover the faces of the characters.

Subtitling constraints have a major impact on the content and word choices of subtitles. Because the time and space are limited, subtitles are a condensed version of the original dialogue. This means that something has to be omitted. With interlingual subtitles some changes to the word order are also necessary. These will be explored in the next chapter.

3.3 Translation Strategies and Interlingual Subtitling

Changing the medium from spoken to written and the need to condense the text often results in audiovisual translators choosing global translation strategy that is *normalizing* (Gottlieb 2012: 51). Global translation strategies are those that cover the whole text whereas local strategies are used for solving individual translation problems (Kemppainen 2012: 50). In other words, the global strategy is formed from several local strategies. Normalizing is a translation strategy where the translator replaces the non-standard verbal elements with standard ones resulting in reduced text volume. These non-standard verbal elements include, for example, colloquialisms, slang, cursing and repetitions. (Gottlieb 2012: 51) Normalizing strategy may result in moving the translation too far away from the ST. The following figure illustrates the shift that occurs in the process:

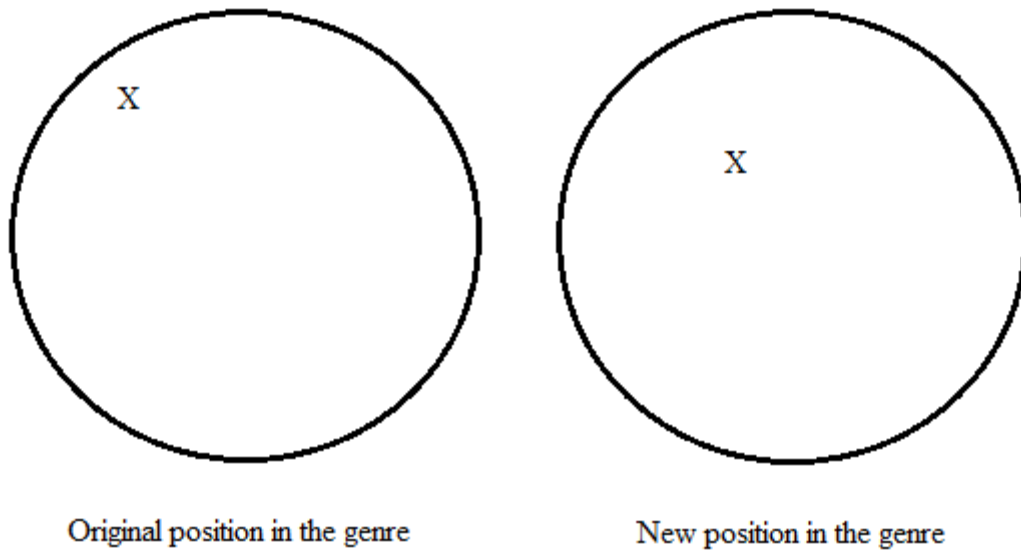


Figure 5. Centripetal Effect in Translation (Henrik Gottlieb 2012: 52)

As the result of centripetal effect translated or subtitled products “are often less personal, less insulting or less funny than what the actors [...] said and meant” (Gottlieb 2012: 52). However, using normalizing strategy does not automatically result in translation from which all the obscure points of the original have been erased. This is more of a question of into which degree the strategy is used. In the other side, there is *de-normalizing strategy* where, if taken to the extreme, the dialogue would be presented ‘raw’, that is, as literal translation of the dialogue, which would be cumbersome to the audience (Gottlieb 2012: 52). It should be remembered that translation rarely is strictly according to one strategy but rather there are two sides of a continuum, in this case normalizing and de-normalizing, and usually translation falls somewhere between these two.

As what comes to local strategies used in subtitling Henrik Gottlieb (1992: 166) names ten translation strategies that can be often identified from interlingual subtitles:

1. Expansion: information is added to explain e.g. a cultural nuance
2. Paraphrase: phraseology reconstructed because of differences between SL and TL
3. Transfer: the source text is translated completely and accurately
4. Imitation: same forms are maintained e.g. names people and places

5. Transcription: unusual term for source language e.g. use of third language
6. Dislocation: translating the effect more important than the content e.g. silly song
7. Condensation: shortening the text in the least obtrusive way possible
8. Decimation: extreme condensation where even important elements are omitted
9. Deletion: total elimination of parts of a text
10. Resignation: no translation solution can be found

Four of these ten strategies will now be described in more detail since they were the only strategies used in this thesis to analyze translation of swearwords. These strategies are *transfer*, *paraphrase*, *deletion* and *resignation*.

Transfer is a strategy where the full original expression has been retained (Gottlieb 1992: 166). This might include also those elements of the SL that might seem strange in TL. In the following example the translator has translated the following line using transfer:

(15) Hill: They call this **the penal system**,
 but it's really **the penis system**.

DIVX SUB: Tätä kutsutaan **rangaistusjärjestelmäksi**.
 Mutta oikeasti se on **penisjärjestelmä**.
 [This is called **the penal system**.
 But really it's **the penis system**]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997: Scene 2.)

Apart from minor changes to the word order, most of the content has been unchanged. The translator has chosen to translate *the penal system* word for word as *rangaistusjärjestelmä* which sounds less idiomatic than *rangaistuskaitos* [penal facility] that is more commonly used in Finnish. The wordplay with the words *penal* and *penis* is still inevitably lost because in Finnish there is no word that would have the same meaning as *penal* and would sound similar to *penis*.

In *paraphrase* strategy changes to the phraseology must be made because of the differences between source language (or SL) and target language (or TL) (Gottlieb 1992: 166). This is because different languages have different syntax and in some cases translating a directly as possible would result in sentences that are unacceptable in TL. In

the following example the translator has used paraphrase when translating the line (direct translation by the author of this thesis):

(16) Adebisi: I never thought **a nigger** could **get hard** in a wheelchair.

DVD SUB: En olisi uskonut, että pyörätuolilaisellakin **voi seistä**.
[I'd never have believed that
someone in wheelchair could get it up]

DIRECT: En olisi ikinä uskonut, että
neekereri voisi **tulla kovaksi** pyörätuolissa.

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 4)

Here the translator has made the changes because the double entendre *get hard* sounds unnatural when translated directly into Finnish. Also, the word *nigger* has been deleted because when translated directly into Finnish it fails to convey that Adebisi using the word in a sense *someone* and not as a racial slur. Adebisi himself is black and he is talking to Augustus Hill who is also black. As stated in section 2.2, minority groups sometimes use slurs in their own in-group communication as positive words.

Because one of the aims of this thesis was to find out whether the translators had used milder swearwords or neutralized them it was necessary to develop sub-strategies for the paraphrase strategy. These sub-categories were created by the author of this thesis and they were called *paraphrase: equivalence*, *paraphrase: harder*, *paraphrase: softer* and *paraphrase: neutralized*. Translations were grouped under these categories according to the change in the swearword category (categories explained in 2.2):

1. Paraphrase: equiv.: racial slur (ST) > racial slur (TT)
2. Paraphrase: harder: expletive (ST) > directive abuse (TT)
3. Paraphrase: softer: expletive (ST) > pun (TT)
4. Paraphrase: neutr.: directive abuse (ST) > non-swearword (TT)

Translation was grouped under *paraphrase: equivalence* if the translation could be categorized into the same swearword category as the ST word, that is, no change in the category of the word had happened. Translation was categorized either as *paraphrase:*

harder or paraphrase: softer if there had been a change in the swearword category. In the former case the translated word was more severe than the original whereas in the latter case the translation was less severe. The last sub-category that was paraphrase: neutralized, described a situation where the swearword had been translated with a normal, non-swearword, word. In other words, the translator had neutralized the taboo expression.

Deletion is a strategy where some elements of the text are completely omitted. It represents drastic cuts to the in the original expression. (Gottlieb 1992: 166) Words or even sentences can be deleted. In the following example the translator has deleted the whole first sentence and almost half of the second one:

(17) D'Angelo: **I'm shitting you?** Why am I gonna shit you **about that scum?**

HBO SUB: Miksi muka kusettaisain? [Why would I shit you?]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

The first sentence has been probably deleted because the question is repeated in the second sentence. Also, it is already clear for the viewers whom the characters are talking about and therefore there is no need for the ending of the second sentence. Gottlieb (1992: 167) argues that deletion is acceptable strategy when the missing information is supplemented by the other channels in the audiovisual work.

Finally, *resignation* is a translation strategy that is chosen when no translation can be given. This might because of some elements of the SL that cannot be translated to TL or if the translator does not know what is spoken on the dialogue because of unclear speech. (Gottlieb 1992: 166) In the next example the translator has used resignation with the following line:

(18) Adebisi: * whispering* **Fuck off**

HBO SUB: RESIGNATION

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 4)

Here the line *Fuck off* has been translated with resignation because it is whispered in the original dialogue and it cannot be heard very well. Also, the information value to the viewers is rather low. It can be debated whether resignation actually is a translation technique at all or if it is manifestation of the translator's inability to translate. Nevertheless, leaving something untranslated involves a conscious decision from the translator and that would indicate that resignation indeed is a translation strategy.

According to Gottlieb (1992: 167) of his strategies 1–7, which include also paraphrase and transfer, provide correspondent translations whereas strategies 8–10, including deletion and resignation, may cause semantic or stylistic content to suffer. Based on this, these strategies were labeled as de-normalizing or normalizing: transfer and paraphrase are de-normalizing strategies whereas deletion and resignation are normalizing strategies. Sub-categories of paraphrase were divided in the following way: paraphrase: equivalence was the closest to de-normalizing strategy whereas paraphrase: neutralized was the furthest from it. Paraphrase: harder and paraphrase: softer were between these two.

3.4 Fan Translation

Until now, the discussion has mostly been about commercial and the industry standards connected them. Fan subtitles or fan translations were only briefly mentioned in section 3.1. when discussing the different mediums for subtitles. Fan translations are, as their name suggests, translations made by fans to the other fans of a series or a film franchise (Díaz Cintas et. al. 2006: 37). Apart from the fandom aspect, what separates them from commercial translations is also the fact that they are distributed free of charge in the internet for anyone to download. This makes fan translations also illegal. Though the legality and ethics of fan translation is not discussed in depth in this thesis⁴ it must be stated that the fan translations are technically illegal as many distributors see it as one form of piracy. (Díaz Cintas et. al. 2006: 44–45)

⁴ More of this topic in, for example, Jordan s. Hatcher's (2005) *Of Otakus and Fansubs: A Critical Look at Anime Online in Light of Current Issues in Copyright Law*.

Fan translation as a phenomenon was born in the 1980's when fans of the Japanese animation films started to produce their own translations because there were no commercial translations available. In those days Japanese animation, or anime, was not popular outside Japan and fans themselves had to distribute the movies or episodes if they wanted to see them. (Díaz Cintas et.al. 2006 37–38). In the mid 1990's the Internet and cheap computer software became available for wider audience, which also affected the fan translations, it took less effort to digitally distribute the material and produce the subtitles. (ibid 2006 37–38). Because using this new software was simple and it was easily accessible, practically anyone could make their own translation. Nowadays fan translations are not only connected to anime but to western programs and films as well.

The fan translation process consists of nine stages. In the first one the raw of the episode is captured and then sent to the encoder. Raw is a commonly used term in fan translation and it refers to: “the original, untranslated video capture of the anime” (Díaz Cintas et. al. 2006: 38). The encoder evaluates the quality of the raw and, if it fills the quality standards, it will be converted into a different format and sent to the timer (ibid.: 38). In the second stage the translator will be given a copy of the episode and he or she will translate it to the TL. In the third stage the timer matches subtitles with the audio so that they follow the rhythm of the dialogue. In the fourth stage the typesetter chooses what fonts will be used. For example, different color or cursive might be used in order to make clear what parts of the text are dialogue, what parts are the character's inner thoughts and what is coming from the background etc. (ibid 40–41). This makes it easier for the viewer to follow the subtitles.

The fifth stage is about translating the opening and ending songs and adding the karaoke effect that enables the viewers to see the lyrics of the songs and maybe sing along. This stage is relevant only when translating anime because in western programs openings and endings are not usually, if ever, captioned. In the sixth stage the editors revise the translation and make changes if necessary. It is recommended that they watch it with the original episode in order to see that the subtitles follow the content of the original and do not clash with the images (Díaz Cintas et.al. 2006: 42). In the seventh stage the encoders

combine subtitles and the raw and send it to the translator or editor for the final quality check, which is also the eighth stage. In the ninth and final stage the translated episode is distributed to the fans by using 2P2 (peer to peer) programs like Bittorrent or DC++. (ibid 43).

The process described above is true in many cases but there might be also exceptions to it. For example, in Finland fan translators rarely add the ready-made subtitles to the image. Instead, subtitles are uploaded in srt-format for anyone who desires to use them. The main reason for this could be that the target group for Finnish subtitles is notably smaller than that of English subtitles, which are used even by non-native speakers of English. There are other reasons as well. Not all Finnish fans want to use subtitles, and some master the original language well enough to understand the dialogue without the help of subtitles. Sometimes the video footage is not available, which is often the case with series that are currently on air, and the fan translators have to do the translations without it. Translating without the image is not the ideal situation, because it can lead to serious misinterpretations.

In commercial subtitling, it is important that the translator stays as invisible as possible. The best translation is a translation the viewers do not notice (Vertanen 2007: 132–133). Fan translations, however, might be very visible. Ferrer Simó (2005: 30–42) lists features of fan made subtitles that separate them from commercial subtitling. These include:

1. Experimenting with different fonts and colors
2. Lengthy subtitles that can be more than two lines
3. Using notes at the top of the screen
4. Varying the position of the subtitles on the screen
5. Adding information about the translators

The numbers 3. and 5. are true with the translators of DivX Finland as they have a habit of leaving a humorous note in the end of every translation they do. This of course is not a part of the original dialogue but an addition of the fan translators. Subtitles by DivX Finland also contain the screennames of the translators involved in the translation process.

This seems to differ from commercial subtitles where the names of the translators are sometimes hard to find uncover.

Some fan translation sites have rules considering the form of the subtitles but they are rarely as strict as the rules governing commercial translators. In DivX Finland, which is probably the largest and most well-known fan subtitling communities in Finland, the maximum amount of characters is between 40–50 per on line and maximum amount of lines is two (Divx Finland 2010). This means that fan translators have 5–15 more characters available per line than commercial translators. The community's rules also state that language used in subtitles should follow the Finnish grammar and that colloquialisms should usually be avoided (ibid.). There are also fan translation communities that do not have any particular standards for translations. Basically, anyone can send their subtitle there for others to use and the quality of those subtitles may vary. The following example illustrates the differences between different fan translations:

- (19) Ortolani: How come you're not volunteering over at the women's prison?
How come you're in here shaking your tits at 1400 guys?
Dr. Nathan: I'm trying to meet men. I'm bored with the bar scene.

DIVX SUB: Mikset ole vapaaehtoisena naistenvankilassa?
Miksi heiluttelet täällä rintojasi 1400 miehelle?
Yritän tavata miehiä, ja olen kyllästynyt kiertämään baareja.
[Why you're not volunteering at the women's prison?
Why you're in here shaking your breasts at 1400 guys?
I'm trying to meet men and I'm bored with going around bars.]

FAN SUB: Olistko [sic] vapaaehtoinen ja tulisit tuonne
heiluttamaan tissejäsi 400kundin [sic] eteen?
Ën [sic], olen myös uskollinen.
[Wold [sic] you volunteer and come there
to shake your tits in front of 400guys [sic]?
Nò [sic], I'm also faithfull.]

(OZ: *The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

As illustrated by the example the latter fan translation (Podnapisi 2010) is full of spelling errors and the content of the lines is rather different than in the ST. There were parts in this fan translation that would have been usable as subtitles but there were also many lines that had not been translated at all or the translation was incorrect. Using this translation

as subtitles would be probably a frustrating experience for the viewers since much of the information was missing. With fan translations, the problem is that the quality of the translation is never guaranteed. There are sites like DivX Finland that have their own quality control systems but usually the quality of the subtitles and translations depends of the effort and the dedication of the fan translators.

3.5 Quality of Subtitles

The quality of audiovisual translation, and especially the quality of subtitles, is an issue that is debated from time to time. Defining good quality is a difficult task especially since there are many parties with their own opinions and views of what is sufficient: there are translators who make the translations, translation offices who sell them, and then there are the broadcasting companies that transmit these translations for their own customers, the viewers. (Abdallah 2007: 273)

The traditional way of defining translation quality is product centered. This means that translations are divided into good and bad translations and similarly translators are either talented or non-talented. This view highlights the translator's skills and obligations without considering the translator's rights or working conditions. (Abdallah 2007: 275) The problem with the traditional way is that the translation industry has changed and the process now involves intermediates between the translator and the customer, mainly the translation offices. Because of this, it is argued that the obligations and rights of all the members of the translation network should be examined when the quality of translation is assessed. (ibid.: 275) After all, it is rather unjust to place all quality demands on only one part of the translation network.

Audiovisual-translation industry has gone through changes that have led to multinational translation offices gaining more power in the industry. In Finland, audiovisual-translators experienced these changes when one of the biggest Finnish commercial broadcasting companies, MTV3, decided to dismiss its in-house translators and purchase the subtitling services from Broadcast Text International (henceforth BTI) in 2012. The translators were

offered a chance to transfer to BTI as freelancers but for many this would have meant a significant decrease to their income as BTI was offering to pay only fraction of their former salary. (Aromaa 2012) As a result, many experienced translators decided to leave the audiovisual-translation industry altogether. In 2015, the situation seemed to take a turn for the better when collective agreement for the industry was accepted. However, in 2016 it was reported that the Finnish public broadcasting company YLE was negotiating with translation offices that had not signed the agreement. (Av-kääntäjät 2016). For now, YLE remains the last Finnish media house with its own in-house translators.

Working as a freelancer for a translation office instead of as an in-house translator for a media-house has other downsides for translators besides the lower salary. The time given to produce the translation is usually much shorter. This is because translation offices are firstly concerned about the price and the delivery time of the finished product, the translation, and the quality of the translation is only secondary. Similarly, broadcasting companies are willing to give up the quality of translation if it means that they will get the product with lower expenses. (Laine 2007: 269) The ones getting the short end of the stick are not only the translators but also viewers who are the main users of these translations. In this situation, the translators are faced with a dilemma: should they try to reach the quality standards that are taught to them during their training or resolve in producing translations that are only acceptable, hence possibly reduced quality (Abdallah 2007: 277–278). For the most part, it depends of the translators themselves what they decide to do in this kind of situation.

Another problem presented by the intermediating role of the translation offices is that the translators rarely have any direct contact with the party commissioning the translation. This means that the possibility of getting adequate amount of source material is hard as the translators are no able to ask any questions from the end client. Also, in the fear of piracy, production companies are hesitant to provide the translators with the script or the film footage. In the worst case the translator has to do his/her work only with the soundtrack. (Abdallah 2007: 284) This of course can lead to translation errors as the translator lacks the visual information given by the film footage. For the viewers, who are

probably oblivious of the working conditions of the translators, these mistakes appear as presentations of the in-competence of the translators.

As mentioned in 3.2, pivot subtitling, where the subtitles are done according to pre-cued and translated subtitles, is a common practice in commercial subtitling. Pivot subtitling is favored because it is considerably cheaper and faster than the type of subtitling (again see 3.2), where the translator creates subtitles directly from the dialogue. The problem with pivot subtitling is that if the language used as the base for pivot subtitles, or the first version of subtitles, differs greatly from the language of the second version of subtitles, it is very difficult to fit the second subtitles in the place of the first subtitles. This is the case with Swedish, that is in Nordic countries often used as the language for pivot subtitles, and Finnish that is the language of the second subtitles. (Jääskeläinen 2007: 118–119) Moreover, if there are translation errors in the pivot subtitles, these are usually transmitted to the second subtitles as well (Gottlieb 1998: 248). Hence, not only does the translator translate the dialogue into Finnish using the limited source material, he/she also has to fit these translations into pre-cued spots that have been made according to a language that does not resemble Finnish.

Considering the working conditions of many audiovisual translators it is no wonder that translation errors happen. When there is very limited amount of time and source material available, the translators cannot carefully ponder each and every word they use. The problem with the old product centered quality definition is that those, sometimes only small, errors seem to be the only thing that matters as the viewers see only the finished product, the subtitles. Kristiina Abdallah (2007: 284) has suggested that instead of using the old definition, a new definition of quality should be developed. This definition would take into account how the translation was done and what production steps have been followed and what not while producing the translation. It would also reveal the production process of subtitles to the viewers. (Abdallah 2007: 284) In the future it could be possible for the viewers to choose between ‘ethically produced’ and ‘mass produced’ subtitles but now they have to settle for the latter version.

4 TRANSLATION OF SWEARWORDS IN OZ

The assumption of this study was that fan translators' strategy of translating swearwords for subtitles of the television series *OZ* would differ from the strategy used by commercial translators. In this thesis, commercial translators are defined as translators who distribute their translations commercially, the education or experience of these translators is not commented. The hypothesis was that the fan translators would use de-normalizing translation strategy and retain most of the swearwords whereas commercial translators would choose normalizing strategy where the swearwords are omitted or neutralized.

In order to prove the assumption correct, thirteen different categories of swearwords were identified from the original dialogue and the translated subtitles. Twelve of these swearword categories were taken from swearword study where different types of swearwords were rated according to their severity (Milwood-Hargrave 2000). The categories presented by the study were racial abuse, abuse of minorities, directive abuse, adjectival, sexual references, expletives, blasphemy, slang, double entendre, puns and baby talk, and they are listed here from the most severe (racial abuse) to the mildest (baby talk). One additional swearword category was added by the author of this thesis; fuck used as an expletive. This was because the category of expletives contained words that were rated from very severe *fuck* to milder words like *piss* and it was decided that in order to properly analyze the shift in the severity of swearwords, the word *fuck* had to be given its own category when used as an expletive.

The analysis was carried out on the identified instances of swearwords by rating the global translation strategies used in the subtitled versions. These global translation strategies are originally from Henrik Gottlieb (2012: 52) and they are named de-normalizing and normalizing strategy. After this the translations were further analyzed by rating the local translation strategies also coined by Gottlieb (1992:166). These were transfer, paraphrase, resignation and deletion. Paraphrase strategy was then divided into smaller sub-categories developed by the author of this thesis. These sub-categories were named equivalence, harder, softer or neutral. Local translation strategies were divided either under de-normalizing global strategy or normalizing global strategy. Transfer and paraphrase:

equivalence were seen as de-normalizing strategies while paraphrase: harder, softer or neutral, deletion and resignation were normalizing strategies. This division was decided by the author of the thesis and it was based on the fact that while transfer and paraphrase: equivalence are strategies where the translator has chosen to retain obscure elements of the ST, namely swearwords, the other strategies make changes to the text where these elements are altered or omitted completely.

4.1 Main Findings

Swearwords are an important part of the dialogue in *OZ*. From 10 180 words, that is, the combined amount of words in the both episodes used as the material, 2.7% were swearwords. Statistically that is almost three times more swearwords than an average person uses daily (see 2.1). Because the series is situated in prison environment it is presumable that the characters use coarse language. It was still expected that some of the swearwords would disappear during the translation process because of the condensing nature of subtitling. The following table presents the total number of swearwords in the source text and the translations:

Table 1. Swearwords in the Material

| Swearword categories | ORIGINAL | DIVX SUB | DVD SUB | HBO SUB |
|---------------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Racial abuse | 32 | 22 | 15 | 19 |
| Abuse of minorities | 9 | 9 | 9 | 7 |
| Directive abuse | 52 | 32 | 25 | 20 |
| Adjectival | 38 | 11 | 3 | 4 |
| Sexual references | 32 | 28 | 27 | 28 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 35 | 14 | 5 | 5 |
| Expletives | 56 | 32 | 32 | 23 |
| Blasphemy | 4 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Slang | 4 | 9 | 15 | 8 |
| Double entendre | 16 | 17 | 20 | 14 |
| Puns | 0 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Baby talk | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total amount: | 279 | 178 | 156 | 132 |
| Per centage: | 100,0 % | 63,8 % | 55,9 % | 47,3 % |

As we can see the original dialogue has 279 instances of words that can be categorized as swearwords. The translations, however, have a significantly less of these words: DIVX SUB has 177, DVD SUB 155 and HBO SUB only 131 swearwords. In percentages that is respectively 63.8%; 55.9% and 47.3% of the swearwords of the ST.

There are also differences in the distribution words into the swearword categories. The following figure further illustrates the number of swearwords in distinct categories:

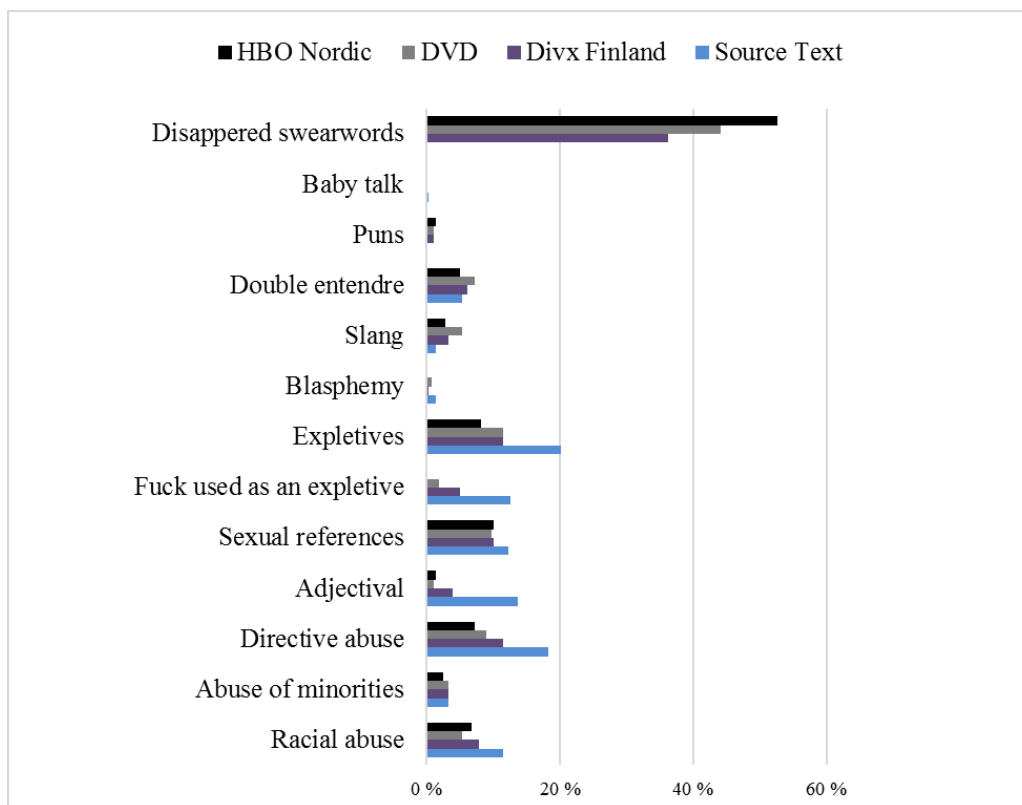


Figure 6. Distribution of Words into Different Swearword Categories

There is more words categorized as racial abuse, directive abuse, adjectival, sexual references, fuck used as an expletive, expletives and blasphemy in the ST whereas the categories of slang and double entendre where more pronounced in the TTs. Puns is a category that was only found in translations, and baby talk, though just one instance of it, was only found from the ST. The category where all the texts have almost the same

number of words is the abuse of minorities. HBO Finland had seven instances of abuse of minorities whereas all the other texts had nine. Disappeared swearwords illustrates all the swearwords that were left out from the translations either by omitting them or translating them using a non-swearword. When looking at the Table 1. and Figure 6. it is obvious that all the translators have omitted swearwords. It is also clear that some of these words were translated using a milder swearword as the number of mild swearwords was more pronounced in the translations. These graphs do not, however, reveal the exact translation strategies used by the translators that will be presented next:

Table 2. DIVX SUB: Translation strategies

| Type/translation strategies | De-normalizing | | Normalizing | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|--------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| | Transfer | Paraphrase | | | Deletion | Resignation | |
| | | Equivalence | Stronger | Softer | | | Neutralized |
| Racial abuse | 9 | 13 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 0 |
| Abuse of minorities | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Directive abuse | 6 | 26 | 0 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 2 |
| Adjectival | 1 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 25 | 0 |
| Sexual references | 16 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 0 | 13 | 0 | 4 | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Expletives | 18 | 9 | 0 | 4 | 12 | 12 | 1 |
| Blasphemy | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Slang | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Double entendre | 5 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Baby talk | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 99 | 3 | 20 | 38 | | |
| | 56 | 160 | | | | 60 | 3 |

Paraphrase in its different forms was the most used strategy for the fan translators of Divx Finland. There were altogether 160 instances where the translators had used some form of paraphrase. As for the sub-categories paraphrase: equivalence was the most popular with 99 instances, followed by paraphrase: neutralized: 38 instances and paraphrase: softer 20 instances. Paraphrase: stronger was rarely used as there were only three instances of this strategy. Paraphrase was especially used with swearwords categorized as racial abuse, abuse of minorities, directive abuse, sexual references, fuck used as an expletive and double entendre. Deletion was the second most popular strategy with 60 instances. Almost half (25) of these 60 instances were adjectival swearwords. Also, some

expletives were deleted. Transfer was the third most used strategy with 56 instances. It was mostly used when translating racial abuse, sexual references and expletives. Resignation was the least popular strategy as there were only three instances of this category in the material. These three instances were directive abuse (2 instances) and expletives (1 instance).

It is noteworthy that transfer was only the third popular strategy for fan translators as it was originally assumed that fan translators would favor direct translation over modifying sentences and words. Deletion was also used more often than expected. What was according to the assumption was that even though fan translators had used paraphrase, they had in most cases chosen a word that was equally severe as its' original counterpart.

Table 3. DVD SUB: Translation strategies

| Type/translation strategies | De-normalizing | | Normalizing | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|--------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| | Transfer | Paraphrase | | | Deletion | Resignation | |
| | | Equivalence | Stronger | Softer | | | Neutralized |
| Racial abuse | 10 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 0 |
| Abuse of minorities | 2 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Directive abuse | 5 | 19 | 0 | 11 | 6 | 11 | 0 |
| Adjectival | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 35 | 0 |
| Sexual references | 17 | 8 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 0 | 5 | 0 | 6 | 7 | 17 | 0 |
| Expletives | 19 | 5 | 0 | 9 | 12 | 11 | 0 |
| Blasphemy | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Slang | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Double entendre | 7 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Baby talk | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | | 60 | 1 | 35 | 39 | | |
| | 60 | 135 | | | | 84 | 0 |

Similar to fan translators, DVD translator had used paraphrase the most. There were 135 instances of paraphrase in the material. Also, the choices of sub-categories were similar, though more words were softened and neutralized than in the DIVX SUB. Paraphrase: equivalence was used the most with 60 instances, paraphrase: neutralized was second with 39 instances and paraphrase: softer was third with 34 instances. DVD translator had used paraphrase: stronger less than the fan translators as there was one instance of it.

Paraphrase was used with words that were categorized as abuse of minorities, directive abuse and sexual references. The second most used strategy was again deletion. There were as many as 84 instances of deletion found. Words that were often deleted were adjectival swearwords and fuck used as an expletive. DVD translator had deleted the majority of adjectival swearwords as there were only three of the original 38 adjectival swearwords left in the translation. Deletion was also moderately used with directive abuse and expletives. After deletion came transfer with 60 instances found from the material. Transfer was used with translating racial abuse, sexual references and expletives. Resignation was again the least used strategy as there were zero instances of it in the material.

Unexpectedly, the most popular and the least used strategies were similar as with fan translators. Also, the DVD translator had used transfer more than the fan translators as there were 60 incidents of transfer compared to 56 incidents of fan translators. What was according to the original assumption was that DVD translator had softened more words than fan translators and they also deleted more words. The amount of neutralized words was almost the same as with fan translators.

Table 4. HBO SUB: Translation strategies

| Type/translation strategies | De-normalizing | | Normalizing | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|--------|-------------|----------|-------------|
| | Transfer | Paraphrase | | | | Deletion | Resignation |
| | | Equivalence | Stronger | Softer | Neutralized | | |
| Racial abuse | 10 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| Abuse of minorities | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Directive abuse | 4 | 14 | 0 | 6 | 7 | 16 | 5 |
| Adjectival | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 32 | 0 |
| Sexual references | 14 | 10 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 0 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 18 | 0 |
| Expletives | 11 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 12 | 17 | 2 |
| Blasphemy | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Slang | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Double entendre | 2 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Baby talk | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 65 | 6 | 20 | 40 | | |
| | 41 | 131 | | | | 100 | 7 |

There was no change compared to the other translations when thinking of the popularity of the different translation strategies. Paraphrase was again the most popular strategy used in the HBO SUB. There were altogether 131 of instances of paraphrase found from the material. 65 of these were paraphrase: equivalence, 40 instances were paraphrase: neutralized, 20 instances paraphrase: softer and as much as 6 instances of paraphrase: harder. HBO translator had used paraphrase most when translating words that were categorized as abuse of minorities, directive abuse and sexual references. Also, some cases of expletives were translated as paraphrase: neutralized. There were altogether 12 instances of these.

Similar to other translations, deletion was the second most popular strategy with 100 instances found from the material. Deletion was used when translating directive abuse, adjectival swearwords, fuck used as an expletive and other expletives. Transfer was the third most used category with 41 instances found from the translation. It was most used when translating racial abuse, sexual references and expletives. Resignation was again the least used strategy. However, compared to the other translations, resignation was used more as there were 7 instances of it found from the material. Resignation was used when translating directive abuse (5 instances) and expletives (2 instances).

As stated earlier there was little variation between the different translators when considering the ranking of the translation strategies. HBO translation followed the other translations in this matter. Moreover, the amount of neutralized words was similar than with fan translators and DVD translator which was against the assumption that commercial translators would neutralize more swearwords than fan translators. The amount of softened words was the same than with fan translators making the DVD translator the one with most softened words. When compared to other translators it seems that HBO translator had used deletion the most often from all the translators which is according to the original assumption. What is not according to the assumption, however, is the fact that HBO translator had made some of the translations more severe than the ST versions. This might be to compensate all the deleted words.

When comparing the global translation strategies used by the different translators, it seems that the fan translators have used more strategies (transfer and paraphrase: equivalence) that can be grouped under de-normalizing strategy whereas both commercial translators have used strategies (resignation, deletion and paraphrase: harder, softer and neutralized) that lean towards normalizing. The following figure illustrates the division of these strategies. Disconnected sectors represent local translation strategies that fall under de-normalizing global strategy:

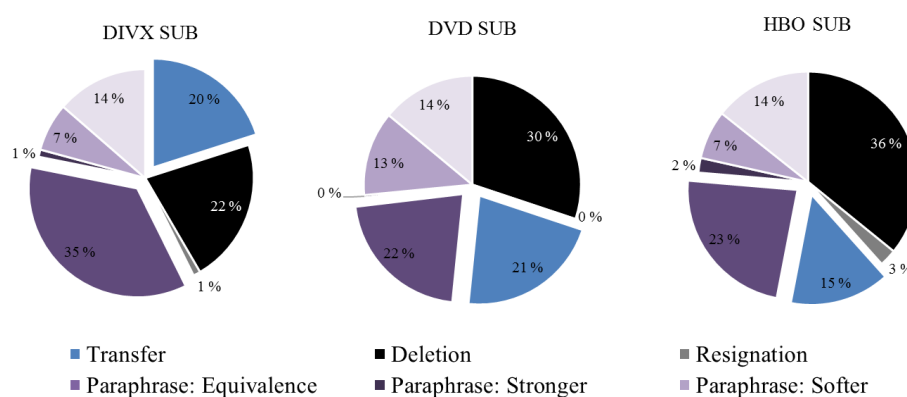


Figure 7. Translation Strategies by the Different Translators Compared

56% of the strategies used by the fan translators were de-normalizing and the remaining 44% were normalizing. With commercial translators, these figures were, respectively, 43% (DVD SUB) and 38% (HBO SUB) for de-normalizing and 57% (DVD SUB) and 62% (HBO SUB) for normalizing. The differences in global strategies are not enormous but it seems that the assumption that fan translators would retain more swearwords in their original form whereas commercial translators would omit more of them was correct. The use of deletion seemed to be the key factor in determining whether the translation was more de-normalizing or normalizing as both commercial translators had used more deletion than fan translators who had favored paraphrase: equivalence. There were surprisingly few differences when comparing the other strategies. In what follows the local translation strategies will be discussed more closely and presented with examples from the material.

4.2 Paraphrase and Sub-categories

Paraphrase is a strategy used when phraseology must be reconstructed because of differences between SL and TL (Gottlieb 1992: 166). In this study translation was categorized as paraphrase when the swearword could not be translated directly but Finnish comparable word was used. Sub-categories equivalence, harder, softer and neutralized were created by the author of this thesis to indicate if there was a shift in the severity of the translated swearword. Paraphrase in its different forms was the most popular strategy in all the translations.

4.2.1. Paraphrase: Equivalence

Paraphrase: equivalence is a sub-category of paraphrase where the swearword was translated in Finnish with swearword that is equally severe as the original, for example, racial abuse was translated as racial abuse. The following table presents all the incidents when the translators had used paraphrase: equivalence:

Table 5. Swearwords Translated Using Paraphrase: Equivalence

| Swearword categories | SOURCE TEXT | DIVX SUB | DVD SUB | HBO SUB |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Racial abuse | 32 | 13 | 5 | 9 |
| Abuse of minorities | 9 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Directive abuse | 52 | 26 | 19 | 14 |
| Adjectival | 38 | 10 | 3 | 4 |
| Sexual references | 32 | 11 | 8 | 10 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 35 | 13 | 5 | 5 |
| Expletives | 56 | 9 | 5 | 7 |
| Blasphemy | 4 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Slang | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Double entendre | 16 | 8 | 6 | 8 |
| Puns | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Baby talk | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total amount: | 279 | 99 | 60 | 65 |
| Per centage: | | 35,5 % | 21,5 % | 23,3 % |

Paraphrase: equivalence was the most used from the four paraphrase sub-categories. It was also single most used strategy for fan translators as they had translated 35.5% of the swearwords using this strategy. For commercial translators, it was the second most used strategy after deletion.

The translators had used paraphrase: equivalence especially when translating swearwords that were categorized as abuse of minorities. There were 9 incidents of abuse of minorities in the ST and all of them were different slurs for homosexuals, for instance, *faggot*. All the translators had translated 7 incidents (77.8%) with paraphrase: equivalence. In the following example the translators have used paraphrase: equivalence when translating the word *queer*. In this scene, Dino Ortolani who has been placed into AIDS ward as a punishment meets Emilio Sanchez who is a patient there. The two unexpectedly bond over the fact that both have small children:

(20) Ortolani: You're more fucking trouble than you're worth, Sanchez.
You have a daughter? Thought you were **queer**.

Sanchez: **Queers** have daughters.

DIVX SUB: Sinusta on enemmän haittaa kuin hyötyä, Sanchez.
Onko sinulla tytär? Luulin, että olet **homo**.
Homoilla on tyttäriä.
[You're more trouble than you're worth, Sanchez.
Do you have a daughter? Thought that you are a **homo**.
Homos have daughters.]

DVD SUB: Sinusta on enemmän haittaa kuin hyötyä, Sanchez.
Onko sinulla tytär? Luulin sinua **homoksi**.
Homoilla on tyttäriä.
[You're more trouble than you're worth, Sanchez.
Do you have a daughter? Thought you were a **homo**.
Homos have daughters.]

HBO SUB: Sinusta on vain vaivaa, Sanchez.
Onko sulla tytär? Mä luulin sua **homoksi**.
Homoilla on tyttäriä.
[You're only trouble, Sanchez.
You have a daughter? Thought you were a **homo**
Homos have daughters.]

(OZ: *The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

Translations were categorized as paraphrase: equivalence instead of transfer because all the translators had used the word *homo* [homo] which can be offending but can also be used in neutral way in Finnish. A more direct translation would have been *hintti* [faggot] that is more vulgar and used only as an insult. *Hintti* [faggot] was used in some cases but more often the translators had decided to use the word *homo* [homo]. No other reason for favoring the word can be given except that it is probably more commonly used than *hintti* [faggot] and the word has occurred the translators more quickly.

Another category that was often translated using paraphrase: equivalence were words categorized as directive abuse. These are words like *bastard* that are used for insulting other people. There were 51 incidents of directive abuse in the source text and fan translators had translated half of these (26 incidents) using paraphrase: equivalence. Commercial translators had used this strategy with 19 (DVD SUB) and 14 (HBO SUB) incidents. Respectively, 37.3% (DVD SUB) and 27.5% (HBO SUB) of the words of ST. In the following example, all the translators have translated the word *motherfucker* using paraphrase: equivalence. Here Arnold “Poet” Jackson recites aggressive free verse poetry in the prison canteen. He is talking about case when he found a fellow inmate in his cell stealing his possessions:

(21) Poet: I coulda sworn I seen the **motherfucker** in my cell,
going through my personal effects.

DIVX SUB: Vannon, että näin sen **kusipään** sellissäni
penkomassa tavaroitani.
[I swear I saw that **pisshead** in my cell
going through my stuff.]

DVD SUB: Luulin nähneeni sen **paskiaisen** sellissäin
penkomassa tavaroitani mun
[I thought I saw that **bastard** in my cell
going through stuff of mine]

HBO SUB: Se **mulkku** tutki mun kamoja.
[That **prick** checked out my stuff]

(OZ: *The Routine* 1997 Scene 2.)

Motherfucker has been translated using paraphrase because there is no direct equivalent for the word in Finnish. It cannot be translated word for word because that would sound unidiomatic and therefore the translators have chosen to use Finnish abusive words like *kusipää* [pisshead], *paskiainen* [bastard] and *mulkku* [prick] instead. Here the exact choice of words does not matter but effect is more important. This was the case with most of the swearwords categorized as directive abuse, such as, *son of a bitch*, *pisspot*, *scumfuck*. These are all expressions that cannot be directly transferred into another language without making any adjustments. Due to the problematic nature of these expressions they were also often translated by using deletion (see 4.3).

For the same reasons mentioned above, words categorized as racial abuse were often translated using paraphrase equivalence. There were 32 incidents of racial abuse in the ST and the fan translators had translated 13 incidents (40.6%) using paraphrase: equivalence whereas DVD translator had translated 5 (15.6%) and HBO translator had translated 9 instances (28.1%) with that strategy. In the following example, Johnny Post offends the Italians who want to retaliate the murder of Dino Ortolani:

(22) Post: What the fuck y'all gonna do, fucking **dagos**.

DIVX SUB: Vittuako meinaatte? Vitun **makaronit**.
[The fuck you gonna do? Fucking **fusillis**.]

DVD SUB: Mitä helvettiä te muka teette?
[What the hell you gonna do?]

HBO SUB: Mitä te muka aiotte tehdä saatanan **pastapellet**?
[What are you gonna do fucking **pasta clowns**?]

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 7)

Dago is an offensive slur for American Italians (Moore & Tuominen 2010: 157). In Finnish, there are not many offensive words for Italians that would be commonly used and therefore the translators have had to be creative. Both fan translators and HBO translator have decided to refer to the stereotype of Italians eating only pasta and use that as a slur. DVD translator has decided to delete the word completely and avoided the trouble of choosing a suitable Finnish equivalent.

The word *fuck* was sometimes translated with paraphrase: equivalence when it was used as sexual reference or expletive. The following example illustrates the former use. Here officer Whittlesey lists the prison rules for new inmates:

(23) Whittlesey: There is no yelling, no fighting, no **fuck**ing.

DIVX SUB: Täällä ei saa huutaa eikä tapella, eikä **naida**.
[Here you cannot yell nor fight nor **fuck**.]

DVD SUB: Täällä ei huudeta, tapella eikä **nussita**.
[No yelling, fighting nor **fuck**ing here.]

HBO SUB: Ei huutamista, tappeluja eikä **naimista**.
[No yelling fighting, nor **fuck**ing.]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 2.)

In the second example *fuck* is used as an expletive. In this scene, Miquel Alvarez is stunned to suddenly meet his father and grandfather at the prison:

(24) Alvarez: What the **fuck**?

DIVX SUB: Mitä **vittua**? [What the **fuck**?]

DVD SUB: Mitä **helvettiä**? [What the **hell**?]

HBO SUB: Mitä **vittua**? [What the **fuck**?]

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 5)

As illustrated by the examples 23. and 24., the English word *fuck* is especially versatile and it has to be translated differently depending of the context. Even though *vittu* [cunt] is often used as the equivalent word in Finnish, it is not the right translation when *fuck* is used in a sexual purpose. In example 23. the translators have used words *naida* and *nussia* that mean roughly the same than the verb *to fuck* whereas in the example 24. two of them (DIVX SUB and HBO SUB) have translated expletive *fuck* as *vittua* [cunt]. DVD translator has also used paraphrase but used less severe word *helvettiä* [hell] making his/her translation paraphrase: softer.

The last group of swearwords that was translated most often using paraphrase equivalence were words categorized as double entendre. As their name suggests double entendres are words and expressions that have two meanings. When talking about swearwords, the other meaning is usually something foul. There were 16 instances of double entendres in the ST and both fan translators and HBO translator had translated 8 instances (50%) of these using paraphrase: equivalence. DVD translator had used this strategy with 6 instances of double entendres, that is, 37.5%. In the following examples, all the translators have translated double entendre *get laid* with Finnish equivalents for the expression. The example is from a scene where prison doctor Gloria Nathan patches up Dino Ortolani who is trying to awkwardly flirt with her:

(25) Dr. Nathan: When you were outside, you ever **get laid** with a line like that?

DIVX SUB: Kun olit vapaana,
pääsitkö koskaan pukille tuommoisilla lausahduksilla?
[When you were free
did you ever **get on a vaulting horse** with lines like that?]

DVD SUB: Kun olit vapaana
pääsitkö koskaan sänkyyn tuolla.
[When you were free
did you ever **get to bed** with stuff like that?]

HBO SUB: **Saitko naisia** tuolla repliikillä?
[Did you **get ladies** with a line like that?]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

By asking if Ortolani ever *got laid* Dr. Nathan means that if he was able to get women to have sex with him. The translators have used some Finnish equivalent for the expression. Fan translators have chosen *päästä pukille* [get on a vaulting horse] which refers to gymnastics apparatus but also to a method of collecting sperm from farm animals like bulls using *pukki* that is an artificial mare. Commercial translators have used expressions *päästä sänkyyn* [get to bed] and *saada naista* [get ladies] that are more self-explanatory than the fan translators' choice. Double entendres were often translated using paraphrase: equivalence because they are in most cases idiomatic expressions consisting of several words. It is easier to find direct equivalent for only one word than for a whole expression.

4.2.2 Paraphrase: Harder

Paraphrase: harder is a sub-category of paraphrase where the swearword was translated using a word that was more severe than the original, for example, expletive was translated as directive abuse. The following table presents all the incidents when the translators had used paraphrase: harder:

Table 6. Swearwords Translated Using Paraphrase: Harder

| Swearword categories | SOURCE TEXT | DIVX SUB | DVD SUB | HBO SUB |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Racial abuse | 32 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Abuse of minorities | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Directive abuse | 52 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Adjectival | 38 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sexual references | 32 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 35 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Expletives | 56 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Blasphemy | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Slang | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Double entendre | 16 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Puns | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Baby talk | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total amount: | 279 | 2 | 1 | 6 |
| Per centage: | | 0,7 % | 0,4 % | 2,2 % |

Paraphrase: harder was the least used from the sub-categories as there were only nine incidents of it in the source material. From these nine, fan translators had two, DVD translator one and HBO translator six incidents. In per cents this is respectively 0.7 (DIVX SUB), 0.4 (DVD SUB) and 2.2 (HBO SUB). It was surprising that the translators had used this strategy at all, as the original assumption was that the translators would either translate the words as they are, or aim to softer them or omit them completely. The fact that the translator that had used this strategy the most was the other commercial translator was even more surprising. The possible reasons for choosing this strategy in some cases will be presented next.

Sometimes this translation strategy was used when the original dialogue contained multiple swearwords in one sentence and, because translators had deleted some of the swearwords, those words that remained were translated using more severe words. It was probably to compensate those words that had been deleted. In the following example, Dino Ortolani loses his temper and forcedly feeds Emilio Sanchez who is not willing to eat:

(26) Ortolani: Open your **Goddamn motherfucking cocksucking** mouth.

DIVX SUB: Avaa se **saatanan kyrpää imevä** suusi.
[Open your **damn cocksucking** mouth.]

DVD SUB: Avaa se **saatanan** suusi.
[Open your **damn** mouth.]

HBO SUB: Avaa nyt se **perkeleen kullinlutkuttajan** suusi!
[Open your **damn cocksucking** mouth.]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

The source text contains three swearwords, *Goddamn*, *motherfucking* and *cocksucking*, of which fan translators and HBO translator have deleted one adjectival swearword, *motherfucking*. DVD translator has also deleted the other adjectival swearword, *cocksucking*. All the translators have translated blasphemous swearword, *Goddamn*, using Finnish words that in this study were categorized expletives, *saatana* [satan] and *perkele* [devil], which means that the translated version is more severe than the original.

In most cases the shift in the severity of the swearword was not very notable but there was one incident when the translation was so severe that it caught the eye immediately. In the following example, HBO translator has translated the original double entendre *make a whoopie* as rather direct sexual reference *panohetki* [a fuck session]. In this scene, the prison nun Sister Peter Marie is talking to Tim McManus about conjugal visits between the inmates and their wives:

(27) Sister Pete: My job is to arrange for inmates and their wives
to **make a whoopie**.

DIVX SUB: Työni on järjestää vangeille ja heidän vaimoilleen
peuhaamismahdollisuus.
[My job is to arrange for inmates and their wives
a chance to rolick].

DVD SUB: Työni on järjestää vangeille ja heidän vaimoilleen **aikaa pelehtiä**.
[My job is to arrange for inmates and their wives **time**
to fool around].

HBO SUB: Järjestän vangeille **panohetken** vaimon kanssa.
[I'm arranging inmates **a fuck session** with their wives.]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 3.)

Swearwords can and should be used in subtitles if they are suitable in the situation and for the character saying the lines (Vertanen 2007: 136). In this example, however, the character speaking is an elderly nun and it is unlikely that she would use that kind of language. The following picture further illustrates the mismatch between character and the translation:



Picture 2. HBO SUB Paraphrase: Stronger (*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

As stated in section 2.3., old age and religiosity are factors that dis-encourage swearing, thus seeing an old nun using expressions like *panohetki* [fuck session] seems strange. Though the purpose of this study is neither rate the translations nor exhibit right and wrong translation choices, it must be said that in this case the HBO translation becomes overly visible because it is clearly more severe than the swearword used in the ST. The translation choices by the other translators, namely *peuhaamismahdollisuus* [chance to rolick] and *aikaa pelehtiä* [time to fool around], seem more suitable here since they are closer to the severity of the ST version.

There was only one incident of swearwords belonging to the category of baby talk found from the ST. Baby talk was considered as the mildest form of swearwords. In the following example fan translators and HBO translator have translated the baby talk with paraphrase: harder whereas DVD translator has deleted the word. In this scene. Doctor Nathan complains to Tim McManus about the behavior of Dino Ortolani:

(28) Dr. Nathan: Not only can't he keep his hands off my **fanny**,
he's got the bedside manner of Attila the Hun.

DIVX SUB: Hän ei voi pitää näppejään erossa **takapuolestani**
eikä hänellä ei ole minkäänlaisia käytöstapoja.
[He can't he keep his hands off my **back-side**,
nor has he any manners.]

DVD SUB: Hän ei pysty pitämään näppejään irti
ja hänen tapansa ovat kuin hunnin.
[He can't he keep his hands off
and he has manners of a Hun.]

HBO SUB: Hän ei pysy erossa **takapuolestani**
eikä hän osaa käyttäytyä sairaalassa.
[He doesn't stay away from my **back-side**
and can't behave in the hospital.]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

Fanny is in American-English a rather mild word for buttocks (Moore & Tuominen 2010: 193). Here both fan translators and HBO translator have translated the word with double entendre *takapuoli* [back-side] when the Finnish direct translation would have been *pylly* [fanny]. *Takapuoli* [back-side] is still rather neutral word compared to other possible

translations like *perse* [ass]. DVD translator has deleted the expression and changed the sentence so that it is more vague. It is probable that the translators have either changed the word or deleted it because the word *pylly* [fanny] sounds too childish in a discussion between two adults.

4.2.3 Paraphrase: Softer

Paraphrase: softer is a sub-category of paraphrase where the swearword was translated using a word that was less severe than the original, for example, expletive was translated as slang. The following table presents all the incidents when the translators had used Paraphrase softer:

Table 7. Swearwords Translated Using Paraphrase: Softer

| Swearword categories | SOURCE TEXT | DIVX SUB | DVD SUB | HBO SUB |
|---------------------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------|
| Racial abuse | 32 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Abuse of minorities | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Directive abuse | 52 | 7 | 11 | 6 |
| Adjectival | 38 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Sexual references | 32 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 35 | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| Expletives | 56 | 4 | 9 | 5 |
| Blasphemy | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Slang | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Double entendre | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Puns | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Baby talk | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total amount: | 279 | 20 | 35 | 20 |
| Per centage: | | 7,2 % | 12,5 % | 7,2 % |

There were some differences between translators regarding using this strategy. Both fan translators and HBO translator had 20 incidents (7.2%) of this strategy whereas DVD translator had 34 (12.2%). Contrary to the original assumption, fan translators and HBO

translator had softened the same number of swearwords when the assumption was that both commercial translators would soften more swearwords than fan translators.

Paraphrase: softer was moderately used when translating swearwords categorized as directive abuse. DVD translator had translated 11 incidents of the original 51 using this strategy whereas fan translators had used it 7 times and HBO translator 6 times. In per cents this is respectively 21.6% (DVD SUB), 13.7% (DIVX SUB) and 11.8% (HBO SUB). The ST word that was often translated by all the translators by using this technique was *prag*. *Prag* is a neologism used only in the television series *OZ* and its etymology is uncertain. According to some sources it stands for “prison fag” (IMDB 2017) but this has never been confirmed by the writers of the show. In the following example the translators have translated the word *prag* using paraphrase softer. In this scene, the narrator Augustus Hill explains the concept of *prag* for the viewers:

(29) Hill: Here in Oz we call 'em "*prags*". I don't know where it comes from, but you make a man your **prag**, he's your **prag** for life. It's like the old days when people didn't get divorced, the only way out of marriage is death. 'Til death do us part'.

DIVX SUB: Ozissa kutsumme niitä **vaimoiksi**. En tiedä mistä se tulee, mutta kun teet miehestä **vaimon**, hän on **vaimosi** koko elämän. Kuin ennen vanhaan, kun ei erottu. Avioliitosta pääsi vain kuolemalla. Kunnes kuolema erottaa.
[In Oz we call them **wives**. I don't know where it comes from, but when you make a man your **wife**, he's your **wife** for life. It's like the old days when people didn't get divorced, the only way out of marriage is death. 'Til death do us part'.]

DVD SUB: Ozissa heitä sanotaan **morsiamiksi**. Jos teet miehestä **morsiamesi**, hän on **morsiamesi** loppuikänsä.
[In Oz they are called **brides**. When you make a man your **bride**, he's your **bride** for rest of his life.]

HBO SUB: Ozissa niitä sanotaan **vaimoiksi**. Kun teet miehestä **vaimon**, se on sun **vaimo** koko elämän.
[In Oz they are called **wives**. When you make a man your **wife**, he's your **wife** for life.]

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 3)

Here the translators have used words that refer to the female partner in a marital relationship. Fan translators and HBO translator have chosen *vaimo* [wife] whereas DVD translator has used the word *morsian* [bride]. This is probably because Hill is comparing the *prag* relationship to marriage. Moreover, it saves the effort of having to invent a new Finnish word that could be used instead of *prag* though this is something that could have been expected from the fan translators. The translations were categorized as paraphrase softer instead of paraphrase neutralized because, even though the words *wife* and *bride* are neutral words, in this context they allude to the fact that the male that is addressed with these words is the submissive party in the relationship. Hence, they were categorized as double entendre.

An interesting observation about so called ‘subtitling language’ was made during the study. Both commercial translators had used the word *sika* [pig] when translating different directive abuse words. It is not uncommon to refer to people as animals in the intention of insulting them but it seems that the habit is disappearing because there are other more effective words available for that purpose. In the following example, DVD translator has translated the word *fuck* as *sika* [pig]. In this scene, Nino Schibetta reacts to hearing the reason behind Donald Groves conviction that is cannibalizing his own parents:

(30) Schibetta: **Sick fuck.** What the fuck's wrong with this country?

DIVX SUB: **Sairas paskiainen.** Mikä ihme tässä maassa on vikana?
[Sick **bastard.** What in earth is wrong with this country?]

DVD SUB: **Sairas sika.** Mikä tässä maassa on vialla?
[**Sick pig.** What is wrong with this country?]

HBO SUB: Sairasta. Mikä tätä maata vaivaa?
[That's sick. What is wrong with this country?]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

The fan translators have used paraphrase: equivalence by translating *sick fuck* with *sairas paskiainen* [sick bastard] whereas HBO translator has deleted the word. DVD translator

has softened the swearword using the word *sika* [pig] that in in this context sounds slightly unnatural.

Another case when the word *sika* [pig] was used is illustrated in the following example taken from the same episode as the example 31. Here HBO translator has used the word pig. In this scene, Doctor Gloria Nathan discovers that Dino Ortolani has killed Emilio Sanchez by suffocating him with a pillow:

(31) Dr. Nathan: The **bastard** killed one of my patients!

DIVX SUB: Hän tappoi potilaani! [He killed my patient!]

DVD SUB: **Paskiainen** tappoi potilaani! [**Bastard** killed my patient!]

HBO SUB: Se **sika** tappoi potilaani! [That **pig** killed my patient!]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 6.)

Fan translators have used paraphrase: neutralize and replaced *bastard* with neutral personal pronoun *hän* [he]. DVD translator has used paraphrase: equivalence and translated the word using Finnish equivalent *paskiainen* [bastard]. HBO translator has chosen paraphrase: softer and translated the word with *sika* [pig] which again sounds bit unnatural.

As stated in the theory section about subtitling, language used in subtitles differs somewhat from everyday language, for example, subtitles are often written in standard language even though people often use colloquialisms in their speech. This is of course to ensure that everyone can understand the subtitles. *Sika* [pig] is rarely used as an insult in Finnish colloquial language but there were two incidents of this word found from the material and both commercial translators had used it in different occasions. This could indicate that this word is used in subtitling when wanting to retain the directive abuse but also wanting to soften the word. Naturally, no definitive conclusions can be drawn based on so limited material.

Word category that was also sometimes translated with paraphrase: softer were expletives. From 56 expletives of the source text fan translators had translated 4 (7.1%), DVD translator 9 (16%) and HBO translator 5 (8.9%) with less severe expressions than in the original. In the following example, DVD translator has translated expletive *shit* using pun *hitto*. In this scene, Miguel Alvarez reacts to Priest Ray Mukada's suggestion that Alvarez could accompany his pregnant girlfriend in labor:

(32) Alvarez: I don't **give a shit** about **shit** like that.

DIVX SUB: En välitä **paskanvertaa**.
[I don't **give a shit**.]

DVD SUB: En välitä **hittojakaan sellaisesta**.
[I don't **give a damn** about **stuff** like that]

HBO SUB: **Ei kiinnosta**.
[I don't care.]

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise 1997: Scene 5*)

In example 32, expletive *shit* is repeated two times. Fan translators have translated the first one using paraphrase: equivalence *paskanvertaa* [give a shit] and deleted the second expletive whereas DVD translator has used paraphrase: softer and neutralized by translating the words as *hittojakaan* [give a damn] and *sellaisesta* [stuff like that]. HBO translator has omitted all swearwords by neutralizing the first expletive with regular words *ei kiinnosta* [I don't care] and deleted the second one. *Hitto* [damn] is rather mild word that is used as an expletive. It was categorized as pun in this study because it is often used in Finnish instead of more severe words.

4.2.4 Paraphrase: Neutralized

Paraphrase: neutralized is the last sub-category of paraphrase where the swearword was translated using a non-swearword. The following table presents all the incidents when the translators had used paraphrase: neutralized:

Table 8. Swearwords Translated Using Paraphrase: Neutralized

| Swearword categories | SOURCE TEXT | DIVX SUB | DVD SUB | HBO SUB |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Racial abuse | 32 | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| Abuse of minorities | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Directive abuse | 52 | 4 | 6 | 7 |
| Adjectival | 38 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Sexual references | 32 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 35 | 9 | 7 | 7 |
| Expletives | 56 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Blasphemy | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Slang | 4 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Double entendre | 16 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Puns | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Baby talk | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total amount: | 279 | 38 | 39 | 40 |
| Per centage: | | 13,6 % | 14,0 % | 14,3 % |

Paraphrase: neutralized was a strategy that all the translators had used equally often. There were no major differences between the translators as fan translators had 38 incidents, DVD 39 and HBO 40. Respectively this is 13.6%, 14.0% and 14.3%. There was hardly any dispersion in the swearword categories where the translators had utilized this strategy the most, as the most popular seemed to be expletives, fuck used as an expletive, slang and racial abuse. Moreover, contrary to the original assumption, it seems that fan translators and commercial translators had neutralized the same amount of words.

Expletive *shit* was often translated using this technique when the word was used to refer issues that were vague. These include for example objects, situations or thoughts (Moore et.al 2010: 437). In the following example, Warden Glynn refuses to let Jefferson Keane get married because he is already busy:

(33) Glynn: Besides, I've got enough **shit** going on right now as it is.

DIVX SUB: Minulla on muutenkin kädet täynnä **töitä**.
[I've got hands full of **work** as it is.]

DVD SUB: Täällä on meneillään jo liikaakin **kaikkea**.
[There is too much **everything** going on as it is.]

HBO SUB: Nyt on muutenkin **säpinää**.
[There is enough **bustle** as it is.]

(OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise 1997: Scene 4)

All the translators have replaced the word *shit* with neutral words. Fan translators have chosen *töitä* [work] whereas commercial translators have chosen more vague words like *kaikkea* [everything] and *säpinää* [bustle]. This is probably because even though it is possible to use the Finnish word *paska* [shit] similarly, it would sound unidiomatic in Finnish.

Expletive use of *fuck* was also sometimes translated using paraphrase: neutralize. These were all cases when *fuck* was a part of idiomatic expression that could not be deleted without making other changes to the sentence. In the following example the detective is interrogating Ryan O'Reilly about the murder of Dino Ortolani:

(34) Detective: What has me **fucked up** is, who arranged for the guy who did the deed to get in the hole?

DIVX SUB: Minua **ihmetyttää** vain, kuka järjesti tekijän eristyselliin.
[What **wonders** me is, who let the perpetrator in isolation?]

DVD SUB: Minua **kummastuttaa** se, kuka järjesti murhaajalle pääsyn eristykseen?
[What **wonders** me is, who arranged for the murderer the access to isolation?]

DIVX SUB: Sitä **en käsitä**, kuka järjesti tappajan erityisosastolle.
[The thing I **don't understand** is, who arranged the killer for isolation?]

(OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise 1997: Scene 7)

In example 34. the detective uses idiomatic expression *fucked up* which in this context means confused (Moore et. al 2010: 222). Again, the translators have translated the word using neutral words. Fan translators and DVD translator have used different Finnish words for to wonder, for example, *ihmetyttää* and *kummastuttaa* whereas HBO translator has changed the sentence slightly and chosen *en käsitä* [I don't understand]. Here retaining the swearword in the translation would have taken more effort than neutralizing it.

Slang expressions were also often translated using paraphrase: neutralized. There were only four swearwords categorized as slang in the source text and the DVD translator had translated the majority of them (3 instances) with a neutral word. The HBO translator had neutralized half of them (2 instances) and fan translators had neutralized one instance. In the following example fan translators and DVD translator have neutralized the word. The HBO translator has replaced it with equivalent Finnish slang word. In this scene, Dino Ortolani flirts with Dr. Gloria Nathan:

(35) Ortolani: 'Cause I gotta wonder about a guy
who'd let **a slice** come into a pit like this.

DIVX SUB: Pitää ihmetellä miestä,
joka antaa **sinun** tulla tällaiseen läävään.
[Gotta wonder a man
who lets **you** to come to a dump like this.]

DVD SUB: Ihmettelen miestä, joka päästää **naisensa** tällaiseen paikkaan.
[I'm wondering a man who lets **his woman** into a place like this.]

HBO SUB: Kuka antaisi **muijansa** tulla tällaiseen paikkaan?
[Who'd let **his missus** to come to a place like this?]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

Slice is a colloquial word for a beautiful woman (Urban Dictionary 2010). It was categorized as a swearword because it can also be used as a sexual reference. As stated above fan translators and the DVD translator have used neutral words *sinä* [you] and *nainen* [woman] but the HBO translator has chosen *muija* [missus] which is a Finnish colloquial word for a woman. While going through the translations it was noticed that the

HBO translator used more colloquial expressions when translating the lines of inmates than the other translators. For example, personal pronouns *I* and *you* were often translated as *mä* and *sä* which are Finnish short forms for the words *minä* [I] and *sinä* [you] used in colloquial speech. This might be because the HBO translator had deleted most swearwords compared to the other translators and using colloquial language is a way to prevent the translation from becoming too literary. In addition, the HBO translation was the newest of these three translations, therefore this could indicate that using colloquialisms has become more accepted in the subtitling industry.

As mentioned earlier, racial slurs can be difficult to translate because they are culture bound words and the situation in Finland and in the USA is very different. Sometimes these words were translated using a neutral expression in order to avoid the problem of finding an equivalent expression. In the following example the word *wop* is neutralized by both commercial translators. *Wop*, like earlier mentioned *dago* is an ethnic slur for Italians or people with Italian background (Moore et.al 2010: 533). In this scene, Jefferson Keane order Johnny Post to kill Dino Ortolani who is a member of Italian gang in the prison:

(36) Keane: Johnny, you're up. Why don't you go in the hole
and whack that **wop**.

DIVX SUB: Johnny, jatka tästä. Mene eristyksen ja hakkaa se **makaroni**.
[Johnny take over. Go to isolation and beat up that **fusilli**.]

DVD SUB: Johnny sinun vuorosi. Mene eristyksen ja hakkaa **hänet**.
[Johnny it's your turn. Go to isolation and beat **him** up.]

DIVX SUB: Johnny, menet eristyksen tappamaan **Ortolanin**.
[Johnny, you will go to isolation and kill **Ortolani**.]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 5.)

Fan translators have once again (see example 23.) used the word *makaroni* [fusilli] that is a type of pasta to refer to Italians. Commercial translators have used a neutral word *hänet* [him] and Ortolani's name to refer to him, probably because there is no direct equivalent for the word *wop* in Finnish.

4.3 Deletion

Deletion is a strategy where a problematic word or expression is deleted (Gottlieb 1992: 166). Usually, in subtitling, words that are deleted are seen as extra information and not crucial for the plot. Deletion was the second most popular translation strategy used in the translations. The following table presents all the incidents when the translators had used Deletion:

Table 9. Swearwords Translated Using Deletion

| Swearword categories | SOURCE TEXT | DIVX SUB | DVD SUB | HBO SUB |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Racial abuse | 32 | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| Abuse of minorities | 9 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Directive abuse | 52 | 7 | 11 | 16 |
| Adjectival | 38 | 25 | 35 | 32 |
| Sexual references | 32 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 35 | 9 | 17 | 18 |
| Expletives | 56 | 12 | 11 | 17 |
| Blasphemy | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Slang | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Double entendre | 16 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Puns | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Baby talk | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Total amount: | 279 | 60 | 84 | 100 |
| Per centage: | 100 % | 21,5 % | 30,1 % | 35,8 % |

HBO had used this strategy most of the translators with 100 incidents found from HBO SUB. DVD translation came in second with 84 incidents and fan translators were the last with 60 incidents. This followed the assumption of this thesis that fan translators would retain more swearwords than commercial translators.

When comparing the translations, it was obvious that the HBO translator had the most concise translations regarding also other words than swearwords. The sentences were shorter than with other translators and more words were omitted. This could suggest that

HBO translation was done as pivot translation (discussed in 3.2 and 3.5) based on existing pre-cued subtitles probably in Swedish. This technique further limits the word choices a translator can use and would require deleting many words. It is also possible that the DVD translation is pivot translation since this is a common practice in the audiovisual translation industry, but it should be noted that neither can be proved.

The word category that was often deleted were the adjectival swearwords. All the translators had deleted most of the adjectival swearwords while translating: from the original 38 adjectival swearwords, the fan translators had deleted 25, the DVD translator 35 and the HBO translator 32. In percentages, this is 66, 92 and 84 respectively of the ST words. In the following example the commercial translators have deleted the swearwords whereas fan translators have retained them. Here, new inmate Donald Groves opposes the prison routine:

(37) Groves: I don't want any **fucking** sponsors.
I don't want any **fucking** routine.

DIVX SUB: En halua mitään **vitun** tukijaa.
En halua mitään **vitun** rutiineja
[I don't want any **fucking** sponsors.
I don't want any **fucking** routine.]

DVD SUB: En halua mitään sponsoreita. [I don't want any sponsors.]
En halua mitään rutiinia. [I don't want any routine.]

HBO SUB: Mä en halua tukijoita [I don't want sponsors
enkä mitään rutiinia. and no routine neither]

(OZ: *The Routine* 1997 Scene 2.)

As shown in the example 37., deleting the adjectival swearword *fucking* does not change the meaning of the line significantly and that is probably the reason why adjectival swearwords were often deleted. Another reason might be that all the instances of adjectival swearwords, except two, found from the ST were the same word, namely the word *fucking*. As stated before, the word *fuck* can be translated as *vittu* [cunt] in Finnish and its severity is similar to the so called 'f-word'⁵. It is possible that the translators have

⁵ In Finland *vittu* [cunt] is sometimes referred to as *v-sana* [v-word].

wanted to avoid using *vittu* and that is why they have deleted most of the adjectival swearwords.

The word *fuck* dominated also the category that was deleted second most often: *fuck* used as an expletive. *Fuck* was given its own category when used as an expletive because the category of expletives includes a broad range of words from rather mild words to severe, and *fuck* and its variations belong to the most severe class. There were 35 instances of *fuck* used as an expletive in the source text and the translators had deleted 9 (DIVX SUB), 17 (DVD SUB) and 18 (HBO SUB) instances. That is 25, 49 and 51 per cent of the words respectively. In the following example, all the translators have deleted the swearword. This example is from a scene where Jefferson Keane gets angry at Johnny Post because Post talks about his intentions of killing one of the Italians:

(38) Keane: Shut **the fuck** up.

DIVX SUB: Tuki nyt se turpas! [Shut that mouth now!]

DVD SUB: Turpa kiinni [Shut your mouth.]

HBO SUB: Turpa kiinni [Shut your mouth.]

(OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise 1997: Scene 4)

Here the word *fuck* works as a marker for irritation. Keane is irritated because Post is talking about things he should stay quiet about. All the translators have probably deleted the word because irritation can also be recognized from the facial expressions, tone of voice and other word choices: telling someone to *shut up* is not polite speech but rather aggressive. Moreover, both here and in the previous example, deleting the swearword does not change the sentence notably and therefore it is an easy solution if there is need to condense the text. It should be noted that the fan translators have added extra words to their translation, namely *nyt* [now] and *se* [that]. This might be because they wanted to replace the deleted content with something or maybe to add nuance.

Moreover, other expletives than *fuck* were often deleted. These include words like *shit* or *hell*. There were 56 expletives in the source text which of fan translators had deleted 12

(21.4%), DVD translator 11 (19.6%) and HBO translator 17 (30.4%). In the following example, all the translators have deleted the expletive. In this scene, Warden Glynn and McManus discuss the lockdown issued because of drugs:

(39) Glynn: I sure as **hell** don't hear you coming up with anything better.

DIVX SUB: Eipä ole tullut sinultakaan mitään parempaa ajatusta.
[Well, you haven't come up with anything better either.]

DVD SUB: En kuule sinulta mitään parempaakaan.
[I'm not hearing anything better from you.]

HBO SUB: Etpä esitä parempaakaan.
[Well, you're not suggesting anything better.]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 3.)

Here *hell* is used for stylistic effect though it also marks irritation as Glynn is not happy being criticized by McManus. Again, the expletive is deleted because even though it might signal irritation, it does give any necessary information about the plot.

Words that were directive abuse were also deleted in some cases. From 51 incidents of directive abuse in the source text fan translators had deleted 7 incidents (13.7%), DVD translator had deleted 11 incidents (21.6 %) and HBO translator 16 incidents (31.4%). As stated earlier in section 4.2.1 words that are directive abuse can seldom be translated directly from English to Finnish. Therefore, the translator has to either make adjustments or delete the expression. In the following example fan translators and DVD translator have translated the abusive word paraphrasing with equivalent Finnish word whereas the HBO translator has deleted the word altogether. In this scene officer Whittlesey talks with a fellow officer of working in OZ:

(40) Whittlesey: You think if the Chevy plant was hiring
I would choose to come here and babysit these **pisspots**?

DIVX SUB: Jos joku autotehdas ottaisi töihin,
tulisinko tänne vahtimaan **kusipäitä**?
[If some car plant was hiring,
would I come here to guard **pissheads**?]

DVD SUB: Jos autotehtaalla olisi töitä,
en tulisi tänne vahtimaan noita **kusipäitä**.
[If car plant had work,
I would not come here to guard those **pissheads**.]

DIVX SUB: Jos pääsisin autotehtaalle, tulinko muka tänne?
[If I got work at car plant, would I come here?]

(OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise 1997: Scene 5)

Whittlesey calls the inmates *pisspots* which refers to a container used as a portable toilet (Moore et. al 2010: 383). The Finnish word *potta* has the same meaning but it would sound odd as a swearword and therefore both the fan translators and the DVD translator have used common Finnish swearword *kusipää* [pisshead] instead. HBO translator has modified the sentence so that *babysit these pisspots* is left out of the translation completely.

Last group of swearwords that were often deleted were blasphemous words. There were only four swearwords categorized as blasphemous in the source text and the HBO translator had deleted three of those. That is 75% of the original number of words. The Fan translators and the DVD translator had both deleted one (25%). In the following example, the HBO translator has deleted the word whereas fan translators and the DVD translator have retained it. In this scene, Tim McManus scolds Dino Ortolani after he had attacked another inmate in the showers:

(41) McManus: You know, **Jesus Christ**, this is like **fucking** high school.

DIVX SUB: **Jestas**, tämä on kuin olisi jossain lukiossa.
[**Jeez**, this is like in high school.]

DVD SUB: **Herran tähden**, tämä on kuin lukio.
[**For God's sake**, this is like high school.]

HBO SUB: Tämähän on niin kuin lukiossa.
[This is kinda like high school.]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 3.)

McManus is frustrated and uses the blasphemous swearword *Jesus Christ*. Uttering the name of a religious figure in vain is categorized as swearing according to the theory section about swearwords. The fan translators have translated the word with paraphrase softer as they have used pun *jestas* [jeez] which is a milder modified version of the word *Jesus*. DVD translator has used the expression *Herran tähden* [for God's sake] which is paraphrased but equally severe as the original. The HBO translator has deleted the word. All three translators have also deleted the adjectival *fucking* completely. No other reason for the deletion of the word can be given except that it is an easy solution if there is need to compress the text. *Jesus Christ* is used here as exclamation and the word does not give any new information about the plot.

4.4 Transfer

Transfer is a local translation strategy where the source text is translated completely and accurately (Gottlieb 1992: 166). In this study, translation was categorized as transfer if the swearword had been translated using the Finnish equivalent word. Transfer was the third most popular translation strategy used in the translations. The following table presents all the incidents when the translators had used transfer:

Table 10. Swearwords Translated Using Transfer

| Swearword categories | SOURCE TEXT | DIVX SUB | DVD SUB | HBO SUB |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Racial abuse | 32 | 9 | 10 | 10 |
| Abuse of minorities | 9 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Directive abuse | 52 | 6 | 5 | 4 |
| Adjectival | 38 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Sexual references | 32 | 16 | 17 | 14 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 35 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expletives | 56 | 18 | 19 | 11 |
| Blasphemy | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Slang | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Double entendre | 16 | 5 | 7 | 2 |
| Puns | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Baby talk | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total amount: | 279 | 56 | 60 | 41 |
| Per centage: | | 20,1 % | 21,5 % | 14,7 % |

Surprisingly, the DVD translator had used transfer the most. There were 56 incidents of words translated using transfer in DVD subtitles. This is 20.1% of the original 279 words. Fan translators were not far behind; DIVX SUB had 56 incidents of transfer (20.1%). HBO translator had used this strategy the least as there were only 41 incidents in the HBO SUB, that is, 14.7% of the swearwords of the original. This result is contrary to the assumption that fan translators would use TS oriented strategies like transfer more than commercial translators. In this case, it seems that the fan translation and DVD translation are more similar when it comes to transfer and HBO translation is the one that differs the most.

Transfer was moderately used when translating racial abuse. Here the translators' choices were similar as from the original 32 incidents fan translators had translated 9 (28%) and commercial translators 10 incidents (31.3%) using transfer. In the following example the translators have translated racial slur *nigger* with transfer. In this scene, Ryan O'Reily is annoyed because his plan to persuade the gang of black inmates to murder his enemy Dino Ortolani has not succeeded:

(42) O'Reily: **The niggers** are afraid to touch him.

DIVX SUB: **Neekerit** eivät suostu koskemaan häneen.
[**The niggers** won't touch him.]

DVD SUB: **Neekerit** eivät uskalla koskea häneen.
[**The niggers** are afraid to touch him.]

HBO SUB: **Nekrut** pelkää Ortolania.
[**The niggers** are afraid of Ortolani.]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 4.)

Here O'Reily who himself is white refers to the black inmates as *niggers*. This is probably because he is angry due to the black gang members refusing to murder Ortolani. The translators have used the Finnish word *neekerit* [nigger] that probably originates from English. HBO translator had used the shorter colloquial form *nekru* but the translation was still categorized as transfer. *Nigger* was one of the few racial slurs that could be translated by transfer since the same word exists in Finnish, therefore, most incidents of racial slurs translated by transfer are in fact translations of this word. Though racial slurs are not seen linguistically as swearwords in Finnish, using them is still considered improper. Especially now that Finland is becoming increasingly more multicultural, people are more likely to react negatively to abuse directed at different ethnicities or minorities. This same change of attitudes was discussed in the section 2.2.

Transfer was also popular when translating expletives. From 56 expletives of the ST fan translators had translated 18 instances (32.1%) and DVD translator 19 instances (33.9%) with transfer. HBO translator had used this technique somewhat less with expletives as there were 11 instances (19.6%) of these types of words translated with transfer in HBO SUB. In the following example fan translators and DVD translator have translated the expletive with transfer. HBO translator has used deletion. In this scene, Neo Nazi leader Vern Schillinger is watching with Dino Ortolani as the Muslim leader Kareem Said is giving an inspirational speech to his fellow Muslim inmates. Schillinger turns to Ortolani and asks:

(43) Schillinger: Are you hearing this **shit**?

DIVX SUB: Kuunteletko tuota **paskaa**?
[Are you listening to that **shit**?]

DVD SUB: Kuuletko tätä **paskaa**?
[Are you hearing this **shit**?]

HBO SUB: Kuulitko tuon?
[Did you hear that?]

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 3.)

Here the word *shit* marks both surprise but also negative attitude towards the speech. Schillinger is bewildered by Said's powerful speech but he also considers African-Americans to be lower beings compared to himself and thinks that Said's message is garbage. Fan translators and DVD translator have translated the word with *paska* which in Finnish is a vulgar word for feces. *Paska* can be used in Finnish in similar ways than *shit* can be used in English, for example, things that are of poor quality can be said to be *paskaa* [shit], and that is why this is a very logical translation choice in this example. HBO translator has decided to delete the swearword completely which is not surprising as HBO SUB had the highest amount of deleted words. However, Schillinger's denigrating attitude is obvious to the viewers even without the swearword as it is also demonstrated by his gestures and mocking tone of voice.

Half of the sexual references were translated with transfer. From the 32 sexual references of the ST, fan translators had used this strategy with 16 incidents (50%), DVD translator with 17 incidents (53.1%) and HBO translator with 14 incidents (43.8 %). There were no major differences between the translators in this case except the HBO translator had used this strategy a little less than the others. Most of the sexual references translated using this transfer were names of sex organs which is illustrated by the next example. In this scene, Tim McManus is offended by Warden Leo Glynn because Glynn does not believe that McManus is going on a date:

(44) McManus: I've got a **dick** like every other guy.

DIVX SUB: On minullakin **kulli**.
[I too have a **dick**.]

DVD SUB: Minulla on **mulkku** siinä kuin muillakin.
[I have a **dick** just like others.]

HBO SUB: Minulla on **kulli** kuten muillakin miehillä.
[I too have a **dick** just like other men.]

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 4)

In the example 44., the word *dick* that is a vulgar word for penis (Moore et.al. 2010) has been translated as *kulli* [dick] by fan translators and HBO translator and as *mulkku* [dick] by DVD translator. Sex organs were translated often using transfer because there are various Finnish equivalents for these words and it is an easy solution.

Surprisingly, there were also some double entendres that were translated using transfer. From original 16 double entendres fan translators had used transfer in five incidents (31.3%), DVD translator in seven incidents (43.8%) and HBO translator in two incidents (12.5%). In the following example fan translators and DVD translator have translated both double entendres using transfer, whereas HBO translator has used paraphrase: equivalence and deletion. In this scene, Simon Adebisi is shocked to hear how Augustus Hill's spinal cord injury affects Hill's sex life:

(45) Adebisi: You don't know when you're **hard**, you don't know when you fucking **come**.

DIVX SUB: Et tiedä, milloin olet **kovana**? Et tiedä edes, milloin **tulet**?
[You don't know when you're **hard**? You don't even know when you **come**?]

DVD SUB: Et tiedä, koska olet **kovana**. Etkä tiedä, koska **tulet**?
[You don't know when you're **hard**? You don't know when you **come**?]

HBO SUB: Et tunne, milloin **seisoo** eikä se tunnu sinusta mitään.
[You don't feel when **it's standing** and you don't feel anything.]

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997: Scene 3)

Hard in its regular meaning stands for the opposite of soft but it can also be used to refer to male erection (Moore et.al 2010: 257). *Come* means to travel or to move but in colloquial language it is also used for ejaculation (Moore et. al. 2010: 142). As stated earlier (see 2.3), taboo language is often used when talking about sex with close friends and partners. This is because we seem to lack neutral expressions for sexual acts that could be used in casual conversation. On the other hand, perhaps we are more at ease in the company of close friends and feel comfortable to use these kinds of taboo words. Here, Hill and Adebisi use these words as they seem to be in good terms and Hill is able to tell about the problems his physical condition causes.

Fan translators and DVD translator have used words *kovana* [hard] and *tulla* [to come] which both can be used in the same sense as their English counterparts and are therefore easy solutions for the translation problem. It is probable that taboo meanings for these words have been loaned from English. HBO translator has chosen the word *seisoa* that in normal speech means to stand up but it can also be used for erection in Finnish. The word *come* has been deleted and the sentence modified. The aim of these changes might have been to condense the sentence but it has not had much of effect as HBO translation has the same amount of characters as the DVD translation. All the translators had deleted the adjectival swearword *fucking* from this line.

4.5 Resignation

Resignation describes the strategy adopted when no translation solution can be found (Gottlieb 1992: 166). This might be because the dialogue is inaudible or the translator does not understand what is said. Resignation was the least popular strategy and there were not many incidents of it found from the material. The following table presents all the incidents when the translators had used Resignation:

Table 11. Swearwords Translated Using Resignation

| Swearword categories | SOURCE TEXT | DIVX SUB | DVD SUB | HBO SUB |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Racial abuse | 32 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Abuse of minorities | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Directive abuse | 52 | 2 | 0 | 5 |
| Adjectival | 38 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sexual references | 32 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Fuck used as an expletive | 35 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expletives | 56 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Blasphemy | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Slang | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Double entendre | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Puns | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Baby talk | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total amount: | 279 | 3 | 0 | 7 |
| Per centage: | | 1,1 % | 0,0 % | 2,5 % |

There were altogether ten incidents of resignation. Fan translators had three (1.1%) and HBO translator had seven (2.5%). DVD translator had not used this strategy once. All these ten incidents of resignation were cases where the lines said on the original voice-track were almost inaudible or could be considered back-ground noise. HBO translator's strategy seemed to be that all inaudible dialogue was left untranslated whereas the DVD translator had translated everything. The fan translators had chosen a strategy that was somewhere between these two. This differed from the original assumption according to which both commercial translators should have used resignation more than fan translators.

Some cases of directive abuse were translated using resignation. Fan translators had translated two incidents (3.9 %) of the original 51 directive abuse words using resignation while HBO translator had five words (9,8%) from this category translated with resignation. In the following example HBO translator has used resignation with the first line. The Fan translators and the DVD translator have used paraphrase: equivalence. In this scene, Warden Glynn and Tim McManus leave the warden's office and go to the

corridors of prison after which the camera cuts to the corridor where viewers see officer Healy responding to the inmate:

(46) Inmate: **Fuck you, Healy!**

DIVX SUB: **Haista vittu, Healy! [Fuck you, Healy!]**

DVD SUB: **Haista paska, Healy! [Sniff shit, Healy!]**

HBO SUB: RESIGNATION

(*OZ: The Routine* 1997 Scene 2.)

The line *Fuck you, Healy!* is said on a situation where viewers cannot see the person saying it. Only after the camera cuts to the corridors we see officer Healy shouting at the inmate who probably said the line. Because the character saying the line is not visible, the HBO translator has decided not to translate it. Moreover, as the shout is almost inaudible in the original voice-track, thus it was concluded that rather than being a choice to delete the line, HBO translator has probably thought that there is no need to translate the line. Other translators have seen the line as more important and translated it.

Another example of resignation is from a similar situation where the person talking is not clearly visible. Here, fan translators and HBO translator have translated one directive abuse and one expletive using resignation. Expletives were the other swearword category that was translated using this strategy. From 56 expletives fan translators had translated one instance (1.8%), and HBO translator two instances (3.6%) with resignation. In this scene inmates are watching the news where governor Devlin announces that he wants to end conjugal visits between inmates and their wives:

(47) Inmates: **Sonowabitch! That's bullshit man..**

DIVX SUB: RESIGNATION

DVD SUB: **Paskiainen! Täyttä paskaa...
[Bastard! Pure crap...]**

HBO SUB: RESIGNATION

(*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997 Scene 3.)

Sonowabitch is probably directed to Devlin as he is the one willing to limit the inmates' rights. The second comment *That's bullshit man* is an overall expression of dissatisfaction that that is not directed to anyone particularly. It is not clear who says these lines as the picture shows group of inmates walking towards the screen. The picture is cut so their faces cannot be seen properly:



Picture 3. Angry Inmates (*OZ: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise* 1997 Scene 3.)

In this case both the fan translators and the HBO translator have used resignation. DVD translator has used paraphrase: equivalence with the first word *sonowabitch* and translated it as *paskiainen* [bastard]. This is because there is no direct translation for the word in Finnish. The second swearword *bullshit* was also translated with paraphrase: equivalence as *paskaa* [shit].

5 CONCLUSIONS

The hypothesis of this study was that fan translators would use more de-normalizing translation strategy than commercial translators when translating swearwords in the television series *OZ*. Commercial translators would choose more normalizing strategy. What this meant in practice was that fan translators would retain more of the swearwords whereas commercial translators would omit them or translate them using milder counterparts. The assumption was based on the fact that commercial translators must follow subtitling conventions that set limits to the amount of available characters and this usually encourages translators to omit all unnecessary parts of the ST. Swearwords might be seen as unnecessary because they are not a crucial part of the plot. Two full length episodes of *OZ* and three Finnish subtitles, one by fan translators and two by commercial translators, were used as the source material.

In order to analyze the translations of swearwords they had to be first identified. Thirteen different categories of swearwords were identified from the source material and these categories were named as: racial abuse, abuse of minorities, directive abuse, adjectival, sexual references, fuck used as an expletive, expletives, blasphemy, slang, double entendre, puns and baby talk. Altogether 279 incidents of swearwords belonging to these categories were found. After this, to analyze the translation strategies, the strategies were first divided into two broad main categories, that is, global strategies called de-normalizing and normalizing on the basis on of how they aim to transfer the ST swearwords into TT. In de-normalizing strategy, colloquial elements of the ST are retained whereas in normalizing strategy they are more likely omitted. After this, the analysis was carried out on the identified instances of different swearwords by rating the translation strategies used in the subtitled versions as either de-normalizing or normalizing according to changes that had happened to these words during the translation process. The Finnish versions were then further divided into smaller local strategies that were transfer, paraphrase, resignation and deletion. In order to see whether translated words were milder than in the original, paraphrase strategy was divided into four sub-categories developed by the author of this study: harder, equivalence, softer and neutral. Of the local strategies transfer and paraphrase: equivalence were seen as de-normalizing

strategies whereas paraphrase: harder, softer and neutralized, deletion and resignation were more normalizing strategies.

According to the original assumption all the translators had omitted some of swearwords of the ST as this is likely to happen in subtitling. It was also according to the assumption that commercial translators had used more normalizing global strategy where the colloquial elements of the ST, including swearwords, are faded in favor of more literary expression. The fan translators had retained more of the swearwords making their translation more de-normalizing. It must be stated, however, that differences between the fan translators' and the commercial translators' translation choices were not major and the only thing that clearly separated these two types of translations was the use of local strategy deletion: both commercial translators had used this strategy significantly more than the fan translators. What was contrary to the original assumption was the fact that all the translators had neutralized almost the same amount of words. In this case, there was no difference between the fan translators and the commercial translators here. DVD translator had softened more words than fan translator and HBO translator but no common tendency for commercial translators to soften swearwords could be detected.

Based on this study it can be stated that both commercial translations differed greatly from each other. Apart from the common tendency to delete words, it seemed sometimes that the DVD translation and the HBO translation had more in common with the fan translation than with each other. The DVD translator and the fan translators had translated most of the content as it was in the original text, though the DVD translator had omitted and softened more swearwords and other elements of the spoken language than the fans. Both had used mostly standard written Finnish in the lines. The HBO translator had the most concise translations and had also made more changes to the lines compared to the other translators. He/she had deleted more swearwords than the other translators but also, maybe to compensate those deleted words, translated some words as more severe than in the ST version. HBO translation was also the one with most colloquial language, at least when translating the lines of the inmates.

When analyzing the different translations, it seemed that not much effort was placed in translating swearwords. Often the most simple Finnish equivalent for the word was chosen or the word was completely deleted. Although, translators had in some cases used innovative words such as *pastapelle* for *dago* (see example 23.) or *päästä pukille* for *get laid* (see example 26.), these incidents were few. It is possible that swearwords are seen as secondary in importance and therefore not much thought is put into translating them. Another more plausible reason might be the lack of time. As discussed in section 3.5 commercial translators do not have any extra time in their hands and this is bound to have an effect to their translations.

It must be remembered that this study had rather limited material and if the same study would be replicated using more episodes and more different translation versions, the result could also be different. It was the original aim of the writer to use also subtitles from Finnish public broadcasting company YLE and another fan translation as a material but since either one was not available this plan had to be abandoned. It would also be interesting to study other parts of the dialogue apart from swearwords to see how fan translations differ from the commercial ones. There were many differences, including the translations of culture bound items or word plays, that could not be included to this study due to the limited length of the master's thesis.

Yet another possible topic for research would be observing the viewers' reactions to subtitled swearwords. Many studies in the audiovisual field refer to swearwords only briefly and the view they all seem to repeat is that the swearwords should be omitted because they are more powerful in written than in spoken form (see e.g. Vertanen 2007). While this claim is probably true, it would be important to justify it by studying how the audience reacts to subtitles with different amounts of swearwords. For viewers, the translations of swearwords are not irrelevant (see appendix 4.) and it is possible that the audience, or at least the younger members of the audience, are more accustomed to foul language than the older ones.

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Appendix 1. Scene list

Episode 1: The routine

SCENE 1: (00:00 –)

The opening sequence.

SCENE 2: (01:21 –)

Gates of the prison open and the Oswald Maximum Security Prison nicknamed OZ is presented to the viewers by the narrator Augustus Hill. New inmate Tobias Beecher has a shocking introduction to prison life. Beecher's backstory is told. Warden Leo Glynn informs the inmates about smoking ban which enrages the inmates. Beecher meets Aryan leader Vern Schillinger who pretends to be friendly but turns out to be Beecher's worst nightmare.

SCENE 3: (14:02 –)

Drugs are found from cells and warden Glynn issues a week-long lock-down. Staff members argue about treatment of inmates. Kareem Said comes to OZ and immediately wins the respect of the other Muslim inmates. Said proves to be a tough nut to crack as he is not imitated by the leader of drug dealing homeboys, Jefferson Keane.

SCENE 4 (25:04 –)

New inmate Ryan O'Reily arrives to OZ. He has a feud with Dino Ortolani who is the nephew of Italian gangster boss Nino Schibetta. O'Reily tries to get Dino Ortolani dead while at the same time Ortolani is destructing himself. Ortolani beats up Jefferson Keane's gay brother Billie for making passes at him. As a punishment, McManus orders Ortolani to work in the AIDS ward. There he meets gay junkie Emilio Sanchez who is slowly dying of AIDS.

SCENE 5 (35:04 –)

Ortolani has managed to alienate any friends that he had left. Ryan O'Reily convinces Jefferson Keane to order a hit on Ortolani. Keane agrees because Ortolani beat his brother. O'Reily bumps into Ortolani at men's room and the two fight. Sanchez begs Ortolani to kill him and as an act of "kindness" Ortolani agrees.

SCENE 6 (50:11–)

Ortolani is thrown into solitary for killing Sanchez. Homeboy assassin Johnny Post sees his opportunity and kills Ortolani by burning him.

Episode 2: Visits, Conjugal and Otherwise

SCENE 1: (00:00 –)

The opening sequence.

SCENE 2: (01:27–)

The murder of Dino Ortolani is under investigation. The inmates are interrogated. Officer Whittlesey is worried about the well-being of Tobias Beecher.

SCENE 3: (05:35–)

Sister Peter Marie arranges a conjugal visit for Beecher and his wife. Schillinger demeans Beecher because he did not ask Schillinger for a permission. Beecher ends up tearing up the pictures of his family because he is afraid that Schillinger will hurt his family. Governor Devlin issues a statement that conjugal visits between inmates and their wife's will be forbidden. This angers the inmates. Back story of Augustus Hill is told.

SCENE 4 (20:52–)

Jefferson Keane is interrogated of the murder of Dino Ortolani. The backstory of Keane is told. Keane wants to marry his pregnant girlfriend Mavis even though he is imprisoned for life. Both McManus and Said plead for his case. Warden Glynn agrees because he wants something from Said. McManus is offended that the warden does not listen to him. Keane is married.

SCENE 5 (33:08–)

Priest Ray Mukada tries to save inmate Miguel Alvarez. Alvarez's girlfriend is pregnant but he has no interest in being a father because of his own bad experiences: both his father and grandfather have been in OZ since he was born. Mukada organizes a meeting for these three.

SCENE 6 (39:40–)

More inmates are being questioned. Nino Schibetta tries to find out the killer of Ortolani himself. Schibetta lets O'Reily know that he knows that O'Reily has something to do with the murder. O'Reily panics and tells to Jefferson Keane that they have turn in Johnny Post. Keane is not willing to rat on one of his own.

SCENE 7 (47:43 –)

The detective investigating Ortolani's murder accuses O'Reily indirectly of the crime. Frightened O'Reily goes to the Italians and betrays Johnny Post. The Italians murder Johnny Post in retaliation.

Appendix 2. Character list

PRISON STAFF:

WARDEN, LEO GLYNN

A conflicted person trying to maintain law and order in an often chaotic environment. He does what he can to manage every conflict present in Oz. Sister Pete calls him "the best man for the worst job."

DIRECTOR OF EMERALD CITY, TIM MCMANUS

A liberal idealist who forms Emerald City for purposes of making a perfect prison where rehabilitation and conflict are resolved. Often seen as weak for supposedly soft approaches to dealing with the inmates, he still manages to come out on top of many situations.

NUN, SISTER PETER MARIE REIMONDO

A psychiatrist and nun, she is the main force of good inside of the prison.

PRIEST, FATHER RAY MUKADA

Catholic priest who often provides spiritual counsel to many of the inmates, especially Miguel Alvarez.

DOCTOR, GLORIA NATHAN

A prison doctor who leads the prison hospital in providing care for several of the inmates within Oz. A good person.

OFFICER, DIANE WHITTLESEY

Raised in poor conditions and uneducated, who is faced with managing several issues at home, a relationship with McManus, and being fair to the inmates.

OFFICER, MIKE HEALY

A disgruntled and corrupt officer, Healy has a very low opinion of both the inmates and Unit Manager Tim McManus. Healy is friends with inmate Ryan O'Reily and is a friend of Ryan's brother.

INMATES:

UN-ALLIED, AUGUSTUS HILL

Narrator of the show. Paralyzed from the waist down.

UN-ALLIED, TOBIAS BEECHER

Was a middleclass lawyer in denial about his alcoholism until landing in prison.

UN-ALLIED, DONALD GROVES

Groves was serving a life sentence for killing both of his parents. He then ate his mom and "was saving his father for Thanksgiving." He is usually the comic relief throughout the series.

UN-ALLIED, RYAN O'REILY

An Irish gangster who does what it takes to survive. Compared to Othello's Iago by show creator Fontana, he is responsible for almost every death in the first season.

THE WISEGUYS, DINO ORTOLANI

The epitome of a macho Italian gangster, Ortolani is bitter, homophobic and hotheaded. He is also the nephew of Nino Schibetta.

THE WISEGUYS, JOEY D'ANGELO

D'Angelo is a soldier of the Italians taking orders mainly from Nino Schibetta.

THE WISEGUYS, NINO SCHIBETTA

Nino is head of the Italian prisoners and manages them with an iron hand.

THE LATINOS, MIGUEL ALVAREZ

Alvarez arrives and is stabbed in the receiving and discharge area.

THE HOMEBOYS, JEFFERSON KEANE

Keane runs the Homeboys, the black inmates involved in drug dealing.

THE HOMEBOYS, SIMON ADEBISI

A gigantic, deranged maniac of Nigerian descent. His flirtations with insanity and religion are transient.

THE HOMEBOYS, JOHNNY POST

A hitman for the Homeboys. He is heavily racist towards the Italians.

THE HOMEBOYS, ARNOLD "POET" JACKSON

Composes and recites free verse poetry. Addicted to heroin.

THE MUSLIMS, KAREEM SAID

A Muslim leader with a powerful voice and a conviction that other people's racism will absolve him.

ARYAN BROTHERHOOD, VERN SCHILLINGER

Leader of the Aryan Brotherhood, Schillinger commits atrocities against other inmates because of race, sexual orientation, or overall weakness.

THE GAYS, BILLIE KEANE

Imprisoned alongside his elder brother, Jefferson.

THE GAYS, EMILIO SANCHEZ

Sanchez is in Unit E, also known as the AIDS ward, where he is slowly dying of AIDS.

OTHER, GOVERNOR DEVLIN

A right-wing politician, disliked by several staff members and the vast majority of the inmates.

Appendix 3. List of Swearwords

| | % <i>saying</i> 'very severe' | % <i>saying</i> 'fairly severe' | % <i>saying</i> 'quite mild' | % <i>saying</i> 'not swearing' | <i>Ranked</i> <i>position</i> (2000) ²¹ | <i>Ranked</i> <i>position</i> (1998) |
|--------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Cunt | 83 | 13 | 3 | *1 | 1 | 1 |
| Motherfucker | 79 | 15 | 4 | *2 | 2 | 2 |
| Fuck | 71 | 22 | 6 | *1 | 3 | 3 |
| Wanker | 37 | 37 | 22 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Nigger | 42 | 26 | 14 | 18 | 5 | 11 |
| Bastard | 33 | 33 | 25 | 8 | 6 | 5 |
| Prick | 26 | 36 | 29 | 8 | 7 | 7 |
| Bollocks | 25 | 32 | 34 | 8 | 8 | 6 |
| Arsehole | 22 | 34 | 36 | 7 | 9 | 9 |
| Paki | 34 | 26 | 16 | 24 | 10 | 17 |
| Shag | 27 | 28 | 32 | 12 | 11 | 8 |
| Whore | 26 | 33 | 25 | 15 | 12 | 13 |
| Twat | 26 | 27 | 27 | 19 | 13 | 10 |
| Piss off | 18 | 32 | 42 | 7 | 14 | 12 |
| Spastic | 32 | 24 | 16 | 28 | 15 | 14 |
| Slag | 19 | 31 | 33 | 17 | 16 | 18 |
| Shit | 16 | 26 | 49 | 9 | 17 | 15 |
| Dickhead | 16 | 24 | 44 | 16 | 18 | 19 |
| Pissed off | 14 | 24 | 47 | 14 | 19 | 16 |
| Arse | 10 | 21 | 47 | 21 | 20 | 20 |
| Bugger | 9 | 22 | 48 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| Balls | 11 | 19 | 44 | 25 | 22 | 22 |
| Jew | 20 | 15 | 14 | 51 | 23 | 24 |
| Sodding | 7 | 18 | 45 | 30 | 24 | 23 |
| Jesus Christ | 14 | 13 | 27 | 46 | 25 | 26 |
| Crap | 5 | 15 | 48 | 32 | 26 | 25 |
| Bloody | 3 | 11 | 56 | 29 | 27 | 27 |
| God | 10 | 8 | 23 | 60 | 28 | 28 |

* Denotes fewer than 25 respondents.

Appendix 4. Translation Critique on Finnish Discussion Forums

▼ Siirry uusimpaan viestiin

⊕ Jaa

Huuh miten huonot tekstitykset voikaan pilata katselunautinnon

kidnapped 30.07.2014 18:34 (1/18)

Katottiin Housea DVD:ltä. Tässä esimerkkejä

Foremanin hakulaite piippaa. "It's the lab." Suomennos: "Se on lapra."

House onnistuu saamaan liput Monster Truck -tapahtumaan ja näyttää niitä Wilsonille. "I scored!" Suomennos: "Minä lahjoin!"

Tai kun House on viikon ilman Vicodinia, ja lopussa kertoo Wilsonille tajunneensa, että on addikti. "But I'm not stopping." Suomennos: "En aio erota." "I don't need to stop." Suomennos: "Ei minun tarvitse erota."

Sit kaikki miljoonat kirjoitusvirheet, tosi monista sanoista puuttu kirjaimia välistä. ("Voitko selittää miksi estit leikkauksen?")

Oikeesti suurin osa (kaikkii!) netistä ladattavista tekstityksistäkin on laadukkaampia. Kuka nää oikolukee???

törley 30.07.2014 20:55 (6/18)

"Do you really have a penis?" = "Onko sinulla todella siitin?"

Hienoa, Netflix. 'The Hot Chick' oli juuri se oikea konteksti siittimelle.

sipsuttajasieni 30.07.2014 21:02 (7/18)

i get laid = minä saan munaa.

sinkkuelämässä oli tämä.

kidnapped 30.07.2014 21:11 (8/18)

No mut noi teijän on sentään ihan oikein suomennettu. Noi mun esimerkit ei -.- paitsi toi eka, mut "lapra" ei oo mikään sana!!!

rockyroad 30.07.2014 21:12 (9/18)

Mua ärsyttää, kun suomessa on ilmeisesti jotenkin suurta syntiä kirjoittaa "vittu". Aina, jos vaikka jossain leffassa tai sarjassa joku henkilö sanoo jonkin fuck-kommentin, esimerkiksi "oh fuck", se suomennetaan aina tyylillä "voi helvetti".

Tuli tästä muuten mieleen ehkä paras suomennos oikeesti ikinä. Paluu tulevaisuuteen - leffassa se Marty putos vissiin johonkin veteen ja oli jotenki sillee "oh shit" ja suomennos "voi kilin kellit". :DDD Parhautta.