Translating Danish Movies

Evaluating the English Subtitles in Two Danish Feature Films

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1. INTRODUCTION

The practice of translating texts from one language into another has existed for centuries. This practice took a new form with the arrival of television. All of a sudden, it was necessary to translate verbal statements within a new medium instead of just translating one written text into another written text. In Scandinavia, the use of subtitles became the most common method for translating this new form of entertainment. Whenever television programs or movies were shown in a language different from the audience’s native language, translated subtitles would appear at the bottom of the screen. Subtitles thus presented translators with an entirely new task. Translators specializing in handling this new task quickly became known as subtitlers, and were presented with the challenge of translating dialog from one language into subtitled text of another language. For as long as the practice of translation has existed, so have criticisms of the translator. The harshest punishment was perhaps in the 16th century, when French humanist Etienne Dolet was burned at the stake for translating one of Plato’s dialogs, because some felt that Dolet had added a blasphemous passage. Luckily, subtitlers are not judged this harshly, but are nevertheless held accountable by the very critical eye of the public. Therefore, it is crucial that subtitlers do everything in their power to correctly translate the original meaning of the source text for the new audience.

With this in mind, the purpose of this paper is to examine the English subtitles found in two Danish movies. In order to do this I will first introduce the academic discipline known as translation studies. Then I will examine the art of subtitling and illustrate how important it is to have proper subtitles when translating from one language to another. This will lead to an explanation of a method of analysis created by Henrik Gottlieb, who is considered by many to be one of the leading experts on the subject of subtitling. I will use this method to analyze the movies that I have chosen for examination and will then discuss the result of my findings. All of these issues will be dealt with thoroughly in the main chapters of this paper. However, as part of this introduction I will share my motivation for doing this type of project, state a problem definition, introduce my method of analysis, provide a synopsis of the two movies I am analyzing, and include a delimitation to determine the boundaries of this paper.


1.1 Motivation

As mentioned before the most critical opinions on subtitles often come from the audience themselves. Having grown up in both America and Denmark, spending approximately half of my life in each country, I would have to consider myself bilingual. Therefore, I have probably always been extra critical when watching American television subtitled into Danish. Subtitles are almost impossible to ignore completely, and I will often times find myself yelling at the television screen wondering how the subtitler could misinterpret an American joke, or not know the meaning of a particular American expression.

Thus, the reason for undertaking this type of project is simply to gain a better understanding of the translation process. It is my intention to gather information about translation studies as a subject, and to obtain knowledge of the many important theories behind this fairly new academic discipline. As subtitles are my main field of interest, the topic of subtitles being a part of translation studies is a subject I am looking forward to studying more. The public often overlooks the difficulty of subtitling, and successful subtitles are often taken for granted. With that being said, it is equally crucial that subtitlers strive towards creating subtitles that give their audience an optimal viewing experience. Poor subtitling efforts must thus be examined and more studies must be done in order to prevent these weak translations from recurring.

Finally, it should be mentioned that it is not without purpose that this paper will deal with English translations of Danish movies. Numerous studies have been done by both students and academics, which have evaluated the Danish subtitles of American or British television and movies. However, very few studies have turned this process around and evaluated the subtitles of Danish movies. Since there are not many Danish movies that are released into English speaking markets, it might seem unnecessary to assess the subtitles of these movies. However, I believe that not only is it important that proper translation is done of the movies that are released, but also that studies are done so that translation guidelines can be created that can be helpful no matter what language is being dealt with.

1.2 Problem Definition

It has been mentioned that this paper will deal with studying the English subtitles of two Danish movies, but now it is important to state what exactly it is that will be analyzed.
Every language and every country has its own specific references to cultural phenomenon, which are undoubtedly difficult to understand for anyone who is not familiar with that particular culture. For instance, a person referring to the city of New York as the “Big Apple,” would have made a statement that includes a specific cultural reference that perhaps only an American would understand. However, because English is such a dominant language in the world today, especially when it comes to the entertainment business, far more of these cultural references are understood by foreign audiences, whereas specific references to phenomena in Denmark would often need to be explained to people from outside the country. For example, a reference to the American tradition of “Halloween” might be understood by many Danes, but a reference to “Fastelavn” in Danish would have to be dealt with differently when being translated for an English speaking audience.

Henrik Gottlieb, whose methodology will be used in this report, calls these specific cultural references “localisms”. More specifically, he refers to them as “extra-linguistic culture-specific references”. Both of these terms will be used in this paper, and Gottlieb’s definitions of these terms will also be provided later. However, what is important for now is to realize that these localisms do appear in both television and film productions. The frequency of which they occur depends entirely on the specific production, but it is fair to predict that there are approximately 15 to 60 localisms found in every movie, although more studies need to be done in order to find a more precise average.

Translators often have to deal with these references when subtitling content from English into Danish. As mentioned before, Danish people are far more likely to understand many of these references when they are translated literally, and therefore the subtitler’s job becomes somewhat easier. This study, however, is concerned with examining how the subtitlers have handled the difficult task of translating Danish cultural references into English. The movies that I have chosen to analyze are Anders Thomas Jensen’s The Green Butchers and In China They Eat Dogs. It is important to study what strategies have been used to deal with localisms in these movies, if any, and briefly look at what the consequences are for the final product when using particular strategies. Perhaps this would help create a guideline for translators on how to approach the subtitling of localisms. With this in mind, it is the aim of this paper to answer the following two questions:
1) *What specific extra-linguistic cross-culture references exist in the two Danish feature films The Green Butchers and In China They Eat Dogs?*

2) *What does an analysis of these references reveal about the strategies used by the translators when subtitling these localisms into English, and what are the consequences, if any, of using a particular strategy versus another?*

It is important not just to find examples of localisms in these two movies, but also to analyze the usefulness of the strategies employed in the translation efforts. This might also lead to an evaluation of how well Henrik Gottlieb’s method of analysis answers the questions above.

### 1.3 Method

In this section, I will introduce the method of analysis by Henrik Gottlieb that will be used in this paper. Gottlieb provides an explanation of the method and uses it himself in his article “Subtitling Against the Current: Danish Concepts, English Minds”. The purpose of his article was to look at the strategies used by subtitlers when encountering Danish localisms in the dialog of five Danish movies, as well as two successful mainstream American movies for comparison (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 199). He defines localisms as extra-linguistic culture-specific references, which he further defines as being “lexical items, typically nouns and names, designating phenomena specific to the culture in which they are used” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 200). This paper will use this same definition when dealing with localisms in *The Green Butchers* and *In China They Eat Dogs*.

In order to study the translation strategies of these localisms, Gottlieb creates a type of fidelity chart. Fidelity is a concept that is widely discussed in translation studies, and this will be covered later, but Gottlieb uses a lexical definition for the purpose of his studies. The lexical definition more or less states that fidelity is the degree of accuracy found in a translation. Therefore, Gottlieb uses his fidelity chart to study whether the subtitlers have translated the culture-specific dialog close to the original or if they have created a substitution of some sort. To do this, Gottlieb has created six different categories in which he believes that you can place every single localism. These will be defined later, but by placing all localisms into different categories, Gottlieb has created a system in which he can evaluate whether or not translators use the same strategies.
throughout a movie when encountering localisms. This project will therefore be able to use this same method to analyze the frequency of localisms in the two Danish movies studied and evaluate whether the subtitlers have used a particular strategy.

In addition to this method, I will go one step further and analyze many of the translated localisms specifically. I will be referring to many of the pertinent theories found when studying translation studies as well as theories provided by subtitling experts. For instance, I will use the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation’s “Code of Good Subtitling Practice” to see if the subtitled localisms meet these requirements. The purpose of this is to see if a certain strategy exists, which is particularly useful when translating culture-specific references. If there is, then it could become a helpful guideline for subtitlers in the future. If there is not, then perhaps more studies need to be done, or Gottlieb’s model should be altered so that successful translations of localisms can somehow be shown.

1.4 Case Study

As mentioned above I have chosen two Danish movies to be the basis of my analysis. *The Green Butchers* and *In China They Eat Dogs* share many similarities. For instance, they have both been written by the Academy Award winning writer Anders Thomas Jensen. Therefore, it is not a surprise that both movies are relatively alike in genre and style. However, these movies were not chosen for this project just because of their similarities. In fact, one of the main reasons is simply because there are not many Danish movies that have been successfully released outside Denmark, and obtaining Danish movies with English subtitles is not always an easy task. Since Anders Thomas Jensen’s movies have been widely successful in Denmark, most of his movies have been released worldwide in hopes of international success. This has made *The Green Butchers* and *In China They Eat Dogs* manageable case studies for this particular paper. With this being said, these two movies are also excellent to analyze because they both contain difficult speech and a type of humor that is very hard to translate into other cultures and languages. To explain this in detail a short description as well as a synopsis of both movies will now be provided.
1.4.1 The Green Butchers

*The Green Butchers* is a movie both written and directed by Anders Thomas Jensen. It stars two of the most successful Danish male actors Mads Mikkelsen and Nicolaj Lie Kaas. The movie was released in 2002 and the movie includes some of the dark black humor that Jensen has become famous for in his movies. The main plot of the movie revolves around two butchers Svend and Bjarne, Mikkelsen and Lie Kaas respectively, who together attempt to open up their own store. When Svend accidentally locks up a person in the freezer and finds him dead in the morning, he butchers him and sells the meat to spite his annoying ex-boss. Interestingly enough, the ex-boss’s dinner party turns out to be a complete success, his guests seem to love the meat, and Svend finds himself obsessed with trying to please his new base of customers by continuing to sell human meat.

*The Green Butchers* is a Danish comedy that embraces a type of humor that might not be understood anywhere else in the world. It contains many idioms and expressions that might present a challenge for many translators. It is difficult to successfully translate this type of humor, but it is essential that the subtitles give the targeted audience the same experience that the audience listening to the original dialog had. Therefore, this movie seemed perfect for a project that analyzes translated subtitles from Danish to English. Hopefully, *The Green Butchers* will also prove to be a proper case study for analyzing the presence of localisms.

1.4.2 In China They Eat Dogs

*In China They Eat Dogs* was made in 1999, and released on DVD in April 2000. It was therefore made before Anders Thomas Jensen had started his career as a director, so even though he wrote the manuscript for this movie, it was directed by another talented Danish filmmaker, Lasse Spang Olsen. At the time, it starred some up-and-coming Danish stars and the four main characters Arvid, Harald, Peter, and Martin, are played by Dejan Cukic, Kim Bodnia, Tomas Villum Jensen, and Nicolaj Lie Kaas respectively. The plot is just as bizarre as that of *The Green Butchers*. *In China They Eat Dogs* revolves around the timid and always careful main character Arvid. However, when he decides to break up a robbery at the bank where he works, and later that same day finds out that his girlfriend has decided to leave him, his life suddenly turns upside down. Arvid has never done much wrong in life, but after these events, he seeks out his long lost brother, Harald, who
leads a life on the wrong side of the law. The two brothers, along with the two cooks, Peter and Martin, who work for Harald at his restaurant, become involved in some twisted criminal acts, such as robbing an armored truck, helping an inmate break out of prison, and shooting an entire rock band, which can only be described as violently humorous. The movie also ends with an interesting description of life after death, and on some level offers a peculiar opinion on the concept of moral ethics.

Similarly to The Green Butchers, this movie provides its audience with some rather dark humor, which is not intended for everyone. In China They Eat Dogs contains idioms, phrases, difficult dialog, as well as foreign dialects of Danish, which make the movie’s humorous scenes hard to translate into English subtitles.

The comedy contained within both of these movies is heavily sarcastic, twisted, and violent. It could be argued that this type of comedy is very culture-specific and that foreign audiences may have a tough time grasping the humor of brutal deaths and ruthlessly demeaning comments. Therefore, the presence of typical Danish humor in both The Green Butchers and In China They Eat Dogs provides an excellent basis for analyzing the frequency of localisms.

1.5 Delimitation

There are many different approaches to a translation project such as this one. In this section, I will explain what else could have been included in this paper if more time was available, and therefore determine the limits and boundaries of this project. Some of the issues that have been left out of this report include examining the subtitlers themselves, conducting a survey that shows what native English speakers thought about the subtitling efforts, or analyzing the success of Danish movies released outside of Denmark to see if there is a correlation between good subtitles and acceptance of foreign films.

One of the topics that could be examined in any subtitling project is an analysis of the translators and subtitlers involved with the movie. One could look at what other movies that person had subtitled, and see if there are any striking similarities. This could be helpful if there are certain errors that are repeated, or if it could be determined that several translations had been successful. However, for the purpose of this project, only the finished product will be examined. In other words, only the subtitles and translations that have been produced for the two movies analyzed will be looked at, and not the people behind them. This is mainly because this project is concerned with comparing the
subtitles of two different movies instead of comparing the subtitles of two movies by the same subtitler. This is done in the hope that there will be a greater variety in the strategies used to translate localisms, when they are done by different subtitlers.

Another consideration for this project was to include a survey that asked several native English or American speakers to evaluate the subtitles in both of the movies analyzed. These speakers should have no previous knowledge of Danish. It would be interesting to see if any of the subtitled localisms confused the viewers, if they thought that one of the movies was better translated, or if there were any other issues with the subtitles that caught their attention. There are two main reasons why this survey is outside of the scope of this project. The first is the fact that this would bring an entirely new dimension to the project. Instead of just evaluating localisms, the survey would open up new discussions concerning other subtitling issues. Secondly, the difficulties of finding native English speakers to take the time out of their own schedule to watch both movies was too great, and the survey therefore proved to be outside of the boundaries of this particular paper.

Finally, for a translation project such as this, it could have been helpful to examine how successful these movies have been when released in foreign markets. It might even be worth comparing those Danish movies that have been successful in foreign markets with those that have failed, and evaluate the subtitles of these movies. For instance, it could have been interesting to see how The Green Butchers and In China They Eat Dogs have sold in England and in America respectively. However, this is again outside the scope of this paper, and could only be included in a larger-scaled project or in a project that focuses on this one particular aspect.
2. TRANSLATION THEORY

The subject of translation theory has existed almost since the beginning of translation itself. Before the analysis of localisms and evaluation of subtitles can begin, it is important to introduce the academic discipline known as translation studies, which is the cornerstone of translation theory, and discuss some of its key terms. This will also lead to a brief debate as to the role of the translator. All of this knowledge is essential in a project determined to thoroughly analyze movie subtitles.

2.1 Translation Studies

There are many different theories within the subject of translation studies that are widely debated by scholars around the world. However, the history and origin of the academic discipline itself as well as its purpose are far less disputed. It is obvious that the term “translation studies” involves a study of various types of translations. Therefore, before presenting a clear explanation of what the term “translation studies” entails, it is important to define what exactly a translation is.

2.1.1 What is Translation

One dictionary defines the word translation as “spoken or written words that have been changed into a different language,” and as, “the activity of changing spoken or written words into a different language” (Rundell, 2002, p. 1530). Many scholars have taken this definition even further, and some have even argued that more research needs to be done before understanding the true nature of the term translation. For instance, Mona Baker states in the introduction of the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, “One of the most fascinating things about exploring the history of translation is that it reveals how narrow and restrictive we have been in defining our object of study, even with the most flexible of definitions” (Baker, 1998, p. xviii). What Baker means is that even the broadest of definitions will neglect such practices as African interpreters translating African drum language into actual words, or a Japanese annotation system called “Kambun Kundoku”, which placed special marks next to Chinese texts that allowed the Japanese to read Chinese (Baker, 1998, xvii).
These types of translation are of course difficult to include within a definition. Nevertheless, many other definitions are useful for the purpose of this project. One of the most famous definitions is by Roman Jakobson, who created three categories of translation, which are as follows:

1) Intralingual translation, or ‘rewording’: ‘an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language’;
2) Interlingual translation, or ‘translation proper’: ‘an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language’;
3) Intersemiotic translation, or ‘transmutation’: ‘an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of non-verbal sign systems’. (Munday, 2001, p. 5)

According to this definition, movie subtitles that are in a different language than the original dialog would be categorized as interlingual translations, because subtitles are an interpretation of the verbal signs, or the dialog, which occurs on screen. The most studied form of translation is Jakobson’s interlingual translation and it is mostly concerned with literary translations. However, literary translation is by no means the exclusive focus of translation studies. Susan Bassnett uses a definition that could apply to both literary translation and subtitling. She states, “What is generally understood as translation involves the rendering of a source language (SL) text into the target language (TL) so as to ensure that (1) the surface meaning of the two will be approximately similar and (2) the structures of the SL will be preserved as closely as possible but not so closely that the TL structures will be seriously distorted” (Bassnett, 2002, p. 11). This definition is simple, yet sufficient, and is a good starting point for understanding what is meant by translation when discussed within this paper. Subtitling expert Henrik Gottlieb has a specific definition that he uses for the purposes of studying subtitles. He states, “By the term ‘translation’ I will refer to any process, or product hereof, in which verbal elements in a text are rendered by other verbal elements in order for that text to reach a new speech community” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 3). This definition is well suited for the purposes of the analysis that will be conducted later in this project.
2.1.2 What is Translation Studies

Now that the term translation has been thoroughly explained, it is possible to define the discipline known as translation studies. James S. Holmes, a pioneer of translation studies, defined it as “the complex problems clustered round the phenomenon of translating and translation” (Munday, 2001, p. 5). Another famous scholar, Andre Lefevere, proposed that translation studies should be the name of the discipline that deals with “the problems raised by the production and description of translations” (Bassnett, 2002, p.11). However, it is perhaps best defined in the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies when Mona Baker states, “‘Translation studies’ is now understood to refer to the academic discipline concerned with the study of translation at large, including literary and non-literary translation, various forms of oral interpreting, as well as dubbing and subtitling” (Baker, 1998, p. 277).

Even though translations of text and oral interpreting have existed nearly through the entirety of human civilization, it should be noted that translation studies as an academic discipline, is quite young. In fact, it is generally agreed upon that translation studies, as an academic discipline, did not officially take form until the second half of the twentieth century. This is when scholars decided that it was indeed necessary to conduct research and develop theories on the subject of translation. The first scholar to be credited with an attempt to create a framework of this new discipline was James S. Holmes, and his map of translation studies is particularly relevant and will therefore be mentioned here.

2.1.3 Holmes’ Map of Translation Studies

In his paper titled “The name and nature of translation studies”, which is regarded by many as the founding report of the field, James S. Holmes created an overall framework of what is covered under translation studies (Munday, 2001, p. 10). Holmes divided the discipline into two different areas, which he calls “pure translation studies” and “applied translation studies” (Baker, 1998, p. 277). This division as well as where Holmes places the different categories can be seen in the following figure:
According to the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, “Pure translation studies has the dual objective of describing translation phenomena as they occur and developing principles for describing and explaining such phenomena” (Baker, 1998, p. 277). The two main headings under “pure” in the map illustrate that “descriptive” stands for describing translation phenomena, while “theoretical” stands for the establishment of theory that explains and predicts translation phenomena. It is the descriptive area of pure translation studies that this project is concerned with, especially the “product oriented” branch, which involves examining existing translations. The “applied” branch concerns itself with “translator training”, “translation aids”, and “translation criticism”. Translator training includes teaching methods, testing techniques, and curriculum design, while translation aids are items such as dictionaries, grammars and information technology (Munday, 2001, p. 12). Translation criticism deals with the evaluation of translations, for instance the marking of a student translation by a teacher (Munday, 2001, p. 12). It should be noted that all three main branches, the pure branch, the descriptive branch, and the applied branch, are meant to work in unison and equal attention should be given to all three areas of study when discussing the field of translation studies.
2.2 Key Terms

In the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, Mona Baker describes three quintessential issues that have been debated since the start of translation theory. They are equivalence, translation shifts, and translatability of texts. These will be discussed in order to provide a background for a better understanding of the difficulties involved with translating from one language into another.

2.2.1 Equivalence

The question of equivalence is probably the most debated issue throughout the history of translation theory. There are numerous definitions and even debate as to whether or not equivalence is at all possible. The lexical definition of the word equivalence states that it is “the condition of two things having the same size, value, importance, or meaning” (Rundell, 2002, p. 464). The notion that a translation can be equal in meaning to its original is what is heavily debated by translation theorists and opinions differ immensely. Some theorists believe that translations are defined by the notion of equivalence, some claim that there is no such thing as equivalence, and some believe that it is either irrelevant or damaging to the field (Baker, 1998, p. 77).

Roman Jakobson, whose definition of translation was discussed earlier, has stated “there is ordinarily no equivalence between code-units” (Munday, 2001, p. 36). Jakobson establishes this fact by comparing the English word “cheese” with the Russian word “syr”, and explains that the two are not identical simply because the Russian word does not include the concept of “cottage cheese”, which in Russian is the word “tvarok” (Munday, 2001, p. 36). However, this does not mean that the meaning of cheese cannot be converted into Russian, but rather that it breaks it down into two separate concepts. Jakobson thus concludes, “Translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes,” implying that equivalence is obtainable even though the structure of languages are different (Munday, 2001, p. 37).

One of the most recognized definitions of equivalence was developed by Eugene Nida. Nida established two types of equivalence, which are termed formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence. Formal equivalence “focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content” (Bassnett, 2002, p. 33). In this type of translation, the main concern is work such as poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence, and concept to concept.
(Bassnett, 2002, p. 33). It is also stated, “that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language” (Munday, 2001, p. 41). This is very useful in academic or scholarly translations that allow the use of footnotes and contain extra information that can let the reader gain close knowledge of the original text.

However, it is Nida’s dynamic equivalence that is particularly interesting for the purpose of this project. This type of equivalence is based on what Nida calls “the principle of equivalent effect”, which states, “The relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message” (Munday, 2001, p. 42). This also leads to Nida’s definition of the goal of dynamic equivalence, which is “the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message” (Munday, 2001, p. 42). This is similar to what subtitlers attempt to achieve when they translate movies or television programs. Therefore, this definition of equivalence will be the one used in this project and is the fundamental goal of what a translation should achieve.

There are of course objections to the idea of exact equivalence that should also be mentioned. Bassnett writes, “Equivalence in translation … should not be approached as a search for sameness, since sameness cannot even exist between two target language versions of the same text, let alone between the source language and the target language version” (Bassnett, 2002, p. 36). However, as with many other definitions, this does not state that equivalence should not be strived for or that a similar and sufficient meaning of an original text can be achieved in a translation. The fact that there is a plethora of inadequate definitions presents a problem. This is mentioned in the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, when Snell-Hornby suggests, “the notion of equivalence in the English-speaking world has become so vague as to be useless” (Baker, 1998, p. 80). Jeremy Munday perhaps states it best when he writes, “Indeed, the whole question of equivalence inevitably entails subjective judgment from the translator or analyst” (Munday, 2001, p. 43). It is up to the individual to determine whether or not something is equal in meaning. Therefore, instead of debating the possibility of equivalence and its meaning, it is perhaps better to use a concept such as Nida’s dynamic equivalence, which simply asks for the translation to match as closely as possible, and subsequently leaves each translation up to the interpretation of the individual.
2.2.2 Translation Shifts

The occurrence of translation shifts is another issue that has been debated vigorously by different theorists and scholars, mainly because it can be related to equivalence in many ways. According to the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, “The term “shifts” is used in literature to refer to changes which occur or may occur in the process of translation” (Baker, 1998, p. 226). In other words, whenever something occurs during the translation process that changes the targeted text from the original source text, it can be deemed a shift. For instance, if a translator regards the English word “cheese” to actually mean “cottage cheese” in a text, and translates this into the Russian word “tvarek”, a shift has taken place. There are many different types of shifts, because sometimes translators might find it necessary to change not only lexical items, but also grammatical compositions, sentence structure, and so forth, which allows for a better stylistic representation in the targeted language. This has caused some theorists to consider translation shifts as a necessary condition for achieving equivalence, while other theorists see these changes as another reason why true equivalence cannot occur.

One logical definition of the term shifts was made by Slovakian translation theorist Anton Popovic. He stated, “All that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might be expected, may be interpreted as a shift” (Baker, 1998, p. 228). This seems to be straightforward, but there is also an important distinction between two different kinds of shifts, which is commonly accepted by translation scholars. Shifts can be either “obligatory” or “optional”. Obligatory shifts are those that are influenced by the uncontrollable differences between languages, such as lexical items that cannot be instantly translated from the source language to the target language (Baker, 1998, p. 228). Optional shifts, on the other hand, are those that are implemented by the translator for stylistic purposes or perhaps to gain a better cultural understanding of the text (Baker, 1998, p. 228). This is an important categorization, because this project will evaluate the localisms found in the subtitles of the two movies, some of which might have been either obligatory shifts or optional shifts.

2.2.3 Translatability

The question of equivalence dealt with the notion of whether or not something could be the same in two different languages. Translatability and untranslatability strikes at the very core of this debate, because it deals with whether or not the inferred meaning of a
text can be converted from language to language. In fact, the definition of translatability in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* states, “Translatability is mostly understood as the capacity for some kind of meaning to be translated from one language to another without undergoing radical change” (Baker, 1998, p. 273). Most experts tend to agree that not everything is translatable and that some meanings must therefore be untranslatable. However, some believe that instead of asking what is translatable, one might be content to ask what translation meets the criteria of translatability (Baker, 1998, p. 275).

This is the theory adopted by Roman Jakobson, who was discussed earlier and is recognized as being in favor of the concept of translatability. This is because “he sees translation as operating within languages as well as between them” (Baker, 1998, p. 275). For instance, Jakobson again uses the term “cheese” and explains that even if it were to be translated into a culture that had never experienced cheese, it would still be able to be translated into “coagulated milk curds”, which would in turn explain the original meaning (Baker, 1998, p. 275). This theory does accept paraphrasing as a legitimate action taken by the translator in order to provide an understanding in the targeted language and culture.

Susan Bassnett believes that terms that do not exist in the target culture produce a difficult task for the translator. She states, “The large number of terms in Finnish for variations of snow, in Arabic for aspects of camel behavior, in English for light and water, in French for types of bread, all present the translator, on one level, an untranslatable problem (Bassnett, 2002, p. 37). These types of translation problems once again help raise the issue of untranslatability, and one theorist, J.C. Catford, therefore distinguishes between two different types of untranslatability. According to Bassnett, Catford distinguishes between “linguistic” untranslatability and “cultural” untranslatability (Bassnett, 2002, p. 37). The first type, linguistic untranslatability, occurs when no lexical or syntactical substitute of the original source text can be found in the target text (Bassnett, 2002, p. 37). The second type, cultural untranslatability, is “due to the absence in the target language culture of a relevant situational feature for the source language text” (Bassnett, 2002, p. 37). This second type of untranslatability is more complicated, but also more interesting for the purposes of this project, since it deals with the concept of culture-specific features.

The debate of translatability, much like that of equivalence and translation shifts, lies in how strictly one regards the concept of translation. Does a translation need to be an
exact rendition, or is it equivalent if it is similar enough in meaning that it provides the
target audience with a satisfactory experience. Until it is proven otherwise, it is probably
best to accept that exact equivalence and full translatability are impossible to achieve
every time, and that translation shifts are impossible to avoid and necessary in order to
convey a similar meaning to the new target audience. Nevertheless, it is up to the
translator to strive towards creating a translation that is as similar and equivalent to the
source text as possible, which will allow the targeted audience the same experience as the
original audience. This leads to the next discussion that deals with the role and tasks of a
translator.

2.3 Role of the Translator

There are certain views as to how the translator should appear in the public’s eye, and
there are guidelines as to how a translator should approach a translation, as well as certain
criteria that translators are expected to meet. It should be mentioned that there are also
certain guidelines that a subtitler should follow, and that these differ from those of a
literary translator. This section will deal with the general tasks of a translator as viewed
by many translation studies scholars, whereas the guidelines that are specific for subtitlers
will be presented in the subtitling chapters of this project.

In her book, Susan Bassnett quotes Randolph Quirk stating that translation is “one
of the most difficult tasks that a writer can take upon himself” (Bassnett, 2002, p. 15). Many people who have attempted difficult translations or have studied translation studies
would no doubt agree with the above statement. Nevertheless, Bassnett also reminds the
reader that the main task of an experienced translator is to tackle anything that is
presented to them. Bassnett states, “It is clearly the task of the translator to find a solution
to even the most daunting of problems” (Bassnett, 2002, p. 42). The task that the
translator must perform is obviously translating the text. To specify this even more
clearly, the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies states, “The task of the
translator … is to reproduce a source text for a target-language readership, taking account
of its semantic, functional, pragmatic, and stylistic dimension, in addition to the needs
and expectations of the target-text readership” (Baker, 1998, p. 57). However, before a
translator can take on this task, it is important that they meet certain requirements.

It can be debated what standard criteria a translator should actually fulfill before
attempting to translate a text, but a set of principles was already created by French
humanist Etienne Dolet during the sixteenth century. Dolet stated the following five principles in order of importance:

1) The translator must perfectly understand the sense and material of the original author, although he ... should feel free to clarify obscurities.
2) The translator should have a perfect knowledge of both source language and target language, so as not to lessen the majesty of the language.
3) The translator should avoid word-for-word renderings.
4) The translator should avoid Latinate and unusual forms.
5) The translator should assemble and liaise words eloquently to avoid clumsiness.
   (Munday, 2001, p. 26)

Even though these guidelines were created hundreds of years ago, the basic principles no doubt, still apply. Translators should be fluent in all of the languages they are working with and they should have as much knowledge as possible about the subject they are translating. Furthermore, a translator should avoid using language or stylistic forms that will not be understood by the targeted audience. Once these fundamental principles are met, there are certain strategies that have been developed to help translators approach their work.

Although it seems that scholars of translation studies are constantly asking that more structural procedures be created, some guidelines could be used by translators as a general framework. Wolfram Wilss has modified an earlier framework by Corbin, and asks that the translator use the following procedure:

- Problem identification
- Problem clarification (description)
- Information collection
- Deliberation on how to proceed
- Moment of choice
- Post-choice behavior (evaluation of translation). (Baker, 1998, p. 60)

Another framework has been created by Susan Bassnett. However, she has created a guideline that is specific to when the translator is faced with difficult tasks, such as seemingly untranslatable phrases and sentences. For instance, the French expression “Bon
“Good appetite” or the Danish phrase “Tak for mad” are both difficult if not impossible to find exact translations for in English. The English equivalents of “Good appetite” or “Thanks for food” would not work, and therefore a translator must find other applicable phrases for the particular situation in question. Bassnett suggests that in order to find the appropriate English translations in these circumstances the translator must do the following:

1) Accept the untranslatability of the source language phrase in the target language on the linguistic level.
2) Accept the lack of similar cultural convention in the target language.
3) Consider the range of target language phrases available, having regard to the presentation of class, status, age, sex of the speaker, his relationship to the listeners and the context of their meeting in the source language.
4) Consider the significance of the phrase in its particular context – i.e. as a moment of high tension in the dramatic text.
5) Replace in the target language the invariant core of the source language phrase in its two referential systems (the particular system of the text and the system of culture out of which the text has sprung). (Bassnett, 2001, p. 29).

It has now been discussed what the task of a translator is, the skills required of a translator, and how a translator should approach a translation. Finally, it should be briefly mentioned how translators should be viewed by their audience. Lawrence Venuti developed a theory that defined what he believed to be a successful translation, and therefore a successful job on behalf of the translator. Venuti uses the term “invisibility” to describe this theory. He defines invisibility firstly, “By the way translators themselves tend to translate ‘fluently’ into English, to produce an idiomatic and ‘readable’ target text, thus creating an ‘illusion of transparency’ ”, and secondly, “By the way the translated texts are typically read in the target culture” (Munday, 2001, p. 146). Amresh Sinha explains this definition more clearly when he states, “Hence, a successful translation is a translation that does not appear to be a translation at all, for it has managed to transparently incorporate the essence, the universal sense of meaning, of the source language into the target language” (Egoyan and Balfour, 2004, p. 180). Therefore, it is understood that by creating a successful translation, the translator has become invisible to the audience. This is very important in the subtitling world, because often times only poor
subtitling efforts are mentioned by an audience, whereas successful subtitles are hardly ever recognized, thus becoming unnoticed or invisible.
3. SUBTITLING

Before dealing with the specifics of subtitling, the practice of subtitling and its role in the field of translation must first be introduced. Subtitling is a type of language transfer, which allows audiences to understand television and films produced in foreign languages. The other well-known type of language transfer is audio dubbing. It is important to understand exactly what these terms mean and how they relate to one another. Therefore, before continuing, a definition of language transfer, as well as subtitling and dubbing, will be given. Once this has been done, it will be possible to explain the specifics of subtitling, such as its history, how it is viewed around the world, the technical process of creating subtitles, and most importantly, the ideals of subtitling and how these differ from those of literary translation.

3.1 Defining Language Transfer, Dubbing, and Subtitling

Georg-Michael Luyken defines the term language transfer in his book titled *Overcoming Language Barriers in Television*. Language transfer is sometimes also referred to as audiovisual translation. Luyken states, “Language transfer describes the means by which a film or television program is made understandable to target audiences who are unfamiliar with the source language in which the original was produced” (Luyken, 1991, p. 11). In order to illustrate the necessity of this form of translation, Luyken refers to a statistic showing that approximately 2500 language transfer processes, with English as a source language, occurred per year between 1985 and 1989 (Luyken, 1991, p. 12). Technically, language transfer can be accomplished in one of two ways. It can either be done visually with the use of subtitles, or audibly, by replacing the original voice track with a new one, better known as dubbing.

Although dubbing will not be dealt with thoroughly in this project, a definition is needed in order to understand why some countries have preferred this method instead of subtitling. Furthermore, a comparison between dubbing and subtitling better explains the positive and negative aspects associated with the subtitling process. Dubbing is, according to Luyken, “The replacement of the original speech by a voice track which attempts to follow as closely as possible the timing, phrasing and lip movements of the original dialog” (Luyken, 1991, p. 31). Dubbing is also the general term that describes lip-synchronization and lip-sync dubbing. Finally, it should be mentioned that there is
another form of language transfer known as voice-over. This is where one narrator translates the entire dialog of a movie, and the soundtrack of the movie is turned down while the narrator is speaking. However, this is only used in very few parts of the world, often times in poorer countries with a lower literacy rate, who cannot afford dubbing.

Luyken also provides a definition of the term subtitling. Here he states, “Subtitles are condensed written translations of original dialog which appear as lines of text, usually positioned towards the foot of the screen” (Luyken, 1991, p. 31). Luyken adds to this by stating that, “Subtitles appear and disappear to coincide in time with the corresponding portion of the original dialog and are almost always added to the screen image at a later date as a post-production activity” (Luyken, 1991, p. 31). This definition is adequate, however, Henrik Gottlieb goes into even more detail in his definitions.

First, Gottlieb distinguishes between two types of subtitles, namely “intralingual” and “interlingual”. Intralingual includes such subtitles as those provided in domestic programs for the deaf and hard of hearing, as well as subtitles of programs for learners of foreign languages (Baker, 1998, p. 247). Interlingual is when the subtitler needs to translate from speech in one language into writing in another (Baker, 1998, p. 15). This project will analyze the use of interlingual subtitling and therefore use a definition that Gottlieb provides in his article “Texts, Translation & Subtitling – In Theory, and in Denmark”. Here Gottlieb writes, “Subtitling consists in the rendering in a different language (1) of verbal messages (2) in filmic media (3), in the shape of one or more lines of written text (4), presented on the screen (5) in sync with the original message (6) (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 15). His intention in numbering the individual phrases in this statement is so that he can further define exactly what he means. For instance, in number (1) he excludes subtitling done for the deaf and hard of hearing, and in number (2) he defines verbal messages to not only include speech, but also written signs, newspaper headlines, street signs, and anything else captured by the camera (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 15). Since this project will use an analytical method provided by Gottlieb, it is only natural that it is his definition of subtitling that will be referred to if needed.

### 3.1.1 Dubbing vs. Subtitling

Before taking a specific look at where and how dubbing, and more importantly subtitling, is used around the world, it is helpful to compare the two and evaluate their pros and cons. Many people advocate the use of one over the other, and it is necessary to analyze
their arguments. There are many factors to consider, such as the costs and technology available, as well as cultural issues like the standard of literacy and interest in foreign languages in the relevant country. First, let us look at the advantages and disadvantages associated with the use of dubbing.

Dubbing is and has always been more expensive than subtitling. Therefore, the price and cost of the process has always been one of the main disadvantages associated with dubbing. In fact, “Lip-sync dubbing is far more labor intensive and more costly than any other form of screen translation” (Baker, 1998, p. 75). However, it is not the only disadvantage related to dubbing. The loss of authenticity that occurs with the use of dubbing is also highly debated. Original voices are replaced by a limited number of actors and it is virtually impossible to maintain authenticity because of the strangeness of the foreign speech that is linked with the original characters and settings. Furthermore, lip synchronization is no easy task. Dubbing is discussed in the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, and it is stated that, “The disadvantages include … the necessity to maintain lip synchronization, which places heavy demands on the translator and is a major constraint in terms of omitting incomprehensible or insignificant elements” (Baker, 1998, p. 75).

However, there are also many positive arguments for using dubbing. According to Baker and Hochel, “Dubbing involves less textual reduction than subtitling, is more professionalized, draws on established methods of post-synchronization, ‘constructs a more homogeneous discourse’ (it is an oral translation of an oral source text), … and it does not require a high level of literacy from its viewers” (Baker, 1998, p. 75). The fact that dubbing is more costly and time consuming, has actually made it a far more professionalized and advanced process when compared with other forms of audiovisual translation. Furthermore, many scholars believe that matching lip movements is only necessary in close-ups and that this constraint is not as restrictive as it appears. Baker states not all sounds need to be closely matched, and that, “Only labials and semi-labials, where the mouth has to be closed, require careful matching of sounds” (Baker, 1998, p. 75).

Subtitles are different from dubbing in many ways. First of all, the process is not as expensive as that of dubbing, and it is therefore preferred in many of the smaller television and film markets. Secondly, it allows the original soundtrack to remain intact and unaltered. This not only sustains the authenticity of a movie compared to dubbed versions, but is also the reason why many believe that people living in countries which
prefer subtitling tend to be more proficient in English. Even so, there are also many disadvantages to the use of subtitling, some of which will now be discussed.

Georg-Michael Luyken mentions three significant problems with subtitling that make it different from other forms of language transfer. Luyken states that subtitles reduce the visible area of the original picture, they attempt to translate the spoken into the written, and finally, the written subtitles will often be significantly reduced from the number of words spoken in the original source language (Luyken, 1991, p. 156). Even Gottlieb, who advocates the use of subtitles, agrees “the deletion or condensation of redundant, oral features is a necessity when crossing over from speech to writing” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 20). Another critic takes this view even further by stating, “Watching a subtitled film often leaves you with a sense that you got only the cliff notes version – the crudest signposts are provided for you, but the all-important details never make it to print” (Egoyan & Balfour, 2004, p. 172). This is probably an exaggerated opinion, but nevertheless, it is never quite possible to translate the entirety of the original through subtitles and some words will be lost, especially if the audience does not understand the target language.

There are still many reasons why subtitles are the preferred form of audiovisual translation in so many countries. One translation studies scholar states, “The standard of English as a foreign language is so much higher in subtitling countries such as the Netherlands or Scandinavian countries” (Baker, 1998, p. 75). Gottlieb agrees, and states the reason that most Scandinavians are so proficient in English is because subtitling is their preferred choice of language transfer (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 24). However, people living in countries where subtitling is prevalent tend to not just prefer subtitles when the source language is English, but also when watching television or films in other foreign languages. Similarly, dubbing countries have always and will most likely continue to exclusively use dubbing to satisfy their audiences. This leads to the conclusion that it seems that the choice between dubbing and subtitling lies deeply embedded in cultural preferences and what people have grown accustomed to. Therefore, it will be interesting to briefly look at the history of subtitling around the world, including in countries that have not dealt sufficiently with either form of language transfer.
3.2 The Use of Language Transfer around the World

In his section on Subtitling written for the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, Henrik Gottlieb has divided the world into four different categories as far as movie, video, and television translation is concerned. They are as follows:

a) Source-language countries, English-speaking, with hardly any non-Anglophone imports. Few as they may be, imported films tend to be subtitled rather than dubbed. They are often ‘art’ movies, aimed at a literate audience.

b) Dubbing countries, mainly German-, Italian-, Spanish-, and French-speaking in and outside Europe. In these countries, nearly all imported films and TV programs are dubbed.

c) Voice-over countries, namely Russia, Poland, and other large or medium-sized speech communities which cannot afford lipsynch dubbing. In doing the voice-over for a feature film, one narrator interprets the lines of the entire cast (the entire dialog); the volume of the original soundtrack is turned down while s/he is speaking.

d) Subtitling countries, including several non-European speech communities as well as a number of small European countries with a high literacy rate, where subtitling is preferred to dubbing. (Baker, 1998, p. 244).

Obviously, groups A and D are the most important for the purposes of this project. America and Denmark have both elected to primarily use subtitling, as their preferred choice of foreign film translation, but the way their audiences accept these movies is very different.

3.2.1 Subtitling in the United States

It has long been known that the largest producer of television and films is America. Luyken states, “North America, and more widely the entire Anglophone world, form the single biggest coherent audiovisual market in the Western world” (Luyken, 1991, p.3). Luyken believes that this is because English is seen as a unifying language (Luyken, 1991, p. 3). There is no doubt that the majority of movies in the Western world are made in English and need to undergo some form of language transfer when released to a foreign
audience, and that despite this there are still many movies and television programs that become successful.

However, there are striking difficulties when movies produced in non-English languages are released into the Anglophone world. Luyken states that European film producers have certain disadvantages against American competitors, including the linguistic barriers and the fact that people in Europe are accustomed to English-language productions, while Americans are not used to Greek, Italian, Danish, or other foreign films (Luyken, 1991, p. 4). According to Gottlieb, the British and American populations equate foreign films and TV programs with something exotic, and he states that subtitled films are even less popular now than a decade or two ago (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 23). In fact, it has become difficult to find any foreign movies playing at local theatres in America, and even more difficult to recall any recent foreign movies that have been successful in America.

With that being said, there are still those who believe that subtitled movies should stand a chance in America. B. Ruby Rich wrote an article in a book titled Subtitles, in which she attempts to analyze the use of subtitles in America throughout history. She writes about an early trick used by filmmakers in the 1980’s, which involved creating trailers of foreign movies that omitted the foreign soundtrack and contained no subtitles. Rich states, “They marketed the film, in other words, with the hope that it might be mistaken for an English language picture” (Egoyan & Balfour, 2004, p. 158). Apparently, the filmmakers were convinced that if they could just get people into the movie theatre to watch the foreign films, then they would enjoy them. Sometimes this strategy was a success, but it still did not persuade Americans to accept foreign movies. Rich mentions how the releases of dubbed movies, such as Life is Beautiful and the 2002 movie Pinocchio, were huge disasters, and states that while Americans do not seem to accept dubbed movies, they do not seem to accept the alternative, either (Egoyan & Balfour, 2004, p. 161). In fact, Rich quotes a Los Angeles Times article, which states, “American audiences generally don’t want to go to the movies to read … Reading dialog takes them out of the movie, they say, shattering the illusion” (Egoyan & Balfour, 2004, p. 162). Interestingly enough, there should be no reason why a country that is so infatuated with text messages on phones, online chatting, the internet, which all involve a good amount of reading, should complain about having to read subtitles during a movie. Nevertheless, the fact is that U.S. audiences have always shunned foreign movies and that their dislike for subtitles seems to be somehow deeply embedded within their culture.
3.2.2 Subtitling in Denmark

The trend for subtitling in Denmark is perhaps the exact opposite of that found in the U.S. The Danes have always been willing to accept subtitles as part of the movie or TV experience. On August 17, 1929, a sound movie called *The Singing Fool* was the first ever to be released in Denmark and was appropriately fitted with Danish subtitles (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 27). The process of dubbing soon began to gain popularity across Europe, but “the process was difficult, cumbersome, and far too expensive to be worthwhile in a small country like Denmark” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 28). Therefore, the Danes have had to be content with reading subtitles for nearly 80 years, which is perhaps the reason why so many Danes prefer subtitling today, and even see it as a way to learn better English. As stated before, Gottlieb believes that most Scandinavians are proficient in English because of the use of subtitles in these countries, and he adds, “To many Danes, the subtitles on TV is what keeps their reading abilities alive, an unintended, yet important, side effect of the choice of screen translation practice in Denmark” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 29).

It is obvious that the Danish people accept the use of subtitles in Denmark, but the question of whether or not Danish movies can be subtitled and exported successfully is still up for debate. Denmark has a successful domestic movie and TV market when compared to other European countries. Gottlieb states, “In Europe, only France, Denmark, and Sweden have a domestic film production able to keep US and other imports below a market share of 80 percent” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 195). However, this does not mean that the domestic movies have had international success. We have already discussed how difficult it is to make American and other Anglophone audiences accept movies with subtitles. With this being said, Denmark has a surprisingly high number of translations into and from Danish. According to Gottlieb, “The Scandinavian speech communities hold a world record in translational activities” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 201). More important, though, is the fact that the number of book titles translated, per million speakers, from Danish equals that of translated English-language titles (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 202). Therefore, if the number of translated Danish movies is comparable to Danish book translations, then the success of exported Danish movies is not because of a lack of trying. Danish movies are frequently being subtitled into English, and for that reason there should be even more studies done analyzing the quality of these subtitles.
3.3 Technical Requirements

Even though the technical requirements associated with subtitling are not analyzed thoroughly in this particular project, it will still be mentioned here, mainly because it will give a sense of the difficulty of subtitling, and the numerous elements, which must work together when creating subtitles for movies and television. Luyken describes nine different steps that are required when creating traditional subtitles. They are, (1) registration, (2) verification, (3) production of timecoded working copy, (4) spotting, (5) adaptation/translation/subtitle composition, (6) insertion, (7) review correction, (8) approval, and finally (9) transmission (Luyken, 1991, p. 49). It will be impossible to explain all of these in detail in this project, but a brief introduction will be provided for all steps.

*Registration* is the first step in subtitling. It involves recording vital information such as the title of the program being subtitled, the date of subtitling, and the number of the tape to be used in transmission (Luyken, 1991, p. 59). *Verification* involves looking at the master tape of the program and comparing it to the dialog list that has been provided, and see if the actual dialog matches that of the provided transcript (Luyken, 1991, p. 50). If a dialog list has not been provided it is up to the subtitler to transcribe the program and create such a list. The *production of a timecoded working copy* simply means that it is advisable that the subtitler creates a copy of the master tape for working use, and that this copy contains an accurate time code (Luyken, 1991, p. 50).

*Spotting* is a vital step in subtitling. This step involves the subtitler carefully reviewing all dialog in the program or movie, and marking or spotting all the points at which subtitles should appear and disappear (Luyken, 1991, p. 51). The next step involves three interwoven activities. These are: “*Adaptation* which is the transposition from spoken to written language; *Translation* which is the conversion from one language to another; *Subtitle Composition* which is the creation of condensed messages from extended messages” (Luyken, 1991, p. 54). *Insertion* is the sixth step, and simply means that subtitles are created from the steps above and are combined with the program, “so that the subtitles appear and disappear at the intended times” (Luyken, 1991, p. 57).

The step involving *review and correction* is also self-explanatory, and involves watching the program and noting any discrepancies in the subtitles, such as poor synchronization or errors in the text (Luyken, 1991, p. 58). *Approval* is the step where the customer might choose to review and accept the final version of the subtitled program,
and the transmission step is the actual transmitting of the program with the subtitles (Luyken, 1991, p. 59). This is a very brief introduction to the creation of subtitles, but it is evident that there are noticeable differences between this type of translation and others. It is therefore important to analyze these differences and look at some of the few guidelines that have been created to help translators create subtitles of good quality.

3.4 Subtitling Ideals

In this section, I will provide a list of issues and problems that occur when subtitling television and films, as well as mention some of the key differences between subtitling and other forms of translation. There is no doubt that there has been less interest in the study of subtitles, compared to, for instance, literary translation. Therefore, it is particularly necessary to look at the differences between these different types of translation and review the small number of specific subtitling guidelines that have been published.

3.4.1 Subtitling Differences

It would seem obvious that subtitling is a type of translation, but as Luyken mentions, “most text book definitions of ‘translation’ simply do not fit the audiovisual Language Transfer” (Luyken, 1991, p. 153). It can be argued, however, that Luyken’s statement is outdated, and that subtitling and language transfer have since then become recognized as a definite form of translation. Still, Luyken lists four interesting features that make all forms of language transfer different from other types of translation. There are of course others, but these are quite pertinent and will therefore be focused upon.

3.4.1.1 Language Transfer Only Affects One Element of the Entire Opus

This feature states that language transfer only interferes with one part of the original work, unlike a literary translation, which by translating a written text into another written text affects the entire work. Subtitling, for instance, only adds a visual element, but does not change the original audio track or any of the other visual elements of the original movie or TV program. Luyken states, “In subtitling, the whole original whole, apart from the language element, will remain intact, although subtitles will cover part of the picture
... Language transfer only replaces one component of the message: the spoken text, with something which is similar to translation into a foreign language" (Luyken, 1991, p. 154). Gottlieb makes the same point by stating, “The subtitler does not even alter the original; he or she adds an element, but does not delete any part of the audiovisual whole” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 18). However, this does not make the translation process any easier. It could be argued that it makes it more difficult, because the subtitler must make the translations of the dialog match the other audiovisual elements that already exist. Therefore, subtitling differs from literary translation in that it is constrained by the already existing picture and sound.

### 3.4.1.2 The Message is Altered by Language Transfer

Luyken’s second point is that television and film is produced for one particular audience and then has to be translated through language transfer for a different audience. He states, “The audience which might eventually watch the program with language transfer could be very different in language and culture from the one for which the program was originally produced” (Luyken, 1991, p.154). This is, of course, the same for every type of translation process, including literary translation. However, what Luyken is quick to point out is that with language transfer, there is no possibility for explaining details through footnotes, asterisks, or asides, as there is in literary translation (Luyken, 1991, p. 154). Once again, Gottlieb agrees and states, “Subtitling has to manage without well-known literary and dramatic devices such as stage direction, author’s remarks, footnotes, etc.” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 20). This is another example of how subtitling differs from ordinary literary translation. Therefore, one could make the point that subtitling is slightly more challenging because it does not have the luxury of time, being able to explain itself the way translations on paper can, and has to accurately translate dialog within an allotted amount of time. This leads to Luyken’s third point, which is how the lack of time available for language transfer means that it must be more condensed.

### 3.4.1.3 Audiovisual Language Transfer is Shorter than the Original

The issue of language transfer being shorter than the original work is particularly the case for subtitling. Luyken states that one of the main linguistic problems with subtitling is that, “The written text in the target language is much shorter than the full volume of
words in the source language” (Luyken, 1991, p. 156). This means that there is an added difficulty associated with subtitling, which forces the translator to abridge the original dialog into a written text that offers the target audience the same meaning. Gottlieb sees this condensation of the text as inevitable. He states, “The deletion or condensation of redundant, oral features is a necessity when crossing over from speech to writing” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 20). One of the technical issues concerning subtitling that has not been discussed is the speed of which subtitles appear on screen. Experts have researched and determined an approximate “speed limit” of which most literate television viewers will be able to read subtitles comfortably. In order not to exceed this speed limit, subtitlers are sometimes forced to omit up to 50 percent of the spoken dialog (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 20). This makes subtitling very different from literary translation. All types of translation involve an interpreting and decision making process on behalf of the translator, but subtitling adds an extra element, because the subtitler is required to make a decision as to what is acceptable to leave out in the target language. This leads us to Luyken’s final characteristic, namely the additional editorial element involved with language transfer.

3.4.1.4 Audiovisual Language Transfer Incorporates an Editorial Element

Because it is impossible for language transfer, and in particular subtitling, to translate everything contained in the source text, translators must make important decisions concerning what their audience demands. Luyken also speaks of the ability of the language transfer worker to be able to add information to the translation in order to make the original dialog more comprehensible to the new audience. The subtitler must therefore have the same qualities as a literary translator, but also “an empathy with the new audience and an understanding of the audiovisual medium” (Luyken, 1991, p. 155). As with ordinary translation, a subtitler must have a comprehensive understanding of the source language country and culture. However, the subtitler must not only be knowledgeable of the target culture as well, but also be tuned into the more demanding television and film audience. According to Luyken, “The language transfer worker must be able to discern what television viewers do or do not require in the way additional information in order to understand and enjoy the program” (Luyken, 1991, p. 155). The editorial element, along with the three other features already discussed, make subtitling a significantly different translation process. Furthermore, it could be argued that these features not only make subtitling different, but perhaps also slightly more difficult,
especially since there has been much less research in the field of language transfer compared to literary translation.

3.4.2 Specific Subtitling Guidelines

As already mentioned, there is a general need for specific guidelines in the field of translation studies, so that translators have precise rules and procedures to follow during the translation process. There is an even greater need for this in the field of subtitling, and one of the purposes of this project is to analyze something that previously has been so scarcely studied. With that being said, Henrik Gottlieb has become known as one of the most active scholars in the field of subtitling, and has in fact created *nine pedagogical pillars*, as he calls them, which all subtitlers should attempt to follow closely while working on a project. These are as follows:

1) What – and who – am I going to subtitle?
2) Am I hearing what is actually said?
3) Do I know the exact meaning of the words in this context?
4) Congenial dialog segmentation
5) Loyal, yet idiomatic translation
6) Minimized loss of information
7) ‘User-friendly’ text composition
8) Elegant and precise cuing
9) Meticulous proofreading and –listening (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 41)

There is no need to discuss all of these strategies in detail, especially since many of them are quite self-explanatory. However, some of them will be looked at more closely and evaluated along with the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation’s (ESIST) “Code of Good Subtitling Practice”, which is a list of rules that the ESIST has created to serve as a guide to subtitlers across Europe.

3.4.2.1 Do I Know the Exact Meaning of the Words in this Context

This is a vital issue when subtitling movies and TV. In all language, there are many words that have very different meanings depending on the context in which they are used.
Idioms are what most commonly present translators with problems. “Idioms are typical examples, each idiomatic expression synthesizing a meaning cannot be inferred directly from the meanings of its element” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 43). This is a well-known fact by translators and it is also well known that it is their job to find the correct contextual meaning of what they are translating. The ESIST’s third rule of good subtitling states, “Translation quality must be high with due consideration of all idiomatic and cultural nuances” (Ivarsson, 1998). Therefore, it is crucial that subtitlers work hard to solve any problematic words or phrases that present themselves, and that they do not quit until a viable solution is found.

3.4.2.2 Minimized Loss of Information

As mentioned before, subtitling requires deleting words or even phrases. However, Gottlieb believes that, “Fully benefiting from the polysemiotic nature of television, the necessary quantitative reduction of the dialog can be reached with only minor qualitative losses in stylistic and/or denotative information” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 47). This means that even though deletion is necessary it should in no way interfere with the target audiences understanding of the dialog. The ESIST rules state, “Where compression of dialog is necessary, the result must be coherent” (Ivarsson, 1998). There are strategies regarding what is appropriate to delete or omit in the process of subtitling. For instance, it is not always necessary to subtitle short greetings, “Obvious repetition of names and common comprehensible phrases need not always be subtitled” (Ivarsson, 1998). This makes it easier to subtitle quick dialog and still be within the “speed limit” of what viewers have time to read.

3.4.2.3 Meticulous Proofreading and –Listening

This might seem like a given, but simple misspellings and grammatical errors are probably the most noticeable types of subtitling errors, and are often the ones that are most recognized by the viewers and critics. “Misspellings, bad punctuation and typing errors are often attacked, and rightly so” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 51). The audience will notice simple mistakes and not only be annoyed, but also distracted from the film or TV program. In the “Code of Good Subtitling Practice”, the rule is that, “The language should be (grammatically) correct, since subtitles serve as a model for literacy” (Ivarsson,
1998). This adds the point that many people in subtitling countries actually increase their literacy proficiency by frequently reading subtitles, which therefore stresses the need for subtitlers to use correct spelling and grammar. Misspellings, typos, and incorrect grammar should be easy to avoid, but as is the case with the two movies analyzed, subtitlers regrettably make these simple mistakes far too frequently.
4. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

In this section, I will explain the main method used for analysis of the two movies. I will first introduce the article by Henrik Gottlieb called “Subtitling Against the Current: Danish Concepts, English Minds”. The article was written in 2004, so the information discussed is recent and most relevant. Then in the following sections, I will go into the specific details of the article that are important to this project and explain how I plan to analyze the two movies using this method.

The article “Subtitling Against the Current: Danish Concepts, English Minds” is an analysis of the subtitles found in five Danish movies and, for comparison, two successful American movies. The purpose of Gottlieb’s study is to look for any strategies used by the subtitlers when encountering culture-specific words that are difficult to translate into a different language. He has developed a system that analyzes if the subtitlers have chosen to keep the original cultural term unchanged, or have tried to find an equivalent in the target language. This is also the basis of my own analysis, which attempts to figure out how the subtitlers have attempted to translate the culture-specific references in the two Danish movies, and whether or not their strategies were successful.

In his article, Gottlieb states what has already been discussed briefly in this report, that “audiences in the USA and Britain are rarely bothered with foreign-language productions” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 195). Gottlieb states that this is simply because American and British audiences do not enjoy foreign film productions, whether they are dubbed or subtitled, and no matter what the genre or quality of the production (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 195). Therefore, one of Gottlieb’s primary concerns in his study is if the source language dialog of a film, and the subtitled translation, has anything to do with the target audiences’ appreciation of the movie.

Secondly, Gottlieb attempts to determine if there is a difference between what he calls subtitling “upstream” and subtitling “downstream”. Subtitling upstream, or going against the English current, is best explained as translating from a minor language such as Danish into English. Subtitling downstream means translating from a source language understood by many, such as English, into a different language, such as Danish. The main difference between the two is that many of the culture-specific terms in English are likely to be understood in other countries as well, whereas it is doubtful that anyone outside of Denmark, with no knowledge of Danish, would be able to understand the culture-specific
phrases and words in Danish. Therefore, it is interesting to study whether subtitlers, who are subtitling upstream, have chosen to find equivalent terms and phrases in the target language, or if they have taken pride in their own source language and chosen to preserve these culture-specific references. This is precisely what Gottlieb is able to analyze by creating a method of studying the number of these culture-specific items per movie, and how they are subtitled. In order to proceed, however, it is necessary that clear definitions of Gottlieb’s main terms be established.

4.1 Defining Localisms, Culture-specific References, and Fidelity

The two key terms that Gottlieb uses in this particular article, which actually refer to the same concept, are what he calls “localisms” and “extra-linguistic culture-specific references”. Therefore, it is important to explain Gottlieb’s precise definitions of these terms. First of all, the term “extra-linguistic culture-specific references” is Gottlieb’s way of defining localisms. Localisms are known in translation studies as being words or phrases that are only known locally, or better said, known only by the people knowledgeable of that area, region, country, language, culture, and so forth. When Gottlieb states that his study focuses on subtitling strategies of localisms, he says, “Phrased more accurately, the focus of this investigation is extra-linguistic culture-specific references in original and subtitled film dialog” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 200). This in turn leads us to Gottlieb’s definition of these “extra-linguistic culture-specific references”, which will from now on be abbreviated as ECRs, as they are in Gottlieb’s article. Gottlieb defines ECRs as “lexical items, typically nouns and names, designating phenomena specific to the culture in which they are used” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 200). These references would thus include American symbols such as the “Empire State Building” in New York, or the “Golden Gate Bridge” in San Francisco. It would also include a term such as “the Windy City”, which refers to the city of Chicago. In Denmark, similar references could be “Christiania” or “Nyhavn”, which are both names of well-known areas in Copenhagen. This leads us back to the discussion of subtitling upstream and downstream, as it is obvious that many American ECRs will be recognized by people around the world, while very few outside of Denmark will recognize any Danish ECRs. When examining these references and the degree of which they maintain their original meaning, Gottlieb refers to another concept in translation studies called “fidelity”.

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When explaining the concept of “fidelity”, Gottlieb first refers to the Macmillan English Dictionary. There are a few definitions of this word when it is looked up in the dictionary. The dictionary’s third explanation of “fidelity” is, “the degree to which something is an accurate copy of something else” (Macmillan, 2002, p. 516). This definition is obviously the one that is important for translation purposes. In this study, it will mean how close the subtitles are in meaning to the original dialog content. Gottlieb states that what is most important in dubbing and subtitling, though, is the transfer of speech acts, and not necessarily an exact copy of the elements that make up these speech acts (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 197). What Gottlieb is implying is that it is more important that an audience laughs at a funny line, than for an audience to understand the literal meaning of a statement. Nevertheless, it would be optimal if speech acts could be successfully produced in the process of also obtaining a high degree of fidelity in the translation (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 197). It should also be mentioned that many programs and films differ greatly in their translation strategies. While translations of documentaries should always strive towards staying as accurate to the original as possible, more leeway is often used in translations of fictional television and movies, such as dramas and comedies.

Gottlieb has created four key factors as to how high a degree of fidelity is to be expected in a translation. First, there is the audience’s knowledge of the source language. If the audience understands the ECRs, such as the American examples mentioned above, it will most likely influence the subtitler to stay more loyal to the original dialog and leave it as it is. Secondly, Gottlieb states that the prestige of a language such as English will also cause the subtitler to translate closer to the original source text. The third and fourth factors are what Gottlieb refers to as “anti-fidelity” factors, which cause the subtitler to change or delete the original dialog. The first anti-fidelity factor states that in television and movies there are many non-verbal channels that help convey the overall message, which allow the subtitler to simply omit many lines of dialog, since the general meaning is still understood. The final factor that Gottlieb mentions is that subtitlers recognize that their audience has a very mixed knowledge base. Therefore, “smooth communication via recognizable entities is sometimes preferred to ‘loyal’ representation of strange localisms in the original dialog” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 200). Here Gottlieb believes that subtitlers often choose to translate in a way that allows the entire audience to comprehend what is happening, thus forcing the deletion or alteration of difficult to translate words and phrases. Because both this study, and Gottlieb’s, focus on movies translated from Danish into English, the first two factors concerning the audiences’
knowledge of the source language and the prestige of the source language, can be left out of the equation. This leaves us with the purpose of measuring the strength of the anti-fidelity factors and their influence on the degree of fidelity in subtitling.

4.2 Gottlieb’s Method of Studying Localisms

Now that it is understood what exactly Gottlieb attempts to achieve in his study, it is important to look at the precise method used by Gottlieb. In order to measure the degree of fidelity, Gottlieb has created what he believes is “an exhaustive taxonomy of strategies available to the subtitler when confronted with ECRs in the original dialog” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 203). According to Gottlieb, there are six strategies available to the subtitler, which are as follows: retention, literal translation, specification, generalization, substitution, and omission. These can all be measured on a scale from maximum fidelity, which is as close to the original as possible, to minimum fidelity, which involves complete deletion of the original. This scale is best explained in the table shown below, where he includes strategies introduced by other scholars as well:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maximum Fidelity</strong></td>
<td>identity</td>
<td>retention</td>
<td>non-translation</td>
<td>retention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>retention with</td>
<td></td>
<td>explicitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Fidelity</strong></td>
<td>imitation</td>
<td>literal</td>
<td>literal</td>
<td>translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>direct translation</td>
<td>translation</td>
<td></td>
<td>translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low Fidelity</strong></td>
<td>explication</td>
<td>replacement by</td>
<td>replacement by</td>
<td>generalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SL element</td>
<td>TL element</td>
<td>generalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paraphrase</td>
<td>generalization</td>
<td>cultural</td>
<td>substitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>situational adaptation</td>
<td></td>
<td>substitution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cultural adaptation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Minimum Fidelity</strong></td>
<td>omission</td>
<td>omission with</td>
<td>omission</td>
<td>omission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sense transfer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>omission</td>
<td>total omission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since Gottlieb’s study is the only one used in this project, the six strategies mentioned by him will be focused upon solely, while the strategies mentioned by the other authors will
not be discussed further. What is important is that certain strategies involve maintaining a high degree of fidelity towards the original source language, while others do not.

Gottlieb uses these six subtitling strategies as categories in his analysis. First, he systematically counts all of the ECRs in the dialog of the five Danish movies and two American movies that he chose to analyze. He then creates different tables and charts that show his findings. The first type of table he uses shows the number of ECRs of each film studied and places them into the six different categories of subtitling strategies. Gottlieb is thus able to show how the subtitlers have chosen to translate the various types of ECRs in the seven movies. The second type of table Gottlieb uses is a chart for each movie that shows every ECR and their translation. In this chart, it is possible to see the frequency of particular ECRs, and also see the various translations of the different ECRs.

Finally, it should be mentioned that Gottlieb mentions two factors that can influence the number of ECRs found in a movie. The first factor is that there are some television and film genres that can be deemed more local than others, and because of this are more difficult to translate well (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 210). The second factor is that the amount of dialog differs greatly from one movie to the other and from genre to genre. Gottlieb gives an example that, “while a 100-minute long American action movie broadcast on Danish TV may contain some 600 subtitles, the dialog in a Woody-Allen type comedy of the same runtime may generate more than 1000 subtitles” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 210). For this reason, it seems fitting that the two movies chosen for analysis in this project are both of similar genre, have a similar type of dialog, are only five minutes apart in total runtime, and have dialogs written by the same author. In Gottlieb’s study, he found that there are fewer Danish ECRs preserved in translation, but that the strategies applied to subtitling Danish movies were quite varied and had no real patterns (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 212). Therefore, as opposed to Gottlieb’s study that analyzed Danish movies of different genres, it will be interesting to analyze The Green Butchers and In China They Eat Dogs, which are so similar in both genre and style.

4.3 The use of Gottlieb’s Method in this Report

Gottlieb’s method has now been thoroughly established, and it is therefore necessary to explain how this method will be used in this report. I will, precisely as Gottlieb did, systematically count every ECR found and place them into the six categories of subtitling strategies he created. However, one of the main differences is that, after showing the
initial findings of analysis, I will comment on specific examples of the ECRs found in the
two Danish movies I have chosen to study, and if needed comment on other translation
strategies that could have been used in particular situations. It is also pertinent to explain
how the tables of analysis in this project might differ slightly from the ones used by
Gottlieb in his article.

The first issue that must be dealt with is to define the six subtitling strategies that
Gottlieb uses in his article. Because Gottlieb does not explain what the six strategies
mean, I will define them here and provide examples that are relevant for the purposes of
this project:

1) Retention – This means to have retained or kept the ECR found in the original
dialog, thus leaving it unaltered in the subtitles. An example would be to translate
“Thanksgiving” from an American movie, and subtitle it into “Thanksgiving” in
Danish.

2) Literal translation – This means to have literally translated a word in the source
dialog into an equivalent word in the target language. It would be similar to
looking up the word in a bilingual dictionary. For instance, an example is
translating “Jylland” from Danish into “Jutland” in the English subtitles.

3) Specification – This means to have specified the meaning of the source dialog in
the subtitles, by either adding or changing a word or term. For instance, in the
English dialog there might be a reference to “the Windy City”, which the subtitler
might choose to translate into “Chicago” in the Danish subtitles.

4) Generalization – This means to have generalized something specific in the
original dialog, into something more vague, but perhaps easier understood in the
target language. An example could be translating “Albertsons”, which is one of
the largest American supermarket chains, into “et supermarked” in the Danish
subtitles.

5) Substitution – This means to have substituted a term that only exists in the source
language or culture, and replaced it with a term that is more recognizable to the
target audience. For instance, a reference to “frikadeller” in Danish might be
substituted with “meatballs” in the translated English subtitles.

6) Omission – This simply means to delete or omit the term in the source language
and leave it out of the subtitles all together. For instance, a subtitler might find it
either too difficult or unnecessary to translate “Amager” from Danish into English subtitles.

The difference between literal translation and substitution is somewhat difficult to distinguish, and will become more clear in the specific analysis of the ECRs. In addition, it should be mentioned that not all translated subtitles fit perfectly into these categories, and that in the analysis of this project all debatable categorizations of ECRs will also be discussed in detail.

This leads into the main difference between the analysis part of this project and what was done in Gottlieb’s article. Once the primary analysis has been done, an evaluation of the translated subtitles and the strategy used by the subtitler will be conducted. My assumption is that even though there should be certain general strategies involved with the subtitling of movies into a different language, each particular situation, especially with ECRs, should be dealt with individually and be evaluated based on the context of which it was used. Therefore, I will comment and present my own evaluation of many of the translated ECRs, and if needed assess what other possibilities the subtitler could have chosen. In addition, because this primary focus is somewhat different from what Gottlieb presented in his article, and because my analysis is limited to only two movies, I will be using somewhat different tables and charts to present my information.
5. ANALYSIS

The following section will show the results found in the analysis of the subtitles in The Green Butchers and In China They Eat Dogs. First, I will provide the overall findings of ECRs in the two movies, and place them into the different categories of subtitling strategies. Then, I will look at each movie individually and create a table showing the frequency, type, and translation of each ECR. Finally, I will present relevant examples of specific ECRs, and provide an evaluation of the strategies used by the subtitlers when encountering these ECRs.

5.1 Overall Findings

All of the data used in the following sections was collected by carefully transcribing the original dialogs in both movies and comparing it to the translated subtitles (refer to Appendix A). This has made it possible to create table 2, shown below, which shows the total number of ECRs found in the two movies and places them into the already mentioned categories of subtitling strategies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Movie</th>
<th>ECR Total</th>
<th>Retention</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Specification</th>
<th>Generalization</th>
<th>Substitution</th>
<th>Omission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Green Butchers</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
<td>16 (35%)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>23 (50%)</td>
<td>5 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In China They Eat Dogs</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13 (38%)</td>
<td>5 (15%)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>7 (20,5%)</td>
<td>7 (20,5%)</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 is similar to one used by Gottlieb in his article, and it shows the number of total ECRs found in each movie, and more importantly, the strategies favored by each subtitler. I have also included the percentage used of each subtitling strategy in comparison to the total number of ECRs. This way, it is possible to see which subtitling strategy was favored by each subtitler, even though there is a difference in the total number of ECRs.

First, it should be stated that the taxonomy for studying the frequency of ECRs seems to be effective. Even though there are no specifications found in either movie, and
no generalizations found in The Green Butchers, the results are varied and useful. The number of total ECRs found in both movies is quite normal. In Gottlieb’s study, the average number of ECRs found in the seven movies was close to 45 (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 205). Since these movies are similar in genre and style, a similar number of ECRs is not at all surprising. However, this is somewhat misleading, because many of the ECRs found in The Green Butchers are repeated references to cultural food items, something that will be discussed in detail in the next section.

What is even more surprising and noteworthy, though, is the variance in subtitling strategies. In Gottlieb’s study, retention had a dominant position (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 206). This is not the case in the two movies analyzed here. There is a pretty even split between maintaining a high degree of fidelity and a low degree of fidelity in the subtitles. There is no preference towards one end of the fidelity chart in either movie. In fact, in The Green Butchers, the two most frequently used subtitling strategies, substitution and literal translation, are at opposite ends of the fidelity chart. This is proof that the subtitler has seen no reason to either retain or alter localisms in the movie. Similarly, the subtitler of In China They Eat Dogs has not been concerned with maintaining any particular degree of fidelity, preferring none of the strategies to the others. This does not imply that Gottlieb’s methodology is faulted in any way, but perhaps rather that subtitlers have no definite guidelines to follow. Furthermore, it is an indication that specific analysis of the subtitled ECRs is needed, to see if certain strategies are preferable in particular situations.

5.1.1 Overall Findings: The Green Butchers

The analysis conducted here will be specific to the movie The Green Butchers. In table 3, I will attempt to illustrate the number of redundant ECRs, and write in the original ECR and its subtitled translation. This should make it easier to comprehend the overall findings in this movie and make it possible to comment on the subtitling strategies used.

In table 3, the number of ECRs in each category are counted, and the ones that are repeated are shown in parentheses. For instance, it can be shown that only twice has the subtitler chosen to use retention as a strategy. One of these cases is the retention of the city name of Stockholm, which is spelled the same in both languages anyway. The second case is the translation of Fjeldsted Sanatorium, and at a later juncture of the movie, the subtitler actually decides to omit the reference in the subtitles instead. This is surprising, since retention was by far the most dominant strategy found in the seven movies analyzed.
in Gottlieb’s study (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 206). It can be concluded that in The Green Butchers the subtitler had no real desire to preserve the localisms for the target audience, as had otherwise been speculated. The primary concern was to make the source dialog understandable for the audience, even if this meant changing the meaning into a more suitable word or phrase.

Table 3: Analysis of ECRs in the movie The Green Butchers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Green Butchers</th>
<th>Retention</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
<th>Specification</th>
<th>Generalization</th>
<th>Substitution</th>
<th>Omission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fjeldsted Sanatorium</td>
<td>Kronhjorte pølse (x2) (Deer sausage)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Mørbradbøf (Tenderloin)</td>
<td>Pølse (x2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>Pølse (x6) (Sausage)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mørbradbøf (Steak)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fjeldsted Sanatorium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hus Hans (x4) (House Hans)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Leverpostej (x3) (Pate)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saltkød</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Svend sved (Svend Sweat)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frikadeller (x4) (Meatballs)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sved Svin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Forsvunde Danskerne” (Missing Danes)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frikadeller (Them)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pølse Holger (Sausage Holger)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Koteletter (x5) (Steaks)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stockholm’s zoologiske have (Stockholm Zoo)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Otte kroner (One dollar)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ECR Total: 46 (23) 2 7 (16) 0 0 10 (23) 4 (5)

Fidelity Chart: High degree of fidelity Total ECRs: 9 (18) Low degree of fidelity Total ECRs: 14 (28)

As opposed to retention, the subtitler has chosen to use the strategy of literal translation repeatedly in many cases. For instance, in the translation of names and name-calling of characters, the subtitler has opted for a high degree of fidelity by translating these terms literally. The fact that there are no instances of specification is not completely surprising, as this was also the least popular strategy in Gottlieb’s study (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 205).

There are also no instances of generalization. Both specification and generalization involve altering the term to something similar in meaning, but perhaps easier to comprehend by the targeted audience. The reason why the subtitler has opted not to use these strategies in his translation, could be that there was no suitable place for them to be
used, or because the decision to either completely change the terms or keep them intact through literal translation seemed more viable.

In fact, completely changing the terms seemed to be the most popular strategy available to this subtitler. There are an unusually high number of cultural food items in this movie that are definite localisms, which causes the subtitler to use this strategy, and this will be discussed in detail later. However, substitution still seems to be a preferred strategy, especially in the choices of translating monetary units and in the translation of “skadestuen” and “levnedsmiddelkontrol” into the “ER” and “FDA”. This again proves that the subtitler is determined to find a more recognizable term in the target language, instead of retaining the local term.

The number of references to culturally specific food items in the movie needs attention. If these ECRs are removed from the study, the number of total ECRs drop from 46 to 20. This is of course not completely coincidental, since the movie is a story of two men working together in a butcher shop. However, it is very difficult to translate these terms into a different language. Retention and literal translation of culture-specific food items is difficult, because some are not well known outside Denmark. This makes it necessary to find equivalent terms in the target language. For instance, a “frikadelle” does not exist outside of Denmark, but it can be compared to a “meatball”, which is more commonly found in other countries. Likewise, “leverpostej” is a product that is mostly known by Danes, but it is similar to regular “pate”, which would convey the meaning sufficiently. Therefore, substitution is preferred in every instance concerning food items such as these.

Many movies might have some sort of culture-specific item that will be repeated often throughout a movie, whether it is a food item, a city name or place, or a character name. In this case, it is food items, and it could be argued that it is somewhat misleading to rely on the statistics that say 18 of the total number of ECRs maintain a high degree of fidelity in translation compared to the 28 that maintain a low degree of fidelity. However, if we remove all the ECRs concerning food, we are still left with varied results where half of the total ECRs maintain a high degree of fidelity, and the other half maintain a low degree. The individual translation of these ECRs will be dealt with in detail, but it just proves that the subtitler of this movie has tackled each ECR separately without a specific regard concerning the type of subtitling strategy. According to Gottlieb, this subtitler thus had no real concerns for preserving localisms and was more likely interested in the preservation of reader-friendliness in the speech acts.
5.1.2 Overall Findings: *In China They Eat Dogs*

There are a few differences in the overall findings of these two movies, which are worth noting. First of all, there are not quite as many total ECRs, although when the high number of food item references are removed from the analysis of *The Green Butchers*, the number of ECRs in this movie is actually greater. The strategies used by this subtitler are also much more varied, and this is perhaps because the ECRs encountered in this movie are much more varied. This is evident by the findings illustrated in table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In China They Eat Dogs</th>
<th>Retention</th>
<th>Literal Translation</th>
<th>Specification</th>
<th>Generalization</th>
<th>Substitution</th>
<th>Omission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volvo (x3)</td>
<td>EM (European Cup)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Folkekirke (Church Aid)</td>
<td>Kroner (x3) (Crows)</td>
<td>Rådhuspladsen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugo</td>
<td>Forbundet (Union)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grøntorget (Vegetable Market)</td>
<td>Bank Henn (The Bank Woman)</td>
<td>Sondermarken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Søndermarken (x6)</td>
<td>Varetegtsfængslet (Custody)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grøntorget (Market)</td>
<td>Civilforsvaret (Defense Corps)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Café Paradise (x2)</td>
<td>Social rådgiver (Social worker)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Byen (Town)</td>
<td>Kommunen (Island Revenue)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince</td>
<td>Det Kongelige Teatre (The Royal Theatre)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amager (Whole Island)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Natmad (Snack time)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Grom Koncert (Rock concert)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ECR Total: 23 (34)     | 5 (13) | 5 | 0 | 7 | 4 (7) | 2 |

| Fidelity Chart:        | High degree of fidelity | Total ECRs: 10 (18) | Low degree of fidelity | Total ECRs: 13 (16) |

There are far more instances of retention, which is closer to what Gottlieb encountered in his study. It could be argued as to whether or not the brand names of cars are culture-specific, but Gottlieb defines Volvo as an ECR in his own study, and therefore I have chosen to define these two car brands as ECRs in my own analysis. For instance, a Yugo, which was a car produced in the old Yugoslavia, is probably not known by the general American, and can therefore be considered a localism. Another reason the retention number is so high, is the repeated repetition of “Søndermarken”. This should also be taken with a grain of salt, because the place in question is actually discussed in English in
the original movie dialog, and the term is therefore easily understood by the target audience. In fact, when the subtitler is faced with similar ECRs, the strategy of generalization is chosen, as is the case with the island “Amager”.

There are five instances of literal translation, which is neither common nor uncommon. The terms would have been difficult to retain and when literally translated they function fine in the targeted language. Once again, there are no instances of specification, which again is not entirely surprising since it seems to be the least common strategy used. This is perhaps because specifying often requires using more words then the original dialog, which is not preferred in subtitling, and when specification can be done in a single word, it often is not necessary.

Instead, the subtitler of In China They Eat Dogs has chosen to use generalization as a common strategy. In fact, if all repeated ECR translations are removed, this is the most preferred approach by the subtitler. It also seems quite natural to find general terms that can explain Danish places and organizations, which could hardly ever be understood by the targeted audience. However, where the subtitler of The Green Butchers has chosen to substitute names of places and organizations for well-known American counterparts, the subtitler of In China They Eat Dogs has chosen to find general terms to convey the meaning of the original term. The successfullness of this will be determined in the specific analysis, where it will be possible to evaluate each translation individually.

As with most omissions in subtitling, the speed of dialog combined with difficult terms often results in the deletion of a term or phrase. This has been the case in both of these movies. Another similarity is the lack of preference concerning the degree of fidelity in ECR translation. As was the case in The Green Butchers, the number of total ECRs that maintained a high degree of fidelity in translation is almost equal to the number maintaining a low degree of fidelity. This shows that the subtitler of In China They Eat Dogs also had no particular need to preserve the localisms of the source language, and found that obtaining an equivalent meaning in the target language sometimes required changing or altering the source term into something more recognizable to the target audience. This, once again, proves the importance of evaluating the translations of these ECRs individually through specific analysis.
5.2 Specific Analysis

The specific analysis will be conducted by reviewing individual examples of translated ECRs, which have been transcribed and time-coded (refer to Appendix A). The individual examples will be explained and put into the context of how they were used in the movies. Then the subtitling strategies will be evaluated, and if necessary alternate strategies will be provided. The movies will be dealt with separately and a discussion comparing the findings will be provided in the following chapter.

5.2.1 Specific Analysis: The Green Butchers

The first example that will be discussed occurs in the beginning of the movie, when it is mentioned that the reason that Holger’s butcher shop is successful because he has his “deer sausage”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:02:05</td>
<td>Jamen, Holger han har kronhjorte polse.</td>
<td>He has his deer sausage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is one of the few food references that I have chosen to categorize as a literal translation. The reason is that even though “kronhjorte polse” might not be something that exists outside of Denmark, it has been as literally translated as possible. “Kronhjorte” literally means a type of “deer”, and “polse” literally means “sausage”. If the term were instead translated into a similar type of dish, it would have been deemed a substitution, but because “deer sausage” is the lexical equivalent, it is in fact a literal translation. The subtitler could have chosen to substitute “kronhjorte polse” for “venison” which is the English term for deer meat. If this were the only time this reference occurred in the movie, “venison” or “venison meat” would likely have been preferred. However, the problem is more complicated because the Danish word “polse” is used repeatedly in the movie for a comedic purpose. In order to understand the subtitler’s motivation to translate it in this way, it is necessary to refer to one more example.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:02:06</td>
<td>Nu holder du op med at sige polse. Du siger polse hele tiden.</td>
<td>Omitted. You say “sausage” all the time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This example is shown to illustrate two things. First, and most important, it shows that there is comical effect associated with the use of the word “sausage” throughout the
movie. In fact, this word is repeated so often in order to create this comical effect. Therefore, since the translation of “pølse” into “sausage” is natural, even if Americans might be more used to eating hot dogs rather than sausages, the reason for using “deer sausage” in the translation is in hopes of maintaining this comic effect. This would thus have to be considered a successful translation.

However, the second issue that must be brought up is how the first part of the dialog mentioning “pølse” is omitted. This is done because of the speed of the dialog and the difficulty of subtitling everything. This presents a problem, since the whole reason the dialog is funny in Danish is the rapid repetition of the word “pølse”. As mentioned before in subtitling ideals, the deletion of words is necessary, but must not interfere with the targeted audiences appreciation of original work. In this case, this rule seems to have been broken, and if possible, this phrase should not have been omitted.

The following are two more examples of where omission probable was not necessary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:13:18</td>
<td><em>Fjeldsted Sanatorium</em> (non-verbal)</td>
<td><em>FJELDSTED SANATORIUM</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first example, the subtitler has plenty of time to translate the sign that says “Fjeldsted Sanatorium”. What makes it easier to retain this ECR is the fact that “sanatorium” is spelled the same in both languages. However, there is no reason why the subtitler did not chose to translate the term again when stated later in the movie. Again, it is the speed of dialog, which most likely has determined the term's deletion, but at this point in the movie, it might be difficult for the audience to remember Ingrid Grith, and therefore a subtitling of Fjeldsted Sanatorium would have been preferable.

The following three examples are instances of food related ECRs that have been translated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:04:44</td>
<td>Det skal sige at Bjarne's <em>leverpostej den er usælgelig.</em></td>
<td>I can’t sell Bjarne’s <em>pate.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:04:50</td>
<td>Og din marinade og <em>frikadeller</em> går heller ikke ligesom varmt brød.</td>
<td>And your marinade and <em>meatballs</em> aren’t flying over the counter.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In all of these cases, the subtitler has chosen to substitute the Danish ECRs with a similar and perhaps more recognized food product in America. As has already been mentioned, literal translations of “leverpostej” and “frikadeller” simply would not be successful, and the same can be said of “koteletter”. Substituting these for English words that convey the meaning successfully is an effective subtitling technique. It should be mentioned that substituting “koteletter” with “pork chops”, or even just “chops”, would probably have been more accurate than translating it into “steaks”. Nevertheless, there is nothing wrong with the strategy itself. Substitution might not always be a good solution to dealing with ECRs, but these cases prove that when encountering ECRs where there are no equivalent literal translations, the strategy can work just fine. Therefore, it is impossible to rank one subtitling strategy above another.

A more debatable use of the substitution strategy is illustrated in the following example.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:19:58</td>
<td>Ved du hvad, jeg bliver sindssyg hvis du snakker mere om koteletter.</td>
<td>Don’t talk about steaks!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subtitler has chosen to completely disregard the Danish currency in the translation, and has substituted it with the equivalent price in American dollars. It can be argued whether an American audience would appreciate this monetary conversion. Even though an American audience might have difficulty understanding the precise value of eight kroner, it has no bearing on understanding the meaning of the sentence, especially since an item is sold in the butcher shop and an exchanging of money takes place. However, it might cause a great deal of confusion for an audience as to why people in Denmark use dollars. Therefore, in the case of monetary units, it would most likely be preferable that the original currency be retained in the translation.

The final examples that will be dealt in this movie are also instances of substitution. The following two examples deal with the translation of the Danish equivalent of a hospital’s emergency room and a government inspection agency.
In the first example, the subtitler has chosen to substitute the Danish hospital department “skadestuen” for the equivalent in America, the “ER”. The only problem here is that the term “ER” is hardly ever used, except perhaps on the television show bearing the same name, where doctors use this acronym. In everyday speech, the ER would usually be completely pronounced as the emergency room. The subtitler has chosen that in this case it was necessary to use the acronym and save space in the subtitles.

The second issue that pertains to both examples is whether the American equivalent should be used in substitution of the Danish terms. In the case of “skadestuen” it is difficult to find a term that would convey the meaning as effectively as the American substitution. In the second example with “levnedsmiddelkontrol”, which is an agency that actually does not exist anymore, the subtitler has chosen to substitute this with the American Food and Drug Administration. In the movie, the “levnedsmiddelkontrol” is examining the butcher store for any violations. In America, the FDA actually has nothing to do with inspecting restaurants and grocery stores, since this is usually done by local health departments. Therefore, since a retention or literal translation would have been difficult, it would probably have been better to use a generalization, or at the very least, a correct substitution.

5.2.2 Specific Analysis: In China They Eat Dogs

The first example I have chosen to analyze is one where the subtitler has chosen to use the strategy of substitution.

A couple of issues need to be discussed concerning the translation of the Danish “kroner” in this sentence. First, the translation of Danish “kroner” into “crows” is suspect, because even though the literal translation of a “krone” is “crown”, there is no literal
translation for the currency itself. On the international market, the currency of Denmark is referred to as the Danish Krone, or in plural, the Danish Kroner. Therefore, the use of “crowns” in the subtitles does not enhance the targeted audiences understanding of the term, and should not have been used.

Second, there is the debate of whether it is necessary to substitute the name of a monetary unit in a translation at all. There is no doubt the use of the word “dollar” is not altered in most Danish subtitles of American dialog. The same can probably be said of translations of other monetary units such as the “euro” or “pound”. The question is if an American audience, which likely has little knowledge of what type of money is used in Denmark, would understand the use of “kroner”. It is obvious in the movie that the characters discussing the “800 krone” are referring to money. Furthermore, in this particular case, the amount of money discussed is not that relevant, which makes a substitution in the translation even less necessary. However, the next example shows a situation where the amount of money is of importance to understanding the movie.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:58:57</td>
<td>Synes du ikke det er ubehageligt at Astrid har 650,000 kroner der er vores.</td>
<td>Don’t you think it’s unfair that Astrid has 650,000 crowns of our money</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this example, it is important to understand that 650,000 Danish kroner is a great deal of money. There is a slight chance that an American audience will be confused as to the value of this amount. However, in the movie the robbery of the money transport, where the 650,000 krone are obtained, gives the audience a clue that the money is indeed a significant amount. The conclusion is, just as it was shown from the example in *The Green Butchers*, that retention is most likely the preferable strategy when dealing with translation of foreign currencies. In addition, the substitution of “kroner” into “crowns” in this movie, does not help the audience further understand the meaning of the original dialog, and should therefore have been avoided.

The next translation that will be looked at involves the use of generalization when dealing with a specific place in Copenhagen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:14:11</td>
<td>Hvem har været på Grøntorvet?</td>
<td>Who went to the vegetable market?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:14:19</td>
<td>Har Vuk været på Grøntorvet?</td>
<td>Has Vuk been to the market?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In these two examples, the subtitler has chosen to refer to “Grøntorvet” as a “vegetable market” and as just a “market” respectively in the subtitles. This is an instance where the use of retention would have shown an obvious attempt by the subtitler to keep specific ECRs intact. However, the subtitler has instead chosen to find a general term in the target language, which further enhances the audiences chance to understand the dialog. “Grøntorvet” is a very specific market that sells wholesale fruits, vegetables, flowers, plants, and other related items, and it is located in the Copenhagen area. It would almost be impossible for anyone with no previous knowledge of this market, to have any sense of what it is. Therefore, generalizing it and calling it a vegetable market in the subtitles is perhaps the best translation available, and proves that all of the strategies that are being discussed can be effective if used in the proper situations. There is another excellent example of this later in the movie.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:10:17</td>
<td>De inviterer os med til Grøn Koncert.</td>
<td>They’ll invite us to a rock concert.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this example, the actors are discussing a particular kind of rock concert known by many Danes. “Grøn Koncert” is a tour of concerts that takes place all around Denmark during the summer and has existed for nearly 25 years. In the movie, it is meant as a sarcastic comment that is used for a comedic purpose. The specificity of the type of concert is probably not needed in order to understand the humor, but understanding that “Grøn Koncert” is a historical summer tradition in Denmark would most likely help. However, since there are no similar types of concert tours in America, which have the same historical tradition to the target audience, the subtitler is forced to either retain the original or find a general equivalent in English. Since no foreigner would be familiar with “Grøn Koncert”, as was the case with “Grøntorvet”, the use of generalization seems to be the most viable solution.

The following example also deals with generalization, but presents an added problem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:42:27</td>
<td>Jeg kan fjene Amager med denne klump.</td>
<td>I could obliterate a whole island with this.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this case, the generalization of a Danish island might be far too general for the target audience to properly understand the original dialog. “Amager” is Denmark’s most
densely populated island, and much of the island is now considered a part of Copenhagen. “Amager” is connected to Copenhagen through a great deal of bridges and even a tunnel, but is still considered an island, albeit a very large island. The point is that the original Danish audience understands exactly what it means that the explosives could remove all of “Amager”. For an American audience, the translation of “Amager” into a “whole island” is not very specific, and loses some comedic effect because it could be understood as being an uninhabited island. If the targeted audience was knowledgeable of the Copenhagen area, retention would be a preferable strategy, but this is unlikely. Therefore, specification and substitution seem to be the most obvious alternatives. Perhaps a specification such as “half of Copenhagen” or a substitution such as “Long Island” would better convey the original meaning. In any case, this is a good example that illustrates how a generalization can be too general.

These next two situations show the subtitler using retention as a technique for dealing with automobile brands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:23:57</td>
<td>Vuk, altså, prøv nu at hør, det er en <em>Volvo.</em></td>
<td>Listen- It’s a <em>Volvo.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:24:15</td>
<td>Han har en gang kort galt i sin onkels <em>Yugo.</em></td>
<td>He once crashed his uncle’s <em>Yugo.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I would argue against the fact that “Volvo” would be considered an ECR. However, in the data sheet of the analysis done in the Danish movie “Open Hearts”, Gottlieb discusses how “en næsten ny Volvo” was generalized in the target language as “a new car” (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 208). Therefore, it is treated as an ECR here as well. The car brand Yugo is probably even less known by an American audience, and might fit better into the category of ECRs. In fact, this makes the subtitler’s choice to retain the reference worth discussing. There is no doubt that an American audience would have no problem with the retention of Volvo, but there might be more difficulty understanding that Vuk “once crashed his uncle’s Yugo”, especially with younger audiences, since this car is no longer in production. However, it is even more difficult to find an appropriate English term that can describe a cheap eastern European car. It can be argued that retention works well in situations where equivalent terms cannot be found or where the original term works just
as well as anything else the translator can think of in the target language. Similar situations can be found in the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:53:03</td>
<td>Tag dem ud i <em>Søndermarken</em> og begrav dem.</td>
<td>Bury them at <em>Søndermarken</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The first example should be evaluated separately, because in the movie itself there is an actual scene in English that discusses the location of “Søndermarken”. This scene makes it pretty clear that “Søndermarken” is a specific location in the Copenhagen area, and the precise use of it in the English dialog makes it difficult to use any other translation strategies. Nevertheless, it is still a good example of something that can be retained in translated subtitles. The reason is the context of how it is mentioned in the movie. The fact that somebody has to be buried a specific place, and that place becomes “Søndermarken”, makes it easy to understand the meaning of the original dialog even with this retention. The second example, concerning Prince cigarettes, once again proves how retention can be used successfully. Because of the dialog, which involves a person asking to purchase a pack of cigarettes, it becomes easier to retain an otherwise specific cultural term. Prince is a Danish produced brand of cigarettes that is not likely to be known by many Americans. However, when used in a conversation such as the one in the example above, it becomes evident that “Prince” is a reference to a brand of cigarettes. Therefore, just as the previous examples have shown, when the dialog allows for an obvious understanding of the ECRs spoken in the source language, then there should be no reason not to retain these references in the target language subtitles.

The final example that will be discussed simply illustrates the many different factors that exist, which can influence the quality of movie subtitles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

First, it must be stated that the subtitler most likely misspelled “Island Revenue” and in fact meant it to be “Internal Revenue”. This makes a significant difference in the ECR classification, because “Internal Revenue” would most likely have been deemed a
specification, whereas “Island Revenue” can only be classified as a substitution because it specifies nothing. Second, as discussed before, it is important to keep subtitles as brief as possible. If the subtitler in fact meant “Internal Revenue”, there is no doubt that the acronym “IRS”, which stands for “Internal Revenue Service”, should have been used instead. IRS is shorter and is more frequently used in daily conversation in America. Third, and most important, this illustrates the importance of proofing by subtitlers. As stated in the subtitling chapter, subtitles serve as a model for literacy, and instances of incorrect grammar and misspellings are not only distracting to the audience, but indicate a careless and unprofessional approach by the subtitler.
6. DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will discuss the results found in the analysis of the two movies and evaluate the strategies used by the subtitlers when encountering ECRs, and offer an opinion as to whether certain strategies are more useful than others. First, it should be stated that the analysis done classifying each ECR found into the six different subtitling strategy categories seems to serve its purpose well and is an effective means of producing results that can be further examined. Second, the specific analysis done by evaluating individual examples of ECR translations is imperative if an accurate description of the successfulness of these translations is to be made.

The data collected by transcribing the dialog from the movies created a solid framework for further analysis. The tables created in the analysis chapter form a good overview of the number of ECRs per movie and the strategies used to deal with them. These types of tables and charts could no doubt be created in the analysis of any subtitled movie, and the categories seem to sufficiently cover all types of ECRs encountered. This means that larger scale studies could be done, and a comparison of successful foreign movie releases with those that are less successful could indicate if certain strategies are better received by foreign audiences. In any case, comprehensive studies would be helpful for future subtitlers to help them realize what strategies are available when encountering ECRs and which ones are most frequently used.

In these two particular movies, the results show that the strategies were quite varied and indicated that the subtitlers had no standardized approach for dealing with the specific cultural references. There is no pattern illustrating whether the subtitlers chose to translate with a high or low degree of fidelity in mind. The strategy chosen to translate each individual ECR seems to be dependent on the ECR encountered in that specific instance. This is to be expected since, as was discussed in the subtitling chapter above, there are no detailed guidelines for dealing with these types of specific cultural references. However, even with no guidelines, some subtitlers might choose to maintain either a high or a low degree of fidelity in their translations, but this was obviously not the case in The Green Butchers or In China They Eat Dogs. Therefore, studying specific examples of translated ECRs becomes vital in order to understand the strategies chosen by subtitlers.
By analyzing specific examples of translated ECRs, it becomes evident that each of the six strategies can be effective when used in the correct instances. For instance, substitution seems to work well when encountering specific cultural food references in The Green Butchers. Similarly, in the second movie, In China They Eat Dogs, it is found that generalization works well when encountering ECRs where a suitable more general term is available in the target language, which accurately describes that which is unrecognizable to the foreign audience. This was the case with the translation of “Gron Koncert” into “a rock concert” and “Grøntorvet” into “vegetable market”. These cases prove that under no circumstance can one strategy be considered better than another can, and that every ECR encounter should be treated independently so that the correct translation strategy is used.

However, with this being said, there is no question that certain strategies are preferred in certain situations. This was apparent throughout the specific analysis, in both the situations where the subtitler had successfully translated an ECR and in cases where there were alternative strategies, which perhaps would have better conveyed the original meaning to the targeted audience. Therefore, it might still be possible, through further studies and analysis, to create guidelines that will help subtitlers when encountering certain types of specific cultural references. For example, as was shown in the analysis of The Green Butchers, in the case of monetary units, it is often best to retain the original currency in translation. This is perhaps more obvious when dealing with translations from English into Danish subtitles, where the American dollar is known by the majority of Danes, but even when translating the Danish currency into English, it was shown that retention was the best alternative. If a set of guidelines were available to inform subtitlers that in most cases retention of currency is preferable, it would also help avoid translations such as the one used in the movie In China They Eat Dogs, where “800 kroner” was subtitled “800 crowns”. Similarly, the successful use of substitution in the cases of food items in The Green Butchers, the use of generalization in In China They Eat Dogs, and the use of retention when dealing with dialog that allows for an understanding of the ECRs, are all examples of issues that could be implemented into a formal set of guidelines.

The specific analysis also shows that there is an even more obvious possibility that would help subtitlers in the future. It seems that Gottlieb has created such a good taxonomy of subtitling strategies that a more thorough explanation of these would be a sufficient start to a standardized set of subtitling guidelines. This would make subtitlers
aware of the fact that they are dealing with an extra-linguistic culture-specific reference that demands added attention, and that there are six specific strategies available, which should be considered in order to subtitle the ECR successfully. If these strategies are explained in detail, and examples are given as to when and where each of the strategies are most effective, then subtitlers would have a good reference guide and a solid base for starting their subtitling projects. Furthermore, these strategies could essentially also be developed so that they could be used when encountering ECRs, idioms, and other words and phrases, which are difficult to translate.

Finally, it should be mentioned that in the specific analysis of the subtitling in the two movies, some rather unfortunate mistakes were found. For instance, the translation of “levnedsmiddelkontrol” into the “FDA” is a clear sign that the subtitler has either been to careless to look up the true meaning of both terms, or the subtitler has worked under such stress that there was no time to find a better equivalent. The same can be said concerning a mistake made in the subtitling of In China They Eat Dogs, where it is most likely that “Internal Revenue” is misspelled “Island Revenue”. These types of errors should be unacceptable in the field of subtitling. Once again, the subtitling industry is limited by not having enough structural guidelines and theoretical reference books. By developing such guidelines, subtitlers would be able to quickly recognize difficult situations and look up helpful procedures for dealing with the problems, and therefore allow themselves more time to investigate the meaning of terms and more importantly thoroughly proofread their work for any errors.
7. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this project was to examine the English subtitles found in the two Danish movies, *The Green Butchers* and *In China They Eat Dogs*. These two movies were analyzed with the intention of answering questions regarding the translation and subtitling of specific cultural references found in the original dialog. This was done successfully by using a method of analysis created by Henrik Gottlieb. The number of ECRs in each movie was obtained by transcribing the dialog and subtitles. This was followed by analyzing every ECR found, and listing the type of strategy that the subtitler had used in order to translate the term for the target audience. The results of this showed that the subtitlers did not seem to demonstrate a preference in which strategy they chose. In fact, the strategies were quite varied, and the subtitlers seemed to treat each ECR they encountered separately.

Therefore, the process of analyzing specific examples of translated ECRs, proved to be a successful addition to Gottlieb’s model. By furthering the scope of the analysis and analyzing specific examples, it was illustrated that valuable information could be obtained. The evidence collected suggests that there are certain situations where one particular strategy is far better than the other strategies available. For instance, in the case of translating a specific currency, the analysis done in this project proved that there could be one principle strategy for all subtitlers to follow. Every ECR encountered must obviously be treated individually. However, guidelines could certainly be developed, which allow subtitlers to seek guidance when translating difficult terms and phrases.

The conclusion is that the analysis done in this project illustrates the need for further studies to be done in the field of subtitling. This would create more theoretical and practical resources to become available for subtitlers. The goal would be to create a set of rules and guidelines that enable subtitlers to work better, more efficiently, and create subtitles that are far more accurate.
8. RESUME

This project examines the English subtitles found in the two Danish movies, *The Green Butchers* and *In China They Eat Dogs*. The main purpose of the analysis is to find extra-linguistic culture-specific references, also known as ECRs, in the original and subtitled film dialog, and to study the strategies used by the subtitlers of each movie to translate these cultural references. Furthermore, specific analysis is done to illustrate the effectiveness of choosing a particular strategy versus another. In order to accomplish this, a detailed introduction of translation studies as an academic discipline is provided, followed by a comprehensive explanation of the process of subtitling. Finally, the method of analysis that is used is thoroughly described, and the analysis of the subtitles in the two movies is conducted.

The primary sources used to provide the basis for translation theory include Susan Bassnett, Jeremy Munday, and the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, which is edited by Mona Baker. There are many different definitions of the term translation, but in the case of this project, it deals with a process in which verbal elements, such as movie dialog, are altered in such a way that they reach a new target audience, for instance through subtitles in a different language. This provides a good basis for introducing translation studies, which as an academic discipline obviously involves the study of various types of translations. In fact, it deals with the study of literary and non-literary translation, oral interpretation, and subtitling and dubbing. Some of the key issues that are debated in this project include equivalence, translation shifts, and translatability. Furthermore, the role of the translator is discussed in detail because it is important to understand the guidelines that a translator should follow when attempting the translation of a text, as well as acknowledge the responsibilities that a translator has towards the original text and the targeted audience.

Subtitling deals with many of the same theoretical issues, that literary translation does, but there are significant differences that make it a unique translation process. The sources used are Georg-Michael Luyken and his book *Overcoming Language Barriers in Television*, which deals with dubbing and subtitling practices in Europe, and Henrik Gottlieb, who is considered by many to be one of the leading experts in the field of subtitling. While dubbing replaces the original speech by a different voice track, subtitles usually appear at the bottom of the screen and are written translations of the original
source dialog. This project discusses the pros and cons of each process, and examines how subtitling has evolved throughout history in both Denmark and in America. Differences between literary translation and subtitling are also discussed. For instance, subtitling often involves deleting some of the original dialog from the target audience and therefore requires an editorial element. These differences are important, because they are significant in creating a specific set of guidelines that subtitlers can follow when approaching their work.

The method of analysis in this project is created by Henrik Gottlieb, and is used to find localisms and culture-specific references in movie dialog and the subtitles. Localisms are known in translation studies as being words or phrases that are specific to a certain area, region, country, language, or culture. This includes, but is not limited to, names of places and people, and other culture-specific phenomenon. Since these references are usually unrecognizable to the targeted audience, they are often difficult to translate. Gottlieb’s definition of a localism is an “extra-linguistic culture-specific reference”, which is referred to as an “ECR” in Gottlieb’s study and in this project. Furthermore, Gottlieb has created six different strategies that are available to subtitlers when presented with an ECR in the source dialog. These strategies are retention, literal translation, specification, generalization, substitution, and omission. This project defines each of these six strategies. The method of analysis involves counting every ECR found in a movie and placing them into one of these six categories. This project uses the same form of analysis that Gottlieb did, but adds an additional element. Specific analysis of several individual examples of ECRs found in the movies and subtitles is conducted, in order to evaluate the effectiveness of certain strategies, and to determine whether one strategy is preferable to another.

The overall analysis includes two tables that illustrate the number of ECRs found in each movie, the strategy used to translate them, and the original source dialogue with the subtitled translation in parentheses. These tables show that the method created by Gottlieb is effective in studying the presence of ECRs and what strategies the subtitlers have used when encountering them. It is also evident that the strategies used by the subtitlers are quite varied, and four out of the six strategies are used at some point in both movies, while generalization was only found in In China They Eat Dogs, and no cases of specification were found at all. The subtitler seems to express no need to preserve the localisms found in the movies, and there seems to be no preference towards the use of any strategy.
This fact is proved once again in the specific analysis of individual examples found in both movies. It is shown that the subtitlers most likely treated each ECR differently and not with one specific strategy in mind. The analysis also showed that this was not necessarily a negative issue, because many of the specific examples were most accurately translated using different strategies. In fact, this project proved that, in the case of these two movies, no strategy prevailed as being more successful or more preferable. However, many of these examples proved that a certain strategy would be preferable in specific cases. For instance, it was illustrated that it would be preferable to use retention when encountering a culture-specific currency, such as the American Dollar or the Danish Krone. In addition, the specific analysis was also able to offer alternative strategies and translations to those used by the subtitlers, which had perhaps better conveyed the source message to the targeted audience. In fact, some very serious errors were committed, and these were pointed out.

In conclusion, this means that this project has proven the effectiveness of Gottlieb’s method of analysis in studying ECRs found in movies and subtitles. Furthermore, by examining specific examples of ECRs found, it has been possible to evaluate the use of certain strategies in different situations. This specific analysis not only highlighted some of the questionable translations made by the subtitlers, but more importantly, this analysis showed that it was possible to find certain situations where one specific strategy was the most effective. This is crucial because it shows that, with more studies in the field of subtitling, proper rules and guidelines can be created to help future subtitlers become more accurate and efficient.
9. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books Cited


Egoyan, Atom, and Ian Balfour, eds. Subtitles: On the Foreignness of Film.

Gottlieb, Henrik. Screen Translation: Eight Studies in Subtitling, Dubbing and

Ivarsson, Jan, and Mary Carroll. “Code of Good Subtitling Practice.” European

and Subtitling for the European Audience. Manchester: The European Institute for
the Media, 1991.


**DVDs Cited**


**APPENDIX A**

Note to reader: The following are transcriptions of *extra-linguistic culture-specific references* found in the two Danish movies analyzed in this project. The ECRs and their subtitled translations are italicized.

*In China They Eat Dogs:*

Extra-linguistic Culture-specific References

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:03:03</td>
<td>Lå der ikke 800 kroner I denne her?</td>
<td>Wasn’t there 800 crowns in this?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:03:14</td>
<td>Dem har jeg givet til follicerkens nødhjælp.</td>
<td>I gave it to <em>Church Aid.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:03:31</td>
<td>Du skal da ikke rende rundt og bruge vores 800 kroner.</td>
<td>You mustn’t go round spending our 800 crowns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:14:11</td>
<td>Hvem har været på Grøntorvet?</td>
<td>Who went to the <em>vegetable market?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:14:19</td>
<td>Har Vuk været på Grøntorvet?</td>
<td>Has Vuk been to the <em>market?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:16:11</td>
<td>Så nåede han sgu ikke at se vi vandt EM, hva’?</td>
<td>So he didn’t get to see us win the <em>European Cup?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:17:27</td>
<td>Har du været I byen længe?</td>
<td>Have you been in <em>town long?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:22:58</td>
<td>Ja, <em>Breidal</em>, bank Henning.</td>
<td>Yes, the <em>bank woman</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:23:32</td>
<td>Nogle gange sår jeg sgu tænkt på at ringe til forbundet.</td>
<td>There are times I’ve almost called the <em>union.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:23:40</td>
<td>For helvedet, Vuk, det er en <em>Volvo.</em></td>
<td>Damn it, it’s a <em>Volvo.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:23:57</td>
<td>Vuk, altså, prøv nu at hør, det er en <em>Volvo.</em></td>
<td>Listen- It’s a <em>Volvo.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Code</td>
<td>Original</td>
<td>Subtitles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:24:12</td>
<td>Det er en Volvo.</td>
<td>It’s a Volvo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:24:15</td>
<td>Han har en gang kørt galt i sin onkels Yugo.</td>
<td>He once crashed his uncle’s Yugo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:24:19</td>
<td>På Rådhuspladsen.</td>
<td>Omitted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:34:02</td>
<td>671,543 kroner.</td>
<td>671,543 crowns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:35:30</td>
<td>Ja, hendes mand. Han sidder stadig varetegtsfängslet.</td>
<td>Her Husband. He’s still in custody.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:39:45</td>
<td>Tror du jeg er social rådgiver?</td>
<td>I’m not a social worker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:42:21</td>
<td>Jeg har været i civilforsvaret i otte måneder.</td>
<td>I was in the Defense Corps for eight months.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:42:27</td>
<td>Jeg kan fjene Amager med denne klump.</td>
<td>I could obliterate a whole island with this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:50:30</td>
<td>Så er der natmad.</td>
<td>Snack time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:52:50</td>
<td>I Det Kongelige Teatre.</td>
<td>The Royal Theatre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:52:56</td>
<td>Tag dem ud i Søndermarken, for helvede.</td>
<td>Take them to Søndermarken, damn it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:53:03</td>
<td>Tag dem ud i Søndermarken og begrav dem.</td>
<td>Bury them at Søndermarken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:53:20</td>
<td>So, Peter and Martin take off for this, Søndermarken.</td>
<td>Peter and Martin take off for Søndermarken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Code:</td>
<td>Original</td>
<td>Subtitles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:53:27</td>
<td>Søndermarken, that’s right.</td>
<td>Søndermarken, that’s right.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:53:28</td>
<td>Søndermarken.</td>
<td>Søndermarken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:53:57</td>
<td>Søndermarken.</td>
<td>Søndermarken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:58:57</td>
<td>Synes du ikke det er ubehageligt at Astrid har 650,000 kroner der er vores.</td>
<td>Don’t you think it’s unfair that Astrid has 650,000 crowns of our money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:10:17</td>
<td>De inviterer os med til Grøn Koncert.</td>
<td>They’ll invite us to a rock concert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:14:32</td>
<td>Ved frokost tid går de altid ind på Café Paradis for at spise sammen med Finn.</td>
<td>They always go to the Café Paradise to eat with Finn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:14:46</td>
<td>Finn, det er ham der har Café Paradis.</td>
<td>The guy who runs Café Paradise.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Green Butchers:

#### Extra-linguistic Culture-specific References

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:02:05</td>
<td>Jamen, Holger han har <em>kronhjorte pølse</em>.</td>
<td>He has his <em>deer sausage</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:02:06</td>
<td>Nu holder du op med at sige <em>pølse</em>. Du siger <em>pølse</em> hele tiden.</td>
<td><em>Omitted.</em> You say “<em>sausage</em>” all the time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:02:11</td>
<td>Skal vi have de <em>mørbradbøffer</em> eller hvad?</td>
<td>Are we going to eat that <em>tenderloin</em> or not?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:02:12</td>
<td>Jo, Bjarne skal da have en <em>mørbradbøf</em>.</td>
<td>Give Bjarne a <em>steak</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:03:27</td>
<td>Og så give mig to <em>kronhjorte pølser</em>.</td>
<td>And also two <em>deer sausages</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:03:35</td>
<td><em>Pølser</em> har altid fascineret mig.</td>
<td>I’ve always been fascinated by <em>sausages</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:04:17</td>
<td>Hvis vil have <em>pølsen</em>, ik.</td>
<td>They want the <em>sausage</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:04:18</td>
<td>Hold nu op med at sige <em>pølse</em>.</td>
<td>Don’t say “<em>sausage</em>” all the time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:04:19</td>
<td>Du siger <em>pølse</em> hele tiden, har du ikke lagt mærke til det.</td>
<td><em>Omitted.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:04:22</td>
<td>Jeg kan love dig en ting. Jeg kan lave en <em>pølse</em> der er tusind gange bedre end denne balje brusk.</td>
<td>I can make a <em>sausage</em> way better that this bunch a junk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:04:44</td>
<td>Det skal sige at Bjarne <em>leverpostej</em> den er usælgelig.</td>
<td>I can’t sell Bjarne’s <em>pate</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Code:</td>
<td>Original</td>
<td>Subtitles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:04:50</td>
<td>Og din marinade og <em>frikadeller</em> går heller ikke ligesom varmt brød.</td>
<td>And your marinade and <em>meatballs</em> aren’t flying over the counter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:04:55</td>
<td>Det er muligt at jeg har nogle problemer med min marinade i øjeblikket, men du skal ikke sige et ondt ord om mine <em>frikadeller</em>.</td>
<td>My marinade may need some work, but don’t disparage my <em>meatballs</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:05:34</td>
<td>Svend, du har <em>pølse</em> på hovedet igen.</td>
<td>Svend, you have a <em>sausage</em> on your head again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:13:18</td>
<td><em>Fjeldsted Sanatorium</em> (non-verbal)</td>
<td><em>FJELDSTED SANATORIUM</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:15:26</td>
<td>Hvad var det? Hvad var det du lavede med <em>frikadellen</em> Tina.</td>
<td>What was that? What did you just do with that <em>meatball</em>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:15:31</td>
<td>Hvis vi alle sammen går og tager en <em>frikadelle</em>, så vil der jo ikke være nogle til kunderne.</td>
<td>If we eat them all, there won’t be <em>any</em> for the customers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:19:56</td>
<td>Nu vil folk gerne have <em>koteletter</em>, og.</td>
<td>People want <em>steaks</em> and…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:19:58</td>
<td>Ved du hvad, jeg bliver sindssyg hvis du snakker mere om <em>koteletter</em>.</td>
<td>Don’t talk about <em>steaks</em>!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:20:03</td>
<td>Jeg har da overhovedet ikke snakket om <em>koteletter</em>.</td>
<td>I haven’t mentioned <em>steaks</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:20:05</td>
<td>Det her handler ikke om <em>koteletter</em> eller nogen som helst andre kødretter.</td>
<td>This isn’t about <em>steaks</em> or other meat dishes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Code:</td>
<td>Original</td>
<td>Subtitles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:25:40</td>
<td>Tina, hun har gået fra mig fordi hun siger at jeg snakker alt for meget om <em>koteletter.</em></td>
<td>Tina has left me because she says that I talk too much about <em>steaks.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:30:50</td>
<td>Giv mig to <em>frikadeller</em> og en lille <em>leverpostej.</em></td>
<td>Two <em>meatballs</em> and one <em>pate.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:33:30</td>
<td><em>Svend sved?</em></td>
<td><em>Svend Sweat?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:36:07</td>
<td>Hej Bjarne. Det er Ingrid Grith fra <em>Fjelsted Sanatorium.</em></td>
<td>Hi Bjarne. It’s Ingrid Grith. <em>(Omitted)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:38:38</td>
<td><em>Hus Hans?</em></td>
<td><em>House Hans?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:43:27</td>
<td>Er det <em>Hus Hans?</em></td>
<td>Is that <em>House Hans?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:45:07</td>
<td>Det bliver <em>otte kroner.</em></td>
<td><em>One dollar.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:52:26</td>
<td>Vi skal også have flere af de små <em>leverpostejer,</em> og mere <em>saltkød.</em> Alt er revet væk.</td>
<td>We need more <em>pate.</em> Everything is selling like crazy. <em>(Omitted)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1:01:37   | Det er min hund, *Smut.*  
Det er *Smut.* | This is my dog *Skip.*  
This is *Skip.* |
<p>| 1:05:29   | Vi måtte tage på <em>skadestuen</em> på vej hjem. | We had to go to the <em>ER</em> on the way home. |
| 1:05:38   | Hans “<em>Hus Hans</em>” Petersen var ejendomsmægler og far til to. | <em>House Hans</em> Petersen was a realtor. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Code:</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Subtitles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:06:26</td>
<td>Godaften, det er Holger. <em>Pølse Holger.</em></td>
<td>It’s <em>Sausage Holger.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:09:36</td>
<td>Der blev født en giraf unge i <em>Stockholms zoologiske have</em>…</td>
<td>A giraffe was born in <em>Stockholm Zoo</em>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:10:04</td>
<td>Men Eigil han ville til <em>Stockholm</em> og se giraffen.</td>
<td>But Eigil wanted to go to <em>Stockholm</em> and get a gander at the giraffe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:11:15</td>
<td>Men det er først når man sætter ham sammen med det sindssyge sved svin til Svend at det går helt galt.</td>
<td>But it’s not until you put him together with that insane <em>Svend Sweat</em>, that it goes wrong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:26:16</td>
<td>Butikken er lukket. Det <em>levnedsmiddelkontrol.</em></td>
<td>The shop is closed. We’re from the <em>FDA.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:25:23</td>
<td>Jeg må be jer allesammen gå udenfor. Butikken er lukket. Det er <em>levnedsmiddelkontrol.</em></td>
<td>I have to ask you all to leave. The shop is closed. We’re from the <em>FDA.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:25:40</td>
<td>Leif Larsen fra <em>levneds.</em></td>
<td>Leif Larsen from the <em>FDA.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:26:26</td>
<td>Der er noget <em>levnedsmiddelkontrol.</em></td>
<td>The <em>FDA</em> is here.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>