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“What’s with the Muumuu?”

Translation of Cultural References in the Finnish Subtitles of Television
Series *Gilmore Girls*

Master’s Thesis

Vaasa 2016

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ABSTRACT

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan kulttuurisidonnaisuuksien kääntämistä yhdysvaltalaisen *Gilmoren tytöt* –televisiosarjan 10 ensimmäisen jakson tekstityksissä. Kyseinen sarja sai ensiesityksensä Yhdysvalloissa vuonna 2000 ja Suomessa 2002. *Gilmoren tytöt* kertoo kahden nuoren yhdysvaltalaisen naisen elämästä ja sisältää runsaasti kyseiseen kulttuuriin liittyviä kulttuurisidonnaisuuksia.

Kulttuurisidonnaisuudet luokiteltiin 15 kategoriaan. Materiaalissa eli jaksojen dialogissa esiintyi eri kulttuurisidonnaisuuksia yhteensä 750 kappaletta. Kulttuurisidonnaisuuksia tutkittiin kotouttamisen ja vieraannuttamisen sekä 7 paikallisen käänösstrategian näkökulmasta, koska haluttiin tietää, kumpaa globaalia käänösstrategiaa oli käytetty enemmän sidonnaisuuksien kääntämisessä. Myös kuvan ja sanan suhdetta tutkittiin kulttuurisidonnaisuuksien näkökulmasta, ja miten kyseinen suhde oli vaikuttanut sidonnaisuuksien kääntämiseen. Ennen materiaalin analysointia hypoteesina oli, että kotouttamista olisi käytetty enemmän, koska tv-tekstityksen rajoitusten takia vieraiden kulttuurisidonnaisuuksien merkityksiä ja sisältöä on lähes mahdotonta selvittää riittävän tarkasti varsinkaan tekstityksen muun sisällön siitä kärsimättä.

Materiaalin analyysin jälkeen selvisi, että hypoteesi oli väärä. Suurin osa (71 %) kulttuurisidonnaisuuksista oli käännetty vieraannuttavasti, mikä johtui suurimmaksi osaksi erisnimiin, julkisuuden henkilöihin sekä muun muassa paikannimiin ja kansallisuuksiin liittyvien sidonnaisuuksien määrästä. Kulttuurisidonnaisuuksien nopea maailmanlaajuinen leviäminen etenkin Internetin, television, elokuvien ja musiikin kautta lisää ihmisten tietoa eri kulttuureista ja niihin liittyvistä käsitteistä. Tämä osaltaan vaikuttaa myös siihen, miten sidonnaisuuksia käännetään ja mitä niitä kääntäessä tulee ottaa huomioon. Vaikka tekstityksiin liittyvät rajoitukset ja konventiot rajoittavat tekstityskäännöksen luovuutta, on mahdollista, että eri kulttuurien vaikutuksen myötä myös sidonnaisuuksiin liittyvät konventiot muuttuvat.

KEYWORDS: subtitling, cultural reference, pictorial link, translation strategies, domestication, foreignization

1 INTRODUCTION

Audiovisual translation is a relatively new area of translation, compared, for example, to literary or drama translation. According to Aline Remael (2010: 12), the emerging and global spreading of the ‘talking movies’ in the 1920s evoked the need for providing translations with films. As Pilar Orero (2009: 130) states, audiovisual translation remained in the field of film or media studies until the 1980s, when it became part of the translation studies discipline. This may have happened due to the blurred terminology being used at the time, the ambiguous and incoherent research guidelines, as well as the irregular and uneven interest towards the various modes of audiovisual translation. (ibid. 130.)

At the end of the 20th century, audiovisual translation experienced fast growth and spread which had an accordingly effect on the amount and variety of different audiovisual translation modes. Recent developments such as the globalisation of audiovisual distribution, the merging of the film industry and television broadcasting companies, and the expansion of the Internet and its mobile applications via devices such as computers and mobile phones have had a powerful impact on the field of audiovisual translation. (Remael 2010: 12; Jorge Díaz Cintas 2008: 15.) Due to these developments, the amount of films, television programmes and other types of media appears to be increasing, and so is the need for audiovisual translation, especially subtitling (Thorsten Schröter 2005: 30).

As the amount of audiovisual material seems to be increasing, so is the number of different types of audiovisual translation. According to Díaz Cintas (2008: 15), audiovisual translation has developed into a wide and flexible area of translation due to its changing roles and multiplying modes. The concept of audiovisual translation includes different subcategories or types such as subtitling, dubbing, voice-over, narration, and surtitling. Nowadays, especially in Europe, the most commonly used are dubbing and subtitling. (ibid. 15). Although there are a variety of different types of audiovisual translation, this study focuses on one of the most common types, namely subtitling.

Before subtitling can be studied, its concept has to be defined first. As Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 8) state, all subtitled programmes consist of three components: the dialogue, the image and the subtitles. Subtitling can be defined as a translation practice that presents a written text usually on the lower part of the screen and aims to express in another language what is said in the dialogue, in the image, and on the soundtrack (ibid. 8). According to Schröter (2005: 28), this creates limitations for the content of the subtitles, especially when the audience may already have some amount of knowledge on the source language and source culture. Therefore, they are likely to notice if things are said in a different way or different order than in the dialogue. The dialogue limits, for example, the order of presented information, rendering of questions, and translation of cultural references. (ibid. 28.) The concept and limitations of subtitling will be further discussed in chapter 3.

Audiovisual translation has not been one of the central areas of translation studies research until recently. According to Remael (2010: 12), the first studies on audiovisual translation were published in the 1950s, but it became a popular research topic as late as in the early 1990s. Díaz Cintas (2008: 4) states that the field of audiovisual translation has become increasingly significant and visible during the past few decades. According to Díaz Cintas and Anderman (2009: 8), audiovisual translation has gained visibility and interest with international conferences and edited volumes and monographs, and it has developed into one of the most attracting and vigorous research areas in the field of translation studies. The previously mentioned researchers can be seen as some of the most well-known researchers of audiovisual translation, especially subtitling. In addition, audiovisual translation has also been the main focus in several journal issues (Heidi Zojer 2011: 394).

During the past few decades, subtitling has been a popular subject of study also in university translation studies, and it continues to be so. Subtitling has been studied from several points of view in many Finnish Pro Gradu theses. For example, the audiovisual translation of allusions, a wider concept of cultural references which also includes linguistic references, has been studied by Esko Hellgren (2007), and Kaisu Ihatsu (2008) has focused on the problems of translating cultural references. *Gilmore Girls* has been a

research topic in at least one Finnish thesis prior to this: Sari Mäyränpää (2010) studied the reception of the subtitles for *Gilmore Girls*, and focused on the differences in reception between average viewers and professional translators. In addition, Faye Woods (2008: 127–142) has studied *Gilmore Girls* from the viewpoint of music and generation gaps. She focuses on cultural references by studying how they are used in bringing together or separating people from different age groups and social classes (ibid. 127–142). As neither of the aforementioned studies focus on translation as such, this leaves room for the current thesis, as it studies how cultural references have been translated in *Gilmore Girls* and what can be deduced from the results.

This study will focus on the cultural references in the dialogue and on their translation in the Finnish subtitles of the first 10 episodes of *Gilmore Girls*, because the aim of this thesis is to find out which local translation strategy, and thus which one of the two global translation strategies, domestication or foreignization, has been used the most when translating the cultural references, and how the cultural references have been explained to the Finnish-speaking audience. The two global translation strategies, domestication and foreignization, determine the general style and manner in which the source text has been translated into the target language. The local translation strategies are used in individual translational issues or problems, for example when transferring names of characters or place names into the target text. Pictorial link, the connection of picture and word, is also taken into account by studying if, and how, they have had an effect on the translation of cultural references.

The hypothesis for this study is that in the translation of cultural references in the Finnish subtitles of *Gilmore Girls*, domestication is the prevalent global translation strategy. This is because it may be difficult to explain or clarify the meaning of foreignised cultural references to the target culture audience, and at the same time keep in mind the space and time restrictions of subtitles. However, today, cultural references travel fast around the world, which can make them known to a majority of cultures and audiences, and a translator should be aware of that as well. The results of this study are likely to reveal how familiar the Finnish-speaking audience can be assumed to be with cultural references related especially to the US culture. Further in this chapter, I will discuss the amount of

US television programmes shown in Finland and what possible effects it may have on cultural knowledge among Finnish people.

A cultural reference can be defined as a reference, for example, to a country's cuisine, music, or history. Therefore, they can create substantial translation problems and challenges for the translator as the target culture audience is not as familiar with the source culture as the source culture audience is (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007: 200). Cultural references have no direct translation equivalents in the target culture, and they may be completely unknown to most of the target culture audience. There are no shortcuts for translating them in a way that would convey their meaning as closely as possible, as it is close to impossible to explain the denotations and connotations of every cultural reference in subtitles. (Zojer 2011: 403.) The translator has to find the best possible way of conveying the meaning and message of the source language reference into the target text. Cultural references are often also referred to as *realia* or ECRs, extralinguistic cultural-bound references (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007: 200; Jan Pedersen 2011). In this study, however, only the term 'cultural reference' will be used.

Especially in television programmes, picture and dialogue can often be seen as inseparable and creating meanings as a whole. This relationship is known as a pictorial link. According to Riitta Oittinen (2007: 57), when the essences of picture and word are being described, it is often said that picture is instantaneous and refers to space, whereas word creates narrative entities and refers to time. However, it is possible to tell a story through pictures, when the viewer constructs stories in their head while looking at the picture. Therefore, the relationship between picture and word can be seen as an echo or responding; picture and word respond to each other and create a dialogue between them. (ibid. 57.) Pictorial links may have an effect on the translation if the dialogue refers to a cultural reference seen in the picture at that particular moment. Pictorial links may be adding meaning to the plot, hence becoming even more important elements in the picture. Therefore the translator should, if considered as important, take pictorial links into notice when choosing the "correct" translation for the cultural reference. Pictorial links can be studied more thoroughly, but in this study I will focus on them only from the aspect of strong vs. weak pictorial links. These will be further explained in chapter 3.

This study will proceed in the following way: chapter 2 will focus on the definition, identification, and possible categorisations of cultural references, and on what functions they may have in the plot of a television series. In chapter 3, the limitations and restrictions of subtitling, as well as translation strategies will be discussed. In addition, the concept and functions of pictorial links in subtitling are briefly discussed in chapter 3. Chapter 4 consists of the analysis which will be divided in subsections according to the categories of the cultural references. In chapter 5, the conclusions, and suggestions for further study will be presented.

1.1 Material

The material for this study consists of 10 episodes of the first season of *Gilmore Girls* on DVD, the soundtrack (dialogue) and the picture, the fan transcripts of the dialogue, and of the Finnish subtitles on DVD. The fan transcripts can be found online on several web pages, but as it turned out, they are mostly identical, so I chose to use the ones that seemed to be the most complete and accurate when compared to the dialogue. As the transcripts were written by one or more fans of *Gilmore Girls* and the correct spelling of words may not have been a priority, there may be a few spelling mistakes that will be marked with [sic].

I decided that the first 10 episodes would provide enough material for this study, as *Gilmore Girls* is filled with cultural references. Many of them are in some ways related to pop and rock culture, television shows and films, food, and literature, which have important roles in the series. Usually, cultural references are used for a particular reason and they have a specific function in the plot which may be difficult or even impossible to convey in a different language via subtitles. The functions of cultural references and their possible effect on the plot will be further discussed in chapter 2.

1.2 Method

The aim of this study was to find out how the cultural references in the first 10 episodes of *Gilmore Girls* were translated to the target language audience, and which global translation strategy was used the most. I began the analysis by going through the episodes and making a list of the cultural references and their corresponding translations. The cultural references and the translations were numbered in order to provide accurate examples in this thesis.

After gathering the actual material for this thesis, I divided the cultural references according to a modified categorisation which will be presented in chapter 4. The main reason for choosing to modify an existing category of cultural references was that it was relevant for the study to find out as precisely as possible what different types of cultural references there are in the material. I left out references that occurred more than once in the material, as the amount of references would have become too large for this thesis. In addition, the translations of such references did not differ noticeably from each other, and they would not have any effect on the study or the results.

Many researchers of audiovisual translation have created categorisations for local translation strategies. The categorisations are often applied in studying the translation strategies used in the subtitles of a specific film or a television programme. Since most of the categorisations I went through were somewhat similar to each other, it was difficult to find a suitable categorisation that would extract the largest amount of information from the material of this study. I decided to use a categorisation by Ritva Leppihalme (2001: 139–145) because her main focus of study is on the translation of extralinguistic cultural references, or cultural references.

During the process of analysing the material, I compared the cultural references in the transcripts with those in the subtitles and analysed how the references were translated, particularly from the viewpoint of the local and global translation strategies. I also focused on what the function of the reference was in the source text and if the function remained the same in the target text. Then I analysed the material for pictorial links, in other words, if the references had weak or strong pictorial links in the picture, and if the

pictorial link had affected the translation. The information based on the amount of different cultural references, in how many occasions the translation strategies were used, and how many references had pictorial links, was gathered for each section of the analysis in order to provide clear data for the analysis and to support the conclusions.

1.3 *Gilmore Girls*

Gilmore Girls, a US drama-comedy series created by Amy Sherman-Palladino, was first released on television in October 2000 in USA. It was broadcast by the WB Television Network (2000–2006) and the CW Television Network (2006–2007). (IMBd.com 2013.) The final episode of the series was broadcast in May 2007 (Sarjaseuraaja.net 2013).

Gilmore Girls follows the lives of two women, Lorelai Gilmore and her daughter Rory (Lorelai) Gilmore, who live in a small, fictional town of Stars Hollow¹, Connecticut. Lorelai and Rory have a very special mother-daughter relationship, as Lorelai was only 16 when she gave birth to her daughter whom she named after herself. Their close relationship often causes problems between them as they are more like best friends than close relatives, but mostly they are soon able to put aside their hardships.

What makes their lives even more complicated is their relationships to other people living in the small town. When Rory falls in love for the first time, it is difficult for her to deal with her mother's sudden protectiveness and to understand that Lorelai is worried only because she is afraid that Rory will get pregnant at the same age as she did and throw her promising school success away too lightly. Later on, Lorelai's relationships cause both trouble and happiness in the women's lives.

¹ Near the factual city of Hartford, Connecticut

The dialogue of *Gilmore Girls* includes a substantial amount of cultural references related to the US culture. Lorelai and Rory spend much of their spare time watching or going to the movies, listening to music, reading books (especially Rory), and taking part in town activities and events. In addition to the amount of cultural references and the unique mother-daughter relationship, the series is also known for the speed of the dialogue. According to Emily Nelson (2003), the creator of the series, Amy Sherman-Palladino, writes the dialogue to be 20 to 25 seconds per page, when usually it takes more than twice that long to go through a page of dialogue on screen. The cast was helped by dialogue coaches in order to be able to speak fast and memorise the long scripts (ibid. 2003). The series is most likely remembered and liked for its fast dialogue, a unique mother-daughter relationship, and the amount and clever usage of cultural references.

Gilmore Girls was first broadcast in USA in 2000 by The WB Television Network, or the WB. According to the user reviews on IMDb.com (2013), the series was immediately accepted even by those who didn't consider themselves as the target audience, and it was described as 'cute and clever' and 'the best new show of the season' with 'heart warming story lines' [sic]. (ibid. 2013.) *Gilmore Girls* has won and been nominated for several awards in USA. In 2003, it was awarded the 'best TV program of the year' award by AFI Awards for creating "a beautifully self-contained universe, where the traditional rules of television seem not to apply". Lauren Graham, who plays Lorelai, was nominated for a Golden Globe in 2002 in the category of 'Best Performance by an Actress in a Television Series – Drama'. She also won a Family Television Award in 2001 in the 'new series' category. The series has been nominated several times and won awards also from, for example, Screen Actors Guild Awards, Television Critics Association Awards and Teen Choice Awards. (ibid. 2013.)

In Finland, *Gilmoren tytöt* [*Gilmore Girls*] was first aired in January 2002 by Finland's national broadcasting company Yle, and the last episode of the series was seen in February 2008 (Sarjaseuraaja.net 2013). Yle has shown the series again from the beginning at least once: the rerun started in September 2010 and the latest episode was aired in August 2013 (Gilmore Girl 2011; Yle 2013). It was subtitled by Teija Rinne (currently Teija Taavila), but neither her, the WB, nor their office in Finland were able to

help me on finding out who has subtitled the series on the DVDs as it was not mentioned on the DVD covers (Taavila 2013; Warner Bros. Home Entertainment Nordic 2013).

1.4 Television Programmes from the US in Finland and the Spreading of Cultural References

It seems that the amount of television programmes has been constantly increasing, and it has in turn affected the number of the television channels. According to Lena Nelskylä (2015), towards the end of the 1970s, there were only two channels available in Finland, which meant that only few programmes were shown and people were eager to watch anything. According to the Ministry of Transport and Communications (2015), a viewer is able to choose from over 50 commercial television channels available in the Finnish antenna network, in addition to the channels provided by the Finnish broadcasting company YLE.

The amount of television and film products has been steadily increasing over the past few years, which accordingly affects the prosperity of the television industry. According to Tilastokeskus (2013), between the years 2011 and 2012, the television industry's increase in profit was 1,1 %, when, for example, the profit increase of the radio industry was -3,2 % during that same period of time. These percentages consist of domestic production and import, and exclude the export of mass communication. (ibid. 2013.)

There are regulations to what kind of programmes can be broadcast on television. According to the Finnish Communications Regulatory Authority (2015), until the beginning of 2015, there was a statute requiring that the majority of programmes being broadcast have to be produced in Europe. Only the smallest television channels with the least amount of viewers did not have to report their programme statistics to the Finnish Communications Regulatory Authority. (ibid. 2015). These regulations may prevent, for example, the monopoly of broadcasting programmes only from the US or Australia, as well as promote and improve the prospects of domestic and European programmes and producers. After the beginning of 2015, the statute was reformed but the contents

concerning the European programmes remained mostly the same (Ministry of Transport and Communications 2015).

The following figure (1) by Finnish Communications Regulatory Authority (2015) demonstrates the hourly amount of European television programmes broadcast on the largest television channels:

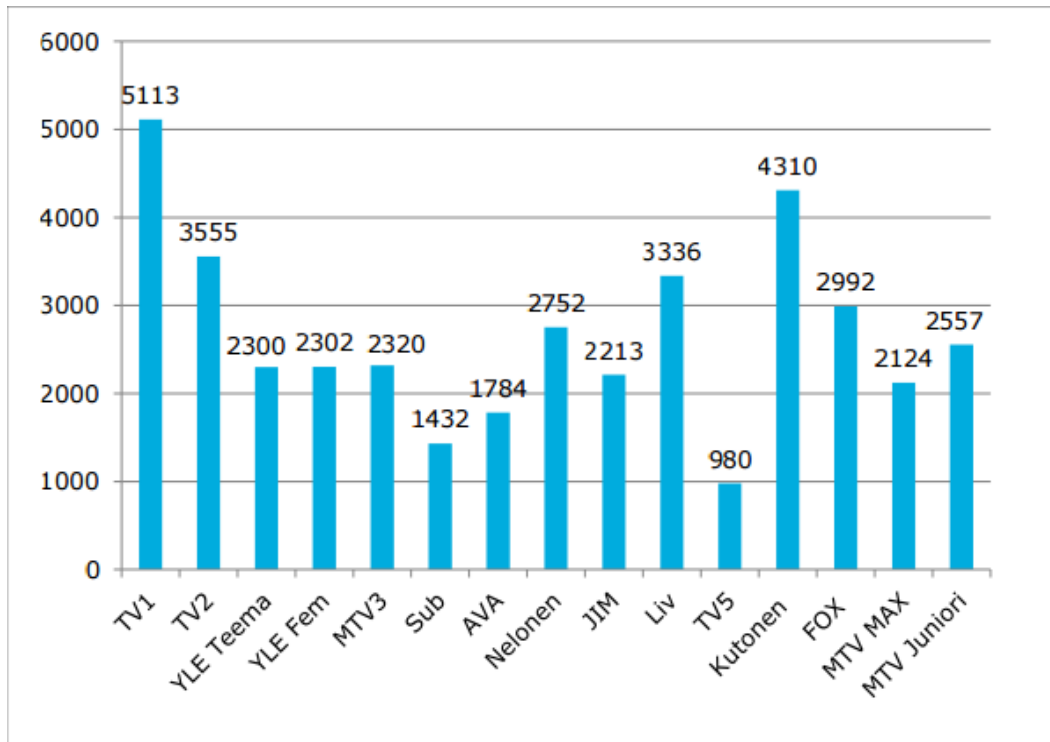


Figure 1. The largest television channels in Finland and their individual hourly portions of programmes with European origin

I was unable to find specific statistics for the amount of Finnish programmes broadcast on individual television channels in Finland, so I decided to list² every series available at the Finnish television channel MTV 3's Internet television service *Katsomo*. The categorisation of the programmes was made according to the country of production. If the US was one of the countries and the writer or writers were US natives, the programme was placed under the 'US' category. I found out that out of 188 available programmes, only 50 were from the US. As many as 66 programmes were Finnish,

²The list can be found in appendix 2

and the majority of 72 programmes were of other origin, most of them European. This clearly correlates with the regulations for European television programmes.

Most of the US programmes were entertainment or reality programmes that either take place in the US or showcase the people from the US in different ways. Therefore the programmes are most likely focused around the US culture, hence including a number of cultural references. As Díaz Cintas and Anderman (2009: 3) state, the range of types of programmes from cookery and travel shows to award ceremonies and political speeches continues to grow which has an effect on the spreading of cultural references. Jan Ivarsson and Mary Carroll (1998: 1) state that the same audiovisual products (programmes, films) are shown around the world, and the audience expect the product to be as authentic as the original. Nowadays, the spreading of cultural references is rapid and takes place around the world.

The position of the English language may have an effect on the amount and spreading of US programmes. According to Díaz Cintas and Remael (2009: 8), in the field of audiovisual translation, the English language has a global dominance, which is becoming a growing problem. Production and distribution companies, often run with the help of the US capital, focus on the interest of the USA. Hollywood, controlling the western film industry, exports the US culture in a way that immediately affects other languages and cultures. (ibid. 8.) According to Javier Franco Aixelá (1996: 54), we are involved in “cultural internalisation” that is focused around the Anglo-Saxon world. Importing consumer products (e.g. cultural products) from the North America shows growing familiarity and increasing acceptability towards the values and culture of that culture (ibid. 54). It could be said that many, if not most, popular culture items (e.g. different clothing styles, imported music and films) in today’s Finland come via popular culture from the US.

2 CULTURAL REFERENCES

As previously mentioned, the amount of foreign, especially US, television programmes has been on the increase during the past years. This may have an effect on how culture-specific the programmes are made and what kind of cultural references are included in them. As the focus of this study is on the translation of cultural references in *Gilmore Girls*, this chapter focuses on what cultural references are and how they can be identified and categorised for the purpose of this study. The functions of cultural references in a plot will also be discussed. In addition, this chapter briefly discusses what pictorial links are and what effects they may have on translation.

2.1 Culture and Cultural References

Cultural references are mostly connected to a specific culture, therefore the concept of culture has to be defined first before looking into the concept of cultural reference. Peter Newmark (1988: 94) defines culture as “the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression”. Culture can be divided into two levels according to Edward T. Hall’s (1981) ‘cultural iceberg model’. First is the external or visible part of culture that can be seen above the water surface. This part consists of behaviour and beliefs, aspects that are learned consciously and explicitly, such as language, art and music, and everyday habits. For example, when visiting or moving into a new country, the external culture is visible at the beginning. But when one spends more time in that culture, they start to become familiar with the internal or subconscious part of the culture. It consists of the unconscious aspects that are subjective, implicitly learned and difficult to change, in other words, values and thought patterns. (Constantforeigner.com 2010.³) As the purpose of this study is to concentrate on the linguistic aspect of culture, the main focus will be on the external or visible part of culture and the cultural references connected to it.

³ quoting Hall (1981)

Cultural references are very much linked with a particular culture and people living inside that culture. Leppihalme (2001: 139) explains realia as “lexical elements [...] which are said to refer to the real world ‘outside language’”. As Rune Ingo (1990: 188) states, the writer of a source language text has always written it with a specific purpose for specific receivers. The writer and the receiver share, for example, the same living environment, knowledge, attitudes, habits and customs, literary tradition, and language phrases. (ibid. 188). According to Zojer (2011: 403–404), cultural references are bound to the history, society, or geography of a country. Cultural references have no exact, equivalent names or expressions in other cultures and most people in other cultures have no concepts for them in their language (ibid. 403–404).

Another researcher, Delia Chiaro (2009: 156) defines culture-specific references or CSRs as:

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

Chiaro’s definition presents a different point of view to cultural references: visual references and references that are both visual and verbal. This aspect should be taken into notice especially when dealing with audiovisual material since the cultural references can be evident in the dialogue, subtitles and on the screen at the same time. That relationship is known as pictorial link. The concept of pictorial link will be further discussed in chapter 3.

As cultural references are bound to specific cultures, understanding their meaning can cause problems to audiences in other cultures. According to Leppihalme (1994: 2–3), “texts occur in a given situation in a given culture [...], and each has a specific function and an audience of its own”. Leppihalme also states, that “[t]he use of allusions⁴ presupposes a particular kind of receiver participation” where the receiver can understand the reference only if they are able to link the reference to an earlier use of

⁴ Allusions include both proper-name and other linguistic borrowings and expressions in either original or altered form, whereas cultural references are only proper-name or noun allusions.

the same or similar reference in its social context. Complete understanding of a passage or a text involves the reader in creating the text and gives a feeling of achievement. (Leppihalme 1994: 3, 17, 29.) As Leppihalme (2001: 139) remarks, extralinguistic culture-bound translation problems can hinder communication across culture boundaries.

Text, language, and cultural references can usually be seen as bound to a specific culture, but it seems to be changing, which alters the way people see the world. Sirkku Aaltonen (1996: 48–49) states that as societies become more and more heterogeneous and their boundaries increasingly blurred, decoding of cultural codes and beliefs is, in that way, more difficult. Nowadays, the concept of audience should be stretched as different types of media, such as the Internet, magazines, television and films, deliver cultural concepts and items around the world, which makes it more difficult to tell from which culture a cultural reference is from (ibid. 48–49). According to Bistra Alexieva (1997: 142), the frequency of perception of a foreign entity or event has an effect on our cognitive structures that we create based on our perception of the world. In other words, more often we come across the same cultural reference, the more familiar and well-known it becomes. Some cultural references may be well-known around the world or only in some countries or cultures, possibly depending on a variety of factors such as what the specific reference refers to, and via which media it has spread. (ibid. 142.) This makes it more difficult to define what can be nowadays called a ‘cultural reference’. Hence, the purpose of this thesis is to find out how widely cultural references can be seen to have spread, and what is the translator’s conception of cultural knowledge among the Finnish television audience.

2.2 Categorisations of Cultural References

Cultural references have been studied by many translation and audiovisual researchers from different points of view, as cultural references are an essential part of television series and films. In this subsection, a few categorisations for cultural references will be introduced. The following categorisations were chosen based on their relevance to the purpose of this study as well as on how comprehensive and inclusive they are.

The first categorisation is by Newmark (1988: 94–95), who states that most culture-related words are easy to identify “since they are connected to a specific language and culture and have no literal equivalent in the target language”. This could be argued with the fact that cultural references may, and often do, have equivalents in the target culture, but the equivalence is created by connotation or the same context, not by the denotative name of the cultural reference. Newmark divides cultural references as follows:

1 Ecology

- Flora, fauna
- Winds, plains, hills

2 Material culture (artefacts)

- Food, clothes
- Houses and towns
- Transport

3 Social culture

- Work and leisure

4 Organisations, customs, activities, procedures

- Political and administrative
- Religious
- Artistic

5 Gestures and habits

Newmark’s (1988: 95) categorisation divides different types of cultural references into five categories. Newmark has separate categories e.g. for social culture and for gestures and habits which can be argued to be somewhat overlapping. As this categorisation is relatively explicit and it doesn’t have too many subcategories, it would be best suited for a study that focuses on cultural references as larger wholes and does not need to have smaller, explicit categories.

The next categorisation is by Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 201), who divide cultural references into three different categories:

1 Geographical references

- Objects from physical geography: savannah, mistral, tornado
- Geographical objects: downs, plaza mayor
- Endemic animal and plant species: sequoia, zebra

2 Ethnographic references

- Objects from daily life
- References to work
- References to art and culture
- References to descent
- Measures

3 Socio-political references

- References to administrative or territorial units
- To institutions and functions
- To socio-cultural life
- To military institutions and objects

Díaz Cintas and Remael's (2007: 201) categorisation has only three categories but it gives a variety of comprehensive examples for each category. However, the threefold categorisation would probably need subcategories in order to provide enough structure for a study such as this thesis. Although the categorization by Newmark (1988:95) consists of more categories than that of Díaz Cintas and Remael, the latter appears to be more clear and straightforward. However, this categorisation is still not as specific as needed for this study.

The last categorisation is by Chiaro (2009: 156-157) who divides cultural references into ten different categories:

1 Institutions

- Legal formulae
- Courtroom forms of address
- Legal topography
- Agents, hospital hierarchies, military hierarchies

2 Educational references

- 'High school' culture

- Tests, grading systems
- Sororities, cheer leaders, etc.

- 3 Place names
- 4 Units of measurement
- 5 Monetary systems
- 6 National sports and pastimes
- 7 Food and drink
- 8 Holidays and festivities
- 9 Books, films and TV programmes
- 10 Celebrities and personalities

Chiaro's (2009: 156-157) categorisation is relatively comprehensive, and although there are only few subcategories, it covers the different areas of culture quite well. When compared to the previous categorisations, this lacks categories for e.g. geographical references which Díaz Cintas and Remael have included. It would be important for the analysis of this study to have as precise and clear categories for cultural references as possible. Hence a combination of the aforementioned categorisations is likely in order to structure the analysis of this study in a clear and explicit manner. The possible adapted categorisation will be introduced and further explained at the beginning of chapter 4.

2.3 Functions of Cultural References

Cultural references, if functioning in the way they were meant to, evoke mental images and connotations in the minds of those who recognise the messages of the references. Leppihalme (1994: 3) has studied allusions which are cultural references referring to proper names in either in their original or modified forms, or references that consist of linguistic phrases used in a particular language. Her definition for allusions can be extended to define cultural references in general:

[...] the meaning can usually be understood only if the receiver can link the clue to an earlier use of the same or similar words in another source; or the use of a name evokes the referent and some characteristic feature or story known about him/her/it. (ibid. 3.)

If the receiver understands the meaning of a reference, it makes it easier for them to fully understand the plot and its nuances than if the references are left unnoticed or misunderstood. Leppihalme (1994: 3) also states that some allusions have changed so much that it may be difficult to link them with their original sources, or they are only recognised by a small number of people, for example professionals in a specific area. Therefore, the original purpose and function of the reference is lost.

Cultural references can have a variety of functions in a plot. As Aixelá (1996: 69) states, “the treatment of a CSI also depends on the textual function it plays in the source text”. According to María Rox Barasoain (2008: 366), cultural references are used in “creating a specific emotional reaction” or in providing information that is important to the plot. Leppihalme (1994: 31) agrees to this, as she states that “[i]n general, [...] allusions are used because of the extra effect or meaning they bring to the text by their associations or connotations”. Leppihalme (1994: 35–46) also lists several possible functions for allusions⁵. Allusions can be used thematically, creatively, or stereotypically, or for humorous purposes, characterisation, or as indicators of interpersonal relationships, as can be seen in the following list:

- 1) **Thematic use** emphasizes an allusion in order to imply that a situation or a character should be noted in a new context that would otherwise be easily left unnoticed, which would have an impact on the thematic understanding of the text.
- 2) **Creative vs. stereotyped use** of allusions. When allusions are used in a context very different to the original context, the contact to the original context slowly diminishes and disappears, thus turning the use of the allusion into stereotyped use. Creative use of allusions connects stereotyped allusions with well-known phrases, thus creating a new context and connotations.
- 3) **Humour** can be also used as **parodically** or **ironically** in order to diminish the importance of a character or a situation.
- 4) Allusions can be used in **characterisation**. Characters who use allusions can be seen as literate and quick-witted and the used allusions reflect their interests.

⁵ Only functions applicable to cultural references are mentioned here

5) Allusions can function as **indicators of interpersonal relationships**. Hierarchy, power, and dominance between fictional characters may be the result of higher education or superior intelligence, which can be expressed via the use of allusions.

The following examples will demonstrate some of the possible functions of cultural references. In example 1, Rory's school rival Paris finds out that they are planning on applying to the same college. Paris suggests Rory that she could apply to Brandeis, a college focused on liberal arts (Brandeis University 2016), instead of politics and journalism which they are both interested in:

(1a) Go to Brandeis. Brandeis is nice.
 (1b) Mene Brandeisiin. Brandeis on mukava.
 [BT: Go to Brandeis. Brandeis is nice.]
 (E06)

Paris' statement suggests that she sees Rory as not as ambitious as her and perhaps would be better off studying arts. Therefore, the cultural reference 'Brandeis' is used as an **indication of interpersonal relationship** as it makes Paris seem more goal-minded and determined to get what she wants.

In the following example (2), Lorelai is talking with her boyfriend, and Rory's teacher, Max Medina about how insane they and their young relationship is. Max states that it is "a match made in heaven", in which Lorelai replies in the following way:

(2a) Or in Bellevue.
 (2b) Tai Bellevuessä.
 [BT: Or in Bellevue.]
 (E08)

The cultural reference 'Bellevue' refers to a now closed mental hospital in New York City, USA (Bryce Nelson 1983). The reference is used for the **irony** it creates together with the context, as Lorelai and Max are talking about how crazy they are for liking each other.

In example 3, Lorelai and her employee Michel are overwhelmed by the wedding their inn is hosting, when two sets of twins are getting married to each other:

(3a) It's like a really snooty Doublemint commercial.

(3b) Tämä on kuin koppava Tupla-mainos.

[BT: This is like a supercilious Tupla ('Double') commercial.]
(E03)

The cultural reference in example 3 is used as a **metaphor** of the situation of twins marrying twins, as Lorelai compares it to a chewing gum commercial of a specific product, Wrigley's Doublemint (Wrigley 2012).

In the following example (4), Drella the harpist is trying to get her harp back inside the inn from the yard, and she asks Michel for help:

(4a) Hey Pepe le Pew [sic], you wanna give me a hand here?

(4b) Hei, fransmanni, haluaisitko auttaa tämän kanssa?

[BT: Hey, Frenchman, would you like to help with this?]
(E03)

Drella refers to Michel as 'Pepé le Pew', which is a cartoon character, more specifically a very stereotypically French skunk (Looney Tunes Wiki 2016). As Michel is also French, the reference is used for **characterisation**, but it could also be seen as an indicator or interpersonal relationship, as Drella and Michel do not get along with each other.

In short, cultural references are used in order to further the plot, for example, of a television series. Cultural references can be used for thematic use, creative vs. stereotypic use, humour, characterisation, or as indicators of interpersonal relationships. The examples given in this subchapter shortly provide information on the possible functions of cultural references. These functions may be lost especially in subtitling, where technical constraints have an effect, for example, on the translation of cultural references. Further examples and analysis of the functions of references will be studied in the analysis (chapter 4). The next chapter (3) will focus on the translation strategies and conventions of subtitles.

3 TRANSLATION STRATEGIES AND CONVENTIONS OF SUBTITLING

Two different languages and cultures are always involved in the translation process. According to Lawrence Venuti (1995: 18), “[t]ranslation is the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text with a text that will be intelligible to the target-language reader.” Venuti (*ibid.* 18–19) also states that the aim of translation is to present the target audience with a cultural other that they can recognise or even be familiar with. Translation can be seen as “the communication of a foreign text”, but it is limited by its intended audience. (*ibid.* 18–19.) The translator has to take the audience into account when translating different types of texts.

Translation strategies function as guidelines for the translator during the translation process. According to Andrew Chesterman (1997: 88–89), translation strategies help translators to come up with the best translation solutions they possibly can, and, hence, reach the optimal translation. Thus, a translation strategy can be seen as “a way of doing something”: they describe operations that may take place during translation, operations that can have an effect on the relationship between the source and target text or on the relationship of the target text and other, similar texts. In other words, translation strategies “are forms of textual manipulation”. Their functions can be observed and studied directly by comparing the target text to the source text. Because of that, Chesterman excludes from his categorisation of translation strategies such translation actions as checking something, accessing a database, answering the phone, or going for a walk. (*ibid.* 88–89.)

Translation strategies can be divided into two ‘larger’ wholes: global and local translation strategies. Global translation strategies direct and control the general style of the target text, and local translation strategies have an effect on how, for example, specific words or expressions are translated in the target text. According to Leppihalme (2001: 140), global translation strategies focus on the whole text, and local strategies on specific words or phrases in the text. The choice of a local strategy depends on which global strategy the translator chooses for the whole text. Local translation strategies are often referred by some researchers as translation procedures, but in this thesis the term ‘local translation strategy’ will be used in addition to the term ‘global translation strategy’.

In addition to translation strategies, this chapter will shortly look into the conventions of subtitling especially in Finland. Although the conventions often vary from country to country, they are usually connected to the same aspects of subtitling. The translator has to find a balance between the source text and the target text, to convey the same message as well as possible, while conforming to the restrictions created by the medium the subtitles are for, in this case television. In subtitling, those limitations have an effect on the appearance, form, and the content of subtitles. The main limitations for subtitles are time, space, and reading speed. (Margarita Masnic 2010; Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007.) Although the conventions of subtitling are not a main focal point in this thesis, they are an important aspect when studying subtitling because of how their impact on the translation process. These conventions will be further discussed in subchapter 3.3. In addition, the working conditions of the translator are shortly discussed, as they have a large impact on the translation process and on the final translation as a product. The final subsection of this chapter is about pictorial links, their functions, and their impact on the translation.

3.1 Global Translation Strategies

The two global translation strategies are domestication and foreignisation. The theory of domestication and foreignisation is widely acknowledged to be developed by Venuti, although it has been studied by many scholars before him (Venuti 1995: 19–20). Domestication and foreignisation are involved in choosing the overall style of a translation. Chesterman (1997: 90) states, that when the translator is thinking about how to translate a certain type of text, they choose between domesticating and foreignising translation strategies. The choice usually concerns aspects such as the nature of the source text and the target text, how closely or freely the target text should resemble the source text, and how much and what kind of intertextuality should be retained (ibid. 90).

Domestication and foreignisation are used for different purposes. The status of the source language and culture compared to the target language and its culture has an effect on whether a foreignising or domesticating translation method is being used. According to

Venuti (1995: 19–20), foreignisation highlights the foreign (ST) text and breaks the “cultural codes” of the target culture enough to create “an alien reading experience”. In other words, foreignisation retains the original “flavour” of the source text. As Tiina Puurtinen (2004: 90) states, generally in the ascendant cultures, such as the Anglo-American culture, domesticating or assimilating source text into the target culture and language is preferred. Venuti (1995: 21) states, that in translation, fluency and complete understanding can be created by replacing the unfamiliar source language elements with target language elements that the target audience is familiar with. On the other hand, in small cultures and languages such as Finnish, foreignising translation is more commonly used, through which foreign concepts and expressions are slowly absorbed into the target language (Puurtinen 2004: 90).

Examples of global translation strategies are provided in the following subsection of local translation strategies, as the difference of domestication and foreignisation can be most easily understood with the help of local translation strategies.

3.2 Local Translation Strategies

Whereas global translations strategies focus on how the whole text should be translated, local translation strategies are used in translating smaller, more specific translation problems. Chesterman (1997: 90–91) states, that local translation strategies are used when the translator is pondering on problems such as how a certain structure, idea, or an item should be translated. According to Leppihalme (2001: 140–141), local translation strategies should be chosen according to their effect on the message of the source text element. When translating realia, the translator may emphasize foreign elements and thus the exotic, or the foreign elements may be domesticated. The overall emphasis on domestication or foreignisation depends on which local translation strategies have been used. (ibid. 140–141.) Hence, local translation strategies have an important role especially in realia translation.

In the following, I will introduce three different categorisations for local translation strategies. The first one is by Pedersen (2011), who divides translation strategies for

cultural references in two main categories: source language (SL) oriented and target language (TL) oriented. These can be seen as equivalent to the concepts of domestication and foreignisation. The different categories and their relationship with each other can be seen in the following figure (2) by Pedersen (2005):

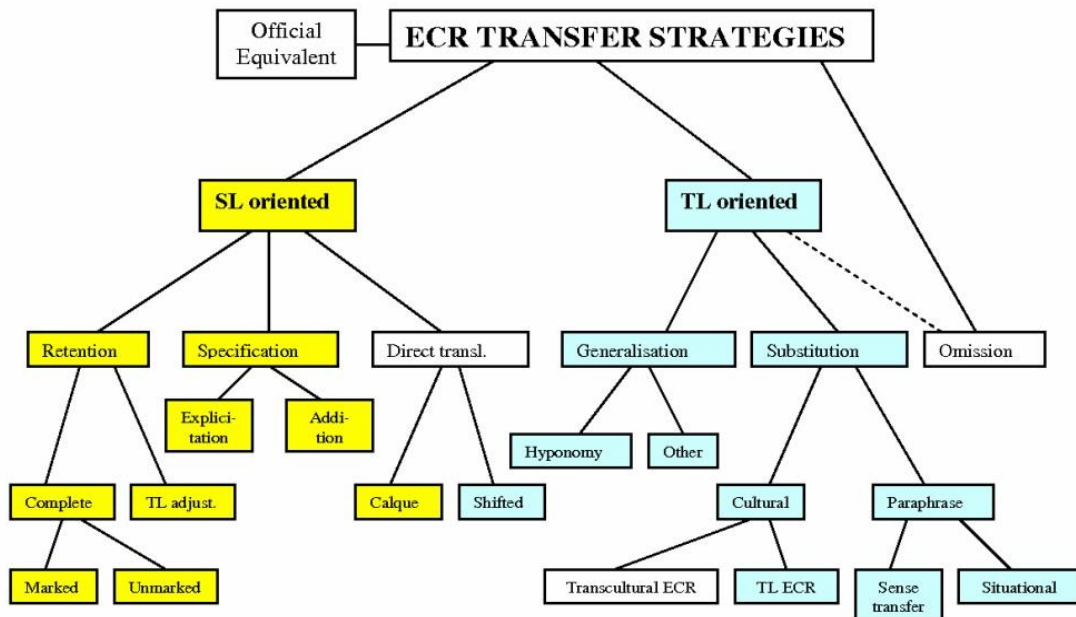


Figure 2. Translation strategies as presented by Pedersen (2005).

In addition to the SL oriented and TL oriented translation strategies, Pedersen (2011) presents a third type of translation strategy: Official equivalent, which cannot be placed either under SL oriented or TL oriented translation strategies:

- 1) Official equivalent
= translating a ST reference into its official equivalent in the TL. For example, the UN is translated as YK, which is the official translation in Finnish.

The SL oriented translation strategies are:

- 2) Retention
= allows a ST reference to exist in the TT with only minor changes e.g. in spelling, article, or font style. This strategy is probably the most loyal to the ST as it introduces a ST reference into the TT without any additional explanations.

3) Specification

= is similar to the 'retention' strategy, but provides additional information with the ST reference. Therefore, the TT reference contains more information than the ST reference. Specification includes two substrategies:

3.1) Explication

= expansion or spelling out a ST reference that is familiar to the SL audience. For example, abbreviations and acronyms may be clarified to the TL audiences by using this strategy.

3.2) Addition

= providing additional information to the TL audience that is included in the connotations of the reference in the SL. For example, complete names and titles can be added information.

4) Direct translation

= rendering a ST reference into the TT with no explanations, additions or other changes. The content remains semantically the same. This strategy can be used for translating e.g. the names of companies and official institutions. Direct translation is divided into two subcategories:

4.1) Calque

= direct translation of a ST reference.

4.2) Shifts

= The possible, small changes are only made because of the differences between the SL and the TL.

The TL oriented translation strategies are:

5) Generalization

= involves replacing a ST reference with a wider concept. For example, a specific type of sandwich or a coffee could be replaced by using the words "sandwich" or "coffee".

6) Substitution

= replacing a ST reference with either a different reference or paraphrasing the semantic idea behind the reference without using the actual reference.

6.1) Cultural substitution

= replacing the ST reference with another reference that can be found in the TL. Hence, the reference used as a substitution is more familiar to the TL audience and conveys the meaning more closely than the original reference would have conveyed.

6.2) Paraphrase

= rephrasing the ST reference

6.2.1) Paraphrase with sense transfer
 = the ST reference is removed but its connotations are retained through paraphrasing.

6.2.2) Situational paraphrase
 = removing the original idea of the ST reference and replacing it with a completely different idea that is connected to the situation. For example, the references in puns could be paraphrased situationally.

7) Omission
 = removing a ST reference completely.

Pedersen borrows some of the strategies from other scholars, such as Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (1995), and Leppihalme (1994). Pedersen's categorisation of translation strategies is a comprehensive and clear categorisation that can easily be applied to the analysis of this thesis. Pedersen provides explicit explanations for the strategies, which should remove any ambiguities and chances of confusion during the analysis.

The second categorisation is by Leppihalme (2001: 139–145), whose categorisation consists of seven translation strategies for realia, or extra-linguistic cultural reference, translation:

- 1) Direct transfer
 = Direct transfer means transferring a foreign word into the target text with no or small changes in pronunciation or spelling which indicates the foreign origin of the word. Personal names and place names are often directly translated if there is no official equivalent to that name in the target language. Therefore, direct transfer is a foreignising strategy.
- 2) Calque
 = Calque refers to translating each source text word or phrase literally into the target text. It can be used especially when a new concept is being introduced into the target language but there is no word for it yet. Calque is a foreignising strategy as it retains the foreign nature of a word or a phrase even though it is translated into the target language.
- 3) Cultural adaptation
 = In cultural adaptation, the connotations of a realia word are transferred into the target text by using an "equivalent" concept from the target culture. This

domesticating strategy is especially common in the translation of children's books and subtitles.

4) Superordinate term

= Superordinate term is a word that is a more general concept than the original word. For example, 'animal' is a superordinate term of 'dog'. As Leppihalme (2001: 143) states, this strategy often causes flattening but it probably cannot be avoided if the target audience is not familiar with the more specific concept and its distinction to the general concept. Using a superordinate term is a domesticating strategy.

5) Explication

= Explication stands for explanatory changes that are made in the text in order to clarify the meaning. Explication can be, for example, replacing a lexical element in the source text with another word or phrase that explains to the audience what the message is. This strategy is clearly used for domestication, and according to Leppihalme (2001: 143), it may be found unnecessary especially when the source culture is familiar to the target audience.

6) Addition

= Additions are placed outside the text. These include, for example, notes, prefaces, postscripts, and glossaries written by the translator, and they are often used for clarifying individual words. Addition is a domesticating strategy.

7) Omission

= Omission means removing some details of a word or the whole word altogether. This strategy may be used, for example, for simplifying difficult sentence structures or in order to avoid the need to find suitable equivalents for problematic cultural references. Omission is a domesticating strategy. (ibid. 139–145.)

As Leppihalme (2001: 139–140) states, her categorisation is compiled in a way that it includes the strategies commonly used by translators, the number of strategies is manageable, and it uses clear and commonly used terms. Leppihalme often focuses on the translation of realia, as does this thesis, therefore the previous categorisation could be used in the analysis, possibly by combining it with Pedersen's categorisation if needed.

The third categorisation is Vinay and Darbelnet's (1995: 31–39) categorisation for translation strategies. Their categorisation consists of the following seven categories:

1) Borrowing

= using a foreign term in the target text, especially for unknown concepts. This foreignising strategy brings foreign flavour into the target text.

- 2) Calque
= borrowing an expression from the source text but translates its elements literally. Calque can be either lexical (following the syntactic structure of the target language) or structural calque (introducing a new style of expression). It is a foreignising strategy.
- 3) Literal translation
= directly transferring a source language element into target language while respecting its grammar and idiomatic nature. Therefore, it is a domesticating strategy.
- 4) Transposition
= replacing a word class with another while retaining the message of the original element. Transposition may be used in order to fit the element better into the target text or to retain the nuance or style of the original element. Transposition is a domesticating strategy.
- 5) Modulation
= modulating the form of the message by changing the point of view. It can be used if the translation of an utterance is grammatically correct but not idiomatic or fluent target language. Modulation is a domesticating strategy.
- 6) Equivalence
= the similarity or equivalence of proverbs, idioms, phrases, etc. in two different languages. The same situation can take place in two texts by using different structural and stylistic methods. Equivalence is a domesticating strategy.
- 7) Adaptation
= can be seen as a kind of situational equivalence. Adaptation is used when the situation referred to in the source text does not exist in the target culture, so the translator has to create a similar, equivalent situation in the target text. Adaptation is a domesticating strategy.

Vinay and Darbelnet's categorisation could be easily applied as such to the analysis of this study. It has similarities with Leppihalme's categorisation, therefore the corresponding categories could be combined and modified in order to produce a concise and usable categorisation for the purpose of this study.

3.3 Conventions of Subtitling in Finland

In subtitling, several aspects have to be taken into consideration. As Yves Gambier (2008: 85), states, subtitling consists of converting an oral message into a written form, usually one or two text lines long. The position of the text varies between cultures; they can be located at the lower part of a movie screen or a television screen, or at the side of the screen as vertical columns, for example in Korean. (ibid. 85.) According to Esko Vertanen (2008: 150), the main limitations of subtitles in Finland (time, space, and reading speed) have remained the same despite the constant development of television and digital technology during the past forty years. The text should be large enough, so that the viewer can read it easily but on the other hand, it should cover up the picture as little as possible. (ibid. 150.)

In addition to the dialogue, the translator should take into consideration all the other elements that are visible on the screen or audible in the soundtrack, and how they are connected to the plot. According to Panayota Georgakopoulou (2009: 23), when there is something important happening on the screen, the subtitles should be as concise as possible so that the viewer is able to focus on the images rather than the subtitles. As Masnic (2010: 42) states, this interplay of subtitles, picture, and soundtrack has a large impact on how the dialogue is conveyed in the subtitles. In the following, I will shortly discuss the technical limitations of space, time, and structure, as well as other factors that may affect the subtitling process.

3.3.1 Number of Characters and Space

The location of the subtitles is usually very restricted. According to Georgakopoulou (2009: 22), subtitles should take no more than 20% of screen space, otherwise they affect the viewing experience of the audience. The size of the characters, the position of the characters on screen, and the format the programme is broadcast in (DVD, television, cinema, etc.) contribute to the available space on screen. (ibid. 22.) Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 82) state that subtitles are usually situated horizontally at the bottom of the screen, where they affect the viewing experience as little as possible. The position may be temporarily changed if the background behind the text is too bright, something

important is happening at the bottom of the screen, or something essential is visual on the screen that has to be subtitled in addition to the dialogue (ibid. 83).

The amount of character varies according to the channel or the viewing medium. According to Vertanen (2008: 151), Finland's national public service broadcasting company Yleisradio (generally known as Yle) uses lines of approximately 30 characters per line, but the number was increased in the fall of 2006, and the new average number of characters is now 33. On channels MTV3 and Nelonen, the amounts are slightly higher, the average number is about 34 characters. (ibid. 151.) As Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 24) state, as many as 40 or 41 characters are often used on DVD. This is allowed by the fact that the viewers are able to rewind the programme or film if they did not have enough time to read the subtitles on the first viewing time (ibid. 24).

3.3.2 Lines and Clauses

Subtitles should be constructed in a way that they do not interfere with the viewing experience and are easy to read. As Vertanen (2008: 154) states, every screen text should be a reasonable whole, preferably a sentence or a clause that can be understood by a single reading. However, it is often impossible to fit screen texts into two-lined subtitle lines, so they must be divided as logical, unambiguous wholes of thought. There can be whole sentences inside a subtitle line, but the end of a sentence from the previous subtitle line with the next subtitle line, or a part of it, shouldn't be placed in the same line. (ibid. 154.) In addition, as Georgakopoulou (2009: 23) states, the order and arrangement of subtitles on the screen have an effect on readability. If subtitles consist of plain and commonly used syntactic structures, they are easy to read and understand (ibid. 23). If the subtitle lines are divided illogically or it is difficult to know which lines form individual wholes of thought, the viewer will have to focus more on the subtitles than on the programme.

3.3.3 Time

As subtitles are connected to what takes place on the screen, their length is very important for the viewing experience. According to Vertanen (2008: 151), a full-length two-lined subtitle line has to be visible for four to five seconds and a full length one-lined for two or three seconds. The minimum duration for a line has been delimited into one second

and the maximum duration is 30 seconds, but over 10 seconds is already too long for a line to be hanging on the screen. (ibid. 151.) The viewers should have enough time to read the subtitles so that they are able to follow the plot, but too long an exposure becomes irritating as the viewers read the same lines repeatedly.

In addition to the average duration of the subtitles, the duration depends also on reading speed. According to Georgakopoulou (2009: 22), the subtitles should always be timed according to appropriate reading speed. Lower word per minute (wpm) or character per minute (cpm) setting is used, for example, when subtitling programmes for children. The approximate reading speed for adults is 750 characters per minute or 180 words per minute, and for children, the speed is somewhere between 120 and 140 words per minute. (ibid. 22.) If the subtitles are visible for too long and they are filled with as much dialogue as possible, the viewers will have no time to read the subtitles properly, therefore missing some of the plot.

3.3.4 Omissions

Because of technical restrictions, not all dialogue is possible to fit into the subtitles. Therefore, the translator has to make omissions. According to Vertanen (2008: 152), omission is used for removing everything irrelevant to understanding the plot, what is not relevant at a specific time, or what the viewer already knows based on what they have previously seen. Omitted elements can be, for example, sentences beginning with “I feel like” or “I think that”, proper names and titles that have been mentioned before, as well as date, time, and place names (ibid. 152; Georgakopoulou 2009: 23). Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 63) state that as the style of subtitling varies with genre, lexical and grammar items are often simplified, whereas features of intonation and interaction are usually at least partially omitted. Of course, subtitles should not be omitted too much, or the viewers will have difficulties in understanding the plot.

3.3.5 Other Restrictions

A translator works between two languages and cultures. Therefore, they have to have as much as knowledge on those cultures as possible, especially when translating texts that contain a variety of cultural references. According to Vladimir Ivir (2003), in addition to

the previously mentioned constrictions in subtitling, the translator also has to know how accepting of loan words and references the target culture is, and what types of loan words are usually accepted. If loan words are not used in the target culture, they must be used accordingly in the target text. Keeping that in mind, the translator has to decide how important a specific cultural reference is for the plot. (ibid. 2003.) The use of loan words can also depend on the context of source text. It can be said that in Finland, in many specialised areas of television, such as cooking and sport programmes, loan words are often in frequent use and widely known among the viewers of those programmes. This can make the translator's task a little easier but requires knowledge on loan word usage among different subjects and types of programmes.

The translator's knowledge on different subjects is important when subtitling, but so are their skills in information retrieval. However, it is not always possible to find, for example, the origin or meaning of a cultural reference. Especially nowadays, rapid working pace can be seen as one of the results of the industrialisation taking place in the area of subtitling. According to Lauri Mäkelä (2013), translation agencies demand translators to produce translations faster and faster while paying them even less. Translator agencies try to produce translations with as low cost and large profit as possible, which required translators to work faster. (ibid. 2013.) This leaves less time for information retrieval and revision which are some of the most important aspects in translation, especially in subtitling.

3.4 Pictorial Links

In subtitling, the visual and the verbal are so closely connected that they both have to be taken into account. Riitta Oittinen and Tiina Tuominen (2007: 11) state that audiovisual translation consists of translating material with verbal, visual, and auditory elements. Pictorial links are the connections between the picture and the dialogue. According to Oittinen (2008: 3), the visual information of a story has an effect on the verbal information, and the other way around. Oittinen's study of picturebooks can be applied to audiovisual material as well. Oittinen (2008: 12) states that the picture and the word

can work together to further the plot, or the picture may be showing something completely different than what is being said in the words. In order to study the nature of pictorial links in the material of this thesis, I will use the concepts of ‘weak pictorial link’ (picture not supporting the dialogue) and ‘strong pictorial link’ (picture supporting the dialogue)⁶ when analysing the pictorial links and their functions in the plot.

Because verbal, visual, and auditory elements can be considered to be inseparable, the visual element has different functions in subtitling. According to Oittinen (2008: 12), the pictorial link can be used ironically, when the picture is showing something relevant but completely different than what is said in the dialogue. Juha Herkman (1998: 57) states, that the relationship of word and picture can be used in creating a conflict: words and pictures can evoke completely opposite meanings and hence connect to each other via this paradox. Humour can well up particularly from the inconsistency in which something is said in the texts (narrative, dialogue, sound effects) but the picture is showing something completely different. (ibid. 57.) The following examples present some of the functions of pictorial links:

In example 5, Rory’s grandfather Richard asks her how tall she is, and Rory gives her reply in feet and inches, which are the usual units of measurement used for expressing people’s height.

(5) What’s your height? – 5’7”
(E01)

⁶ Concepts used e.g. by Elomaa (2010) and Tamminen (2014)



Picture 1. Pictorial link of Rory's height

As can be seen in picture 1, the picture affirms what is being said in the dialogue, giving an idea of how tall Rory is. As the picture and word work together in order to further the plot, the pictorial link is strong.

In example 6, Rory and Lane, who is dressed in her band uniform and hat, are going to the inn to see Lorelai who greets them in the following way:

(6) Hey babe. Sergeant pepper.
(E08)



Picture 2. Sergeant Pepper

In example 6, Lorelai calls Lane ‘Sergeant Pepper’, which refers to the cover of the album *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band* by The Beatles (Guitarworld 2016). The pictorial link, presented in picture 2, has a humorous function as it emphasises the humour in the dialogue and in the plot by further connecting the connotations of the dialogue to the Beatles album.

Pictorial links are important to the interpretation of the plot and they have an effect on the choices the translator makes when subtitling. Maria Gonzáles Davies and Riitta Oittinen (2008: xiii) state, that “[i]t is up to the translator to pay attention to what is said verbally and visually.” As Kai Mikkonen (2005) states, connecting picture and word requires active participation on behalf of the reader-viewer in order to understand the meaning. Understanding the relationship of picture and word evokes ideas and mental images, connotations that affect the interpretation. Interpretation further has an effect on the meanings of visual and verbal elements. (ibid.) The translator has to retain those connotations as much as possible. According to Barbara Schwarz (2002), the translation of these implied cultural references depends on how well the translator recognises and understands them and their importance to the plot. In addition to concrete visual references (e.g. landmarks, pop and rock icons, television references, historical events), other non-verbal signs have an effect on how cultural references can be interpreted. These are, for example, body language, accent and dialect, and facial expressions. (ibid. 2002.) Therefore, pictorial links are important for a translator in determining how to translate cultural references.

4 CULTURAL REFERENCES AND THEIR TRANSLATION IN *GILMORE GIRLS*

The purpose of this study was to find out how the cultural references have been translated in the subtitles of TV series *Gilmore Girls*. I wanted to know what global and local translation strategies have been used when translating the cultural references for the subtitles, and how the translator has decided to convey the references to the Finnish-speaking audience. I also wanted to know if pictorial links affected the translation of the references.

The material for this study consisted of 10 episodes of season one of the television series *Gilmore Girls* as well as the subtitles for the episodes and the fan transcripts. I began the analysis by watching through the episodes, as well as writing down the cultural references in the transcripts and their translations in the subtitles. If the same reference occurred more than once, I used the first occurrence of the reference and its translation. I decided to leave out references that have obscure origins or that cannot be placed in any specific cultures or areas, as they are difficult to define as cultural references. I also marked if the references had strong or weak pictorial links to the picture and if they had any effect on the dialogue or the plot. In many occasions, the cultural reference in the dialogue had a strong pictorial link visible at the same time, but often the visible reference was seen earlier or later in the episode. In those cases the pictorial link was considered to be weak, especially if the dialogue ignored the visual reference when it was visible.

In order to categorise the cultural references, I first decided to use Chiaro's (156–157) categorisation for cultural references. While analyzing the material, I decided to borrow categories from Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 201) as well as from Newmark (1988: 95). In addition, I modified or combined some of the existing categories. I divided the cultural references into 15 different categories: 1) institutions, 2) education, 3) place and street names, languages, nationalities, and countries, 4) units of measurement, 5) monetary systems, 6) national sports and pastimes, 7) food and drink, 8) holidays and festivities, 9) books, films, television programmes, and music, 10) celebrities and personalities, 11) proper names, 12) geography, 13) social culture, 14) material culture, and 15) history. The categories are somewhat overlapping, for example, celebrities and

personalities could be placed in either proper names or books and films, but I wanted to separate the names of writers, artists, and the like from what they are known for. In order to keep the analysis of this thesis concise, I placed the categories with less than 30 references under the subheading of ‘other references’.

For finding out what local translation strategies had been used in the material of this thesis, I used Leppihalme’s (2001: 139–145) categorisation of translation strategies, mainly because it focuses on the translation of realia, or in other words, cultural references. Leppihalme’s categorisation consists of 7 different translation strategies: 1) direct transfer, 2) calque, 3) cultural adaptation, 4) superordinate term, 5) explicitation, 6) addition⁷, and 7) omission. I analysed how the cultural references had been translated according to these translation strategies. Then I marked down if the references had strong or weak pictorial links, and how the pictorial links had influenced the translation of the references.

In the material of this study, there were altogether 750 cultural references. The largest amount of cultural references belonged to the category of ‘proper names’ with 150 references. The second and third largest categories were ‘books, films, television programmes, and music’ with 124 references and ‘material culture’ with 104 references. The used global and local translations strategies will be further focused on in the subsections of this analysis.

The analysis of this thesis will continue in the following way: sections 4.1–4.9 consists of the analysis of this thesis, hence they are named according to the categories of different cultural references. In those sections, I will provide examples from each category and analyse how the references have been translated in the subtitles, which have been the most used local and global translation strategies, and how the pictorial link has affected the translation.

⁷ As addition is not a possible translation strategy in subtitles, it was not taken into account in the analysis.

4.1 Educational References

In the material of this thesis, there were 36 cultural references that could be placed in this category. The following table (1) demonstrates how the references were translated:

Table 1. Translation of educational references

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	7
Calque (for.)	11
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	12
Superordinate term (dom.)	3
Explication (dom.)	3
Omission (dom.)	0
Total	36

As can be seen in table 1, most of the references (12) were translated using the translation strategy of cultural adaptation. The second most used strategy was calque (11), and the third most used strategy was direct transfer (7). The strategies of superordinate term and explication were the least used (3), and omission had not been used at all. In terms of global translation strategies, 18 references were translated using a foreignising strategy and 18 with a domesticating strategy. Hence, both global translation strategies were used equally as much for the references concerning education.

One of the most used local translation strategies was direct transfer, a foreignising strategy. In the following example (7), Rory's rival Paris learns that Rory did not receive as good a grade as the others did on a difficult test:

(7a) A 'D' however, that would be a cause for concern.

(7b) D sen sijaan, siinä on aiheita huoleen.

[BT: D instead, there is a cause for worrying.]

(E04)

In example 7, the grade 'D' has been translated using direct transfer. The cultural reference has a weak pictorial link, which has had no effect on the translation. The original reference functions as an indicator of interpersonal relationship between Rory and her school rival Paris, but the function is somewhat lost in the translation, as the grading

system of the US is different to that in Finland. Therefore, the meaning of the reference most likely remains unclear for most of the Finnish audience.

The most used local translation strategy for this reference category was cultural adaptation, a domesticating strategy. In the following example (8), Lorelai is in her first parent-teacher meeting at Chilton Preparatory, where all the other parents seem to think that Rory, and therefore Lorelai as well, is there only because of a scholarship:

(8a) Must be a scholarship student.

(8b) Varmaan vapaaoppilas.

[BT: Probably a freestudent.]

(E04)

In example 8, the cultural reference ‘scholarship student’ has been translated by using cultural adaptation. The translation ‘vapaaoppilas’ stands for students with poor background and good grades with quotas in (now abolished) Finnish secondary schools (Arkistojen portti 2015). The function of the original reference as an indicator of interpersonal relationship has remained somewhat the same, despite the fact that the term ‘vapaaoppilas’ is probably not as commonly used in Finland as it used to be. The reference has only a weak pictorial link which does not clarify to the audience the meaning of either the original or the translated reference.

The overall translation of educational references varied largely. For example, grades were translated in different ways. Grades marked with numbers were mostly culturally adapted, whereas grades expressed in letter form were often transferred directly into the target text. Names of school buildings and schools were mostly directly transferred or translated with a literal translation (calque), as were school uniforms and clothes as well as school clubs and activities. Generally, if a reference was considered to be unknown to the Finnish audience and important to the plot, it was culturally adapted into the target text. Pictorial links had no noticeable role in the translation of the references in this category. All of them were weak pictorial links, meaning that the cultural references were not visible in the picture. This means that the translator did not have to take them into account when translating the references.

As domesticating and foreignising translation strategies were used equally as much in the translation of education-related cultural references, it can be said that educational references from the US are both familiar and unfamiliar to the Finnish audience. Therefore, there seem to be no straightforward style or norm in their translation.

4.2 References to Place and Street Names, Languages, Nationalities, and Countries

There were 36 cultural references that were connected to place names and street names, languages and nationalities, and countries. This was one of the most modified categories as it was relevant to have all similar references in the same category. The following table (2) indicates which translation strategies had been used for the references in this category:

Table 2. Translation of references to place and street names, languages, nationalities, and countries

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	16
Calque (for.)	16
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	0
Superordinate term (dom.)	1
Explicitation (dom.)	2
Omission (dom.)	1
Total	36

As can be seen in table 2, it is evident that the strategies of direct transfer and calque were the most used strategies for this category (16). The second most used strategy was explicitation (2), and the smallest amount of references had been translated by using a superordinate term or omission (1). Cultural adaptation was not used in this category. When the numbers are combined, domestication was used for 4 cultural references and foreignisation for 32 references. This shows that most references in this category were clearly foreignised in the translation.

One of the two most used local translation strategies was calque, which is a foreignising strategy. In the following example (9), Rory's friend Lane explains that Koreans are even more serious than usual when it comes to potential future husbands:

(9a) Koreans never joke about future doctors.

(9b) Korealaiset eivät vitsaile lääkäreistä.

[BT: Koreans do not joke about doctors.]

(E01)

In example 9, the cultural reference ‘Koreans’ has been translated by using calque. The reference has a strong pictorial link, which restricts the translation options of the reference. The pictorial link can be seen in the following picture (3):



Picture 3. Koreans are serious people

In picture 3, the cultural reference ‘Koreans’ creates a strong pictorial link with Lane, a Korean girl, who can be seen in the picture. The serious look on Lane’s face emphasises the message in the dialogue. The function of the reference is characterisation, as it describes Koreans as not very humorous people who value highly educated professionals. In the translation, the original function of the reference remains the same, thus conveying the same message to the source language audience and the target language audience.

The other most used local translation strategy was direct transfer, which is also a foreignising strategy. In the following example (10), Rory lists some of the places she would like to visit one day:

(10a) Hundreds of places – Paris, Rome, London, Prague, Istanbul, Fez...

(10b) Pariisi, Rooma, Lontoo, Praha, Istanbul, Fez.

[BT: Paris, Rome, London, Prague, Istanbul, Fez.]

(E03)

In example 10, out of the 5 cultural references, 3 have been translated with calque and 2 with direct transfer. These references are used for characterisation, as they describe Rory as someone who wants to see the world as much as possible. All 5 references have weak pictorial links, which means that the picture did not restrict the translation of these particular references.

The translation of cultural references in this category was consistent. Most references were translated either with literal translation (calque) or they were directly transferred into the target text. In most occasions, references to street names, nationalities, languages, and countries were translated literally according to the norms of the target text language. References to the names of cities were often directly transferred. Only one reference had a strong pictorial link (example 9) which most likely did not affect the translation, which was also the case with the weak pictorial links in this category.

Foreignisation was clearly the prevalent global translation strategy in this cultural reference category. Especially the names of most cities and countries have established equivalents in the Finnish language, and unfamiliar names are most likely translated into Finnish according to the prevalent norms. Most of the cultural references in this category are probably familiar to the Finnish audience via school geography education, news, and television. This leaves no room for creativity for the translator, but it also helps the translator in the translation of aforementioned cultural references.

4.3 References to Food and Drink

In this category, there was a total of 94 cultural references. The references were connected to different dishes and beverages, not to individual ingredients such as vegetables which are discussed in subsection 4.9.5. The following table (3) demonstrates how the references have been translated:

Table 3. Translation of references to food and drink

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	20
Calque (for.)	47
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	3
Superordinate term (dom.)	7
Explicitation (dom.)	13
Omission (dom.)	4
Total	94

As can be seen in table 3, the most used translation strategy was calque (47) which is a foreignising strategy. The second and third most used strategies were direct transfer (20) and explicitation (13). The least used strategies were superordinate term (7), omission (4), and cultural adaptation (3). All in all, 67 references were foreignised and 27 were domesticated. Therefore, most references connected to food and drink were foreignised.

The cultural references in this category had noticeably more strong pictorial links when compared to the previous categories. In the following example (11), the chef at the inn and Lorelai's best friend Sookie wants Lorelai to taste the peach sauce she has been preparing:

- (11a) Hey, I fixed the peach sauce.
 (11b) Paransin sitä persikkakastiketta.
 [BT: I made better the peach sauce.]
 (E01)

In example 11, the cultural reference of 'peach sauce' has been translated with calque which is a foreignising strategy and the most used strategy for this category. The reference 'peach sauce' has a strong pictorial link, as the sauce is seen in the picture (4) immediately after the reference is mentioned in the dialogue:



Picture 4. Pictorial link to Sookie's peach sauce

In picture 4 can be seen some of the peach sauce that Sookie has cooked. However, this does not create any significant restrictions to the translation, as based on the picture, it is difficult to ascertain what the sauce is made from. The function of the reference is characterisation as it describes what Sookie is like as a chef and what kind of food she cooks at the inn. This function remains the same in the source text and in the target text.

Explicitation, a domesticating translation strategy, was the third most used strategy for this category. In the following example (12), Luke, the owner of the diner, offers Lorelai tea and a balance bar as he has ran out of coffee:

- (12a) I can give you tea and a balance bar.
 (12b) Saat teetä ja energiapatukan.
 [BT: You will have tea and an energy bar.]
 (E02)

In example 12, the cultural reference 'balance bar' has been translated with explicitation. The function of the source text reference is retained in the translation without using the brand name of the bar. The reference had a weak pictorial link, which allowed for the translator to translate the reference without retaining the brand name.

Omission, a domesticating translation strategy, was the second least used strategy. In the following example (13), Luke explains how he had made a burger for Lorelai which looked like Santa:

(13a) Yeah, I just cut a piece of wonder bread, you know, poured a little ketchup, piped on a little cream cheese.

(13b) Niin, leikkasin vain palan leipää - laitoin päälle vähän ketsuppia ja kermajuustoa.

[BT: Yes, I cut a piece of bread – put on a little ketchup and cream cheese.]

(E10)

In example 13, the reference of ‘wonder bread’ has been partly omitted, as the brand name of the bread has not been retained. However, the function of the reference remains the same despite the omission. The reference has a strong pictorial link, and the slice of bread is visible in the picture. Therefore, it is not important to retain the brand name in the translation. The other reference in this example, ‘cream cheese’ has been translated as ‘kermajuusto’. Cream cheese is usually known as ‘tuorejuusto’ [fresh cheese] in Finnish, but in this case it was translated literally (calque). As ‘kermajuusto’ is a more solid cheese usually used in sandwiches, the function of the reference is, therefore, altered. This reference has a strong pictorial link as well, which could have guided the translator towards choosing the correct translation.

All seven local translation strategies were used in the translation of cultural references in this category. However, the more used global translation strategy was clearly foreignisation, which means that, in general, there was no need to further explain the references in the subtitles. Strong pictorial links were also more common in this category, 24 out of 94 references had strong pictorial links. References with strong pictorial links were mostly foreignised, which might suggest that the strong pictorial links were considered to provide enough visual hints for understanding the references without the need to further explain them in the subtitles. Based on the use of foreignising translation strategies with the help of strong pictorial links, it can be said that the Finnish audience is familiar with the food and drink of the US.

4.4 References to Books, Films, Television Programmes, and Music

There were altogether 94 cultural references in this category. This category consists of references to titles and characters, as authors, singers, and such are placed under the category of ‘celebrities and personalities’ in order to provide a clear division for the analysis. The following table (4) demonstrates how much each local translation strategy had been used:

Table 4. Translation of references to books, films, television programmes, and music

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	61
Calque (for.)	23
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	16
Superordinate term (dom.)	0
Explicitation (dom.)	21
Omission (dom.)	3
Total	124

As table 4 demonstrates, 61 cultural references were directly transferred into the target text. The second most used local translation strategy was calque (23), and the third most used was explicitation (21). The least used strategies were cultural adaptation (16) and omission (3). The strategy of superordinate term had not been used at all. Therefore, the prevalent global translation strategy in this category was foreignisation with 84 references, and domestication was used for 40 references.

Cultural references can have different functions in a plot. In the following example (14), Joey, a stranger passing by to a nearby city, calls Lorelai ‘Mystery Woman’:

- (14a) Enjoy your coffee, Mystery Woman.
 (14b) Nauti kahvistasi, salaperäinen nainen.
 [BT: Enjoy your coffee, mysterious woman.]
 (E01)

The reference in example 14 has a metaphoric function in the plot. Lorelai does not want to tell more about herself to a complete stranger who then compares her to ‘Mystery Woman’. The reference refers to the TV film *Mystery Woman*, released in the US in 2003, which is about a woman who finds out that her adopted mother used to be a criminal and

has been hiding her past from everyone (IMDb 2016a). The message of the source text reference remains somewhat the same, even though the reference to the TV film is omitted. The reference has been translated literally by using calque, a foreignising strategy. The reference has a strong pictorial link as Lorelai is seen in the picture, but it does not further the comprehension of the reference if one does not know who ‘Mystery Woman’ is.

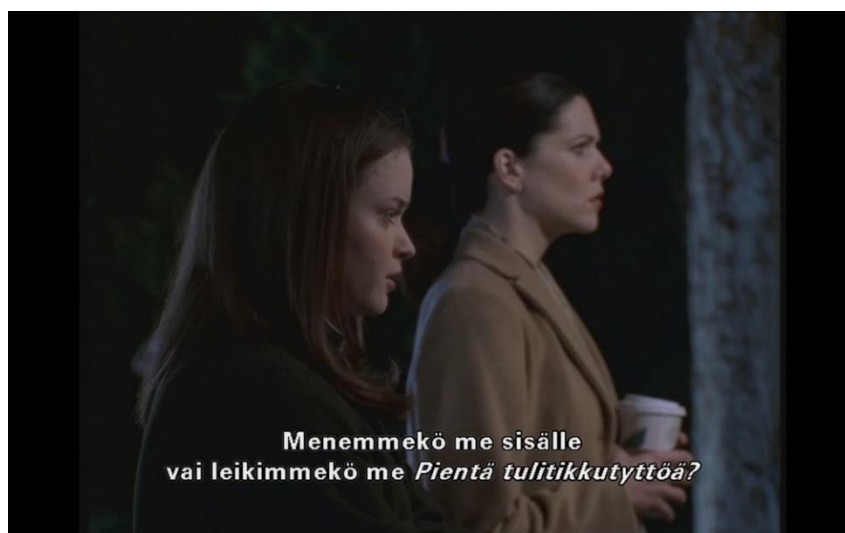
The cultural references in this category often have established translations in the target text language, especially if some time has passed since the reference was brought into the target text language. In the following example (15), Lorelai and Rory are standing outside Lorelai’s parents’ house on a cold and wintery Friday night because she does not want to spend time with them, and Rory wants to know how long they are going to stand there:

(15a) So do we go in or do we just stand here reenacting ”The Little Match Girl”?

(15b) Menemmekö me sisälle vai leikimmekö me *Pientä tulitikkutyttöä*?

[BT: Are we going inside or are we playing the little match girl?]

(E01)



Picture 5. *The Little Match Girl*

The reference refers to a well-known short story written by Hans Christian Andersen in 1845. It tells the story of a young girl trying to sell matches on a cold winter’s day, and she has the idea of lighting one match at a time in order to warm her freezing hands. (H.C. Andersen Centret 2016.) The reference has been translated with calque, a foreignising

translation strategy, which is according to the norms as the reference has an established translation in Finnish. The strong pictorial link (seen in picture 5) emphasises the metaphoric function of the reference, as they are standing outside in the cold, trying to build enough courage to knock on the door, just like the little girl with matches.

One of the most used translation strategies in this category was cultural adaptation, a domesticating strategy. In the following example (16), Lorelai's mother Emily does not want to miss their usual Friday night dinner even if Lorelai would organise a birthday party for Rory on that particular that evening:

(16a) No, she has her Vulcan death grip on that one.

(16b) Pitää siitä kiinni kynsin hampain.

[BT: Holds on to it with nails and teeth.]

(E06)

In example 16, the reference is translated with cultural adaptation, a domesticating translation strategy. The reference 'Vulcan death grip' refers to a deadly nerve pinch used in *Star Trek* (Memory Alpha 2016). The function of the reference remains somewhat the same in the translation, as Emily is holding on to the Friday night dinner with tooth and nail. The reference has a weak pictorial link which has created no restrictions on the translation.

Overall, all but one local translation strategies were used for the cultural references in this category. The more used global translation strategy was foreignisation with 84 out of 124 references. Only 17 had strong pictorial link, as most references were used in the dialogue to refer to the actual books, musical groups, and films, without any visible connection to the picture. As Lorelai and Rory are interested especially in popular music and films, and Rory likes to read, many of the references were connected to those areas of culture. As the US popular culture continues to spread to Finland, and based on the used translation strategies in this category, it can be said that the aforementioned references are mostly familiar to the Finnish audience.

4.5 References to Celebrities and Personalities

There were 90 cultural references in this category. These types of references were separated from the category of ‘proper names’ in order to have more precise conclusions from the analysis. The following table (5) demonstrates how they were translated:

Table 5. Translation of references to celebrities and personalities

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	68
Calque (for.)	6
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	0
Superordinate term (dom.)	0
Explication (dom.)	14
Omission (dom.)	2
Total	90

As can be seen in table 5, only four of the local translation strategies were used in this category. The most used was direct transfer (68), the second most used explication (14) and the third most used strategy was calque (6). As the amount of directly transferred references was so high, the prevalent global translation strategy was foreignisation with 74 references, whereas 16 references were translated with domestication.

Direct transfer, a foreignising translation strategy, was the most used in this category. In the following example (17), Rory is getting ready to go golfing with her grandfather Richard:

(17a) Now you look just like Tiger Woods.

(17b) Näytät ihan Tiger Woodsilta.

[BT: You look just like Tiger Woods.]

(E03)

In example 17, the reference ‘Tiger Woods’ is directly transferred into the target text. The function of the reference is metaphor, as Emily compares Rory to Tiger Woods because of her golfing clothes and a hat. The reference has a strong pictorial link which is seen in the following picture (6):



Picture 6. Rory as Tiger Wood

The original function of the reference is retained in the translation, as Tiger Woods is probably so well-known that there is no need to further explain the reference. In addition, if a viewer does not know who Tiger Woods is, the meaning of the reference can be somewhat deducted from the picture.

Two domesticating translation strategies, explicitation and omission were also used with some references. In the following example (18), Emily is arguing with Lorelai and saying that Rory is becoming a bitter young woman because of Lorelai. Lorelai is being her witty self, and suggests the following for Rory:

(18a) Become a crazy Oscar Levant kind of celebrity, go on talk shows, heckle Regis.

(18b) Tulisi hulluksi julkkikseksi - menisi keskusteluohjelmiin.

[BT: Would become an insane celebrity – go to talk shows.]

(E09)

In example 18, the first reference, 'Oscar Levant', is translated with explicitation. Oscar Levant was a talented composer, actor, and a talk show host, and suffered from mental illness (IMDb 2016b). The function of the reference is somewhat retained via explicitation, as Levant was in fact insane and talk shows are also mentioned in the translation, even though the actual name of Levant is not in the translation. The second reference, 'Regis', refers to a famous television personality Regis Philbin who has hosted, for example, a morning programme and the US version of *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?*

(bio. 2016). The function of the reference has not been retained as such, perhaps because the message of what is being said is already clear based on the first reference and the mentioning of talk shows, and the reference would not further help in constructing the plot. Both references have a weak pictorial link, which means that the translator has not needed to take the picture into account when translating.

All in all, 74 out of 90 cultural references were foreignised. Only 7 references had strong pictorial links, which does not offer any visual help for the audience in interpreting the references, but it has also allowed the translator to translate the references by using foreignising translation strategies. When this is compared to the amount of foreignised references, it can be said that the Finnish audience is relatively familiar with cultural references connected to celebrities and personalities.

4.6 References to Proper Names

In this category, there was a total of 150 cultural references connected to proper names. The following table (6) demonstrates how the references have been translated:

Table 6. Translation of references to proper names

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	125
Calque (for.)	7
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	0
Superordinate term (dom.)	0
Explication (dom.)	10
Omission (dom.)	8
Total	150

Based on table 6, it is clear that the most used local translation strategy was direct transfer (125). The second most used strategy was explication (10), and the third most used strategy was omission (8). Calque was used for the translation of 7 cultural references. Cultural adaptation and superordinate term were not used in this category. All in all, the more used global translation strategy was foreignisation with 132 cultural references, and domestication was used with 18 references.

Most cultural references were directly transferred, hence foreignised, into the target text. In the following example (19), a student enters a classroom after the class has begun:

- (19a) Mr. Dugray.
 (19b) Hra Dugray.
 [BT: Mr. Dugray.]
 (E02)

In example 19, the cultural reference has not been altered in the target text. The function of the reference is to characterise the student who is entering the class. The function of the reference is retained in the translation, as it continues to characterise the student entering the class as ‘Hra Dugray’. The reference has a strong pictorial link (seen in picture 7):



Picture 7. Mr. Dugray

The reference ‘Mr. Dugray’ has a strong pictorial link (seen in picture 7) as the character being referred to can be seen in the picture when he steps into the classroom. The strong pictorial link supports the function of the cultural reference, as it characterises what ‘Mr. Dugray’ looks like. As the character is visible in the picture, there has been no need to explain the reference to the audience.

The second most used translation strategy was explicitation, which is a domesticating strategy. In the following example (20), Rory is telling Lane about the school uniforms used in Chilton, the private school she has started in. Lane is very skeptical about this:

(20a) OK, there's academic-minded and there's Amish.

(20b) Niinpä. On akateemisia ja amish-lahkoon kuuluvia.

[BT: Right. There are academics and those belonging to an amish-sect.]

(E01)

In example 20, the proper name 'Amish' has been retained, but the explanatory word of 'lahko' has been added to the translation. The function of the reference is to characterise the students of Chilton and the school itself as a strict institution where everybody is dressed in the same way. There are no Amish people in Finland, or if so, only a small amount. Hence, the reference is relatively unknown to the Finnish audience. The additional word 'lahko' [sect] specifies that the Amish are a group of people living in a closed community that has its own rules and ideologies. The reference has a weak pictorial link, which does not provide any help for the audience in better understanding the meaning of the reference.

The third most used local translation strategy was omission. In the following example (21), Emily has organised a dinner party, and Richard and his colleague Alan are standing in the corner talking about business, when Emily brings Rory to greet them:

(21a) Richard, Alan, look who's here.

(21b) Katsokaa, kuka tuli.

[BT: Look, who came.]

(E10)

In example 21, the proper name 'Alan' has been omitted in the translation. The function of the reference is the characterisation of Alan. The function is not transferred into the translation because of the omission.



Picture 8. Alan and Richard

The source text reference has a strong pictorial link as Alan is seen immediately before and after the line (picture 8). This may have removed the need to retain his name in the translation. As ‘Alan’ is not a common name in Finland, the viewers who do not understand English are not likely to notice that the character is called Alan.

The prevalent global translation strategy in this category was foreignisation, as 132 out of 150 cultural references connected to proper names were translated either with direct transfer or with calque. Strong pictorial links were evident in connection to 56 references, of which most (51/56) were foreignised. It can be deduced that although proper names from the US are not commonly used in Finland or in the Finnish language, they are familiar to the Finnish audience via different types of media, such as films and television. In addition, the dominant translation norm in Finland appears to be that proper names are often directly transferred into the target text. However, the possible connotations connected to proper names are mostly lost when they are translated by using foreignisation, removing the chance of completely understanding the different nuances in the plot.

4.7 References to Social Culture

In this category, there were altogether 52 cultural references connected to social culture, in other words, work and leisure. In the following table (7), the cultural references are divided according to the used local translation strategies:

Table 7. Translation of references to social culture

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	6
Calque (for.)	26
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	4
Superordinate term (dom.)	4
Explication (dom.)	12
Omission (dom.)	0
Total	52

As can be seen in table 7, the most used translation strategy was calque (26). The second most references were translated with explication (12), and the third most used strategy was direct transfer (6). Both cultural adaptation and superordinate term were used with 4 references. Omission was not used in this category. Therefore, the more used global translation strategy was foreignisation with 32 references, whereas domestication was used with 20 references.

Calque, a foreignising translation strategy was used the most in this category. In the following example (22), Lorelai asks Drella the harp player to be nicer to the guests at the inn. Drella replies in the following way:

(22a) So if you're looking for someone to just be nice to the guests, get a harmonica player, maybe some guy who whistles through his nose.

(22b) Jos haluat, että joku on ystävällinen vieraita kohtaan – hanki harmonikansoittaja. Joku nenänsä kautta viheltävä.

[BT: If you want that someone is nice towards the guests – get an accordion player.]

(E01)

The cultural reference 'harmonica player' has been translated literally as 'harmonikansoittaja'. The function of the reference is not lost, as the type of the instrument referred to is not relevant in the dialogue, but the rest of the clause referring

to another kind of whistling does not make sense in the translation when connected to ‘harmonikka’ [accordion]. However, the pictorial link is weak, which does not require the translator to use the same reference in the translator.

The second most used translation strategy was explicitation. In the following example (23), Rory is telling about her plans with her mother for the summer after graduation:

(23a) When I graduate from high school, we’re gonna go backpacking through Europe together. You know, do the whole hostel thing.

(23b) Kun pääsen lukiosta – lähemme yhdessä reppumatkalle Euroopan halki.
[BT: When I get from upper secondary school – we will go together on a backpack trip across Europe.]

(E03)

In example 23, the cultural reference ‘backpacking’ is translated with the strategy of explicitation. The function of the reference is retained in the translation, although backpacking is usually translated as ‘reppureissaaminen’ [backpack travelling] in Finnish. The weak pictorial link of the reference has not affected the translation of the reference.

The most used global translation strategy was foreignisation with 32 out of 52 cultural references. Only 5 references had strong pictorial links, which is reasonable as the references in this category are connected to the abstract concepts of social culture. As the amount of domesticated references was almost as large as that of the foreignised references, it can be said that the references connected to social culture in the US are somewhat known to the Finnish audience. Many references to music styles, sports, and professions were foreignised. Especially music and sports from the US have made references connected to them relatively well-known in Finland. However, there still there appears to be a need to domesticate, for example, references to social celebrations, organisations, events, and dances.

4.8 References to Material Culture

In this category, there was a total of 104 cultural references. In the following table (8), the references are categorised according to their translation strategy:

Table 8. Translation of references to material culture

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	24
Calque (for.)	27
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	7
Superordinate term (dom.)	2
Explication (dom.)	35
Omission (dom.)	9
Total	104

As was said in the previous table (8), the most used local translation strategy was explication with 35 cultural references. The second most used strategy was calque (27), and the third most used was direct transfer (24). The smallest amount of references were translated with omission (9), cultural adaptation (7), and superordinate term (2). When these are combined, the more used global translation strategy was domestication with 53 references, whereas 51 references were foreignised.

The most used local translation strategy was explication, a domesticating strategy. In the following example (24), there is a wedding for two sets of twins at the inn, and the mother of the brides is tired of listening to the continuous complaining and arguing of her daughters:

- (24a) My Advil is wearing off.
 (24b) Särkylääkkeeni vaikutus alkaa lakata.
 [BT: My painkiller's effect is starting to stop.]
 (E03)

In example 24, the reference 'Advil' refers to a brand of ibuprofen painkiller widely used in the US (Drugs.com 2016). The brand is not sold in Finland (Verkkoapteekki.fi 2016), therefore it is probably not familiar to most Finnish viewers. That can be the reason behind the chosen translation strategy, as 'särkylääke' [painkiller] has the same function as the original reference without retaining the brand name or translating it with a Finnish equivalent. The reference has a weak pictorial link, which further allows the use of a domesticating translation strategy.

The second least used translation strategy in this category was cultural adaptation, which is a domesticating strategy. In the following example (25), Sookie has broken a stove at the inn, and is feeling bad about it:

(25a) Oh God, I killed a Viking Oh you should fire me or make me pay the cost of a new stove out of my paycheck.

(25b) Luoja, tuhosin koko kōrilään. Saisit antaa minulle potkut tai vaatia minua ostamaan uuden liedon – omilla rahoillani.

[BT: God, I destroyed the whole hulk. You could fire me or demand me to buy a new stove – with my own money.]

(E01)

In example 25, the cultural reference ‘Viking’ refers to a range of stoves mostly sold in Canada and the US, but they also exported to a number of other countries such as Japan, Mexico, and the United Arab Emirates (Viking 2016). The reference characterises the stove used at the inn, and that function is lost in the translation. However, the stove is seen immediately after the brand ‘Viking’ is mentioned. This is demonstrated in picture 9:



Picture 9. The ‘Viking’

As seen in picture 9, the strong pictorial link helps to clarify what is said in the dialogue although the original cultural reference is removed. The translation suggests that the stove is large and “hulky”, but it does not have any other connection to the brand name. The message of the original reference is retained by the strong pictorial link as well as the inventive translation with cultural adaptation.

The most used global translation strategy in this category was domestication with 53 references. Only 12 out of 104 references had strong pictorial links, and half of them were translated with domestication. The translator has conveyed the messages of the references with other ways than by using the original references, even when some of the references were visible to the audience. There was no clear distinction in references translated with domestication or foreignisation, but most references connected, for example, to pharmacy products and clothes were translated domestically. It can be said that the references connected to material culture in the US are generally not well-known in Finland, therefore most of them were translated with domesticating translation strategies.

4.9 Other References

This section consists of all the cultural reference categories with less than 30 references. The subheadings 4.9.1–4.9.7 are named according to those original categories. Therefore, the analysis of the categories is included in the subsections where the categories and their references are shortly discussed. Examples are provided only for some of the subcategories, as these references did not bring have any noticeable effect on the results of this thesis. The following table (9) demonstrates the amount of cultural references in and their equivalent categories:

Table 9. Amount of other references

Cultural reference	Amount
References to institutions	2
References to units of measurement	9
References to monetary systems	7
References to national sports and pastimes	5
Geographical references	28
Historical references	12
References to holidays and festivities	1
Total	64

As can be seen in table 9, among the 7 categories in this section, there was a total of 64 cultural references. The category of ‘geographical references’ included the most references (28), and the smallest amount of references was in the category of ‘references to holidays and festivities’. The used local translation strategies per category are discussed individually in each subsection.

4.9.1 References to Institutions

In this subsection, references to institutions are shortly discussed. The following table (11) demonstrates how the two cultural references in this subcategory were translated:

Table 10. Translation of references to institutions

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	2
Calque (for.)	0
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	0
Superordinate term (dom.)	0
Explication (dom.)	0
Omission (dom.)	0
Total	2

As can be seen in table 11, both (2) cultural references in this category have been directly transferred into the target text. Therefore, the prevalent global translation strategy was foreignisation.

Both cultural references connected to institutions had a humorous function in the dialogue. In the following example (26), Richard was taken to a hospital, and Emily is struggling with the hospital’s bureaucracy:

(26a) Please! They run this place like the CIA.

(26b) Älä viitsi. Paikkaa pyöritetään kuin CIA:ta.

[BT: Please. This place is run like the CIA.]

(E10)

The patient confidentiality of the hospital is compared to the strict procedures of the CIA, which creates a humorous function. That function is retained also in the translation, as well as in the translation of the other reference in this category. Both references in this

subcategory had weak pictorial links, which means that the translator has been able to transfer the references directly into the target text. The retained functions in both references and the strategy of direct transfer requires the Finnish audience to know what the references are referring to.

4.9.2 References to Units of Measurement

In this subsection, the references connected to units of measurement will be shortly discussed. In the following table (11), the local translation strategies used in this subcategory are presented:

Table 11. Translation of references to units of measurement

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	0
Calque (for.)	0
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	9
Superordinate term (dom.)	0
Explicitation (dom.)	0
Omission (dom.)	0
Total	9

There were altogether 9 references in this subcategory, and all of them were translated with cultural adaptation. As only one translation strategy were used, the prevalent global translation strategy was domestication. The translation strategy of cultural adaptation is demonstrated in example 27:

(27a) You hurt her, there's not a safe place within a hundred miles for you to hide.

(27b) Jos loukkaat häntä, et löydä 150 neliökilometrin säteeltä piilopaikkaa.

[BT: If you hurt her, you will not find in 150 kilometer's radius a hiding place.]

(E07)

As in example 27, all 9 references connected to units of measurement were translated with cultural adaptation. Strong pictorial links did not affect the translation as such, as they were evident only with 3 references, and even then with references connected to people's height or the weight of objects. The translation norms in Finland usually suggest

that units of measurements are culturally adapted in the target text, especially if the context does not require a foreignising translation strategy.

4.9.3 References to Monetary Systems

In this subcategory, there was a total of 9 cultural references related to monetary systems.

In the following table (12), the amount of used local translation strategies is shown:

Table 12. Translation of references to monetary systems

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	0
Calque (for.)	7
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	0
Superordinate term (dom.)	0
Explicitation (dom.)	0
Omission (dom.)	0
Total	7

As can be seen in table 12, all 7 references were translated with the foreignising translation strategy of calque. Almost all references were connected to currency which usually have established translations in the Finnish language. All references had weak pictorial links, which further allowed the translator to use literal translations for the references. The functions of the references remained the same in the translations even though the references were foreignised.

4.9.4 References to National Sports and Pastimes

This subsection focuses on cultural references focused on national sports and pastimes.

There were altogether 5 references in this subcategory, which can be seen in the following table (13):

Table 13. Translation of references to national sports and pastimes

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	1
Calque (for.)	1
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	1
Superordinate term (dom.)	0

Explication (dom.)	2
Omission (dom.)	0
Total	5

According to table 13, the domesticating translation strategy of explication was used the most in this subcategory. Direct transfer, calque, and cultural adaptation were each used for one reference. Most of these were used in the same dialogue line, which demonstrated in the following example (28), where Rory lists different sports provided by Chilton Preparatory:

(28a) Basketball, lacrosse, swimming, track, golf...

(28b) Koripalloa, haavipalloa, uintia, juoksua, golfia.

[BT: Basketball, netball, swimming, running, golf.]

(E03)

In example 28, the translation strategy of calque was used with ‘basketball’, explication with ‘lacrosse’, and direct transfer with ‘golf’. All the references had weak pictorial links, and the functions of the references remained the same in the translation. The incoherence of used translation strategies suggests that some types of sports are familiar and even played in Finland, and some have to be explained to the Finnish audience by using domesticating translation strategies.

4.9.5 Geographical References

In this subcategory, there were 28 cultural references that were translated either with direct transfer (4) or calque (24), which can be seen in the following table (14):

Table 14. Translation of references to geography

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	4
Calque (for.)	24
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	0
Superordinate term (dom.)	0
Explication (dom.)	0
Omission (dom.)	0
Total	28

As table 14 demonstrates, the prevalent global translation strategy in this subcategory was foreignisation. All references were connected either to animals or plants, and all of them can be considered familiar to the Finnish audience, especially those referring to vegetables and fruits. This demonstrates how well these types of cultural references are known to the Finnish audience, and the functions of the references are, therefore, fully retained in the translations. Strong pictorial links were evident with 9 references, and they comply with the translation choices of the translator.

4.9.6 Historical References

There were 12 cultural references in this subcategory, and the translation strategies used for them can be seen in the following table (15):

Table 15. Translation of references to history

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	4
Calque (for.)	5
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	0
Superordinate term (dom.)	0
Explication (dom.)	2
Omission (dom.)	1
Total	12

The previous table (15) shows that most references were translated with either calque (5) or with direct transfer (4). The other translation strategies used were explication (2) and omission (1). Therefore, prevalent global translation strategy was foreignisation. Many references were connected to different times and eras, some referred to previously existing countries and empires, and a few were connected to the events of the World War II. Only 2 references had strong pictorial links, which did not help interpreting the references if the viewer did not know the connotations behind the reference. As history is widely taught in Finnish schools, it is likely that all references in this category are familiar to the Finnish audience.

4.9.7 References to Holidays and Festivities

In this subcategory, there was only 1 cultural reference. It was translated with the foreignising translation strategy of direct transfer, which means that foreignisation was also the prevalent global translation strategy for this subcategory. This can be seen in the following table (16):

Table 16. Translation of references to holidays and festivities

Translation strategy	Amount
Direct transfer (for.)	0
Calque (for.)	1
Cultural adaptation (dom.)	0
Superordinate term (dom.)	0
Explication (dom.)	0
Omission (dom.)	0
Total	1

The only cultural reference is seen in the following example (29):

(29a) It's a Thanksgiving Day parade. You're standing on Fifth Avenue....Your baton is on fire and the crowd goes nuts. Okay, cookie time.

(29b) On kiitospäivän paraati. Seisotte 5. Avenuella. Sauvanne on tulessa ja yleisö menee sekaisin. Okei, keksiaika.

[BT: "It is the Thank-you-day parade. You are standing on 5. Avenue. Your staff is on fire and the audience is going mixed up."]

(E02)

The cultural reference 'Thanksgiving Day parade' has been translated literally into the target text. It has a weak pictorial link, which does not restrict the translation but, respectively, it does not provide any help for the viewer in interpreting the reference. Thanksgiving is such a concept and widely celebrated national holiday in the US, that its meaning and content can be seen are somewhat familiar to the Finnish audience.

4.10 Discussion

In this section, the results of this study are shortly discussed and analysed. The purpose of this study was to find out which local, and global, translation strategies were used the

most for the cultural references in the subtitles of *Gilmore Girls*. Pictorial link, the relationship between picture and word, was also focused on from the viewpoint of how much they affected the translation of cultural references. In each subsection of this analysis, the amount of references and the used translation strategies was calculated and illustrated in respective tables. The following table (17) demonstrates how many references in each category were domesticated and foreignised:

Table 17. Domestication vs. foreignisation

Category (amount)	Domesticated references (%)	Foreignised references (%)
Educational references	18 (50 %)	18 (50 %)
Place and street names, languages, nationalities, and countries	4 (11 %)	32 (89 %)
References to food and drink	27 (29 %)	67 (71 %)
References to books, films, television programmes, and music	40 (32 %)	84 (68 %)
References to celebrities and personalities	16 (18 %)	74 (82 %)
References to proper names	18 (12 %)	132 (88 %)
References to social culture	20 (38 %)	32 (62 %)
References to material culture	53 (51 %)	51 (49 %)
Other references	22 (34 %)	42 (66 %)
Total	218 (29 %)	532 (71 %)

As can be seen in table 17, domestication and foreignisation were used for almost the equal amount of references in the categories of education (50/50 %) and material culture (51/49 %). The most noticeable differences between domestication and foreignisation were seen in the references referring to place and street names, etc. (11/89 %), celebrities and personalities (18/82 %), and proper names (12/88 %). Overall, domestication was used in the translation of 29 % of the cultural references, and foreignisation was used for 71 % of the references.

The differences in the amount of used global translation strategies are connected to the nature of the respective cultural references. References connected to education, social culture, material culture, and other references (especially geography and history), were both domesticated and foreignised almost equally as much, which could indicate that, although those references are somewhat familiar to the Finnish audience, they still need to be domesticated in order to effectively retain the function of the original reference in the target text.

All in all, 71 % of the cultural references were foreignised by using the local translation strategies direct transfer and calque. The corresponding amount for domesticated references was 29 %. References connected to place and street names (etc.), celebrities and personalities, and proper names were mostly translated with foreignisation. Pictorial links did not have a significant effect on the interpretation of cultural references, therefore they did not restrict the translation choices as such. Strong pictorial links were mostly evident with references connected to proper names (56/150) as well as to food and drink (24/94).

The dominance of foreignisation in the translation of cultural references could suggest that the Finnish audience is familiar with or understands references connected especially to proper names, place and street names, languages and nationalities, and countries, as well as to celebrities and personalities in the US culture, and there seems to be no particular need to domesticate them. Of course, other factors, such as subtitling conventions, have a large effect on the translation choices the translator makes during the subtitling process. However, the conventions and norms could be slowly changing, as cultural references and especially the US culture becomes more and more known in Finland, which can affect the way different types of cultural references are translated.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to find out which global translation strategy has been used the most in the translation of cultural references in the subtitles of the US television series *Gilmore Girls*. The results were likely to demonstrate to what extent the content and meaning of the references had been explained to the Finnish audience. The hypothesis was that domestication would be the prevalent global translation strategy, because when considering the technical conventions of subtitling, it could be difficult or almost impossible to convey the content and message of the reference to the Finnish audience if the reference was foreignised.

The cultural references were divided into 15 different categories: 1) institutions, 2) education, 3) place and street names, languages, nationalities, and countries, 4) units of measurement, 5) monetary systems, 6) national sports and pastimes, 7) food and drink, 8) holidays and festivities, 9) books, films, television programmes, and music, 10) celebrities and personalities, 11) proper names, 12) geography, 13) social culture, 14) material culture, and 15) history. Categories with less than 30 references were placed under 'other references' for a more concise analysis.

The translations of the references were analysed according to the following categorisation of local translation strategies: 1) direct transfer, 2) calque, 3) cultural adaptation, 4) superordinate term, 5) explicitation, 6) addition, and 7) omission. In addition, it was noted whether the references had strong or weak pictorial links, and how they had affected the translation.

In the material of this study, the 10 first episodes of the television series *Gilmore Girls*, there were altogether 750 cultural references. Most cultural references belonged to the category of proper names (150). The second largest amount of references was placed under the category of books, films, television programmes, and music (124), and the third largest category was material culture (104). Based on this, it can be said that the world of *Gilmore Girls* largely focuses on references connected to people, popular culture, and material culture.

The hypothesis for this study was proven wrong. The majority of cultural references (71 %) were translated by using the global translation strategy of foreignisation. Based on this, it can be said that the spreading of cultural references from the US has and continues to be extensive and wide-spread. Cultural references spread quickly especially through the Internet, television, films, and music, which removes the need to further domesticate most references. The cultural knowledge of the Finnish audience seems to require less and less domestication. Subtitling conventions and norms restrict and determine how creatively cultural references can and should be translated, and so do strong of weak pictorial links, the relationship between picture and word. However, the spreading of cultural references could have an effect on translation norms, as well, however slow it may be.

Further research on this topic could focus on how cultural references from more “foreign” cultures than the US are translated, and a reception study would demonstrate how the audience identifies and recognises the references. In addition, the studied medium could be different than television, for example, contemporary films or books. Translation norms could also be further studied, how translation conventions affect the translation of cultural references.

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Appendix 1. Tables

Table 1. Translation of educational references

Table 2. Translation of references to place and street names, languages, nationalities, and countries

Table 3. Translation of references to food and drink

Table 4. Translation of references to books, films, television programmes, and music

Table 5. Translation of references to celebrities and personalities

Table 6. Translation of references to proper names

Table 7. Translation of references to social culture

Table 8. Translation of references to material culture

Table 9. Amount of other references

Table 10. Translation of references to institutions

Table 11. Translation of references to units of measurement

Table 12. Translation of references to monetary systems

Table 13. Translation of references to national sports and pastimes

Table 14. Translation of references to geography

Table 15. Translation of references to history

Table 16. Translation of references to holidays and festivities

Table 17. Domestication vs. foreignisation

Appendix 2. List of Foreign Programmes in Katsomo

1) Finnish	Kaappaus keittiössä	Mentalisti Noora Karma
112	Kaikkien aikojen kosinta	Mimmien muskari
100 tarinaa lastensairaalaista	Keltaisen kirahvin eläintarinoita	Mimosa ja Petteri
1001 Rikua	Keventäjät	Mira ja miljoonakodit
Aapon ja Tiian seikkailut	Kingi	Mitä tänään syötäisiin
Ajoneuvos	Koko Suomi leipoo	Mummomafia
Arja leipoo ja kokkaa	Lainvalvojat	Munamies
Biisonimafia	Lasse-Maijan etsivätoimisto	Muumien maailma
Duudsonit tuli taloon	Lifestyle	Nuorten hyväksi
Enbuske & Linnanahde Crew	Luojan kiitos	Pajunkissametsä
Ensitreffit alttarilla Suomi	Luovimmat suomalaiset	Peter Hispaniassa
Erilaiset perheet	Löytäjät	Peter uutisvirrassa
Hansin matkassa	Maajussille morsian	Pientä mökkiremonttia
Hauskat eläinperheet	Mallikoulu	Politiikan korjaussarja
Hinnalla millä hyvänsä	Manitbois	Pop'n'Roll
Jallis	Meidän safkaa	Rakas, sinusta on tullut pullukka
Huomenta Suomi	Menopeli	Roba
		Salatut elämät
		Sara goes L.A.

Sherlock	Cult	Littlest Pet Shop (USA, Canada)
Soittotunti	Dallas	
Staraoke	Ensisilmäyksellä	Luovat hullut
Studio55.fi	Face	Mahdoton taloprojekti
Suomen surkein kuski	Gisele ja ekotyöt	MasterChef USA
Suomi Areena	Glee	Millerit
Taitokoulu	Haylien keittiössä	Moderni perhe
Teknavi	Heppajengi	Morgan Spurlock: sisäpiirin mies
Ti-ti Nalle	Isänmaan puolesta	Muodin huipulle
TopChef Suomi	Kaislan komero (USA, UK, Germany)	Myytinmurtajat
Tuubi	Katti kaiken tietää	O.C:n täydelliset naiset
Tähdet, tähdet	(USA, Canada, UK)	Ou nou
Viidakon tähtöset	Kauniit ja rohkeat	Pitch – kuningasidea
Vinkkimiehet	Kiinteistöjen kuningas	Pomo piilossa
2) US	Killer Karaoke	Prinssi Harrylle morsian
Amazing Race	Kohde	Revolution
Anthony Bourdain – Kohti tuntematonta	Kolme miestä ja tyttö	Rouva ministeri
Arttu	Kovat kaulassa	Rysän päällä
Avaruuspingviinit	Kung Fu Panda	Scorpion
Bones	Kurjat kuppilat USA	Selviytyjät

SheZow (USA, Australia)	Eveliina Koo, eikös joo (UK)	Johan Falk (Sweden) Kadonneen jäljillä UK
Superpahisten liika (USA, Canada)	Fish'n' Chips (France) Geronimo Stilton (Italy)	Kaislikon väen talvi (UK)
Suurin pudottaja	Grand Designs (UK)	Kaislikossa suhisee (UK)
Tarkastaja Gadget (USA, France, Canada)	Halinallet (Canada)	Kassu-kissa (UK)
The McCarthys	Heidi (France, Germany, Australia)	Kaupungin sankarit (Sweden)
Valtiatar	Hello Kitty (Japan)	Keksijäkylän Lotta (Estonia)
Villi ja vapaa	Hoplaa (Belgium) Hunajapupuset (Japan)	Kevin McCloudin ekomökki (UK)
3) Others	Hyvän leivän juurella (UK)	Korisjengi (France)
1000 ja yhden yön tarinat	Hyvästi lemmikki! (UK)	Kultakalani on ilkimys (Canada)
Antti piirtää (France)	Jamie Oliverin 30 minuutin ateriat (UK)	Lemmen viemää (Germany)
Bruno ja banskupoppoo (Canada)	Jamie Oliverin Amerikan herkut (UK)	Leo (Japan)
Chaplin (France)	Jamie Oliverin ruokafestivaalit (UK)	Linus (South Korea)
Chuggington (UK)	Jamie Oliverin säästöateriat (UK)	Maailman kauheimmat naapurit (UK)
Emmerdale (UK)		
Eveliina (Japan)		

Maija Mehiläinen (Belgium)	Rastahiiri (UK)	Trinny ja Susannah Skandinaviassa
Myyrä (Czech Republic)	Rimakauhua ja rakkautta (UK)	Tuomas Veturi (UK)
Myyrän ystävät (Czech Republic)	Robottijengi (France)	Unelmakoti puoleen hintaan (UK)
Nuori Robin Hood (France)	Ruokaritarit Jamie and Jimmy (UK)	Upeat skandikodit (UK)
Oggi ja torakat (France)	Ruotsin maajussille morsian	Vampyyrikoulu (Germany)
Peppi Pitkätossu (Canada)	Ryhmymaan taikakirja (France)	Van Dogh (Spain)
Pikku ja Jätti (UK)	Solsidan (Sweden)	Viikingit (Ireland, Canada)
Pikku Piko (France, Belgium)	Supersintit (France)	Vinxklubi (Italy)
Pinkkupoppoo (France)	Tanskan kaunein koti	WotWotit (New Zealand)
Planktonien maailmanvalloitus (Belgium, France)	Tanssien tähtiin (UK)	Ystävien kylä (UK)
Professori Balthasar (Croatia)	Taskuvaari (UK)	Ystävämme Susu (France)
	Tessu (UK)	Ötökät! (France)
	Tiheikön väki (UK)	