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**Translation of Extralinguistic Cultural References in the
English subtitles of *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki*
and *Lapland Odyssey***

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<p>The aim of the research was to explore what kind of extralinguistic cultural references are included in the Finnish films <i>The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki</i> (2016) and <i>Lapland Odyssey</i> (2010) and how these references have been translated in the English subtitles of the films. The research applies both qualitative and quantitative methods. As the theoretical framework, this research uses Jan Pedersen's (2011) semantic domains and his taxonomy of translation strategies. To study the multimodal aspect of the research material, the study applies the concepts of visual and acoustic signs as introduced by Birgit Nedergaard-Larsen (1993). In addition the cultural references are divided between three different modes (explicit, implicit and visual), based on the way they occur in the source text. The research material consists of the Finnish dialogue lists, English subtitles provided by translator Aretta Vähälä and DVD copies of the films <i>The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki</i> (2016) and <i>Lapland Odyssey</i> (2010).</p> <p>A total of 134 extralinguistic cultural references were found in the analysis. Out of them 109 were explicitly found in the dialogue lists and the rest were either implicit verbal cultural references or purely visual references. The domain with highest amount of cases was proper names. The most frequently used translation strategy was retention. There was also some correlation between the domain of the references and the strategy used for their translation. For example most proper names were retained in the subtitles exactly as they were in the source text, but different measures were systematically translated directly into English.</p>				
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Tiivistelmä – Abstract				
<p>Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tutkia millaisia kielenulkoisia kulttuuriviittauksia suomalaiset elokuvat Napapiirin sankarit (2010) ja Hymyilevä mies (2016) sisältävät ja kuinka nämä viittaukset on käännetty kyseisten elokuvien englanninkielisissä tekstityksissä. Tutkimuksessa on hyödynnetty sekä laadullisia että määrällisiä menetelmiä. Teoreettisena viitekehyksenä tutkimuksessa on käytetty Jan Pedersenin (2011) semanttisia aihekategorioita sekä hänen käännsstrategioiden luokitteluaan. Tutkimus huomioi myös aineiston multimodaalisen luonteen ja sen analyysissä on hyödynnetty Birgit Nedergaard-Larsenin (1993) visuaalisten ja akustisten merkkien käsitteitä. Lisäksi löydetyt viittaukset on jaettu eksplisiittisiin, implisiittisiin ja visuaalisiin sen mukaan millä tavoin ne tulevat aineistossa esille. Tutkimuksen aineistona on käytetty elokuvien Napapiirin sankarit (2010) ja Hymyilevä mies (2016) suomenkielisiä dialogilistoja, kääntäjä Aretta Vähälän tuottamia englanninkielisiä tekstityksiä sekä kyseisten elokuvien DVD-kopioita.</p> <p>Elokvista löytyi yhteensä 134 kielenulkoista kulttuuriviittauksia, joista 109 oli eksplisiittisiä eli ne löytyivät suoraan dialogilistoista. Loput olivat joko epäsuoria (implisiittisiä) verbaalisia kulttuuriviittauksia tai puhtaasti visuaalisin keinoin esitettyjä kulttuuriviittauksia. Suurin osa löydettyistä kulttuuriviittauksista kuului aihekategorialtaan erisnimiin. Käytetyin käännsstrategia aineistossa oli kulttuuriviittauksen säilyttäminen käännsessä lähtötekstin ilmaisun kaltaisena. Käytetty käännsstrategia myös korreloi jonkin verran ilmaisun semanttisen kategorian kanssa: useimmat nimet säilytettiin käännsessä alkuperäisellä kielellään, mutta esimerkiksi mittayksiköt käännsettiin lähes systemaattisesti suoraan englantiin.</p>				
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1. Introduction

Realias or culture-specific items can set a serious challenge when translating from one culture to another. How do you translate a name or a concept that does not exist in the same sense in both source and the target cultures? How does the translation strategies used in English subtitles affect the way Finnish culture is perceived among international audiences? In my master's thesis I will explore this topic by studying the culture-specific translation problems and their translation strategies in the English subtitles of two Finnish films: *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki* (Hymyilevä mies, 2016) by director Juho Kuosmanen and *The Lapland Odyssey* (Napapiirin sankarit, 2010) by director Dome Karukoski.

Realias, also known as culture-specific translation problems and in this study referred to as extralinguistic cultural references (ECRs), have been a popular topic of research both in literature translation as well as in audio-visual translation. However, most studies about culture-specific items in English – Finnish language pair have been conducted by comparing the English source text with its Finnish translation. Yet, I dare argue that after decades of exposure to many English-speaking cultures through various forms of media, an average Finnish reader or film viewer is likely to be more familiar with those cultures than most international audiences are with Finnish culture. The visibility of Finnish culture in international contexts is minor, and often Finnish culture is somewhat misleadingly linked together with Scandinavian countries. Therefore Finnish films can be seen as important products in our cultural export than can set us apart from our neighbouring countries in an international context. The international success of Finnish films, such as *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki* studied here, can be seen as a crucial improvement on the international visibility of Finnish culture and the repute of Finland.

However, Finnish films cannot be promoted internationally without a high-quality translation. Finnish language is not widely spoken nor are the cultural features well known across the world. Therefore culture-specific items in the films require a skillful agent to convey the meanings as well as the essence of the source culture into a form recognizable for the target audience. My master thesis will contribute to the vast research of audio-visual translation, translation of realias as well as fill some of the void of research made on the role of translator in the Finnish cultural export trade.

I am conducting a mainly qualitative research concerning the ways extralinguistic cultural references have been translated from Finnish language and culture that has globally a minor status into English

for lingua franca speakers with diverse cultural background. Some quantitative methods are also applied to define the total number of cases in each category and to determine the prevalent trends represented by the data. My research questions are:

1. What type of extralinguistic cultural references do the movies have and what kind of translation problems do they create?
2. Which translation strategies have been used to solve them?

I will use my findings to discuss what type of content in the dialogue of Finnish films set most challenges when translating for target audience with diverse cultural and linguistic background. This paper will go through the basic characteristics of audiovisual translations and the ways both cultural aspects as well as technical aspects may restrict the tools translator can use to convey meanings across cultural borders. Domestication and foreignization as translations strategies will be dealt as well. However, deeper discussion concerning equivalence and quality of the translation will be out of the scope of this research.

For practical reasons, later in this study, I will refer to the movie *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki* with an abbreviation *HDLOM* and to *Lapland Odyssey* with an abbreviation *LO*. In addition, from now on in this paper, I will follow the example set by several scholars within translation studies and for practical reasons abbreviate source text as *ST*, source language as *SL* and source culture as *SC*. Similarly target text will be abbreviated as *TT*, target language as *TL* and target culture as *TC*. Furthermore, I would like to note, that since my research concerns translation of audiovisual material, the terms *a reader*, *an audience* and *a viewer* will all be used as synonyms to refer to the target recipients of the translation.

I will begin this paper by introducing the definition of extralinguistic cultural references and discussing them as translation problem. After that I will offer some theoretical background on how to categorize culture-specific items and present my own classification. In Section 3 I will present some basic terminology and issues concerning multimodality and technical aspects in audiovisual translation. Section 4 will introduce the translation strategies of culture specific items according to different scholars, and discuss the status of different languages and cultures and its effect on translation. In Section 5, I will present my research material and my research methods and after that I will go through the analysis starting from the modal distribution of my data and moving through the semantic categories (domains) towards the translation strategies. Finally, in Section 6.5 I will briefly discuss the

impact of multimodality into my data and in Section 7 I will summarize my research and discuss some possible implications for further research.

2. Culture and Language

Language and culture are connected in various ways. One might even say one does not exist without the other. Languages after all usually develop in the confines of a culture and phenomena originating from other cultures are only given a name as they cross the cultural borders and become relevant in a new culture. For example Finns did not need a name for a dish that contains rice, raw fish and seaweed until *sushi* was first introduced to us through personal experience or popular culture. Many culture-related features can cause translation problems, since there are not always equivalents available in the target language and culture. These type of features can either be embedded in the language system itself, making the language work differently than other languages in the world, or refer to real life objects, people or phenomena outside language.

Cultural features that are embedded into language itself are called intralinguistic. According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) these may be for example metaphors, idioms, vocative forms or grammatical categories that exist only in this language. In spoken language these include also dialects and intonations that carry meaning (Nedergaard-Larsen, 1993: 210). These are all features that express the personality and cultural background of the speaker, and are therefore something the translator needs to take into account while translating into another language and culture. For example Armellino (2008) has studied culture-bound elements in the Italian subtitles of the American film *Scent of a Woman* (1992). In her essay, Armellino focuses on the scene where the two main characters, Colonel Slade and Charles Simms, meet for the first time. According to Armellino (2008) the characteristics of *colloquial tone* of American English in Colonel Slade's utterances, which manifest themselves through verbs like *gonna* and *wanna* and the pronoun *ya* (you), are almost impossible to render into another language. Another important culture-specific aspect that Armellino mentions is the *register*, which reflects the social rules and behavior accepted by each culture. According to her, Charles's efforts to find the right title to address Colonel Slade are not all rendered in the Italian subtitles (Armellino, 2008).

Colloquial features and register are examples of *intralinguistic* culture-specific references. However, the focus of this study will be on translation of the cultural references that are outside of the language system itself and therefore called *extralinguistic*. In the following chapter, I will move on to provide definitions for the key concepts of this study.

2.1 Extralinguistic Cultural References

In this section I will present the key terminology and their definitions used in this research. I will discuss the previous research on realias conducted by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993), Pedersen (2011) and Leppihalme (2001) as well as provide justification for the choices of perspective made in this paper.

There are several different terms used for references to culture-specific items than can cause translation problems. *Realia* is perhaps the most common term used, but not necessarily the most transparent. The initial definition of the term was created by Vlahov and Florin in 1970's. Later, Florin (1993) defined the term as follows:

Realia (from the Latin *realis*) are words and combinations of words denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development of one nation and alien to another. Since they express local and/or historical color they have no exact equivalents in other languages. They cannot be translated in a conventional way and require a special approach.

(Florin, 1993:123)

Florin's definition seem simple at first, but what may cause confusion is the notion of realias as something belonging to "one nation" and being "alien to another", since *a nation* is not a synonym for *a culture* or *a language*. In terms of my data, some of the realias related to the lifestyle in Lapland are likely to be more familiar to Swedes and Norwegians living in northern parts of their country than to other Finns living in Helsinki. Cultural knowledge does not always follow the somewhat artificial national borders. Similarly, some characteristics of the American lifestyle, while not really belonging to Finnish way of life, are not exactly alien to Finns either, because of the decades of frequent exposure to American culture through media.

As a phenomenon realia can be present in any type of texts that reflect the cultural context of their content. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) has studied the phenomenon in film subtitling. Instead of using the term *realia*, Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 207) stresses that films are "- - products of the culture from which they arise" and this "- - may cause problems if a film is to be shown in a different cultural framework." Therefore, she has decided to use the term *culture-bound problems*, which more clearly emphasizes dependence of the phenomenon on cultural differences and their effects on translation.

Another term for the phenomenon, used by Pettit (2009) is a *cultural sign*. According to her "a cultural sign is a sign which contains culture-specific information, verbal or non-verbal, transmitted aurally or

visually” (Pettit, 2009: 44). Her rather broad definition does not comment on whether the reference is intra- or extralinguistic, but unlike others, she acknowledges the different semiotic channels available for the phenomenon. Culture-specific information can be conveyed through any channel of communication known to mankind. This multimodal nature of ECRs in audiovisual translation will be further discussed in Section 3.2.

In my research, I have chosen to use the term *extralinguistic cultural reference* as introduced and used by Jan Pedersen (2011: 43). My decision is based on the transparency of the term. As Pedersen (2011: 44 – 45) points out, *realia* as a term can be vague and from its definition one might misleadingly deduce that it only covers factual things, when this is not the case. On the other hand, other terms, such as *culture-specific item*, *culture-bound problem* or *cultural sign*, fail to convey the extralinguistic aspect of the topic at hand.

I will follow Pedersen’s example and refer to the term with an abbreviation *ECR* from now on in this paper. Pedersen defines ECR as follows:

Extralinguistic Cultural Reference (ECR) is defined as reference that is attempted by means of any cultural linguistic expression, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process. The referent of the said expression may prototypically be assumed to be identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopaedic knowledge of this audience. (Pedersen 2011: 43)

Therefore ECRs can be anything that cannot be considered universally recognizable to people from different cultures. These can be for example festive seasons or holidays such as Finnish *pikkujoulukausi* (the pre-Christmas party season), the Irish *St. Patrick’s Day* and the hindu festival *Diwali*. The reason why members of other cultures have no knowledge of the ECR may also be due to geographical differences. Most Finns hardly know many specific terms related to tropical climates, their flora or fauna beyond the basic concepts we learn in school. Similarly, we cannot expect foreign people to know the meaning of *jänkä* or *tunturi*, since not many languages have an equivalent term for them.

Typically ECRs also include proper names as well as references to popular culture. How people are called and which shows they watch are somewhat culture-specific, although some of the trends are transcultural. For example biblical names have all roots in the same source, but their different spellings are adapted to each culture.

Leppihalme (2011) reminds us that the boundaries of the term may be difficult to determine, since for example common loanwords are not unfamiliar enough for the target culture to be regarded as realia. I think this is an important notion, since Finnish includes a plethora of loanwords from English as well as from other languages. Concepts such as *take-away* and *prepaid* are not considered realias anymore, because the terms are nowadays commonly used in Finland in the same sense as in Anglophone countries. However, in terms of my research the situation is different, because my research material consists of subtitles translated from Finnish into English. Not many Finnish words have been commonly accepted into English as loanwords, a word *sauna* being among the very few. This relationship between Finnish and English languages and cultures and its implications to translation will be further discussed in Section 4.4.2.

2.3 ECRs as a translation problem

Translating culture-bound items into a language that lacks an expression for that exact same meaning, has been a challenge since the very early days of translating. Many scholars consider this problem resulting either from the lexical gaps in the target-language or from the flaws in the translators cultural and encyclopedic knowledge. Therefore increasing the students' intercultural awareness and cultural competence is an important goal in translator education. (Leppihalme 2011: 127).

Mikhailov (2011) points out that defining realia on the basis of unfamiliarity is far from simple. Should we include those expressions that are challenging for all members of the TT audience, or just the ones that are challenging to understand for some of them? Some cultures are already more alike than others. Which foreign expressions people are familiar with does not depend solely on the viewers' culture, but also on their age and their educational level (Mikhailov 2011:2).

Pedersen (2011:106-110) takes this aspect into account by listing *transculturality* as one of seven parameters that affect how ECRs are rendered into the target text. According to Pedersen (2011: 106): "the degree of Transculturality of an ECR ... decides how easily an ECR can be accessed by the ST and TT audiences, respectively, through their encyclopaedic or intertextual knowledge."

Pedersen (2011: 106-110) divides ECRs between transcultural, *monocultural* and *infracultural* ECRs. In this categorization the referent of a Transcultural ECR can originate from either SC or TC or even from some third culture. In my research data examples of these would include ECRs such as Michelangelo

and other names of famous painters that appear in the scene of LO where Rähä is playing a quiz with her mother through phone. References to Italian renaissance painters do not create a translation problem, since they are accessible also to those members of the audience who lack knowledge of Finnish culture. However, Pedersen (2011:107) reminds us that Transcultural ECR does not have to be accessible in all cultures. What matters is the accessibility between the cultures involved in the translation in question.

The type of references my study mainly is about are called in Pedersen's (2011:107) terms Monocultural ECRs. These are references that are easily identifiable for most members of the SC audience, but due to differences in encyclopaedic knowledge cannot be expected to be so in the TC. Again, Pedersen (2011: 107) reminds us that despite of the name of the term, Monocultural ECR is not necessarily restricted to only one culture, but means that the item is accessible to only one of the two cultures involved in the translation. For example, many items in my data that refer to nature or lifestyle in Lapland, are easily accessible to most Nordic viewers, whether or not they speak Finnish or have deeper insight on Finnish culture in particular. However, since the target audience of my data is very international and diverse, the translator cannot expect them to be familiar with those same ECRs.

Pedersen's (2011: 108) last category is called Infracultural ECRs, meaning the type of ECRs that are bound to the SC, but that are too specialized or local to be considered as the part of encyclopaedic knowledge of SC audience. Therefore, they may be understood by only some of the SC viewers. However, according to Pedersen (2011:108) "Infracultural ECRs would not cause translation problems, as they would be accessible intra-diegetically through the ST." Which ECRs belong to which category depends highly on the target audience as well as the genre of the film. The subtitler needs to consider their choices based on the expected cultural literacy of the target audience and even then they can only cater for the majority, since people are individuals (Pedersen, 2011: 108).

2.2 Semantic categorization of ECRs

Since ECRs can be almost anything culture-related that lack equivalence in the target language, many scholars have attempted to create semantic categories as exhaustive as possible to help describing the phenomenon. Therefore, in this section I will present the theoretical background used in creating the semantic domains used in my analysis. Different scholars have divided ECRs into categories in terms of their semantic properties. These categories can be general or specific depending on how thorough

semantic distinctions are considered necessary. For instance, in Shuttleworth & Cowie's (1997) *Dictionary of Translation Studies* the entry related to *realia* divides them according to their semantic properties as follows:

- a) geographical and ethnographical (e.g. *mistral*, *Hakka*),
- b) folkloric and mythological (e.g. *Baba Yaga*, *leprechaun*),
- c) everyday items (e.g. *hurdy-gurdy*, *rupee*) and
- d) sociohistorical (e.g. *Bezirk*, *Infanta*).

The categorization is very wide and general and yet there can be overlapping in some categories. For example drawing the distinction between *ethnographical*, *folkloric* and *sociohistorical* could potentially be difficult with culture-specific phenomena and concepts such as *pääsiäiskokko* 'Easter bonfire' and other similar traditions that have their roots in folklore, but have evolved into a custom which could be perceived from sociohistorical or ethnographical perspective. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:211) has opted for a more thorough categorization. She offers four main categories, which are further divided as follows:

1. Geography
 - a. Geography, meteorology, biology
mountains, weather, flora and fauna (e.g. *Ylläs-tunturi*, *pyry*, *hilla*, *poro*)
 - b. Cultural geography
regions, towns, (e.g. *Kittilä*, *Pohjanmaa*, *Lappi*)
2. History
 - a. Buildings
castles, monuments etc. (e.g. *Helsingin olympiastadion*)
 - b. Events
wars, flag days (e.g. *talvisota*, *Suomen itsenäisyyspäivä*)
 - c. People
well-known historical persons (e.g. *Urho Kekkonen*, *Mikael Agricola*)
3. Society
 - a. industrial level (economy)
trade and industry, energy supply, etc. (e.g. *Valkeakosken paperitehdas*, *Turun telakka*)
 - b. social organization
judicial system, police, local and central authorities (e.g. *käräjäoikeus*, *keskusrikospoliisi*)
 - c. politics
electoral system, political parties, political organisations, (e.g. *Perussuomalaiset*, *taistolaisuus*)

- d. social conditions
subcultures, groups, living conditions, (e.g *juntit, syrjäytyneet nuoret*)
- e. ways of life, customs
food, transport, housing, articles for everyday use (e.g *saunaolut, mämmi, potkukelkka*)

4. Culture

- a. religion
churches, rituals, morals (e.g *evangelisluterilainen kirkko, herätysliikkeet*)
- b. education
schools, lines of education, exams (e.g *peruskoulu, ylioppilaskokeet*)
- c. media
TV, radio, newspapers (e.g *Helsingin Sanomat, Yle Areena*)
- d. culture, leisure activities
musicians, works of art, sports (e.g *lavatanssit, suomi-iskelmä, mäkihyppy*)

Despite being the most detailed taxonomy of the three presented here, Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 210) admits that her taxonomy is far from exhaustive. However, she has tried to combine into her typology the various culture-bound problem types mentioned by different authors. Her taxonomy is also rather straightforward and based on more tangible semantic differences than the one described in Shuttleworth & Cowie's (1997) dictionary.

Pedersen's extensive research (2011) is focused on extralinguistic cultural references in the context of audiovisual translation, more specifically in subtitling. Pedersen (2011) prefers to call his categories *domains*, but their functions are the same: they refer to the semantic fields or networks an ECR belongs to, such as 'geographical names', 'government' or 'proper names'. "The domain name could be regarded as the top hypernym of the ECRs in that domain" (Pedersen, 2011: 58) According to Pedersen (2011:59), domains can be used to "explain subtitling regularities". He reminds that there is much evidence that domains affect how an ECR is rendered in a TT, since they are often listed in prescriptive guidelines for subtitlers. (Pedersen, 2011: 59). However, he adds that lists of ECR domains are not taxonomies in the sense that they are not hierarchical. The semantic fields between different domains may overlap and a multifunctional ECR may belong to a more than one domain. (Pedersen, 2011: 60-61) Pedersen (2011) divides ECRs into twelve different domains:

1. Weights and measures (e.g. *100 yards*)
2. Proper names, subdivided into
 - i. Personal names (e.g. *Truman Capote*)
 - ii. Geographical names (e.g. *the Allegheny*)
 - iii. Institutional names (e.g. *National Health Service*)
 - iv. Brand names (e.g. *Morris Minor*)
3. Professional titles (e.g. *Detective Sergeant*)

4. Food and beverages (e.g. *Linzer torts*)
 5. Literature (e.g. *“Never Love a Stranger”*)
 6. Government (e.g. *the Foreign Office*)
 7. Entertainment (e.g. *Coney Island*)
 8. Education (e.g. *college degrees*)
 9. Sports (e.g. *the pitcher mound*)
 10. Currency (e.g. *2 billion dollars*)
 11. Technical material (e.g. *a double Alberti feedback loop*)
 12. Other
- (Pedersen, 2011: 59 – 60)

Pedersen (2011:59) has built the list above based on his corpus material. According to him, there are many different ways to construct a list of semantic categories for ECRs, depending which aspects one wants to emphasize. Interestingly, neither Pedersen nor Nedergaard-Larsen have included *folklore and mythology* as its own category, although it served as one of the main four categories in the taxonomy of Shuttleworth & Cowie’s (1997) dictionary. This proves that the categories are often made for the needs of each specific research material.

Pedersen (2011) adds that some semantic overlap cannot be avoided while creating the domains, but that overlap does not decrease the explanatory power of the categories. According to Pedersen the overlap may also be a result of what he calls an embedded ECR: an ECR that nests inside a noun phrase that creates another ECR (Pedersen, 2011:60 – 61). In my data, there were few cases of embedded ECRs, where a geographical name was embedded into an ECR referring to a type of a building. This has resulted in the use of more than one translation strategy to render the noun phrase ECR in the TT. I will give examples of these in Section 5.3.8.

The amount of data as well as its semantic diversity in my study is significantly smaller than that of Pedersen’s vast research. Pedersen’s Scandinavian Subtitles Corpus includes 205 (241 if the Norwegian material is included) target texts from 93 different translators (Pedersen, 2011: 129) whereas my research only consists of two target texts from a single translator. Therefore using the same twelve domains would have been gratuitous. Instead, I used the twelve as a model and created a list of eight domains, which I will be using in my study. These eight domains were chosen based on my research data. I used Pedersen’s classification as a model, but excluded domains, which did not seem to be represented in my data. I also combined some of the Pedersen’s semantic categories into a single broader domain to ensure that even the less represented domains will include several findings. Since both personal and geographical names seem to be frequent in my data, I decided to include them as separate domains, even though in Pedersen’s classification they are merely subdomains under the main category *Proper names*. I also added the category *Commercial names and brands*, since those

were rather frequent as well in my data. Out of the total twelve listed above, findings for domains such as *Food and beverages* were sparse in my data. Therefore, I decided to include them into the last category *Other*. Finally, the nine chosen domains are broad enough, so that every domain will include more than one ECR, but specific enough to reveal how the ECRs in my data are divided in terms of semantic fields.

The domains included in this study are:

1. Measures (e.g. *20 marks*)
2. Personal names and nicknames (e.g. *Raija, Kymppileveli*)
3. Geographical names (e.g. *Kokkola, Ylläs*)
4. Commercial names (e.g. *Lasol, Askin talli*)
5. Attitudes, mindset and lifestyle (e.g. *“amis” subculture*)
6. Buildings (e.g. *Halkokarin tanssilava*)
7. Nature and climate (e.g. *kaira, tunturin tuuli*)
8. Other (e.g. *rinkeli*)

3. Audiovisual translation

Since the dawn of the movie industry, making audiovisual material accessible to people of different native languages has been a challenge that has differed from the needs of literary translation. The predecessor of audiovisual translation were the intertitles of silent films. However, the significance of the language of the film dialogue grew once the “talking movies” were invented and studios needed to find ways to translate their products into other languages (Díaz Cintas, 2008: 2). In addition to *dubbing* (replacing the SL audio with TL audio produced by TL actors) and *subtitling* (showing compact translation of the spoken SL dialogue as lines of TL text on the bottom of the screen), until the mid-1930s the selection of available translation methods included producing multi-lingual versions of the films. However, the method was soon given up, and later methods such as voice-over, narration and surtitling emerged. The number of different forms of multimedia products have expanded dramatically in the last few decades, creating new translation needs, such as video game localization. More and more audiovisual material is being produced not only to speakers of different languages, but also to people of different special needs. Films and TV series are being made accessible to everyone through subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing, audio description and audio subtitling for the blind and the partially sighted, as well as signed language interpreting (Díaz Cintas, 2008: 2).

In the context of film translation however, dubbing and subtitling have remained as the two most common forms of audiovisual translation currently used. Their use varies between different linguistic areas. In Europe, countries such as France, Germany, Italy and Spain have a strong tradition of dubbing due to the high number of native language speakers, which makes the relatively high cost practice worthwhile. Meanwhile, all Nordic countries, Portugal and the Netherlands, together with other countries with relatively small language groups, tend to rely on more cost-efficient practice of subtitling (Hartama, 2007: 149 – 150). According to Díaz Cintas (2010), subtitling is the most commonly used mode of audiovisual translation, mainly because it is cheap and fast. In the Handbook of Translation Studies, Díaz Cintas (2010: 344) defines subtitling as follows:

Subtitling consists in rendering in writing the translation into a TL of the original dialogue exchanges uttered by the different speakers, as well as of all other verbal information that is transmitted visually (letter, banners, inserts) or aurally (lyrics, voices off).

There is a linguistic dimension that makes subtitling different from other types of translation. As discussed by Díaz Cintas (2010), each subtitle is required to be semantically self-contained, since the viewers cannot go back in the text in order to retrieve information, like when reading a book. Often the dialogue is so fast, that reductions need to be made and therefore only the most relevant

information can be translated into a concise utterance. Decisions of which information to include in the subtitles, should be based on the overall message and what parts of it can be conveyed through the image. Furthermore, characteristics of speech, such as non-standard forms of speech or swearwords are often neutralized in subtitles (Díaz Cintas 2010). The technical constraints such as limitations on the time and space available for the text being displayed on the screen, are essential when translating the original dialogue into a written form. Next, I will discuss some of the most important technical aspects that affect subtitling process.

3.1 Technical aspects in subtitling

As discussed above, subtitling differs from other types of written translation in that it is available for the audience only a sentence or two at a time. Whereas a reader of a book can always return to the previous pages if they feel lost, a viewer reading subtitles cannot do that. I will now discuss the essential spatial and temporal constraints concerning subtitling and their effects on the subtitler's choices. As Pedersen (2011:19) points out that the number of words is not what is truly relevant when it comes to the spatial constraints in subtitling. Instead, the issue rests upon the fact that there is a maximum amount of characters that can fit into the two lines that are usually used for subtitles. In subtitling:

a 'character' could be defined as any visible result produced by pressing a keyboard key. This means that in subtitling, e.g. commas, full stops, dashes, exclamation marks and blank spaces are also characters. (Pedersen, 2011: 19)

According to Pedersen (2011:19), the number of characters that fit into the space depends on few factors, such as whether or not the subtitles include capitalized letters or italics. Pedersen (2011:19) notes that even though current Scandinavian guidelines set the maximum in 35 characters, according to the findings Pedersen has made in his corpus research, lines with as many characters as 42 have been used, whereas older subtitles tend to stay within 28 – 32 characters per line. (Pedersen, 2011:19).

Pedersen's findings are in line with Finnish public broadcasting company Yleisradio's guidelines, which according to Vertanen (2007:151) used to set the limit in about 30 characters per line, but in 2006 extended it into the average of 33 characters per line. Vertanen adds that the Finnish commercial TV channels MTV3 and Nelonen seem to prefer slightly longer lines in their subtitles, making their average about 34 characters per line. The translator of my research data Aretta Vähälä (2018) states that she

has followed the maximum of 35 – 37 characters per line. Although she adds, that the safest choice is to keep the line in 34 – 35 characters to eliminate any risk of subtitles not showing on the screen. “Of course, by doing that you lose two or three potential characters per line.” (Vähälä, 2018)

Since the dialogue of the film may often proceed in fast pace, the temporal constraints play equally great role in the process of creating successful subtitles. The subtitles need to stay on the screen long enough for the audience to have time to read them, but not lag behind too much compared to the spoken dialogue of the film. Vertanen (2007:152) reminds, that the subtitles should follow the rhythm of the dialogue and be similar in “weight”. For example, long speeches should not be translated into short, simple one-liners. Similarly, brief remarks do not work as heavy full two-liners (Vertanen, 2007:152). According to Vertanen (2007:151) in Yleisradio the exposure times of a full one-liner and a full two-liner are from two to three seconds and from four to five seconds, respectively. Theoretically, a minimum of one second is possible, whereas the maximum can be 30 seconds. However, in practice there is hardly ever reason for the exposure time to exceed 10 seconds (Vertanen, 2007:151). Considering the target audience of the subtitles is pivotal when determining the appropriate exposure times for each subtitle. According to Pedersen (2011: 20) different age demographics have different expected reading speeds and complex syntax as well as uncommon lexis require longer time for the audience to comprehend what they are reading. In addition, reading may be slowed by the visual content of the film: fast moving scenes may draw viewers’ attention away from the subtitles into the picture (Pedersen, 2011: 20).

In terms of the films in my research data, the expected audience is quite diverse. The subtitles are made primarily for showing the Finnish movies on international film festivals, where the audience may be from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds. According to Vähälä (2018), the same subtitles may also end up on the DVD copies of the film, although sometimes revised versions are made. Taking also the DVD distribution into account makes it even harder for the translator to evaluate the linguistic capabilities of the target audience. Vähälä (2018) states that she has simply followed similar exposure times that are in use in Finnish television. Vähälä uses the subtitling software Spot, which gives a default reading speed of 13 characters per second. (Vähälä, 2018).

The technical constraints described above require omitting various elements from the original spoken dialogue that are not essential for understanding the plot. Vertanen (2007: 152) reveals, that names and titles of people as well as place names are often omitted in scenes where the audience is already familiar with the characters and where the scenes take place. The need for condensation obviously depends on the pace and amount of the dialogue. According to Pedersen (2011: 20) the number of

elements that are omitted does not equal the amount of information that is lost from the audience, since “the viewers are compensated through other [semiotic] channels” The different semiotic channels in film and their significance for the audience will be further explored in the next chapter. According to Díaz Cintas (2010) the traditional subtitling practices are being challenged nowadays by the viewer’s increased skills in reading audiovisual translations as well as technically developing subtitling programmes that allow proportioned lettering, giving translators more latitude on how many characters can be fitted on the lines.

3.2 Multimodality in subtitling

In most films there are four different channels through which viewers receive information simultaneously. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 213) calls these channels *visual* and *acoustic signs*, which are both divided into verbal and non-verbal channels. Acoustic signs describe the ways of conveying information to the viewer through audio whereas visual signs cover both visual types of presenting information. According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) subtitles are verbal visual signs that are added on top of these four already existing channels of information.

Table 1. *Visual and acoustic signs*

verbal visual	road signs etc. texts that appear in the film	non-verbal visual	non-verbal visual elements of the film
verbal acoustic	spoken dialogue of the film	non-verbal acoustic	music and sound effects

Furthermore, Perego (2009) reminds us that in audiovisual translation, the ST is a text written to be spoken, which is translated back into a written text. This so-called *diamesic shift* also has an effect on the subtitles, which tend to follow the rules of written code instead of oral code. (Perego, 2009: 63-64)

In an audiovisual product such as film, information can be conveyed through all the four channels mentioned above. In dialogue messages are not expressed only through words, but also through

paralinguistic features that affect the way verbal message is interpreted. According to Perego (2009) *paralanguage* means both auditory, non-verbal features like intonation as well as non-auditory gestures and body movements (kinesics) and physical distance (proxemics). For example, the speaker's facial gestures can help to interpret whether they were joking or trying to be sarcastic. The same way intonation might reveal if something was in fact meant as a question, even if the words alone would not suggest so. Similarly, a character in a film might express aggressive behavior or eagerness through body movements in as much as through words. Therefore, just hearing or being able to read the verbal content of the dialogue is not always enough to interpret the whole message as the speaker intended it. However, the subtitler only has one semiotic channel available for the translation: written language. Thus, semantic content may have to be shifted or added from one semiotic channel into another, to ensure coherent and intelligible translation.

According to Perego (2009: 59), there are four different types of shifts the subtitler may need to take into account, when translating a film:

1. Paralinguistic - > verbal,

For example, trying to convey humor through word choices, if the speaker's gestures suggest that he is trying to be amusing.

2. Spoken language - > written language

For example, omissions and syntactical changes might be required to fit the translation of a spoken message into a concise written subtitle.

3. Image -> verbal language

Occurs especially in audio subtitling for the blind and the partially sighted, but also in some other cases where non-verbal information appearing on the screen is vital, but unfamiliar to the expected audience, it might be necessary to add it into the subtitles.

4. Sound effects -> verbal language

Occurs mainly in subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing, when both music and important sounds from each scene are added into the subtitles.

So, in order to convey the message well into a subtitle of another language, the translator must take into account a lot more than just what is said in the dialogue. However, although the subtitler only has written language in their use, that is not the case with the audience of the film. The matter described above is further complicated by the so-called *feed-back effect*. Since subtitles always appear on the screen together with the ST (audio-visual material), all the speakers' gestures and other visual elements on the screen, as well as the soundtrack of the film, interact with the subtitles. Therefore the audience can follow both ST and TT simultaneously and notice if they contradict each other. However,

the strength of the effect depends how familiar the audience is with the language of the ST (Nedergaard-Larsen, 1993: 213 – 214). Thus, using Gottlieb's terms, the strength of the feed-back effect often depends on whether the translation is "upstream" or "downstream". For example, many Finns with sufficient English skills can spot mistakes and omissions in the Finnish subtitles of English-speaking TV shows. Recognizing mistakes is likely to be more difficult for the same audience if the language of the TV show is less known to majority of the viewers.

Gottlieb (2009:24) argues that the fact that the other semiotic channels (both visual and acoustic signs) are present simultaneously with the translation, means that "the translations of commercial film and TV productions would be expected to stay near the source-oriented pole" on the source-oriented – target-oriented axis. "This source-orientation should be especially pronounced in subtitling, as no part of the original work is replaced, and subtitles are added to the original and presented in sync with the dialogue" (Gottlieb, 2009: 24). Gottlieb (2009) goes on to list two fidelity triggers and two anti-fidelity factors that affect the subtitles' degree of fidelity to the ST. According to him, audience's knowledge of the source language as well as high status of the source language are likely to result in a more loyal, source-oriented translation. Whereas intersemiotic redundancy as well as compromises motivated by mixed audiences may pull the translator towards more target-oriented translation choices. (Gottlieb, 2009: 25) He sets the premise of his study to the assumption that the expected audience of the Danish films in question, for whom the English subtitles are made to, do not understand the source language, nor has the source language any special status in the target culture. Assumption, which is equally justified in the Finnish – English language pair of this current study.

Furthermore, Díaz Cintas (2008) comments on the different semiotic channels in film, pointing out the unbalance in importance between text and image. According to him both audience and film-makers seem to value the visual aspect of the film more than the dialogue or the script as a whole. His views are based on the priority given to visual special effects over good-quality scripts in major film productions as well as the plethora of literature available concerning the visual side of film-making as opposed to screenwriting or film translation (Díaz Cintas, 2008: 3). Díaz Cintas acknowledges the film-related research on audiovisual translation made by scholars such as Chaume and Remael. Nevertheless, he laments the lack of interdisciplinary research or academic courses concerning both fields. However, recent growing interest towards creative writing and screenwriting has made him hopeful, that text is starting to gain back its relevance against image (Díaz Cintas, 2008: 4).

3.2.1 Effects of multimodality to the translation of ECRs

The simultaneous use of all four signs together with added subtitles can cause some *redundancy* in the information received by the viewer. In this context, redundancy means that there is an overlap of the same information conveyed by the different channels. Since the viewer doesn't need all the channels in order to understand the message, some elements can be omitted from the subtitles. This helps to make such compact translation successful in a first place (Nedergaard-Larsen, 1993: 214). Together with time and space restrictions of the subtitles, the feed-back effect can either increase or decrease the cross-cultural translation problems when subtitling the film. According to Nedergaard-Larsen: "The feed-back effect is due - - - partly to the fact that the visuals may contain elements that supply the dialogue. - - - In some situations the subtitler will have to depart from an otherwise suitable translation strategy because of the feed-back effect." She continues to point out that other times feed-back effect can also eliminate the translation problem, for example when the object mentioned is visible on the screen and can therefore be left out from the dialogue. (Nedergaard-Larsen, 1993: 214)

However, as Perego (2009) points out, in order to convey the audiovisual message accurately into a written form as well as into another language, image, soundtrack or paralinguistic features of the speakers may require more explicit formulation of the message into the subtitles than the spoken dialogue alone would suggest. Since many visual paralinguistic features such as intonation and gestures are culture-specific, we can assume this can potentially affect the translation of ECRs as well. Therefore, in my analysis the ST doesn't consist solely of the films' dialogues as represented by the dialogue lists, but rather completed by the films' audiovisual material. I will need to take into account the possible ECRs that are present in the ST in non-verbal form and therefore may or may not be present in the subtitles. This requires careful analysis of the visuals as well as the soundtrack of the films.

3.2.2 Modal categorization of ECRs

Apart from the semantic variation among the ECRs, I also wanted to acknowledge the audiovisual nature of my research data and the modal differences represented by the channels of communication through which the ECRs are conveyed. To examine the phenomenon in its entirety and compare the different modes through which it manifests itself, I found it useful to make a distinction also between the different modes ECRs appear in my data. Multimodality of an audiovisual ST makes it more complex to analyze than traditional written ST, since not all ECRs appear in verbal (written or spoken) form in the ST. Therefore, I have decided to divide my findings into three different categories based on the

mode in which the ECR appears in the audiovisual ST. The first two categories are based on the dialogue of the film and the third on the visual material of the two films. These three categories are:

1. Explicit ECRs

This category refers to the ECRs that are expressed verbally and explicitly in the dialogue of the films. For example proper names (e.g. *Räihä, Olli*) and common nouns referring to culture-specific items (e.g. *aitta*) and phenomena (e.g. *pikkujoulukausi*) that appear in the dialogue belong to this group. It is the most common form of ECRs in my material.

2. Implicit ECRs

Under this category, I have collected the ECRs which come across verbally and implicitly in the dialogue of the films. The category includes everything from Finnish attitudes and customs, represented through the characters behavior and reactions, to objects and buildings, that would fall into explicit category if they were named directly in the dialogue. In addition, the “implicitness” of the ECRs in this category is based solely on their occurrence in the dialogue and their visual representation on the screen can vary significantly. Identifying the implicit ECRs requires more interpretation than explicit ECRs, but nevertheless they may equally puzzle a member of the target audience unfamiliar with Finnish culture. Implicit ECRs may also include rather wide and complex cultural phenomena, and in order to translate or explain them in most cases more space would be required than the traditional subtitling allows to use. In my research material, implicit ECRs include phenomena such as in LO Little-Mickey giving the protagonists a permission to keep their shoes on while entering his house. In the dialogue the implicit ECR is conveyed through a line “Ei tartte kenkiä ko mulla käypi täällä siivooja” and subtitled as “No need to take your shoes off. I have a cleaner.” The scene is self-evident for Finnish audience, who are used to the custom of taking their shoes off when entering someone’s house unless a permission is given to keep them on. However, for viewers who are used to keeping their shoe on at home, such a permission may seem odd. In addition, mentioning the cleaner may have different connotations depending the audience’s cultural background. Since in Finland hiring cleaners is not that common among average taxpayers, Finns are likely to deduce that by mentioning the cleaner Pikku-Mikko is quite well-off and not shy to show it. In many countries hiring domestic help is however common among several social classes, so some foreign viewers may not catch the boastful sense of the scene.

The exact number of implicit ECRs in the source text is rather difficult to count. The films are full of more or less subtle references to phenomena that can be considered culture-specific to some extent. The demarcation of the research subject is potentially vague. Since the scope of this research is limited, I have included only the most obvious and relevant cases, that I have chosen based on my cultural knowledge.

3. Visual ECRs

Finally, the third category includes ECRs that appear solely in visual form in the film and are not referred to in any way in the dialogue. This category includes both non-verbal visual ECRs as well as captions appearing in the film. Many of these ECRs are easy to miss by those viewers who also need to read the subtitles, since some of them only appear on the screen for a second or two. This category includes items such as northern lights appearing above the lake, kick sled gliding by itself due to the strong wind and the “Jämä alkaa” defaced built-up area road sign in LO.

Both first and second category include ECRs that appear the ST in verbal acoustic mode through the original spoken dialogue, but they may additionally appear in verbal visual form in the subtitles. Furthermore, ECRs belonging to the second category may be accompanied by visual features such as gestures or other behavioral elements of the film characters to suggest certain culture-specific attitude or habit. I will not discuss such features in too much detail in this paper, in order to keep the focus of the paper in ECRs instead of human communication and behavior.

Theoretically, fourth category for solely non-verbal acoustic ECRs could have been added into this classification. However, identifying and analyzing culture-specific sounds and noises would not be worthwhile in the scope of this research. Therefore, I have decided to leave the category out of my analysis. However, I will briefly discuss the culture-specificity of the film soundtracks in Section 5.5.

4. Translation strategies for ECRs

There are several different strategies translators may choose from, when translating ECRs into another language. Many scholars have created their own taxonomies of those strategies based on where they are located in the domestication – foreignization axis. The terminology as well as the number of categories vary between different scholars, but the phenomena they depict are more or less the same.

4.1 Leppihalme's classification

Leppihalme (2001: 140) has created her taxonomy of ECR translation strategies from the premise of teaching. She makes a distinction between global strategies, that apply the text as a whole and local strategies, which refer to specific points in the text. According to Leppihalme (2001:140) the individual strategies used for translating ECRs in the text need to be in-line with the overall goal the translator has: whether they are aiming towards foreignizing or domesticating translation. The first category listed by Leppihalme (2001: 141) is *Direct transfer*, which refers to the strategy of using the foreign word in its original form in the TT. It may include minor changes in spelling or pronunciation, and sometimes the word may be marked with italics. Leppihalme states that names of people and places are often transferred directly into the translation apart from names that have established target language versions, such as Firenze/ Florence. In addition, proper names in children's literature allow more creativity in terms of how names are translated. (Leppihalme, 2001: 141).

Leppihalme's second category is *Calque* or loan translation. The widely used term in translation studies means that each element of the ST ECR has been translated literally into the TT. Leppihalme (2001:141–142) notes that calques are particularly important in introducing new concepts into Finnish language. Since English is the dominant language of politics and global culture, new phenomena tend to be named first in English. While translating the news however, the need for Finnish terms is evident to make new phenomena comprehensible for non-English speakers. (Leppihalme, 2001: 142) As an example, Leppihalme gives *NATO's eastward expansion* which has turned into *Naton itälaajentuminen* in Finnish.

Third category by Leppihalme (2001:142) is *Cultural adaptation*. In this domesticating strategy, instead of semantic equivalence the aim is to achieve the same connotations and associations as the ST expression generates. Reference to a person or phenomenon that the target audience is not likely to recognize is replaced with something similar in the TC. By using this strategy for example *Hyde Park Corner* may be translated as *Esplanadin kulma* (Leppihalme, 2001:142). Leppihalme notes that the

strategy is particularly useful when trying to achieve humorous effect. She also adds that the need for adaptation decreases through time when the target audience becomes more and more familiar with the SC of the texts they read. That is evident also in Leppihalme's (2001:142) example of cultural adaptation, where *Oprah Winfrey* has been translated into *Hermunen* in the Finnish TT. What may have been reasonable translation choice in the 1990s, is not comprehensible anymore in the same TC. I do not think many Finns born after 1995 remember who Hermunen is, but Oprah Winfrey has remained topical and is nowadays relatively well-known figure at least to those who follow American pop-culture.

Another strategy to render ECRs according to Leppihalme (2001:143) is the use of *Superordinate term*. Leppihalme (2001: 143) states that by turning the item into something less specific may cause a flattening effect on the TT. However, it can be a convenient way to achieve close semantic equivalence, while helping the target audience to understand the meaning better. For example many Finnish brand names are not familiar abroad. In LO during a confrontation with some men from other town, the characters joke about drinking Lasol and going blind as a result. Finns are very familiar with Lasol as a product and its connotations in the context of alcoholism, but since Lasol is a Finnish brand, foreigners most likely would not understand what exactly is being referred to (especially since no such fluids are present in the picture, but only mentioned verbally). Therefore, the translator has decided to use Superordinate term and instead of specific brand just use the term 'windshield wiper fluid', as unfortunately long as it is for subtitles.

Leppihalme (2001:143) defines the fifth category, *Explicitation*, as "explanatory changes made in the text itself - - - (which) can involve the replacement of the source-text lexical element by another word or phrase that makes the source-text meaning clearer." Her examples include ECRs such as *Victoria*, which is made more explicit in Finnish as *Victorian asema* 'Victoria station' and *The Blitz* which is turned into *Lontoon pommitus* 'the bombing of London'. However, Leppihalme (2001:143) notes that explicitation might irritate those members of the target audience who are familiar with the SC, but the more foreign the SC seems, the more the strategy seems to be needed. In addition, explicitation often lengthens the TT and may flatten it out just a superordinate term does. Furthermore, it does not help with rendering the correct connotations into the TC (Leppihalme, 2001:143).

The penultimate category by Leppihalme (2001:144) is *Addition*. She uses the term quite differently compared to Pedersen (2011: 80). By this term Leppihalme (2001:144) refers to additions made outside the text itself (i.e. glossaries, translator's notes or translator's prefaces). This strategy allows retaining the ECRs in their original form in the text and then offering quite thorough explanations of

them in the glossary without disrupting the fluency of the text. However, despite being frequently used in translation of literature, for media-related reasons the strategy is not often used in subtitling. Finally, Leppihalme's (2001:145) last category is *Omission*. She states that among contemporary literary translators in Finland omission is often considered as the last resort and only used to remove some of the details instead of longer pieces of information. This again is true, but limited mostly to literary translation. In audiovisual translation omission is much more frequent due to spatial and temporal restrictions, as will be further discussed in Chapter 3.1. Leppihalme (2001:145) argues that "cultural distance makes very detailed specificity unnecessary". However, in audiovisual translation, the crucial information and the level of details that need to be included in the translation for it to be intelligible is decided based on the interplay between the text and the visual content of the film. In my research data omissions include mostly frequently repeated items and other information that is not the most relevant in terms of understanding the plot. In LO there are few scenes where the audience can hear car radio broadcast overlapping with the characters dialogue. In those scenes the dialogue is given priority and the broadcast is omitted from the subtitles.

4.2 Pedersen's classification

Pedersen's (2011: 75) taxonomy consists of seven main categories, out of which first three (Retention, Specification and Direct Translation) he classifies as source oriented and the last three (Generalization, Substitution and Omission) as target oriented. In addition, there is Official Equivalent, which Pedersen (2011:75) has placed outside these six categories, because its use is not so much a linguistic choice made by the translator, but rather a decision based on official decrees set by authorities concerning the ECR. According to Pedersen (2011: 97) conversion of measurements is one example where translators are expected to follow the established system of the TC. Therefore, feet are translated into metres in both Denmark and in Finland.

The most source-oriented category according to Pedersen (2011: 77) is *Retention*. He further divides the category between *Complete Retention* meaning the items that are rendered into the TT exactly in the same form they appeared in the ST, and *TL-adjusted Retention*, where minor adjustments have been made for example to the spelling, to meet the TL conventions (Pedersen, 2011: 77). Furthermore, Complete Retention can be either marked or unmarked amongst the otherwise TL text. In Retention no parts of the ECR is changed from one language to another and therefore Pedersen notes that as a strategy Retention offers "no guidance whatsoever to the TT audience". Nevertheless, according to him, it is the most common strategy used for rendering ECRs (Pedersen, 2011: 78). It is unclear

however, whether this statement refers exclusively on Danish and Swedish subtitles in Pedersen's corpus, or can be applied to Finnish context as well.

The second most source-oriented strategy in Pedersen's taxonomy is the *Specification*. It refers to a strategy, which coincides in most parts with Leppihalme's Explicitation. Pedersen (2011: 79) notes that he decided to avoid using the term Explicitation, since some scholars use it in a broader way to refer to any type of categories that explain the ST item. In Pedersen's Specification the ECR is retained in its original form, but additional information is provided to assist the TL reader. This category is subdivided into *Completion* and *Addition*. The first one describes cases where the original expression is made more explicit for the target audience by for example spelling out acronyms or completing names that were used in abbreviated form in the ST. So, the original ECR is completed with elements that were latent in the ST ECR. In my research data, an example of this would be rendering the original *Rolho* into more explicit *Rovaniemi* in the TT of LO. In the strategy Addition the elements added into the ECR are not part of the name, but rather related to the sense or connotations of the ECR, for example adding profession or title to the name. Furthermore, they are added in TL instead of the SL (Pedersen, 2011: 80). Despite its name, Pedersen's Addition should not be confused with Leppihalme's (2001:144) category called Addition, which refers to additions made outside the text.

As Pedersen points out (2011:82) due to the multimodal context of subtitling, Specification may result in redundancy, when the audience can interpret the same information added in the ECR from the visual or aural components of the scene. I will go deeper in multimodality and redundancy in Chapter 3.2. Pedersen's (2011:83) last source-oriented category is called *Direct Translation*. Again, instead of using Calque as a main category like Leppihalme (2001:141) did, Pedersen has placed it as a subcategory of Direct Translation along with *Shifted Direct Translation*. In Pedersen's classification Calque refers to an ECR which is translated literally word by word resulting in an expression which may sound foreign to the TT audience despite being in their language. (Pedersen, 2011: 83 – 84) An example of this would be translating *giving back* into Finnish as *takaisin antaminen* (Airbnb.fi, 2018) when referring to voluntary work or charity project as a way for privileged people to give their time or money for the benefit of a society or a minority. The meaning of the term will be lost from Finns unless they recognize its English origin. In Shifted Direct Translation the same word-by-word translation takes place, but in addition it may include optional changes for example in the word order, which often leads into a more idiomatic result. This way Direct translation can be considered either a source-oriented or target-oriented strategy, depending on each individual result (Pedersen, 2011: 84). According to Pedersen (2011:83) the strategy includes no alteration of the original semantic content of the ECR. Neither does it aim for rendering similar connotations from the SL to the TL.

Instead of listing Superordinate term as a main category like Leppihalme (2001: 143) did, Pedersen (2011: 85) prefers to place it under his first target-oriented strategy: *Generalization*. In addition to *Superordinate term*, the main category also includes *Paraphrase*, which Leppihalme (2001) does not cover at all in her taxonomy. Pedersen (2011:85) defines the use of Superordinate term as replacing the ECR with a translated hypernym or holonym (a term denoting a whole in a part – whole – relationship). For example in LO the *aitta* of the ST has been translated into *a storehouse* in the TT. *Aitta* is indeed a type of a building meant for storage, but also used for accommodation during summer season. The translation is much more general in its meaning and could refer to a contemporary construction as well. It does not carry the same connotations of history as the ST ECR does, since aittas are no longer used extensively as a storage of agricultural products in Finland and are mainly preserved as objects of cultural heritage. Superordinate terms are not only used to help the audience understand what is being referred to, but can also be used to simply find a shorter expression to fit into the space available for the subtitle (Pedersen, 2011:89). Paraphrase on the other hand removes the ECR, but retains its sense and connotations (Pedersen, 2011:88 – 89). A good example of this strategy is translating *valmistua kortistoon* ‘to graduate to the unemployment register’ as *be successfully unemployed* (LO). The translation is both semantically correct and the same time the irony of the use of verb “graduate” with a positive tone has been retained in the equally ironic use of positive adverbial “successfully”. Pedersen (2011: 88–89) notes that compared to the ST ECR the Paraphrase may vary in length as well as complexity and is often used to solve the most complicated culture-specific translation problems.

Furthermore, *Substitution* constitutes a translation strategy considered target-oriented in Pedersen’s classification. Unlike Leppihalme’s equivalent strategy, Pedersen has made a distinction between *Cultural* and *Situational Substitution* (Pedersen, 2011:89). The first subcategory involves replacing the original ECR of the ST with either a Transcultural ECR or a TC ECR that the target audience is likely to be more familiar with. In Pedersen’s (2011: 91) example of the Cultural Substitution with Transcultural ECR the Danish subtitler has replaced the ST ECR “The Three Stooges” with “Laurel and Hardy”, because the latter is much more familiar to Danish audience. Pedersen comments that the TT ECR is equally credible, since both entertainment groups are from the same era and even from the same SC. Even though using ECRs from the TC may be possible within the strategy and a neat way to convey similar connotations which the audience will surely understand, putting those words in the mouth of a character from the SC may cause some credibility issues, as Pedersen points out (2011: 91–92). However, according to Pedersen (2011: 93) using TC ECRs is not rare when translating for example institutional names, food items or terms related to government and education. In this cases the

Cultural Substitution has created established translation solutions, but not as invariable as Official Equivalents (Pedersen, 2011: 93).

In *Situational Substitution* the ST ECR is replaced with something else that fits the situation, but has no connection whatsoever to the ST ECR. According to Pedersen (2011: 95–96) if the target audience lacks the necessary encyclopaedic knowledge required to understand anything of the ST ECR, it can be entirely removed together with its connotations. Instead of omission however, something else can be added to make the dialogue intelligible. In his example from *Spy Hard* there is an ECR, which refers to CBS comedy series *Gilligan's Island* and is meant as a joke based on a collocation familiar to American audience. However, *Gilligan's Island* never aired in Sweden and therefore, a direct translation of a reply to a question concerning the professor's whereabouts, which in ST goes "With Gilligan!", would only confuse Swedish audience. Instead, the subtitle states *Med professorskan*. 'With his wife', which has no actual connection with the ST, but otherwise fits the context. In Pedersen's classification *Omission* is considered as the most target-oriented strategy of them all. Pedersen states:

Depending on your point of view, Omission can be the most target-oriented strategy available, as it stops a problematic foreign item from entering the TT in any form at all. On the other hand, it can be seen as an alternative to all the other baseline strategies, as it involves doing nothing, as opposed to doing something.

(Pedersen, 2011:96)

All in all, Pedersen (2011: 96) argues that Omission can sometimes be a smart translation choice in situations where no other strategy seems to work, or a strategy the translator resorts to out of laziness.

Finally, in the following table, I have gathered both taxonomies of translation strategies discussed above. In addition, although Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) and Gottlieb (2009) have not expounded their definitions for each strategy the way Leppihalme (2001) and Pedersen (2011) have, I have added their taxonomies in the Table 2 to offer a wider range of different taxonomies for comparison. Both Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) and Gottlieb (2009) have covered audiovisual translation in their research, so their taxonomies are just as relevant for my research topic as the one by Pedersen. The categories in the table are all organized roughly by their degree of ST – TT –orientation starting from the most ST-oriented strategies and moving down to the TT-oriented ones, in the respective order they are listed in their original sources. However, not all of the scholars make clear distinction between the strategies according to their ST or TT fidelity, so the order of each category on the continuum should not be regarded as exact. As a basis for this table, I have used the one created by Gottlieb (2009: 31). However, with Leppihalme's and Pedersen's taxonomies, I chose to use newer versions than those, which were

presented in the Gottlieb’s table. In addition, unlike in his version, I decided not to show each strategy’s degree of fidelity to the source text in my table, since not all scholars were explicit about their views concerning that aspect.

The table shows primarily the main categories of each taxonomy. Both Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) and Pedersen (2011) divide their category Adaptation to TL-culture/ Substitution between situational and cultural adaptation. In addition, Nedegaard-Larsen divides her first category “Transfer” into two subcategories: *identity/exotism* and *imitation*. However, I decided to leave these out of the table, along with most Pedersen’s other subcategories, because they are not really relevant for the limited scope of my research. After all, the main goal of the table is to offer a simple way of comparing the different taxonomies in a general level. However, as an exception I decided to show Pedersen’s subcategories *Superordinate term* and *Paraphrase*, because they will be applied in my analysis and are therefore more relevant than the rest of the subcategories in the context of this study.

Table 2. Strategies for translating ECRs.

Nedergaard-Larsen (1993)	Leppihalme (2001)	Gottlieb (2009)	Pedersen (2011)
1.Transfer/loan	1.Direct transfer	1. Retention	1. Retention
2.Direct translation	2. Calque (loan translation)	2. Literal translation	2. Specification
3. Explicitation	3. Explicitation	3. Specification	3. Direct translation
	4. Addition		
-	5. Superordinate term	4. Generalisation	4.Generalisation 4a. Superordinate term
4. Paraphrase	-	-	4b. Paraphrase
5. Adaptation to TL-culture	6. Cultural adaptation	5. Substitution	5. Substitution
6. Omission	7. Omission	6. Omission	6. Omission

I have decided to follow Pedersen’s model in my research, because out of these four options he has offered the most comprehensive view on subtitling strategies and has provided several different

examples of each category. So, finally the taxonomy of translation strategies I will be using in this study is:

1. *Retention*
ECR is retained unchanged or with minor changes in the spelling to adapt the requirements of the TL.
2. *Specification*
ECR in the TT is made more specific than the ST ECR by adding information, such as titles or completing acronyms.
3. *Direct translation*
Literal translation from one language to another without adding or reducing any semantic content.
4. *Generalization*
 - a. *Superordinate term*
Replacing an ECR referring to something specific with a hypernym or holonym.
 - b. *Paraphrase*
The ST ECR is removed, but its sense or relevant connotations are kept and reformed.
5. *Omission*
The ST ECR is left out completely from the TT.
6. *Official Equivalent*
The SC ECR has a ready-made TL equivalent either through common usage or through an administrative decision.

Although several of the scholars seem to have refined their taxonomies along the years, I decided to choose Pedersen's (2011) taxonomy, because his research data is rather similar to mine and his book *Subtitling Norms for Television* offers the most extensive discussion concerning the different strategies and their examples. That offered me a solid and comprehensible framework to start from with my own research. However, my research data did not include any cases of the strategy Substitution. Therefore, I have omitted that category from my taxonomy.

4.3 Factors influencing the translation choices

How ECRs are rendered in translated texts does not only depend on the translator's skills and imagination. Several other factors influence the process of translation as well, which I will discuss in this chapter before delving into subtitling as a translation practice. Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 221) reminds that genre also plays a role in the choice between different translation strategies. According to her different genres in visual media stress different things: in news and documentaries events are

given the central position, whereas in comedy and music shows it may be language. Nedergaard-Larsen adds that “In feature films people are central, and therefore the translation should attach importance to those elements that describe the speaker’s personality” (Nedergaard- Larsen, 1993:221).

In terms of my research data, in HDLDM people are most definitely most central, since the plot is so focused on one man’s challenge to meet the expectations of him and balance between romantic feelings and ability to prepare for the approaching boxing match. With LO it is more difficult to determine which element should be treated as most central. It is more explicitly a comedy than HDLDM, but in addition it is quite an action-packed film. Whether the comedic value is coming from the chain of humorous events, the characters’ personalities or their dialect and other linguistic aspects, is not a simple question. I will try to comment on this during my analysis, based on my findings.

Genre of course is linked to the overall function of the translation. Are the subtitles there merely to help the audience follow the plot of the film or do they also assist other semiotic channels in creating right kind of ambience for the audience? Nedergaard-Larsen (1993:222) points out, that this may be crucial when deciding which elements to omit and which to retain in the subtitles. According to Nedergaard-Larsen (1993: 221 – 222) another factor the translator should consider, is loyalty to the original. The production team of the film has had their vision which they have executed on film. They are the authors of the audiovisual product, out of which all the elements the viewer can still witness on the screen. Therefore, one can argue that the translation should always respect the original linguistic expression. However, further discussion on equivalence would take us to the core issues of translations studies and be surely out of the scope of this research.

Pedersen (2011: 115 – 116) points out that translator’s often do not receive all the information that influences the subtitling situation. In order to make decisions concerning the global strategies of the translation at hand, the translator may have to search answers to various questions not only from guidelines he has received but also from the internet, subtitling companies, broadcasters etc. (Pedersen, 2011:115 – 116). The translator needs to know the production norms relevant for the type of text they are translating, but also perceive the correct style and register to be used.

Further important issues are both the expectations and previous knowledge of the audience. According to Pedersen (2011:117) knowing the age group of the audience for example helps to determine which of the ECRs can be considered Transcultural in each case. Using again the example of Hermunen vs. Oprah Winfrey I discussed in Section 2.4.2, a competent translator would be aware that Finnish senior viewers might still remember Hermunen, but not necessarily be familiar with Oprah

Winfrey. However, Oprah Winfrey could be considered nowadays a well-known figure among middle-aged and younger Finns and therefore a Transcultural ECR, unlike Hermunen.

In addition, as pointed out by Pedersen (2011: 118), factors such as the broadcaster and airing time may guide the translator's choice between different strategies. Although my current research material consists of films in cinema distribution, where the airing time may vary and does not always serve as an indicator of the type of the film's expected audience, the recommended age limit set for the film does. Furthermore, Pedersen (2011:118 – 119) reminds us, that at the end of the day there can be very pragmatic reasons behind the chosen translations strategies. More interventional translation strategies require more time to use for research which the subtitler may not have. Poor salaries and deadline pressures may force the subtitler to choose quantity over quality at least to some extent.

4.4 Domestication and Foreignization

In the process of conveying a message between languages and cultures that are potentially very different from each other in many aspects, the translator is forced to make both larger and smaller choices. These choices or strategies are based on what kind of goal the translator wants to achieve with the text. One of the main questions to consider is to what extent the translation should stay faithful to the ST. By transferring as many features as possible directly from the ST to the TT the result may be faithful, but not necessarily intelligible in the TC. After all, the very reason for translating the text is that the TL readers cannot understand the original ST or the culture it represents.

The other extreme: adjusting the semantic content of the ST completely to the TC, may make the translation easier to understand and more fluent to read for the target readers. However, deviating from the ST can be seen as problematic from an ethical point of view. The first option described above, is what Venuti (2008) calls foreignization and latter domestication. Venuti questions the translation's ultimate aim for fluency, since achieving that often makes the translator invisible. Why is the easy readability kept as the ultimate goal in translation, as if the text has not been transferred from one language into another, and the original author regarded as the voice of the translation as well, when in reality there has been a translator in between?

Transparency inscribes the foreign text with dominant English values (like transparency) and simultaneously conceals that domestication under the illusion that the translated text is not a translation, but the "original," reflecting the foreign author's personality or intention or the

essential meaning of the foreign text; whereas modernist translation, by deviating from transparency and inscribing the foreign text with marginal English values, initiates a foreignizing movement that points to the linguistic and cultural differences between the two texts - - - .

(Venuti, 2008: 177)

Venuti builds his views on the theoretical basis created by Friedrich Schleiermacher in the early 19th century. Schleiermacher (2004: 43 – 63) discusses the dilemma of translation having the system of concepts and their signs in [one] language, that is totally different from that of the original language. As a translator of Plato Schleiermacher was well aware of the difficulties of rendering Latin and Greek classical works into the language understood by German speakers of his day. According to Schleiermacher, the translator needs to choose between two different methods:

Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him.

(Schleiermacher, 2004: 49)

Schleiermacher considered foreignizing translation of the classics as means of developing the emergent German literature and culture during the Prussian nationalist movement. According to Schleiermacher:

[The merit of foreignizing translation] is founded on two basic conditions: that the understanding of foreign texts be acknowledged as a known and desirable state, and that a certain flexibility be granted to our native tongue. Where both conditions are met, translation of this sort will appear a quite natural phenomenon that influences the entire intellectual development of a nation, and even as it is given a certain value, it will not fail to give pleasure as well.

(Schleiermacher, 2004: 55)

Schleiermacher prefers foreignizing translation out of respect towards the history and culture of the original authors. He does not want to force their words to become German through his translation, but rather wishes to build a bridge where albeit seeming foreign, the German reader can understand the translation at hand. The French translation theorist Antoine Berman (1992: 147–150) considers Schleiermacher's theories as ethics of translation, according to which the sense of foreign should be retained albeit coding it in another language. However, for Venuti the preference of foreignizing translation is primarily a tool of resistance. Venuti wishes not only to make translator more visible in the text, but also resist the American and British translation tradition, where adapting the ST

completely into the linguistic and literary norms of the TL has been the prevalent method of translation. According to Venuti, such strong focus on the TC is ethnocentric and a violent act towards the ST, although according to him some degree of violence is always inevitable while translating (Venuti, 2008: 13-15). Different scholars have given the same two opposite translations methods different names. Instead of using the words “foreign” or “domestic”, Pedersen prefers the terms *source-oriented* and *target-oriented* for their neutrality and transparency (Pedersen, 2011: 35, 71).

4.4.1 The International Status of Finnish Film Industry

In audiovisual translation when making a choice between foreignizing and domesticating translation strategies the relationship between the SL and TL need to be taken into account. The expectations and previous knowledge of the target audience in the global market can be very different towards English-speaking films compared to Finnish-speaking films simply because watching a Finnish film may be a rare occasion for an international viewer. I will now provide a brief overview on the size of the Finnish film industry in the European context, and in the next section I will present Gottlieb’s views on the asymmetrical exchange of films and TV shows between different countries.

In terms of the number of films produced per year, Finland is far behind the top five countries in Europe: Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain and Italy. According to the 2017 statistics of European Audiovisual Observatory (Talavera, 2017), the most prolific country in terms of feature film production volume between 2007 and 2016 was Great Britain, where the total number of national and major co-production films produced during that time was about 2600 films. In comparison, in Finland the corresponding figure was about 300 films. In the global market France and Great Britain rule together: in 2016 of all European countries France had the most films on release outside Europe, a total of 194 films. Great Britain released a total of 125 films outside Europe in that year. However, British films attract the most viewers: The total of 44.6 million people saw a British film in cinema outside Europe in 2016, whereas French films attracted only 14.1 million viewers. Finland’s ranking among the European countries on the same year was 17th with five film releases outside Europe. On the same year admissions to Finnish films outside Europe were about 92.500. (Talavera, 2017)

These figures highlight the marginal global status of Finnish films amongst the mostly English-speaking and prolific film industry of Great Britain and other major European countries. Since Finnish films cover only about one percent of all European movies that are made each year, it is no surprise that

translating films from Finnish to English is not as frequent as translation from English into Finnish. Because of the marginal status of the Finnish film industry as a whole, even the translation of single Finnish films that gain international success such as *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki* and *Lapland Odyssey* explored in this research, can have a major impact on how Finnish cinema is perceived abroad.

On the other hand, many of the newer Finnish-speaking films are in reality co-productions between production companies from many different countries. My research material is no exception: HDLOM *Elokuvayhtiö Oy Aamu Ab* produced HDLOM together with German company *One Two Films GmbH* and Swedish companies *Film i Väst AB* and *Tre Vänner Produktion Ab*. Similarly, the production of *LO* was financed by a large group of companies and foundations mainly from Nordic countries and Ireland, including: *Helsinki Filmi*, *Ripple Pictures*, *Anagram Produktion*, *The Finnish Film Foundation*, *Swedish Film Institute*, *Irish Film Board*, *YLE*, *SVT*, *Nordisk Film*, *TV Fond*, *Film i Väst*. According to Rannanpää (2014) this brings even more transnational influence to the film, which already re-tells the classic story of Homer as well as builds on the American road movie tradition. So, even though the story is set in Finnish Lapland and the film is saturated with references to Finnish culture, it is ultimately a result of international co-operation and a combination of Finnish culture and transnational influences.

4.4.2 Gottlieb's Upstream Translation

The market shares of major and minor national film industries and their implications to the subtitling practices have been discussed by scholars as well. In his article, Gottlieb (2009) discusses the asymmetrical exchange of films and TV shows between different countries and languages. Whereas the status of foreign-language films in English-speaking countries is marginal, many other countries take it for granted that majority of the most successful films and TV shows are either subtitled or dubbed from English. This has a major effect on how familiar these different audiences are with the source culture of the film.

Since the most frequent direction of translation is from English into some smaller language, Gottlieb calls it translating "downstream". Similarly, translating against the current, from a minor language to English, is called "upstream" translation.

In films and other artefacts from non-dominant cultures, almost all - - [extra-linguistic culture-specific] items will be known only to their original audiences. With subtitled productions from such minor speech communities, foreign audiences have to rely almost entirely on the informational content in the subtitles. In films from major speech communities, however, many ECRs will be recognized abroad. Thus, the bridge-building efforts in translation ought to be smaller in downstream subtitling than upstream - - - . (Gottlieb, 2009:27)

For the above mentioned reason, Gottlieb hypothesizes that non-English films are likely to have many of their verbal localisms either omitted from the subtitles or domesticated. On the other hand, he also points out that subtitlers may take pride in preserving the localisms, since they are translating from “exotic” languages (Gottlieb, 2009: 22).

According to Ethnologue (2018), Finnish has about 5.5 million speakers worldwide whereas English is spoken as their first language by 378 million people worldwide (Ethnologue, 2018).

Thus, Finnish can truly be considered a minor language in the global film distribution industry. Therefore, translating from Finnish to English, could be considered, using Gottlieb’s term, “upstream” translation.

5. Material and Methods

In this chapter, I will discuss both my research material as well as my research methods. After giving a general introduction to my research material, I will present the methods I have used to collect and analyze my research data. The movies I have chosen as my research material are *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki*, in Finnish *Hymyilevä mies*, (2016) by director Juho Kuosmanen and *Lapland Odyssey*, in Finnish *Napapiirin sankarit*, (2010) by director Dome Karukoski. My aim was to use movies that have been shown and awarded in international film festivals and therefore can be seen as Finnish cultural products meant for widespread international audiences and as such representatives of Finnish culture in international contexts. In addition to several awards received in Finland and nominations of international awards, *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki* won four major international film awards in 2016: *Un Certain Regard Award* in Cannes Film Festival, *Gold Hugo* in Chicago International Film Festival, *European Film Award 2016* and *Golden Eye award* in Zurich Film Festival in the category of Best International Feature Film (IMDB, 2018). *Lapland Odyssey* has also gained international fame through its success in *Alpe d'Huez International Comedy Film Festival* where it won the *Coup de Coeur award* as well as the *Grand Prix award* in the Feature Film category in 2011. In addition, the film's cinematographer Pini Hellsted was awarded with *Silver Dolphin award* in Festróia - Tróia International Film Festival in 2011 (IMDB, 2018).

The two movies are very different in style, *The Lapland Odyssey* is a lively and somewhat dark comedy, whereas *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki* is a warm and romantic drama based on a true story of Olli Mäki, the only Finnish boxer who has won European championship both as an amateur and as a professional. The film however focuses on his preparation to fight against the World champion Davey Moore and Olli's badly timed infatuation with Raija that jeopardizes his ability to focus on the match. Geographically the film is set in Helsinki, Perho and Kokkola. *The Lapland Odyssey* is ultimately a road trip movie set in Lapland, mostly in Kolari, Ylläs and Rovaniemi. The story focuses on three idle young men: Janne, Kapu and Rähä, who struggle to find their place in the world. Janne's fiancée has become tired of Janne's incapability to pull himself together and threatens to leave him if he fails to complete the simple task of buying a digital box for their TV. Accompanied by his two friends Janne sets off to the mission that proves to be more complicated than anticipated. Along the way they encounter obstacles and opportunities to earn the money for the digibox by helping strangers. In the end, despite situations that seem hopeless, all their efforts pay off. One of the reasons for choosing these two particular movies is that, unlike some other internationally successful Finnish movies, these two are set entirely in Finland. Both movies also include the local dialect of their respective areas, which is

likely to affect the translation of the films. However, unfortunately intralinguistic cultural references such as dialect features and their translations cannot be covered within the scope of this research.

The two movies are also almost equal in length: According to Internet Movie Database (2018), both films are 1 hour and 32 minutes long. That is consistent with the information provided in the DVD copy of Lapland Odyssey. However, the DVD copy of HDLOM gives the duration of 89 minutes. As my research material, I use the original dialogue lists used in the translation process as well as the initial English translations of the two movies. The dialogue lists (See the Appendix 1. and 2.) are written documents presenting the verbatim dialogue expressed in the film. They do not typically include any stage directions like scripts do, which was the case with my source texts as well. The only exceptions were a few short descriptions, when the line in question was for example sung by the character or spoken in the phone. The dialogue list of HDLOM also included the time code. Furthermore, both dialogue lists included a few typing errors, misspelled names etc. which I have corrected in this study, whenever I have recognized them as such without a doubt.

I have received all the documents directly from the translator of both films, Aretta Vähälä. I contacted her via Facebook and she was more than happy to provide the material after receiving permissions from the production companies of both films. According to Elonet, Vähälä has either subtitled or translated the screenplays of 51 Finnish movies since the year 2006. I find it important to note that the English subtitles I have studied in my thesis have not been made for native speakers of English, but specifically for the international promotion of the Finnish films in international film festivals. Therefore, most of the viewers of the film speak English as lingua franca, to varying levels. According to the translator of the source texts, Aretta Vähälä, she has taken this into account mainly through word choices. In cases where using a rare expression, that she herself has only learned after years of higher education, would have been the obvious translation choice, she has opted for a more widely known synonym whenever possible. However, in her own words, she has been careful not to oversimplify the translation too much. (Vähälä, 2017: correspondence via Facebook)

Before counting the number of ECRs in both films, I needed to find out and compare the amount of dialogue between the films. I removed time code as well as other elements from the dialogue lists that were not part of the actual dialogue of the film. However, I did leave the names of the speakers in them to mark the change of speaker to help separating them from each other. Then I numbered each speech act to find out the number of lines in the film. Contrary to my belief, the amount of dialogue between the two films is close to equal, however the numbers are slightly higher in HDLOM than in

LO, both in terms of word count and number of lines. To measure the amount of dialogue I used Microsoft Word's word count tool. The results are pictured below in Table 3.

Table 3. The number of words and lines in the dialogue of the films.

The film	Number of words in the dialogue	Number of lines in the dialogue
Lapland Odyssey (2010)	5520	605
Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki (2016)	5901	716

Out of the two films in question, LO seems however more verbose. This may be partly due to the length of the spoken lines. The average number of words per spoken line in LO is 9.1 when in HDLDM it is 8.2. However, at this point it is important to note, that the dialogue lists are not the only form of ST in this research. The primary STs are the audiovisual entireties of the films themselves, to which the subtitles are both based on and added to. Therefore, as suggested above in Section 3.2.1, ECRs do not only appear in verbal written form in the dialogue lists, or in verbal acoustic form in the spoken dialogue, but may also be conveyed through the non-verbal visual or non-verbal acoustic sign. So, in the case of audiovisual research material as mine, to find and analyze all the ECRs of the ST we must also take a look at the audiovisual material instead of just analyzing the dialogue lists and the subtitles.

5.1 Method of data collection

The data was collected and analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative methods. I started collecting my data by first identifying the explicit ECRs for the preliminary analysis. This was done by first reading through the original Finnish dialogue lists of both films and marking all the expressions that seemed culture-specific in my mind. Then I read through the English translations and marked the renderings of the ECRs that I had found in the Finnish source text. Then I created numbered lists of the original and each of their translation to keep track of the total number of the ECRs. Later on, I analyzed both the ST and TT expressions more carefully by comparing them to the definition of ECR. To simplify matters, every ECR is analyzed only once, no matter how many times they appear in the source text. However, the material includes more than one name for the same character as well as varying prices and weights for the same subject. So, there may be several different expressions considered as ECRs referring to the same person. Therefore, the number of ECRs refers to the number of different culture-specific expressions, not number of culture-specific referents. For example *Marjukka* and *Kymppileveli*

make two different ECRs despite referring to a same person. After that, I analyzed the audiovisual content of both films to find the cultural references that did not occur in the dialogue lists. I identified the ECRs that appeared in the audiovisual material solely in visual form or as implicit references to culture-specific themes, phenomena and symbols. This was no simple task, because deciding what is culture-specific enough to include in my study is only based on my own cultural knowledge and the definition of ECR given in Section 2.1.

My research focused solely on culture-specific references that are extralinguistic. Therefore, I have excluded culture-specific items such as dialect words, colloquialisms, idioms and profanities from my material, since they can be seen as intralinguistic features. I have done the same with pet names that are written without a capital letter in the source text. I think calling your loved one *vompatti* or *pikkumurmukka* are cases of intralinguistic culture-specific use of language, similar to the use of profanities, albeit being semantically different. However, nicknames written with capital letter and referring to a specific person in the ST, were included in the analysis. Thus, separating extralinguistic cultural references from intralinguistic can never be achieved 100 percent, because many intralinguistic features can also refer to extralinguistic entities.

5.2 Method of data analysis

Before going to the qualitative analysis of the ECRs, I had to define their total number in my material as well as their shares according to their domains. Furthermore, I needed to quantify the shares of explicit, implicit and visual ECRs and finally shares of each translation strategy used to translate the ECRs. This way I was able to reveal the most and least frequent domains and translation strategies used in my material. I created three modal categories: *explicit*, *implicit* and *visual*. These three categories were used to distinguish whether the ECRs appeared explicitly in the dialogue, were implicitly hinted towards in the dialogue without directly mentioning them or occurred purely through visual representation. I placed all ECRs that appeared in the dialogue lists and subtitles into the *explicit* category. I watched both films carefully with implicit culture-specific phenomena and visual aspects on mind. I proceeded to create separate lists on each of the three categories and carefully choosing which of the obscure cases should be included as they were, which included as a sign of a wider phenomenon and which excluded altogether. Finally, when I had my final number of ECRs, I proceeded to divide them into their respective domains. By dividing the ECRs into domains, the aim was to find out what type of ECRs Finnish films can contain and use the categories to examine if there are any general principles how specific types of ECRs are translated in English. In this study, I have used eight

domains of ECRs, which I created on the basis of Pedersen's classification (2011: 58) as explained in Section 2.2. To present the uneven distribution of ECRs to each category I created the Figure 2.

Although I had already done a preliminary analysis on the explicit ECRs of my research data, after further research on the translation strategies and completing my research data with implicit and visual ECRs, I had to reassess my data in terms of the translation strategies used in the TT. Finally, in order to analyze different ways ECRs in my material have been translated, I examined each of the explicit ECRs in the ST and their TT renderings. I analyzed the type of change that had taken place and classified them according to the translation strategies used in each case. For that, I applied the taxonomy of translation strategies for ECRs as introduced by Pedersen (2011:75). Since the classification of the translation strategies used in this research is very much based on the semantic and linguistic transfer of the written expressions, instead of abstract phenomena or visual features, the implicit and visual ECRs could not be included in the analysis of this kind. However, I did examine their translation separately, which will be discussed in Sections 6.4.

6. Analysis

I will now move onto present the analysis part of my research. First, I will state the number of ECRs found in both films and then move onto divide them into the different domains. After that I will have a look at the different translation strategies used in translating them and whether any patterns can be detected from the material. Finally, I will compare my findings with subtitling norms and discuss the role of visual and acoustic signs, feedback effect and redundancy in my results.

6.1 Modal distribution of the ECRs

In this chapter I will present the quantitative distribution of the ECRs between the different modes. The total number of ECRs found in my material was 134. One of the implicit ECRs appeared in both movies. So, that means the number of ECRs in Lapland Odyssey is over twice as big as in HDLOM despite the two movies being almost equal in length (See Figure 1.). However, the relatively low amount of ECRs found in HDLOM results perhaps more from the fact, that the film's plot focuses around the international world of boxing, which brings to the dialogue just as many references to American culture than to Finnish culture. Although the whole film is set in Finland, in terms of proper names, almost as many American names are mentioned in the dialogue than names of the Finnish characters. It is important to note that the amount of ECRs in each category does not necessarily correlate with the significance of each category in terms of culture-specificity, since unlike implicit and visual ECRs, most explicit ECRs are rendered in the subtitles in some form or another and are therefore probably easier for the target audience to grasp. Some of the implicit and visual ECRs in the films represent wide culture-specific phenomena that are present throughout the film, but are hardly taken into account in the translation of the film. For example, the translation does not explain in any way why Rähä and Kapu are afraid to stop to help the Russian tourists in LO or why Olli and his friends do not mind being naked in front of strangers in HDLOM. The distribution of the ECRs between the three modal categories is represented in Figure 2 in Section 6.2. I will now discuss how the three modes appeared in my data in more detail.

6.1.1 Explicit ECRs

Most of the ECRs in my research data were explicit ECRs. The total amount of explicit ECRs was 109. The dominance of explicit ECRs is perhaps due to the fact that majority of the explicit ECRs consisted of names and measures of currency or weight, which would occur frequently in any everyday communication, but even more so in films whose storyline focuses around buying a digital box or losing weight for a boxing match. The story of both films also moves between different geographical locations. Thus, relatively many place names come across explicitly in the dialogue as well. Although thanks to the director Aki Kaurismäki Finnish cinema is globally known for its scarce dialogue, generally in films aimed for mainstream audience dialogue is often more prominent and in charge of the storytelling.

6.1.2 Implicit ECRs

There were altogether 18 implicit ECRs in the data. The implicit ECRs also include the irony behind the names of both of the films. The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki is called in Finnish *Hymyilevä mies* (The Smiling Man). In reality the film is about a man who feels pressured, scared and frustrated, but most importantly is also in love with Raija. This results in few shy smiles, which are easy to miss while watching the film. Not expressing your emotions too vividly is perhaps the most Finnish characteristic out there and therefore if translated directly the Finnish name of the film might seem like an overstatement to an international audience.

Similar irony is evident in the Lapland Odyssey and its Finnish name *Napapiirin sankarit* (Heroes of the Arctic Circle). All three protagonists are more of an antihero type than real heroes: either depressed or otherwise ineffectual wusses, who act like teenagers and lack the confidence to make an effort in life. The only heroic quality in them is their perseverance to continue their pursuit despite all the mishaps. This paradoxical combination of *sisu* and self-deprecating humour seems to resonate with Finnish audience but may seem difficult to grasp for someone not familiar with Finnish culture. The implicit ECRs also included several wide culture-specific phenomena that were both hinted towards in the dialogue as well as visually portrayed in the film. I have placed these in the “Implicit” category.

6.1.3 Visual ECRs

Finally, visual ECRs were collected by watching both of the films carefully with English subtitles and looking for visual ECRs that are not referred to in the subtitles. I was able to find a total of seven exclusively visual ECRs and they all appeared in LO. These were various type of references to the lifestyle in Lapland or if Finland, which were not part of the dialogue, but mostly added either to create humorous effect or flavor of Lapland. Some of them were quite subtle, for example in the beginning the movie when Janne finally heads to the store to buy the digibox, the dusk is already falling at three o'clock in the afternoon. Many of these ECRs in LO only appeared on the screen for few seconds. A Finnish-speaking viewer who does not need to read subtitles may have enough time to notice them, but a foreign viewer who is dependent on the subtitles may miss them completely. Out of these type of ECRs most were not translated in any way. With those the foreign viewer depends solely on their previous knowledge on Finnish culture.

All the ECRs in HDLOM were somehow referred to in the dialogue and therefore categorized either as explicit or implicit apart from male nudity. It is a visual ECR that appeared in both of the films in some form or another, mostly in the context of sauna, swimming or bathing, but in LO also in the sexual sense. In LO nudity was used to create humorous effect especially in the action scene where Russian Pjotr chased the protagonists naked through a dark forest while shooting them with a paintball gun.

Perhaps more striking for the international audience is however the first sauna scene in HDLOM in 15:52, Olli is having sauna with his boxing team and after exiting the sauna to the bathroom starts hosing water on his team mates. Olli's manager Elis interrupts the fun and brings in two men who he wants the team to meet. Nobody in the scene seems to mind meeting strangers while standing wet and naked in the bathroom. Later in the film Olli is shown having sauna by himself and swimming in the lake as a part of his weight-losing regime, but also in sort of a solitary ritual just before the important match. Showing men casually naked in the context of sauna, but also in the context of sexual interaction is rather frequent in Finnish films. Most importantly such non-sexualized nudity seems to be restricted to men. Female nudity is much less used to create comical effect. It can mostly be found in films with sexual or violent content.

6.2 Distribution by Domains

The total of 133 ECRs in the research data were distributed quite unevenly between the different domains. Now, I will briefly present the results in terms of the size of the domains and then move on to discuss each domain and the ECRs it contained. The largest domain was *personal names and nicknames*. It covered 31 percent of all ECRs in the research data. The *personal, geographical and commercial names* all combined covered 51 percent of the total amount of ECRs. The largest domain consisting of common nouns was *measures*, covering 16 percent of the total. The domain with least ECRs was *buildings*, with only five ECRs, which comprised only 4 percent of the total. In the following chapters I will present my findings according to each domain. Apart from my own clarifications made in brackets and some of the names of the speakers, all the English translations in the examples are from the subtitles by Aretta Vähälä.

Table 4. The number of ECRs in each domain.

1. Measures	22
2. Personal names and nicknames	41
3. Geographical names and adjectives	13
4. Commercial names	13
5. Attitudes, mindset and lifestyle	15
6. Buildings	6
7. Nature and climate	8
8. Other	14
Total	

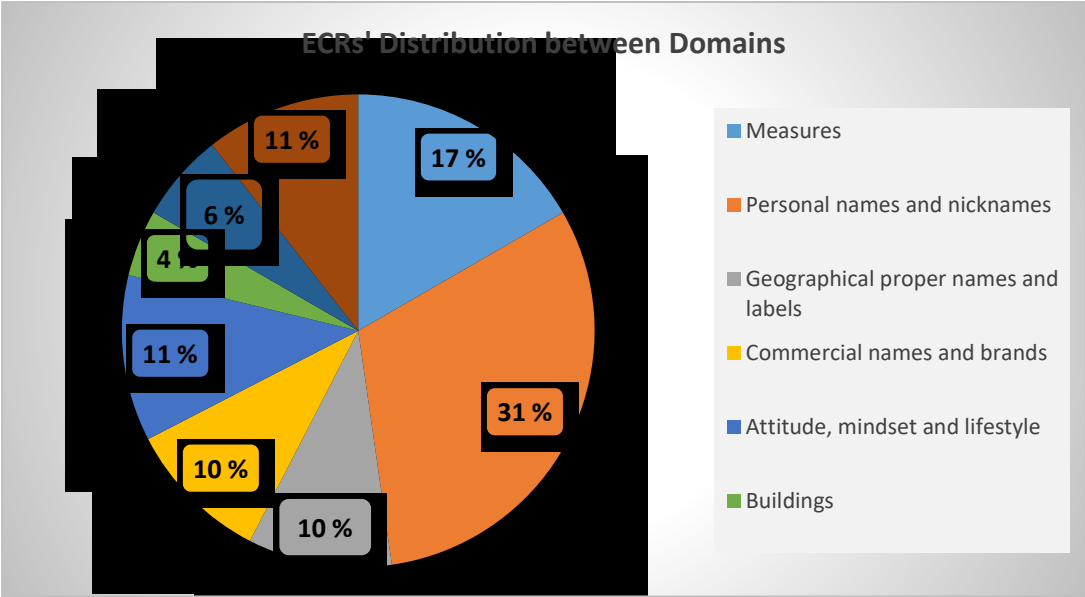


Figure 1. ECRs distribution between the domains.

The same differences in the size of the shares of each domain are visible in the Figure 2 below. In addition, the figure illustrates the distribution of different modes among the domains.

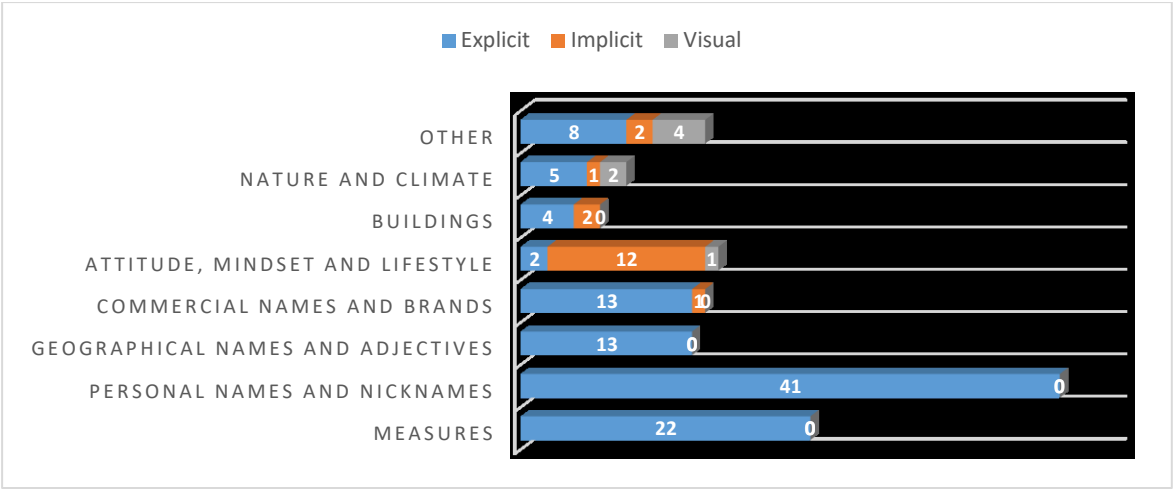


Figure 2. ECRs' distribution according to modes and domains.

The ECRs in my data were distributed quite unevenly between the different modes and domains, as illustrated in the Figure 2 above. Two of the largest domains, *Personal names and nicknames* and *Measures*, consist entirely of explicit ECRs. That is understandable however, if we consider the semantic content of the domain. Personal names do not usually occur implicitly in audiovisual texts, a one example I can think of however is *He-who-must-not-be-named* in Harry Potter. The quantity of implicit ECRs is overall more of an estimate than an exact number, as explained in Section 3.2.2. More or less subtle references to phenomena that can be considered culture-specific could in theory be found in any of the domains, but they seem to gravitate towards the domain *Attitudes, mindset and lifestyle* since culture-specific practices related to that domain are not often verbalized in a dialogue of a film such as the ST in this research. Similarly, the visual ECRs occur in domains that encourage for visual representation without any verbal aspect such as *Nature and climate*. Names of people and places usually occur in a dialogue, so the name to qualify as a visual ECR would require it to be visible on the screen without any verbal reference to it during the film.

6.2.1 Measures

The research data included 22 instances of different measures. These contained mainly expressions of weight and currency. Measures that were repeated in the dialogue with exactly same value and phrasing were counted only once in the data. Units of weight occurred in the dialogue of HDLOM frequently due to Olli's struggle to lose enough weight before the match. Since different units of weight are being used around the world, Olli's progress in his weight loss may not be comprehensible for example for an American audience who are used to measuring weight in pounds instead of kilograms.

Example 1.

A man in the front row:	Paljo sä nyt painat?	How much do you weight now?
Olli:	Jotain vähä yli <i>kuuskytä</i> .	A little over 60.
2 nd man from the back row:	Eikö siinä välissä ois ollu mittään?"	Isn't there a class between them?
1 st man from the back row:	No siinä ois just ne kääpiöt	Bantam would be.
Olli:	Eiku siinä välissä on kevytsarja."	No, lightweight is between them.
A man in the front row:	No paljonko ne kääpiöt nyt sitte painaa?"	How much do the bantams weigh?
Olli:	"No ne on niinku <i>viiskyttä kolome ja puolikilonen</i> , on tosi kevyttä."	53.5. They're very light.

Currency occurred in the data of HDLOM in marks, when discussing the cost of arranging a World champion level boxing match in Helsinki. Since LO is set in modern times, the currency is in euros. The film's plot is focused around first wasting the money assigned for buying the digibox and then trying to find a way to earn back the sum and finish the task. Therefore, different sums occur frequently in the dialogue.

Example 2.

(Young, drunken lady vomits in the taxi.)

Taxi driver:	"Eipä mithää. Pesu <i>sataviiskymppiä</i> , menetetty työaika <i>kolkytäviiseuroa</i> tunti. Mennee vähintään neljä tuntia eli <i>sataneljäkymppiä</i> plus siivousfirman matkat <i>kolomekymppiä</i> ... eli <i>kolomekakskymmentä</i> paitsi jos vedit ilmastointiin niin se on pikkasen kalliimpi keikka sitte."	'That's okay. The cleaning will cost 150 euros, loss of working time 140 euros. The cleaning company travel costs 30 euros. 320 euros in total. If you hit the air conditioner, it'll cost more.'
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6.2.2 Personal names and nicknames

The names and nicknames of characters in the films comprised the largest amount of ECRs in one domain: 41. However, only 27 characters that are named appear on the screen. Rest of the names are either nicknames of the same characters, like *Tapio/Räihä* and *Marjukka/Kymppileveli* in LO, or names of people who are mentioned in the background in TV or radio, but do not actually appear in the film, such as names of real life ice hockey player (Teemu) *Selänne* and skiers (Aino-Kaisa) *Saarinen* and *Kalle* (Lassila). Out of the characters in the film Inari's ex-boyfriend is referred to with three different names: Inari calls him *Mikko*, but due to his height Janne, Kapu and Räihä prefer to call him *Pikku-Mikko* or *Tappi*.

Example 3.

(The men run out of petrol.)

Janne:	"Mie käyn lainaamassa <i>Pikku-Mikolta</i> . Se rakentaa tuohon Joukhan mutkhaan."	'I'll go borrow gas from <i>Little Mickey</i> . He's building a house here.'
Räihänen:	" <i>Tapilta?</i> "	'From that <i>midget?</i> Inari's ex?'

6.2.3 Geographical names and adjectives

Out of the 13 ECRs related to geographical locations or adjective referring to people from those places, nine are either official names or nicknames of cities, towns and villages. One of them, Haparanda, is in fact located in Sweden. However, it is included in this research, because of its' shared linguistic and cultural background with municipalities in the Finnish side of Torne Valley. In LO the local flavor is evident not only in the names of local companies, which I will discuss next, but also in place names like *Joukan mutka*, '*Joukka's bend*', which is not commonly known by Finns outside the region. Interestingly, the only adjective referring to the origin of people or things, that is mentioned in the film is *lappilainen*, a word referring in this case to a tourist attraction located anywhere in Lapland, and not to be confused with the Sami-related use of the word *Lappish*. In HDLOM only three Finnish place names are mentioned: *Perho*, *Kokkola* and *Helsinki*. Although the differences in culture and lifestyle between countryside and city are made evident in the film, they are expressed in a subtle way rather than explicitly comparing the places through the dialogue.

6.2.4 Commercial names and brands

In addition to names of characters and places, both films included several names of companies, products or other brands. Out of the 15 ECRs of this type 13 were found in LO and again only three in HDLOM. For example, LO included references to three different ice hockey teams. A logo of *Kärpät*, an ice hockey team based in Oulu and widely supported throughout northern and central Finland, appeared both in Janne's parents' digibox and Janne's own phone, although the team name was never mentioned. In addition, four different hotels or nightclubs are mentioned when Janne tries to earn quick money by offering unlicensed taxi rides to people partying in Ylläs Ski Resort.

Example 4.

Janne:	"Tarttisko kyytiä Y-ykköseen?"	'Need a ride to Y-ykkönen?'
Woman:	"Ei."	'No.'
Janne:	"Tarttisko kyytiä Äkäshotellille? Pipolaan?"	'Need a ride to Äkäshotelli? Pipola?'

Considering the fact that in HDLOM several sponsor deals were made in order to cover the costs of the boxing match, it is rather surprising that only three commercial names were actually mentioned in the film: the name of Olli Mäki's boxing club *Askin talli*, the name of the local newspaper *Keskipohtjanmaa* (in the dialogue list written as *Keski-Pohjanmaa*) covering the events and *Ajanmies*, the clothing brand that sponsored the boxing match.

6.2.5 Attitude, mindset and lifestyle

The fifth domain includes the total of 14 culture-specific phenomena that came across in the two films. Some of them were expressed rather straight-forward manner, such as *pikkujoulusesonki*, referring to the Pre-Christmas party season, the only explicit ECR in this domain. Most of the ECRs in this domain however, were typically Finnish tendencies that could puzzle a foreign viewer.

One of the clearest example is the *amis subculture*, portrayed both visually and through the dialogue in LO. *Amis* is a commonly used abbreviated form of the word *ammattikoulu* 'vocational school'. It is commonly used in colloquial language to refer to young men with lower education background and more specifically in this case to a modern subculture of working class young men, who spend their

spare time both driving and tuning their usually old and cheaply bought cars. Rähä's bright yellow car is first introduced to the audience through a humoristic license plate: TIS-51, translated as TIT-5. Soon after when the petrol runs out, Rähä reconsiders in hindsight his choice of investing his money on the new subwoofer instead of fixing the gas light. Later it becomes clear that the seatbelts do not work well either.

Example 5.

Rähänen:	“Joo-o. Mie sitä viikola pähkin, että pistänpö tuon uuen supparin vai korjaanko pensavalon.”	‘I was just thinking whether I should get a new subwoofer or fix the gas light.’
Kapu:	“Hieno homma.”	‘Oh, brilliant.’
Janne:	“Joo, justhiinsa.”	‘Great.’
Rähänen:	“Mutta passot potkii, sitä ei voi kiistää.”	‘But the bass is a dream, isn’t it?’

The domain also included ECRs referring to Finnish prejudice against other nationalities. Rähä is reluctant to stop to help the Russians, whose car has hit a reindeer. The evidently wealthy Russians seem friendly, but after a misunderstanding Pjotr ends up chasing the Finns naked through the forest while shooting them with a paintball gun. On the other hand, the Swedish women's underwater rugby team is shown in a completely different light as they play topless in the pool. Despite being dangerous, the Russian Pjotr seemed simple because of his lack of English skills, whereas the Swedish girls from Haparanda do not only speak both Swedish and Finnish but are also seductive and manipulative. Another ECR setting Finnish culture apart from some more urban cultures is the humoristic celebration of remoteness. In LO this attitude is manifested through the road sign, which instead of declaring *Taajama alkaa* 'Built-up area begins' has been defaced to declare *Jämä alkaa* 'The leftover land begins'. A screenshot of the scene in question (*Lapland Odyssey*, 2010) is presented below. Permission for its use in this thesis was granted by the production company.



Image 1. Screenshot “Jämä alkaa” from *Lapland Odyssey*, 2010.

Even more typically Finnish is the fondness for dark humour. In LO this manifests itself with an opening scene focusing around the *Kiikkukelo* ‘The Swing Tree’ where generations of desperate men have hanged themselves. Together with the iconic *puukko* ‘Finnish hunting knife’ and the wilderness of Lapland, the opening scene sets off with the most Finnish imagery possible and sets the style for the whole movie.

6.2.6 Buildings

The number of ECRs related to buildings and structures with culture-specific significance was not high in the research data, only five instances. Out of them Halkokarin tanssilava, ‘Halkokari outdoor dance pavilion’, Kokkolan työväentalo, ‘Kokkola People’s Hall’ and aitta, ‘old farm storage building’ were explicitly mentioned in the films. Helsinki Olympic Stadium was both shown in two scenes as well as referred to in the dialogue when Elis Ask points out to Olli the great scale of organizing an international boxing match with an American world champion. The most implicit ECR in this domain is the wedding venue in Perho, which may or may not be the same building where Raija is seen later on running a children’s theatre production. The place is simply referred to as “the theatre” during a phone call Olli makes, but based on the large hall with high windows and elevated stage a Finnish viewer can tell the building in question is most likely a local *seurantalo* or *työväentalo* ‘people’s house’, that were recreational halls built by non-profit associations or labour organizations between 1880s and mid-

1900s. They were commonly used for various kind of events and gatherings, and many of them have been maintained and are still in use today.

A sauna was another ECR that could have been added into this domain, because building one was mentioned in the beginning of LO. However, I chose to include it in the domain *Attitude, mindset and lifestyle* instead, because sauna appeared several times in the research data and most of the instances were related to sauna as a lifestyle feature rather than just the building itself. Interestingly, this was the only domain where HDLOM provided more ECRs than LO. This is mostly due to the fact that HDLOM is set in 1960s, whereas apart from the historical introduction in the beginning, LO is set in modern Lapland infused with tourism.

6.2.7 Nature and climate

Although remoteness played a significant role in my research data especially in LO, nature only appeared here and there. Many of the nature-related references were too generally well-known to be considered as ECRs. Furthermore, a *reindeer* appeared not only in the context of nature, but also in the context of food and symbols of Lapland in marketing. Due to this overlap, I have excluded reindeer in this domain and only placed in the domain *Attitudes, mindset and lifestyle*. Therefore, the exact amount of ECRs in each domain leaves room for interpretation, because several of the ECRs could have been placed in more than one domain. Out of the total of eight ECRs in this domain, two were purely visual ECRs. Aurora borealis glowing above the lake is something despite being culture-specific, many foreign viewers are likely to recognize, since they are nowadays heavily used to promote Lapland as a tourist destination. More confusing for international audience could be the daytime darkness in the beginning of LO, where Janne leaves the house and arrives to the center around 3 p.m but it is already getting dark outside. In addition, some of the ECRs in this domain refer specifically to Lapland, most notably ECRs such as *kaira* 'northern woodland', *tunturi* 'fell' and *aurora borealis*.

6.2.8 Other

The last domain includes the total of 14 miscellaneous ECRs. These include for example vehicles shown in LO such as a *snow mobile* and a *kicksled*, and *acquiring cash with empty bottles* as well as expressions like *MM-kisat* 'world championships' and *safaribisnes* 'safari business', which can refer to different phenomena in some other countries. One or two of the ECRs in this domain are close to the "lifestyle"

category. For example *knitting at work* could be considered one together with *valmistua kortistoon* ‘graduate into the unemployment register’ and *asepalveluksesta vapauttaminen* ‘exemption from the military service’, but they are a lot more concrete than the rather sociological ECRs included in the domain *Attitudes, mindset and lifestyle*. Therefore, I decided to keep them in the miscellaneous domain. Out of the 14 ECRs only two occurred in HDLOM: *rinkeli* ‘Finnish pretzel’ and *the pelimanni folk music* in the wedding scene of HDLOM.

6.3 Distribution by Translation Strategies

In this section I will finally analyze the ECRs from the perspective of their renderings and the translation strategies used to create them. First, I will present the results as a whole and then move on to discuss each strategy and their cases in detail. In the end, I will present some of the challenges I faced when conducting a qualitative analysis on the data as well as discuss each of the troubling cases. The Table 5. presents the number of cases in each category and their percentages are represented by the Figure 3. below. In terms of the distribution 82% of the cases in my data were translated using four of the seven main categories listed by Pedersen (2011: 76). Out of these four the most frequently used was *retention* (27%), whereas *direct translation*, *generalization* and *omission* were divided almost evenly, gaining shares of 17 – 19% each. I have treated the two subcategories of generalization, *superordinate term* and *paraphrase*, as separate strategies and they are also presented as such in the Table 5. and in the Figure 3. One or more cases of the strategies are also included in the category *Combinations of several strategies*. These will be further discussed in Section 6.3.8.

Table 5. The number of cases representing each translation strategy

Retention	29
Specification	10
Direct translation	21
Superordinate term	13
Paraphrase	8
Omission	19
Official equivalent	3
Combinations of several strategies	6
Total	109

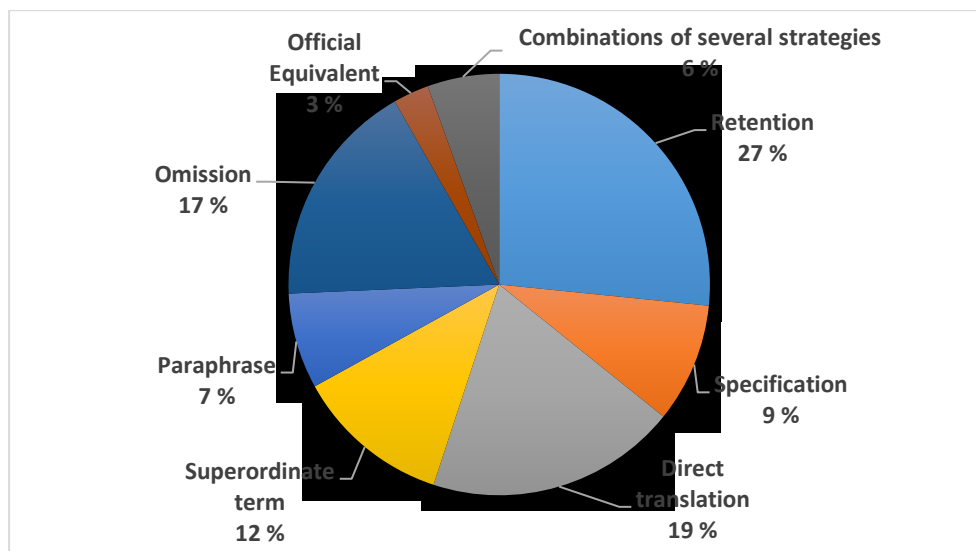


Figure 3. The distribution of the translation strategies in the data.

6.3.1 Retention

The most frequent strategy used in the data is retention. Out of the total of 76 explicit ECRs in the data, 28 had been retained in the translation either exactly in the same form as in the ST or slightly adjusted according to the TL. Examples of the TL-adjusted retentions included capitalization of the initial letter in the second word of the boxing club name (*Askin talli* -> *Askin Talli*) and adding an infinite article into the word *sauna*, making it *a sauna*. Apart from three of the cases, all retentions were proper names of characters in the film. These included simple first names, such as *Raija* -> *Raija*, characters with full first and last names, like *Ilmari Tuomi* -> *Ilmari Tuomi*, as well as characters who were only referred to with their last name, such as *Hatunen* -> *Hatunen*. Even some of the nicknames were retained in the translation, for example in the case of *Räihä* and *Snadi*. Rest of the proper names were either omitted, since they were not crucial for understanding the plot or translated directly like the name *Pikku-Mikko* that was turned into *Little Mickey*. This decision was justified since the character's short stature and his Napoleon complex are the basis of both humour and characterization in the film. He is not however, the only character of the film whose name may suggest something about the character: The name *Kapu* is retained in the subtitles as it is, even though that choice does not convey its Finnish connotations into English. The word *kapu* can be used as a nickname abbreviated from the Finnish word for captain *kapteeni*. *Kapu* in LO is in fact the narrator of the film. He acts as a voice of reason throughout the film and keeps questioning Janne's ill-advised choices. Finally, the most obvious hint towards the interpretation is the scene where *Kapu* saves Janne from possible drowning after

which he exclaims: *Miekö tätä retkeä nyt johan?* “Am I the trip leader now?” Inari on the other hand adds some local flavor on the film, since her name is not only a name of a woman, but more widely known as a municipality and a popular tourism destination in Lapland.

6.3.2 Specifications

Even though according to Pedersen (2011:88) Generalization is a much more common strategy than Specification, the latter appears in ten cases of my rather limited data. The cases include completing the ST expressions that might remain too vague for the target audience if translated directly. For example *MM-kisat* has been translated into a rather long expression *hockey world championships*, even though the sport can be deduced from the visual content of the film. However, the visual clue appears very briefly and refers to an event with high cultural significance, so the strategy choice is well justified. Another similar completion is spelling out *Rolho* as *Rovaniemi*. *Rolho* as a nickname for Rovaniemi is an infracultural ECR that not even all Finns are familiar with. Specification also include cases where unlike in the ST the unit of currency is made explicit in the TT. In the taxi scene of LO already discussed in Section 5.2.1 the taxi driver breaks down the costs of vomiting in the taxi. In Finnish he is rambling sums without the unit of currency, but in the English subtitles the content is summarized and the word *euros* added to help the viewer keep on track.

Example 6.

Taxi driver:	”Eipä mithää. Pesu <i>sataviiskymppiä</i> , menetetty työaika <i>kolkytäviiseuroa</i> tunti. Mennee vähintää neljä tuntia eli <i>sataneljäkymppiä</i> plus siivousfirman matkat <i>kolomekymppiä</i> ... eli <i>kolomekakskymmentä</i> paitsi jos vedit ilmastointiin niin se on pikkasen kalliimpi keikka sitte.”	‘That’s okay. The cleaning will cost <i>150 euros</i> , loss of working time <i>140 euros</i> . The cleaning company travel costs <i>30 euros</i> . <i>320 euros</i> in total. If you hit the air conditioner, it’ll cost more.’
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6.3.3 Direct translations

Another frequently used strategy was Direct translation. It was used as the only strategy in 21 ECRs of my data. Most of the ECRs translated using the strategy were different measures. Instead of converting the units, Vähälä decided to keep *kilo* as kilos and *markka* as marks. With such a global target audience converting measures could have been a bigger risk than keeping them as they are.

There were few names that were translated directly as well. Apart from Little Mickey, the similar treatment was given to Olli Mäki's nickname. In the boxing ring he was known as *Kokkolan leipuri*, which was translated literally as *Baker of Kokkola*. In addition, with *Kittilän runkkarit* Vähälä had kept the tone of the expression and translated it rather directly as *the jerk-offs from Kittilä* (as underlined in the Example 7.). She was able to use a whole one liner for that, but soon later she had to reduce *Kolarin hippie* into a more general *hippie* to make it fit in the end of a two-liner, as shown on the example below:

Example 7.

Kapu:	Kattokaapa ketä tuolla istuu.	Look who's sitting over there.
Räihänen:	<u><i>Kittilän runkkarit.</i></u> Mie hunteerasin ko oli niin paskat piisit jukepoksis.	<u><i>The jerk-offs from Kittilä.</i></u> I figured you were here - since the music on the jukebox is so shitty.
Kemppainen 1:	Mitäs se <i>Kolarin hippie</i> sojottellee?	What are you pointing at us for, <i>hippie</i> ?

The example shows how similar expressions sometimes require the use of different strategies to conform the space limitations of the subtitle and perhaps make the subtitle easier and quicker to read. After the line of Kemppainen 1 shown above, the pace of the dialogue increases, which has required careful consideration of exposure times and subtitle lengths from the subtitler to ensure the viewer has enough time to read the subtitle as well as look at the visual content present on the screen.

6.3.4 Generalization

The two types of generalization was used as the only strategy altogether in 19% of the translations of all the explicit ECRs in my data. The use of *superordinate term* was slightly more frequent than the use of *paraphrase*. Their shares of the total amount of explicit ECRs were 12% and 7%, respectively. Out of the different domains, generalization was most frequently used in *Commercial names and brands*, where from the total of 13 cases six were translated using only generalization. With those superordinate term seems to be preferred over paraphrase. Based on the five cases of superordinate terms in the domain, it seems that the strategy was used whenever possible to create a concise rendering with suitable connotations. However, *Astropolis*, referring to a technology and science hub

in Sodankylä, was too complex a phenomenon to render using a superordinate term and therefore a paraphrase have been used instead.

6.3.4.1 Superordinate term

Superordinate term was used as the only strategy in 13 of the ECR renderings. The strategy was used especially to replace Finnish product names and types that foreigners most likely are not familiar with. For example in LO *iso kolmonen* was turned into a simple *beer* in the subtitles of LO. Similarly *Lasol* became *windshield wiper fluid*, *Jallu* was referred to as *the booze* and *Jaffa* was called *a soda*. The only example of this strategy in HDLDM was translating *rinkeli* as *pretzel*. Some of the products were also visible on the screen. For example *Jaloviina (Jallu)* bottle was visible and even the label was recognizable on the visuals of the scene, so changing the type or brand of the drink into something else in the subtitles might have resulted in unwanted feedback-effect in viewers who are familiar with Finnish alcoholic beverages. In addition to different products, the strategy was used to simplify exact culture-specific terms such as translating *hanki* as *snow*. Furthermore places like *Tornio* and *Haaparanta*, were rendered as *the city* and *Sweden* respectively, to remove the culture-specific place names foreigners would hardly know and emphasize the semantic features of the ECRs that were most significant for understanding the line as a whole and its context.

6.3.4.2 Paraphrase

Finally, there were 8 cases of ECRs that required more complex a solution than superordinate term. These included both specific culture-specific terms, such as *avanto* in LO (as presented in the example below), as well as fixed phrases

Example 8.

The customer:	Meille luvattiin <i>avanto</i> .	We were told we could <i>go ice swimming</i> .
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Although the rendering *go ice swimming* is rather a long expression to fit into the subtitle, it does convey the intended meaning better than a mere *hole in the ice* would, which could just as well be used for fishing. This way describing the purpose of the ECR in the subtitles can be more beneficial for the viewer than simply rendering the noun that was mentioned. Especially, since ice swimming is not widely known all over the world and in the film the customers of the spa are never actually seen

swimming in the hole made by Janne, which might leave the international audience wondering what was it all for.

The fixed phrases included ECRs such as *tunturin tuuli*, translated as *cold northern wind*, which neatly removed the culture-specific word *tunturi*. Although *a fell* would be an English equivalent for it, it may be a word unknown to many lingua franca speakers. Therefore, the expression used instead is a much safer choice, when translator cannot evaluate the level of encyclopaedic knowledge of their target audience. Another example of a fixed phrase translated using a paraphrase was *valmistua kortistoon*, translated as *be successfully unemployed*. The literal meaning of the latter is 'graduate into the unemployment register', which is 14 characters longer than the used rendering and sounds stranger as well.

6.3.5 Omissions

As often happens in audio-visual translation, some ST items need to be left out from the subtitles to make crucial information as concise as possible. Sometimes leaving out culture-specific expressions can also be justifiable. Regarding the different modes of ECRs in my research, omission can only apply to explicit and implicit ECRs i.e ECRs in a verbal form, since subtitlers do not typically omit any visual elements of the film. In my data, there were altogether 19 cases, where the ECR had been completely removed from the subtitle. Between the two films, omissions were more frequent in the translation of LO, whereas the strategy was used only once in HDLOM. This occurred in the end of the movie just after the match, when the film crew comes to film the last shots for the document. The omitted item is the surname of the cameraman. The line is presented below:

Example 9.

The director:	No niin, tehdääs vähän tilaa. <i>Kiuru</i> , pistä kamera siihen.	Make some room will you? Put the camera down.
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In LO, altogether 18 omissions were used. Out of these seven were names of athletes or ice hockey teams, such as *Lauri Korpikoski* and *Porin Ässät* that were mentioned in TV or radio commentary in the background. Many of them occur in scenes with overlapping dialogue, so in accordance with the subtitling norms the dialogue have been treated as priority, and the items that are not crucial for following the plot have been omitted, since not all content can be fitted into the subtitles. Among the omissions there are also names of Finnish artists (*Gallen-Kallela* and *Palsa*) and names of geographical

locations and regions in Finnish Lapland (a fell *Ylläs*, *Joukan mutka*, a local name for a specific curve on the road and *Luoteis-Lappi* ‘North-West Lapland’). Especially *Joukan mutka* can be considered an infracultural ECR. Many of the omitted items would have required further explaining to be understood by a viewer who is not familiar with Finnish geography or culture. Therefore, omitting the expressions is well justified when they are not actually relevant for understanding the story as a whole. On the other hand, according to Pedersen (2011:96), the omission can be considered the most target-oriented strategy, because it removes the “foreign” element completely. In my data, omissions evidently reduce the local flavour of the dialogue.

6.3.6 Official Equivalents

The strategy of Official Equivalent was used only three times in the data. These contain the names of three cities *Kokkola*, *Helsinki* and *Oulu*, which were all retained in their Finnish form in the TT. I defined them as official equivalents on the basis that in all international contexts the names of Finnish cities are almost always retained by default in their Finnish form, instead of using for example their Swedish names, such as *Helsingfors*, or creating a TL-adjusted version of the name such as *Helsing*. So, although the translation choice is not governed by any official decree, they fit Pedersen’s definition of Official Equivalent (Pedersen, 2011: 97 – 100) in that they do not really create a translation problem for the translator and usually there are no real options to translate them otherwise. Interestingly enough, *Perho*, *Espoo* and *Tampere* did not receive the same treatment in the TT. The two different renderings of *Perho* as *home* (paraphrase) and *a backwater town* (superordinate term) reflect Raija’s and Elis’ different attitudes towards the place, a tension which was important to the story and therefore crucial to transfer clearly to the TT. With *Espoo*, more important than the exact name of the place was the connotations related to its location. Translated as *the south*, it represents the geographical “other” where people move to get away from “the north”. On the other hand it seems that *Tampere* was omitted only to save space in a scene with fast-paced dialogue. To serve the story it would have been ideal to be able to render the fact that Inari is about to leave her boyfriend and life in Lapland and move to south like so many women before her.

6.3.7 The challenging cases

Pedersen's (2011) taxonomy of translation strategies was useful in analyzing my data and most of the ECRs in my data fell into the categories rather neatly. There were however few problematic cases among the ECRs in terms of which of the translation strategies they represent. The most frequent challenge in my data were numerals that were spelled out in the ST dialogue list (perhaps to emphasize their colloquial pronunciation in the film), but appeared in the short, numerical form in the TT. An example of this would be translating the ST item *viiskytä kolome ja puolikilonen* in the TT as *53.5*. So, in order to figure out which translation strategy was used, the question arose whether making the number intelligible to the TT reader by simply changing it into a numerical form can be considered *translating*. The attributive ones, followed by a unit of measure or currency could be considered translated or at least TL-adjusted, since the unit was changed into the TL form. But how about the ones, where the numeral was standing alone? The number alone can offer barely any evidence on either retaining a language or changing it. Because the form had been changed, the pronominal numerals could not be classified as complete retentions. Therefore, two potential choices remained: a TL-adjusted retention or a direct translation. They did not qualify as official equivalents, because the measurements were not converted into the units used by TC (which could be further complicated by stating that in this research TC is global and therefore several different units of measure and currency are being used.) Finally, I decided to include both attributive and pronominal numerals under the strategy *direct translation* even though the change of language was in some cases only made visible by adding a point where Finnish would use a space or a full stop (*300,000* vs. *300 000*) and a decimal point where Finnish would use a comma (*53.5* vs. *53,5*). The same strategy was applied to ECR *kuuskytä*, which was translated as *60*, although no evidence of change of language is visible in that number. However, since the language surrounding the numeral is English, we can assume that the number also represents the English expression *sixty* instead of Finnish *kuuskytä*.

Another troubling case was the ECR *safaribisnes* 'safari-business'. Since the word itself is in fact a loan word from English, despite being used in culture-specific sense in Finland, how should its translation be perceived? The strategy used is not really a direct translation of the Finnish word, nor TL-adjusted retention, but rather a return to its original written English form. Therefore, we can observe how sometimes a culture-specific phenomenon and the linguistic term used to refer to it actually originate from different cultures. As always, the reality of translation does not follow perfectly the theoretical framework. Or should we say that the theoretical framework does not yet perfectly describe the reality of translation. There were seven cases of ECR translations in my data, which consisted of more than one of the strategies. In addition, some of the renderings that I was eventually able to include under a

specific strategy, were not unequivocal at first sight. For example the ECR *safaribisnes*, which was translated as *safari business*, seemed ambiguous, because it is a loanword from English. Deciding whether or not translating it from Finnish back to English by changing few letters can be considered a retention or perhaps direct translation, was a challenge. Eventually, I decided to define it as TL-adjusted retention, because the word ultimately stays the same and the rendering does not require the process of changing the meaning to another language it would need to have for it to be defined as a direct translation.

The ECR Perho was not a challenge to analyze, but it was the only ECR with two different noun-based renderings. For that reason I decided to add it into these special cases. In HDLOM Perho was rendered both as *a home* (paraphrase) and *a backwater town* (superordinate term). These reflect the speakers' (Raija and Elis) different attitudes towards the place in question, a tension which was important to the story and therefore crucial to transfer clearly to the TT.

6.3.8 The combinations of several strategies

There were six explicit ECRs, whose translation strategies could not be as straightforwardly analyzed as the others. I have collected these in the Table 6 below. In most of their translations more than one strategies have been used to produce a rendering suitable for the subtitles. In addition, the table includes the case where one ECR has been translated in two different ways in the TT as well as the case where two different ECRs have been combined in the same phrase in the TT. I will now discuss each of their renderings in more detail. The first four ECRs are from HDLOM and the last three are from LO.

Table 6. The ECRs with combinations or exceptional translations strategies

1. Halkokarin tanssilava	the outdoor dance pavilion	omission. + specification
2. Keski-Pohjanmaa –lehti	Keskipohjanmaa newspaper	retention + specification
3. Kokkolan työväentalo	Worker's Hall in your small town	direct translation + generalization (S)
4. Rovaniemen Säättö, Sähkö, Valo ja Kodintekniikka Martti Juntura	Rovaniemi Electronics Lights and Home Appliances	direct translation. + omission
5. Äkäshotelli 6. Pipola	the other side of the mountain	generalization (P) + generalization (P)

Halkokarin tanssilava

When *Halkokarin tanssilava* is translated as *the outdoor dance pavilion*, the ECR rendering is created through omitting the name of the location from it, as well as making the expression more specific by adding the word *outdoor*, which describe the space further than the ST item does. Therefore, the result is a combination of two different strategies, which together form a suitable rendering. Part of the reason why the ECR requires more than one translation strategy is that the ECR in question is what Pedersen (2011:60-61) calls an *embedded ECR*: an ECR *Halkokari* is nested inside an ECR *Halkokarin tanssilava*. That makes finding the suitable rendering more complex and also results in overlapping of domains: *Halkokari* is a geographical location in the city of Kokkola and could thus be placed in the domain of *Geographical names and adjectives* and be translated as such, but because its role in the noun phrase is to determine the word *tanssilava* 'dance pavilion', I have placed the whole ECR only in the domain of buildings. Another example of similar embedded ECR is the Kokkolan työväentalo presented below as number 4. In HDL0M *Halkokarin tanssilava* appears when Olli mentions it to his manager as his training place back home in Kokkola. There is no need for an international audience to know that from all the neighbourhoods in Kokkola, the dance pavilion is located specifically in *Halkokari*. Therefore Vähälä has decided to omit the name of the place completely. What is more relevant in the context, is the fact, that the dance pavilion in question is an outdoor space and as such somewhat similar to Kumpula swimming pool where Olli is training in Helsinki as well as the Olympic Stadium where the match finally takes place.

Keski-Pohjanmaa-lehti

Another ECR that has been rendered using two different strategies was *Keski-Pohjanmaa-lehti* (the correct contemporary spelling is *Keskipojanmaa-lehti*), which was translated as *Keskipojanmaa newspaper*. The name of the paper has been retained, instead of translating it according to the name of the province directly into *Central Ostrobothnia newspaper*. This may be because the English name of the province is not well-known, so it wouldn't serve its purpose. It is also perhaps too long for the subtitles. However, the word *lehti* 'paper' has been specified into *newspaper*. So where as the ST item is not transparent whether the publication is in fact a newspaper or a magazine, the TT item does make it explicit. This helps the TT audience, who may not be able to deduce this from the name of the paper unlike Finns who are likely to know that papers named after their province, are usually local newspapers.

Kokkolan työväentalo

Another example where the name of the location has been removed, is translating *Kokkolan työväentalo* as *Worker's Hall in your small town* in HDLDM. However, instead of omitting the element completely, *Kokkola* has been translated with a superordinate term *your small town*, as shown below:

Example 10.

Olli:	Kyllähän mä siihen otteluun haluan, mutta vaan... sais olla iliman näitä kaikkia ihmisiä ja tämmöstä touhua.	Of course I want to fight the match. I just... ...wish I didn't have to deal with all the people and the fuss.
Elis:	Ei sitä nyt missään <i>Kokkolan työväentalolla</i> voi järjestää.	We can't have the match at the <i>Worker's Hall in your small town</i> .

The strategy does remove some local flavour and sense of geography from the subtitles but it does convey the most relevant information as intended: it highlights how Elis is trying to make Olli understand, that they could not afford to arrange an international professional level boxing match in any smaller scale. The other element of the ECR, *työväentalo*, has been directly translated as *Worker's Hall*, which is its closest equivalent in English language and works equally well as the polar opposite of Olympic Stadium as a sports venue.

Rovaniemen Sääto, Sähkö, Valo ja Kodintekniikka Martti Juntura

The name of the home appliance store where Janne is heading to buy the digibox is quite a mouthful in Finnish. So understandably it needed to be shortened somehow for the subtitles. Making it too short would go against the subtitling norms, because as Vertanen (2007:152) pointed out, the length of the subtitle should not differ too much from the ST item, but rather be similar in "weight". Therefore, *Rovaniemi Electronics Lights and Home Appliances* is a suitable rendering, produced through a direct translation and omission of the name of the store's owner.

Äkäshotelli and Pipola

In LO there was one case, where two different ECRs were combined into a single phrase in the TT. It occurred in a scene, where Janne tries to offer unlicensed taxi rides in Ylläs Ski Resort. In the dialogue Janne lists different hotels and nightclubs where he is ready to drive people to. The geographical location of these places does not come across in the ST dialogue, but has been used to replace the names of the venues in the TT.

Example 11.

Janne:	Tarttisko kyytiä <i>Y-ykköseen</i> ?	Need a ride <i>to the other club</i> ?
A woman:	Ei.	--
Janne:	Tarttisko kyytiä <u>Äkäshotellille? Pipolaan?</u>	A ride <u>to the other side of the mountain?</u>
A man:	Ei.	--
Janne:	Pipolaan? Häh? Nyte pääsis halvala.	A cheap ride.

Combining both ECRs into a single paraphrase is convenient, because the names of the hotels and nightclubs are infracultural ECRs and as such not well-known even among other Finns. Creating English names for those places would not be worthwhile either, because they do not feature in any other scenes of the film. Another option would have been using superordinate terms, but since *Äkäshotelli* is a hotel and *Pipola* is a restaurant, finding a common superordinate term would not be simple. Most importantly, the relevant background information is that Ylläs Ski Resort is divided between two different centres: Äkäslompolo and Ylläsjärvi and Janne's spontaneous business idea is based on his knowledge that during Christmas parties people are ready to pay for taxis to get from one center to another. This explains the chosen translation strategy, which conveys this idea to some extent. Interestingly, in this scene Vähälä has chosen to use the word *mountain* instead of *a fell*, which reinforces the point I made in Section 6.3.4.2, that she has avoided the word *a fell* on purpose as it may be unknown to many lingua franca speakers.

Regarding the taxonomy of translation strategies used for this research, quite surprisingly, there were no cases of substitutions in the translation strategies used in the data of my research. For this reason I have not included it in the analysis. The lack of substitution as a used strategy may be due to the fact that the encyclopaedic knowledge of the fully international target audience is so difficult to anticipate.

Finding another ECR or other expression that would fit the context and especially be familiar to most of the members of such a culturally diverse target audience, would be quite difficult and time-consuming. Understandably, using a generalization or specification is much easier and faster to retain at least some of the connotations of the ST ECR. The viable ECRs to use as substitutions would have to be internationally well-known and even then it might seem strange to use them in the movie that is so saturated with references to Finnish Lapland as LO is. In HDLOM the strategy could have been more viable due to the international theme of the film. Since there were no cases of Substitution, I have left the strategy out from the Table 5. and Chart 3. representing the distribution.

6.4 Translation of Implicit and Visual ECRs

In addition to explicit ECRs, my data includes altogether 18 implicit ECRs. Translation of these could not have been analyzed using Pedersen's categories, since they are not conveyed through single verbal expressions, but rather hinted towards implicitly through one or several comments in the dialogue, often supported by the visuals of the film. I will now discuss them and their translations briefly.

Making fun of harsh weather conditions and geographical remoteness and isolation is quite typical of Finnish humour. This is presented well in the very beginning of LO, when Kapu as a narrator introduces the audience to the dark history of his home region in Finnish Lapland. He describes and exaggerates the harsh weather and natural conditions faced by the first settlers:

Example 12.

... Sitten halla vei sa'on kolomena vuonna peräkkäin,
vaimo kuoli hinkuyskhään, sääsket söi kuopuksen ja
lehmät meni umpheen ko oli koko ajan niin saatanan
pimeää.

Then frost killed his crops
three years in a row.

His wife died of whooping cough.

Mosquitos ate his youngest child.

His cows became dry
because it was so dark.

This background information of local history is given to explain the frequent suicides of local men, who hanged themselves to the local dead standing pine, The Swing Tree. The narrator Kapu seems rather fixated on the subject and tells Pjotr quite graphically the key requirements of a successful hanging and the bodily functions that take place during it. In Finland it is not uncommon that both dramas and comedies can cover very dark themes quite vividly. According to Rannanpää (2014), Kapu's attitude is

an example of “arctic hysteria”: the despair of men in the north amidst the long, dark winters, where the prerequisites for a happy life are non-existent once both women and jobs have disappeared. The harsh weather reappears later in LO when the protagonists nearly freeze to death in a snowstorm. The storm is presented both visually and through the dialogue in Example 13.:

Example 13.

Sää tiedotus:	Voimakas matalapaineen keskus: tuulen pelätään nousevan jopa 21 metriin sekunnissa. Myrskyrintaman uskotan kuitenkin ylittävän Luoteis-Lapin alueen melko nopeasti lähituntien aikana.	... <i>strong winds of 21 meters per second.</i> <i>The storm should pass within three hours...</i>
Pikku-Mikko:	Noni. Sitte ei muutako menoksi sano... Annie Lenoksi.	Let's go, says J.Lo.
Inari:	Pitäskö kuitenkin vielä kattoa että mihinkä tuo kehitty.	Shouldn't we wait and see how the weather changes?
Pikku-Mikko:	Ei tuo minusta kauheen pahalta näyttäny.	It doesn't look that bad.
Inari:	Kuhan sillä jänöllä ois hattu. Varmaan kintaakki on hukannu johonki. Ku se on vähä semmonen.	Janne doesn't even have a hat. And I'm sure he's lost his gloves. He's like that.
Pikku-Mikko:	Tuolla välttämättä tarvi hattua ollenkaan kyllä.	You don't necessarily need a hat in this weather.
--	---	---
Kapu:	Met kuolemme tänne.	We'll die here.
Janne:	Lämmitetään toisiamme.	We'll keep each other warm.

Inari's concerns over the storm are reinforced by the visual ECR of a kicksled gliding in the stormy wind outside. The audience can witness this detail through a window, but since Inari and Little Mickey are facing away from it and for that reason unaware of it, the ECR does not appear in the dialogue nor in the subtitles in any way. Whether the international audience living in a warmer climate can actually recognize a kicksled, is another issue.

The humour related to remoteness and isolation appears in LO also through the “*Jämä alkaa*” “The left-over land begins’ road sign, (see Section 6.2.5), which is comical due to the fact that the original “*Taajama alkaa*” sign signifies the opposite: the entrance to a built-up area. Remoteness of the area and the lifestyle that comes with it is hinted towards in other scenes as well. For example after Inari

has revealed her biggest motive for leaving and it seems all hope is lost, Rähänen tries to comfort Janne, but his remarks are sarcastically shot down by the more pessimistic Kapu:

Example 14.

Rähänen:	Noho. Näe ku emännät on ko ratikat. Aina tullee seuraava.	Women are like street cars. There will always be another one.
Kapu:	Montako ratikkaa solet nähny täälä?	How many street cars have you seen here?

Both movies depict typical Finnish character and attitudes in their own way. In HDLOM Olli's modest personality clashes with what is expected from him when promoting the big international boxing match he is about to fight in. He does not enjoy the sudden nationwide attention from the press or the social responsibilities required to maintain the sponsors for the match. This is highlighted especially in the scene where Elis starts patching up Olli's answers in the press conference to make him sound more confident than he really is. Olli's hesitation does not come across as much in the subtitles as in the ST, but otherwise the subtitles are rather faithful to the ST. In HDLOM paralanguage also helps to convey the intended meaning: despite being a successful boxer Olli's gestures make him seem like an unassuming and peaceful man throughout the film.

Example 15.

Journalist 1:	- - - Pelottaako?	Are you scared? - No. Why should I be?
Olli:	No ei, mitästä nyt pelekäämään. Sehän on vain hyvä kun pääsee tällaista hyvää miestä vastaan ottelemaan. Siinä ei ainakaan sillon niinku huonolle häviä. Emmä tiä, otellaan ja katellaan sitte.	I'm happy to be able to fight such a good boxer. At least I won't be losing to a bad one. I'll fight and we'll see what happens.
Journalist 1:	Otellaan ja...	"I'll fight, and..." - Why don't you write:
Elis:	Niin niin, tai jos kirjoitat sinne, että Olli Mäkeä ei pelota kukaan tai mikään. Ollilla on lähes kolmesataa amatööriottelua vyöllään. Euroopanmestaruus	Olli Mäki isn't scared of anyone or anything. Olli has almost 300 amateur matches under his belt.

amatööreistä -59. Kymmenen ammattilaisottelua, joista kahdeksan voittoa. Olli on loistavassa kunnossa ja keskittyy sataprosenttisesti siihen, että maailmanmestaruus jää Suomeen.

He won the European title in 1959.

Of his ten professional matches, he's won eight.

He's in incredible shape, -

focused 100 percent on bringing the championship to Finland.

In LO the typically Finnish attitudes occur in relation to history and people from our neighboring countries. In the beginning of the film Kapu's introduction to the local history includes a reference to the Lapland War. Still reminiscing the wars and the bitterness left by them seems to be typical for Finnish mentality although this is not often seen in such a comical context. Since the Lapland War may not be internationally the best-known war fought by the Germans in the Second World War, international audience may not have enough encyclopaedic knowledge to fully grasp the irony and tragedy of Toivo's story. That is not however crucial for understanding the plot of the film, since the story is only there to set the tone of despair carried through generations and finally setting the stage for the contemporary protagonists of the film. For that the subtitles carry sufficient information.

Example 16.

Kapu:	- - - Sotien aikaan meikäläisen isoisoisä Toivo piti itteään ovelanaki kettuna ko se möi pontikkaa sekä saksalaisille että venäläisille. No venäläiset ampui kännipäissään Toivoa jalkaan ja sakemannit poltti koko seu'un Toivon keitoksilla.	My great-great grandfather Toivo thought he was really smart – selling moonshine to both Germans and Russians during the war. The drunken Russians shot him in the leg – and the Germans burnt the village, - using the moonshine as lighter fluid.
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Later in the film, Rähä makes it clear that the company of Russians is still not preferred by suggesting that it is not a good idea to stop to help the Russian tourists who have hit a reindeer with their car. The Swedish underwater rugby team however is described very differently in the film, as discussed in Section 6.2.5. These stereotypes are used as the source of comedy in the film. For an international audience those scenes may tell more about Finnish people and their prejudice towards Russians and

Swedes than actually about those nationalities. In addition, the situations where the protagonists meet the Swedish women and the Russian tourists are specific to the way of life in Lapland, which may be unrelatable (and therefore fail to amuse), but perhaps nevertheless interesting to foreign viewers. None of the underlying assumptions of Russians or Swedes are further explained in the subtitles, so the international audience must deduce what they can from the subtitles, paralanguage and other visuals of the film. This may cause confusion, if their own perceptions of those nationalities are very different from those depicted on the film.

Since subtitles are a very restricted type of translation in terms of the space available, they do not often provide any more information than the ST, even when that would serve the target audience well. In the case of LO however the ST dialogue is sometimes quite elliptical. Whenever such an elliptical phrase also includes an ECR, the translator not only has to create a translation with a complete syntactical structure, but also rephrase it the way which conveys the culture-specific meaning in the intended way. An example of this is the scene near the beginning of LO where Janne comes to buy digibox from Hatunen just when he is about to close the shop. When Janne pleads with him to stay overtime for him, Hatunen is worried he will be late for sauna. Finns, who are both punctual and accustomed to the idea of relaxing in the sauna after work, can relate to his annoyance when someone is holding him up at work. Therefore, Hatunen's swearing and muttering "saunat siell" is easy for Finns to interpret. However, literal translation would be likely to confuse those foreigners who are not too familiar with sauna culture and could not deduce the connection between sauna and the situation at hand. The subtitle that makes the reason for his frustration explicit is more informative than the ST despite omitting one of the swear words.

Example 17.

Janne:	Oleppa nytten reilu. Mie lähen sulle syksylä taas ajomieheksi. Häh!	C'mon. We'll go hunting in the fall. Huh? - Damn.
Hatunen:	Perkele kanssa. <i>Saunat siell saatana.</i> Halavinko?	<i>I'll be late for sauna...</i> You want the cheapest model? - Yeah.
Janne:	Täh! Nii!	

The Finnish love for *sauna* is evident in my data, because sauna appears in at least two scenes in LO and three scenes in HDLOM. In LO the Swedish girl suggests an intimate sauna session to Janne while they are in the pool, whereas in HDLOM sauna appears mainly as a part of Olli's weight loss routine. Once again, apart from the dialogue that takes place during the scenes, no further explanations are provided in the subtitles for the sauna scenes or the nudity that comes with them. Sauna is of course a relatively well-known concept outside Finland as well, so most members of the international audience should know what to expect. Perhaps more surprising for the international audience is the frequent male nudity as the source of comedy. How well such humour works depends on how big of a taboo nudity is in the viewer's own culture. Overall, in order to amuse, the comical scenes need to be based on something the viewer can relate to. Some jokes can be based on universal topics, but especially in LO many comical scenes are built on the dark, self-deprecating humour preferred in the Nordic countries, but not necessarily worldwide. In taboo topics such as nudity, the viewers attention will be drawn to the visuals. There is not much a translator can do to explain jokes that do not work in another culture or soften the effect of a visually presented taboo subject. Since the space available for subtitling is limited, the non-verbal visual sign is essential in completing the information concerning many implicit ECRs. For example in HDLOM the Helsinki Olympic Stadium, where the boxing match takes place, is never actually named. The visuals however reveal the location together with Elis' comments concerning the amount of people they are expecting to witness Olli's match.

With some ECRs it is the non-verbal acoustic sign that completes the effect. The *pelimanni* style folk music that is played in the wedding in HDLOM is very typical for the Perho – Kaustinen area where Raija is from. Although few lines of the lyrics Raija sings are subtitled, the most culture-specific elements are the violins and the style of the waltz played in the scene. The fiddlers even appear together with Raija on the stage. Weddings in general are full of culture-specific customs. The scene conveys well the contrast between the sombre wedding speeches and the joyful dancing, highlighted by Raija's remark: "Rakkaus on vakava asia." translated as "Love seems to be a serious thing." No verbal information is given on the wedding venue either, which appears to be the same place where Raija later on runs the children's theatre production. In both ST and the translation the place is only referred to as *teatteri* 'the theater', which can be misleading for the international audience as discussed in Section 5.2.6.

There were some purely visual ECRs as well, that did not appear in any verbal form neither in the ST nor in the translation. Some visual ECRs such as *aurora borealis* are nowadays so frequently used in tourism marketing of Finland that they should be recognizable to most members of the international audience and not require any translation. However, for example some previous knowledge on Finnish

culture is required to fathom the iconic significance of the image of *puukko* ‘Finnish hunting knife’ stuck on the trunk of the hanging tree. The film contains also more subtle visual ECRs, such as the hotel receptionist who spends her night shift knitting. A Finnish viewer barely pays any attention to it, because we are so used to seeing people knitting also in public places to kill time, but it is not a common sight abroad. No translation is provided for any of the non-verbal visual ECRs.

6.5 The Impact of Multimodality

In this section I will discuss my findings using the four channels of information by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993). I will first briefly discuss the culture-specific content of films conveyed through the non-verbal acoustic sign, which was excluded from my analysis. Then, I will proceed to explore the impact of multimodality in terms of the ECRs found in the data and their translation. Below, I have provided the same table of the visual and acoustic signs which was already presented in Section 3.2 to serve as a reminder of the different information channels of a multimodal medium.

Table 7. Visual and acoustic signs

verbal visual	road signs etc. texts that appear in the film	non-verbal visual	non-verbal visual elements of the film
verbal acoustic	spoken dialogue of the film	non-verbal acoustic	music and sound effects

As a part of the non-verbal acoustic channel the music used on the soundtrack of the films adds to its narration. Music is often also culture-specific: they do not only create specific atmosphere for the scenes, but also depict culture-specific phenomena or mindset. According to Huttunen (2015) the soundtrack of LO includes plenty of borrowed music, all of which consists of well-known Finnish popular music and especially schlagers. In addition, most of the borrowed music used in the film is diegetic i.e its source is supposedly within the world of the film. (Huttunen, 2015: 63 – 64). These include for example the songs sung by Jouni Seppälä and Rähänen and Marjukka in the karaoke, or the music played by the jukebox of the gas station before the fight starts. Therefore, I would argue that those pieces of music can be seen just as culture-specific in their meaning as the rest of the elements of storytelling in the film. Although music belongs to the acoustic sign, some of the songs included in the films are sung and therefore include a verbal dimension as well.

My analysis excluded the ECRs that appeared in the film as sounds. Those would include the sounds of birds and other animals typical of Lapland. Huttunen (2015) gives an example of a sound that occurs several times in LO. It is the sound of a black woodpecker drumming on a trunk of tree. According to him, the sound symbolizes “the vast void surrounded by the three men (as they sit in the car that has run out of petrol along the dark road).” The sound associates with the Swing Tree men used for hanging themselves in and as such symbolizes the uncertainty of the men’s future. (Huttunen, 2015: 66). Sounds like these are not translated in anyway. Therefore, the question arises, how well these associations transfer to the international audience.

It seems that the non-verbal channels may guide the translator in terms of which of the elements in a ST should be treated as a priority. Elements can be omitted based on their relevance for the story, but whether or not those elements are visually presented on the screen, needs to be taken into account as well. The majority of the ECRs omitted in my data refer to people or things that are not visually presented in any part of the movie. This gives the translator more leeway to decide whether or not those expressions truly have to be included in the subtitles. Similarly, visual presentation makes using Substitution more difficult, because the expression used in the translation needs to fit the referent presented on the screen. For example the translator cannot simply replace the Finnish product names with British or American brands, if the labels are visible on the screen or the appearance of the product is otherwise different. For instance in LO *Jaffa* could not have been translated as *Coke*, because the colour does not match. Instead of trying to choose between the various brands of orange-flavored sodas in the world, none of which would be universally known to everyone, Vähälä has opted for a superordinate term *a soda*.

7. Conclusion

Culture-specific references as a translation problem has been widely discussed topic in translation studies. Most of the research between Finnish – English language pair has been done using data that represents the prevailing direction of translation: from English into Finnish. However, through media coverage over the years Finnish native speakers have become quite familiar with many Anglophone cultures and references to them. Meanwhile, Finland is a small, remote and somewhat exotic country producing only handful of films each year compared to many major European countries. The visibility of Finnish culture in international contexts is still minor especially in cinema.

My research is an attempt to contribute to the tradition of audiovisual translation research. By exploring the dialogue lists and subtitles provided by the translator Aretta Vähälä, as well as the audiovisual material, I was able to explore the English translations of two internationally successful Finnish films: *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki* (2016) and *The Lapland Odyssey* (2010). After a careful analysis, I was able to distinguish altogether 134 ECRs. Out of these 109 ECRs were explicit verbal references found in the dialogue lists and subtitles. The rest were either implicit verbal references found in the dialogue or visual ECRs only found in the visual material of the film.

After exploring the models of semantic categories provided by Nedergaard-Larsen (1993) and Pedersen (2011) among others, I created my own set of domains to cater for data. Based on the evidence shown above the most common type of ECRs in the data were proper names. They covered the total of 52 percent of all my data. After a close inspection of each domain, I proceeded to examine the translations of the explicit ECRs and define the translations strategies used to render them. The most common translation strategy in the data was retention, which covered 27 percent of the translations of all explicit ECRs. The least used translation strategy was substitution, which did not occur in my data at all. There was also some correlation between the domain of the ECR and the strategy used for their translation. For example the 26 ECRs that were retained exactly as they were in the ST, were all proper names. There were altogether 23 ECRs describing measures of currency or weight and 16 of them were translated directly from Finnish into English without conversion of unit. Most of the implicit ECRs do come across in the subtitles, but they often require some previous cultural knowledge to be thoroughly understood, because no additional explanations are given. Similarly, the visual ECRs require some previous cultural knowledge to be thoroughly understood, because no additional explanations are given. Part of the goal of my research was to some extent evaluate how the translation strategies used in English subtitles may affect the way Finnish culture is perceived

among international audiences. This of course is extremely difficult subject to evaluate, since we cannot know the exact composition of the audience of these films. We only know that the subtitles were made with the audience of an international film festival on mind.

Multimodality of the medium is likely to help the foreign viewer access the implicit and visual ECRs even without sufficient cultural knowledge or language skills. However, the meaning of gestures, images or sounds is not always universal either and can be interpreted differently by people of different cultural backgrounds. To what extent the co-operation of two visual and two acoustic signs together with the subtitles lead the international audience to the right understanding of the ECR, is a question that would require some extensive research and experiments with viewers from various cultural backgrounds. Even then the results would probably change every time depending on the viewers' age, educational background, reading speed, ability to process visual and acoustic information while reading the subtitles, the linguistic distance between the SL and the TL and many other factors.

So do the traditional subtitling practices take the culture-specific items into consideration well enough? If multimodality can be taken into account when subtitling for the hard-of-hearing why could not similar techniques be used to add explanations of the sounds or visual content of the film that are extremely culture-specific? It has not been traditionally done and in films that have high amount of dialogue, there may not be room for it either. But in my opinion this could require further attention as a research topic in a modern world where the amount of audiovisual content is increasing all the time. Now when audiovisual content moves from television and cinemas increasingly into online streaming and on mobile devices, and more and more of the potential audience speaks English as lingua franca to varying degrees, the subtitling practices should be examined from the contemporary perspective. How well can translators cater for the modern, global audience, especially when translating "upstream" from a minor language and culture into a major one, when there is usually more need for bridge-building? Or will all audiovisual content in the future include a comment section, where culture-specific references are explained by natives to those unfamiliar with them, as can already be seen on websites like Youtube? What would then be the role of a professional translator?

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Vähälä, A. 2016. *Hymyilevä mies*. English subtitles

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Appendix 1. The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki (2016) – A fragment of the Finnish dialogue list

Aikakoodi	Dialogi
10:46:22:05	Kapteeni Puustinen: Vai tältä näyttää meidän uus kansallissankari.
10:46:24:20	Olli: Joo, otellaan nyt ensin.
10:46:28:15	Kapteeni Puustinen: Nooh, vaatimattomuus kaunistaa. Mutta maailmanmestaria ollaan vailla.
10:46:32:15	Olli: Joo Elis: Ehdottomasti. Kato meillehän on tosi tärkeitä, että se on täällä kotona se ottelu. Saadaan koko kansan tuki Ollin taakse. Ehkä vähän helpompaakin saattaa olla kotikehässä joskus, mutta siis se on tosi, tosi tärkeitä.
10:46:46:05	Kapteeni Puustinen (vaimentuen taustalle): Paikkoja? Elis: Kolme-neljätuhatta vielä vapaana.
10:47:02:12	Elis: Kuulitsä Olli?
10:47:04:00	Olli: Joo. Tuota noin, voisinkohan mä käyttää puhelinta? Mulla olis yks asia, joka pitäis äkkiä hoitaa.
10:47:12:00	Kapteeni Puustinen: Hei tuolla peremmällä. Olli: Joo, kiitos.
10:47:17:20	Miesääni juhlista: Terve Olli: Noni
10:47:39:10	Olli: No Olli tässä.
10:47:43:20	Olli: Ai teatterille? Joo
10:47:49:00	Olli: No ei, kato mähän voin vaikka myöhemmin koittaa uudestaan.
10:47:56:20	Olli: Kerro terveisiä. Noniin. Joo. Hei.
10:48:13:13	Elis: Mitä helvettiä?
10:48:15:05	Olli: No ei ollu kotona. Eikö siinä nyt tärkeimmät jutut tullu jo juteltua.
10:48:20:20	Elis: Mitä sä teet? Teinks mä jotain väärin? Puuttuuks sulta jotain? Onko sulla jotain ongelmia? Mitä sä teet Olli: No eii--
10:48:28:20	Elis: Ymmärrätsä, että tuolla on ihmisiä valmiita antamaan sulle rahaa. Kannustaa sua, tukee sua. Mitä sä teet?
10:48:36:00	Elis: Sä tuut tänne ja soitat jonnekin saatanan Perhoon. Mikä sun on Olli? Mikä sun on?

Appendix 2. The Lapland Odyssey (2010) – A fragment of the Finnish dialogue list

JANNE:

Mie käyn lainaamassa Pikku-Mikolta. Se rakentaa tuohon Joukan mutkhaan.

RÄIHÄNEN:

Tapilta?

JANNE:

Niin

RÄIHÄNEN:

Inarin ex:ltä?

JANNE:

Exä ja exä, sehän oli se niitten suhe aivan...

KAPU:

Se Tappi varmaan lainaa sulle ihan vitun mielellään.

JANNE:

Molemma hyvissä väleissä.

KAPU:

Aahh, no lähetään lainahmaan

JANNE:

Taitaa olla jo nukkumassa. Mie tuosta vähän imasen ja panen sitte tekstarin sille. Ei kehtaa herättää.

KAPU:

Tuolla pallaa kyllä valo.

JANNE:

Täh, soon joku yövalo

KAPU:

Ei soo mikää yövalo. Se on telkkari

JANNE:

Yövalo. Tommonen sininen. Meillä on samanlainen

KAPU:

Kyllä tuo on telkkari. Ellää tuo valo siihen malhiin.

RÄIHÄNEN:

Saattaa se yövalokin välähtää.

Appendix 3. The list of the ECRs in *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki* and *Lapland Odyssey* according to their mode and domain

	Explicit	Implicit	Visual
1. Measures	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 57 kilosia 2. kuuskytä (kiloa) 3. viiskyttä kolome ja puolikilonen 4. kuuskytä yks ja kiloa 5. 56 ja puoli kiloa 6. 56,98 kiloa 7. kaksi sataa kilsaa 8. kolmesataatuhatta (markkaa) 9. kaksataaviiskyttuhatta (markkaa) 10. kaksataakin (markkaa) 11. kakskytä markkaa 12. kolmekytä markkaa 13. 12 miljoonaa (markkaa) 14. viiskymppinen (euroa) 15. 49 ja 90 (euroa) 16. pari euroa 6,50 (euroa) 17. kaksi euroa 18. sataviiskymppiä (euroa) 19. kolkytäviis euroa 20. sataneljäkymppiä (euroa) 21. kolmekymppiä (euroa) 22. kolmekakskymmentä (euroa) 		
2. Proper names and nicknames	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Olli Mäki 2. Raija 3. Elis 4. Tuula 5. Laila 6. Kokkolan leipuri 7. Reijo Pahkamäki 8. Luukkonen 9. Sirpa 10. Saara 11. Eevi 12. Snadi 13. Anneli 14. Kiuru 15. Ilmari Tuomi 16. Toivo 17. Jaakko Kivi 18. Selänne 19. Laamasen Kalle 20. Janne 21. Hatunen 22. Lauri Korpikoski 23. Tiina 24. Saarinen 25. Kalle 26. Inari (etunimi) 		

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 27. <i>Kapu</i> 28. <i>Räihä</i> 29. <i>Pikku-Mikko</i> 30. <i>Tappi</i> 31. <i>Gallen-Kallela</i> 32. <i>Palsa</i> 33. <i>Mikko</i> 34. <i>Marjukka</i> 35. <i>Petronella</i> 36. <i>Jouni Seppälä</i> 37. <i>Kymppileveli</i> 38. <i>Tapio</i> 39. <i>Kittilän runkkarit</i> 40. <i>Kolarin hippi</i> 41. <i>Juwanen</i> 		
3. Geographical names and adjectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Perho</i> 2. <i>Kokkola</i> 3. <i>Helsinki</i> 4. <i>lappilainen</i> 5. <i>Espoo</i> 6. <i>Tampere</i> 7. <i>Rolho</i> 8. <i>Joukan mutka</i> 9. <i>Oulu</i> 10. <i>Haparanda</i> 11. <i>Ylläs</i> 12. <i>Luoteis-Lappi</i> 13. <i>Torniosta</i> 		
4. Commercial names and brands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Askin talli</i> 2. <i>Keski-Pohjanmaa -lehti</i> 3. <i>Rauman Lukko</i> 4. <i>Porin Ässät</i> 5. <i>Jallu</i> 6. <i>Rovaniemen Sääto, Sähkö, Valo ja Kodintekniikka Martti Juntura</i> 7. <i>Astropolis</i> 8. <i>Y-ykkönen</i> 9. <i>Äkäshotelli</i> 10. <i>Pipola</i> 11. <i>Jaffa</i> 12. <i>Humina</i> 13. <i>Lasol</i> 	14. <i>Kärpät sticker and logo on the phone</i>	
5. Attitude, mindset and lifestyle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>pikkujoulusesonki</i> 2. <i>Kiikkukelo</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Irony of the name "Hymyilevä mies" 4. bluntness 5. modesty 6. Irony of the name "Napapiirin sankarit" 7. Importance of sauna "Saunat siel" 8. "Amis" subculture 	15. Casual male nudity

		<p>9. Hinterland humour / "Jämä alkaa -kyltti"</p> <p>10. Exaggeration of the weather conditions</p> <p>11. Wartime interaction with Germans and Russians</p> <p>12. Topless Swedish women's underwater rugby team</p> <p>13. Fear of Russians</p> <p>14. Reindeer as an animal, food and icon of Lapland</p>	
6. Buildings	<p>1. <i>Halkokarin tanssilava</i></p> <p>2. <i>Kokkolan työväentalo</i></p> <p>3. <i>aitta</i></p> <p>4. <i>sauna</i></p>	<p>5. Wedding venue / "theater" in Perho</p> <p>6. Helsinki Olympic Stadium</p>	
7. Nature and climate	<p>1. <i>kelohonka</i></p> <p>2. <i>kaira</i></p> <p>3. <i>tunturin tuuli</i></p> <p>4. <i>avanto</i></p> <p>5. <i>hanki</i></p>	<p>6. lumimyrsky</p>	<p>7. Getting dark at 3 p.m</p> <p>8. Aurora borealis above the lake</p>
8. Other	<p>1. <i>rinkeli</i></p> <p>2. <i>yläaste</i></p> <p>3. <i>asepalveluksesta vapauttaminen</i></p> <p>4. <i>valmistua kortistoon</i></p> <p>5. <i>MM-kisat</i></p> <p>6. <i>iso kolmonen (olut)</i></p> <p>7. <i>tyhjillä pulloilla (maksaminen)</i></p> <p>8. <i>safaribisnes</i></p>	<p>9. Pelimanni "violins" ja wedding waltz from Kaustinen</p> <p>10. iskelmäkaraoke</p>	<p>11. puukko</p> <p>12. snow mobile as an everyday vehicle</p> <p>13. a kicksled gliding in the wind</p> <p>14. receptionist knitting on the work</p>
Total	109	18	7

Appendix 4. Translation strategies of the explicit ECRs in *The Happiest Day in the Life of Olli Mäki*.

ST	TT	Strategy
1. Olli	1. Olli	retention (C)
2. Raija	2. Raija	retention (C)
3. Elis	3. Elis	retention (C)
4. 57 kilosia	4. 57 kilos	direct translation
5. kuuskytä (kiloa)	5. 60	direct translation
6. viiskytä kolome ja puolikilonen	6. 53.5	direct translation
7. Tuula	7. Tuula	retention (C)
8. Halkokarin tanssilava	8. the outdoor dance pavilion	combination
9. Laila	9. Laila	retention (C)
10. Kokkolan leipuri	10. The Baker of Kokkola	direct translation
11. Askin talli	11. Askin Talli	retention (TL-adjusted)
12. Reijo Pahkamäki	12. Reijo Pahkamäki	retention (complete)
13. Keski-Pohjanmaa –lehti	13. Keskipohjanmaa newspaper	combination
14. Luukkonen	14. Luukkonen	retention (C)
15. Sirpa	15. Sirpa	retention (C)
16. Saara	16. Saara	retention (C)
17. Eevi	17. Eevi	retention (C)
18. Snadi	18. Snadi	retention (C)
19. Anneli	19. Anneli	retention (C)
20. Kokkola	20. Kokkola	official equivalent
21. Perho	21. home / a backwater town	generalization (S+P)
22. kuuskytä yks kiloa	22. 61 kilos	direct translation
23. kolmesataatuhatta (markkaa)	23. 300,000	direct translation
24. kaksataaviiskyttuhatta (mk)	24. 250,000	direct translation
25. kaksataakin (mk)	25. 200,000	direct translation
26. Helsinki	26. Helsinki	official equivalent
27. rinkeli	27. pretzel	generalization (S)
28. Kokkolan tyväentalo	28. Worker’s Hall in your small town	direct translation + generalization (S)
29. kakskytä markkaa	29. 20 marks	direct translation
30. kolmekytä markkaa	30. 30 marks	direct translation
31. 12 miljoonaa (mk)	31. 12 million	direct translation
32. 56 ja puoli kiloa	32. 56.5 kilos	direct translation
33. 56,98 kiloa	33. 56.98 kilos	direct translation
34. Kiuru	34. -----	omission

Appendix 5. Translation strategies of explicit ECRs in *Lapland Odyssey*

ST	TT	Strategy
1. yläaste	1. seventh grade	specification
2. lappilainen	2. local	generalization (P)
3. kelohonka	3. a dead standing pine	direct translation
4. Kiikkukelo	4. the Swing Tree	generalization (S)
5. Ilmari Tuomi	5. Ilmari Tuomi	retention (C)
6. asepalveluksesta vapauttaminen	6. exemption from military service	direct translation
7. sauna	7. a sauna	retention (TL-adjusted)
8. aitta	8. a storehouse	generalization (S)
9. Toivo	9. Toivo	retention (C)
10. Jaakko Kivi	10. Jaakko Kivi	retention (C)
11. tunturin tuuli	11. cold northern wind	generalization (P)
12. valmistua kortistoon	12. be successfully unemployed	generalization (P)
13. MM-kisat	13. hockey world championships	specification
14. Selänne	14. ----	omission
15. Laamasen Kalle	15. Kalle Laamanen	retention (TL-adjusted)
16. Espoo	16. the south	generalization (P)
17. Janne	17. Janne	retention
18. viiskymppinen (euroa)	18. fifty euros	specification
19. Hatunen	19. Hatunen	retention
20. Rauman Lukko	20. -----	omission
21. Porin Ässät	21. -----	omission
22. Lauri Korpikoski	22. -----	omission
23. kaksi euroa	23. two euros	direct translation
24. iso kolmonen (olut)	24. a beer	generalization (S)
25. 49 ja 90 (euroa)	25. 49.90	retention (TL-adjusted)
26. pari euroa	26. a cash discount	generalization (P)
27. 6,50 (euroa)	27. 6.50	direct translation
28. Jallu	28. the booze	generalization (S)
29. tyhjillä pulloilla (maksaminen)	29. -----	omission
30. Tiina	30. Tiina	retention (C)
31. Tampere	31. -----	omission
32. Saarinen	32. -----	omission
33. Kalle	33. -----	omission
34. Inari (etunimi)	34. Inari	retention (C)
35. Kapu	35. Kapu	retention (C)
36. Rovaniemen Säättö, Sähkö, Valo ja Kodintekniikka Martti Juntura	36. Rovaniemi Electronics Lights and Home Appliances	direct translation + omission
37. Rolho	37. Rovaniemi	specification
38. pikkujoulusesonki	38. Christmas party season	specification
39. kaksi sataa kilsaa	39. 200 kilometers	direct translation
40. Räihä	40. Räihä	retention
41. Pikku-Mikko	41. Little Mickey	direct translation
42. Joukan mutka	42. -----	omission
43. Tappi (haukkumanimi)	43. midget	generalization (P)
44. kaira	44. -----	omission

45. safaribisnes	45. safari business	retention (TL-adjusted)
46. Astropolis	46. apply for that job	generalization (P)
47. Oulu	47. Oulu	official equivalent
48. Gallen-Kallela	48. -----	omission
49. Palsa	49. -----	omission
50. Mikko	50. Mickey	direct translation
51. Y-ykkönen	51. the other club	generalization (S)
52. Äkäshotelli	52. -----	combination
53. Pipola	53. the other side of the mountain	combination
54. Marjukka	54. Marjukka	retention
55. Petronella	55. Petronella	retention
56. Jaffa	56. a soda	generalization (S)
57. Jouni Seppälä	57. -----	omission
58. Kymmileveli (lempinimi)	58. the girl from the tenth level	specification
59. Tapio	59. Tapio	retention
60. Humina	60. your hotel	generalization (S)
61. avanto	61. go ice swimming	generalization (P)
62. hanki	62. the snow	generalization (S)
63. Haparanda	63. Sweden	generalization (S)
64. Ylläs	64. ----	omission
65. Kittilän runkarit	65. the jerk-offs from Kittilä	direct translation
66. Kolarin hippie	66. hippie	generalization (S)
67. Lasol	67. windshield wiper fluid	generalization (S)
68. Juvanen	68. -----	omission
69. Luoteis-Lappi	69. -----	omission
70. sataviiskymppiä (euroa)	70. 150 euros	specification
71. kolkytäviis euroa	71. ----	omission
72. sataneljäkymppiä (euroa)	72. 140 euros	specification
73. kolmekymppiä (euroa)	73. 30 euros	specification
74. kolmekaksymmentä (euroa)	74. 320 euros	specification
75. Tornioista	75. from the city	generalization (S)