Translating culture-bound terms in subtitling

Tot, Renata

Sveučilište J.J. Strossmayera u Osijeku Filozofski fakultet

Diplomski studij mađarskog i engleskog jezika i književnosti
komunikološki i prevoditeljski smjer

Renata Tot

Translating Culture-Bound Terms in Subtitling: A Case Study of "Carry on Matron"

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Summary

The role of the translator or interpreter is extremely important during the process of transferring information from the source language to the target language. This so-called "mediator" must have good background knowledge of the language itself, but he or she also needs to be familiar with the culture, history, and all the other elements that are specific for a nation and their language. The theoretical part of this paper gives a short overview of the way certain scholars approach a language in the translation process and how people from different cultures, speaking different languages, perceive notions, ideas, objects, and actions. A description of audiovisual translation is also provided as well as the development of subtitling. Several important translation methods and devices are introduced, which should be practised by the mediator, especially when difficulties occur related to the translation of culture-bound terms. The mediator, as the translator, besides having good knowledge of the source and target language, also needs to pay attention to the way it is transferred onto screen. Here, a case study is presented based on the translated subtitles of a British film series called "Carry on Matron". The subtitles are in Croatian and the culture-bound terms in English and Croatian are analysed. A Hungarian dubbing version of the same film series is also compared with the original version. The translation of culture-specific elements is highlighted and analysed in all three languages. More examples are given in English and Croatian, with a special emphasis on the origin of words and phrases in the source language.

Key words: translation, subtitling, dubbing, culture-bound terms, mediator

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1. Introduction

As this paper deals with translating and subtitling, with a special emphasis on culture-bound terms, it is highly necessary to explain certain factors that need to be taken into consideration when transferring the final product onto screen. The translator needs to have good background knowledge of the source and target language, but more importantly, he or she must be familiar with the cultural factors like habits, customs, history, religion, political views, and other. Most idioms and phrases originate from the culture of a certain nation, which is another reason why cultural background knowledge is important in the translation process. The culture under discussion here is not visible as a product, but is internal, collective and is acquired rather than learned. Acquisition is the natural, unconscious learning of language and behaviour through informal watching and hearing. Learning, on the other hand, is formal and is consciously taught. The culture we are interested in is acquired before the formal learning of culture at school. Therefore, the out-of-awareness learning is what the translator should adopt before the translation process starts.

The British film series called "Carry on Matron" and its Croatian subtitles are in the focus of this paper. This is the first time that the mentioned film has been subtitled into Croatian, which is why it cannot be compared with any other version. The setting and the different dialects that appear in the film series are described because this also gives important information about the language register, time, and reason why specific culture-bound terms are used. A theoretical overview covers some important factors that a translator must have in mind when translating. Some of these factors are language categorization, chunking, cultural frames, modes of culture, equivalence, and non-equivalence.

The paper also compares and analyses the Hungarian dubbing of the same film series in section 6. Instead of analyzing the complete translation, the focus will be on cultural-bound terms like phrasal verbs, collocations, proverbs and terms that are specific in a certain culture. A deeper analysis is provided between the English and Croatian culture-bound terms whereas only the most specific terms, good translation, and mistranslations are highlighted and compared with the Hungarian version.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Audiovisual translation

Audiovisual translation is actually a process where a source language is transferred onto screen at the target language. This process has developed with the arrival of new technology and can be done in several ways. A brief history and the different types of language transfer methods will be described and explained further on.

2.1.1. Intertitles and subtitles

The first type of language transfer is known as *intertitles.* These were texts, drawn or printed on paper, filmed and placed between sequences of the film. Intertitles were first seen in 1903 as epic, descriptive titles in Edwin S. Porter's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Translation was quite easy, the original titles were removed, translated, filmed, and re-inserted. Another method that they used was a speaker who gave a simultaneous interpretation of the intertitles.

From the year 1927 on, with the invention of sound film, the audience could hear the actors, so the titles inserted between scenes disappeared and the problem assumed new dimensions. This turned out to be a complex and expensive technique for some producers and distributors. They thus became what we now call *subtitles*, and since this technique is comparatively cheap (subtitling only costs between a tenth and a twentieth of a dubbing), it became the preferred method in the smaller language areas, such as the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. In the early days of film subtitling the main problem was to place the subtitles on the distribution copies, as the negative was usually in safe keeping in the country of origin. Norway, Sweden, Hungary, and France quickly took the lead in developing techniques for subtitling films. However, "the first attested showing of a sound film with subtitles was when *The Jazz Singer* (originally released in the US in October 1927) opened in Paris, on January 26, 1929, with subtitles in French. Later that year, Italy followed suit, and on 17 August 1929, another Al Jolson film, *The Singing Fool,* opened in Copenhagen, fitted with Danish subtitles." (Gottlieb 2002: 216)

2.1.1.1. Subtitling for television

Films for the cinema were soon shown on television. The BBC broadcasted Arthur Robison's *Der Student von Prag* in a subtitled version on 14 August 1938. But it was soon discovered that the prints with subtitles intended for the cinema caused a number of problems. The titles, legible enough in the cinema, were very difficult to read on the television screen. One reason for this is

the difference in the speed at which the audience can read subtitles on television as compared with the cinema, but the main reason is that the picture on a TV set has a narrower contrast range than that on a cinema screen. What was needed, therefore, was a method for incorporating subtitles produced for television into untitled film copies or video tapes.

2.1.2. Revoicing – dubbing and voice-over

Dubbing is also called lip synchronisation. This method is the favoured screen translation approach in large parts of the world. However, the constraining factors of this approach are very obvious. One important consideration is the loss of authenticity. An essential part of a character's personality is their voice, which is closely linked to facial expressions, gestures and body language. Authenticity is undeniably sacrificed when a character is deprived of their voice and instead the audience hears the voice of somebody else. It is not only authenticity that is sacrificed but, in addition, credibility, which may be particularly problematic in news and current-affairs programmes when voice-over is used. There are many pros and cons for dubbing and subtitling, but one fact remains, subtitling is less time-consuming, cheaper, and people in subtitling countries speak the original language on a much higher standard than in the dubbing countries (Díaz Cintas and Anderman 2009: 86) A good example can be Croatia as a subtitling country, as opposed to Hungary as a dubbing country. Aside from the differences in culture, history, and language, the Croats have the ability to adopt a foreign language, especially English, much more easily than the Hungarians do. Therefore, it is evident that the language transfer method i.e. dubbing and subtitling can have great impact on the way an individual or a whole nation adopts a foreign language.

The preference for dubbing or subtitling in various countries is largely based on decisions taken in the late 1920s and early 1930s. With the arrival of sound film, the film importers in Germany, Italy, France and Spain decided to dub the foreign voices, while the rest of Europe elected to display the dialogue as translated subtitles, especially the Scandinavian countries. The choice was largely due to financial reasons, but during the 1930s it also became a political preference in Germany, Italy and Spain; an expedient form of censorship that ensured that foreign views and ideas could be stopped from reaching the local audience, as dubbing makes it possible to create a dialogue which is totally different from the original. In Spain the compulsory dubbing was also employed for encouraging the use of Spanish language (Castilian) among non-Spanish-speaking population (languages such as Galician, Catalan and Basque were forbidden and prosecuted during Franco's dictatorship).

Another method, used mainly in Russia and Poland, is *lectoring*, a form of *voice-over* where a narrator tells the audience what the actors are saying while their voices can be heard in the background. The lector's voice usually trails the original dialogue by a few seconds, so that the original audio can be heard to a large extent, allowing the viewer to grasp the emotions in the actors' voices. Voice-over is normally included when scholars want to provide a taxonomy of the many – and not universally used – audiovisual translation modes. In some cases, voice-over has been classified within the technique of dubbing by authors such as Luyken G.M. (Luyken *et al.* 1991*). S*implification and a lack of understanding of the media and its process have made voice-over to be seen in the same light as dubbing, which is certainly a different mode, subject to different translation and production processes. As a result, it comes as no surprise that reference works on AVT have not considered voice-over as a discrete entry (Luyken *et al.* 1991; Dries 1995; Baker and Braňo 1998; Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997; Sánchez-Escalonilla 2003). Many definitions of the term have described voice-over in a misleading or inaccurate form. Thus, it has been referred to as a category of revoicing, lip synchronisation dubbing, narration and free commentary as a type of dubbing, either "non-synchronized dubbing", or its opposite "doublage synchrone". Luyken also describes voice-over as "the easiest and most faithful of the audiovisual translation modes".

2.2. Language and culture

"Culture, or civilization, taken in its broad, ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (Edward Burnett Tylor)

The process of translating and interpreting itself is not an easy, clear-cut task. Besides having the knowledge of the source and target language concerning morphology, semantics, or syntax, the mediator needs to adopt the historical, cultural, and language specific references of both languages. What they particularly need to have in mind is the following:

1. highly culture-specific references (e.g. place names, references to sports and festivities, famous people, monetary systems, institutions, etc.);
2. language-specific features (terms of address, taboo language, etc.);
3. areas of overlap between language and culture (songs, rhymes, jokes, etc.).

In audiovisual translations, the viewers will be able to match what they see on screen with what they hear in a dub or read in a subtitle. This makes audiovisual translation even more challenging. In the case of subtitling, Díaz Cintas (Díaz Cintas 2003: 43) calls it "vulnerable translation" since the possibility of comparing soundtrack and subs renders the latter subject to criticism by audiences who may identify what they perceive to be discrepancies, omissions and unexpected equivalents. We must bear in mind that not all viewers are linguists or translators / interpreters so they are not aware of the techniques one uses during the process of subtitling, in this case. These techniques will be described later in the paper.

Culture-specific references are extremely important in translation and need to be carefully dealt with. They are entities that are typical of one particular culture, and that culture alone, and they can be either exclusively or predominantly visual (an image of a local or national figure, a local dance, pet funerals, baby showers), exclusively verbal or else both visual and verbal in nature. Antonini and Chiaro (Antonini and Chiaro 2005: 39) have identified ten areas in which what they have labelled "lingua-cultural drops in translational voltage" may occur:

1. Institutions (including judiciary, police, military)
    a. Legal formulae: e.g. 'This court is now in session', 'All rise', 'Objection', 'Objection overruled/sustained', 'You may be seated';
    b. Courtroom forms of address: e.g. 'Your Honour', 'My Lord', 'Members of the jury';
    c. Legal topography: Supreme Court, Grand Jury, Court, etc.;
    d. Agents: lawyers, solicitors, attorneys, barristers, etc.; hospital hierarchies such as consultants, interns, paramedics; military hierarchies, etc.
2. Educational references to 'high school' culture, tests, grading systems, sororities, cheer leaders, etc.
3. Place names: The District of Columbia, The Country Club, 42nd Street, etc.
4. Units of measurement: Two ounces of meat, 150 pounds, twenty yards, etc.
5. Monetary systems: Dollars, soles, pounds, etc.
6. National sports and pastimes: American football, baseball, basketball teams: The Nicks, Boston, Brooklyn Dodgers, etc.
7. Food and drink: Mississippi Mud Pie, pancakes, BLT, etc.
8. Holidays and festivities: Halloween, St Patrick's, July 4th, Thanksgiving, Bar Mitzvah etc.
9. Books, films, and TV programmes: 'Did you watch the Brady Bunch?';
10. Celebrities and personalities: Ringo Starr; Toppy; The Cookie Monster, etc.

The previous examples are mainly taken from US film products and, although translations are not provided, it is clear to see why they may create difficulty. Furthermore, the abundance of examples from US film products reflects their dominance in all European media and beyond. In this diploma paper, we are dealing with a British production where British culture-specific references occur. Nevertheless, the same difficulties can occur when one comes across culture-specific references regardless of the source language.

2.2.1. Language categorisation

As human beings, we tend to categorise objects, events, and everything else surrounding us. This process is usually an unconscious process, which happens automatically and in a very short period. Although it is a routine in our everyday lives, it is not easy to explain what is happening in our head when we categorise. There are several competing theories to account for how we do it. The conceptual categories we establish are the backbone of language and thought. They can be identified with meaning in language and with thought. All humans have the ability to categorise, no matter where they live or which culture they belong to, but the product or result of this categorisation varies from culture to culture.

There are several models of categorisation, but the most important ones that should be mentioned here are the classical models, prototype models, and exemplar models. The classical model represents the most traditional ideas concerning categorisation. One example could be the category of man. Some scholars would define this category by certain essential features - a two-legged animal without feather, or a "communicative animal," whereas linguists and others would use a componential analysis in the following way: HUMAN, ADULT, MALE. These are only concepts, not words of the English language. It is important to note that a concept should be shared by all members of the category. If we look at prototype categorisation, one can conclude that many concepts do not have a single feature that categorises them. What actually holds the category together is a so-called "family resemblance" relation, which means that in a family many members may have blonde hair, blue eyes, and small feet, but they still differ from each other in maybe character, height, weight, and similar. Ludwig Wittgenstein (Wittgenstein 1953:32) uses the category of game as an example to describe this resemblance. Most games have a family resemblance meaning people usually play them in groups; they can be played for fun or on a professional level, most games require certain equipment or objects etc., but from a prototypical

point of view, every individual in his or her own culture categorises game differently. The first concept that would come to mind in Croatia is probably football; in the UK it would be cricket, whereas the Americans would definitely have basketball or soccer in mind. As for exemplar models, they rely on specific exemplar memories. When people categorise using this model, they will have a loose collection of exemplar memories, which will be associated to a category name (Barsalou 1992: 26). For example, an individual's category for chairs will be a loose collection of memories of all the chairs he or she has encountered. This model, as well as the prototypical model, obviously differs in languages and cultures. It is highly important for a translator, interpreter, a person acquiring a new language, and for others to have these categories and models in mind. Otherwise, it would be almost impossible to understand a new language or culture, let alone acquire one.

2.2.1.1. Sapir-Whorf hypothesis

Within language categorisation, it is necessary to mention the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in order to understand the way prominent linguists see the world in terms of languages and human cognitive abilities. This hypothesis "linguistic relativity" is an influential hypothesis that concerns the relationship between the language we speak and the way we think and act. It was developed by a number of scholars, among them Edward Sapir, but it became best known through the writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Linguistic relativity comes in a strong and weak version:

> Strong version: The language we speak determines the way we think.
> Weak version: The language we speak influences the way we think.

If the strong version were true, it would be impossible, or next to impossible, to learn a foreign language. We would be prisoners in the "prison house of our own language." But many people learn foreign languages, often several languages, and they often acquire native or near native competence in them. In addition, if our native language strictly determined the way we think, we could not translate from one language to another. Clearly, then, our cognitive abilities are not limited in this strong sense by our native language. For reasons such as these, the strong version of the theory has minimal support among scholars.

2.2.2. Colours in culture

Colours are not specifically mentioned in a cultural context in the film, but they play a very important role in translation and interpretation. This is why a brief description of colours is provided here in this theoretical part of the paper.

Most languages, including English, distinguish 11 basic colours, still, the three most basic colours are black, white, and red. Additional colour terms are added in a fixed order as a language evolves: first one of green or yellow; then the other of green or yellow; then blue. All languages distinguishing six colours contain terms for black, white, red, green, yellow, and blue. According to studies made by Berlin and Kay in the 1960s (Berlin B. and Kay P. 1969), colour naming is not merely a cultural phenomenon, but is one that is also constrained by biology—that is, language is shaped by perception. As languages develop, they next adopt a term for brown; then terms for orange, pink, purple and/or grey, in any order. Finally, a basic term for light blue appears. It is important to mention here that certain cultures speaking Finno-Ugric languages do not have expressions for colours like yellow or green. They do know what the colours look like, but do not have a separate word for them. For yellow they will say "like the sun" and for green "like grass", or they will use similar expressions where the interlocutor will understand what colour is at hand. The Hungarian language has two words for red, *piros* and *vörös*, which are used in a specific way when naming objects, events, movements, or places. For example, *red ball* is always *piros labda*, but *Red Cross* cannot be *piros kereszt*, rather *vörös kereszt*. People translating / interpreting from and to the Hungarian language must simply learn when each colour term for red is used. Therefore, the knowledge of colour terms in different languages and cultures and the emotions that they express is very complex and important because culture determines which colour categories exist in a particular language. It also determines the boundaries of the use of colour terms.

2.2.3. Cultural frames

Cultural frames are extremely important in translation and interpretation and cultural mediators need to be familiar with them. Many prominent researchers that deal with translation studies like Baker (2009), Katan (1999), Bassnett (2002), or Saldanha (2009 claim that cultural frames are the cornerstone of translation /interpretation when culture specific references are in question. During the translation / interpretation process, the meaning is dependant on the frame. The context of culture is an important frame from within which we perceive, interpret, and communicate. As cultures operate within different interpretative frames, the cultural mediator must be able to shift between possible frames. According to Katan (Katan 2004:125), we have two models of translation: decoding-encoding and frame. The decoding-encoding model means mediators decode

the source text language, analyse it, and then reformulate the same message in other words. The text is broken down into smaller meaning units and then built up again. Concerning the frame translation model, a holistic approach to translation is required. A good mediator reads the text, and in so determines the “text type” and “genre”. After that, the mediator creates a "virtual translation", which is a vision a mediator has of what the target text and its associated frames will be like.

Other models that Katan (Katan 1999:147) suggests should be used in translating are *generalisation* – when the mediator uses a more general word. This method can be used in almost all languages because the hierarchical structure of semantic fields in not language specific. *Deletion* can be used, if necessary, which means that the mediator omits certain terms. There are no strict rules when it comes to *deletion*, rather the mediator needs to decide when it is appropriate or necessary. *Distortion* is a way of directing the addressee to what the speaker or writer considers is important. *Distortion* does not give us an objective picture of reality, but functions like a zoom lens allowing the reader to focus on certain aspects, leaving other aspects in the background.

Another important model as part of the cultural frame is *local and global translation*. Beginners tend to translate like machines, according to absolute semantic equivalence**s.** The only area where machine translation is used successfully is the translation of legal texts and similar areas. “*Local*” is used to describe this type of translation, whereas, “*global*” is a term used to describe cognitive recreation based on frame analysis. Katan suggests that the mediator should pre-read the text *globally* before translating and not treat the text as a series of small chunks of information. Another way to approach a text is by *chunking*. This can help the mediator to access the relevant frames and understand the metamessage as well as create the virtual translation. It is used to change the focus of interpretation. Mediators can use several types of *chunking* depending on the text and context. It can be either *chunking upwards, chunking downwards* or *chunking sideways* . *Chunking upwards* involves replacing it with a more general example of the same object in the target language, while *chunking downwards* involves substitution with an example of an extremely culture-specific and different item, in the target language. *Chunking sideways* occurs when a culture-specific reference is replaced with a target feature, which is neither more general nor more specific than the original, but of the same level (Katan 1999: 147).

2.2.4. Tu/Vous distinction

In sociolinguistics, a T–V distinction is a contrast, within one language, between second-person pronouns that are specialized for varying levels of politeness, social distance, courtesy, familiarity, or insult toward the addressee. The expressions T-form (informal) and V-form (formal) were introduced by Brown and Gilman (Brown and Gilman 1960:255), with reference to the initial letters of these pronouns in Latin, ***t****u* and ***v****os*. In Latin, *tu* was originally the singular, and *vos* the plural, with no distinction for honorific or familiar. It was only between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries that the norms for the use of T- and V-forms crystallized. Less commonly, the use of the plural may be extended to other grammatical person, such as the "royal we" (majestic plural).

Brown and Gilman argued that the choice of form is governed by either relationships of 'power' and/or 'solidarity', depending on the culture of the speakers, showing that 'power' had been the dominant predictor of form in Europe until the twentieth century. Thus, it was quite normal for a powerful person to use a T-form but expect a V-form in return. However in the twentieth century the dynamic shifted in favour of solidarity, so that people would use T-forms with those they knew, and V-forms in service encounters, with reciprocal usage being the norm in both cases.

It is important to mention that Modern English is comparatively rare among the languages of Europe in that it lacks a T–V pronoun distinction. In earlier versions of English, *thou/thee* was used as a T-form for singular second person, while *ye/you* marked the V-form. However, use of the *thou* forms became stigmatised and they disappeared from speech, leading to the situation where the original V-form, *you*, became the only second-person pronoun and *thou* and *thee* are considered archaic. Somewhat ironically, to a modern English speaker unaware of the origin of the distinction, the use of *thou* (for example in prayer), originally a sign of intimacy, now has connotations of formality due to its archaic appearance.

Although English has no syntactic T–V distinction, there are semantic analogues, such as whether to address someone by first or last name (or using *sir* and *ma'am*). However the boundaries between formal and informal language differ from language to language, as well as within social groups of the speakers of a given language. In some circumstances, it is not unusual to call other people by first name and the respectful form, or last name and familiar form. For example, German teachers use the former construct with high school students, while Italian teachers typically use the latter (switching to a full V-form with university students). Surprisingly, Hungarians, who clearly have the T-V distinction and are considered very polite in conversation, often switch from the V-form to the T-form after knowing a person for only a very short period of time. It is not unusual, in Hungary, that teachers tell their students, especially university students, to use the T-

form when communicating with them. Another similar situation can appear at work where almost all colleagues use the T-form, especially women. There are always exceptions, but if we compare Croatian to Hungarian, there is a great difference. Croats tend to use the V-form as often as possible, no matter what the situation.

The use of these forms calls for compensating translation of dialogue into English. Sometimes it is very difficult to translate certain texts from a language that has T-V distinction into English, so translators usually pay special attention to the context and situation in which the text appears. Still, we witness mistakes made during a film translation or a consecutive translation almost everyday.

2.2.4.1. Titles and other forms of address

Titles and other forms of address are closely connected to the T-V distinction, which is why they should be mentioned in this section. As already mentioned above, English has no syntactic T-V distinction, but does make a clear difference when it comes to using titles and addressing people. Anna Wierzbicka (Wierzbicka 1992: 309) compares titles and forms of address in English and French and makes a clear distinction between them. Only a few examples shall be provided in English, French, Croatian, and Hungarian to show how diverse addressing can be. In English the titles *Mr, Mrs, Miss, Ms*, and *Sir* are used. Additionally in English the title *Sir* is used when someone has won honour for some extraordinary work achievement. It is one of the highest honours in the UK that an individual can achieve. All these titles are formal and come in useful when the translator needs to decide whether to use the *tu* or *Vous* form in the target language. Most European languages use the same titles, except for *Sir* as an extremely culture-specific title, only they are used in different ways to present distance, acquaintance, respect, or married status. English and Croatian use the titles combined with an individual's surname: *Mr Smith, Mrs Anderson / G. Kovač, Gđa Pavić*, although in English it is possible to say *Miss Jane*, using one's first name. In French, it is also possible to address someone using *Monsieur, Madame*, or *Mademoiselle* and the individual's first name, *Monsieur Jacques*. We know that English uses *Miss* to address someone who is not married, but the language also has a useful title *Ms*, which is used to address a female individual when we are not sure about one's marital status. This title would certainly come in useful in many languages, like Croatian or Hungarian. Another interesting combination, concerning the French is that it is possible to combine a title with a profession, *Madame le professeur,* whereas *Mrs Professor* is not possible in English. In Hungarian, we have a slightly different situation. The mentioned titles do exist in the language, Mr, Mrs, Miss / Úr, hölgy, (kis)asszony, but are applied differently, especially when addressing females. A married woman

is normally addressed by using the husband's surname often without her own name, *Kovácsné.* She can be addressed by adding her first name, *Kovácsné Ágnes,* her maiden name *Kovácsné Halászi Ágnes* or even her profession *Kovácsné dr. Halászi Ágnes*. In Hungarian, as in French, one can address an individual by using the title and profession, *Tanár Úr Tanárnő / Mr Professor, Mrs Professor*. Nowadays, more and more American and British films that are dubbed in Hungary, use the English titles and addresses, only with a Hungarian pronunciation, like *szőr* for *Sir*. Further examples from the film and subtitles shall be provided in section 5.

2.2.5. Equivalence and non-equivalence in translation

Numerous experts in the field of Translation Studies like Bassnett (2002), Nida (1964), Newmark (1988), Reiss (1984), Vermeer (1984), Munday (2009) or Venuti (2004) have written about strategies that should be used in translation. This paper mainly deals with the translation strategies of David Katan and Mona Baker. In the previous sections, Katan's strategies in the field of translating culture have been described and most of the examples in the analysis are based on his suggestions. Mona Baker (1992:10) also wrote a lot about translating culture and the problems that can occur when there is lack of equivalence. She has a slightly different approach and divides the strategies into several groups. Before listing these strategies, it is necessary to mention Adaptation, which Baker highlights in her works (2004:3) because it is also associated with audiovisual translation. The emphasis here is on preserving the form or even the semantic meaning, especially where acoustic and/or visual factors have to be taken into account. Concerning the translation strategies at certain levels Baker (1992: 26) suggests the following:

a) Translation by a more general word (superordinate)

b) Translation by a more neutral word

c) Translation by cultural substitution

d) Translation using a loan word or a loan word plus explanation

e) Translation by paraphrase using a related word

f) Translation by paraphrase using an unrelated word

g) Translation by omission

h) Translation by illustration.

Since Baker (1992) separately analyses these strategies according to the level of equivalence, this section of the paper describes *equivalence at word level, equivalence above word level*, and *grammatical equivalence*. All features shall be described briefly with a few examples.

Concerning *equivalence at word level*, it may seem quite simple to transfer a word from the source language to the target language, but it is often quite difficult to find a suitable word. Baker (1992) mentions different types of meaning that a translator should have in mind when translating. The *propositional meaning*, which makes an assertion about the world, can be either true or false, and is literal. For instance, a *sock* is worn on the foot and cannot be worn on any other part of the body. The *expressive meaning* cannot be judged as true or false because it is related to attitude and feelings. There is a difference between *giggling, chuckling*, and *laughing*, and neither of these expressions is incorrect. It all depends on the current emotions that arise during these actions. The *presupposed meaning* is the meaning that is required as a precondition of possibility or coherence. A *house*, as an inanimate object, can be *beautiful or nice*, whereas a *man or woman* is usually *good looking or handsome*. As for collocations, each language has its own rules when it comes to verbs collocating with nouns and they usually do not follow in a logical way.

English

He *broke* the law. They *ride* their bicycles every day. I am *brushing* my teeth.

Croatian

Prekršio je zakon. Oni *voze* bicikl svaki dan. *Perem* zube.

Hungarian

Megszegte a törvényt. Mindennap *bicikliznek*. *Fogat mosok*.

Back-translation from Hungarian

(He) *violated* the law. Every day they *bicycle*. I am *washing* my *tooth*.

In the examples, it is evident that in some cases, the same or similar verbs are used. In Croatian and Hungarian the verbs *prekršiti/megszegni* that collocate with law are equivalent as well as *prati/mosni* neighboured by teeth. In the example concerning bicycles, in English we *ride* a bicycle, in Croatian we *drive* one, whereas in Hungarian this collocation acts as one verb *to bicycle/biciklirati**. In the case of *brushing teeth* or *washing teeth* in Hungarian, the singular noun form is used instead of the plural. This is characteristic for the Hungarian language and is one of the main mistakes that people make when learning the Hungarian language. Not all nouns take the singular form, but nouns denoting certain objects or body parts like hand, eye, or leg are always in the singular. Some specific examples from the film will be mentioned later on.

Baker (1992) also mentions the *evoked meaning*, which arises from dialect and register variation. It is important that the translator matches the register expectations of the receivers or audience, unless the translator wants to give a flavour of the source culture.

Culture-specific concepts can be a real struggle for the translator because the source language may express a concept, which is totally unknown in the target culture. This concept may relate to a religious belief, a social custom, or even a type of food. The translator must determine whether this concept has been lexicalised in the target language, whether it is semantically complex, differs in meaning, or has a different form. One must also be careful with loan words and check whether the target language has an equivalent or not.

Translation by cultural substitution, as Baker (1992: 31) describes it at the beginning of this section, has already been mentioned above in the c*ultural frames* section, only Katan uses the term *chunking*. In the case of cultural substitution, it would be *chunking downwards*. The main advantage of using this strategy is that it gives the audience a concept that they can identify something familiar and appealing.

Baker distinguishes another type of *equivalence* and that is *above word level*. Collocations at word level have already been mentioned earlier; here we have a case of collocations and idioms from a different perspective. Collocations above word level act in a similar way, which means that often there is no logical pattern and they are culture-specific, only here more words combine and form stretches of language. For instance, in English *dry bread* or *dry book* could be misinterpreted by the translator. *Dry bread* refers to plain bread without butter or jam, and cannot be translated as *suhi kruh*. As for *dry book*, it simply means that the book is dull and boring, so *suha knjiga* would also be a mistranslation. Unlike collocations, which are flexible in word order and tense, idioms

are fixed and have no or little flexibility of patterning. The problem with idioms in translation is that they are not always obvious so the translator needs to be careful when dealing with a text that could contain idioms, especially the ones that are similar in the target language. The idiom *Has the cat got your tongue?* has an equivalent in Croatian *Maca ti je popapala jezik?* therefore there should be no difficulty with idioms similar to this one. On the other hand the idiom *kad na vrbi rodi grožđe,* which refers to *never*, could not be translated in the same way, rather *when pigs fly* or *when hell freezes over*. Should there be no appropriate equivalent in the target language, Baker (1992) suggests the translator should paraphrase the idiom or simply omit it if it is not relevant and does not change the meaning. Some collocations and idioms appearing in the film were paraphrased; others either were translated by an equivalent or were simply omitted.

Grammatical equivalence has many distinctions, but gender is the most relevant distinction in this paper. Since English, Croatian, and Hungarian are compared and analysed, gender must be mentioned because it differs in each language. The gender distinction in English refers to animate beings, in Croatian it refers to animate beings and inanimate objects, whereas in Hungarian there is no gender distinction at all. Interestingly, the Hungarian language makes a distinction between women and men in certain positions and professions as the Croatian language does, while English seldom has this distinction. In Croatian and Hungarian, it is possible to say *liječnica, ravnateljica, dekanica / orvosnő, igazgatóasszony, dékánasszony*. In English, this is less common although varieties like *lady doctor* or *female doctor* have come up in many translated texts. Therefore, the gender distinction plays a very important role in the subtitling and dubbing of "Carry on Matron", especially in the case of ambiguous and humorous concepts. Some of these concepts will be mentioned in sections 5 and 6.

3. Rationale and the aims of the case study

The translator/interpreter does not only have the task to transfer the message from the source language to the target language by means of correct vocabulary, grammar, or pronunciation, but he or she is also a cultural mediator who needs to acquire excellent knowledge of both languages according to certain customs, beliefs, religion, and history i.e. culture. The cultural background knowledge is becoming more and more important in the process of studying a foreign language, which is why this paper specifically deals with culture-bound terms and the problems that can occur when translating them. This paper also offers some solutions and methods that are used by prominent scholars (Baker, Katan) and that can come in useful during the process of translating culture-bound terms. In this case study, my own subtitles of "Carry on Matron" are analysed and

compared with the original version. Additionally, certain parts of the Hungarian dubbed version are mentioned. The highlighted culture-specific terms in English, Croatian, and Hungarian present straightforward examples that appear in the everyday life of the translator/interpreter. The examples and solutions for certain translations could guide cultural mediators confronted with similar difficulties in the future.

4. Methodology

4.1. Research questions

1. What methods should be used when translating an informal culture-bound term?
2. How should cultural mediators deal with idioms and proverbs?
3. Why is it important to know as much as possible about the T-V distinction and ways of addressing in a given society or country?
4. What are the results when the cultural mediator does not have sufficient cultural background knowledge?

4.2. Research Design

Research for this paper did not require fieldwork, rather a lot of reading, listening and analysing was necessary. The first step in research was to translate and add Croatian subtitles to the British film "Carry on Matron". Besides paying careful attention to the translation itself, a lot of effort was made during the process of transferring the subtitles onto screen. By this, time, limited space and overlapping of the subtitles should be understood. The next step was to analyse the culture-bound terms that appear in the film and to find appropriate equivalents in Croatian followed by a research on the etymology of the English culture-bound terms. The third step was to watch the dubbed version of the same film in Hungarian and extract the same culture-bound terms as well as to detect certain mistranslations in Hungarian. In the final phase, a deeper analysis was made using the translating strategies of Baker (1992) and Katan (1999). During the research, my previous background knowledge of the British, Croatian, and Hungarian cultures came in very useful and served as a stepping-stone for my further analysis and for the preparation of this paper.

4.3. The Corpus

Since this paper deals with the translation of culture-bound terms, a description of the register is inevitable, especially when screen translation is in question. Sociolinguistic markers such as accent, variety, and slang (Pavesi 1996; Chiaro 1996, 2000a) tend to disappear in screen translations. In fact, the 'homogenizing convention' (Sternberg 1981) typical also of literary translation, in which all characters adopt a standard variety of the target language, tends to be the general norm. In the case of subtitles, the translator can attempt to connote those pertaining to the speech of certain characters so that the reader will understand that the vocalisations of a particular person are different from that of others, but transcribing the subtitles of an entire film in any variety other than the standard would be unprecedented.

4.3.1. British English

In comedies like the film "Carry on Matron," which is subtitled and analysed in this paper, certain words or phrases need to be vocalised so that the audience can understand or at least "feel" that a different register or language variety is used. Since the British language, with some of its accents and dialects, is used in the film, it is necessary to describe the language itself and its many varieties.

British English (or BrEn, BrE, BE, en-UK or en-GB) is the broad term used to distinguish the forms of the English language used in the United Kingdom from forms used elsewhere. The *Oxford English Dictionary* applies the term to English "as spoken or written in the British Isles; especially the forms of English usual in Great Britain". There are slight regional variations in formal written English in the United Kingdom, which is not the case in the forms of spoken English. The forms of spoken English vary more than in most other areas of the world where English is spoken, so a uniform concept of British English is more difficult to apply to the spoken language. Dialects and accents vary amongst the four countries of the United Kingdom, as well as within the countries themselves. The major divisions are normally classified as English English (or English as spoken in England, which comprises Southern English dialects, West Country dialects, East and West Midlands English dialects and Northern English dialects), Welsh English, Irish English, and Scottish English. The various British dialects also differ in the words that they have borrowed from other languages.

Here we are most interested in the English spoken in England with a special emphasis on the Southern English dialects and the London dialects. The form of English most commonly associated with the upper class in the southern counties of England is called *Received Pronunciation* or *RP*. It derives from a mixture of the Midland and Southern dialects, which were spoken in London in

the early modern period and is frequently used as a model for teaching English to foreign learners. Although speakers from elsewhere in England may not speak with an RP accent, it is now a class-dialect more than a local dialect. It may also be referred to as the *Queen's English, Public School English, Posh* or *BBC English* as this was originally the form of English used on radio and television, although a wider variety of accents can be heard these days. About two percent of Britons speak *RP*, and it has evolved quite markedly over the last 40 years.

In the South East there are significantly different accents; the London *Cockney* accent is strikingly different from *RP* and its rhyming slang can be difficult for outsiders to understand. Another accent worth mentioning is the *Estuary English*. It has some features of *RP* and some of *Cockney.* In London itself, the broad local accent is still changing, partly influenced by Caribbean speech. Communities migrating to the UK in recent decades have brought many more languages to the country. Surveys started in 1979 by the Inner London Education Authority discovered over 100 languages being spoken domestically by the families of the inner city's schoolchildren. As a result, Londoners speak with a mixture of accents, depending on ethnicity, neighbourhood, class, age, upbringing, and sundry other factors. The *West Country* accent is also significant in the South of England and is spoken from London to the Welsh border. We could also mention some important accents like *Brummie, Northern England English, Geordie, Welsh,* and *Scottish,* but they are not so relevant in the analysis of this paper. The mixture of accents and dialects in "Carry on Matron" shall be mentioned.

4.4 "Carry on" films

Since "Carry on Matron" is the film that has been subtitled and which shall be analysed, highlighting the language variations and culture-bound terms, it is necessary to give a brief description of the production and the setting of the film itself as well as the other films that belong to the *Carry on film* series.

The *Carry On* films are a sequence of 31 low-budget British comedy motion pictures produced between 1958 and 1992. The films' humour was in the British comic tradition of the *music hall* and *seaside postcards.* Producer Peter Rogers and director Gerald Thomas drew on a regular group of actors, the *Carry On* team, that included Sidney James, Kenneth Williams, Charles Hawtrey, Joan Sims, Kenneth Connor, Peter Butterworth, Hattie Jacques, Terry Scott, Bernard Bresslaw, Barbara Windsor, Jack Douglas and Jim Dale. The stock-in-trade of Carry On film's humour was innuendo and the gentle mockery of British institutions and customs, such as the National Health Service (Nurse, Doctor, Again Doctor, Matron), the monarchy (Henry), the Empire (Up the

Khyber), the military (Carry On Sergeant, England) and the trades unions (At Your Convenience). Others were a parody of other films including Cleopatra (Cleo), Hammer horror films (Screaming) and James Bond (Spying). Although the films were very often panned by critics, they proved very popular with audiences.

The *Carry On* series contains the largest number of films of any British series, and next to the *James Bond* films, it is the second longest continually-running UK film series (with a fourteen-year hiatus between 1978 and 1992). From 1958 to 1966, Anglo Amalgamated Film Distributors Ltd produced 12 films, with Rank Organisation making the remaining 19 between 1967 and 1992. All the films were made at Pinewood Studios.

The series began with *Carry On Sergeant* (1958) and finally ended with *Carry On Columbus* (1992). Producer Peter Rogers and director Gerald Thomas made all 31 films, usually on time and to a strict budget, and often employed the same crew. Between 1958 and 1992, the series employed seven writers, most often Norman Hudis (1958–1962) and Talbot Rothwell (1963–1974).

"Carry on Matron" is the twenty third *Carry on* film series, which was filmed in 1971 and released in 1972. The film's setting is a maternity hospital called Finisham in London in 1972. This information is important because the dialects and accents spoken in the film are characteristic for Londoners in the 1970s. *RP* or *Received Pronunciation, Cockney,* and *Estuary English* are spoken most frequently and the analysis of certain culture-bound terms and their Croatian subtitles will be mentioned through this paper in the following section.

5. Analysis of the Croatian subtitles and comparison with the original version

In this section, culture-bound terms in English and Croatian are analysed highlighting some words, idioms, collocations, and phrases that appear in the film. The examples are specifically analysed based on the earlier mentioned cultural frames used in translation, like chunking, categorising, deletion, and generalisation.

5.1. Culture-bound terms

Since “Carry on Matron” is a typical British film, most of the culture-bound words originate from the British English and its varieties. The table below shows a list of these words and their origin with some culture-bound words outside of the UK added. The Croatian subtitles are more or less neutral and no regional or other dialects were used.

Table 1 Culture-bound terms

	Original word	**Origin and meaning**	**Croatian subtitle**
1	Bloke	Br. slang Informal word for man	Tip
2	Bloody	Br. slang	Proklet
3	Bristols	Cockney Bristol City – Titty	Dude
4	Claptrap	Br. slang	Budalaština
5	Cor blimey	Br. slang, Original is actually “God Blind Me”	Mentioned several times in different contexts: ’ajme, Bože blagi, Dragi Bože, Bože me sačuvaj
6	Dishy	Br. slang	Zgodan
7	Drawers	Old British word for underwear	Gaće
8	Knickers	British word for underwear	Gaćice
9	Knockers	British slang for breasts	Tikve According to the context, the word *knockers* refers to breasts and to two fools in the scene.
10	Loo	British word for lavatory	Zahod
11	Nick	Br. slang	Drpiti
12	Ruddy	Br. slang	Proklet

13	Slap and tickle	Cockney - meaning sex	Hrvati se, metaphorical
14	to woo	Old British word	Udvarati se
15	Twerp	Br. slang	Kreten
16	Hooter	Br. slang Referring to human nose	Surla
17	Kinky	American slang	Perverzno
18	The fuzz	American slang	Murja
19	Blast!	British colloquial	Kvragu!
20	Pinch	To steal British slang	Krasti
21	Gangster's moll	American slang	Gangsterova mala
22	Nightie	Informal word for nightdress or nightgown Used in US and UK	Spavaćica
23	Lad	British, Middle English	Momak
24	Mate	British colloquial Australian slang	Omitted, usually used as a catchphrase
25	Chap	British informal	Momak, momče

Most of the examples above were translated by cultural substitution: *bloke/tip, bristols/dude, bloody/proklet, to nick/drpiti, twerp/kreten* and others. Some culture-bound terms were translated by generalisation: *dishy/zgodan, drawers/gaće, loo/zahod, nightie/spavaćica, chap/momak*, or *kinky/perverzno*. Example 24, with the word *mate* was deleted because it is used as a catchphrase. A suitable translation could have been *lega,* but I decided not to use any varieties of the Croatian language. Example 9, with the word *knockers*, was quite difficult to translate. It is an informal word for women's breasts, but could not be translated with an informal Croatian equivalent. In the scene, one of the characters is referring to breasts, but at the same time, he is also referring to two characters, considering them idiots. The term *klipani* could have fit in perfectly, but then the breasts would have been omitted and they are important to understand the context of the scene. If they were women, the term *bundeve* could have been used, which can describe breasts and

unintelligent women. As men are considered in the scene, the term *tikve* turned out to be the best option because it embraces the word for breasts and for unintelligent males.

5.1.1. Other examples of chunking and deletion

Some other culture-specific examples that appear in the film and are worth mentioning are described below where the chunking and deletion methods have been used.
It has already been mentioned in section 2 under cultural frames that three different chunking methods exist and the examples provided present how they work.

Example 1

Chunking upwards in the film is the translation of *maternity hospital*. In English *maternity hospital* is mentioned as an independent institution, whereas in Croatia there are no such institutions, so the translation *rodilište* is used, which is a department within a certain hospital. In cases where the actors refer to the hospital as an institution, *bolnica* is used.

Example 2

Chunking downwards appears in the film when one of the actors uses the term *fish cakes*. Since this type of food is not known in Croatia, it is replaced with *riblji kroketi*.

Example 3

Chunking sideways would be the translation of the main character, *matron*, which is simply translated as *glavna sestra*.

Example 4

Deletion or omission was used in the sentence I *was boxing champion at* ***Guy's***: *Na faksu sam bio prvak u boksu.* Guy's is a school of medicine within King's College London. This information is irrelevant in the target language, which is why it was simply deleted.

Example 5

Some words like *twin boys* were translated by adding some additional information. In Croatian, the term *blizanci* is used regardless of the sex. In this case, the term was translated as *sinovi blizanci* to specify the sex of the babies.

Example 6

The film *Gone with the Wind* is mentioned in a scene. As the equivalent already exists in Croatian and is known to the target audience, it was translated as *Zameo ih vjetar*. On the other hand, the name of a series *The Surgeons* also appears in the film, which is not known to the target audience so instead of leaving it in the original it was simply translated as *Kirurzi.* This way, the audience can understand the meaning and the context.

5.1.2. Place names, famous people, associations

Certain culture-bound terms such as place names, famous people, and associations were not translated. These are so called "lingua-cultural drops in translational voltage" as Antonini calls them in section 2.

Example 1

Florence Nightingale who was a celebrated English social reformer and statistician, and the founder of modern nursing is mentioned in a scene. This name should not be translated; rather it should be left in the original.

Example 2

Place names that appear in the scenes were not changed: *Eton, Twyford, Brixton, Wimbledon, Putney, Marble Arch, Holloway, Balls Pond Road.*

Example 3

The culture-specific term *Wapping and Old Stairs* was not translated because it is a place in London. More specifically, Wapping is a district in London and Wapping Old Stairs is a back passage. In the film, it refers to a subgroup that belongs to a scout association.

Example 4

The Newt's Scout Association, mentioned in a scene was translated as *vodenjak* to explain to the audience what kind of a scout association is in question. The noun phrase *Watford Pond*, which is connected to this scout association is declined according to Croatian grammar as *watfordska bara.*

5.1.3. Ambiguity

Ambiguous words or phrases can also be quite difficult to translate. In the film, they are used deliberately in order to make the scenes more humorous. When confronted with ambiguous words, the translator needs to have several things in mind: the subtitle needs to match the scene, the humour should be preserved as much as possible, and similar ambiguous equivalents should be used in the target language, if possible. Three specific examples that occur in the film are provided with the Croatian subtitle.

Example 1

SL Matron: I nearly forgot. Your mail. *(handing over the letters)*
Sir Bernard: Yes, I am! And I can prove it!

TL Glavna sestra: Skoro sam zaboravila. Gospodine... *(...vaša pošta)*
Sir Bernard: Da, jesam gospodin! I dokazat ću vam!

In this example the homophones *mail* and *male* appear, which cannot be transferred to the Croatian language in the same way. In the scene, matron refers to the mail she is giving to sir Bernard, whereas he completely misunderstands her. Sir Bernard tries to prove he is a man throughout the whole film, therefore *mail* is irrelevant and has been omitted and the idea of a person being a man has been preserved by using the Croatian word *gospodin*.

Example 2

SL Matron: I didn't know you were changing.
Sir Bernard: Changing? What are you talking about? I'm not changing. That's a lie, do you hear? It's a lie.
Matron: Your clothes, Sir Bernard.

TL Glavna sestra: Nisam znala da mijenjate...
Sir Bernard : Mijenjam se? O čemu pričate? Ja se ne mijenjam. To je laž, čujete li? To je laž.
Glavna sestra: Mijenjate odjeću, sir Bernarde.

The main ambiguous word in this example is *changing*. In English, it can mean some sort of transformation or when one simply *changes* clothes. The proper equivalent for changing clothes in Croatian would be *presvlačiti se*, but in order to preserve the main idea of transformation (Sir Bernard transforming into a woman) and changing clothes, the term *mijenjati odjeću* was used.

Example 3

SL Sir Bernard: The set wasn't even turned on.
Dr Goode: Oh, no. We had it off before you came in.
Sir Bernard: Aha! So you admit it, then?

TL Sir Bernard : Televizor nije ni radio.
Dr Goode: Prije nego što ste ušli, mi smo utrnuli...
Sir Bernard: Dakle, priznajete?

The phrase *to have it off* is the ambiguous part in these lines. It refers to sexual intercourse, but also to *turning off* a device. In order to preserve the idea of turning of the TV and having relations at the same time, the verb *utrnuti* appears in the translation. This verb may not transfer the whole meaning because *utrnuti* is used when one *turns* a device *off,* but metaphorically, it could be understood as an act of sexual intercourse.

It is evident, according to the examples described above, that equivalence at word level can sometimes be equally as difficult as equivalence above word level, as presented in the following section. In many cases, the translator has more freedom when a culture-specific collocation or a phrase is in question than when a single word needs to be transferred from the original language to the source language. We could conclude that the most challenging culture-bound terms are the ambiguous ones as well as the ones that are partly omitted in the source language, whereas place names and famous people are simply left in the original.

5.2. Collocations, phrasal verbs, and idioms

It has already been mentioned that collocations and phrasal verbs have no logical pattern, but they do have a flexible word order. The cultural mediator needs to know which words can collocate together and transfer the same meaning to the target language. Many people claim that the English language is a simple, easy-to-learn language. On the one hand, this could be correct, if we compare

it to a language like Japanese, Chinese, or Hungarian, but on the other hand, English is very rich in phrasal verbs and idioms, which can be difficult for a non-native speaker to acquire.

According to the Oxford dictionary, an idiom is a group of words established by usage as having a meaning not deducible from those of the individual words (e.g. *over the moon*, *see the light*). Idioms must always have the same word order and cannot be changed, although in the case of some idioms that shall be mentioned below, certain words have been changed. A phrase is a small group of words standing together as a conceptual unit, typically forming a component of a clause. Many idioms and phrases are of British origin, but a few are American or British-American or even Latin. The most important thing is that native and non-native speakers of the English language use them on a daily basis. They are all culture-specific as idioms and phrases always tend to be, which is why they were chosen for analysis.

In this part, collocations, phrasal verbs, and idioms that appear in the film will be listed together with the Croatian subtitles.

Example 1

He must **have a leak**.

Sigurno piški.

The term *to have a leak* is used when certain equipment, like rusted pipes, has an opening from where substances flow through. The equivalent in Croatian would be *propuštati, puštati*. In the film, the expression is ambiguous, but it is obvious that the doctor is referring to a baby who starts peeing. In order for the audience to understand the meaning, the term was paraphrased in the target language.

Example 2

Have you **had** your **baby** yet?

Dijete vam se nije još rodilo?

In English, *to have a baby* is used, which cannot be translated in the same way in Croatian. This collocation was simply translated using the verb *roditi*.

Example 3

We are **running** a little **late**.

Kasnimo (s terminom).

The term *to run late* means *to be late* or when something is *delayed*. In this case, one of the patients should have given birth to a baby 3 weeks ago and is *running late*.

Example 4

All I've **had** today is a **cup of tea and a biscuit**.

Danas sam popio samo čaj i pojeo jedan keks.

It is possible to say *to have something to eat or drink* in English, whereas in Croatian the verb of action must be specified. This is why the action of drinking and eating had to be separated.

Example 5

I was **right up**.

Gorio sam.

To be up refers to a condition when someone has a high body temperature. The verb *gorjeti* is used in Croatian to describe the same situation.

Example 6

In the raw.

Gol.

In other words, *in the raw* means *to be naked*.

Example 7

Her old man's **been on**.

Suprug je upravo zvao.

This phrasal verb refers to someone who as just been on the telephone. Coincidently, *old man* means husband. Quite a few Croatian subtitles contained the translation *stari* referring to *father* or even *djed* for the term *old man*.

Example 8

Would you like to **do** the **rounds** now?

Hoćete li u vizitu sada?

In English, doctors *do rounds*, whilst in Croatian they *go rounds*. The verb *ići* has been omitted, but the audience can understand that *ići* is implied.

Example 9

Put a call through for…

Pozovite…

An idiom used when a person needs to be notified about something by telephone.

Example 10

It's time you **had a holiday**.

Vrijeme je da idete na godišnji odmor.

In the English language, you *have a holiday*, whereas in Croatian you *go on a holiday*.

Example 11

I was wondering if we ought to consider **bringing** it **on**.

Mislim da bi trebali inducirati porod.

The phrasal verb *to bring on* in this case means to start a birth artificially by giving the patient an injection. The Croatian equivalent would be *pokrenuti,* but since doctors in Croatia use many foreign words, especially of Latin origin, *inducirati* was the best option.

Example 12

I might **take** you **up on** that.

Možda vas shvatim ozbiljno.

To take someone up on something means to accept a gift, invitation, suggestion, or something similar. In this case, a woman is offering to give her baby to the doctor. A suitable translation in Croatian could have been *možda i prihvatim vašu ponudu*, but it seemed more adequate to use *možda vas shvatim ozbiljno*, because it is obvious that the interlocutor is joking.

Example 13

I'll be **pushing off**, then.

Mogao bih polako sada gibati.

The phrasal verb *to push off* means *to leave.* Since this sounds informal, the Croatian informal equivalent *gibati* was used instead of *idem, krećem* or *odlazim*.

Example 14

A patient might drop in a dead faint at your feet, **come to**, look up…

Pacijent ti se onesvijesti kod nogu, dođe k sebi, pogleda gore…

The phrasal verb used to describe a situation when someone becomes conscious or wakes up is **come to**. Several combinations could have been used here, but there was a limited space for words so some parts had to be reduced.

Example 15

I'm going **to grab** me **a** quick **shower**…

Idem se na brzinu istuširati…

This collocation is related to Estuary English. The formal RP English would be *to have a shower*. The Croatian subtitle was translated in a neutral form.

Example 16

…she must have **polished off** thousands of 'em.

…sigurno ih je potamanila na tisuće.

To eat, consume or *exhaust* all of something, in this case food, informally means *to polish off* . The informal word in Croatian would be *potamaniti*, another word could be *slistiti*.

Example 17

I'll be along as soon as I can **park the au pair**.

Dolazim čim riješim dadilju.

Here we have an ambiguous sentence. According to the scene, it is obvious that *parking the au pair* actually means *to deal with* or *have intercourse* with the nanny. An au pair is a young foreigner who does domestic work for a family in exchange for room and board and a chance to learn the family's language. I opted for *dadilja* in Croatian because it is not clear by the context what role the woman has and because *spremačica* or *domaćica* would not transfer the main idea.

Example 18

I'll soon **have it out**.
Brzo ću ja to ugasiti.

This phrasal verb means *to put the fire out* and the Croatian verb that collocates with putting out a fire is *ugasiti*. In the scene, it is obvious that a fire needs to be put out so it was not necessary to add *fire/vatra*.

Example 19

I don't think I'm **cut out** to be a nurse.
Mislim da nisam za ovaj posao.

In this context, *to be cut out for something* means *to suit or be fit for something by nature*. In Croatian, *nisam rođena za* ili *ne leži mi* could have been suitable, but because of the limited number of space, I simply opted for *nisam za ovaj posao*. *Nurse* was deleted because it is self-evident that the actor is referring to the job of a nurse.

Example 20

I'm going **to pack it** all **in**.
Prestat ću sa svim tim.

To pack it in is the informal British phrasal verb for *to stop doing something*. The Croatian equivalent *prestati* turned out to be the best solution.

Most of the examples are not strictly connected to customs, beliefs, or religion, but they are still culture-specific because English expresses certain actions in a different way, and that is mainly through collocations, phrasal verbs, and idioms. As collocations and phrasal verbs are often invisible or cannot be detected right away, translators often produce mistranslations. Even when

the translator is able to detect them, he or she has to decide whether formal (neutral) or informal language should be used. Therefore, translating this type of culture-bound terms is not an easy task at all. The same goes for idioms that are listed in the table below.

Table 2 Idioms and phrases with Croatian subtitles

	Original phrase in English	**Meaning**	**Croatian translation (own translation)**
1	Headquarters of the famous **Pudding Club.**	Original: to be in the Pudding Club (British Old-fashioned) - to be pregnant	Sjedište poznatih trudnica
2	It's a bit like **closing the stable door after the horse has gone** isn't it?	Original: closing the stable door after the horse has bolted (British-American) - trying to stop something bad happening when it has already happened and the situation cannot be changed	To je kao da oblačiš kabanicu poslije kiše.
3	**The proof of the pudding is in the eating.**	- the real value of something can be judged only from practical experience or results and not from appearance or theory. (British)	Praksa je najbolji učitelj.
4	**A woman's work is never done**.	From the couplet: Man may work from sun to sun, but woman's work is never done (International – quote from Jesus) - women always work longer than men - can also refer to the fact that women take care of the children and family so they always have work to do	Posao žene nikada nije gotov.

5	Tell her **to get** her **finger out…**	- to make an effort, to hurry up (British informal)	…da se odčepi…
6	I'll **case the joint.**	- to look over some place to figure out how to break in, what to steal (English – American)	Ja ću malo pronjuškati.
7	I've got into **a spot of bother.**	- to get into some trouble (British)	Upao sam u nevolju.
8	Is that the one who wanted **to get matey**?	- to have an intimate relationship with someone (British slang)	Je li to onaj koji ti se nabacivao?
9	Get your cruet out!	*Lit.* to take out all the silver in order to lay the table *Inf.* To undress, to show what is under ones clothes (British informal)	Vadite pribor!
10	Cop hold of that!	- to take or catch (British slang)	Drži!
11	Another little angel **leaving the fold?**	-when a sheep leaves it's fold deliberately or by mistake (English-American)	Još nam jedan anđelčić odlazi?
12	Come off it!	Leave me alone (British)	Ma pusti me!
13	Well he can talk!	- when the person criticising someone is no better (British)	Javio se pravi!
14	To drop in a dead faint	Phrase used to describe a situation when someone becomes unconscious Br. Slang	Onesvijestiti se

In the first example, the phrase was translated using the generalisation method due to the fact that "Pudding Club" would not mean anything to an audience speaking the Croatian language.

The second example was a real challenge because if we look at the real meaning of the phrase "Closing the stable door after the horse has bolted", which would be "to try to stop something bad happening when it has already happened", the translation would be incorrect. If we examine the context, where the maternity hospital is giving away pills for free although women come there to

give birth and obviously do not need the pills, then "kao da oblačiš kabanicu poslije kiše" could be a suitable translation. So cultural substitution was used here.

In the third example, the proverb was translated by cultural substitution. The fourth example is not a frequent proverb in Croatian, but is still used and transfers the main idea. The method chunking sideways was used. In the fifth example, the literal meaning would be "Recite joj da se požuri" instead of "Recite joj da se više odčepi", but since informal language is used in the original, I opted for a more informal translation.

The sixth example is a typical phrase used in the English-speaking world and I found the verb "pronjuškati" convenient because it also refers to an action where someone is checking out a certain place in order to steal something. The phrase "to get into a spot of bother" is mainly used in the UK and was simply translated as "upasti u nevolju", which means the same thing. In example 8, British slang is used and it could have been translated as *družiti se, biti intiman, uvaljivati se* and similar, but *nabacivati se* turned out to be the most suitable equivalent. Examples 9 and 10 are very informal so the Croatian translation is also informal. I could have used *skinite se!* instead of *vadite pribor!* for example 9, but the latter equally transfers the right message to the audience. *Cop hold of that* is extremely British and is also used as a catchphrase. Somehow *drži* instead of *prihvati, pridrži, preuzmi* seemed to be the most appropriate informal word in Croatian. In example 11 part of the idiom, *the fold* has been omitted because it is not relevant to the target audience. The British proverb *come off it is* informal so instead of *ostavi me na miru*, the informal term *pusti me* was used by cultural substitution. Example 13 was also translated by cultural substitution whereas the last example presents the generalisation method or chunking upwards.

It is noticeable, at least in Croatian subtitling, that most of the subtitles are very formal although colloquial language is used in films and sitcoms. It is difficult to keep balance between these two registers, let alone dialects or accents. In "Carry on Matron", all three cases are present so I tried to separate the formal part from the informal. In most cases this was possible, but in other cases it was not. In addition, some words or chunks were abbreviated or deleted, due to the limited space in subtitles.

Concerning the dialects and accents that appear in the film, mainly *RP English, Cockney*, and Estuary *English* are used. The characters of lower class - some of the main characters and patients - use Cockney or Estuary English, whereas the doctors, who belong to the upper class, speak RP English. Interestingly, one of the doctors, Dr Prodd, uses Estuary English throughout the film, which was probably intentional because he has the role of a very frivolous and irresponsible doctor. The other doctors use RP except in the scenes where they are intimate or arguing in which case they use a more informal register.

5.3. Analysing the T-V distinction and forms of address

Concerning the Croatian subtitles and the Hungarian dubbing of "Carry on Matron", we have three completely different languages, although Croatian and Hungarian do have the T-V distinction. During the translation process from English to Croatian, it was difficult to decide when to use which distinction in certain scenes so the relationship between two or more persons was the main factor that I concentrated on. For example in the conversation between father and son or two friends, the *tu* distinction was used, whereas in the dialogue between doctor and patient I opted for the *vous* distinction. There were two specific situations in the film where I was not sure which distinction I should use so I chose the most suitable one. In the communication between doctor and doctor and doctor and nurse, the *vous* distinction was used except for one scene where two doctors are closer friends and another scene where the doctor curses one nurse and wants to be intimate with the other nurse. It somehow seemed more natural to use the *tu* distinction in the last two/three cases so that the audience can understand the relationships between the characters. In the Hungarian dubbing version, the mediator opted for the *vous* distinction in all scenes except for the scenes between father and son and friend and friend. This is quite unusual because colleagues in Hungary, as mentioned before, mainly use the *tu* distinction. We could suppose that the mediator in charge of the Hungarian dubbing chose the *vous* distinction in all scenes considering the strict and very formal register of the British. On the other hand, in the dubbed version the audience cannot hear the original version, nor the intonation, which also plays an important role, so there is more freedom when it comes to the choice of T-V distinction in dubbing.

Concerning the forms of address in Hungarian, the translator mainly opted for the English forms like *Mrs Tidey, Mr Hodgkiss*, or *Miss Smethurst*, although the term *kisasszony* appears in some scenes where a character is referring to *Miss* or to a nurse that is younger than he or she is. In the Hungarian culture this type of address is quite common, even between colleagues. One of the main characters, *Bernard Cuttting* is sometimes addressed as *sir (szőr) Bernard* or as *fő doktor úr,* which would be *Mr Head Doctor* as a back-translation. This form of address would sound very strange in English.

Additionally, we must mention that the correct form in Croatian, when using the *vous* distinction, is *Vi* with a capital v, but in screen translation the form *vi* is used, which can also refer to the pronoun in second person plural. The audience can understand which pronoun is used when, according to the context.

Therefore, it is evident that each culture has its own forms of address as well as T-V distinction. The translator needs to know when to acquire which form, especially if dealing with a language like English, which does not officially have the T-V distinction, but does has other tools with which this distinction is expressed.

6. Comparing the Hungarian dubbing with the original version

The film series "Carry on Matron" as well as other "Carry on" films are very popular in Hungary so almost all the films have been dubbed. Although the main topic of this paper is comparing the Croatian subtitles to the original English text, some culture-bound phrases and words will be compared to the Hungarian dubs.

6.1. Correct translations of culture-bound terms

Table 3

Comparing Culture-bound terms and phrases in Hungarian and English

Original phrase In English	**Hungarian Dubbing**	**Comment**
Bloke	Pasas	Suitable translation, informal
To nick	Megfújni	Suitable translation, informal
To pinch	Csórelni	Suitable translation, informal – jail slang
Bloody	Pokoli	Suitable translation, informal
Knockers	Faca	Suitable translation. Refers only to the two men in the scene
Bristols	Cici	Suitable translation, informal
Knickers	Bugyi	Suitable translation, informal
To woo	Udvarolni	Suitable translation, formal

Cor Blimey	Te jóságos ég, a mindenit	Suitable translation
Dishy	Jóképű	Suitable translation, formal
Loo	WC	Suitable translation, formal
Claptrap	Gyermeteg	Suitable translation
Twerp	Orcátlan	Suitable translation
A woman's work is never done.	A női munka nem játék.	Back-translation: *A woman's work is not a game.* Suitable and commonly used in Hungarian.
Tell her **to get** her **finger out…**	Mondja meg neki, hogy nyomja meg a gombot.	Back-translation: *Tell her to press the button.* Can be understood by the Hungarian audience and the main idea is transferred. Very informal.
I'll **case the joint.**	Felmérem a terepet.	Back-translation: *I'll assess the terrain.* Suitable translation. Informal.
I've got into **a spot of bother.**	Kellemetlen helyzetbe kerültem.	Back-translation: *I have found myself in an awkward situation*. Suitable translation. Formal.
Is that the one who wanted **to get matey**?	...aki kujtorogni akart veled ?	The verb *kujtorogni* is Hungarian slang meaning *to get intimate.* Suitable translation. Informal.
Get your cruet out!	Vegye elő a készletét!	Translated literally from English version. Can be understood by the Hungarian audience.

		Very informal.
Cop hold of that!	Fogd meg és hozd!	Back-translation: Take it and carry it.. Suitable translation. Informal.
Shut up	Pofa be	Suitable translation. Very informal.
The fuzz	A zsaruk	Suitable translation. Informal.

7.2. Mistranslations

Since dubbing is a method which gives more freedom to the translator, certain parts of the text have been omitted or substituted with a culture-bound term. Below is a list of mistranslations that refer not only to culture-bound terms, but also to other words or phrases that have been misinterpreted and mistranslated by the cultural mediator. The target audience might not have noticed the mistranslations, but after analysing the original version and comparing it to the dubbing version, there are some differences in the understanding and the mood of the film as a whole.

Table 4

A list of mistranslations in Hungarian

	Original phrase in English	**Hungarian Dubbing**	**Back-translation**
1	I'll buy you a **box of fruit and nuts**.	Veszek neked narancsot és diót.	*I'll buy you oranges and walnuts.*
2	I belong to the "**Wapping and Old Stairs**" pond.	A szúnyogos és lépcsős tóhoz tartoztam.	*I used to belong to the mosquito and stairs pond.*
3	If it's a boy, I'll name him Happy, after you.	Ha fiam születik, a maga nevét adom neki.	*If it's a boy, I'll name him after you.*

4	All I've had is a cup of tea and a biscuit.	Azóta nem ettem mást mint egy darab kekszet.	*All I've had is a biscuit.*
5	You cannot tempt me with strong drink.	Reggel nem iszom alkoholt.	*I don't drink in the morning.*
6	Very kinky	Nagyon csábos.	*Very alluring.*
7	…let me finish. my dinner first.	Még nem fejeztem be az uzsonnámat.	I haven't finished my brunch (snack) yet.
8	…you mean willing?	Már úgy gondolja, hogy profi?	You mean a pro?
9	If ever this child gets born, it's going to be smothered in breadcrumbs.	A gyerek úszonnyal fog a világra jönni.	The child will be born with fins.
10	It's my pin-up girl.	Itt a gombostűs tündér.	Here is the safety pin fairy.
11	Headquarters of the famous **Pudding Club.**	A híres pudding klub főhadiszálása	The famous Pudding Club's headquarters.
12	It's a bit like **closing the stable door after the horse has gone** isn't it?	Mintha tyúkkal akarnák feltámasztani a halottat	As if they want to resurrect the dead with a hen. (phrase unknown in Hungarian)
13	**The proof of the pudding is in the eating.**	A puding próbája az eves.	Translated literally from English version
14	My woman's waited seven years for a baby.	A megboldogult feleségem hét évig várt, hogy teherbe ejtsem.	My deceased wife waited seven years to get pregnant.
15	The dispensary's out of Penbritin.	A gyógyszerszállítmány érkezett.	The drugs have been delivered.
16	Dad?	Ki az?	Who is it?

17	How did that nurse get on to you?	A szobatársadnak miért mondtad meg?	Why did you tell your roommate?
18	You're a newt?	Maga hüllő?	You're a reptile?
19	You'd be down, too, if you'd had 50ccs of pethidine up your archipelago.	Azt hiszem, maga sem nézne ki különbül egy ilyen borzasztóan fárasztó éjszaka után	You wouldn't look any different after an extremely exhausting night like the last one.
20	I was wondering whether you'd like to see me back to the nurses' home.	Úgy gondoltam, hogy meglátogathatna a nővérotthonban.	I was wondering whether you could pay me a visit at the nurses's home.

Several other mistranslations were detected in the Hungarian version of the film, but the twenty examples listed above were chosen for analysis. Some of the examples with their mistranslations do not distort the original meaning, whereas others provide an unclear or incorrect translation to the target audience. The so-called "correct" mistranslations worth highlighting are examples 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 19, and 20. In example 4, part of the original has been omitted, but it is not that relevant in the scene. The translation for *kinky* in example 6 is too formal but still transfers the main idea. The Hungarian translation *snack* instead of *dinner* in example 7 is also not too relevant according to the scene. In example 9, substitution is evident. The translation is completely different, but it does not distort the meaning in the original. The term *pin-up* could have been left in the original, in example 10, as in the Croatian version, but the translator opted for cultural substitution, which is also acceptable. In examples 16, 19, and 20 there is some deletion and substitution, but the main ideas are transferred to the target audience.

In examples, 1, 2, and 3 the meaning is completely lost in translation. The interlocutor in example 1 is referring to a box of chocolates with fruit and nuts, whereas the translator translated the text literally. In example 2, *Wapping and Old Stairs* is an extremely culture-bound term that should have been left in the original. Moreover, the translator semantically changed the meaning and used the past tense instead of present simple. In example 3, the main idea was meant to be that the interlocutor will name is son Happy after the doorman, who seems to be a very serious and stiff person by character. Therefore, the most important part of the text was omitted. The unnecessary *deceased* was added in the translation in example 14, which is not mentioned in the original at all.

In examples 15 and 17, it is evident that the translation is completely different. This might not change the understanding of the whole scene, but it is not clear why the translator opted for such a translation when it could have been transferred to the target language remaining loyal to the original. In example 18, the translator tried to use the generalisation method by translating the word *newt* as *reptile*. The main problem here is that the newt is not a reptile, rather it is an amphibian.

Examples 11, 12, and 13 are the worst mistranslations in the film. It has already been mentioned that phrases and idioms are probably the most difficult to translate and they are usually culture-bound. Sometimes it is difficult to find an equivalent in the target language; therefore, the translator should generalise, paraphrase, or try to find a similar phrase or idiom in the target language that resembles the meaning in the original. In the case of the Hungarian dubbing, the translator opted for translations that are not known to the target audience. The three examples in question are analysed below:

Example 11

English	Headquarters of the famous Pudding Club.
Croatian subtitle	Sjedište poznatih trudnica.
Hungarian dubbing	A híres pudding klub főhadiszálása.

Since *pudding club* does not mean anything to the Hungarian audience, the translator could have simply translated the phrase using the generalisation method, like in the Croatian subtitle.

Example 12

English	It's a bit like closing the stable door after the horse has gone isn't it?
Croatian sub.	Nije li to kao da oblačiš kabanicu poslije kiše?
Hungarian dub.	Mintha tyúkkal akarnák feltámasztani a halottat.

According to the original meaning, explained in *table 2, idioms and phrases*, the Croatian subtitle is not the perfect equivalent, but still resembles the meaning of the original, whereas the Hungarian translation is completely unknown. Interestingly, the idiom in Croatian has the same equivalent in Hungarian: *Eső után köpönyeg*.

Example 13

English	The proof of the pudding is in the eating.
Croatian sub.	Praksa je najbolji učitelj.
Hungarian dub.	A puding próbája az evés.

The Croatian subtitle transfers the main idea and a similar idiom known to the target audience was used. The Hungarian version is a word for word translation of the original and it is unknown to the Hungarian target audience. The translator should have paraphrased or substituted in this case.

Based on the good translations and mistranslations of the Hungarian dubbing, it is evident that the translator has much more freedom and can even distort certain parts of the texts without having the target audience even notice. In subtitling, the target audience can hear and might understand the original version, therefore the translator needs to be very careful when transferring subtitles onto the screen.

7. Conclusion

This paper gives an overview of audiovisual translation, translating culture, and an analysis concerning culture-bound terms. It also shows how important it is for the translator to know a nations language considering the culture, heritage, dialects, and customs. Based on the Croatian subtitles and the Hungarian dubbing, it is evident that many culture-bound terms can be translated in the same way, like phrases of Latin origin, although all three languages differ from each other. At the same time, differences in translation do occur, in part because of the differences in culture and the greater freedom in dubbing as compared to subtitling. The paper provides some methods that should be used during the translation process as follows. Cultural substitution is one of the main methods used when translating informal culture-bound terms. If this is not possible, because of the nature of the language, the cultural mediator should use a more general term. When dealing with informal culture-bound terms, the cultural mediator should try to be consistent and use an informal culture-bound term in the target language, but he or she should also be very careful that the informal term in the target language is not a different variety or dialect. The main problem with subtitling informal culture-bound terms is that the audience listens to a colloquial language, whereas the subtitles are in a written form, so the cultural mediator needs to keep balance between

the oral and written form. Concerning the translations of idioms and proverbs, the methods are similar only there is less freedom, due to the fact that fixed expressions are in question. Culture plays a more important role here, so if it is not possible to translate by cultural substitution, the culture-bound term should be paraphrased. The cultural mediator must be able to recognise the fixed expression and concentrate on transferring the main idea to the audience. The *tu/Vous* distinction, as well as addressing in different languages, also plays an important role in the process of translation/subtitling. In case the source and target languages have the T-V distinction, translation is not difficult, but in this case we are dealing with the English language which does not have this distinction so the cultural mediator needs to make a deeper analysis of the relationships between characters and addressing comes in very useful. Each culture has its own standards of addressing, which cultural mediators should acquire before the translation process itself. The T-V distinction and addressing might not seem that important, but their misinterpretation in translation can cause confusion and can also distort the original version. Section 6.2 presents the results when the cultural mediator does not have sufficient cultural background knowledge. It has already been mentioned that the translator has more freedom when dubbing is in question because the target audience cannot hear the original version, but this still does not mean that the translation is correct. In fact, many scenes where the mistranslations occur are misleading and give a whole new light to the film. Therefore, it is highly necessary for the cultural mediator to consider all the elements mentioned above to be able to produce a faithful translation. This is not an easy task because each nation, language, and culture is unique and is built upon different values and has a different historical background. However, this is what makes the role of cultural mediators more exciting. Not only are they confronted with a challenge each time they receive a new project, but also have the privilege to meet so many diverse nations and cultures in the world.

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